

enactment of certain legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

54. Also, petition of Robert B. Murphy, Leavenworth, Kans., relative to enacting certain private legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

55. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Port-

land, Oreg., relative to war on crime; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

56. Also, petition of Syndicate of Puerto Rican's Labor Leaders, San Juan, P.R., relative to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, giving pardon to certain individuals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

57. Also, petition of the City Council, Erie, Pa., relative to raising the level of the income tax exemption; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

58. Also, petition of the chairman of the Naha City Assembly, Naha, Okinawa, relative to applying local laws regarding labor rights; to the Committee on Armed Services.

SENATE—Monday, February 17, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who has made and preserved us a nation, deepen the roots of this land in everlasting righteousness that the glory of our fathers fade not away. May Thy higher wisdom and infinite grace be the stability of our times. Make us equal to our high trust, reverent in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, generous in the protection of the weak.

Consecrate all who labor in this place to the service of this Nation, that by serving this land we may serve all mankind.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 7, 1969, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing the nomination of U. Alexis Johnson, of California, to be U.S. Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund and U.S. Alternate Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which nomination messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE SUBMITTED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 7, 1969, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported favorably, without amendment, on February 7, 1969, the following resolutions:

S. Res. 22. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to examine, investigate, and study certain matters (Rept. No. 91-45);

S. Res. 23. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate matters pertaining to public and private housing and urban affairs (Rept. No. 91-46);

S. Res. 24. Resolution to study certain aspects of national security and international operations (Rept. No. 91-55);

S. Res. 26. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Government Operations to make investigations into the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches of Government (Rept. No. 91-51);

S. Res. 31. Resolution authorizing a study of Federal election laws and related matters (Rept. No. 91-76);

S. Res. 34. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on Public Works (Rept. No. 91-75);

S. Res. 41. Resolution to consider matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations (Rept. No. 91-63);

S. Res. 45. Resolution to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization (Rept. No. 91-65);

S. Res. 54. Resolution to investigate national penitentiaries (Rept. No. 91-68);

S. Res. 56. Resolution to make a study of all matters within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Armed Services (Rept. No. 91-44);

S. Res. 57. Resolution authorizing the Select Committee on Small Business to make a complete study of the problems of small and independent businesses (Rept. No. 91-77);

S. Res. 59. Resolution to provide additional funds for the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences (Rept. No. 91-43);

S. Res. 60. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to investigate certain matters within its jurisdiction (Rept. No. 91-56);

S. Res. 65. Resolution to authorize the Senate to respond to official invitations received from foreign governments or parliamentary bodies and associations (Rept. No. 91-80); and

S. Res. 79. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Commerce to make certain studies (Rept. No. 91-47).

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 7, 1969, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported favorably, with an amendment, on February 7, 1969, the following resolutions:

S. Res. 25. Resolution to provide funds to study and evaluate the effects of laws pertaining to proposed reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government (Rept. No. 91-52);

S. Res. 27. Resolution authorizing a study of intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities (Rept. No. 91-54);

S. Res. 38. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Government Operations to study the origin of research and development programs financed by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government (Rept. No. 91-53);

S. Res. 39. Resolution to study administrative practice and procedure, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-57);

S. Res. 40. Resolution to investigate anti-trust and monopoly laws of the United States (Rept. No. 91-58);

S. Res. 42. Resolution authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments (Rept. No. 91-59);

S. Res. 43. Resolution to investigate matters pertaining to constitutional rights (Rept. No. 91-60);

S. Res. 46. Resolution to investigate the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act (Rept. No. 91-66);

S. Res. 47. Resolution to study and examine the Federal judicial system (Rept. No. 91-64);

S. Res. 48. Resolution to investigate juvenile delinquency (Rept. No. 91-67);

S. Res. 49. Resolution to examine and review the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights (Rept. No. 91-69);

S. Res. 50. Resolution to investigate problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny (Rept. No. 91-70);

S. Res. 51. Resolution to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States (Rept. No. 91-71);

S. Res. 52. Resolution to make a full and complete study of the separation of powers under the Constitution (Rept. No. 91-61);

S. Res. 63. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to make certain investigations (Rept. No. 91-74);

S. Res. 64. Resolution to provide for a study of matters pertaining to the foreign policy of the United States by the Committee on Foreign Relations (Rept. No. 91-50);

S. Res. 66. Resolution to continue for one year the existing authority for the Committee on Finance to employ six additional clerical employees (Rept. No. 91-49);

S. Res. 68. Resolution to continue the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (Rept. No. 91-78);

S. Res. 76. Resolution to continue the Special Committee on Aging (Rept. No. 91-79);

S. Res. 80. Resolution to authorize an investigation into the problems of education for American Indians (Rept. No. 91-73);

S. Res. 81. Resolution to authorize certain investigations and studies by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (Rept. No. 91-72); and

S. Res. 84. Resolution authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate certain matters within its jurisdiction (Rept. No. 91-48).

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 7, 1969, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported favorably, with amendments, on February 7, 1969, the following resolution:

S. Res. 44. Resolution to investigate criminal laws and procedures (Rept. No. 91-62).

READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY, 21, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of Washington's Farewell Address in the Senate this year, pursuant to the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, be on Friday, February 21.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DESIGNATION OF SENATOR FANNIN TO READ WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to the order of January 24, 1961, as modified by a previous order, the Chair designates the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FANNIN) to read Washington's Farewell Address on Friday, February 21, 1969.

APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR BELLMON TO THE MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to title 16, United States Code, section 715A, the Chair appoints the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON) to the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission, in lieu of the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. Hruska), who resigned.

WAIVER OF CALL OF CALENDAR UNDER RULE VIII

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the calendar under rule VIII, for the consideration of unobjected-to measures, be waived.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EULOGIES OF SENATOR BARTLETT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the transaction of morning business on Wednesday next, a period be set aside for Senators to eulogize our late departed colleague, Bob Bartlett, of Alaska.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on February 4, the distinguished Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT) introduced S. 845. It seems to me to indicate that registration by another name is being required by a regulation of the Internal Revenue Service. This regulation covers ammunition for pistols, rifles, shotguns, and some components, including primers, propellant powders, cartridge cases, and bullets.

Under sections 992(b)(5) and 923(g), the dealer is required to record the name, age, and address of the buyer of firearms or ammunition, while section 923(g) authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue regulations relative to recordkeeping by dealers. The regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury call for far more than sections 922 and 923 require and, in my judgment, go considerably beyond the intent of Congress in passing the Gun Control Act of 1968.

For example, the regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury call for the following: Date; manufacturer; caliber, gage, or type of component; quantity; name; address; date of birth; and mode

of identification, driver's license, and so forth.

It seems to me that this goes far beyond "the name, age, and address" of the law and covers a good deal more territory which, in effect, amounts to registration.

If there is to be registration, let it be in the open and on the table, and let everyone be aware of it. Congress, in my opinion, opposed registration under the Gun Control Act of 1968, and this regulation, in my judgment, would go far beyond what Congress intended.

This is back-door registration and should be corrected. In my judgment, it is necessary to correct an unnecessary burden and a deceptive form of registration and to bring the regulations in line with the intent of Congress at the time the bill was passed.

I ask unanimous consent that I be registered as a cosponsor of Senator BENNETT's bill, S. 845.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my name also be added as a cosponsor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE SUEZ CANAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there is universal agreement that the situation in the Middle East is a powder keg. There is almost universal agreement that the fuse grows shorter as weeks, months, and years go by without a peaceful settlement of the problems which remain from the war of 1967. To be sure, there have been no Israeli retaliations for the hideous mass executions in Iraq. To be sure, there have been no further Arab attacks on Israeli commercial aviation.

Nevertheless, the gnawing question remains: How much longer before the eye-for-an-eye retaliations are resumed? The question will persist, and properly so, in the absence of the beginning of a settlement of the issues of the conflict. The prospects for finding a way out of the ice jam, however, are not yet visible. That seems to me to be the case, whether the initiative is seen as coming from two powers, from four powers, from direct Israel-Arab negotiations, or from more U.N. resolutions, whether supplicatory or condemnatory.

Is there another possibility? Is there the possibility of a modest beginning on settlement which eschews sweeping generalities or emotional insistences on who is or who is not at fault? Can there be a beginning without faultfinding—a beginning, indeed, in which there is no significant sacrifice of position on any side?

In this connection, I would point out that the Suez Canal has been completely inoperative since the war of 1967. Israeli forces now hold the east bank of the waterway and the Egyptians, the west. However, even if both sides were willing to permit free usage, it would be of no avail at this point, because the canal is blocked by ships which were sunk at the outset of the conflict. Within the channel, moreover, are entrapped other

vessels whose crews have been immobilized for almost 2 years.

The loss which results from this situation hits hardest at Egypt and Europe. As a result of the stoppage, tens of millions of dollars have been added to the fuel bills of the latter. In a broader sense, however, there has been a loss to the concept of freedom of navigation and to the foundations of international commerce, as there is whenever a great waterway is closed to any or all nations. Each day that the current situation persists, moreover, the many-sided loss accumulates.

Someday, Mr. President, the work of clearing and restoring the canal will begin. Apart from the political situation, this technical undertaking will involve several weeks or months of work. It seems to me that it would be to the advantage of all concerned if this operation could begin now. There would be no loss to anyone, so far as I can see, if the entrapped ships were freed and the canal were made ready for peaceful use, even as Egypt and Israel maintain their respective military positions on the two banks. On the other hand, this course would advance, by at least several weeks, the time commercial operations could be resumed, once the political situation makes resumption possible. Most important, the two principal combatants of the war would acquire, in the restoration, an experience in dealing peacefully with one another—with U.N. collaboration, to be sure, but not at arm's length—in the solution of a mutual difficulty.

It is a slender possibility, Mr. President, but it could prove to be a useful initiative. Certainly, I should like to see it explored through whatever channels may be feasible. If there is receptivity in Israel and Egypt, it might conceivably break the ice jam which now prevails in the situation in the Middle East.

LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

FEDERAL PLAN FOR METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES AND SUPPORTING RESEARCH

A letter from the Deputy Director, Bureau of the Budget, transmitting, pursuant to law, a Federal plan for meteorological services and supporting research for the fiscal year 1970 (with an accompanying document); to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT OF CERTAIN PROPOSED FACILITIES PROJECTS FOR THE ARMY RESERVE

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law, on the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Army Reserve (with an accom-

panying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF CERTAIN PROPOSED FACILITIES PROJECTS FOR THE NAVAL RESERVE

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations) reporting, pursuant to law, on the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Naval Reserve (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

A letter from the Secretary of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, reporting, pursuant to law, the amount of Export-Import Bank Insurance and guarantees issued in December 1968 in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT ON NUMBER OF CIVILIAN OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the number of civilian officers and employees in the executive branch of the Government for the quarter ended December 31, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Finance.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION CONVENTION No. 123 AND RECOMMENDATION No. 124

A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, the text of ILO Convention No. 123 and ILO recommendation No. 124, adopted at Geneva in June 1965 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the examination of the financial statements of the Federal Prison Industries, Inc., for fiscal year 1968, dated February 11, 1969 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Federal programs for the benefit of disadvantaged preschool children, Los Angeles County, Calif., Office of Economic Opportunity and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, dated February 14, 1960 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the need for improved accounting for civilian employees' leave of absence in the military departments, Department of Defense, dated February 7, 1969 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the need for improved guidelines in contracting for research with Government-sponsored nonprofit contractors, Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission and National Aeronautics and Space Administration, dated February 10, 1969 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT OF NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

A letter from the Acting Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, reporting, pursuant to law, on the disposal of certain foreign excess property; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

A letter from the Assistant Secretary, the National Institute of Arts and Letters, trans-

mitting, pursuant to law, their report for the year 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

THIRD PREFERENCE AND SIXTH PREFERENCE CLASSIFICATIONS FOR CERTAIN ALIENS

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports relating to third preference and sixth preference classifications for certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF ALIENS—WITHDRAWAL OF NAME

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, withdrawing the name of Mr. Trifon Nicholas Kritsis from a report relating to aliens whose deportation has been suspended transmitted to the Senate October 1, 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A resolution of the House of Representatives, State of South Carolina; to the Committee on Commerce:

"A House resolution to memorialize the Congress of the United States to take necessary action to prevent the Federal Communications Commission or other administrative agencies from banning advertisement of tobacco products on television and radio

"Whereas, the Federal Communications Commission has threatened action to prohibit the advertisement of tobacco products on television and radio; and

"Whereas, the publicly-owned airways should be protected from such arbitrary and unnecessary restrictions; and

"Whereas, the tobacco industry so vital to the economy of South Carolina would be seriously damaged by this proposed prohibition. Now, therefore,

"Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina:

"That the Congress of the United States be and hereby is memorialized to take such action as may be necessary to prevent the Federal Communications Commission or any other administrative agency from prohibiting the use of the public airways to advertise tobacco products on radio and television.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and each member of the South Carolina Congressional Delegation.

"Attest:

"INEZ WATSON,
"Clerk of the House."

A resolution adopted by the city council of Erie, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation to raise the level of the present standard income tax exemption; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"A resolution urging the President of the United States to protest the recent public hanging of nine Jews by the Iraqi Government and exert his influence in stabilizing the current crisis in the Middle East

"Whereas, United States Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, has expressed this nation's sense of outrage over this week's barbaric public hangings of fourteen Iraqis in these words: 'The spectre of mass public executions is repugnant to the conscience of the world'; and

"Whereas, These atrocities have heightened tensions in the Middle East and greatly increased the threat of war; and

"Whereas, The Jewish community of Iraq is now no more than 2,500 souls in the total population of more than 8,000,000 for that country and yet 9 of the 14 Iraqis executed were Jews, suggesting, as Pope Paul has pointed out, racist motivation; and

"Whereas, If world opinion is quickly mobilized, further hangings may be forestalled; and

"Whereas, These savage acts are shockingly violative of all standards of justice and principles of compassion for which the Commonwealth has stood since its founding days; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges the President of the United States to formally protest the recent public hanging of nine Jews by the Iraqi government and to use his powerful office in an immediate attempt to stabilize the explosive crisis in the Middle East; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

"NORMAN L. PIDGEON,
"Clerk."

"Attest:

"JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"A resolution protesting the brutality of the Iraq Government in hanging nine Jews

"Whereas, The Massachusetts House of Representatives learned with horror of the brutality of the Iraq Government in hanging nine Jews, citizens of Israel; and

"Whereas, The Iraq Government, by this wanton and inhumane act not only stands condemned in the eyes of free men everywhere but precipitated a tinder box crisis that could very well lead to a confrontation between the nuclear powers and eventual destruction of all mankind; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives urges the President of the United States to use the full weight and power of his office in assisting to stabilize this serious situation in the Middle East, guarantee the rights of all nations however small and their people to live, prosper and survive in peace and to lodge a formal protest with the Iraq Government against this barbaric act; and be it further

"Resolved, That the United Nations be requested to immediately consider this inhumane act by the Iraq Government assess responsibility and guarantee to Israel and its citizens protection against the aggressive and lawless acts of its neighboring nations; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, the Senators and Representatives in Congress representing this Commonwealth and to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

"WALLACE C. MILLS,
"Clerk."

"Attest:

"JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

A resolution adopted by the Association for Grand Jury Action, Inc., of Rochester, N.Y., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to change the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The petition of Robert Bradford Murphy, of Leavenworth, Kans., praying for a redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A joint resolution of the legislature, State of Montana; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"S.J. RES. 3

"A joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana, to the U.S. Congress, urging that the Federal Government establish a multistate vocational education center at the Glasgow Air Force Base

"Whereas, the Glasgow Air Force Base was constructed at a cost of more than one hundred million dollars; and

"Whereas, this facility is no longer being used as a military installation; and

"Whereas, the facility is too large to be operated efficiently by the state of Montana; and

"Whereas, there is demonstrated need for additional facilities for vocational education in Montana and also in the surrounding states of the Upper Midwest and Northwest portions of the nation; and

"Whereas, the Glasgow Air Force Base offers an excellent possibility for the development of a multistate vocational education center to serve the Upper Midwest and Northwest regions of the nation.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana: That the legislative assembly of the state of Montana urges the United States Congress to enact legislation that would establish a multistate vocational education center at the Glasgow Air Force Base utilizing all or a part of the existing physical facilities.

"Be it further resolved, that the legislative assembly of Montana urges the Montana congressional delegation to support any federal legislation to accomplish this purpose.

"Be it further resolved, that the secretary of state is instructed to send copies of this resolution to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the President of the United States Senate, the Honorable Mike Mansfield and the Honorable Lee Metcalf, Senators from the state of Montana, and the Honorable Arnold Olsen and the Honorable James Battin, Congressmen from the state of Montana.

Attest:

"WALTER H. MARSHALL,

"Secretary of the Senate.

"THOMAS O. JUDGE,

"President of the Senate.

"JAMES P. HUE,

"Speaker of the House.

A resolution of the House of Representatives, State of Delaware; ordered to lie on the table:

"H. RES. 15

"A resolution relative to the inauguration of the Honorable Richard M. Nixon as the 37th President of the United States of America

"Whereas, the House of Representatives of the 125th General Assembly of the State of Delaware wishes to express its congratulations and best wishes to The Honorable Richard M. Nixon upon his inauguration as the 37th President of The United States of America; and

"Whereas, The Honorable Richard M. Nixon has served his country honorably as its Vice President, as United States Senator, and as United States Representative; and

"Whereas, the House of Representatives of the 125th General Assembly of the State of Delaware wishes to express its faith and confidence that The Honorable Richard M. Nixon shall become an outstanding leader in The United States of America, and a leader throughout the world as an advocate of peace and goodwill among all men; now therefore,

"Be it resolved that The Honorable Richard M. Nixon, the 37th President of The United States of America, is extended the congratulations and best wishes of the House of Representatives of the 125th General Assembly of the State of Delaware; and

"Be it further resolved that the text of

this resolution be made a part of the Journal of the proceedings of the House of Representatives of the 125th General Assembly of the State of Delaware, and that a copy of this Resolution shall be forwarded to The Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America.

"Attest:

"GEORGE C. HERING, III,

"Speaker of the House.

"ROBERT J. BARKLEY,

"Bill Clerk of the House.

"LOUISE DE R. SMITH,

"Clerk of the House."

FUNDS FOR BONNEVILLE UNIT OF THE CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT—CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF UTAH LEGISLATURE

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, the long-suffering central Utah project in my State of Utah was shortchanged once more by the outgoing Johnson administration in its budget request for fiscal 1970.

The budget called only for \$8 million for the entire central Utah project where \$10.7 million was spent last year. The Bonneville unit alone of the CUP will eventually serve 12 counties containing more than 60 percent of the State's population; and I cannot overemphasize its importance to Utah.

My disappointment in the unrealistic budget request was shared by the Utah State Legislature and the Governor, who have forwarded a concurrent resolution to me requesting that the funds appropriated for construction on the Bonneville unit for fiscal 1970 be increased to a minimum \$15 million. They also requested that construction of the authorized units of the central Utah project be accelerated so that they may be completed on a realistic, progressive, and economic schedule and that funds be provided so that the planning report for the Ute Indian unit may be completed on time.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in full so that my colleagues may have an opportunity to study it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be appropriately referred; and, under the rule, the concurrent resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The concurrent resolution was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 3

A concurrent resolution of the 38th Legislature of the State of Utah, the Governor concurring therein, requesting the Congress, the President, and the Department of the Interior of the United States to make additional funds available for construction on the Bonneville unit of the central Utah project and to accelerate the planning and construction of the central Utah project

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Utah, the Governor concurring therein:

Whereas, the capability for growth in the State of Utah is directly related to its ability to provide a water supply to meet its municipal and industrial needs, with the key to progress being Utah's ability to utilize its legal entitlements to Colorado River water, and

Whereas, to meet the municipal water requirements of the expanding population in Salt Lake and Utah Counties, a need for delivery of Colorado River water through the

authorized Bonneville Unit of the Central Utah Project is required and has been programmed by the Central Utah Water Conservancy District for 1972 with water demands to increase thereafter, and

Whereas, the funds previously appropriated and utilized for construction on this vital water-resource project have not permitted a progressive or economic construction program; and, if continued will result in a delay in meeting essential water needs with a reduction in economic growth to the State of Utah, an increase in the District's repayment obligation to the Federal Government, and

Whereas, the reimbursable costs of this project, which represent more than 90% of its total costs, will be repaid to the Federal Treasury with funds from the Central Utah Water Conservancy District in compliance with a contract between it and the Federal Government, from power revenues from the Bonneville Unit Power Complex, and from a portion of Utah's share of Colorado River Storage Project power revenues, and

Whereas, the President's budget recommended only an \$8 million construction program for fiscal year 1970, which is unreasonably low, and represents a reduction from the \$11.444 million construction program recommended for fiscal year 1969, and an \$11.145 million construction program for fiscal year 1968, and

Whereas, this Legislature, with the Governor concurring, in its 37th session urged the Congress of the United States, the President, and the Department of the Interior to appropriate the necessary funds to accelerate the construction of the Central Utah Project with an amount for construction of at least \$25 million for the Bonneville Unit for fiscal year 1969, and

Whereas, the Colorado River Basin Project Act (PL 90-537) directs that the planning report for the Ute Indian Unit of the Central Utah Project shall be completed on or before December 31, 1974, to enable the United States to meet the commitments heretofore made to the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation under the agreement dated September 20, 1965,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the 38th Legislature of the State of Utah, the Governor concurring therein, does hereby unanimously request that funds appropriated by the Congress of the United States for construction on the Bonneville Unit of the Central Utah Project for fiscal year 1970 be increased to a minimum of \$15 million.

Be it further resolved, that the Utah Legislature with the Governor's concurrence, again requests that the Congress of the United States, the President, and the Department of the Interior accelerate the construction of the authorized units of the Central Utah Project so that they may be completed on a realistic, progressive, and economic schedule, and to schedule and provide funds so that the planning report for the Ute Indian Unit be completed in compliance with the Colorado River Basin Project Act (Public Law 90-537).

Be it further resolved, that the Secretary of the State of Utah be, and he hereby is, directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, to the Upper Colorado River Commission, and to the Senators and Congressmen representing the State of Utah in Congress.

Attest:

QUAYLE CANNON, JR.,

Secretary of the Senate.

HAVEN J. BARROW,

President of the Senate.

Attest:

CLAIR R. HOPKINS,

Chief Clerk of the House.

FRANKLIN W. GUNNELL,

Speaker of the House.

Received from the Senate this 7th day of February, 1969. Concurred February 10, 1969.
CALVIN L. RAMPTON,
Governor.

Received from the Governor, and filed in the office of the Secretary of State this 10th day of February, 1969.
CLYDE L. MILLER,
Secretary of State.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

S. 994. A bill for the relief of Patrick Joseph McLoughlin and Catherine Mary McLoughlin, nee Tatley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HATFIELD:

S. 995. A bill to repeal section 7 of the act of August 9, 1946 (60 Stat. 968); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 996. A bill to permit the several States and the District of Columbia to use penalty mail; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PACKWOOD:

S. 997. A bill for the relief of Miss Susan Evanado Tumaliuan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PROUTY:

S. 998. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. PROUTY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 999. A bill for the relief of Sang-Aroon Chooopunta; and

S. 1000. A bill for the relief of Ljubisa Matic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THURMOND:

S. 1001. A bill for the relief of Stephen K. Shao; and

S. 1002. A bill for the relief of Reddick B. Still, Jr., and Richard Carpenter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLELLAN:

S. 1003. A bill for the relief of Lloyd L. Ward, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THURMOND:

S. 1004. A bill for the relief of Orin Brewington; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART:

S. 1005. A bill for the relief of Margaret Yueh Chiao;

S. 1006. A bill for the relief of Francesco Scardina, his wife, Maria Scardina, and their child, Salvatore Scardina;

S. 1007. A bill for the relief of Sandra Haydous;

S. 1008. A bill for the relief of Robert J. Ebbert and Design Products Corp., Troy, Mich.;

S. 1009. A bill for the relief of Ruth V. Hawley, Marvin E. Krell, Elaine E. Benic, and Gerald L. Thayer; and

S. 1010. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Aili Kallio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

S. 1011. A bill to authorize appropriations for the saline water conversion program for fiscal year 1970, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. JACKSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia:

S. 1012. A bill for the relief of Dr. Paulino A. Claridades and Dr. Lydia Vargas Claridades; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GURNEY:

S. 1013. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell reserve phosphate interests of the United States in certain lands located in the State of Florida to the record owner or owners of such lands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1014. A bill for the relief of Ho Ming Chao; and

S. 1015. A bill for the relief of beneficiaries of a certain life insurance policy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 1016. A bill for the relief of Dr. Richard Francis Power; and

S. 1017. A bill for the relief of Do Sung Deuk; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAVEL:

S. 1018. A bill to amend section 2634(a) of title 10, United States Code, so as to authorize the military departments, in certain cases, to ship automobiles to and from the State of Alaska by commercial motor carrier via the Alaska ferry system and other surface transportation; and

S. 1019. A bill to amend section 2634(a) of title 10, United States Code so as to authorize the military departments in certain cases to ship automobiles by commercial motor carrier via highways, ferry systems, and other surface transportation; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MUNDT:

S. 1020. A bill for the relief of Pek-chuan Kan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRIFFIN:

S. 1021. A bill for the relief of Dr. Devendra Saksena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG:

S. 1022. A bill to provide that future appointments to the office of Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall be made by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. LONG when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HART:

S. 1023. A bill to establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. HART when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. GRAVEL:

S. 1024. A bill to authorize the payment of the expenses of preparing and transporting to his home or place of internment the remains of a Federal employee who dies while performing official duties in Alaska or Hawaii, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. Byrd of West Virginia):

S. 1025. A bill to amend section 837, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit certain acts involving the use of incendiary devices, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HARTKE (for himself, Mr. BAYH, Mr. DOLE, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. GRAVEL, Mr. GURNEY, Mr. HART, Mr. INOUE, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. TOWER, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. YARBOROUGH and Mr. STEVENS):

S. 1026. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 in order to establish certain requirements with respect to air traffic controllers; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARTKE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 1027. A bill for the relief of Wai Yung Ip;

S. 1028. A bill for the relief of Kam Chun Li;

S. 1029. A bill for the relief of Cheong Pang; and

S. 1030. A bill for the relief of Yeung Li; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S. 1031. A bill for the relief of Yeung Yi San (also known as Lee Cheung On); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1032. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the second above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself and Mr. BROOKE, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. GOODELL, Mr. GRAVEL, Mr. GURNEY, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HART, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SCHWEIKER, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio):

S. 1033. A bill to improve and increase post-secondary educational opportunities throughout the Nation by providing assistance to the States for the development and construction of comprehensive community colleges; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FANNIN:

S. 1034. A bill relating to the commission of a crime of violence in the District of Columbia when armed with any firearm or other dangerous or deadly weapon; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

S.J. Res. 45. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the period beginning September 1, 1969, and ending September 6, 1969, as "Adult Education Week"; and

S.J. Res. 46. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning November 16, 1969, and ending November 22, 1969, as "National Family Health Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONDALE (for himself, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BROOKE, Mr. FONG, Mr. GOODELL, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HART, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. INOUE, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MOSS, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and Mr. YARBOROUGH):

S.J. Res. 47. Joint resolution to provide for a study and evaluation of scientific research in medicine in the United States; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONDALE when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TOWER:

S.J. Res. 48. Joint resolution to designate the period beginning June 22, 1969, and ending June 28, 1969, as "National Engineering Technicians Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. TOWER when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

S. 998—INTRODUCTION OF HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT OF 1969

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference, the

Human Investment Act of 1969, a bill to provide an incentive to American business to invest in the improvement of the Nation's human resources by hiring, training, and employing presently unemployed workers lacking needed job skills, and upgrading of the job skills of and providing new job opportunities for workers presently employed.

To achieve this purpose, the Human Investment Act provides for a credit against Federal income tax toward the costs of carefully specified programs designed to train prospective employees for available jobs, or retraining current employees for more demanding jobs. In the present bill the amount of credit is 10 percent of the allowable training expense. There is an upper limit based on the taxpayer's tax liability as in the investment credit tax provisions enacted in 1962. I ask unanimous consent that the bill, a background and summary of the bill, and a technical explanation of the bill be printed at the end of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and material referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, 4 years ago I stood before this body to introduce a forerunner of the bill I am introducing today.

At that time I offered an approach, not a panacea, an added formula, not an exclusive alternative. Since then I have solicited suggestions, welcomed revisions, and twice submitted updated versions of the Human Investment Act. Today I return again with the anticipation that further revisions may well be in order.

On February 17, 1965, I expressed concern about our Nation's manpower dilemma, unemployment, and underemployment paradoxically coexisting with widespread job vacancies.

Sadly, I return today with the same concern. Structural unemployment continues unabated and its attendant social and economic ills continue to take their toll.

I return without the presumption that if the tax incentive concept had been adopted 4 years ago our manpower crisis would now be totally resolved. I wish our dilemma were that easily resolvable. Rather our complex manpower needs require massive efforts in both the public and private sectors. In many areas private industry has responded ably; however, I still contend that greater incentives are needed to spur greater private action.

I offer the concept of "up-grade" training basic to this proposal as the best means of overcoming the disparity between skill shortages and job vacancies. I again suggest the tax-credit method would provide the most effective stimulus to action.

I have been grateful for the support given this act by the members of my party. I offer this bill anticipating additional revisions to the bill as now offered. I also expect that hearings on this act will further yield constructive suggestions and refinements. The need for action is apparent. The time for action is now. The groundwork is carefully laid.

The bill (S. 998) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit

against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs, introduced by Mr. PROUTY, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 998

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Human Investment Act of 1968."

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to provide an incentive to American business to invest in the improvement of the Nation's human resources by hiring, training, and employing presently unemployed workers lacking needed job skills, and by upgrading the job skills of and providing new job opportunities for workers presently employed.

SEC. 3. Subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to credits allowable) is amended by renumbering section 40 as section 41, and by inserting after section 39 the following new section:

"SEC. 40. EXPENSES OF EMPLOYEE TRAINING PROGRAMS.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—There shall be allowed, as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter, the amount determined under subpart C of this part.

"(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section and subpart C."

SEC. 4. Part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to credits against tax) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subpart:

"SUBPART C—RULES FOR COMPUTING CREDIT FOR EXPENSES OF EMPLOYEE TRAINING PROGRAMS

"Sec. 51. Amount of credit.

"Sec. 52. Definitions; special rules.

"SEC. 51. AMOUNT OF CREDIT.

"(a) DETERMINATION OF AMOUNT.—

"(1) GENERAL RULE.—The amount of the credit allowed by section 40 for the taxable year shall be equal to 10 percent of the employee training expenses (as defined in section 52(a)).

"(2) LIMITATION BASED ON AMOUNT OF TAX.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), the credit allowed by section 40 for the taxable year shall not exceed—

"(A) so much of the liability for the taxable year as does not exceed \$25,000, plus

"(B) 50 percent of so much of the liability for tax for the taxable year as exceeds \$25,000.

"(3) LIABILITY FOR TAX.—For purposes of paragraph (2), the liability for tax for the taxable year shall be the tax imposed by this chapter for such year, reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under—

"(A) section 33 (relating to foreign tax credit),

"(B) section 35 (relating to partially tax exempt interest),

"(C) section 37 (relating to retirement income), and

"(D) section 38 (relating to investment in certain depreciable property).

For purposes of this paragraph any tax imposed for the taxable year by section 531 (relating to accumulated earnings tax) or by section 541 (relating to personal holding company tax) shall not be considered tax imposed by this chapter for such year.

"(4) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of a husband or wife who files a separate return, the amount specified under subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (2) shall be \$12,500 in lieu of \$25,000. This paragraph shall not apply if the spouse of the taxpayer has no employee training expenses for, and no unused credit carryback or carryover to,

the taxable year of such spouse which ends within or with the taxpayer's taxable year.

"(5) AFFILIATED GROUPS.—In the case of an affiliated group, the \$25,000 amount specified under subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (2) shall be reduced for each member of the group by apportioning \$25,000 among the members of such group in such manner as the Secretary or his delegate shall by regulations prescribe. For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term 'affiliated group' has the meaning assigned to such term by section 1504(a), except that all corporations shall be treated as includible corporations (without any exclusion under section 1504(b)).

"(b) CARRYBACK AND CARRYOVER OF UNUSED CREDIT.—

"(1) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT.—If the amount of the credit determined under subsection (a) (1) for any taxable year exceeds the limitation provided by subsection (a) (2) for such taxable year hereinafter in this subsection referred to as 'unused credit year', such excess shall be—

"(A) an employee training credit carryback to each of the 3 taxable years preceding the unused credit year, and

"(B) an employee training credit carryover to each of the 7 taxable years following the unused credit year,

and shall be added to the amount allowable as a credit by section 40 for such years, except that such excess may be a carryback only to a taxable year beginning after December 31, 1968. The entire amount of the unused credit for an unused credit year shall be carried to the earliest of the 10 taxable years to which (by reason of subparagraphs (A) and (B)) such credit may be carried, and then to each of the other 9 taxable years to the extent that, because of the limitation contained in paragraph (2), such unused credit may not be added for a prior taxable year to which such unused credit may be carried.

"(2) LIMITATION.—The amount of the unused credit which may be added under paragraph (1) for any preceding or succeeding taxable year shall not exceed the amount by which the limitation provided by subsection (a) (2) for such taxable year exceeds the sum of—

"(A) the credit allowable under subsection (a) (1) for such taxable year, and

"(B) the amounts which, by reason of this subsection, are added to the amount allowable for such taxable year and attributable to taxable years preceding the unused credit year.

"(3) EFFECT OF NET OPERATING CARRYBACK.—To the extent that the excess described in paragraph (1) arises by reason of a net operating loss carryback, subparagraph (A) of paragraph (1) shall not apply.

"SEC. 52. DEFINITIONS; SPECIAL RULES.

"(a) EMPLOYEE TRAINING EXPENSES.—For purposes of this subpart, the term 'employee training expenses' means—

"(1) the wages and salaries of employees who are apprentices in an apprenticeship program registered with a State apprenticeship agency or the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training;

"(2) the wages and salaries of employees who are enrolled in an on-the-job training program pursuant to section 204 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962;

"(3) the wages and salaries of employees who are participating in a cooperative education program involving alternate and approximately equal periods of study and employment in cooperation with—

"(A) a school or college, or department or division of a school or college, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an area vocational education school as defined in section 8(2) of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210), or

"(B) a business or trade school, or tech-

nical institution or other technical or vocational school, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an eligible institution as defined in section 17 (a) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-287);

"(4) tuition and course fees paid or incurred by the taxpayer to—

"(A) a school or college, or department or division of a school or college, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an area vocational education school as defined in section 8(2) of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210), or

"(B) a business or trade school, or technical institution or other technical or vocational school, which is certified by the United States Commissioner of Education to be an eligible institution as defined in section 17(a) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-287)

for instruction of an individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the taxpayer or his continued employment with the taxpayer in a position requiring additional job skills, and amounts paid or incurred by the taxpayer to any such individual in reimbursement for such tuition and fees paid by such individual;

"(5) home study course fees paid or incurred by the taxpayer to any home study school accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association listed by the United States Commissioner of Education for instruction of an individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the taxpayer or his continued employment with the taxpayer in a position requiring additional job skills, and amounts paid or incurred by the taxpayer to any such individual in reimbursement for such individual;

"(6) expenses of the taxpayer for organized job training (including classroom instruction) provided by the taxpayer, including (but not limited to) expenses for the purchase or lease of books, testing and training materials, classroom equipment and related items, and instructors' fees and salaries, incurred in training any individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the taxpayer or his continued employment with the taxpayer in a position requiring additional job skills;

"(7) expenses of the taxpayer for organized job training described in paragraph (6) provided by another taxpayer, but only to the extent the expenses of providing such instruction would, if it were provided by the taxpayer, constitute employee training expenses of the taxpayer under paragraph (6) of this subsection; and

"(8) expenses of the taxpayer for organized job training described in paragraph (6) provided by a business or trade association joint labor-management apprenticeship committee, or other similar nonprofit association, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution for an employee or prospective employee of any taxpayer member of such association, committee, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by such taxpayer member or his continued employment with such taxpayer member in a position requiring additional job skills.

"(b) ORGANIZED JOB TRAINING DEFINED.—For purposes of this section, the term 'organized job training' means job training according to a plan formulated or approved by the taxpayer which contains—

"(1) the title and description of the job objectives for which individuals are to be trained;

"(2) the length of the training period;

"(3) a schedule listing various operations for major kinds of work or tasks to be learned and showing for each, job operations or work, tasks to be performed, and the approximate length of time to be spent on each operation or task;

"(4) the wage or salary to be paid at the beginning of the course of training, at each successive step in the course, and at the completion of training;

"(5) the entrance wage or salary paid to employees already trained in the kind of work for which the individuals are to be trained; and

"(6) the number of hours of supplemental related instruction required.

"(c) LIMITATIONS.—

"(1) TRADE OR BUSINESS EXPENSES.—No item shall be taken into account under subsection (a) unless such item is allowable as a deduction under section 162 (relating to trade or business expenses). For purposes of applying the preceding sentence, expenses which are paid or incurred by the taxpayer with respect to an individual who is not his employee shall be treated as paid or incurred with respect to an individual who is his employee.

"(2) CERTAIN KINDS OF TRAINING EXCLUDED.—

"(A) in general, no item shall be taken into account under subsection (a) with respect to any expense paid or incurred in training any individual in—

"(i) management, supervisory, professional, or human relation skills;

"(ii) scientific or engineering courses creditable to a baccalaureate degree by an institution of higher education (as defined by the first sentence of section 103(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958);

"(iii) courses of a type determined by the Veterans' Administrator to be avocational or recreational in character under the authority of section 1673 of chapter 34 of part III of title 38, United States Code; or

"(iv) subjects not contributing specifically and directly to such individual's employment or prospective employment with the taxpayer (or a taxpayer member of an association, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution as used in paragraph (8) of subsection (a)).

"(B) EXCEPTIONS.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to—

"(i) expenses described in subsections (a) (4) and (5) paid or incurred for courses and at institutions certified by a State apprenticeship agency (or where none exists, by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training) as eligible for inclusion in a registered apprenticeship program in an apprenticeship occupation listed by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training;

"(ii) expenses described in subsections (a) (4) and (5) paid or incurred for courses offered in a 2-year program in engineering, mathematics, or the physical or biological sciences which is designed to prepare the student to work as a technician and at a semi-professional level in engineering, scientific, or other technological fields which require the understanding and application of basic engineering, scientific, or mathematical principles or knowledge by an institution which is accredited or otherwise certified by the United States Commissioner of Education under paragraph 401(f)(5) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-204); or

"(iii) expenses described in subsection (a) for training which has been approved by the agency of a State that administers its State unemployment compensation law for individuals receiving unemployment compensation.

"(3) REIMBURSED EXPENSES.—No item shall be taken into account under subsection (a) to the extent that the taxpayer is reimbursed for such item by any other taxpayer, by any association, group, trust fund, foundation, or institution, or by any State, local, or Federal Government program, grant, contract, or agreement.

"(4) GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATION.—No item shall be taken into account under subsection (a) with respect to any expense paid or incurred by the taxpayer for training conducted on the territory of any foreign country.

"(5) OVERLAPPING EXPENSES.—A taxpayer may take into account expenses paid or in-

curved with respect to any one individual under either paragraph (3) or paragraph (4) of subsection (a), but shall not take into account expenses concurrently paid or incurred with respect to such individual under both such paragraphs.

"(d) SUBCHAPTER S CORPORATIONS.—In case of an electing small business corporation (as defined in section 1371)—

"(1) the employee training expenses for each taxable year shall be apportioned pro rata among the persons who are shareholders of such corporation on the last day of such taxable year, and

"(2) any person to whom any employee training expense has been apportioned under paragraph (1) shall be treated (for purposes of this subpart) as the taxpayer with respect to such expense.

"(e) ESTATES AND TRUSTS.—In the case of an estate or trust—

"(1) the employee training expenses for any taxable year shall be apportioned between the estate or trust and the beneficiaries on the basis of the income of the estate or trust allocable to each,

"(2) any beneficiary to whom any employee training expense has been apportioned under paragraph (1) shall be treated (for purposes of this subpart) as the taxpayer with respect to such expense, and

"(3) the \$25,000 amount specified under subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 51(a) (2) applicable to such estate or trust shall be reduced to an amount which bears the same ratio to \$25,000 as the amount of the employee training expenses allocated to the trust under paragraph (1) bears to the entire amount of the employee training expenses.

"(f) LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN PERSONS.—In the case of—

"(1) an organization to which section 593 applies,

"(2) a regulated investment company or a real estate investment trust subject to taxation under subchapter M (section 851 and following), and

"(3) a cooperative organization described in section 1381(a),

rules similar to the rules provided in section 46(d) shall apply under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate.

"(g) CROSS REFERENCE.—For application of this subpart to certain acquiring corporations, see section 381(c)(24)."

SEC. 5. Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to items specifically excluded from gross income) is amended by renumbering section 123 as 124 and by inserting after section 122 the following new section:

"SEC. 123. TUITION AND FEES UNDER EMPLOYEE TRAINING PROGRAMS.

"In the case of an individual, gross income does not include—

"(1) tuition and course fees paid on behalf of such individual, or amounts received as reimbursement for such tuition and fees paid by such individual, to the extent such tuition and fees or such reimbursement constitutes employee training expenses under section 52(a)(4) of the person making the payment or reimbursement, and

"(2) home study course fees paid on behalf of such individual, or amounts received as reimbursement for such fees paid by such individual, to the extent such fees or reimbursement constitutes employee training expenses under section 52(a)(5) of the person making the payment or reimbursement."

SEC. 6. (a) The table of subparts for part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Subpart C. Rules for computing credit for expenses of employee training programs."

(b) The table of sections of subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking out

"Sec. 40. Overpayments of tax."
and inserting in lieu thereof

"Sec. 40. Expenses of employee training programs.

"Sec. 41. Overpayments of tax."

(c) The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking out

"Sec. 123. Cross references to other Acts."
and inserting in lieu thereof

"Sec. 123. Tuition and fees under employee training programs.

"Sec. 124. Cross references to other Acts."

(d) Section 381(c) of such Code (relating to items taken into account in certain corporate acquisition) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(24) CREDIT UNDER SECTION 40 FOR EMPLOYEE TRAINING EXPENSES.—The acquiring corporation shall take into account (to the extent proper to carry out the purposes of this section and section 40, and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate) the items required to be taken into account for purposes of section 40 in respect of the distributor or transferor corporation."

SEC. 7. The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1968.

The material presented by Mr. PROUTY is as follows:

HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT—BACKGROUND AND SUMMARY

Purpose: "To provide an incentive to American business to invest in the improvement of the Nation's human resources by hiring, training and employing presently unemployed workers lacking needed job skills and by upgrading the job skills of and providing new job opportunities for workers presently employed."

Method: "The Act offers employers a tax credit toward certain expenses of programs designed to train prospective employees for jobs with the company or retrain current employees for more demanding jobs with the company."

Amount of tax credit: 10% of the allowable training expenses, with a maximum of \$25,000 plus 50% of the taxpayer's tax liability in excess of \$25,000. This credit would be in addition to credits provided for by other sections of the tax code, and in addition to the regular deduction as a trade or business expense under Section 162 of the code.

Allowable employee training expenses: 1. the wages and salaries of employees who are apprentices in an apprenticeship program registered with a State apprenticeship agency or the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

2. the wages and salaries of employees who are enrolled in an on-the-job training program pursuant to section 204 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

3. the wages and salaries of employees who are participating in a cooperative education program involving alternate periods of academic study and employment in cooperation with a secondary school college, university, business school, trade school or vocational school.

4. tuition and course fees paid by the taxpayer for the instruction of any individual by a college, university, business school, trade school, or vocational school in job skills necessary for his employment by the taxpayer or for his continued employment with the taxpayer.

5. home study course fees paid by the taxpayer for the instruction of any individual by a college, university, or accredited home study school in job skills necessary for his employment by the taxpayer or for his continued employment with the taxpayer.

6. expenses to the taxpayer of organized job training (including classroom instruction), including expenses for the purchase or lease of books, testing and training ma-

terials, classroom equipment, and instructors' fees and salaries, incurred in training any individual in job skills necessary for his employment by the taxpayer or for his continued employment with the taxpayer.

7. expenses to the taxpayer of organized job training provided by another taxpayer.

8. expenses to the taxpayer of organized job training provided by a business or trade association, joint labor-management apprenticeship committee or other similar non-profit association.

Other provisions: 1. Allowable employee training expenses must be tax deductible under section 162 of the Code, relating to trade or business expenses.

2. The tax credit could be carried back three years and carried forward seven years.

3. No credit would be allowed for the training of managerial professional, or advanced scientific employees. The intent of the Act is to encourage business to upgrade the skills of those at the bottom end of the skill and income ladder, not middle management or professional employees.

4. No credit would be allowed for a vocational or recreational courses.

5. Employers could not claim a credit when the training expenses are reimbursable by the government under a training contract, etc.

Comment: The Human Investment Act is patterned closely after the investment credit provisions of the Revenue Act of 1962, which permitted a 7% tax credit toward investment in certain depreciable plant equipment and real property.

This bill is an attempt to meet the increasingly serious problems of structural unemployment caused by a labor force ill-fitted for existing and developing job opportunities. Unlike programs aimed only at the hard-core unemployed, the Human Investment Act is designed to help both the hard-core unemployed and workers presently employed who seek to increase their skills to qualify for better jobs. The intent of the Act is to advance all workers up the skill ladder, thus opening vacancies at the bottom for the presently unskilled and unemployed.

The major premise of the Human Investment Act is that private business and labor have over the years, learned how to obtain the most results per training dollar, and should now be encouraged to expand their training programs to meet the growing national need. Rather than to expand government-operated programs with all their bureaucracy, inefficiency, and expense, the philosophy of this Act is to revise the tax structure to stimulate increased investment in "human capital" by the private sector of the economy.

Legislative history: The original version of the Human Investment Act was introduced on February 17, 1965, by Senator Winston Prouty (R.-Vt.). Following six months of study and consultation with businessmen, labor leaders, economists, and tax lawyers, a revised Human Investment Act was introduced on September 9, 1965, by Senator Prouty in the Senate and by a group of House Republicans led by Representative Thomas Curtis (R.-Mo.).

The 1967 version of the act was introduced on February 2, 1967, by Senator Prouty and 28 other Senators and by Rep. Curtis and 128 other Representatives. The principles of the Human Investment Act were included in the Republican Platform of 1968.

THE HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT—TECHNICAL EXPLANATION

This measure is patterned after section 38 of the Revenue Code, relating to the investment tax credit and enacted by the Revenue Act of 1962. It is analogous to that provision in almost every respect.

The Revenue Act of 1962 provided a credit against taxes for investment in certain depreciable property. The credit amounted to 7 percent of the qualified investment. There

were, however, top limits of the credit measured by so much of the tax liability as does not exceed \$25,000, plus 25 percent (changed to 50% in 1966) of the tax liability to excess of \$25,000. Tax liability in this frame of reference meant the tax imposed without to personal holding company or accumulated earnings increments less credits against tax already provided for by law (foreign tax credits, dividend credit, tax exempt interest and retirement income credit).

In the case of a husband and wife filing a separate return the top limit is measured in terms of \$12,500 of tax liability instead of \$25,000 except where the spouse of the taxpayer has no qualified investment for or no unused carryback or carryover credit credits for such earlier investment to that tax year. The effect of this limitation is to put the same limit on sole proprietorships and partnerships as would be imposed on corporations.

Affiliated groups must reduce the top limit available to them individually by apportioning the top limit among the members of the group. Once a gain, this provision provides that related corporations or business groups shall get no more than the credit allowed single business entities.

A carryback and carryover are provided for any year in which the credit exceeds the limitations imposed. The excess is carried back to each of the 3 taxable years preceding the unused credit year and carried over to the 7 taxable years following the unused credit year. However, the top limit applies to the amounts allowable for credit for those carryback and carryover years. For example, if the tax credit for 1969 exceeded the limitation for 1969 by \$10,000 then that \$10,000 could be carried back to 1966. The remaining \$5,000 of unused credit could be applied to the 1967 tax year if there was any leverage between the credit for that year and the top limitation.

Where a net operating loss carryback causes an excess of credit over the top limitation the carryback provisions on the excess for that year are not available. In other words where a net operating loss carryback to 1970 from 1967 wiped out or reduced taxable income for that year and a credit for investment in qualified property had been allowed for that year, 1967, the loss of the credit for that year because of its excess over the top limit (which was reduced by the application of the net operating loss carryback) cannot be recouped by a carryback to the 3 tax years preceding 1965, but can only be applied as a carryover to the succeeding 7 tax years. This restriction eliminates the possibility that tax returns would be subject to amendment for a full 6 prior years (3 carryback years for net operating loss plus 3 carryback years for unused investment credit.)

To this point the Human Investment Act and the investment tax credit provisions of section 38 are virtually identical. But where the 7 percent credit toward investment in certain depreciable property is allowed by section 38, the Human Investment Act allows a credit of 10% toward certain specified training expenses for employees and potential employees. Otherwise, the top limitation is computed in the same way. The same treatment is accorded married persons and affiliated groups. The same carryback and carryover provisions are made, and the impact of net operating loss carrybacks which reduce or eliminate the credit allowable is the same. Unlike the provisions for phasing in the credit for investment in property over the first year of the plan, however, a full credit is allowed for training expenses incurred in 1969.

"Employee training expenses" are elsewhere defined to include training expenses paid or incurred by a taxpayer with respect to individuals not his employees, as well as his employees.

There are eight categories of employee training expenses made allowable for tax credit purposes:

1. the wages and salaries of employees participating in a registered apprenticeship program;
 2. the wages and salaries of employees enrolled in an on-the-job training program (OJT) under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).
 3. the wages and salaries of employees who are participating in a cooperative education program involving alternate and approximately equal periods of study and employment in cooperation with an area vocational education school, business or trade school, or technical institution, as defined in existing legislation.
 4. tuition and course fees paid or incurred by the taxpayer to an area vocational school, business or trade school, or technical institution "for instruction of an individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the taxpayer or his continued employment with the taxpayer in a position requiring additional job skills," and amounts paid by the taxpayer to an individual as reimbursement for such instruction.
 5. home study course fees paid or incurred by the taxpayer to an accredited home study school for instruction of an individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the taxpayer or his continued employment with the taxpayer in a position requiring additional job skills, and amounts paid by the taxpayer to an individual as reimbursement for such instruction.
 6. expenses to the taxpayer for "organized job training", including books, testing and training materials, classroom equipment and instructors fees, incurred in training any individual in job skills necessary for and directly related to his employment by the taxpayer or his continued employment with the taxpayer in a position requiring additional job skills, and amounts paid by the taxpayer to an individual as reimbursement for such instruction.
 7. expenses of the taxpayer for organized job training provided by another taxpayer.
 8. expenses to the taxpayer for organized job training provided by a business or trade association, apprenticeship committee, or other similar nonprofit association, group trust fund, foundation or institution.
- Organized job training is defined in the Act to mean training according to a plan formulated or approved by the taxpayer which contains:
1. the title and description of the job objectives for which individuals are to be trained;
 2. the length of the training period;
 3. a schedule listing various operations for major kinds of work or tasks to be learned and showing for each, job operations or work, tasks to be performed, and the approximate length of time to be spent on each operation or task;
 4. the wage or salary to be paid at the beginning of the course of training, at each successive step in the course and at the completion of training;
 5. the entrance wage or salary paid to employees already trained in the kind of work for which the individuals are to be trained; and
 6. the number of hours of supplemental related instruction required.

Credit is not allowable toward the expenses of—

1. training which is not tax deductible under section 162 as a trade or business expense;
2. training in management, supervisory, professional, or human relations skills;
3. scientific or engineering courses creditable toward a baccalaureate degree;
4. avocational or recreational courses;
5. courses in subjects not contributing

specifically and directly to the trainee's employment or prospective employment with the taxpayer;

6. training which is reimbursable to the taxpayer under a government or private contract;

7. training conducted in a foreign country. In addition, a taxpayer may not claim credit toward both the salary and the course fees of a worker on a cooperative education plan.

It is specified that the restrictions 2, 3, 4, and 5 above do not in any case apply to

(a) courses eligible for inclusion in a registered apprenticeship program,

(b) two year scientific technician programs as defined in existing legislation,

(c) training approved by State employment services for individuals receiving unemployment compensation.

Provisions for apportioning the tax credit among the share-holders of Subchapter S corporations, estates, and trusts are identical to those in the investment tax credit provisions.

Similar in spirit to the 1964 amendment of the investment credit provisions which eliminated a section requiring a reduction in the value of the property when computing depreciation to the extent of the credit taken, the Human Investment Act in no way reduces or limits the deductibility of expenses of training incurred merely because a credit is also available based on those expenses. Such qualified expenses remain 100 percent deductible, while at the same time a credit against tax is fully allowed.

The Act provides that expenses paid to or on behalf of a trainee by a taxpayer shall not be includible in the trainee's gross income.

S. 1011—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO AUTHORIZE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SALINE WATER CONVERSION PROGRAM

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I introduce, by request, a bill to authorize appropriations for the saline water conversion program for fiscal year 1970, and for other purposes.

This legislation was submitted to Congress on January 15. It will authorize appropriations to continue the work of the Office of Saline Water and will amend the Saline Water Conversion Act in other respects. Because of the uncertainties of the future direction of a research and development program such as the saline water conversion program, it has been the policy of the Congress to require the Department of the Interior to submit legislation each year to authorize appropriations. The bill which I am presently introducing would provide for the continuation of the program for fiscal year 1970. The legislation is in accord with the fiscal year 1970 budget now before the Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD the letter from the Department of the Interior which accompanied the legislation.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1011) to authorize appropriations for the saline water conversion program for fiscal year 1970, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JACKSON (by request), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The letter presented by Mr. JACKSON is as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., January 15, 1969.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed is a draft of a proposed bill "To authorize appropriations for the Saline Water Conversion Program for Fiscal Year 1970, and for other purposes."

We recommend the bill be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration, and we recommend that it be enacted.

The saline water conversion program has made steady progress in development of economic methods for producing fresh water from saline and brackish waters. It has contributed measurably to this country's development of desalting technology and has encouraged the growth of a significant and valuable desalting industry to meet future water requirements of the Nation. It also has assisted a number of foreign nations in the development of this technology.

The Act of July 3, 1952, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1951 *et seq.*), authorizes "to be appropriated such sums, to remain available until expended, as may be specified in annual appropriation authorization acts." In order to meet Fiscal Year 1970 program requirements, we propose an appropriation of \$27 million to enable the Department to conduct a research and development program to meet the program goals in the four major activities as follows:

1. Research and development operating expenses, \$18,095,000;
2. Design, construction, acquisition, modification, operation, and maintenance of saline water conversion test beds and test facilities, \$5,355,000;
3. Design, construction, acquisition, modification, operation, and maintenance of saline water conversion modules, \$1,450,000; and
4. Administration and coordination, \$2,100,000.

In addition to the appropriation authorization for Fiscal Year 1970, the proposal would amend the Act in the following ways:

1. It is proposed to amend section 8 of the Saline Water Conversion Act (42 U.S.C. 1958) to allow limited participation in international research and development in desalination.

Section 8, as amended by Public Law 90-297, prohibits after July 1, 1968, the making of any new commitments for cooperation with public or private agencies in foreign countries which require the expenditure of funds under the Act. This provision was added to section 8 in the 90th Congress. In amending this section, the House Committee said:

"The authority given the Secretary in section 3 of the basic act is left unchanged. Section 3 includes authority to (1) conduct on-site inspections of promising projects, domestic and foreign; (2) foster and participate in international conferences relating to saline water conversion; and (3) cooperate fully with the Department of State. The committee considers that section 3 provides the authority necessary to inspect foreign projects and exchange technical information with foreign countries in order that the United States may be kept fully abreast of all progress in this field. Also, there is no intention of prohibiting foreign firms or individual scientists from participating in the research program authorized by section 3 of the basic act." (H.R. Rept. No. 1247, 90th Cong., 2d sess. 3 (1968))

The language of section 8, however, appears to bar even the activities under section 3 described in the Committee report, to the extent that they require the expenditure of funds appropriated pursuant to the Act. We believe the existing language in section

8 is not reconcilable with the legislative history in this regard. Consequently, it would be appropriate to further amend section 8 to ensure that the intention of Congress, as expressed in the House report, is carried out.

Much valuable information has been gained through research and development contracts entered into with foreign research institutes, universities, and individuals prior to July 1, 1968. This valuable source of knowledge and technology should be continued.

The enclosed proposal would specifically prohibit our contribution of funds for, participation as an agent for, or supervision of, the construction or operation of a foreign desalination production plant or its components, but would not prohibit the use of funds for other foreign activities authorized by section 3 of the Act and enumerated in the above report. It would clarify our authority to engage in some foreign activities on a limited scale, while preserving the ban which we understand the Congress intended on the activities specified. Any exception to this policy would require special authorizing legislation.

2. In view of the current requirement that appropriations "be specified in annual appropriation authorization acts," and the opportunity for review that requirement affords, we propose to delete the references in section 8 to the duration of the authorization for specified terms of years. In 1961, the intent was to authorize the conduct of the desalination program for a specified term of years. At the end of that term Congress was to review the progress of the program in relation to the capability of industry in the field. Last year, Congress placed the program on an annual authorization basis. This change affords an annual review by the Congress and makes the termination dates in section 8 of the Act unnecessary. Accordingly, we recommend this language be deleted from the first sentence of section 8 of the Act.

3. Current legislation limits reprogramming authority between the four program activities to 10 percent. We propose to increase the reprogramming percentage to 15.

In a dynamic and rapidly-evolving activity designed to develop new methods and spur technological change, the present limitation on reprogramming tends to hamper efficiency and effectiveness of operations. After the authorized 10 percent programming has been accomplished to meet program demands, additional unforeseeable changes may call for still further reprogramming. This situation would require that program operations be curtailed or that additional legislation be sought to authorize further reprogramming. This has been experienced particularly in the operation, maintenance and modification of test beds and test facilities—areas in which the results of research are put to the test of practicability. For example, added unforeseen costs of utility services to sustain and exploit successful operations at several test locations in fiscal year 1968 pushed the existing reprogramming authority to the limit prior to the end of that fiscal year. While we did not have to curtail operations, there was a real possibility that we would have to do so. Such an occurrence would have had an adverse effect on the program. Without additional flexibility in reprogramming funds, additional work or expansion of facilities required to test new discoveries may prove impossible to carry out. Furthermore, the final results of significant and costly efforts may be lost because of failure to provide the necessary additional increment.

The Bureau of the Budget, by letter of January 13, 1969, has advised that this proposed legislation is in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely yours,

MAX N. EDWARDS,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

S. 1022—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO ADMINISTRATOR OF SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I am introducing today a bill with a simple objective: To require that future appointments to the office of Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare be made by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

This position was not created by the Congress; it was established by a reorganization within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Naturally, the Secretary of that Department cannot make a new position he creates subject to the Senate's advice and consent.

Mr. President, the Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service is the chief officer responsible for programs which spent \$6 billion in 1968 and which are anticipated to spend \$8.6 billion in 1970—a 44-percent increase in only 2 years. The bulk of the funds are spent on the public assistance programs. In fiscal year 1970 an estimated \$4½ billion will be spent for the cash assistance programs and \$3 billion will be spent for Medicaid. If past experience is any guide, we may regard these expenditure estimates as minimal.

Another half billion dollars will be spent on grants for rehabilitation services and facilities with one-quarter billion dollars will be spent on maternal and child welfare programs under the Social Security Act. The remaining funds spent by the Social and Rehabilitation Service are for programs in the areas of aging, juvenile delinquency and mental retardation.

These dollar amounts tell only part of the story. For the Administrator is the agency's top official in formulating policy for such important programs as Medicaid and the new work incentive program aimed at helping assistance recipients to become economically independent. And it is this official whose signature appears below a whole spate of new regulations issued in January affecting both of these programs. Some of these regulations run counter to congressional intent. We in the Finance Committee intend to give these regulations a good hard look. But perhaps it is not surprising that an official never confirmed by the Senate should be so unresponsive to our legislative actions. The bill I am introducing today will provide formal assurance that the person responsible for implementing the law will understand that law and will administer it as the Congress intended.

Mr. President, this bill will rectify a serious anomaly which now exists in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The three agency heads of equivalent status in that Department—the Commissioner of Social Security, the Commissioner of Education, and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service—all require senatorial confirmation; the expenditures of two of these three officials' agencies are lower than those of the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

What is even more surprising is the fact that two positions under the Administrator now require the Senate's confirmation—the Chief of the Children's Bureau and the Commissioner of Aging. It is indeed strange that a subordinate position requires senatorial confirmation while the head of the agency is merely appointed by the Secretary. My bill would put an end to that.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1022) to provide that future appointments to the office of Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall be made by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, introduced by Mr. LONG, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1023—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO ESTABLISH IN MICHIGAN THE SLEEPING BEAR DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I rise to introduce once again a bill to establish in Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

The bill I introduce today would establish a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore of some 61,000 acres as a unit of our national park system. The purpose of the measure, in the language of the bill, is "to stabilize and preserve for the benefit, inspiration, education, recreational use, and enjoyment of the public a significant portion of the diminishing shoreline of the United States and its related geographical and scientific features." At the same time, "in developing the Lakeshore full recognition shall be given to protecting the private properties for the enjoyment of the owners."

A WELL-STUDIED PROPOSAL

This is a proposal with which my fellow Senators are well familiar. I first introduced such a bill in 1961. The Senate Interior Committee has worked extensively on the bill, and the Senate itself has passed such legislation twice—in 1963 and again in 1966. Similar legislation has been carefully studied and constructively amended by the House committee, which favorably reported the bill in 1966. Unfortunately, it did not reach the floor of the House for a final vote that year.

In introducing an identical bill in the 90th Congress, I expressed my hope that "the introduction of this 'finished product' will help speed it through the congressional committees. For this bill presents the fullest consideration of the Senate Interior Committee, the Senate, and the House Interior Committee."

Last year we made good progress in reaching common understanding on this bill. However, the Congress was reluctant to take action until more adequate funding for our national parks program could be assured. Late last year the President signed into law the bill expanding the land and water conservation fund, clearing the way for action. In July the

House Interior Subcommittee held a hearing on the bill, but again further action was forestalled by the press for adjournment of the Congress.

Now, however, I believe we can proceed to complete congressional action and establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. The diligent work of the Senate and House committee has perfected a bill on which I believe all can agree. And, more than ever before, the need for action is urgent if the public values of the Sleeping Bear Dunes area are to be perpetuated.

URGENCY MORE ACUTE THAN EVER

Recently I received the following letter from a constituent who is a resident and property owner within the boundaries of the proposed national lakeshore:

DEAR SENATOR HART: I just thought I would let you know of some of the current activity in our immediate area, in the area included in the proposed Sleeping Bear Dunes National Park, and more specifically in the Platte River-Lake Michigan area.

Right now there are three relatively large sections being surveyed with plans to subdivide the Lake Michigan lots with access roads through the woods. If there is to be a Dunes National Park in this area, and I still hope there is, the urgency is more acute than ever. In just the past few years we have lost so much prime natural resources through private development in this immediate area, it seems there will be little left to preserve if there is any further delay. I presume this same condition exists in the neighboring area also.

So, if there is any way to rush the new bill through early next year, it just can't happen too soon.

Mr. President, I think we must carefully note this warning that little will be left to preserve if there is further delay. I have been working for this bill for 8 years, and I must frankly say that the urgency has never been so immediate as it now has become. If there is to be a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore the urgency is indeed more acute than ever. This warning, from a resident of the area, should alert us to the conservation opportunity we stand to lose if we delay further.

The Sleeping Bear Dunes area possesses public values of obvious national significance. Located along the northwest coast of Michigan's Lower Peninsula, the area displays a magnificent landscape shaped by ice age glaciers. High headlands rise from the lake, separated by wide, sweeping bays. There is much here for the nature lover and the vacationing outdoor enthusiast. Especially important are the scenic vistas and the unequalled opportunity to interpret for the public, through the excellent programs of the National Park Service, the fascinating story of the glacial history which shaped the geography of the entire Lake States region. At Sleeping Bear the evidences of this important story are visible and prominently displayed on the land.

Though the region takes its name from the great sand dunes which Indian legend likened to a sleeping bear, the proposed national lakeshore has much more than dunes alone. A series of beautiful inland lakes reflect the surrounding rich forests, and an unusual variety of plant and animal life has been cataloged. Sixty-four miles of Lake Michigan shore-

line will be included, affording tremendous outdoor recreation opportunities. The area also will include two large islands not far offshore, offering a wilder, more remote kind of recreation to the adventuresome.

SHORELINE AREAS SCARCE

The values this area holds for public use and enjoyment are tremendous. Areas of public shoreline are among our most important outdoor resources—and our most threatened. In 1962 the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission found that less than 7 percent of our sea and Great Lakes shoreline remains accessible for general public use. Michigan, the Great Lake State, has more than 3,200 miles of shoreline, but little remains available to the public.

In 1959 the National Park Service completed a survey of remaining shoreline recreation opportunities on the Great Lakes. Michigan's Sleeping Bear Dunes was found to be the paramount area, offering unique natural values which should be carefully conserved, as well as great public recreation potential. The Park Service made more detailed studies, developing a plan for the area and resources which would best protect its national significance and make it available for appropriate public use.

It was on the basis of these plans that I first introduced legislation to protect the Sleeping Bear Dunes area in 1961.

As my colleagues know, the bill has been considerably refined since 1961. We have had detailed field hearings in the local area and have worked particularly hard to meet the legitimate concerns raised by property owners and residents.

As a result of this long effort, I believe we have evolved a bill which everyone concerned can support. Unfortunately, not everyone has kept up with these changes, and I believe these few who have continued to oppose the proposal are still fighting the original, less satisfactory version.

The Sleeping Bear National Lakeshore is a vitally important conservation project for the entire Nation. It will serve, as few other areas can, the recreation and "green space" needs of our heavily populated and growing midwest urban centers. It will perpetuate the values of this area in the public interest. At the same time, and equally important, we must carefully protect the rights of residents and property owners. Such is the design of my proposal that these two important objectives do not conflict, and indeed, they are compatible and can actually serve each other.

PRIVATE RIGHTS FULLY PROTECTED

In revising the national lakeshore bill we have written into it the strongest protection for local residents and property owners ever given in such legislation. Owners of improved property are assured full protection from condemnation in perpetuity, and may transfer or sell their property at will. The only limitation is that the property is to be maintained in accordance either with locally written zoning regulations or with the standards set forth in the bill. Thus, the lakeshore will bring strong protections which will, in fact, enhance the area and local property protections.

This is just one of the numerous provisions of the bill which will protect residents and private property owners. We who are working to establish the national lakeshore are equally concerned, however, with assuring the right of the public, now and in future generations, to know and enjoy this superb natural area and its abundant recreational opportunities. It is my firm conviction that these private and public objectives are fully compatible. As the National Park Service testified last year:

The bill recognizes that many private uses can compatibly coexist with public recreation in a national lakeshore, and would permit owners of improved property to remain indefinitely on their lands as long as they continue to use them in compliance with local zoning regulations that meet standards set forth in the bill.

The objective of the present legislation is not to condemn all the private properties involved and then somehow recreate completely natural conditions. Rather, we seek to maintain a broad landscape made up of a variety of attractive elements—lightly developed as well as natural and wild. The significance of the area lies in the great diversity of elements which make up the total landscape. To the extent that an area is diverse, the opportunities for its appreciation are multiplied; and diversity is the crowning feature of the Sleeping Bear Dunes region.

The 61,000 acres proposed for this national lakeshore include the North and South Manitou Islands and 40,000 acres on the mainland. The boundaries have been carefully set, in the process of refining this bill, to include those key elements which contribute to the total landscape. Private developments existing within these do not conflict, and so need not be taken by the Government if they are not adversely developed. In this way, the bill has been written to achieve the objective of public conservation and recreation, without jeopardizing continuing private rights.

LAND-USE PLANNING ESSENTIAL NOW

Mr. President, I am certainly well aware of the economic situation we face today. Nevertheless, I want to make it perfectly clear that it is not necessary to delay this important conservation project for reasons of economy. In fact, to do so would be an unfortunate step of false economy, for further delay of this measure will seriously jeopardize the entire conservation goal we are seeking.

The fact is that authorization of this Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore will be a major step in the conservation of the area. Authorization of the project will activate the zoning provisions of the bill, and thus bring a solid measure of control to the ruinous escalation of land prices and the unplanned subdivision now so seriously threatening the area. It is the present unplanned, uncontrolled development which threatens the entire project—and the control provisions in section 9 of my bill can begin to deal with those forces from the day the bill is enacted.

Mr. President, the 90th Congress wrote a brilliant record in the field of conservation, symbolized by the creation of a magnificent Redwoods National Park.

The 91st Congress has the opportunity now to continue our momentum of conservation achievements by taking timely action to establish the much needed Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

PROPOSAL HAS WIDE SUPPORT

My bill has the support of many of the local residents of the area, including local property owners and businessmen. It has the support of a wide public in Michigan and, increasingly, throughout the country. Our former Governor, George Romney, has frequently expressed his strong endorsement of my bill. In fact, last year Governor Romney and the Governors of adjoining States comprising the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission sent me the following wire:

The Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission reaffirms its support for the establishment of the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. This has a long legislative history and the provisions of the present bill have reduced the possible adverse effects on private property owners and local units of government. It is imperative that Congress approve this legislation now. We need this legislation before further commercial and residential development destroys the very qualities which have given the Sleeping Bear Dunes national significance. Your bill has the Commission's unanimous support because of the urgency of prompt action.

GOV. GEORGE ROMNEY,
GOV. HAROLD LE VANDER,
GOV. WARREN P. KNOWLES,
THOMAS S. FRANCIS.

The National Park Service and the Department of Interior have consistently urged action on my bill. In testimony to the House Interior Committee last year, the National Park Service's Director, George P. Hartzog noted:

Sleeping Bear is one of the finest relatively natural scenic and scientific areas on the Great Lakes shoreline and ranks as one of the most important remaining shoreline opportunities in the entire country.

The proposal has been studied and approved not only by the Park Service, but also by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments has repeatedly recommended the project, which fully meets the criteria established by the Cabinet-level Recreation Advisory Council.

Similarly, the State of Michigan's department of natural resources has over the years consistently urged approval of my bill. Indeed, Director Ralph A. MacMullan has stated:

There is no other conceivable act of Congress which could do more to implement the orderly development of the outdoor resources of the State of Michigan.

The bill has been endorsed, too, by major State and national conservation organizations, including the Michigan United Conservation Clubs, the Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society.

THE ALTERNATIVES ARE CLEAR

I am optimistic that this year we can see this important conservation proposal approved. I believe the public is increasingly aware of the importance of this project—and of the loss we will all suffer if we delay further in establishing the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. Congressman JAMES G. O'HARA, who has

led the fight in the House of Representatives, told the House Interior Committee last year that in these past few years:

Sleeping Bear has been going, going, and if Congressional action is not forthcoming soon, it will be gone, forever denied to our people as a public recreation area.

I am optimistic, for I believe the alternatives are now quite clear. We can have a great public recreation area, protecting important natural and scientific values—and we can assure private rights at the same time. Or we can miss this opportunity, default our conservation responsibilities, and deny to future generations of Americans this great resource. One thing is abundantly clear: change is coming to the Sleeping Bear Dunes area. The question is will change be planned and orderly, or will it be destructively haphazard, characterized by honky-tonk encroachments? Will we have a net loss, or substantial progress? Let us choose progress, by establishing the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore for the benefit of all the people.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1023) to establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. HART, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1025—MAKING ARSON AGAINST A CHURCH OR SYNAGOGUE A FEDERAL CRIMINAL OFFENSE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to make it a Federal crime to make an attack amounting to arson on a church or a synagogue, and ask for its appropriate reference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1025) to amend section 837, title 18, United States Code, to prohibit certain acts involving the use of incendiary devices, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JAVITS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this bill would extend the present Federal protection of churches and synagogues against destruction by explosives. I note that in the last 3 months of 1968, there were 11 arson attacks on houses of worship in New York City alone. Protection against such attacks should be a part of our Bill of Rights.

Mr. President, the measure which I have introduced clears up what it seems to me has been an oversight in the construction of the law to buttress the guarantees contained in the Bill of Rights and elsewhere in the Constitution. I think as we constantly discover, by experience, new threats to the freedom of worship, arson being one such threat, just as much as the use of explosives is such a threat, we should make an effort to close such loopholes in the law. That is what I now seek to do. I shall do my utmost to obtain early attention to this measure, and if there are other Senators who desire to join with me in this effort, I shall be honored to have their names included as cosponsors.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I should like to have my name added to the Senator's bill.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator, and I am honored and gratified to have his support. I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from West Virginia be added to my bill as a cosponsor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 1026—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on February 8, the Northeast United States including several major airports was crippled by blizzard conditions. The Air Traffic Control System which must function regardless of conditions became limited by the capabilities and stamina of the air traffic controllers. Relief being unable to proceed to the facility, those left on duty operated the system for a period in excess of 40 hours. Many of the controllers logged 86 hours in less than 7 days and will log more than 126 hours in this 14-day period. One controller in his 25th continuous hour of operating radar directed a mission of mercy through the still battering storm to successfully transport a heart attack patient from a restaurant to a hospital. Due to inadequate staffing—among other things—in the air traffic system, this same controller will be asked to work scheduled overtime on the next national holiday, February 22. This controller ought not be working these long hours but will have to make himself available to insure that the air transportation system will continue to function. His services will be at no cost to the Government because his base pay plus overtime compensation for the 186-hour period exceeds the maximum set by CSC regulations.

Therefore, Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill designed to raise the qualifications and standards of all air traffic control personnel, thus providing this Nation with a safer and more efficient air transportation control system.

It is of utmost importance for this Congress to take active steps to insure the continuation of an air traffic controller force that will serve the needs of today's and tomorrow's air transportation system, and in such a fashion as to achieve the No. 1 objective of the Nation's air transportation system—air safety. It is incumbent upon this Congress to act because of the failure of past sessions of Congress to envision the dire consequences of an undermanned and only moderately qualified air traffic control force. It should be stated that Congress is not the only culprit in this case; responsible Federal agencies such as the Federal Aviation Administration misread aviation history and its growth potential as well. Congress must also act because the public will demand it. It will demand to know what steps have been taken since the summer of 1968, when the air traffic

controllers dramatically publicized the necessity for additional and more highly qualified air traffic controllers by their now infamous "operation air safety: by the book"—rigid enforcement of FAA rules and regulations which govern the flow of air traffic at all of our major airports.

Mr. President, because various Federal agencies have systematically stymied any fresh approach toward elevating the air traffic control profession, and because the FAA and the Civil Service Commission have furnished an inadequate controller force which daily compromises a responsible program of air safety, it now becomes the duty of this body, and our counterparts in the House of Representatives, to direct the Federal Aviation Administration and the Civil Service Commission to attain a highly professional and modern air traffic control force which is capable of handling the onslaught of the jet-age air traffic.

Crisis-to-crisis decisionmaking has led to de facto applications of a nebulous recruitment policy. Pragmatic long-range planning with vision has been nonexistent. I ask my Senate colleagues: Where will an air traffic control force come from to bear the responsibility of the air transportation system of tomorrow? What guarantees will be applied to insure a realistic retirement rate in a career that is physiologically demanding and psychologically challenging? These, I submit, are but a few questions that must be answered if this critical problem is to be approached seriously and definitive results are to be obtained.

In order to put the entire problem into a proper historical perspective, one must return to 1958 and the passage of the Federal Aviation Act. That act was primarily the result of a midair collision between two large passenger planes over the Grand Canyon. With this act, the Congress established the Federal Aviation Administration and charged it with the responsibility for insuring a contemporary air traffic control system. FAA drafted its air traffic controllers primarily from the military, and for the time being all was well. However, the intervening years have brought about only nominal changes of policy, and very little substantive changes in hiring practices. But the complexities of air traffic control have become much more difficult.

During the past 9 months, the Congress and the Federal Aviation Administration have instituted various stopgap after-the-fact measures, designed to alleviate the current air crisis. For example, air traffic controllers have been exempted from the reduction-in-force policies under President Johnson's austerity program. Congress appropriated funds for recruiting additional air traffic controllers. FAA reduced the air traffic controller certification requirement time, and even upgraded some air traffic controllers through reclassification. All these efforts, however, are arbitrary, fragmented, and under present conditions unrealistic, inasmuch as they do not cut to the core of the problem. These stopgap measures simply support the critique that both the Congress and the FAA have failed to face the cold realities of the problem.

Immediate concern seems to be quantitative rather than qualitative.

The FAA, which is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Transportation, must be charged by Congress to redirect its commitments for an air transportation system which utilizes not only the best technology, but also the best personnel. The current FAA policy that a person with military radar experience can be hired and "grow up" with the very complex air traffic control system that major airports employ today, is incorrect. The stark reality of the situation is that the present force of air traffic controllers can direct the present system only on a limited basis. The recruitment and employment practices resulting from past crises are the hiring of marginal personnel and do not look forward to supporting or supplanting the present contingent of air traffic controllers. These policies are overly expensive, inefficient and irresponsible because the air traffic controller of tomorrow must meet even greater criteria with regard to technology, aptitude, health, proficiency, and age, than presently required by the Civil Service Commission and the Federal Aviation Administration. Even those people with military experience in air traffic control will need several years of additional training to adjust to the complexities of civilian air traffic control.

What must be done to provide for a professional air traffic control force that will meet the huge demands of the giant 747 and SST aircraft of the 1970's and 1980's?

First, the qualifications for entrance into the field of air traffic control must be elevated. Implicit in elevating the qualifications is an education that will provide a solid and flexible base in order for the candidate to participate in a technologically oriented field. A bachelor's degree with a major in air traffic control should be a minimum requirement. Or, as a substitute, a balanced mixture of military experience and a 2-year college program that embodies an air traffic control major would serve to meet the educational requirements. A long-range program, geared toward an automated and computerized air traffic control system, will preclude any further controller shortage crisis and guarantee the highest quality in the exercise of the art.

Second, based on all the empirical data available, no person should begin a career in air traffic control after he has reached the age of 33, because of the physical deterioration factor and its impact on safety.

Strict physical and proficiency requirements must be adopted under a watchful and professional eye. Annual physical examinations by competent doctors must be administered. Proficiency checks must be conducted only by persons who are currently certified and actively engaged in air traffic control.

Third, in order to attract qualified and desirable candidates, the salary for air traffic controllers must be in a range that is commensurate with the responsibility. If a captain of one SST is going

to be remunerated in excess of \$50,000 per year, should not the salary for that person who is responsible for preventing midair collisions of two SST's be paid accordingly? While money alone does not buy safety, it does provide a lure for candidates who meet the higher and more stringent new qualifications. And it provides equitable compensation for the immense responsibility for life and property that the public has placed on their shoulders. The only appropriate comparison is between the professional pilot who is responsible for his star in the sky and the air traffic controller who is responsible for the galaxy.

A formula for retirement should be an integral part of any new air traffic controller concept. The business of air traffic control exacts a heavy toll of the physiology and psychology of the controllers. The air traffic controller is similar to the professional athlete who "burns out" at an early age, and this fact dictates the necessity for a realistic retirement rate.

Air traffic control must be considered as a profession and dealt with accordingly. Accordingly I offer, along with 17 cosponsors, a measure which I feel will go to the heart of the problem and not just to the fringes, where the present deplorable situation can only be worsened.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1026) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 in order to establish certain requirements with respect to air traffic controllers, introduced by Mr. HARTKE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 1032—INTRODUCTION OF URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ACT OF 1969

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a good, efficient transportation system is a key element in the growth and development of our Nation's urban areas. Public transportation can and should be a tool in the rescue and reconstruction of our decaying older cities. Planners have long recognized that a transportation network has a direct affect on land values, on where new suburbs are built, and on what parts of the inner city survive and which decay. Over the years, ways have been sought for the Federal Government to help States and cities build the modern mass transportation systems which will meet tomorrow's needs.

During the next 40 years the number of Americans living in and near cities will double. We must, therefore, prepare for an urban population growth of 100 million people; and face the task of moving our population from place to place—from home to work which can be a nightmarish and timewasting struggle. A recent report prepared by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Tomorrow's Transportation," states the problem clearly and concisely when it says:

The life of a city depends on its transportation system. Inefficient transportation services increase the costs of local industry

and commerce. They rob citizens of their time and comfort, they penalize especially the poor and the handicapped.

The need for major expenditures for urban mass transportation is abundantly clear. The Congress first recognized this when it passed the Mass Transportation Act of 1964. As the author of that legislation, I am proud of its results.

Older transportation systems have been rehabilitated and improved. More importantly, cities have been stimulated to build new systems and to prepare for the future. But one thing has become equally clear. The demand for additional money has completely outrun the available funds. The problem is compounded by the imbalance in Federal transportation spending—billions for highways, millions for airports, and tokens for transits. In fiscal 1967, the Federal Government spent the staggering sum of \$5.35 billion on urban and intercity transportation. Of this amount, 73 percent went for highway construction. Only 3 percent was spent for urban transit—a little more than \$160 million.

The Mass Transportation Act of 1964 made Federal assistance for urban transportation public policy. Unfortunately however, adequate moneys to fulfill this goal have not been appropriated. Several weeks ago, I introduced the Commuter Assistance Act, which would establish an interim program of operating subsidies for ailing transit systems. The aim of this bill was to provide emergency assistance until a proper system of capital investment was established to put our transit systems on a sound financial basis. Today I am introducing legislation which will accomplish that end. It will establish a mass transportation trust fund to provide the capital investment necessary to meet the growing transportation needs of our Nation's cities.

This bill will take an established program of proven value, the mass transportation program, and wed it to a system of financing used successfully over the years to pay for other forms of transportation. It will create a mass transportation trust fund financed from automobile excise taxes. The highway trust fund produces billions of dollars annually for highway construction. It has given this Nation the finest highway system in the world. Taxes on tires and gasoline have produced \$36 billion since 1957 and have built 220,000 miles of road. Contrast that figure with the relatively miniscule sums spent on mass transportation.

The mass transportation trust fund, created by title II of this act, would be financed by a portion of the declining excise tax on automobiles from 1971 through fiscal 1974. At present, this tax is scheduled to drop to 5 percent during calendar year 1970 and to 3 percent on January 1, 1971. My bill would maintain the tax at the 3-percent level through June 30, 1974, rather than allowing it to expire as the law now requires. A portion of the continued excise tax would be earmarked for the mass transportation trust fund. Earmarked revenues would be 1½ percent of the excise in fiscal 1971, 2 percent in fiscal

1972, 2½ percent in fiscal 1973, and the entire 3 percent in fiscal 1974.

According to Treasury estimates continuation of this tax at proposed levels will produce the following revenues earmarked for the fund: fiscal 1971, \$300 million; fiscal 1972, \$400 million; fiscal 1973, \$500 million; and fiscal 1974, \$600 million. Since taxes are collected on a calendar year basis, while expenditures are made on a fiscal year basis, the bill authorizes the Secretary to spend money equivalent to the amount expected to be collected by the fund. These obligations are to be repaid to the Treasury by revenue received. Thus, over the 4-year period, an estimated total of \$1.8 billion would be available to the Secretary of Transportation for loans and grants for mass transportation. This would truly be a quantum jump in mass transit expenditures.

But compared with the sums spent on other forms of transportation it cannot be called excessive. Meeting the transportation needs of our urban areas is vital if our cities are to survive.

Funds from the program are to be used both for urban transportation and urban development. Thus, the Mass Transportation Trust Fund Act will give new resources to the Department of Transportation. It will also give the Department new flexibility in the use of those funds. Amendments to the Mass Transportation Act, contained in title I of this bill will bring about major improvements in the program. They will reflect the direct connection between a city's development and its transportation system.

The present program allows the Secretary to make only a loan or a grant, but not both, to a single mass transportation project. This bill will allow a loan for advance acquisition of rights of way which can be followed by a grant for actual construction of a transit system. The costs of the property acquired would be considered part of the project cost, and a grant may be used to repay the loan. There are, however, provisions which require that adequate money be retained from the grant to complete the project. The merits of this section are obvious. Mass transportation programs require long periods for planning and construction. Spiraling land costs can substantially increase the costs of a project. Advance acquisition of land and property for rights of way will provide protection against this type of inflation.

A further provision of this bill directly links mass transportation projects to over all city planning. Loans would be authorized for the purchase of land adjacent to the rights of way of a project, if such acquisitions would contribute to the success of the system and fit in with comprehensive planning objectives. This amendment recognizes the fact that a transportation system is not a separate entity. It is an integral part of the community the same as the availability of light, power, and sewerage.

RELOCATION: A BETTER ANSWER TO A HUMAN PROBLEM

One chronic human problem that affects all of our thinking about urban development, highway construction, or the

building of a new transportation system is relocation. Relocation is a cold and brittle word used to describe the disruption of the lives of those who must move their home or business to make way for progress. In our densely packed urban areas it is impossible to build or redevelop without relocation. It is ironic that the term "displaced person," originally an euphemism for the homeless refugees of World War II has been incorporated into our law to deal with the payment of relocation expenses. Although the overall benefit to the community may justify the movement of some people to new homes and new places of business our primary obligation is to make sure that these relocations are kept at a minimum. They must be truly justified by community needs and not by the capricious whim of some planner. And the people who are forced to move must be fairly and adequately compensated.

Obviously a well-integrated mass transportation program provides for more efficient uses of land than do highways, whose cloverleaves and interchanges consume acres of land in their geometric magnificence. Fortunately, many mass transportation systems can use existing railroad tracks, and the necessary land acquisition is small when compared to that needed if a highway replaced the track. The relocation provisions of this bill follow closely the expanded and liberalized provisions wisely included in the Federal Highway Act of 1968. They will provide adequate compensation for those businessmen, homeowners and home-renters who may be forced to move to make way for mass transportation.

MORE FUNDS WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR URBAN STATES

One problem with the current mass transportation program is the 12.5 percent limitation on the amount of funds which can be spent in any one State. There have been many protests against this artificial restriction. While I envy the open spaces and natural beauties of Wyoming, Wyoming's need for urban transportation funds is not equal to that of New York or New Jersey. To deal with this artificial restriction the bill provides a discretionary fund of \$50 million which can be used in those heavily populated States where expenditures will quickly reach the 12.5 percent ceiling.

Mr. President, I know that the first and loudest objection to this bill will be, "Why should auto owners pay for mass transportation? Their money should go for highways, not buses and trains." My answer to that is a simple one: We are all in the same traffic jam together. It makes no sense to treat commuters and automobile owners as separate and hostile groups. Often they are the same people. I am certain from my own experience that anyone who commutes to work in any major city would welcome a public transportation system which would lessen traffic. Or if a good system were in being, he might use it himself. The simple fact is that highways alone cannot handle the load of people moving in and out of our cities morning, noon, and night. The cost to the individual of a 3-percent automobile excise tax will

not be punitive. On the other hand, it will provide combined revenues and give muscle and substance to a mass transit program of proven value. This is not a new tax, but an extension of an existing tax at reduced levels for a limited period of time. I am convinced the results will justify the cost. They will benefit the automobile owner as much or more than anyone else.

When discussing the importance of mass transportation, we must not forget another group who stand to gain: the millions of Americans who do not own a car or who are unable to use one. We must think of the 19 million Americans over 65, of whom 9 million live in poverty. We must think of young people under 18, almost 20 million, who travel within our cities, and those who are too poor to own an automobile at all. Or the family with one car, with three or four breadwinners. They must and should have good public transportation. If it is a public responsibility to build highways for those who can afford a car, then surely we have even a greater obligation to make sure that public transportation is available to those without cars.

Mr. President, passage of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1969 will be landmark legislation for our Nation's cities. It will provide a major weapon in the fight to save and renew our urban areas. It will provide the means to meet the transportation needs of the 1970's. Over the years, in hearing after hearing, mayors, governors, and responsible civic leaders have said, "Yes; my community needs better transportation, yes; we will do our part, but there must be more Federal money." This bill provides that money. It is time for us to build a mass transportation network to match our highway system. Now is the time to correct the imbalance in our transportation spending. Our transportation systems should be pathways to the cities of the future. They should be the binding links which make our spreading urban areas into vital living communities, not fragmented scatterings of home, industry, and shopping centers wastefully sprawled upon the land. The time to start building the transportation system of tomorrow is today.

Mr. President, these amendments and a detailed description of the proposed trust fund are included in a section-by-section analysis of the bill which I have had prepared. I ask unanimous consent that it now be included in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the section-by-section analysis will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1032) to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The section-by-section analysis presented by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey is as follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS
TITLE I—URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION
AMENDMENTS OF 1969

This title contains the substantive revisions to the Urban Mass Transportation Act

which are intended to provide expanded and improved program authority.

Section 101 amends section 3 of the Act which is the basic authority for the program of grants and loans for the acquisition, construction, reconstruction and improvement of mass transportation facilities and equipment.

3(a): This subsection presently specifies the purposes for which the grants and loans under the program may be used, defines the eligible sponsors, and prescribes certain capabilities that the proposed sponsor must display. Only one change to this subsection is being made.

It permits the Secretary to make loans for real property acquisition under new subsection 3(d) upon a finding that the loan is reasonably required in connection with an urban mass transportation system and will be used for that purpose within a reasonable time. He need not make the more detailed findings required by this section for grants and loans for other purposes.

3(b): This subsection presently imposes restrictions on the making of loans and prescribes certain conditions on loans which are made. As a general proposition, this subsection prevents making both loans and grants for the same project except where the grant is made for relocation payments. The amendment adds another exception, i.e., a grant may be made for projects where the real property involved has been acquired for right-of-way or development purposes through a loan pursuant to the authority added by the new subsection 3(d).

The section is also amended to provide that loans are to be made only from the trust fund established by section 201 of this bill. Under the Act as originally passed, it was intended that Treasury borrowing, pursuant to section 203 of the Housing Amendments of 1955, would be employed for this purpose; however, to date under this scheme, no Treasury borrowing has occurred, and loans have been made only from specifically appropriated funds.

Finally, the section is amended to authorize forgiveness of interest for up to ten years in the case of loans for real property acquisition. Otherwise the requirements concerning maturity date, rate of interest and the like, which are those of section 202(b) (1), (2), and (3) of the Housing Amendments of 1955, continue to be applicable.

3(c): This subsection, relating to safeguards for operators of private mass transportation companies, is unchanged by the bill.

3(d) (1): This subsection is new and provides the authority and mechanics for loans, out of the urban mass transportation trust fund, to enable mass transportation systems to acquire rights-of-way in advance of construction. Loans for this purpose may include the costs to the locality of relocation payments and property management and will require a Secretarial finding that the proposed acquisition is reasonably required for a mass transportation system and that it will in fact be used for mass transportation facilities within a reasonable period. Repayment of the loans (which can be interest free for up to ten years) will be credited directly to the urban mass transportation trust fund, for expenditure on grants or other loans.

If a grant is subsequently approved for a project involving any real property acquired through a loan under this subsection, it may be applied against the outstanding debt due to the Federal Government, and may include the real property costs as a project cost. In such a case, the terms for loan repayment would be established so that they would not prevent sufficient cash from being available to the sponsor to meet expenses under the project.

The loan agreement would provide for construction not later than ten years after acquisition; but it is possible that proposed

rights-of-way might ultimately not be used for that purpose. If and when such a determination is made, the Secretary would direct that an appraisal be made to determine how much, if any, the property has increased in value since acquisition. The Federal and local agencies would share in any profit on a two-to-one ratio, the ratio for sharing project costs. The Federal Government would not share in losses in value of the property, however. Any amounts due the Federal Government would be credited to the urban mass transportation trust fund when paid.

3(d) (2): This subsection, also new, provides the authority and mechanics for another type of real property acquisition loan. These loans would help mass transportation systems to acquire land adjacent to rights-of-way for development or redevelopment for uses which would contribute to the operational success of the system and to overall comprehensive planning objectives. The loans would also permit increased land values to be realized by the public for use in reducing both Federal and local shares of the net cost of related project grants. Again, loans could include relocation and property management costs.

The property sought to be acquired would have to be adjacent to and in proximity to existing or proposed mass transportation rights-of-way. In practice, it is contemplated that loans under this subsection would be made only where there is a high probability that the property will experience significant increases in value by undergoing development or redevelopment to a higher use which would probably not occur but for mass transportation development. The manner of repayment of the loan would be similar to loans under subsection 3(d) (1). However, unlike that subsection, no project underlying all or part of a grant could be approved where the purpose is to use grant funds to liquidate a loan for this type of acquisition.

The increase in value of the property would be shared by the Federal Government and the local agency in the familiar two-to-one ratio, but the Federal Government would not share in any losses, should they occur. If the property is sold before initiation of adjacent new mass transportation service, the increased value would be the difference between the price at which the local agency acquired the property and the price at which sold, provided the Secretary is satisfied that the sale price reflects a value consistent with an appraisal which he will obtain. If the property is still held by the local agency at the time new mass transportation service is initiated (that is if the agency plans to sell for later development or develop the property itself), the local agency must obtain an appraisal, under regulations of the Secretary, not more than three years after service is initiated. The appraisal will be conducted so as to give full effect to the increase in value which has resulted from the advent of mass transportation, as well as the land use and zoning specified in the loan agreement. The difference between the acquisition cost to the local agency and the appraised value would determine the increase in value, or profit.

Because any increase in land values may be attributed in whole or in part to the new transportation service, the proceeds must be used to reduce the net project costs of any grants which may be made for the urban mass transportation system involved.

The Federal share would be applied to reduce the Federal share of net project costs, and the local agency's share would be applied to reduce its share of net project costs. If the entire local share of land profits were not exhausted by application to existing grant projects, the remainder would be held in reserve for a reasonable period for application against net project costs of potential further grant projects under the Act.

3(d) (3): This new subsection makes it

clear that the acquisition loans under subsection 3(d)(2) may be made for use independently (i.e., where right-of-way is already owned), or for use concurrently with a loan for advance right-of-way acquisition under subsection 3(d)(1), or for concurrent use with project loans or grants under subsection 3(a).

Section 102: The section would: (a) amend section 4(a) of the Act, which now requires certain Secretarial findings before section 3 assistance can be provided, to reflect the less stringent criteria of new section 3(d) in the case of land acquisition loans; and (b) add a new subsection (c) to section 4 providing authorizations for loans and administrative costs, as well as grants under the Act for fiscal years 1971-1974 and establishing contract authority.

The amounts authorized for appropriation, \$300, \$400, \$500, and \$600 million, respectively, are equivalent to the amounts, based on Treasury Department estimates, which the dedicated portions of the automobile excise will produce for the urban mass transportation trust fund created by Title II of this bill. The authorized levels of \$300, \$400, \$500, and \$600 million would be available for obligation in their full amounts during the fiscal year for which first authorized and would remain available until expended. The Secretary would be authorized to obligate these amounts through loans or grant agreements. These obligations would be liquidated by subsequent appropriations.

Section 103: Section 7 of the Act, from the inception of the urban mass transportation program, has made an adequate relocation program a condition for receipt of capital grants. The Federal Government has been authorized to make relocation payments of up to \$200 to families and up to \$3,000 in the case of business concerns and nonprofit organizations.

In the Federal-aid Highway Act of 1968, the Congress enacted significantly expanded and liberalized relocation benefits for persons displaced by Federal-aid highway construction. Inclusion of an amended relocation section in this bill which closely parallels the provisions of the highway act reflect the view that the concepts are equally valid for urban mass transportation and should be adopted, pending general Federal relocation legislation.

Section 104 amends section 15 of the Act, which restricts the aggregate of grant projects (other than relocation grants) in any one State to 12½ percent of the total amount authorized for this purpose. The original legislation anticipated that some States would experience serious inhibitions with this limit and, so, a discretionary pool of \$12.5 million was established to be available for use in States which had previously received more than two-thirds of the maximum grants. Notwithstanding this fund, a number of our most populous States will soon be at a point where they can receive no further assistance. Rather than alter the 12½ percent ceiling at this time, section 104 would increase the discretionary fund to \$50 million. The section as revised would also extend the basic 12½ percent ceiling to the grants and loans made from the trust fund for fiscal 1971-1974.

Section 105: Section 1 of Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1968 transferred to the Secretary the program authority under the Act. But that section reserved to the Secretary of HUD authority to make grants for or undertake such projects or activities under sections 6(a), 9, and 11 of the Act (relating to research, development, and demonstrations; technical studies grants; and grants for research and training in urban transportation problems) as "primarily concern the relationship of urban transportation systems to the comprehensively planned development of urban areas, or the role of transportation planning in overall urban planning." It was contemplated that such grants would be made out of appropriations to HUD. Section

105 preserves that understanding and insures that the urban transportation trust fund would be available only for grants in furtherance of the functions of the Secretary of Transportation under the Act.

TITLE II—URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION REVENUE ACT OF 1969

This title of the bill creates an urban mass transportation trust fund, out of revenues provided by a certain portion of the automobile excise, for all loan, grant and administrative costs of the urban mass transportation program for fiscal years 1971-74. It shares many features of the highway trust fund.

Section 201 establishes the trust fund.

Section 202(a): This subsection provides for the transfer to the trust fund of specified amounts of the revenues attributable to the automobile excise (section 4061(a)(2) of the 1954 Internal Revenue Code). The amounts to be transferred are equivalent to amounts which would be transferred if the excise were 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 percent, respectively, during fiscal years 1971, 1972, 1973, and 1974, according to Treasury Department estimates. The trust fund revenues will be equal to the amounts authorized for program purposes in Title I of this bill.

Because the trust fund and related program authorizations are on a fiscal year basis while section 4061(a)(2) taxes accrue on a calendar basis, and are collected quarterly, the operative language used is such as will produce \$300, \$400, \$500, and \$600 million. Although it is not expressed in terms of 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 points on the automobile excise, the amounts are equivalent to those percentages. (These trust fund receipts necessitate a change in the presently effective rates of section 4061(a)(2), which is accomplished in section 206 below.)

Section 202(b): In order to provide that the trust fund may be fully operative at the earliest time, although receipts may lag, this subsection authorizes the Treasury to make advances to the trust fund, to be repaid when receipts catch up with expenditures.

Section 203 prescribes how the trust fund is to be managed.

(a) requires annual reports to the Congress by the Secretary of Transportation on the condition of the trust fund.

(b) specifies that the trust fund corpus beyond that needed for current purposes, must be invested and specified how it may be invested.

(c) authorizes the sale and manner of sale of obligations which the trust fund may acquire.

(d) requires that interest earned by the trust fund shall be added to form a part of the trust fund.

Section 204(a) makes the trust fund the source for financing all loans, grants, and administrative costs of the urban mass transportation programs authorized for fiscal years 1971-1974.

Section 204(b) provides that the trust fund will be used to repay general fund advances under section 202(b), if any, when the Secretary of the Treasury deems appropriate.

Section 205 is modeled after section 209(g) of the Highway Revenue Act of 1956, the so-called "Byrd amendment" to the legislation governing the highway trust fund. Its purpose is to provide that a continuing review of the trust fund will be maintained and that expenditures required to defray obligations will not out-strip trust fund receipts. Under this section, the Secretary of the Treasury advises from time to time as to the amounts which will be available in the trust fund. If they are insufficient to meet current obligations, the Secretary of Transportation must reduce obligations on a prorated basis.

Section 206: This section makes the amendments to the Internal Revenue Code which are required to extend the auto excise

for the needs of the trust fund. That excise, now at 7 percent, is scheduled to drop to 5 percent during calendar 1970, 3 percent during 1971, 1 percent during 1972, and to go out of existence on December 31, 1972.

The tax would be extended through June 30, 1974, to coincide with the trust fund. It would, just as now planned, drop to 5 percent during calendar 1970, and to 3 percent on January 1, 1971. However, it would be held at that level until it expires, thereby providing that during the entire life of the trust fund the excise on automobiles would be 3 percent. Since trust fund earmarking of the excise is at levels equivalent to an excise of 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 percent, in all but fiscal 1974, the excise would flow into the general fund after the trust fund needs have been met. Subsection 206(b) contains the necessary conforming amendments for floor stock refunds.

Section 207 provides that Title II of the bill is effective on enactment.

S. 1033—INTRODUCTION OF COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY COLLEGE ACT OF 1969

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, there is a new level of education emerging in our country—a level quite different from secondary education and higher education. It is the comprehensive community college. Dr. Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., executive director of the American Association of Junior Colleges has said:

The community college is as much a social movement as an educational enterprise, and is perhaps closer to realizing a concept of a "people's college" than any other institution in the United States.

This is true, and the community college continues to demonstrate that it is best equipped for the job of extending and expanding much-needed educational opportunities in our country. Its low cost to students, proximity to those it is designed to serve, flexible admissions arrangement, strong counseling and advising services, and varied education programs are responding to the lack of relevance in traditional education. Yet, the Federal Government has failed in its responsibility to these colleges which represent almost half of all institutions of higher learning and about one-third of all students pursuing higher education.

Mr. President, many of us have lost interest in the academic debate on the value of continuing education to the individual and society, and we are tired of the rhetoric about making our structured learning experiences relevant. Education is not a private privilege; it is a public responsibility. When we finish talking about the priorities of the Federal Government, let us make sure education is always on top.

Today, on behalf of myself and Senators BROOKE, CHURCH, GOODALL, GRAVEL, GURNEY, HARRIS, HART, HARTKE, HUGHES, INOUE, JAVITS, KENNEDY, MCCARTHY, MCGEE, MCGOVERN, MONDALE, MURPHY, MUSKIE, NELSON, PASTORE, PROUTY, RANDOLPH, RIBICOFF, SCHWEIKER, SCOTT, YARBOROUGH, and YOUNG of Ohio, I introduce, for appropriate referral, the Comprehensive Community College Act of 1969. The enthusiasm around the country for this bill, which is reflected by the support it already has in the Senate, is sufficient mandate to all of us to take our Fed-

eral responsibilities to this new level of education as seriously as we have those to elementary and secondary education, and vocational and higher education.

THE COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY COLLEGE ACT
OF 1969

The Comprehensive Community College Act of 1969, which was developed with the energetic cooperation of the American Association of Junior Colleges, is a bill to improve and increase post-secondary educational opportunities throughout the Nation by providing assistance to States for the development and construction of comprehensive community colleges. We want to insure, through this act, that the education provided by these colleges is suited to the needs, interests and potential benefits of the total community. A special emphasis will be placed on meeting the needs of those ignored or neglected by traditional forms of education.

The general provisions of the bill call for a year of planning to give each State time to develop or update a master plan for post-secondary education, and to give the U.S. Office of Education time to create and staff a Bureau of Community Education to administer all Federal programs related to community colleges. An additional 3 years are provided to begin the implementation of the master plans.

The master plans will be developed jointly at the State level with all post-secondary education agencies within that State. They will set forth a statewide plan for the improvement, development, and construction of comprehensive community colleges, including first, the development and implementation of comprehensive curriculum programs that have a special emphasis on the needs of the educationally and economically disadvantaged; second, the training and development of faculty and staff; third, household research; fourth, tuition-free admissions policy, or an adequate financial aid program; fifth, a policy and procedure to assure that Federal funds will not supplant existing State and local efforts; and, sixth, where feasible and desirable, a plan for interstate planning and cooperation in implementing this act.

Institutions eligible for the provisions of this act are those legally authorized within each State to provide a 2-year comprehensive program of post-secondary education—provided they admit as regular students high school graduates, or anyone 18 years of age or older. Accreditation of these institutions will be determined by nationally recognized accrediting agencies and associations.

A National Advisory Council, appointed by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, from among those active in comprehensive community colleges, will assist the Commissioner in establishing the criteria for approving the State plans and in implementing them.

Finally, the Commissioner will report to the Congress the results of his investigation and study of all Federal programs assisting community colleges in order to determine which programs are duplicating the benefits of this Act, and to collect in this new Bureau of Community Education, all Federal programs affecting community colleges.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY
COLLEGES

Mr. President, some have queried, and will undoubtedly—even after all the facts are in—continue to ask why we need another Federal program in education. There are plenty of reasons. There are 13 major cities in the United States without a single public community college within city limits. These include Detroit—which recently rejected a referendum bond issue for community college construction—and cities like Houston, Atlanta, and Jersey City. Twenty-five major cities from Philadelphia to San Francisco and from Dallas to Dayton, Ohio, have only one community college.

These cities are the focal point for the recent recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, chaired by the distinguished educator, Clark Kerr. The Commission recommended, as a major finding in the study, the construction of 500 new community colleges to meet the basic education needs of the communities they would serve by 1976.

In addition to the problem of inadequate two-year college space, we face the imbalanced allocation of Federal resources from existing programs. Out of 24 institutional-support programs administered by the Office of Education, junior colleges take part in only six: developing institutions—Higher Education Act, title III—22 percent participation; national teaching fellowships—Higher Education Act, title III—4.8 percent participation; undergraduate equipment—Higher Education Act, title VI-A—15.5 percent participation; library resources—Higher Education Act, title II-A—21.13 percent participation; grants for undergraduate facilities—Higher Education Facilities Act, title I—23 percent participation; and loans for undergraduate and graduate construction—Higher Education Facilities Act, Title III—10.3 percent participation. Three additional programs have not been funded yet, and the vocational education program is administered through block grants to participating States.

Community colleges are last in line when funds are released, because they must compete with monolithic multiversities. An even greater imbalance exists in individual-assistance allotments; although two-year colleges represent approximately one-third of the student population, the community college share of student aid funds is dangerously low. Community colleges get 4 percent of national defense student loan funds, 6 percent of educational opportunity loans, and 15 percent of college work-study assistance.

I was shocked again last week to learn that 45 community colleges had applied for their share of \$6.9 million under part E of the Education Professional Development Act, and only two proposals were funded for a total of \$74,000. Something is wrong somewhere, and it might well be the lack of sensitivity in the Office of Education to the special needs of community colleges.

The Office of Education has a Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, a Bureau of Higher Education, a Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Library Services, a Bureau of Education for the

Handicapped, a Bureau of Research, and a Bureau of Educational Personnel Development—but there is no bureau, division, office, or program for community colleges.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES AND THE TOTAL
EDUCATION ENVIRONMENT

This is only part of the problem. Elementary and secondary schools have failed to meet the demands society is making on the education process. More than 100 years ago we assigned the responsibility to secondary schools to produce a finished product. Today, a high school education carries its own dead-end guarantee, and 12 years of learning is at best only a stepping stone for those who will go to college, and too often a millstone for those who have been neglected in high school and consequently left behind in the arbitrary college admissions procedure. Before this level of learning can respond to society's needs, it must tackle bureaucratic inflexibility, outdated curriculums, and the rigidity of poorly trained teachers. The three "R's" must give way to a new "R"—relevancy. This level of education must teach kids how to think, not what to think. In life today, learning can no longer be limited to the classroom between the ages of 6 and 18. The lifelong student must be able to change his career both to accommodate his talents and to fill the manpower needs of the time.

The pace of knowledge has accelerated so quickly in the past few years that the world we live in no longer views a high school education as terminal. It demands continuing education. It pressures our Nation's youth to seek at least 2 years of college in order to survive.

But how can they survive when the traditional access to higher education is furthest from their grasp? How do they get started when the admissions policies of these institutions judge them on their past performance rather than their future potential? How do they finance their higher education when we set an arbitrary standard of ability above need, in order to qualify for financial assistance programs? And how do we demonstrate value of the investment of 4 and 5 years in a prescribed, and too often arbitrary and irrelevant, curriculum?

The answer, in part, lies with the new educational phenomena of community colleges. The community junior college seems tailor made for the job of extending and expanding opportunities for education beyond high school. Its curriculum grows out of the needs of society and the community, and out of the personal and social requirements of the students. It is designed to fill personnel requirements in fragmenting professional fields; provide a new trust in urban education; and provide the key to open doors to new careers. These institutions have demonstrated their potential to respond to society's changing needs in ways that bring improvement to the communities they serve. By way of contrast, the 4-year college, that exists in big cities, for example, has seldom been an instrument for change in its urban environment. Since Watts, it has reevaluated its role. But, traditionally, it has been too busy being urbane to be urban;

located in the city—but never a part of it. As the experience last year at Columbia testifies, the curriculum usually has been far removed from such critical problems of the city as inadequate housing, poverty, and environmental pollution. Instead, research in these institutions was more likely to be concerned with Victorian literature, Athenian art forms, or the military exploits of the Cossacks. Increasingly, these ivy-decked halls are the centers for research in nuclear weapons, in genetics, and in cures for cancer. The priorities of much of this research is difficult to justify when the needs of urban and rural America are the sole beneficiary of only the byproducts of this research.

This is not yet true of community colleges. The community college, whether in an urban or rural setting, is in a better position to fulfill this requirement. First, it is a young institution, and it has not acquired the rigidity that comes from overbearing traditions. Second, the lack of status puts the community college in closer empathy with the poor, the unaccepted, and the classless. And third, a new breed of administrators are challenging the "establishment."

Since too many States still provide only traditional programs of higher education in traditional institutions for selected and privileged students, it is time to concentrate our efforts on a community college program which would correct the inadequacies of the patchwork and piecemeal nature of existing Federal support to 2-year colleges.

Because the bill we are introducing today focuses attention on post-secondary education, some might be tempted to conclude that we want to bolster the community college at the expense of the 4-year university, or the vocational school, or the secondary school. Nothing could be further from the truth; in fact, it is precisely because we believe so strongly in these other educational systems that we are calling for action on the community college.

The problem is simply this: We have been treating education as a series of movements for so long that we have forgotten the symphony. We have spent millions of dollars and uncounted man-hours to build partitions between grades, between levels of grades, and even between geographical designations of levels of grades. In all this typing, and categorizing, and dividing, we have done an injustice to the long-term continuity of real education.

When you move out of an assigned educational level—by graduating, failing, or dropping out—you seldom get back. Nowhere in the scheme of things is there an educational system designed simply to serve people who want to learn—and not simply on the basis of birthday, accumulated grade-point average, or prep school lineage. The community college can, if it is given help, fill the void. We want to strengthen the community college, because without it, the other forms of education will continue, in hapless cycles of frustration, to educate by drawing perimeters around the chosen few.

The remarkable Danish scientist-humanist Piet Hein sums up our educational quandary in an aphoristic little poem called a grook:

Double-doors are justified because they're comfortably wide. Therefore you only half undo 'em; and therefore nothing can get through 'em.

America cannot afford to block the doors to education. Comprehensive community colleges can be the key to open the door, and show the way to full educational opportunity for all Americans.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1033) to improve and increase post-secondary educational opportunities throughout the Nation by providing assistance to the States for the development and construction of comprehensive community colleges, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1033

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Comprehensive Community College Act of 1969".

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to assist the States in providing post-secondary education to all persons in all areas of each State through a program of Federal grants to each State for the purpose of strengthening, improving, and developing comprehensive community colleges; to ensure that the education provided by such colleges is suited to the needs, interests, and potential benefits of the total community; and to assist such colleges in providing educational programs especially suited to the needs of educationally and/or economically disadvantaged persons in each State.

TITLE I—DEVELOPMENT OF STATE PLANS

AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 101. In order to assist the States in developing State plans for the purposes of title II of this Act, there is authorized to be appropriated \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. The sums appropriated pursuant to this section shall be used for making payments to States whose application for funds for carrying out such purposes have been approved.

STATE APPLICATIONS

SEC. 102. The Commissioner shall approve any application for funds for carrying out the purpose of section 101 if such application—

(1) provides that a State agency, which is representative of all agencies in such State which are concerned with post-secondary education, will be the sole agency for carrying out such purpose;

(2) provides for the development of a State comprehensive community college plan to meet the requirements of section 203 of this Act; and

(3) provides that such State agency will make such reports, in such form, and containing such information as the Commissioner may from time to time reasonably require, and, to assure verification of such reports, give the Commissioner, upon request, access to the records upon which such information is based.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 103. The sums appropriated pursuant to section 101 shall be allotted by the Commissioner among the States on the basis of the amount needed by each State for the

purpose of this title, except that no such allotment to any State shall be more than \$200,000.

WITHHOLDING OF PAYMENTS

SEC. 104. Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to a State agency, finds (1) that such State educational agency is not complying substantially with the provisions of this title or the terms and conditions of its application approved under this title, or (2) that any funds paid to such State educational agency under this title have been diverted from the purposes for which they had been allotted or paid, the Commissioner shall notify such State agency that no further payments will be made under this title with respect to such agency until there is no longer any failure to comply or the diversion has been corrected or, if compliance or correction is impossible, until such State agency repays or arranges for the repayment of Federal moneys which have been diverted or improperly expended.

TITLE II—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY COLLEGES

AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 201. (a) The Commissioner shall, in accordance with the provisions of this title, make payments to State agencies for the period beginning July 1, 1970, and ending June 30, 1973.

(b) For the purposes of making such payments, there is authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$1,500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$2,000,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and \$2,500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973.

ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 202. (a) From the sums appropriated pursuant to section 201(b) for each fiscal year the Commissioner shall (1) allot not more than 5 per centum thereof among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands according to their respective needs and (2) reserve not more than 5 per centum thereof for the purposes of section 206. From the remainder of such sums the Commissioner shall allot to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to such remainder as the population aged 18 and over in such State bears to the total of such population in all States. For the purposes of this subsection, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(b) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Commissioner determines will not be required, for the period such allotment is available, for carrying out the purposes of this title shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such period as the Commissioner may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States under subsection (a) for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum which the Commissioner estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such period for carrying out such portion of its State application approved under this title, and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

STATE PLANS AID PAYMENTS

SEC. 203. (a) Any State desiring to receive its allotment of Federal funds under this title shall submit a State plan, in such detail as the Commissioner deems necessary, which—

(1) provides for the administration of such

plan by a State agency which is representative of all agencies in such States which are concerned with post-secondary education;

(2) sets forth a comprehensive statewide program for the improvement, development, and construction of comprehensive community colleges in the State for the purposes of this Act, including (A) the development and carrying out of comprehensive curriculum programs with special emphasis on programs for educationally and economically disadvantaged persons, including occupational-technical programs, adult continuing education programs, community service programs, developmental programs, counseling-advising programs, and lower division university parallel programs, (B) training and development of faculty, administrators, counselors, and other necessary personnel, and (C) research to be carried out in such colleges to increase the effectiveness of such colleges and to provide data for future development;

(3) establishes priorities for the purpose of carrying out such program;

(4) provides that if not already tuition-free to State residents such colleges will be made tuition-free as soon as practicable, or provide adequate financial aid programs;

(5) provides for the necessary State and local financial support to carry out such program with assistance under this title;

(6) sets forth policies and procedures designed to assure that Federal funds made available under this title will be so used as not to supplant State or local funds, or funds of comprehensive community colleges, but to supplement and, to the extent practicable, to increase the amounts of such funds that would in the absence of such Federal funds be made available for the purposes of this Act;

(7) sets forth such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the State (including such funds paid by the State to comprehensive community colleges) under this title;

(8) provides for making such reports in such form and containing such information as the Commissioner may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this title, and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(9) provides to the extent possible for inter-State cooperation in carrying out programs pursuant to this title.

(b) The Commissioner shall approve any State plan and any modification thereof which complies with the provisions of subsection (a) and shall pay to such State, from its allotment for each fiscal year, the reasonable cost, as determined by the Commissioner, of carrying out such approved plan for such year.

(c) Payments to a State under this title may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments, and they may be paid directly to the State or to one or more participating colleges designated for this purpose by the State, or to both.

ADMINISTRATION OF STATE PLANS

SEC. 204. (a) The Commissioner shall not finally disapprove any State plan submitted under this title, or any modifications thereof, without first affording the State agency or institution submitting the plan reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

(b) Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State agency or institution administering a State plan approved under section 103, finds that—

(1) the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of such section, or

(2) in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision, the Commissioner shall notify the State agency or institution that the State will not be regarded as eligible to participate in the program under this title until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply.

LABOR STANDARDS

SEC. 205. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors on all construction projects assisted under this title shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a-276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to the labor standards specified in this section the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276e).

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS AND RESEARCH FOR COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY COLLEGE PURPOSES

SEC. 206. The Commissioner is authorized to enter into such contracts or other arrangements as may be necessary to carry out innovative and exemplary demonstration projects and research to promote the purpose of this Act.

TITLE III—GENERAL PROVISIONS

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 301. As used in this Act—

(1) The term "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

(2) The term "comprehensive community college" means an educational institution in any State which—

(A) is legally authorized within such State to provide a program of education beyond secondary education;

(B) admits as regular students high school graduates or equivalent, or persons at least 18 years of age;

(C) provides a two-year postsecondary educational program leading to an associate degree, or acceptable for credit toward a bachelor's degree, and also provides programs of postsecondary vocational technical occupational and specialized education;

(D) is a public or other nonprofit institution;

(E) is accredited as an institution by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association, or if not so accredited—

(i) is an institution that has obtained recognized preaccreditation status from a nationally recognized accrediting body, or

(ii) is an institution whose credits are accepted on transfer, by not less than three accredited institutions, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited, and for purposes of this paragraph, the Commissioner shall publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies or associations which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.

(3) The term "construction" includes the preparation of drawings and specifications for college facilities; erecting, building, acquiring, altering, remodeling, improving, or extending such facilities; and the inspection and supervision of the construction of such facilities. Such term does not include interests in land or off-site improvements.

(4) The term "college facilities" includes classrooms and related facilities; and initial equipment, machinery, and utilities necessary or appropriate for comprehensive community college purposes. Such term does not include athletic stadiums, or structures or facilities intended primarily for athletic exhibitions, contests, or games or other events for which admission is to be charged to the general public.

(5) The term "State" includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the Com-

monwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 302. (a) The Commissioner shall administer the provisions of this Act through a Bureau of Community Education which he shall establish in the Office of Education. Such Bureau shall, upon request, advise any State with respect to its program pursuant to this Act.

(b) The Commissioner shall, as soon as practicable, make a report to Congress (1) identifying all other programs administered by the Office of Education which should, for the purpose of consolidating the administration of programs affecting comprehensive community colleges, be administered through the Bureau of Community Education, and (2) what action is being taken to provide for the administration of such programs by such Bureau.

(c) In administering the provisions of this Act, the Commissioner is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public or nonprofit agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 303. (a) If any State is dissatisfied with the Commissioner's final action with respect to the approval of its application submitted under section 102 or its plan submitted under section 203, or with his final action under section 104 or section 205, such State may, within sixty days after notice of such action, file with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such State is located a petition for review of that action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Commissioner. The Commissioner thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

(b) The findings of fact by the Commissioner, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Commissioner to take further evidence, and the Commissioner may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

(c) Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Commissioner or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

PROHIBITIONS

SEC. 304. (a) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

(b) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize the making of any payment under this Act for the construction of facilities as a place of worship or religious instruction.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 305. (a) The Commissioner shall appoint a National Advisory Council on Comprehensive Community Colleges. The members of such Council shall be appointed without regard to the civil service laws, to

represent appropriate fields competent or interested in the development of such colleges for the purpose of this Act.

(b) The Council shall advise the Commissioner with respect to (1) criteria for the evaluation of applications and State plans pursuant to this Act, (2) the administration of title II of this Act, and (3) means of improving the administration and operation of this Act.

(c) The Council shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations (including recommendations for changes in the provisions of this Act) to the President not later than March 31 of each calendar year after the calendar year in which this Act is enacted. The President shall transmit each such report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.

(d) Members of the Council who are not regular full-time employees of the United States shall, while serving on business of the Council, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the President, but not exceeding \$100 per day, including travel time; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code for persons in Government service employed intermittently.

STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN ORDER TO AVOID DUPLICATION OF BENEFITS

SEC. 306. The Commissioner shall (1) make an investigation and study of all Federal programs assisting comprehensive community colleges in order to determine which of such programs provide assistance which is a duplication of assistance provided pursuant to this Act, and (2) report to Congress, not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, his recommendations, including any necessary legislation, for terminating such duplication.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, as a strong supporter of the junior college movement, I am pleased to coauthor with Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey the Comprehensive Community College Act of 1969.

California, as my colleagues know, has been the pioneer and leader in the community movement. In California there are presently 90 community colleges and it is expected that there will be 100 by the early 1970's. As of September 1968 over 541,000 students, both full time and part time, were enrolled in California community colleges. Of this enrollment, 220,236 were full time students. Of the total student freshman and sophomore population, approximately 85 percent are enrolled in junior colleges.

This bill is designed to expand post-secondary educational opportunity by recognizing the tremendous importance of junior colleges in our educational structure. The measure would in effect help to make the California junior college model system a nationwide experience.

I understand, Mr. President, that studies indicate that the location of a new junior college in a community will increase by 20 percent the number of students from that community who would go on to higher education.

The junior colleges are ideally suited to help open educational opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters because of their flexible policies, their proximity to the community, and their low cost to the students. In California, the junior colleges are tuition free. In 1966, in testi-

mony before the Senate Education Subcommittee in opposition to the Johnson administration's efforts to eliminate junior college eligibility under the impacted-aid program, I predicted that—

California's experience in providing free education opportunity through fourteen grades will undoubtedly influence other states in the consideration of expanding their junior college opportunities.

Enactment of a major community college assistance bill will go a long way toward fulfilling my prediction.

I have attempted to see that the community colleges receive a more equitable share of Federal assistance and the statement of Senator WILLIAMS certainly underscores once again the fact that they are not. Certainly they are not receiving Federal assistance commensurate with the educational opportunities and burdens that they are providing and shouldering.

Mr. President, I have worked to improve this situation. Only last year, a Javits-Murphy amendment to title III of the Higher Education Act increased the set-aside for junior-colleges from 22 percent to 24 percent. In conference, however, the figure was lowered to 23 percent.

Mr. President, the Nixon administration has announced that it also plans to introduce new and exciting community college legislation. This interest on the part of the administration and the Congress should result in favorable action during this Congress.

In summary, Mr. President, the community colleges represent an educational resource that has not been utilized to the fullest. California's experience points out to me that there is "gold" in expanding educational opportunity and raising the educational level of our citizens. The enactment of a community college measure in this Congress must be high on our list of priorities.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that a summary of the bill's provisions be printed in full in the RECORD.

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

SUMMARY OF COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY COLLEGE ACT OF 1969

PURPOSE

To assist the States in providing post-secondary education to all persons in all areas of each state through a program of Federal grants to each state for the purpose of strengthening, improving, and developing comprehensive community colleges and to assist these colleges in providing educational programs especially suited to the needs of educationally and/or economically disadvantaged persons in each state.

MASTER PLAN

Each state, in cooperation with all the post-secondary institutions within that state, will develop jointly a master plan which will:

1. Set forth a state-wide program for the improvement, development, and construction of community colleges, including:
 - a. the development and carrying out of comprehensive curriculum programs
 - b. training and development of faculty and staff
 - c. research
 - d. construction of facilities
2. Provide tuition-free admission or an adequate financial aid program.

3. Set forth policies and procedures for state and local financial support.
4. Provide for joint and interstate planning and cooperation where applicable.

ADMINISTRATION

A Bureau of Community Education will be established in the Office of Education to implement this program.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

National Advisory Council will advise the Commissioner on the development and criteria for evaluating state plans and other purposes.

EXISTING LEGISLATION

After one year of planning, the program will become operational at which time existing community college participation in other public laws will terminate.

AUTHORIZATION

Phase I: \$10 million authorization for fiscal year 1970 for development of state plans.

Phase II: A \$6 billion authorization graduated over fiscal years 1971, 1972 and 1973 to implement the program.

ALLOTMENT FORMULA

Five percent set aside for the Commissioner for innovative and exemplary projects.

Five percent set aside for Puerto Rico, Guam, etc.

Ninety percent allotted to states based on the population aged 18 and over.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 47— INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTION TO CREATE A NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON HEALTH SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I introduce for myself and Senators BAYH, BROOKE, FONG, GOODELL, HARRIS, HART, HUGHES, INOUE, MCCARTHY, McGEE, MCGOVERN, MOSS, NELSON, PELL, RANDOLPH, TYDINGS, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and YALBOROUGH for appropriate reference a bill, Senate Joint Resolution 47, to create a National Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society.

This joint resolution will be introduced tomorrow in the House of Representatives by the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, of Washington.

Mr. President, this measure is similar to Senate Joint Resolution 145, which I introduced last year. It would create a 15-member Commission to undertake a 3-year study of the legal, social, and ethical implications of health science research. The Commission would report on the implications of this research for public policy in interim reports, and present a final report at the end of the study.

The case for careful study of the startling implications of the biomedical revolution in this country is even more compelling today than it was a year ago.

Last year was the beginning of the heart transplant era. Since then, 167 of these operations have been performed throughout the world, a rate of more than three a week. Philip Blalberg is not only alive today, but the heart of a second donor is beating in his body. Thirty-five of his fellow transplant patients are living, and the development of this technique extends to thousands the hope that their sentence of lingering illness and death can be commuted.

During the past year, the major step of carrying out this operation in children

has been developed, and independent and useful lives are now a hope for them. The heart transplant seems destined for a place in the standard medical repertoire of the 20th century.

Last year also saw the creation of an artificial viral core. This year saw the synthesis of an enzyme that performs as does the enzyme naturally produced in living creatures. The effort to study and imitate the creation of life goes on.

And over this past weekend, our Nation and the world heard the amazing word of successful fertilization of a human egg in a Cambridge University laboratory in Great Britain. As *Nature* magazine commented on this development:

Test tube babies may not be just around the corner, but the day when all the knowledge necessary to produce them will be available may have been brought a stage nearer by the work of Dr. R. G. Edwards and his colleagues.

Mr. President, the dreams of centuries for the enhancement of human health and life come nearer to reality each day. And as this biomedical revolution continues, so do the possibilities that some of these dreams may become nightmares.

In Richmond, Va., and Houston, Tex., it has been alleged that a medical examiner informally authorized removal of the heart before the legal waiting period for unclaimed bodies had passed and before consent from next of kin had been received.

In Houston, Tex., and Milwaukee, Wis., beating hearts were taken from homicide victims and defense lawyers contend that the surgeons, not the accused, "caused death."

A Georgetown Law Journal article lists other issues of tissue transplantation:

Logistics: what to do when donor and recipient are in different hospitals, or different states when regulations and laws lack uniformity;

Information: how to establish a registry for data on transplantation;

Quality Control: how to safeguard against use of imperfect tissue drawn from undesirable sources;

Remuneration: how to balance the need for more spare parts on one hand with the specter of "black markets in hearts" on the other.

The weekend report of successful human egg fertilization touched off controversy too, the New York Times reported.

Aides of John Cardinal Heenan, Archbishop of Westminster, emphasized that the idea of "test tube" babies violated the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

As Dr. Donald Gould, editor of the *New Scientists* magazine, said today:

"What happens to the embryos which are discarded at the end of the day—washed down the sink? There would necessarily be many. Would this amount to abortion—or murder?"

"We have no law to cope with this kind of situation."

"And have we really the wisdom which will allow us to handle wisely and for the good of mankind the frightening new powers which the biological scientists are giving us, not just over death, but—more awe-inspiring still—the very nature of life."

In Australia, a laborer reportedly has been acquitted of murder partly because of a genetic abnormality that tends to

make men "born criminals." In France, a jury refused to free a self-confessed murder on the ground that he had inherited the chromosome imbalance. And in this country, research is going on into this same question.

Mr. President, these examples bring up to date the original set of concerns I raised last year.

Extensive hearings were held before the Subcommittee on Government Research, chaired by the able senior Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS). Over an 8-day period, the initial support for this proposal received from deans of schools of medicine, theology, and law, as well as from scientists, and the public at large was confirmed by testimony from representatives of many disciplines. Heart transplant surgeons like Dr. Norman Shumway; geneticist, Dr. Joshua Lederberg; psychologist, Dr. David Kretch; judge, David Bazelon; theologian, Dr. Kenneth Vaux, and many others testified to the need for such a study.

Most of the witnesses seemed to share the convictions of Historian Everett Mendelsohn, who said:

The process that society goes through in adjusting to scientific advance—the socialization of science—has traditionally been a rather slow and rather leisurely process, indeed more often than not, an accidental process. I would contend that no society can any longer afford this leisurely process of adapting to scientific and technological advance, but that society must anticipate and plan for the social integration of new discoveries. Many areas of bio-medical research . . . currently call attention to the need for continued re-examination of the social implications of new discoveries. These . . . questions raised by biomedical research and discoveries might be much better served through the kind of serious analysis and investigation proposed in the Senate resolution introduced by Mr. Mondale.

The majority of witnesses who supported the Commission saw a variety of potential benefits as a result of its creation:

First. Clarification of the legal, ethical, social, and public policy questions relating to biomedical advance this Nation must face now and in the future;

Second. Development of more responsive and rational national priorities in the health sciences;

Third. Education of the public to help allay fears and assist in developing more realistic expectations;

Fourth. Stimulation of public interest in and support for increased Federal financing for biomedical research as well as health services;

Fifth. Continuation of the public policy dialog that developed during the hearings; and

Sixth. Development of suitable bases for making conscious choices among the various scientific, financial, and social costs and benefits of alternative approaches.

Mr. President, this joint resolution has been modified slightly as a result of concerns expressed by participants in the hearings.

Several witnesses thought it important to emphasize the fact that the Commission was to provide information, not establish regulations. Therefore, we have added the word "advisory" to the title of the Commission to emphasize this

role. Second, witnesses felt that 1 year was much too short a period for the Commission to attempt to formulate regulations. Therefore, the term has been extended to 3 years in the present draft.

Some discussion in the hearings also centered on alternate placement of the Commission. While most agreed that an independent organization was the best alternative, some thought that other possibilities ought to be explored. I hope that this problem as well as further possibilities for the Commission's agenda will be explored in new hearings in this Congress.

I have been pleased by the general support given this idea for a national study of the social implications by biomedical research. Furthermore, I have been impressed by the insight and social awareness shown by some segments of the health community.

One such group is the American College of Cardiology, which supported the kind of study outlined here in its meeting at Bethesda, Md., last fall.

Mr. President, I believe there is a continuing and intensifying need for a National Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society. I hope that this Congress will create one.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at this time a copy of the joint resolution, together with a copy of the report of task force IV from the report of the American College of Cardiology, a recent article from Atlantic by historian Donald Fleming entitled "On Living in a Biological Revolution," a recent article of mine in the *Journal of the American Women's Medical Association*, and the New York Times article "Human Egg Is Fertilized in Test Tube by Britons" of Saturday, February 15, 1969, to which I have referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution, report, and articles referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 47) to provide for a study and evaluation of scientific research in medicine in the United States, introduced by Mr. MONDALE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J. RES. 47

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this joint resolution may be cited as the "National Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society."

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. There is hereby established a National Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members to be appointed by the President from among representatives of medicine, law, social and physical science, theology, philosophy, health administration, and government.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members to serve as Chairman and one

to serve as Vice Chairman of the Commission.

(d) Eight members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission shall undertake a comprehensive investigation and study of the legal, social, and ethical implications of medical research, which shall include, without being limited to—

(1) an analysis and evaluation of the public and private national effort in the field of health science research, including assessment of current research and a projection of expected future developments and their implications for man and society. Agencies shall furnish such materials as are required for the Commission to make this assessment;

(2) an analysis and evaluation, through the use of seminars and public hearings and other appropriate means, of public attitudes toward such research;

(3) analysis and evaluation of implications for public policy in research, development, financing, organization and delivery of health services of such findings as are made with respect to the national effort and public attitudes.

(b) The Commission shall transmit to the President and to the Congress interim reports and, not later than three years after the first meeting of the Commission, one final report, containing detailed statements of the findings and conclusions of the Commission, together with its recommendations, including such recommendations for legislation and administrative action as it deems advisable.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or members thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, hold such hearings, take such testimony, and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission deems advisable. Any member authorized by the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission or any subcommittee or members thereof.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed to furnish to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman, such information as the Commission deems necessary to carry out its functions under this joint resolution.

(c) Subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the Commission, the Chairman shall have the power to—

(1) appoint and fix the compensation of an executive director, and such additional staff personnel as he deems necessary, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, but at rates not in excess of the maximum rate for GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of such title, and

(2) procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed \$50 a day for individuals.

(d) The Commission is authorized to enter into contracts with Federal or State agencies, private firms, institutions, and individuals for the conduct of research or surveys, the preparation of reports, and other activities necessary to the discharge of its duties.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

SEC. 6. Members of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of \$100 per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission and shall be entitled to reim-

bursment for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 7. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$1,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1970; \$1,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1971; and \$1,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1972.

TERMINATION

SEC. 8. On the ninetieth day after the date of submission of its final report to the President, the Commission shall cease to exist.

The report and articles presented by Mr. MONDALE are as follows:

[From the December issue of the American Journal of Cardiology, vol. 22, No. 6, pp. 896-912]

TASK GROUP IV—THE NATIONAL EFFORT AND REGIONAL PROGRAM

(By Murray (chairman), Chadwick, Chalkley, Cooper, Corday, Coyle, Dack, Dimond, Ebbin, Featherstone, Foshay, Fox, Hench, Holman, A. Sadler, Soffer, and Stevenson)

IV. 1. The national effort in transplant research must take into consideration the total load of patients potentially treatable by this method, the support of their treatment, the provision of regional centers for tissue procurement and storage, and the obligation of the government to continue the support of a strong program in basic biomedical research so that the field of transplantation as a whole may continue to progress.

Patient load and cost of kidney transplants

IV. 2. The size of the problem in patient load for kidney transplantation, facilities and cost has been analyzed in the Kidney Disease Program analysis (Burton report), in the report of the Committee on Chronic Kidney Disease (Gottschalk report), and in the pilot programs at dialysis centers. Projections based on available data indicate increasing numbers of kidney transplants annually to approximately 5,000 per year by 1977, the final year of the estimate. Facilities and personnel cost are also projected for the next decade in these reports. These latter estimates based on the data currently available might not be accurate for future projections. Therefore, the National Center for Chronic Kidney Disease Control has contracted with the North American Rockwell Corporation for the analysis of functional and cost information relative to clinical renal homotransplantation. This systematic analysis of six large transplantation-dialysis centers is in progress and will be completed by June 30, 1969. In addition, the National Center for Chronic Kidney Disease Control has contracted with the Arthur D. Little Company to survey life insurance companies, national and state organizations and chronic disease programs in an effort to explore how these various units can guide or participate in the solution of the problem. The newly formed National Institutes of Health Committee on Transplantation is actively developing a registry program which will provide for the nation the most up-to-date information on clinical experience in heart transplantation.

IV. 3. Currently the cost of dialysis for each patient averages \$14,000 annually in ten Public Health Service supported centers now in their third year of operation. Home dialysis today costs about \$4,000 annually for each patient after the equipment has been purchased.

IV. 4. The cost of kidney transplants is less each year and now ranges from about \$3,000 for uncomplicated cases to \$40,000 if complications develop. These costs do not include the expensive and time-consuming research, from which this knowledge arose in the first place, and from which new, more specific and less hazardous immunosuppressive therapy will develop in the future. Like-

wise, these costs do not include the rehabilitation of the patient, an important factor in restoring the patient to his family and society as a wage-earner.

Potential patients requiring heart transplants

IV. 5. Among Americans aged 15 to 64 years there are 200,000 deaths each year from acquired or congenital heart disease. About 160,000 of these deaths are due to coronary heart disease. This death rate from coronary heart disease is double that in Sweden and more than five times that in Japan. It is estimated that over 80,000 of these 160,000 deaths occur before the patient can reach the hospital. While some of these are the first and final events, unexpected and unheralded, others are suffered by patients who have had a previous coronary occlusion but who have recovered sufficiently to be discharged from the hospital, even to go back to work. Particularly for these people efforts should be made to prevent further occlusive episodes.

IV. 6. Those who survive to be hospitalized 80,000 with coronary heart disease and 40,000 with other forms of cardiac disease may need some form of therapy not available. From the vital statistics it is difficult to determine precisely how many of those patients would have been salvaged by modern therapy. With intensive medical care perhaps as many as 40,000 of the total 120,000 might be restored to the community. The number that require total cardiac replacement may be as few as 10,000 or as many as 50,000. (Whether this replacement is done by a total artificial heart or by a transplantation, the cost may approximate \$50,000 a patient or range from \$20,000 to \$100,000 at the present level of medical costs.)

IV. 7. The patients who cannot be saved by the best available medical treatment alone could benefit from a transplant or an assisting device. As the cardiopulmonary bypass machines and the cardiac pacemakers have shown, temporary mechanical devices can be life-saving. Mechanical hearts are now limited by power sources. In the present state of our knowledge, transplantation is a more practical long-term alternative for such patients.

IV. 8. National surveys have indicated that 70 per cent of the population is willing to donate their bodies for medical research and therapy. However, the total pool of donors (those dying from all causes other than heart disease or cancer and aged 15 to 64 years) is only 260,000 people. This group includes those who die from infections, blood disorders and degenerative diseases; not all would be suitable donors. Matching the pool of reputedly willing donors with a possible 50,000 recipients would require solutions to current problems in organ preservation and transportation, as well as the evolution of extremely efficient matching systems. If in the future as in the past, donors derive largely from victims of trauma or spontaneous brain hemorrhage, only about 63,700 potential donors are available annually. Thus, the impressive problems of logistics and preservation are increased at least threefold.

Education of public and legislatures

IV. 9. Some mechanism should exist to educate, inform and advise the public, local and federal legislatures with regard to priorities and capabilities in biomedical science and expensive new forms of treatment. The medical-scientific community has an equal obligation to be in constant communication with the public news media.

IV. 10. The educational value of responsible medical and health science news reports are great, and physician-scientists have a responsibility to the public. As an example, the current increase in organ donations is a direct result of increased public awareness. Increased respect for the medical profession can be obtained by the avoidance of undignified publicity. Patients and their families,

donors' names and conversations about donation must all be regarded as matters of personal privacy, their knowledge a privileged communication. The release of transplant information should be informative and educational without violating these rights of privacy of the individual.

Financing clinical transplantation

IV, 11. There is an immediate, pressing problem of funding for clinical transplants. This should include the immediate early care and the later rehabilitation. Finance of treatment must be considered as a continuum from the onset of the disease through dialysis and transplantation until economic and social rehabilitation is realized. The cost of research must be included at the clinical level. Clinical investigation associated with patient care is as important as laboratory research. Both must be supported simultaneously if we are to provide care and maintain leadership.

IV, 12. The source of the financing will continue to be from both the private and public sectors of society. The Public Health Service mission is to support research including that on man. The Regional Medical Programs are directed to support and to supplement patient care. The Regional Medical Programs welcome the cooperation of private voluntary funding. The National Center for Health Services, Research and Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, may in the future become involved significantly in serving this need for funding. It is increasingly important to define the roles of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the crippled Children's Services, Medicaid and Medicare and the Veterans Administration services, together with the role of insurance companies and third party payments in this problem of funding for transplants. The consensus seems to indicate that the most practical mechanism for payments will be through private insurance and through Medicaid and Medicare, with necessary amendments to Title 18 to lower the age below 65 for funding of transplant patients with total disability, and with major assistance from the Regional Medical Programs.

IV, 13. The final solution to funding depends on recognizing and maintaining three levels of responsibilities. The first is the traditional responsibility of the physician-scientist to the patient. The second is financial. This almost certainly will require a totally new concept of a "trust fund" for catastrophic or dread illnesses. The term "dread or catastrophic illness" will require definition by the medical profession with careful consideration for the subsequent effects of such definitions on patients, their families, insurance companies and legislative bodies. Such a trust fund would best be underwritten by a combination of public and private funds with special riders appropriately devised on insurance policies. The third responsibility is to the political community, and it is in this consideration that social and cultural priorities must be weighed. Therefore, decisions for funding involve the people's needs in the broadest sense.

IV, 14. Unutilized cadaver organs suitable for donation represent a waste readily translatable into dollars needed for patient care. As an example, 18 waiting recipients in the Boston area currently represent 1,187 patient days awaiting a donor kidney, calculated as a maximum of \$158,000 if hospitalized or a minimum of \$15,000 if on home dialysis.

IV, 15. Regional means to provide matching of available organs to suitable recipients are already established and supported in Los Angeles, Boston and elsewhere. Private funds have been solicited and may become available as possible sources of community support for the vitally needed centers for organ procurement on a regional basis. Such centers would have a vital function in the education of the general public to the need and mechanics of organ salvage. In addition, the

education of the physician regarding the current status of transplantation can best be developed at this level in the local hospitals and medical societies. Hospital trustees and administrators must participate in a realistic approach to financial problems. Hospital endowments should not be jeopardized to care for transplantation patients, but neither should the financial burden rest indefinitely on the physician and his research grants.

National Advisory Commission

IV, 16. A review of the economic, social legal and ethical implications of biomedical research should be a continuing activity of a standing organization, either a new commission, or a responsive arm of a currently existing agency such as the National Academy of Science (or a National Academy of Medicine), attuned to current medical conditions. Possibly units of existing societies such as the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology or the American Medical Association could fill this purpose. Such an activity becomes essential to success in an effort as promising and as national in scope as organ transplantation.

The advent of cardiac transplantation serves further to underscore the need for a commission which should be broadly representative of the scientific as well as the legal, religious and governmental segments of the community. It should consider all aspects of the national effort to improve health care and provide the President and Congress with recommendations for the establishment of national goals, priorities and the outlines of legislation necessary to accomplish these objectives. It should not, itself, become operational as a research-care agency thus competing with the universities and hospitals for available funds; it should advise the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Congress, rather than seeking funds for itself. It is the responsibility of the physician and voluntary scientific bodies to assist such a commission in its deliberations, and thus to assist in the national realization of the full potential of this remarkable new treatment for diseases of the heart and other organs.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

V, 1. Cardiac transplantation, still in an early stage of development, shows promise for the future treatment of many people with severe heart disease; it should be conducted by surgeons with proven capability in cardiac surgery, physicians experienced in all phases of cardiology, and with the collaboration of persons experienced in immunosuppression and transplant biology.

V, 2. The need for new knowledge from basic and applied research for the continued improvement of all transplantation is emphasized.

V, 3. A National Transplant Registry, utilizing the experience of the present Kidney Transplant Registry, should be established. The organization assuming this responsibility might make available computer-processed data on all clinical transplantation of all vascularized organs.

V, 4. The costs of patient care are very great and generally cannot be borne by patients or their families. New sources of support must be mobilized—individual, local and federal. Private and public insurance must be coordinated. Support for patient care can appropriately be borne by research grants only when the research itself is productive.

V, 5. A regional type of organization is recommended both for the referral and management of patients, and for the procurement, preservation and distribution of scarce anatomic resources. There should be interregional coordination.

V, 6. The Uniform Anatomical Gift Act, prepared by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, has been endorsed by the American Bar Association. It is essential that all appropriate medical

and legal groups work together to support the adoption of the Uniform Act in every state.

V, 7. The Regional Medical Programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should provide an ideal new source for the financial support of patient care, clinical research, regional organ procurement, preservation and distribution.

V, 8. The basic science background of transplant science has been supported by the National Science Foundation, National Institutes of Health and private foundations as well as, to a lesser extent, other governmental agencies including the Army, Navy and National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Basic science lies very close to clinical application in the transplant field; basic advances (ALG, for example) may reach clinical application very rapidly. If current cutbacks in support of research continue, a severe slow-down in the increasing safety and applicability of cardiac transplantation will soon become evident. Proper federal support must be restored to these agencies, particularly the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health.

V, 9. A new pattern for a commission or agency on Health Service and Science is recommended to protect and to maintain the national effort in biomedical sciences. This agency should maintain appropriate emphasis and priorities for all important fields, such as tissue transplantation.

[From the Atlantic Monthly]

ON LIVING IN A BIOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

NOTE.—Harvard historian Donald Fleming takes a controversial look at the hazards and the sociological problems that are being spawned by the new discoveries in biology. They constitute a revolution, he believes, likely to be as decisive in the history of the next 150 years as the Industrial Revolution has been since 1750.

Here are a dozen things that we have discovered in the last fifteen years.

1. We have discovered the structure of the genetic substance DNA—the double helix of Watson and Crick—the general nature of the process by which the chromosomal strands are replicated.

2. We have discovered in viruses how to achieve the perfect replication of DNA molecules that are biologically effective.

3. We have discovered the code by which DNA specifies the insertion of amino acids in proteins.

4. We have discovered how to produce hybrid cells between the most diverse vertebrate species, including hybrids between man and mouse; and some of these hybrids have gone on multiplying for several (cellular) generations.

5. We have discovered the power of viruses to invade bacterial and other cells and to insert the genes of the virus into the genome of the host; and we have good reason to conjecture, though not yet to affirm, that this phenomenon is involved in cancer.

6. We have discovered hormonal contraceptives and grasped in principle the strategy for devising a contraceptive pill for both sexes, by knocking out certain hormones of the hypothalamus, the master sexual gland of the body.

7. We have discovered on a large scale in the livestock industry that deep-frozen mammalian sperm, suitably mixed with glycerol, can be banked indefinitely and drawn upon as desired to produce viable offspring.

8. We have discovered in human females how to produce superovulation, the release of several eggs into the oviduct at the same time instead of the customary one, with the possibility on the horizon of withdrawing substantial numbers of human eggs for storage, culture in test tubes, or surgical manipulation, without destroying their viability.

9. We have discovered in rabbits how to regulate the sex of offspring by removing fer-

tilized ova from the female before they become implanted in the wall of the uterus, "sexing" the embryos by a technique entailing the deletion of some 200 to 300 cells, flushing embryos of the "wrong" sex down the drain, and then in a substantial minority of cases, successfully reinserting in the uterus embryos of the desired sex that proceed to develop normally.

10. We have discovered drugs, above all the hallucinogens, that simulate psychotic states of mind; and have thereby rendered it plausible that the latter are the product of "in-born errors of metabolism" and as such remediable by the administration of drugs.

11. We have discovered in principle, and to a certain extent in practice, how to repress the immunological "defenses" of the body.

12. We have discovered a combination of immunological and surgical techniques by which the kidney, liver, or heart can be transplanted with fair prospects of the recipient's survival for months or even years—the first constructive proposal for turning our death wish on the highways to some advantage.

Each of these is a major discovery or complex of discoveries in itself, but they add up to far more than the sum of their parts. They constitute a veritable Biological Revolution likely to be as decisive for the history of the next 150 years as the Industrial Revolution has been for the period since 1750.

Definitions of what constitutes a revolution are legion. An undocinaire formulation would be that every full-scale revolution has three main components: a distinctive attitude toward the world; a program for utterly transforming it; and an unshakable, not to say fanatical, confidence that this program can be enacted—a world view, a program, and a faith.

In this sense, Darwinism did not usher in a full-scale biological revolution. Darwinism was a profoundly innovating world view, but one that prescribed no steps to be taken, no victories over nature to be celebrated, no program of triumphs to be successively gained. Indeed, one of the most plausible constructions to be put upon it was that nothing much could be done except to submit patiently to the winnowing processes of nature.

This defect was not lost upon Darwin's own cousin Sir Francis Galton, who tried to construct an applied science of eugenics for deliberately selecting out the best human stocks. But Galtonian eugenics was sadly lacking in any authentic biological foundation. Once the science of Mendelian genetics came to general notice about 1900, a more promising form of eugenics began to commend itself, the effort to induce artificial mutation of genes in desirable directions.

This was long the animating faith of one of the most extraordinary Americans of the twentieth century, the geneticist Herman J. Muller. He was the actual discoverer, in 1927, of artificial mutation through X rays. But this great achievement, for which he got the Nobel Prize, was a tremendous disappointment to Muller the revolutionary. There was no telling which genes would mutate in which direction, and he came to suspect that the vast majority of mutations were actually harmful in the present situation of the human race.

Muller at the end of his life—he died in 1967—was thrown back upon essentially Galtonian eugenics. He did bring this up to date by his proposal for sperm banks in which the sperm of exceptionally intelligent and socially useful men could be stored for decades and used for artificial insemination. He also envisioned, in the not too distant future, ova banks for storing superior human eggs. But none of these modern touches, these innovations in technique, could conceal the fact that this was still the old eugenics newly garbed, but equally subjective and imprecise.

BIOLOGICAL ENGINEERING

The Biological Revolution that Muller failed to bring off was already in progress when

he died, but on very different terms from his own. There is a new eugenics in prospect, not the marriage agency kind, but a form of "biological engineering." When this actually comes to pass, chromosomes, segments of chromosomes, and even individual genes will be inserted at will into the genome. Alternatively, germ cells cultured in laboratories will be enucleated and entire tailor-made DNA molecules substituted. Alternatively still, superior genes will be brought into play by hybridization of cells.

The detailed variants upon these general strategies are almost innumerable. They all have in common the fact that they cannot be accomplished at present except in viruses and bacteria or in cell cultures. But it would be a bold man who would dogmatically affirm that none of these possibilities could be brought to bear upon human genetics by the year 2000.

That is a long way off for the firebrands of the Biological Revolution. The Nobel Prize winner Joshua Lederberg in particular has been pushing the claims of a speedier remedy, christened by him "euphenics," and defined as "the engineering of human development." The part of human development that fascinates Lederberg the most is the embryology, seen by him as the process of initially translating the instructions coded in the DNA into "the living, breathing organism." Embryology, he says, is "very much in the situation of atomic physics in 1900; having had an honorable and successful tradition it is about to begin!" He thinks it will not take long to mature—"from 5 to no more than 20 years." He adds that most predictions of research progress in recent times have proved to be "far too conservative."

The progress that Lederberg has in mind is the application of new embryological techniques to human affairs. He is at once madened and obsessed by the nine-months phase in which the human organism has been exempted from experimental and therapeutic intervention—such a waste of time before the scientists can get at us. But the embryo's turn is coming. It would be incredible, he says, "if we did not soon have the basis of developmental engineering technique to regulate, for example, the size of the human brain by prenatal or early postnatal intervention."

SEX CONTROL

Nothing as sensational as this has yet been attempted, but the new phase in embryology that Lederberg heralded is undoubtedly getting under way. The most conspicuous figure at present is Robert Edwards of the physiology laboratory at Cambridge University. In 1966 Edwards reported the culture of immature egg cells from the human ovary up to the point of ripeness for fertilization. He made tentative claims to have actually achieved fertilization in test tubes. The incipient hullabaloo in the newspapers about the specter of "test tube babies" led Edwards to clamp a tight lid of security over his researches in progress.

In the spring of this year, however, he and Richard Gardner announced their success in "sexing" fertilized rabbit eggs before implantation in the wall of the uterus and then inducing 20 percent of the reinserted eggs to produce normal full-term infants. The aspect of these findings that attracted general attention, the prospect of regulating the sex of mammalian offspring, is not likely to be of permanent interest. For this purpose, Edwards and Gardner's technique is obviously a clumsy expedient by comparison with predetermining the "sex" of spermatozoa—presently impossible but certainly not inconceivable within the next generation.

The real importance of Edwards and Gardner's work lies elsewhere. They have opened up the possibility of subjecting the early embryo to microsurgery, with the deletion and "inoculation" of cells at the will of the investigator, and the production of viable offspring from the results. The manu-

facture of "chimeras" in the modern biological sense—that is, with genetically distinct cells in the same organism—is clearly in prospect.

Work in this vein has just begun. The only branch of euphenics that has already become something more than a promising growth stock in science is the suppression of immunological reactions against foreign tissues and the accompanying, highly limited, successes in the transplantation of organs.

BIOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONARIES

The technical details and immediate prospects in eugenics and euphenics, however fascinating, are less important than the underlying revolutionary temper in biology. The most conspicuous representatives of this temper are Lederberg himself, the biochemical geneticist Edward L. Tatum, and Francis Crick of the model—all of them Nobel Prize winners, with the corresponding leverage upon public opinion. Robert Edwards, though slightly singled by the blast of publicity about test tube babies, is clearly in training for the revolutionary cadre.

One of the stigmas of revolutionaries in any field is their resolute determination to break with traditional culture. For a scientist, the most relevant definition of culture is his own field of research. All of these men would angrily resent being bracketed with biologists in general. Biology has always been a rather loose confederation of naturalists and experimentalists, overlapping in both categories with medical researchers. Today even the pretense that these men somehow constitute a community has been frayed to the breaking point.

At Harvard, for example, the revolutionaries have virtually seceded from the old Biology Department and formed a new department of their own, Biochemistry and Molecular Biology. The younger molecular biologists hardly bother to conceal their contempt for the naturalists, whom they see as old fogies obsequiously attentive to the world as it is rather than bent upon turning it upside down.

In one respect, the molecular biologists do overlap with the contemporary naturalists and indeed with most creative scientists in general—in their total detachment from religion. In a way, this is a point that could have been made at any time in the last seventy-five years, but with one significant difference. Herman Muller, for example, born in 1890, had no truck with religion. But he was self-consciously antireligious.

The biological revolutionaries of today are not antireligious but simply unreligious. They give the impression not of defending themselves against religion but of subsisting in a world where that has never been a felt pressure upon them. They would agree with many devout theologians that we are living in a post-Christian world, to such an extent that some of the most doctrinaire biological revolutionaries are able to recognize without embarrassment, and even with a certain gracious condescension, that Christianity did play a useful role in defining the values of the Western world.

The operative word here is in the past tense. Francis Crick says that the facts of science are producing and must produce values that owe nothing to Christianity. "Take," he says, "the suggestion of making a child whose head is twice as big as normal. There is going to be no agreement between Christians and any humanists who lack their particular prejudice about the sanctity of the individual, and who simply want to try it scientifically."

This sense of consciously taking up where religion left off is illuminating in another sense for the revolutionary character of contemporary biology. The parallel is very marked between the original Christian Revolution against the values of the classical world and the Biological Revolution against religious values.

All the great revolutionaries, whether early Christians or molecular biologists, are men of good hope. The future may or may not belong to those who believe in it, but cannot belong to those who don't. Yet at certain points in history, most conspicuously perhaps at intervals between the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 and the coming of the Great Depression in 1929, the horizons seem to be wide open, and the varieties of good hope contending for allegiance are numerous. But the tidings of good hope don't become revolutionary except when the horizons begin to close in and the plausible versions of good hope have dwindled almost to the vanishing point.

For the kind of good hope that has the maximum historical impact is the one that capitalizes upon a prevalent despair at the corruption of the existing world, and then carries conviction in pointing to itself as the only possible exit from despair. Above everything else, revolutionaries are the men who keep their spirits up when everybody else's are sagging. In this sense, the greatest revolutionaries of the Western world to date have been precisely the early Christians who dared to affirm in the darkest days of the classical world that something far better was in process and could be salvaged from the ruins.

Both of these points are exemplified in the Biological Revolution that has now begun—despair at our present condition, but infinite hope for the future if the biologists' prescription is taken. Anybody looking for jeremiads on our present state could not do better than to consult the new biologists. "The facts of human reproduction," says Joshua Lederberg, "are all gloomy—the stratification of fecundity by economic status, the new environmental insults to our genes, the sheltering by humanitarian medicine of onc-lethal genes."

More generally, the biologists deplore the aggressive instincts of the human animal, now armed with nuclear weapons, his lamentably low average intelligence for coping with increasingly complicated problems, and his terrible prolificity, no longer mitigated by a high enough death rate. It is precisely an aspect of the closing down of horizons and depletion of comfortable hopes in the second half of the twentieth century that conventional medicine is now seen by the biological revolutionaries as one of the greatest threats to the human race.

Yet mere prophets of gloom can never make a revolution. In fact, the new biologists are almost the only group among our contemporaries with a reasoned hopefulness about the long future—if the right path is taken. There are of course many individuals of a naturally cheerful or feckless temperament, today as always, but groups of men with an articulated hope for the future of the entire race are much rarer. The theologians no longer qualify, many Communists have lost their hold upon the future even by their own lights, and the only other serious contenders are the space scientists and astronauts. But just to get off the earth is a rather vague prescription for our ills. Few people even in the space program would make ambitious claims on this score. In a long historical retrospect, they may turn out to have been too modest.

This is not a charge that is likely ever to be leveled against the new biologists. It is well known by now that J. D. Watson begins his account of his double-helix double by saying that he had never seen Francis Crick in a modest mood. But after all, modesty is not the salient quality to be looked for in the new breed of biologists. If the world will only listen, they know how to put us on the high road to salvation.

CUSTOM-MADE PEOPLE

What exactly does their brand of salvation entail? Perhaps the most illuminating way to put the matter is that their ideal is the manufacture of man. In a manufacturing process, the number of units to be produced

is a matter of rational calculation beforehand and of tight control thereafter. Within certain tolerances, specifications are laid down for a satisfactory product. Quality-control is maintained by checking the output and replacing defective parts. After the product has been put to use, spare parts can normally be supplied to replace those that have worn out.

This is the program of the new biologists—control of numbers by foolproof contraception; gene manipulation and substitution; surgical and biochemical intervention in the embryonic and neonatal phases; organ transplants or replacements at will.

Of these, only contraception is technically feasible at present. Routine organ transplants will probably be achieved for a wide range of suitable organs in less than five years. The grafting of mechanical organs, prosthetic devices inserted in the body, will probably take longer. Joshua Lederberg thinks that embryonic and neonatal intervention may be in flood tide by, say, 1984. As for gene manipulation and substitution in human beings, that is the remotest prospect of all—maybe by the year 2000. But we must not forget Lederberg's well-founded conviction that most predictions in these matters are likely to be too conservative. We are already five to ten years ahead of what most informed people expected to be the schedule for organ transplants in human beings.

The great question becomes, what is it going to be like to be living in a world where such things are coming true? How will the Biological Revolution affect our scheme of values? Nobody could possibly take in all the implications in advance, but some reasonable conjectures are in order.

It is virtually certain that the moral sanctions of birth control are going to be transformed. Down to the present time, the battle for birth control has been fought largely in terms of the individual couple's right to have the number of babies that they want at the desired intervals. But it is built into the quantity-controls envisioned by the Biological Revolution, the control of the biological inventory, that this is or ought to be a question of social policy rather than individual indulgence.

Many factors are converging upon many people to foster this general attitude, but the issue is particularly urgent from the point of view of the biological revolutionaries. In the measure that they succeed in making the human race healthier, first by transplants and later on by genetic tailoring, they will be inexorably swamped by their own successes unless world population is promptly brought under control. The irrepressible Malthus is springing from his lightly covered grave to threaten them with catastrophic victories.

LICENSED BABIES

The only hope is birth control. The biologists can contribute the techniques, but the will to employ them on the requisite scale is another matter. The most startling proposal to date for actually enforcing birth control does not come from a biologist but from the Nobel-Prize-winning physicist W. B. Shockley, one of the inventors of the transistor. Shockley's plan is to render all women of childbearing age reversibly sterile by implanting a contraceptive capsule beneath the skin, to be removed by a physician only on the presentation of a government license to have a child. The mind boggles at the prospect of bootleg babies. This particular proposal is not likely to be enacted in the near future, even in India.

What we may reasonably expect is a continually rising chorus by the biologists, moralists, and social philosophers of the next generation to the effect that nobody has a right to have children, and still less the right to determine on personal grounds how many. There are many reasons why a couple may not want to procreate anyhow, so that there might be a happy coincidence between con-

traception seen by them as a right and by statesmen and biologists as a duty. But the suspicion is that even when people moderate their appetite in the matter of babies, they may still want to have larger families than the earth can comfortably support. The possibility of predetermining sex would undoubtedly be helpful in this respect, but might not be enough to make people forgo a third child. That is where the conflict would arise between traditional values, however moderately indulged, and the values appropriate to the Biological Revolution.

This issue is bound to be fiercely debated. But some of the most profound implications of the Biological Revolution may never present themselves for direct ratification. In all probability, the issues will go by default as we gratefully accept specific boons from the new biology.

Take, for example, the role of the patient in medicine. One of the principal strands in Western medicine from the time of the Greeks has been the endeavor to enlist the cooperation of the patient in his own cure. In certain respects, this venerable tradition has grown much stronger in the last century. Thus the rising incidence of degenerative diseases, like ulcers, heart trouble, and high blood pressure, has underscored the absolute necessity of inducing the patient to observe a healthful regimen, literally a way of life.

This has been the whole point of Freudian psychiatry as a mode of therapy, that cures can be wrought only by a painful exertion of the patient himself. We often forget, for good reasons, how traditional Freudianism is after the one big shock has been assimilated. In the present context, it actually epitomizes the Western tradition of bringing the patient's own personality to bear upon his medical problems.

Where do we go from here? The degenerative diseases are going to be dealt with increasingly by surgical repair of organs, by organ transplants, and later on by the installation of mechanical organs and eventually by the genetic deletion of weak organs before they occur. The incentive to curb your temper or watch your diet to keep your heart going will steadily decline.

As for mental illness, the near future almost certainly lies with psychopharmacology and the far future with genetic tailoring. Though the final pieces stubbornly decline to fall into place, the wise money is on the proposition that schizophrenia and other forms of psychosis are biochemical disorders susceptible of a pharmacological cure. If we are not presently curing any psychoses by drugs, we are tranquilizing and antidepressing many psychotics and emptying mental hospitals.

Neuroses, the theme of Freudian psychoanalysis, are another matter. It is not easy to envision a biochemical remedy for them. But even for neuroses, we already have forms of behavioral therapy that dispense with the Freudian tenet of implicating the patient in his own cure. For the very long future, it is certainly not inconceivable that genetic tailoring could delete neurotic propensities.

Everywhere we turn, the story is essentially the same. Cures are increasingly going to be wrought upon, done to, the patient as a passive object. The strength of his own personality, the force of his character, his capacity for reintegrating himself, are going to be increasingly irrelevant in medicine.

GENETIC TAILORING, BOON OR BANE?

This leads to what many people would regard as the biggest question of all. In what sense would we have a self to integrate under the new dispensation? The Princeton theologian Paul Ramsey has now been appointed professor of "genetic ethics" at the Georgetown University Medical School, presumably the first appointment of its kind. He thinks that genetic tailoring would be a "violation of man." To this it must be said that under the present scheme of things, many babies get born with catastrophic genes that are not exactly an enhancement of man. Our present

genetic self is a brute datum, sometimes very brutal, and anyhow it is hard to see how we can lose our identity before we have any.

As for installing new organs in the body, there is no evident reason why the personality should be infringed upon by heart or kidney transplants per se. Brain transplants would be different, but surely they would be among the last to come. States of mind regulated by drugs we already possess, and obviously they do alter our identity in greater or lesser degree. But even here we must not forget that some identities are intolerable to their distracted possessors.

We must not conclude, however, that the importance of these developments has been exaggerated. The point is that the immediate practical consequences will probably not present themselves as threatening to the individuals involved—quite the contrary. Abstract theological speculations about genetic tailoring would be totally lost upon a woman who could be sure in advance that her baby would not be born mentally retarded or physically handicapped. The private anxieties of individuals are likely to diminish rather than increase any effective resistance to the broader consequences of the Biological Revolution.

One of these is already implicit in predicting a sense of growing passivity on the part of patients, of not participating as a subject in their own recovery. This might well be matched by a more general sense of the inevitability of letting oneself be manipulated by technicians—of becoming an article of manufacture.

The difficulty becomes to estimate what psychological difference this would make. In any Hegelian overview of history, we can only become articles of manufacture because "we" have set up as the manufacturers. But the first person plural is a slippery customer. We the manufacturers would be everybody and we the manufacturers a minority of scientists and technicians. Most people's capacity to identify with the satisfactions of the creative minority is certainly no greater in science than in other fields, and may well be less.

The beneficiaries of the Biological Revolution are not likely to feel that they are in control of the historical process from which they are benefiting. But they will not be able to indulge any feelings of alienation from science without endangering the specific benefits that they are unwilling to give up.

The best forecast would be for general acquiescence, though occasionally sullen, in whatever the Biological Revolution has to offer and gradually adjusting our values to signify that we approve of what we will actually be getting. The will to cooperate in being made biologically perfect is likely to take the place in the hierarchy of values that used to be occupied by being humbly submissive to spiritual counselors chastising the sinner for his own salvation. The new form of spiritual sloth will be not to want to be bodily perfect and genetically improved. The new avarice will be to cherish our miserable hoard of genes and favor the children that resemble us.

[From the Journal of the American Women's Association, December 1968]

A COMMISSION ON HEALTH SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

(By HON. WALTER F. MONDALE)

ABSTRACT

With the increasing use of renal transplantation and the introduction of human heart transplantation this year, physicians and laymen alike are caught up in the midst of a health science revolution. We need to update social mechanisms and legal regulations to keep pace with our biomedical discoveries. A Commission on Health Science and Society is needed in which physicians, lawyers, theologians, social scientists and government officials could participate. Public education, rational decision-making

processes, and clarification of social, legal, and ethical implications are among the goals.

Physicians have known for some time that we were on the verge of achieving heart transplants. But, understandably, the public was taken by surprise. Ever since that historic day when Dr. Christiaan Barnard performed his first heart transplant operation, people around the world have marveled at this latest advance in the field of tissue transplantation. Public interest, press coverage, and professional concern about heart transplants have been unprecedented.

Development of the heart transplant procedure is not an isolated event. Rather, it is part of the fabulous history of medical breakthroughs which includes development of renal transplantation procedures.

HEALTH SCIENCE REVOLUTION

We are in the midst of a health science revolution. It is not only kidney and heart transplants that prove this point, but also this year saw the development of an artificial viral core, and new developments in the field of behavior control. These health science breakthroughs are changing the meaning of disease and death, and bringing with them the potential for prolonging and altering life in ways never before available to man. Yet, while we dream of the future, our eyes must focus on other present-day news stories:

"Technically, murder may be committed in the transplanting of organs from one human to another," Deputy District Attorney John W. Miner of Los Angeles said.

"I couldn't give legal approval, but I told him I would neither file nor press charges," said Joseph Jachimczyk of the Nicks-Stuck-wish heart transplant in Houston, Texas.

"It was no donation," said a bitter William Tucker of the transplant of his brother's heart in a Richmond, Virginia operation.

Heart transplants are remarkable yet they along with other modern breakthroughs illustrate a continuing problem that confronts this nation—the gap between the rapid advance of biomedical knowledge and the slow development of social mechanisms for putting such breakthroughs to the service of man. Neither our laws nor our public policies have kept pace with the rapid succession of biomedical breakthroughs. The result is a tremendous backlog of unresolved questions for our society.

The quotations illustrate some of the issues now before us—the definition of death; the responsibilities of Medical Examiners; and the rights and responsibilities of physicians, donors, and recipients.

From 7,000 to 15,000 Americans die each year for lack of kidney transplants and dialysis facilities. As many as 80,000 could benefit annually from heart transplants if enough organs, transplantation teams, and facilities were available. *Who shall live and who shall die?*

Each kidney transplant procedure costs from \$10,000 to \$22,000. Each heart transplant operation costs \$50,000 to \$75,000. *Who will pay the cost?*

For \$1.2 billion, we could save the 25,000 or more kidney-diseased patients who will need transplants or dialysis in the next ten years. For the same amount of money, we could extend routine health care that most of us take for granted to hundreds of thousands of indigents who desperately need it. *What are our priorities?*

These are but a few of the questions now confronting our society as a result of but two biomedical developments. These questions and others are fundamental and important, not only to those in the medical profession, but to the general public as well.

There is a gap between the potential health science offers, and the actual services available to our society. Our laws are outdated. Funds are inadequate for health

science research, but most especially for medical care. We lack a mechanism for making rational decisions about spending priorities, and the list could run on and on.

Congress must not restrict research funds. Congress must not enact a set of Federal regulations to restrict the development of health research. On the other hand, some have suggested that clarification of state and local laws is essential.

Some details governing transplant operations should not be released. On the other hand, many feel that the public does have a right to know the basis on which decisions are being made.

I have followed the efforts of many groups to consider some of the social issues in tissue transplantation. Numerous professional organizations such as the American Heart Association have established Ethics Committees. The National Academy of Sciences has established a committee to deal with issues in the field of tissue transplantation. The Commissioners on Uniform State Laws have drafted a Uniform Anatomical Gift Act to deal with some of the inadequacies of state statutes in this area. Yet it is my conviction that these efforts are not enough.

The letters I have received and the comments I have heard all indicate the same reaction: people are confused and ill-informed, while some are frightened. There does not seem to be an organization or group able to mount the kind of unbiased, comprehensive attack on the problems required at this time. The answer is neither secrecy, nor fragmented discussion and decision. Rather what this nation needs is public and penetrating debate of all of the issues involved in health research and the delivery of care. Such debate would foster development of a needed consensus about the relationship between health research and the delivery of health services. I introduced legislation in the last session of Congress to promote this consensus through the creation of a Commission on Health Science and Society.

THE COMMISSION ON HEALTH SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

S.J. Resolution 145 provided for the establishment of a Commission of fifteen members to be appointed by the President. Physicians, lawyers, theologians, social scientists, and governmental officials would be represented. The Commission would draw together some of the best minds in the country, and include the academic community, the working scientists, and laymen. A staff of experts would give needed research and reporting help.

This Commission would study the ethical, social, and legal implications of health science research and development; analyze and evaluate the public and private national effort in this field; determine public attitudes, and sift out the public policy implications of these dramatic health developments. At the end of a year, the Commission would report its findings to the President and the Congress and make recommendations for legislation and administrative action.

Like the Health Manpower Commission, the Health Science Commission would study issues. Like the Commission on Civil Disorders, it would seek to educate. It would make use of the efforts of professional and governmental groups but go beyond them to broader social questions.

The audience of this Commission would be the public-at-large, the Congress, and governmental agencies. While it might continue as a Commission for another year, it also might become a useful part of the permanent policymaking process, within the government or as part of an independent Council of Health or Social Advisers.

I introduced the Resolution after consultation with more than 200 deans of schools of medicine, law, and theology, as well as social scientists and public policy experts.

*New York Times, May 8, 1967.

**Washington Post, May 8, 1968.

***Washington Post, May 14, 1968.

Their response was overwhelmingly positive. Included in the first tally were twenty-five heads of medical schools and schools of public health, eighteen deans of theological schools and theologians; sixteen deans of law schools; twenty-seven physicians and scientists; and fifty-one other men, including social scientists, public administrators, and the public-at-large. Typical comments were:

Dr. Adrian Kantrowitz, Surgeon, Maimonides Hospital, New York, N.Y.: "I fully agree that the experimental programs that are now rapidly developing in modern medicine and surgery raise grave questions of moral, ethical, and legal problems which should be carefully considered. . . . I feel it is entirely appropriate that the member of Congress of the United States become involved in this thinking."

Miss JoAnn Jensen, R.N., Surgical Intensive Care Unit, St. Mary's Hospital, Rochester, Minnesota: "Your profound questions for our society . . . impressed me. . . . The problem is (sic) very real one to me because I am the head nurse of the surgical intensive care unit at St. Mary's Hospital. Each person has his own ideas on the subject, but it seems to be extremely difficult for some people to let a man or woman die without heroic effort to prolong or restore a life. . . . I congratulate your foresight and concern to pick a Commission to help resolve this growing problem."

The initial favorable reaction on the part of those from whom I received letters was echoed by the response of my colleagues in the Senate. With Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma as co-author, I also was joined by fifteen other Senators as co-sponsors of the Resolution. Hearings were held during March and early April by the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Committee on Government Operations, chaired by Senator Harris. The hearings turned out to be history in the making.

Several principles were clear at the time the hearings began.

First, the scope of the Commission's inquiry would have to be broad, including not only tissue transplantation but other areas as well. We had become aware of the Burton and Gottschalk reports on kidney disease, for example, and were well aware that there were other areas to explore.

Second, the work of the Commission would need to include study of public policy issues—such matters as goals, priorities, types of governmental and private involvement, financing, and administrative and legislative needs.

Third, the Commission would need to serve as an interdisciplinary study group, not as a regulatory agency. One year would scarcely be enough time to address all of the issues, much less propose regulations.

As the outstanding list of physicians, scientists, theologians, lawyers, social scientists, and governmental officials appeared, the support became evident.

Typical of the comments were those from Dr. Norman Shumway, pioneer in transplant surgery: "I feel much can be done if such a Commission investigates and educates," he said. "Transplantation of the heart, fortunately or unfortunately, cannot be done without public notice and support. . . . Further, there is much more at stake here than heart transplants. Liver, kidney, pancreas, even bowel and lung grafts are and will be feasible. We are at the threshold of a wondrous new era in medicine, and doctors will need help to realize fully its potential. My guess is that much of this assistance will come from sources outside the medical profession."

Attention focused on the Commission agenda. Most of the physicians and scientists felt the Commission should address issues in transplantation and human experimentation such as the definition of death, the rights of providers and recipients of organs, and the

responsibilities of physicians. As Dr. Henry Beecher of Harvard University put it, the Commission should study issues in the "grey area" between experimentation and therapy, where the needs of the individual and those of society may conflict. He reported that he knew of eleven examples in Europe where individuals whose hearts were still beating had served as donors for organs. While he knew of no similar examples in the United States, he said our present definition of death obliges us "to consign to the grave countless organs that could be used to save people who are still salvageable."

Others felt the Commission should add genetics to its agenda. While it was stressed that the days of "genetic engineering" were far away, some witnesses were troubled by the potential power to reprogram cells and to program evolution. Who should make these decisions, they asked. And on what basis? They suggested the Commission consider the mutagenic quality of drugs, air pollutants and the like, and discuss ways of disseminating our present knowledge of genetics and disease more widely.

Behavior control became a potential agenda item through the testimony of Dr. David Kretch of the University of California and Dr. Seymour Kety of Harvard University. Dr. Kety talked about the present use of implanted electrodes and drugs to affect the mood and behavior of mental patients. Dr. Kretch discussed the potential for environmental and biochemical manipulation of the brain to influence and control behavior and thinking. Said Dr. Kretch, "frequently in the history of science, application has run far ahead of understanding." Presenting differing conceptions of a "Brave New World" of behavior control, Dr. Kretch raised some questions for the Commission: Who would decide whether an I.Q. was to be raised, and on what basis? Whose abilities would be enhanced, and what criteria would guide selection?

I was particularly glad that we had the opportunity to hear not only from physicians and scientists engaged in health research, but also from persons primarily interested and engaged in patient care. They brought an important point to our attention: one cannot consider questions of research and technology without at the same time considering health goals for the nation as a whole.

The views of many were summed up in the brilliant testimony of Dr. William Stewart, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. The high level of federal support for research activities requires continuous review of its social consequences, he said; it is now time for the nation to consider delivery of the products of this research to people.

Kidney transplantations and dialysis are therapy today. Heart transplantations may become even more common in the future. Many other transplant procedures are on the way, not to mention numerous other research techniques now being perfected. The questions are always the same—accessibility, payment, manpower, facilities, decision-making processes. As Dr. Stewart stressed: "Our total health resource is large, but limited. Choices have to be made," and transplantation "is but a harbinger of things to come." Dr. Stewart went on to mention genetics, mental illness, and emotional stability, and then asked the critical question:

"How shall these questions be answered, and by whom?"

Those who supported the Commission saw several potential benefits as a result of its creation:

Public education;
Expansion of the public policy dialogue;
Stimulation of public interest and support for increasing amounts of health research and health service;

Fostering of the development of a more rational decision-making process;

Clarification of the social, legal, ethical, and public policy questions this nation must face now and in the future;

Suggestion of alternative courses of action.

I think these benefits are realistic goals. I believe this nation so far advanced in health science technology now must break through on the social frontiers of machine as well.

The current legal cases reinforce and make even more obvious the need for public concern over these issues, and for immediate creation of the Commission. My personal conviction is that we can wait no longer to discuss these issues; and a Commission on Health Science and Society would be an appropriate way to begin the process.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 15, 1969]

HUMAN EGG IS FERTILIZED IN TEST TUBE BY BRITONS

(By Alvin Shuster)

LONDON, February 14.—A team of scientists at Cambridge University reported today in the journal *Nature* what was described as the first fertilization in a test tube of a human egg with male sperm.

[American workers in the field had reported achieving this more than 10 years ago. But there is disagreement among scientists on whether complete fertilization took place in these experiments.]

"Test tube babies may not be just round the corner," *Nature* commented, "but the day when all the knowledge necessary to produce them will be available may have been brought a stage nearer by the work of Dr. R. G. Edwards and his colleagues."

Dr. Edwards worked with Prof. Barry Bavister at the physiological laboratory at the university and with Dr. Patrick C. Steptoe of Oldham General Hospital.

IMMERSED IN FLUID

In publishing the results of their experiments today, the three men said they had taken eggs from the follicles of ovaries that had been removed from women for medical reasons. The follicle is the structure in the ovary that holds the maturing egg cell until ovulation.

The eggs were immersed in fluid from the follicles for maturity to the point of readiness for fertilization. The eggs were then mixed with the sperm.

Of the 56 eggs examined at intervals, the team reported, seven had been fertilized and 11 penetrated by the sperm cells and probably fertilized.

According to the doctors, the fertilized eggs were destroyed at the time of the microscopic examination.

"This was a deliberate decision," they reported in interviews today, "because they would not have survived much longer."

The report of the experiment, described by *Nature* as the "first successful fertilization of a human egg in a test tube," touched off a controversy here. Aides of John Cardinal Heenan, Archbishop of Westminster, emphasized that the idea of "test tube" babies violated the teachings of the Roman Catholic church. They said the church's attitude toward starting human life in this way violated the natural law and was immoral.

The report also is expected to reopen the whole debate over just when life starts. As Dr. Donald Gould, editor of the *New Scientist* magazine, said today:

"What happens to the embryos which are discarded at the end of the day—washed down the sink? There would necessarily be many. Would this amount to abortion—or to murder?"

"We have no law to cope with this kind of situation."

"And have we really the wisdom which will allow us to handle wisely and for the good of mankind the frightening new powers which the biological scientists are giving us, not

just over death, but—more awe-inspiring still—the very nature of life."

COMMENT FROM NATURE

Expecting the controversy as a result of the publication of the report, Nature said the "fact that the techniques might one day be developed to make it possible to produce a fully grown human embryo" outside the body should not be a restraint to progress.

"These are not perverted men in white coats doing nasty experiments on human beings, but reasonable scientists carrying out perfectly justifiable research.

"One of the possible benefits of this research could be the treatment of some forms of infertility, probably in older women, who are thought to produce a high proportion of abnormal embryos which fail to develop.

"But because the virtues of work like this seem self-evident to those most immediately involved, they should not fall into the trap of believing that everybody else feels the same."

ON TREATING INFERTILITY

The reference to treating infertility implies the possibility of taking eggs from a woman by operation, fertilizing them in a test tube, and replacing them in the womb. But medical experts agree that any such possibility is a long way off.

Moreover, the "test tube" babies that have been mentioned for so long in science fiction are equally far from reality. It may be possible to fertilize the egg with male sperm in a test tube, but the problems of supplying a growing fetus in a laboratory with the proper nourishment are extremely formidable.

To accomplish this would require the development in effect, of an artificial womb.

In addition, from animal experiments, scientists have learned that early stages of embryonic development outside the uterus produce a large proportion of abnormal embryos.

Mr. HARRIS, Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Research which held 8 days of hearings on a similar resolution last year, I endorse Senate Joint Resolution 47 and urge that the National Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society be speedily created.

The Senator from Minnesota effectively has summarized how developments in the biomedical revolution since last March and April when the subcommittee's hearings were held has made the need for this Commission even more compelling. He has also highlighted some of the testimony before the subcommittee which strengthened the case for the Commission. It is my purpose to summarize those activities of the Subcommittee on Government Research in the field of biomedical knowledge which have supported the Senator's idea for a study of the social implications of biomedical research. In the near future I plan to introduce additional legislation the need for which has been developed during the extensive hearings of the subcommittee in this important field.

Mr. President, last year's hearings on health science and society were a continuation of the Subcommittee on Government Research's deep interest dating back to shortly after its creation in 1966, in the important area of biomedical research. In October 1966 we held a national conference in Oklahoma which was followed up by a series of hearings on "Research in the Service of Man: Biomedical Knowledge, Development and Use."

The conference and hearings clearly

pointed up the interdependence between our Nation's health and welfare and biomedical research activities. The strong scientific base that underlies modern medicine serves to guarantee our people more effective medical treatment and an environment more conducive to fostering biomedical innovation, a condition so necessary if rapid progress is to continue.

But the blending of improved science into the practice of medicine has brought with it many profound changes in the medical, legal, and social traditions forged during our history. The rate of innovation, as well as the impact of new technology, has sharply increased and the timelag between discovery and application has diminished dramatically.

Therefore, the crucial question faced last year by the Subcommittee on Government Research as hearings were held on the National Commission on Health Science and Society was: Are our social institutions, national resources and national policies able to keep pace with new medical techniques and the increased impact of biomedical innovation?

The vast majority of the 28 witnesses who actually testified before the subcommittee and the five additional witnesses who filed statements answered in the negative. They went on to state that an advisory commission as proposed in this resolution operating over a sufficient period of time could come up with recommendations which would be of great value to policymakers who must act in this area if more rational and more socially acceptable decisions are to be rendered in the future.

Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota already has presented the several potential benefits which witnesses who supported the Commission saw as a result of its creation. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Research, I would summarize the findings and recommendations of the subcommittee as follows:

First. There are compelling political, social, economic, legal, and ethical questions confronting this Nation as a result of recent and potential biomedical developments and changing social attitudes toward the practice of medicine and the delivery of health services.

Second. It is necessary and desirable that there be an active and ongoing public debate on these questions if we are to make the fullest use of the benefits of research.

Third. The Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society would provide a much-needed national forum for the discussion of these and related issues.

Fourth. It is recommended that the Commission carefully formulate its agenda using the public record compiled during congressional hearings as a beginning point and giving priority attention to the implications of current and imminent advances.

Fifth. The Commission should focus on public policy considerations, availing itself of information developed by professional, private and governmental organizations also concerned with these issues to whatever extent it deems practical and useful.

Sixth. The Commission report should seek to educate and inform all segments of American society—public and private, professional and nonprofessional, scientific and nonscientific—of the issues and the choices which face us now and in the future. It might also recommend means of setting priorities and criteria for a continuing assessment of biomedical developments.

Mr. President, I therefore am privileged to be a cosponsor of this Senate joint resolution to create a National Advisory Commission on Health Science and Society and urge its speedy passage.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 48—INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTION TO AUTHORIZE NATIONAL ENGINEERING TECHNICIAN WEEK

Mr. TOWER, Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an organization known as the American Society of Certified Engineering Technicians. Formed in 1964, this young and aggressive organization has worked hard in establishing the engineering technician as a part of the national and local community utilizing sound, professional practices.

The goals of the society are significantly worthwhile. The society desires recognition of its members as a vital component of the engineering and scientific team in service to the national public welfare, and seeks to promote the educational, social, economic, and ethical responsibilities of the profession.

Great strides have been made toward the achievement of these goals, and I would like to assist them in their endeavor. I believe that it is altogether fitting and proper for the achievements of this organization to be recognized by the proclamation of a National Engineering Technician Week in their honor. All of America will be furthered by the realization of their goals. I introduce such a measure for the expeditious consideration of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 48) to designate the period beginning June 22, 1969, and ending June 28, 1969, as "National Engineering Technicians Week," introduced by Mr. Tower, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) be added as cosponsor of the bill (S. 12) to strengthen the internal security of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) I ask unanimous consent that, at this next printing, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) be added

as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 745) to amend the Agriculture Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, and for other purposes. The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 811) the proposed Fair Farm Budget Act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the senior Senator from Maryland (Mr. TYDINGS) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 812), the proposed National Agricultural Bargaining Act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 849) to strengthen the penalty provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE) be added as a cosponsor of S. 269, the Hospital Modernization and Improvement Act of 1969.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATE RESOLUTION 97—RESOLUTION TO REFER SENATE BILL 1003 TO COURT OF CLAIMS

Mr. McCLELLAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 97); which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 97

Resolved, That the Bill (S. 1003) entitled "A Bill for the Relief of Lloyd L. Ward, Junior," now pending in the Senate, together with all the accompanying papers, is hereby referred to the chief commissioner of the Court of Claims; and the chief commissioner shall proceed with the same in accordance with the provisions of sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28 of the United States Code, as amended by the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 958), and report thereon to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, giving such findings of fact and conclusions thereon as shall be sufficient to inform the Congress of the nature and character of the demand as a claim, legal or equitable, against the United States or a gratuity and the amount, if any, legally or equitably due from the United States to the claimant.

INVESTIGATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 3

Mr. HART submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate Resolution 40, to investigate anti-

trust and monopoly laws of the United States, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATION BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nomination:

Mr. John A. Hannah, of Michigan, to be Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

In accordance with the committee rule, this pending nomination may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of its receipt in the Senate.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, it is not anticipated that the Senate will begin consideration of the so-called money resolutions until 1:45 p.m., at the earliest.

Therefore, when Senators have completed making their various statements, it is hoped that a request will be made that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

INCOME TAX SURCHARGE—AN ABOMINABLE AND REGRESSIVE TAX ON A TAX

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's proposal to President Nixon and his Urban Affairs Council that the obnoxious 10-percent Vietnam surtax be made permanent to help support local schools was astonishing. Here is a frontal attack from a multimillionaire Governor against already heavily taxed American families.

It is interesting that Governor Rockefeller did not include in his recommendation any proposals to plug tax loopholes that favor a few in our society at the expense of the many. I refer specifically to the 27½-percent depletion allowance for oil- and gas-producing companies which costs taxpayers at least \$4 billion annually in unpaid taxes. Last year the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and other great oil companies made fabulous profits. From profits of almost \$6 billion the net tax paid to our good Uncle Sam from these corporations was less than 9 percent of their net profits. Nor did the Governor refer to the fact that 35 Americans with incomes of more than half a million dollars paid no taxes whatever last year and that thousands of our most affluent citizens through one tax loophole or another managed to evade paying their fair share of income taxes. This, at a time when individual Americans with modest earnings are compelled to pay at least one-fourth of their income in taxes.

Mr. President, I am proud that I spoke out and voted against imposition of the 10-percent surtax when President Johnson proposed it as a temporary tax. American taxpayers, individual and corporations, were already very heavily taxed on their incomes and earnings. Wage earners, particularly those in the lower brackets, are the most heavily taxed of all. Unfortunately, working men and

women and middle-income Americans have been carrying the real tax burden on their backs.

The fact is that until this year the taxes imposed were taxes on their earnings. The surtax is a different matter altogether. It is not a tax on income. It is a tax on a tax. It is an additional 10 percent of the tax normally due from individual or corporate taxpayers. At a time when \$2.6 billion of American taxpayers' money is being blown up in smoke every month because of our involvement in the ugly civil war in Vietnam, I am not expecting the impossible. But as soon as it is possible, the 10-percent surtax should be repealed. I regret that Governor Rockefeller suggests it be continued.

Like obnoxious sales and excise taxes, the surtax is regressive and should be abolished as soon as possible. It violates the sound principle of just taxation that taxes should be levied according to ability to pay. It imposes the heaviest financial burden on lower income families. What we in the Congress should be talking about is imposing fair taxes, not just more taxes, not just surtaxes on top of present taxes.

Evidently, Governor Rockefeller has forgotten that the only legitimate purpose and reason given for imposing the surtax was to help stem inflation and to help reduce the Federal deficit for fiscal year 1969. The surtax was sold to the American people and to a reluctant Congress as the only effective way to halt inflation. The fact is that it failed to do so. It is very questionable whether it even helped brake inflationary pressures.

Citizens were led to believe that the 10-percent surtax was only a temporary measure that would expire June 30, 1969, and would not be renewed then.

To retain the surtax in the same way that so-called temporary wartime sales and excise taxes still burden Americans would lead citizens to distrust their Government and the governmental process.

Also, to accept Governor Rockefeller's proposal and retain the surtax for the purposes he stated would be nothing more than imposing a smokescreen to hide the real need that exists for tax reform. It would reduce the incentive for much more appropriate action such as correcting the glaring imbalances in Federal spending priorities, eliminating waste in the national defense effort, reducing subsidies to wealthy farmers, and ending the practice whereby wealthy businessmen who are not farming for a living are permitted to deduct from their taxes excessive farm losses.

It would obscure the fact that other major tax loopholes need immediate attention—reducing or eliminating the 27½-percent oil and gas depletion allowance, the 23-percent depletion allowance for some 41 other minerals, the absence from taxation of many State and municipal bonds, and the lack of any tax on capital gains when stocks or similar assets are bequeathed to an heir, to name a few.

I have named but a few of the tax loopholes which this Congress should consider closing instead of following the advice of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to extend the unfair and discriminatory 10-percent income tax surcharge. Instead, we should be considering ways and

means to lighten the present overtaxation of the poor. Federal income taxes are now being collected from 2,200,000 families who are living in poverty. At the same time huge personal and corporate incomes go untaxed. Experts in the Treasury Department recently found that—

Many persons with incomes of \$1 million or more actually pay the same effective rate of tax as do persons with incomes only one-fiftieth as large.

There is a myth that those whose earnings exceed \$50,000 a year pay a greater percentage of their income in taxes than those with much smaller incomes. The truth is that those earning \$25,000 a year and more pay on the average only 28 percent of their incomes in taxes, while those in the \$5,000 to \$7,000 category pay 33 percent; those in the \$7,000 to \$10,000 category, 32 percent; those in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 category, 31 percent.

Very definitely, since it appears evident that President Nixon will ask this Congress to renew and in effect make permanent this 10-percent surtax, I report I am still opposed to this obnoxious 10-percent tax added on our income taxes. I cannot say how I shall vote on that question of renewal because I do not know what plight our country will be in at that time.

We hope and pray that the immoral, unpopular, and undeclared war in Vietnam in which this Nation is presently engaged will end within the next few months in spite of the fact that the Ky and Thieu military regime in Saigon wants to continue the war to the last American, as is evident from the casualties, when last year we Americans sustained 130,000 men killed and wounded far more than did the forces of the friendly, so-called forces of the Saigon regime.

If, unfortunately, that bloodletting in Vietnam is still going on a few months before June when this surtax will expire, I, as one humble Member of this body, could not blame President Nixon for saying that it would be necessary to renew the surtax. I am not making any complaint against him. I am making a complaint against what Gov. Nelson Rockefeller is proposing—that it should be renewed for a wrong reason. It may be that it will have to be renewed, but let us hope not.

Taxes by State and local governments are already too high and too oppressive. I am talking about ordinary families in the United States, and I am talking about ordinary corporations, also. The average corporation and the average American family are very heavily taxed. Certainly, taxes are too high, not too low. Government is spending too high.

I assert that I am a conservative on fiscal matters. I assert that the urgent need at this time is to cut our Government spending and put an end altogether to waste and duplication in Federal Government spending—to eliminate fantastically expensive boondoggles such as the proposed ABM system and the completely useless civil defense program which has cost taxpayers almost \$2 billion to date—all completely wasted.

In my home city of Cleveland, for example, right at this time, some police-

men are assigned, not to protect women from purse snatchers or from violence, but to sit around as civil defense workers waiting for the bomb to drop, and doing nothing. It is that kind of Government spending that should be eliminated. Admittedly, this will not be easy to accomplish, while fighting an undeclared immoral war in Vietnam. We owe the duty to the rank and file of American citizenry to try.

ROBERT F. HENRY, SR., AND RIVER DEVELOPMENT IN ALABAMA

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, just prior to the commencement of the Lincoln Day recess, my colleague from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) and I introduced a Senate joint resolution to name one of the great rivers in my State for Robert F. Henry. Bob Henry has been connected with river development over many, many years, and has devoted a great deal of time to it.

There appeared in the Alabama Journal, of Montgomery, Ala., a column written by Walter Massey, entitled "Henry Pays Civic Rent Seeking River Development." I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

HENRY PAYS CIVIC RENT SEEKING RIVER DEVELOPMENT (By Walter Massey)

As a youth, Bob Henry lived near Decatur, Ala., then an economically sleepy community with largely agricultural employment.

"Now," Henry said, "there are 7,500 fat payroll checks distributed there each week." He attributes the economic growth of the town to the development of TVA, and posits it as "exhibit A" in his arguments for the development of the Coosa-Alabama river system.

"And look at the effects of river development on the economic growth of Ohio and the area on the Mississippi between Baton Rouge and New Orleans," he said.

"People here don't realize what an asset they have in the Alabama River. Why, the Tiber River is only a trickle compared to it."

Robert F. Henry Sr., long interested in the development of the Coosa-Alabama system, has served for the past 12 years as president of the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association, a duty he describes as his "civic rent." He averages two trips to Washington, D.C., a year and devotes several hours each week to river development work. Besides being a service to his community and state, he regards his time and effort as an investment for his grandchildren, who he foresees will derive the benefits of a more prosperous economy that will come as a result.

Henry's dreams are slowly shaping into reality: Construction is underway on the Claiborne, Millers Ferry and Jones Bluff locks and dams, which will allow navigation on the Alabama River as far north as the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa near Wetumpka.

"Our purpose," said Henry, "is to make the Coosa-Alabama system navigable to Rome, Ga." The next step, said Henry, is a study of the development of the Coosa, which is to be conducted by the Southern Research Institute in Birmingham.

"We hope to accelerate the construction of the locks and dams on the Coosa because of the government program called Appalachia. The government is very anxious to bring industry into that area, and every county of the Coosa portion is in Appalachian territory as defined by Congress. So we

hope that it's not going to be such a long, drawn-out procedure."

Henry described the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association as a central, organizing agency which coordinates the efforts of the local governments toward development of the river.

"It wouldn't be accomplished without one organization working around the clock. You have to have an association that is wholeheartedly for the single goal. The public is apathetic about the development of the river. We had just been letting our top soil go down the river until the association was formed."

The professional staff of the association is headed by George Cleere, executive vice president.

Until Henry became president, the association had been operating "family style."

"When I became president," Henry said, "we incorporated, solicited members, assessed dues and opened a professional office."

The procedure to develop the river, said Henry, has three different steps. (1) Get Congress to appropriate the funds to make a feasibility study, done by the Corps of Engineers, to see if the benefits exceed the cost; (2) Approach the Bureau of the Budget and ask to have incorporated in the President's message to Congress concerning public works matters the request for funds for plans and designs to make the river navigable; (3) Ask Congress to appropriate the funds.

"This is a long-drawn-out affair," Henry said.

But through this process, if Congress continues to appropriate annually to keep construction going, the Alabama River should be navigable by 1970.

But, while river development has been Henry's personal dream, traffic on the Coosa-Alabama waterway is the goal of many Alabamians. "Everybody is for it," Henry said. "I say that because inland docks were built with a \$10 million bond issue voted on by the people of Alabama. On our particular river, the support comes from chambers of commerce and local government all up and down the basin."

As president of the association, Henry acts as chairman of the annual meetings and can call the executive committee together when special problems present themselves. And sometimes the problems are difficult to overcome, an example of which has been a slowing of construction because of President Johnson's request to limit spending to combat inflation. Influencing bureaucratic decisions are difficult because they are often made behind the scenes. "You don't know who to talk to even," Henry said. "It's like hitting your fist into a feather pillow."

In business life, Henry is president of the Robert F. Henry Tile Co., which serves 20 states and four foreign countries. He is a board member of the Union Bank and Trust Co., Alabama Gas Corp., Allied Insurance Co., and the Montgomery Area Chamber of Commerce, of which he is also past president. He is past chairman of the Board of Trustees of Birmingham-Southern College, past president of the Birmingham-Southern Alumni Association and past chairman of the Board of Trustees of First Methodist Church of Montgomery. These are some of the 25 or so civic, professional, and social organizations in which he is active.

For relaxation, he likes dominoes and golf. "I'm a sincere golfer if not a quality golfer," he said. "Everybody can't be Arnold Palmer."

Described as having a pleasant personality and progressive thinking, Henry is also said to be an extrovert with a fine sense of humor. "He likes people," an associate said. "He puts himself forward to do anything that benefits his community."

Henry earned a Bachelor Degree from Emory University in 1926. In 1966 he was awarded a Doctor of Law Degree from Birmingham-Southern College.

He feels that everyone has "civic rent" to pay. "For the total development of the country, you need people to do some civic work and church work as well."

Both Henry's children live in Montgomery. Robert P. Henry Jr. is associated with his father's tile firm, Anne Henry Tidmore, Henry's daughter, owns a business which deals in flags. (Henry has an impressive array of flags in his office—as well as a prized lithograph made from a photograph taken at Jefferson Davis' inauguration.) He and his wife, the former Annie Mae Branch, have been married since 1932. He has three grandchildren.

A brother, Waights G. Henry, is president of LaGrange College in Georgia.

IN DEFENSE OF THE DOLLAR

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I receive each week, or at least periodically, various reports on the economic condition. One that I get regularly is called Green's Commodity Market Comments.

I must say that I do not know how authentic are the figures and the facts that this company sets forth in the weekly letter of February 17, but some very encouraging and optimistic statistics are given. Under a heading entitled "In Defense of the Dollar," I should like to read very little of it and then shall ask that the whole comment be included as a part of my remarks.

The article begins:

A continuous campaign has been waged to downgrade the value of the dollar. Therefore, it may be useful to review some figures which show that in the international money market, the dollar is now at its best during this decade and those "talking the dollar down" just don't know what they are talking about.

1. The influx of foreign capital into the United States in 1968 amounted to close to \$7 billion and not \$2 billion, the figure usually mentioned in brokerage letters or newspaper and magazine articles. The \$2 billion figure represents purchases of American equities only. In addition, American corporate debt instruments were purchased by foreigners and there were also direct investments in American businesses plus foreign commercial credits totaling \$6.95 billion. This influx of foreign capital into the United States was \$4 billion larger than in 1967 and \$6½ billion larger than in 1964. Obviously, we must be doing something right to justify such confidence.

2. The preliminary figures for the 1968 balance of payments showed a \$150 million surplus. This surplus was accounted for on a so-called liquidity basis. Incidentally, it was the first time since 1957 that there was a surplus in the United States' BOP on a liquidity basis. This \$150 million surplus was the only figure which somehow found its way into the newspapers and magazines' financial pages and brokerage reports. Most of the writers on the subject seemed unaware of the fact that BOP is accounted for not only on the liquidity basis, but also on the so-called official settlement basis. The 1968 surplus was about \$1.7 billion, the largest surplus in our BOP since compilation of official settlement data began in 1960. (All other years had a deficit with the exception of small surplus in 1966.) The figures that I am using here are, of course, preliminary. The final figures will be released by the Government probably around the same time this issue reaches your desk. However, even if some of these preliminary figures are changed, the final 1968 BOP statistics will certainly reflect nothing but strengthening of the dollar's international status.

The article goes on to discuss other factors, such as foreign investments of

U.S. citizens, the trade balance, and so forth. It is an interesting treatment of these financial facts and statistics, and certainly worthy of reading and consideration by every Senator.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the entire article entitled "In Defense of the Dollar," published in Green's Commodity Market Comments for February 17, 1969.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

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

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3. The poor showing of our foreign trade was blamed by all on inflation in this country and high costs of labor which allegedly priced our goods out of the world markets. This is pure nonsense! The balance of trade showed a surplus of only \$726 million due to higher imports to the United States of goods purchased abroad from American-owned firms. In addition, those American-owned firms abroad using American know-how are making "American" products in Europe, Asia, and South America. They are flooding domestic markets of foreign countries with "American" products manufactured abroad, thereby eliminating the necessity for imports of goods from the United States. Sooner or later, the expansion of American firms abroad, through new manufacturing facilities or control of existing facilities, had to produce the inevitable effect—to diminish the need for American exports. Of course, smaller trade surpluses are partially offset by higher earnings of American businesses

abroad. However, nothing will change the fact that American investments in manufacturing facilities abroad tend to increase our imports and decrease our exports. Be it as it may, even a deficit in balance of trade does not reflect badly on the currency of a country; it does not necessarily mean that such a country must also have a deficit in its balance of payments. Switzerland is a typical case in point. It has a chronic trade deficit. In 1968 this deficit exceeded \$½ billion. Likewise, South Africa's trade deficit in 1968 exceeded \$½ billion. Nevertheless, both countries had surpluses in their balance of payments.

4. A myth has been created that should foreigners demand gold for their dollars, they would clean out Fort Knox. It is our contention, however, that the foreigners never had it so good with our dollars and the reason why they are not cashing them for gold is simply that they do not have a large surplus of dollars available for that purpose. The total amount of dollars in foreign hands amounts to slightly more than \$30 billion. This money is divided approximately half and half between central banks and private holdings. Both the private and central banks' holdings of U.S. dollars are called Eurodollars. Many of them are owned by American businesses or individuals residing abroad. It is our estimate that two-thirds of the privately-held 15 billion Eurodollars are controlled by U.S.-owned corporations abroad or U.S. banks, and that two-thirds of the foreign central banks' dollar holdings are the minimum required by those banks for financing of commercial and banking transactions. Little is then left for conversion against the gold in Fort Knox. Besides, the gold reserve that can be used to satisfy foreign demands is now \$10 billion more than it was a year ago because the 25% gold cover required by law for U.S. currency was abolished by Congress last year. Previously, only the excess over this 25% domestic gold requirement could have been used for redemption of dollars by foreigners. Since the repeal of the 25% gold cover, more gold was made available for redemption of foreign claims than at any time during this decade. That, too, contributed to the strength of the dollar in the international money market.

5. The two-tier gold system performs satisfactorily and the issuance of SDR's will help to close the international liquidity gap if it should ever occur. The benefits of the two-tier system to the United States have already been proven. Since March 1968, the United States gained gold worth \$188 million.

6. The income on U.S. foreign investments is growing rapidly; it was \$6.2 billion in 1966, close to \$7 billion in 1967 and exceeded \$8 billion in 1968. This yearly income on U.S. investments abroad is far bigger than the gold reserves of any single foreign country and amounts to more than 10% of world liquidity.

7. In 1968, the United States fully repaid its drawings from the International Monetary Fund which exceeded \$1.8 billion at its peak.

8. The Federal Reserve swap arrangements with foreign central banks were enlarged in 1968 to a total of \$10½ billion. Out of this amount, only \$450 million were in use as of the end of the year—down \$1.4 billion from its peak in December 1967.

We often wonder where most of the financial writers get their facts? We have not seen the above figures mentioned in a magazine, newspaper or newsletter (and we read plenty of them). The strength of the dollar at present is well established. No need for revaluation of the monetary gold price exists. The inflation in this country is now seriously combated and the money supply is tightening. Of course, we would like to see even better results in our balance of payments, a greater surplus in our foreign trade and less inflation, but that does not change the fact that in 1968, the dollar regained its strength.

If you would like to send a reprint of

the above to a friend, your favorite journalist, broker or banker, please write. We will gladly provide free copies.

The VICE PRESIDENT. What is the will of the Senate?

AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY— ADDRESS BY SENATOR CHURCH

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, on February 6 the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) addressed the Empire Club of Canada, in Toronto. An account of his address appeared in an article written by Mr. Tom Ochiltree and published in the February 11 issue of the *Enquirer and News*, of Battle Creek, Mich.

The article contains thoughtful excerpts from Senator Church's address, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

SENATOR CHURCH PUTS CAUTION IN THE WIND (By Tom Ochiltree)

History may say differently in the end, but on present evidence the Nixon administration will think long and hard before getting the United States involved in another Vietnam.

There is a feeling of caution in the wind, of weighing American national interests with greater care, of looking more closely at the world as it is rather than as we would like it to be.

If it turns out that Vietnam is a turning point in the formulation of American foreign policy goals, a Democratic Senator—Idaho's Frank Church—will rank as one of the first to help nudge our diplomatic thinking in a new direction. He did this by defining the trend in the broadest philosophic sense.

Church, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a vocal critic of the Johnson administration's Vietnam policies, has been doing some soul searching about the whole thrust of American diplomatic activity. He is not alone in this. This same mood of questioning has been churning in the minds of several other members of the Senate. What makes Church unique is the articulate way he has arranged his argument and the detailed scholarly method he has chosen to define the problem.

In a closely reasoned speech delivered in Toronto a few days ago, the Idaho Senator said in a revolutionary world of rising nationalism it is contrary to American ideals and even to our own self-interest to always in every corner of the world to be on the side of the status quo—to always be with the fat cats against the masses.

Supporting oligarchies works sometimes in the short run, but nationalism—the popular desire for national identity free from outside interference—is “the engine of change in modern history,” Church insisted, and our State Department should recognize that fact.

In his opinion, both Washington and Moscow are peculiarly blind to what is going on in the world. He supported this assumption this way:

Just as the United States blundered by getting involved in Vietnam, so the Soviet Union outraged the world by hard-nosed intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Both of the superpowers suffer “from a neurotic sense of insecurity, although neither regards itself as being in imminent danger of attack by the other” because of the nuclear stalemate. What each superpower has done is to vastly exaggerate the impact and influence the other can exert in a third country.

As the great powers struggle to establish their influence in neutral countries they are “guided by a ritualized, anachronistic, 19th

century concept of the balance of power,” Church said, adding:

“The real stake, I apprehend, is not power at all, but a shadow which calls itself power, nourishing an egotism which calls itself interest.”

Looked at strictly from the point of view of national self-interest, Church thought the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia might have made somewhat more sense than the American intervention in Vietnam since democracy can always best communism in the marketplace of ideas.

While the contagion of liberty conceivably could undermine the unity of the Soviet bloc, Church maintained that “by no stretch of the imagination can Ho Chi Minh's rule in Vietnam be said to pose a comparable threat to democracy in the United States.”

Church did not use the word “neocolonialism” but his critics undoubtedly will hurl that at him.

There is no question about it, under his concept America's foreign role would be a lot less involved. We would stop opposing revolution in the developing world. The old world policeman idea, now in general disfavor anyway, would be completely gone.

Declaring we must learn to live with widespread revolutionary turmoil in the world, Church said:

“I suggest, therefore, as a guiding principle of American foreign policy, that we abstain hereafter from military intervention in the internal affairs of other countries under any circumstances short of a clear and certain danger to our national security, and that we adhere to this principle whether others—including the Russians and the Chinese—do so or not.”

He said the involvement in Vietnam went against the grain of our national character and ideals and for that reason had sparked dissent and “the deep alienation of so many of our youth.”

Insisting we must not take that road again, Church concluded: “The greatest danger to our democracy, I daresay, is not that the communists will destroy it, but that we will betray it by the very means chosen to defend it.”

According to him, a foreign policy of intervention ultimately will destroy democratic values because such a policy involves maintenance of a costly military establishment, “the neglect of domestic needs, a burgeoning military-industrial-academic complex, chronic anxiety and crisis.”

WHAT ONE VOLUNTEER CAN DO

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, we who serve on the Special Committee on Aging have heard often about individuals who are so moved by problems of the elderly that they take individual action against such problems or bring them to public attention.

The spirit of the volunteer is very strong in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and we who live there can take pride in many public and private responses made when needs become known. One such response was described in a recent issue of the *Journal of Housing*, the publication of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials. The article tells how Mrs. Miriam Caines, of Medford, Mass., decided that neglect of isolated elderly tenants in public housing could not be tolerated. She began her work alone, but she soon had help.

Mr. President, I think it is very clear that more and more Americans will be attracted to the concept of community service within the very near future. For one thing, the need for such service is

great. For another, many individual citizens—especially those who feel that they have much to contribute even though they are retired—realize that they can offer valuable assistance to their neighbors.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD as one more example of what can be done when people care enough to do it.

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

FOR THE AGED: VOLUNTEER WORKER, HAUNTED BY NEGLECT OF ELDERLY POOR, MOBILIZES CIVIC GROUPS, CITY HALL, HOUSING AUTHORITY TO BRING RECREATION, HEALTH, AND WELFARE SERVICES TO THE ELDERLY OF MEDFORD, MASS.

Among the finalists for one of two \$5000 “Lane Bryant Volunteer” awards given annually for outstanding community service is an unusual program that is providing a wide variety of services for the elderly citizens of Medford, Massachusetts. Operating from the city's newest low-income housing project for the elderly, the Volunteer Assistance Program (VAP) of Medford was cited for its ability to attract and utilize the broadest kind of community support for the needs of the elderly. Its programs involve a variety of public agencies, civic and fraternal groups, and a cross section of individuals from the city's different age, ethnic, and economic groups.

The driving force behind this program is an unassuming woman, Mrs. Miriam Caines. She represents neither the wealth nor any of the political power within Medford. Nevertheless, as president of VAP, she has been able to build, in less than a year, an organization with roots throughout the community.

A licensed practical nurse, Mrs. Caines had been moved by the feelings of loneliness and neglect she sensed in so many of her elderly patients. For a long time, she had dreamed of having some kind of program in Medford that would give the elderly a renewed sense of being wanted and appreciated.

“In Medford,” she says, “we have a lot of organizations, each working on one specific thing—aid to the blind, help for retarded children, and the chronically ill. It seemed that the elderly were the forgotten people.”

About a year ago, Mrs. Caines' husband persuaded her that she ought to give up her nursing job so that she would have more time to devote to some of the volunteer activities she was most interested in. Mrs. Caines also has three children, ages 12 to 20, and the extra time at home was welcomed.

With more free time, Mrs. Caines decided to start a modest arts and crafts program for elderly residents living in the nursing homes where she had worked as a nurse. Some friends, including Thomas Tucker, a recreational therapist, offered their time on a volunteer basis but there was still a question of resources.

Mrs. Caines turned to John McGlynn, who was then mayor of Medford. She had met him some five years earlier when she had been a member of a group that raised \$14,000 for the Freedom March on Selma, Alabama. Mr. McGlynn, who became a state representative in 1968, suggested that Mrs. Caines make her elderly program citywide. He also promised about \$900 in city funds for equipment.

BRANCHING OUT

Pleased with the mayor's receptiveness, Mrs. Caines next canvassed the offices of the various agencies in Medford city hall to see what other resources might be available. Of all the agencies, the first to recognize the need and potential of an organized program for the elderly was the Medford housing authority, which had one elderly project in occupancy and a second, the 200-unit Leverett Saltonstall Senior Citizens' Center, under construction.

Gerald A. Palumbo, the executive director of the housing authority, offered Mrs. Caines' group a basement office in the Walking Court apartments, at the time, the city's only operating elderly project. He also encouraged the group to make use of the ground floor recreation area. The new office was inaugurated in March 1968.

In the meantime, the city and its new mayor, Patrick Skerry, increased the promised \$900 to \$1400. This sum was used by the volunteers to purchase a movie projector, card tables, and other recreation gear to be used at Walking Court. In addition, some of the money was used to purchase supplies for elderly shut-ins who wanted to learn crafts.

With a headquarters and equipment secured, Mrs. Caines turned her attention to the many civic, religious, and fraternal groups. Realizing that each of these groups was already committed to a program of its own, she nonetheless urged that each "stretch a little" so that "combined we could have the strength to do something for the elderly people of Medford." She quickly enlisted the support of such groups as the Lions Club, Rotary, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts. A 38-member steering committee was formed consisting of Mayor Skerry, his predecessor as mayor, the housing authority director, and representatives of the various civic and fraternal groups, as well as Mrs. Caines and some of her original volunteers.

With such a variety of organizations and individuals involved, a volunteer program that had started out with a single purpose—to offer arts and crafts to elderly shut-ins—had evolved into a coordinating agency for a variety of services, programs, and organizations, needed by the elderly. For example, boy scouts are assigned to certain elderly persons; on snowy days, elderly persons can count on a particular scout to show up with a snow shovel to clear the walks in front of a particular house. Girl scouts do lighter chores, such as running errands or helping with the shopping. When an elderly man was burned out of his apartment, the VAP, through its contacts with service clubs, rounded up furniture and clothing to help the man re-establish himself. In addition, VAP has sponsored such diversionary activities as a low-cost, week-long excursion to Miami Beach in November, a luau party, dance classes, and talent shows. It has also arranged worship services in nursing homes and private homes for those unable to attend church; classes of instruction for volunteers who want to teach crafts; and supervision for volunteers who work on a regularly scheduled basis in nursing homes, elderly housing, and private homes.

The work of VAP soon became known outside of Medford through articles in the Medford and Boston newspapers. Other communities in the Boston area have been calling on Mayor Skerry and Mrs. Caines to ask how they could start similar programs.

GAINING PERMANENCY

As with any program fueled by volunteer enthusiasm, it soon became apparent to Mrs. Caines and her friends that VAP needed some insurance against the day when some of the original volunteers might have to drop out of the program. In short, they needed to assure some kind of permanency for the program if it was to continue to grow.

One step was to incorporate the organization under Massachusetts law. This past summer, attorney Joseph Zamparelli, volunteer counsel for VAP, drew up a charter and bylaws for the organization. City Councilman Joseph Kurker contributed his own money for the legal filing costs. The charter was presented at a formal ceremony at Walking Court on July 18. Attending the ceremony was the mayor and city council of Medford, as well as such other notables as the federal administrator on aging for Massachusetts and a member of the Massachusetts Commission on Aging.

With the assistance of the Medford housing authority, VAP has also applied recently for a \$26,000 grant from the Administration on Aging under title III of the Older Americans Act of 1965. Approval of the grant is expected early in 1969. It will enable VAP to hire its first paid staff, including a senior clerk and other clerical help, a homemaker and home health aid, and some part-time professionals. Some of the funds will be used to purchase equipment when VAP moves into new and expanded quarters especially set aside for it in the recently opened Saltonstall senior citizens center, where the housing authority will also have its offices.

In addition to the AoA funds, the city of Medford has pledged \$16,000 as a local contribution. This money will pay the salaries of a program director, two part-time public health nurses, and three part-time craft instructors, among others.

Some paid staff will be necessary if VAP is to continue to meet the needs of Medford's growing elderly population, according to Mr. Palumbo, who, in addition to directing the housing authority, serves as treasurer of VAP. Where VAP formerly depended on its contacts with the churches, housing authority, and other groups to refer its volunteers to elderly persons in need of some kind of help or companionship, more and more elderly are getting in touch with VAP directly. The organization now has an around-the-clock telephone service that enables elderly persons to call for information on VAP programs or, in emergencies, for immediate assistance.

Although expansion of the volunteer program has come at a pace that continually threatens to outstrip its resources, this growth was not totally unforeseen. At one of the first organizational meetings, Mrs. Caines placed a small branch from a tree against a map of Medford. She remembers saying, "I hope the fruits of our efforts will branch out." And they certainly have.

JUDICIAL ARROGANCE

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the people of Alabama are fed up, not only with the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, but also with the arrogance of some Federal district judges and their unending abuses of power. The situation is getting completely out of hand in Alabama and something has to be done about it.

Just recently, a U.S. district judge at Montgomery, Ala., invoked the coercive powers of the Federal Government to overrule and override an administrative decision by the president of Auburn University, one of the great universities of this country.

It is bad enough when Federal district judges assert a power to supervise administration of local public schools. But it is intolerable when that power is extended to supervise administrative decisions of our universities.

In the instant case, Dr. Harry M. Philpott, president of Auburn University, declined to agree to provide a public forum on the university campus for a convicted felon to preach the "virtues" of draft evasion and violation of internal security laws of the land.

The Federal judge substituted his own judgment for that of Dr. Philpott. The Federal judge contended that the U.S. Constitution imposed an affirmative duty upon the university to lend its dignity, prestige, and reputation to legitimize the views of a convicted felon. Furthermore, this judge ruled that the Constitution requires the university to contribute to

the support of this convicted felon who earns his livelihood from lecture fees.

Judicial interference of this sort simply offends commonsense reasoning. It angers the people. The people of Alabama and the people of the Nation will not be persuaded that the U.S. Constitution imposes an affirmative duty on free institutions to legitimize actions of one who has aided and abetted enemies of our Nation in time of war. Neither will they accept the proposition that Federal courts can compel the expenditure of public funds to help support such persons by payment of fees or other compensation.

Rulings of this kind will never be accepted by the people. They have to be imposed by superior force of the Federal Government and the threat of prosecution for civil contempt and fine and imprisonment without benefit of trial by jury, which is the widely publicized threat of this judge.

This ruling and others like it assert a judicial power of supervision and of veto over institutions of higher education. They strike at the very foundation of a free society.

How far will we permit this trend to continue? When will we challenge this authoritarian principle?

Federal judicial interference in policies of higher education is not an isolated occurrence in Alabama. Time and again this Federal judge has used one excuse after another to rationalize his Napoleonic role of one-man superstate, legislature, education board, college president, preacher, and commentator of education and morals. His views carry the authority of a tyrant who threatens fine and imprisonment for civil contempt for those who dare challenge his distorted decrees.

The people are disgusted by this sort of thing. They are irked by the supercilious, dogmatic, illogical excursions by Federal judges into the affairs and concerns of free institutions of local self-government.

They are fed up to the gills with the repeated and irrational contention that the nonelected branch of Federal Government has a power to dictate to the people concerning what is in the best interest, safety, and welfare of their children.

They are nauseated by the double standards by which simple invocations in public schools are branded unconstitutional and therefore illegal and to be suppressed by Federal authority, while at the same time holding that the Constitution requires the people to pay a convicted felon for preaching a doctrine of treason and lawlessness on college and university campuses.

The people have had enough of the gratuitous insults of Federal judges whose decrees imply that State judges, State legislators, and university presidents are villains crouching in a dark corner waiting and ready to pounce on innocent citizens for the pleasure of depriving them of constitutional rights.

But to say that the people are fed up and disgusted by abuses of power, by pompous, supercilious, dogmatic, and irrational judges is not the point. The point is that something has to be done

about it. That is the problem. What can be done?

Mr. President, is impeachment a remedy? How do you impeach a Federal judge for ignorance and incompetence? How do you impeach a Federal judge for lack of judicial temperament? How does one even raise the question of lack of qualifications, ineptitude, or a dangerous addiction for and intoxication by unrestrained power?

These questions are uppermost in the minds of the people of Alabama. They will be uppermost in the minds of all the people of our Nation if things are not corrected.

Should Federal district judges hold office for life? Have they been given too much power? Are they intellectually over their heads? Is it safe to risk such vast powers to the hands of partisan political appointees?

These questions must be considered. The Federal judicial system is acting like a prodigal spendthrift. It is fast consuming the corpus of its estate. In this instance the estate is public faith and confidence. When that corpus is gone, the concept of an independent judiciary goes with it. That is the risk we run. That is why something must be done.

Should Federal district judges be elected for a term of years? I think so.

In the alternative, should all Federal judges be subject to reconfirmation by the Senate every 10 years, say? I feel that they should. Should our schools and all legal questions connected with them be returned to State and local governments? I certainly think so.

Mr. President, Dr. Harry M. Philpott, of Auburn University, is one of the outstanding college presidents in America. We do not want to lose him in this capacity. He must not be harassed by the Federal judiciary as he seeks to run the affairs of this great university so as to provide excellent educational opportunities for all students. Dr. Philpott, not Judge Johnson, has been chosen by the Auburn board of trustees as president of Auburn University. He must be allowed to act as such.

POVERTY INVESTIGATION COVERING SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, tomorrow eight citizens from South Carolina will testify before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, under the chairmanship of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern).

The testimony will center primarily on the health and nutrition needs of the children of Beaufort County. I understand that my colleague from South Carolina (Mr. Hollings) will also talk about such needs in other parts of our State, where he has made personal inspection tours.

Each of us should be concerned with such things, directly or indirectly. I certainly am, and I am prepared to use my office to meet those needs. I feel that the witnesses who will appear before this committee here in the Senate tomorrow are similarly motivated.

There are pockets of poverty in every State in this Nation, and in many cases you will find undernourished and sickly children such as those who will be mentioned tomorrow. I do not think, however, that these conditions are caused by people or officials who have denied these families the ways and means to find the sustenance of life. I do think these conditions can be improved, and certainly we should accelerate our efforts in that regard.

Some people have always lived in poverty, and they know nothing else. They live from day to day; they are captives of their environment and background. You can bring services to them, but you cannot get them to seek them out. I do not accept this condition, but I recognize it exists, and I believe we have the agencies needed to build the road to recovery for these citizens. Hopefully, those who testify tomorrow will tell us why the county health department, the county welfare office, and the volunteer groups who fight these problems have not met with success. I commend them if they have the facts, and we all should seek remedies for any needs this examination may reveal.

One thing I wish to make abundantly clear, however, and that is my belief that none of these time-tested services have been withheld because of the ethnic makeup of any who may be underprivileged. That such is the case has been implied by some of those involved in the Beaufort County investigations. This matter should not become a racial or political issue, as has been the case in some past investigations. I do not believe that most of those involved desire such a result, but they have a responsibility to see that such does not become the case. A development of this nature would defeat this effort.

Mr. President, the good name of the State of South Carolina and her people have already been maligned by some of the national media who have implied that health and welfare needs have been withheld from certain groups because of their color. I do not subscribe to this view, and I believe that responsible witnesses to the needs of those in Beaufort County and elsewhere will concur.

It is my further belief that the Federal Government has a responsibility to determine the effectiveness of its own programs which are designed to meet the basic needs of the underprivileged. Here I refer specifically to the antipoverty program.

We have had the antipoverty program going now for nearly 4 years, and we have witnessed millions of dollars being poured into South Carolina and other States to meet the needs of the poverty stricken. With such an effort so well established, we might be wise to spend some time investigating why these funds have not reached those who are in need of health and welfare assistance. Is the Headstart program inaccessible to the needy children of South Carolina? Is the Job Corps effort a failure? Are the community action councils reaching the real needs of the disadvantaged? These are some questions which need to be answered.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have gone into many of the Federal poverty programs in the counties of my State, yet we have a hearing tomorrow because people report they have found children and adults without sufficient food. I believe the Government has a responsibility to find jobs for those who wish to work, but I see large office staffs in these antipoverty programs, and I wonder what they are accomplishing. Some of the people who are involved in this hunger study have had control and responsibility in connection with the antipoverty program. They have made the announcements. They have named the staffs. I hope the committee will fully examine this connection, for I think it is relevant to the issue at hand.

Also, I wish to say that I have faith in our State institutions to meet most of these needs. The State of South Carolina has an excellent State department of health. It has a capable welfare department which is under the direct supervision of elected and appointed citizens. I feel they will meet a clearly defined need when they see it. Additionally, we have a citizenry which cares about its fellow man—people who will do a job when they see one that needs to be done and is possible to do. This kind of effort is called a volunteer effort, and we need more of it today.

Finally, I think we have a President and an administration which is concerned about the health and welfare needs of the people of this country. It is the kind of administration which will work with Senators, Representatives, and Governors of all political parties, because a man's effort and his ability to meet the problems of his day are not dependent upon a political label.

I look forward to hearing the views of those who have made an in-depth study in these problems. The main concern should be to find the most effective way to resolve these needs. I trust the hearings tomorrow before the Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs will help us answer that question.

Mr. President, an editorial entitled "Ignorance Isn't Bliss" was published in the Sunday, February 16, 1969, issue of the State newspaper, Columbia, S.C., and would be of interest in connection with this matter. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

IGNORANCE ISN'T BLISS

Visitors from outer space would be hard put to understand how some South Carolinians—and other Americans, for that matter—are sick, hungry, or idle amidst surroundings which reflect prosperity and almost limitless knowledge of man's ailments and opportunities.

Here in the Palmetto State, where a continuing hubbub has been stirred up by disclosures of poverty, malnutrition, and illness, employment is at an all-time high. Jobs are available for all persons, black or white, who have the desired skills. Actual labor shortages exist in some occupations. "Help wanted" ads in all of the state's newspapers hold out the prospect of both employment and training of unskilled applicants.

Yet despite these evidences of a booming economy here and elsewhere, more public

funds than ever before are being funneled into welfare and social security programs, medical services, and assorted efforts aimed to alleviating suffering and sickness.

There is ample evidence of private and public compassion for the unfortunate. Politicians, public officials, and private citizens all agree that "something must be done." And, to be sure, something IS being done in many quarters, primarily because of the current rash of publicity.

But what must be done to insure a better future for our state and nation is to initiate a steady, unrelenting, and effective attack on the factors which seem most responsible for the present unsavory state of affairs—ignorance, apathy, and an almost unbelievable isolation of many persons from the workings of organized society.

Here's where the going gets toughest, and where it becomes most difficult to affix blame for present inadequacies. Take the case of Beaufort County, which has experienced in recent months more than its share of adverse outside attention to undernourished, malnourished, and parasite-ridden individuals.

It would be assumed that parents of ordinary intelligence would know that personal and residential filth makes for disease, that polluted water and unsanitary surroundings contribute to ill health, that such readily available basic foods as fish from the nearby coastal water; turnips, collards and other greens from local gardens, and milk help make for better balanced diets.

Yet such an assumption is demonstrably false. If the knowledge happens to be present, the means or the will to apply it is lacking in too many instances.

Ironically, in the very same area where these deplorable conditions and befuddled people exist, training programs are conducted for Peace Corps workers who—upon completion of their training—depart the United States on assignment to combat precisely the same conditions which exist within a stone's throw of their training site.

All over this land of ours—on college campuses, in public gatherings, in private discussions, and on the city streets—young persons (and old) are volubly and often violently protesting the nature of current society. They yearn, or so they say, for a better world.

If they mean what they say, let them undertake the task of building a better world by seeking to inform, to inspire, to enlighten, and—above all—to motivate those hapless individuals who live in the threadbare fringes of society.

KENNETH HOLUM GIVEN DESERVED RECOGNITION

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, among retiring Democratic officials as the new Nixon administration assumes the helm of Government is a South Dakotan to whom I wish to pay tribute, and I am particularly pleased to be able to say to him that South Dakotans of the Republican and Democratic Parties share my great respect and gratitude for his great work.

I refer to Kenneth Holum, the retiring Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Water and Power. He has served with distinction in that capacity for all of the 8 Kennedy-Johnson years, leaving a record of accomplishments in his area of responsibility second to none in the long history of the Interior Department.

A leading South Dakota newspaper, the Aberdeen American-News, has praised Ken Holum for his years of outstanding service to South Dakota and

the Nation, and has made him the subject of their lead editorial of January 12.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the American-News editorial entitled "Ken Holum Serves His Nation Well."

I am personally deeply obligated to the retiring Assistant Secretary for his advice and counsel and unfailing support over many years, and for his initiatives in relation to resources projects in our State. He has led many beneficial efforts, including the development of an orderly electric power marketing setup in the Upper Missouri Basin known as the Missouri Basin systems group.

I am glad to have the opportunity created by the American-News editorial to be able to say to Ken Holum that he has the respect and the gratitude of the people of both parties in his home State for leadership and years of service that have resulted in great accomplishments for the people of South Dakota and America.

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

KEN HOLUM SERVES HIS NATION WELL

South Dakota generally has had occasion to be proud of the men called from this state by the federal government to serve in high offices in Washington.

One of these who has distinguished himself and his state is Ken Holum, Groton, who now is completing eight years in the influential position of assistant secretary of interior.

He was chosen by the late President Kennedy for the important job of directing Department of Interior activities relating to water and power. President Johnson retained him in the sub-Cabinet post.

Holum's interests, experience and willingness to devote his time to public service qualified him for the appointment.

As a farm boy in Brown County, Secretary Holum learned some of the fundamentals that were to help him become effective in high level government.

In 1949 he started serving in the South Dakota Legislature at a time when the Missouri River development program was entering the construction phase. There was, however, still much planning to be done.

President Truman named him to the Missouri Basin Survey Commission in 1951. He contributed much to the commission and in turn had an opportunity to gain broader knowledge of effective advancement of water usage.

He maintained his interest in water development while campaigning for the U.S. Senate in 1954 and 1956. At the same time he gained knowledge of the growing importance of electrical power in the nation's economy as he served as officer of various REA power co-ops.

At the time President Kennedy selected him to serve in his administration Holum was executive director of the Mid-West Electric Consumers Assn. and chairman of the Western States Water and Power Consumers Conference.

The knowledge he gained in those offices added to his qualifications.

The responsibilities he assumed as assistant secretary of interior were major ones but he proved his ability to master them.

Secretary Holum has served his nation with distinction.

South Dakota, in its critical stages of progress toward obtaining the advantages of irrigation and hydro-electric power, has been fortunate in having an understanding friend,

Ken Holum, in a position to provide guidance and assistance.

It was appropriate that he was in Aberdeen Wednesday to give encouragement to the Oahe irrigation project and to place his signature on the master contract.

As South Dakota profits from irrigation in the future its citizens will be mindful of the contribution made by Holum toward the economic benefits it produces.

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY IS AID FOR SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the small businessman in America today must exist in an environment of unprecedented complexity and severe competition. In order to survive, management must make the best possible use of all available tools and techniques. The Senate Select Committee on Small Business, recognizing the potential of computer technology to the small entrepreneur, released last July a report entitled, "Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman," prepared by the Science Policy Research Division of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. I was particularly pleased with this report, since the Small Business Committee's Science and Technology Subcommittee, of which I am privileged to be the chairman, has been involved in this general area of study. This excellent report has been well received both by users in the private sector and governmental groups responsible for working with the small business community.

Recently, the author of the above report, Mr. Robert L. Chartrand, specialist in information science, was asked by the editors of Public Automation, a monthly newsletter concerning automated systems in government, to write an article highlighting the findings of the Select Committee report. The article appeared as the monthly feature, "Output," in the December 1968 issue of Public Automation. I feel that the report by Mr. Chartrand is of such value that it should be called to the attention of all Members of Congress. I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "The Potential of ADP Technology for Small Business," be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE POTENTIAL OF ADP TECHNOLOGY FOR SMALL BUSINESS

(By Robert L. Chartrand)

In the period since the end of the Second World War, technological innovation has endowed American society with numerous benefits and problems. Among the achievements to cause permanent changes in our patterns of working, playing, communicating, and planning has been the emergence of automatic data processing. The "information explosion" has left no sector of the nation untouched, hence the advent of ADP has attracted ever increasing attention on the part of the American people. The electronic computer has become an integral part of our everyday life, helping to perform hundreds of applications ranging from credit card systems to the control of traffic in metropolitan areas.

Business and government alike have been alert to the many potentialities for using punched card equipment and the more

sophisticated electronic configurations. Today, more than 50,000 ADP systems have been installed in the United States, with approximately 85 per cent applied to business problems. As the flexibility of the data processing devices has increased space with the speed in performing mathematical calculations, the cost-per-calculation has decreased significantly.

A GROWING AWARENESS IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

In the business world, where a premium is placed on innovation in design and continuing improvement in manufacturing practices, there has been a mixed willingness to utilize the new technology. Larger companies, for the most part, have evinced a willingness to risk monies, learn gradually from a beginning with routine tasks, for example, payroll and inventory, and then undertake more vital operation-oriented jobs such as production control. For the small businessman, several factors have been a deterrent to ready acceptance of the computer. Problems of initial investment costs, maintenance, recruitment and retention of skilled staff, education of management and line personnel, and integration into existing operations have caused many smaller entrepreneurs to avoid involvement with the new devices. While many of these reasons often have validity, the small businessman faces a dilemma because he knows that modern equipment and techniques must be adopted if his company is to remain competitive with larger firms.

Specifically, the basic reasons why the contemporary small businessman may refuse to involve his firm in the unknown world of automatic data processing include:

- He is too busy;
- He has been told that it costs too much;
- Vocal resistance by long-time employees;
- Lack of understanding regarding how ADP can help him; and
- Inadequate "start-up" funding.

Of course the utilization of ADP may indeed pose new problems for the small entrepreneur. Operation of his firm may be, at least for an interim period, more complex. Competitive survival, however, is forcing more and more businessmen to have that "moment of truth" regarding the effectiveness of their operations. Byron L. Carter, author of *Data Processing for the Small Business* and a longtime analyst of this element of society, pointed out the essence of the dilemma of the small businessman with this analogy:

"The small businessman today is in much the same position as the small farmer was several years ago. The one might have said, 'Farm machinery will become an indispensable part of your farming, or you become a dispensable part of farming.' Those who did not listen are no longer farming, or are barely scratching a declining level of subsistence."

INFORMATION NEEDS OF THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

The small businessman who would compete successfully in the complex, dynamic environment of mid-century America must be in a position to acquire, filter, correlate, store, process, and retrieve key information relevant to the present and future operation of his firm. This information may concern the day-to-day production of materials, analyses related to marketing surveys, fiscal planning, or data on counterpart organizations (both large and small) within the same competitive realm. Among the applications where ADP currently is being employed are: payroll, inventory control, accounts receivable, sales, analysis, accounts payable, cost accounting, production control, general ledger, engineering, and management control and information. The ways in which these tasks are accomplished through the support of ADP often are the cause of intensive, extended discussion by decision-makers in busi-

ness and government alike. The small businessman, often operating with a small margin of profit and always acutely aware of operating costs, must consider carefully the alternatives available to him. Generally, he must determine whether to establish a computer capability on the premises—owned (or leased) and staffed by the firm—or to rely, at least in part, on external ADP equipment and personnel. Five alternatives may be posed, the first involving the "in-house" option and the latter four treating the "out-of-house" choices:

The establishment of an in-house ADP capability, including the purchase or rental of equipment, creation of an internal staff of programmers, analysts, and operators, and possibly some form of educational course to orient managers and workers to the role of ADP.

The creation of a "joint usage" arrangement, where two or more companies establish an ADP center which is supported and used by each participating firm.

The use of a data center's ADP capability, which involves obtaining computer time on an hourly charge basis.

The contracting out to a service bureau, where charges are based on the fulfillment of an entire, clearly delimited, job.

The utilization of a remote terminal, time-sharing, system, with keyboard or display devices connected through communication lines to a central processor.

Some small businessmen may choose to perform certain rather straightforward functions internally while turning to service bureaus for tasks which require a more sophisticated or powerful ADP systems capability.

ASSISTANCE FROM NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In selecting which alternative to pursue, the small businessman may consult with organizations which retain professional staff with experience in ADP systems. An example of this is the National Retail Merchants Association, which has announced plans to establish a data processing service center for use by smaller and medium-sized retail stores. In addition, the organization has prepared and disseminated a manual entitled *Retail Merchandising and Management with Electronic Data Processing*.

Another national group which has concentrated on the technological needs of small business is the Association of Data Processing Service Organizations (ADAPSO). This association strives "to set performance standards, provide for the interchange of experience and data between members, and conduct a series of seminars, regional meetings, and conventions." The American Management Association (AMA) also has become active in sponsoring orientation seminars discussing the role of ADP in the smaller company. Prospective attendees are told that they will be given "valuable guidelines for planning a computer program aimed at small company management goals . . . for conducting the vitally important feasibility study . . . organizing for action . . . staffing . . . equipment analysis . . . the change-over and installations". Thus, there is a discernible trend toward providing the small entrepreneur with the kind of orientation and education needed to make some of the critical decisions about using ADP.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVED

Although the federal government has been heavily committed to the utilization of systems analysis and automatic data processing in many of its operations, it has not ignored the potential of these new tools and techniques for the small businessman. The range of governmental activities include sponsoring of experimental computer-sharing projects, the establishment of computer program repositories for use by the private sector, seminars and symposia to introduce the small entrepreneur to the pro's and con's of

computer utilization, and the distribution of literature describing the alternative paths of action open to the businessman seeking to improve his company's operating effectiveness.

There has been significant activity in the Executive and Legislative branches of the federal government, but the first effort to give the small business community a comprehensive perspective of the role of ADP was undertaken by the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, under the chairmanship of Senator George A. Smathers. The preparation of a special study by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress was authorized. This report, entitled *Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman* (Senate Document No. 82), features three types of information:

The status of federal government activity in providing information and other forms of support in automatic data processing technology to the small businessman.

Detailed information describing how and where the small business community has been using automatic data processing.

Useful information regarding the tools, techniques, and applications which should be considered by the small businessman who seeks to improve his business operation.

The first chapter of this report, "Summary and Conclusions," underscores the importance of the subject area to the nation at large. Automatic data processing technology represents man's innovative ability to overcome many of the problems inherent in collecting, indexing, storing, manipulating, and retrieving information. The impact of this technology on the public and private elements of our society is noted in the *Report to the President on the Management of Automatic Data Processing in the Federal Government*:

"No single technological advance in recent years has contributed more to effectiveness and efficiency in Government operations than the development of electronic data processing equipment."

The application of the computer and its ancillary tools to business problems also has proceeded at an accelerated pace. Today, while many larger corporations have tested and invested in automatic data processing systems, a significant portion of the small business community remains unconvinced of the desirability or feasibility of using the new approach. Yet there is a growing awareness that the contemporary small entrepreneur must avail himself of those mechanisms and services which will allow him to survive in an age where competition is increasingly sophisticated and unrelenting.

There has been a recognized need on the part of the federal government—executive branch agencies and legislative branch components—and various private sector groups for an overall strategy to be conceived which would lead to a marshalling of resources to address the problem of linking the small business community with the potential of the computer. Much of the effort expended heretofore has been unfocused or lacking in continuity, and this situation has resulted in the study undertaken by the Senate Select Committee on Small Business.

An examination of the problem area has permitted the identification of three critical requirements for future action. First, a carefully coordinated investigation of user, that is small business, needs for automatic data processing support should be initiated. The fragmentary data now in existence requires updating, and should be analyzed in the light of state-of-the-art developments of the last few years. The responsibility for organizing this activity should be negotiated through discussion between cognizant government and business organizations.

The second vital requirement is related to identifying those hardware and software developments of the immediate past and fore-

seable future in terms of their application to the multitudinous problems of the small businessman. The small business community is increasing at a great rate: 200,000 new small firms since 1961; 50,000 now taking their place in the competitive milieu every year. The role of industry in helping to match the new devices and man-machine techniques with the discrete applications cannot be underplayed, but the contributions of governmental groups also must be delineated and evaluated.

The third requirement which is critical to an improvement of the status of the small business is for a much enhanced program of orientation and education of the small merchant in terms of the support which can be gained from utilizing automatic data processing. The level of technical literacy must be raised, and a willingness to seek out and listen to counsel must be engendered. Although industry increasingly has provided information to the public about the pro's and con's of the new machine technology, the degree of understanding remains inadequate to the needs of the time.

The federal government has played a growing role in encouraging the use of computer technology by business. Through the support provided by the Office of State Technical Services' grants, pilot projects involving business concerns and other private sector elements have been founded; also, dozens of workshops, conferences, and training curricula have been established to provide guidance to the busy businessman. The Small Business Administration, in fulfillment of its charter, continues to sponsor educational programs designed to introduce automatic data processing to the small businessman. In addition, this group has prepared and disseminated countless copies of basic reference literature on the subject. The Office of Technology Utilization of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has established a repository for computer programs at the University of Georgia, which may be drawn upon by businessmen. These federal units and others to a lesser degree have confronted the dilemma of the small businessman and sought to render useful assistance in the form of counsel, funding, and background material.

Nor has the private sector of society been idle. While their resources necessarily are limited, the trade associations such as the Association of Data Processing Services Organization and the National Retail Merchants Association, among others, have moved to provide member firms with current information on the possibilities for using punched card equipment and computers. Universities, too, have become involved through the medium of monies granted by the Office of State Technical Services. Throughout the efforts to raise and apply resources which could be put to use by the small businessman a question of authority and responsibility has emerged. Should there be a single point of coordination within the federal government so that the application of talent and funding would result in optimum benefits?

The findings of the committee regarding industrial acceptance of governmental support in this area indicate that in general both large and small business concerns favor the allocation of federal funds in educational and experimental systems, efforts. It is recognized by business that many of the applications now fully supported by ADP-oriented equipment and software were brought to that state of performance as the result of work done with government money. The emergence of state and metropolitan governmental capabilities in the data processing realm also has affected the attitude and willingness to become involved on the part of many small businessmen. The need of small business, then, is for the establishment of a policy at the federal level which would bring

together and make available to the "small" businessman sufficient funding, educational resources, and counseling expertise. In a number of instances, the level of effort by federal agencies could be raised considerably; this should be the result, it was indicated by many of those in contact with the committee, of a reappraisal of individual agency policy and resource commitment.

The expansion of business participation in its own members' education and status improvement also was voiced by contributors to the committee study. There is a distinct need for an increased public relations' effort so that the small businessman knows *who* wants to discuss the advantages and limitations of automatic data processing with him and *why* that particular group is so engaged. It should be noted that some of the larger corporations provide the means for employees to gain information or attend classes on computer technology, but few of the smaller firms are in a position to do this.

The transfer of technology from one environment to another has been addressed in an earlier committee report entitled "Policy Planning for Technology Transfer." The advances made, for example, in the aerospace field may be useful to the small entrepreneur, but if any significant modification to a device or program is required, the matter may be allowed to drop. What is the proper organism for assessing which tools and techniques could be collected and applied to the range of small business applications? Would this be a suitable project for university or foundation research, or should this fall within the aegis of a trade association project for its members? The feasibility of taking advantage of equipment, software, or applications developed elsewhere in our society needs to be viewed realistically. Such carry-over may even be feasible, but at what cost? The committee report on technology transfer has this to say:

"The transfer of technology from Federal military-space programs to commercial application is intrinsically inefficient compared to directed research and development sponsored for specific purposes by industry. Only the massiveness of the recent Government investment makes the promise of private sector gains possible."

The report then goes on to identify certain contributions which such transfer of technology provides for the economy:

"Direct transfers of packaged technology, such as airplanes or computers.

"Tangible or intangible spinoff applications in other industries.

"New processes and techniques, new products, and devices to replace former methods and provide capabilities not previously available."

The nature of the American small business community has allowed many areas of marginal responsibility and activity to evolve. Indeed, the very definition of "small business" varies from industry to industry. To have a common point of departure for the purpose of the committee report, the *Code of Federal Regulations'* categories and definitions are iterated (Industry and limitation):

Construction: \$5 million annual average receipts.

Durable goods manufacture: 250 employees. Non-durable goods manufacture: 250 employees.

Transportation and communication: \$5 million annual average receipts.

Wholesale-retail trade: \$5 million annual average receipts.

Finance and industry: \$20 million assets.

Services and miscellaneous: \$3 million annual average receipts.

Petroleum: \$5 million annual average receipts.

The advantages to be derived, and the constraints to be acknowledged, from small business utilization of automatic data processing

are of prime importance to the nation at large. As a result of analyzing the experience of the small business community in its relationship with those who supply technological support, the requirement for further study, discussion, and program development has been ascertained.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the information which forms the basis for this report indicates the existence of these key factors in the national efforts to ensure the stability and growth of small business through the utilization of automatic data processing technology:

The state-of-the-art of computer technology continues to progress impressively, and should maintain a high level of contribution, as expressed in tools and techniques, for use by small business.

The augmenting of counseling services both in government and industry will be needed if small business is to have access to that expertise which is requisite to its survival and growth.

The evolution of more flexible, broader gauged service bureau centers, with their ability to serve the small businessman, is essential to the welfare of the nation.

Formal orientation and education curricula are required, through government, university, and trade association sponsorship, in the era ahead.

An investigation, on a continuing basis, of the changing cost-benefit ratios for various applications and various industries will be essential to convincing the small businessman of the applicability of ADP to his problems.

The establishment of a federal focal point for support to the small businessman, authorized by the Congress and implemented by the Executive branch of the federal government, would appear to be a future development.

The creation of the opportunity for expanded public discussion and the correlation of opinion from all sectors is necessary prior to the initiation of a detailed plan for public policy. User reaction to existing programs, both public and private, must be reviewed in the light of projected technological programs and the anticipated needs of the small business community.

FUTURE PATTERNS AND PROBLEMS

The federal government has given evidence of its willingness to assist small business to improve its management, planning, marketing, and production tasks. But the need for enhanced interaction between private and public groups interested in the viability of the business community has been identified. There is a growing belief that more positive policies at the federal and state or local levels soon are not going to be only desirable but essential. The increasing number of changes in business codes, practices, and relationships between business and government necessarily must become the concern of all responsible parties.

Another factor now attracting attention is that of the need for selective restraint where governmental endeavor in the business sector is involved. The activities, competition, and growth of the private sector traditionally have been relatively free of government intervention, and the area of control, authority, and responsibility well defined. Public and private leadership share the job of delineating workable relationships and guidelines in these changing times.

As the small business elements of the nation face the future, they must acknowledge the forces in motion and the pattern of projected developments; the next quarter of a century should see the emergence of these factors which will affect the small business community.

Increased mechanization in all facets of data handling, including computers, peripheral input-output devices, storage and buffer

components, and character recognition equipment;

Significant sophistication of computer programming, including improvements in heuristic programming, linear programming, master-slave software interactions, and man-machine dialogue capability;

Altered relationships between automatic data processing and communications hardware and software, with the need for more comprehensive system control mechanism;

Greatly increased investment in ADP equipment and services, both on an in-house and out-of-house basis by firms both large and small, with accompanying pressure on those not investing because of the growing imbalance of management access to needed information; and

Modification of traditional private-public information control and exchange procedures and criteria, which will require educational efforts to orient and inform business and government elements alike to their responsibilities.

The prospects, then, are for a period of dynamic activity and continuing change. It is too early to assess the multitudinous ramifications of computer technology on our civilization, but even the most cautious technological forecaster would predict an increasingly responsible role for ADP in the life of the business community of the future.

GEN. THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO: A FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. President, on the 12th of this month Americans commemorated the birthdate of a true lover of freedom, a true architect of American independence, a true volunteer soldier who left the comforts of his native land to fight in the most noble causes—for American independence.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko, described by Thomas Jefferson as "the purest spirit of liberty," was born in Poland on February 12, 1746. Some 30 years later he would hear of America's struggle to rise from the coffin of colonialism and would rush to this strange land to join the war as a volunteer.

Kosciuszko was trained as an artillery officer at the Royal School of Warsaw and, after graduating in 1769, furthered his military training at Mezieres, France. There he studied the art of soldiering under Lafayette and preceded his teacher to America, arriving here in August 1776.

The young Polish patriot spent 8 years in America—8 years that saw him rise in rank to brigadier general. During that time, Kosciuszko fortified the Delaware River against the assaults of the British and saw action at Fort Mifflin, Fort Mifflin, and Fort Mifflin, and Charles, S.C. He also built the original fortifications at West Point, suggesting then that a military academy be established at the New York fort.

However, the 8 years in America gave Kosciuszko much more than medals, much more than military rank. An admitted adventurer when he came to our shores, Kosciuszko returned to Poland in 1784 a firm believer in the ideals for which he fought. He turned his back on financial opportunities in the new world, choosing instead to ferment the seed of freedom in the Old World.

But his second battle—the battle for freedom in Poland—was not to be won, then or apparently now. He was exiled to Switzerland after the valiant but futile

struggle against Russian tyranny. He died there on October 15, 1817.

His was not a failure. His was a full life of honorable achievement. For the name Kosciuszko has lived through two centuries, is synonymous with freedom in two countries, and will continue for generations to come to inspire free men everywhere.

BLACK STUDIES COURSES SHOULD TELL THE WHOLE STORY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, an interesting article by columnist Joseph Alsop was published in the Washington Post of February 17, 1969.

Mr. Alsop's column concerned the recent demands by black power militants that the various colleges and universities across our land give courses in Negro history and "black studies."

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Alsop's column, entitled "Black Studies Drive Faces Tests of Its Academic Validity," be printed in the RECORD.

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

BLACK STUDIES DRIVE FACES TESTS OF ITS ACADEMIC VALIDITY (By Joseph Alsop)

At the moment, American universities from coast to coast are torn with strife over the demands for independent, racially segregated "black studies" departments, directly controlled by black students. So it is permissible to inquire just what is meant by "black studies."

If "black studies" are to start with serious and comprehensive exploration of African history, then they are shamefully overdue. Yet at least two words of warning are plainly required.

To begin with, most of the past of Africa belongs to pre-history. It is passionately interesting pre-history. As Dr. J. S. B. Leakey has gone far to prove, African pre-history probably includes the actual origin of the human species. It also includes such marvels as the cave paintings of the remote Atlas mountains, explored by Andre L'Hote, and the mysterious art of Ife, gloriously beautiful, probably ancestral to the harsher art of Benin, yet seeming to spring from nowhere in about the 8th Century A.D.

All the same, it is still pre-history; and pre-history is cruelly hard going for most non-professionals. Furthermore, when you come to the more recent period, when African history begins to be at least partly recorded, you find that it is like most history, mixing much evil with some good.

Take Chaka, the great founder of the Zulu Empire. As a military genius, this astonishing giant was at least the equal of his near contemporary, the Emperor Napoleon. He invented a new weapon, the Zulu *Assegai*; and he either invented or brought to perfection a completely novel system of military organization and tactics.

Indeed, Chaka even seems to have independently invented warfare to win victories and territory—a quite different thing from the sporadic and primitive warfare to win cattle that had previously prevailed in his region of Africa. Furthermore, Chaka managed to banish from his empire the tribalism that is the curse of every modern African state.

Yet Chaka's way of dealing with tribalism was to kill all but the young girls and boys of each conquered tribe, if that tribe even thought twice about abandoning the old ways and customs of its ancestors. The Zulu Empire was brilliantly successful, until Chaka's descendants encountered white sol-

diers with firearms; but it had a good many aspects that would not meet with the approval of most modern professors of sociology.

The same is true of all three of the more highly organized West African states, Benin, Ashanti and Dahomey, that first meet the eye when this part of Africa emerges from pre-history into history. All three were absorbingly interesting; but all three had features, including the regular practice of human sacrifice, that the New Left might well regard as distasteful.

Even the dreadful story of the slave trade presents the same dilemmas. The slave traders were white, but the slave suppliers were almost always black—rulers like the Obas of Benin and the kings of Whydah, and lesser chiefs and "caobceers" who marched the human merchandise, coffle by yoked coffle, down to the traders' coastal factories. Whites were the vicious tempers, but blacks yielded to the temptation to sell their own.

In short, the question is whether "black studies" are going to be historically truthful, and therefore intellectually respectable and academically valuable. If this is to be the way of it, there is much serious work to be done, and not least in the sordid, ludicrously whitewashed area of the true history and character of the slave system in America.

Unhappily, any practical-minded person can foresee that "black studies" will too often fail to meet the above-listed tests, at any rate if they are commonly organized in the way now demanded. Hate-promoting readings in Frantz Fanon are more likely to be emphasized. And so will black-racist bosh like the claim once made by the New York leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, Herman Ferguson, that there had been "an Anglo-Semitic plot to conceal the leading role of the universities of Timbuktu" in all of Western progress and science.

To this one other point needs to be added. According to the brave, wise but unheard leader of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, who should know better than anyone, this country ten years from now may well have fewer black doctors and dentists, lawyers and engineers than it has today. Yet the number of black students in the universities has enormously increased.

One must conclude, then, that in the present clamor, and probably because of that clamor, the door-opening studies are also being neglected.

SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS AND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. President, a recent article in a New Jersey newspaper began with the following sentence:

It might seem strange that a 49-year-old Senator can be called "Mr. Aging," but U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams has a claim on the title.

The article describes Senator WILLIAMS' work as chairman of the Special Committee on Aging and as an individual legislator who has offered many innovative proposals to cope with problems affecting older Americans.

A similar tribute was paid to the Senator in the November 1968 issue of *Geriatric Times*. There, the Senator's interest in "preventive" health screening—an early warning system intended to detect disease before it becomes chronic—was featured.

Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Federal, State, and Community Services in the Special Committee on Aging, I have long been aware of the chairman's deep personal interest in the quality of life enjoyed or borne by

the aged and aging population of this Nation.

As chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Aging in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I have worked closely with Senator WILLIAMS on legislation arising from committee studies and recommendations. His concern about the elderly is matched by his persistence in devising new and far-sighted legislation.

For a more complete description of his work, I ask unanimous consent that both the article from the *Geriatric Times* and an article published in the January 23, 1969, issue of the *Belleville, N.J., Times-News* be printed in the *RECORD*.

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

[From the *Geriatric Times*, Nov. 1968]

INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS—CHAIRMAN OF SENATE AGING GROUP PRESSES FOR "PREVENTICARE" PROGRAM

WASHINGTON.—The senior citizens club had asked the Senator to appear to make a short speech. Instead, when he arrived, he sat down with them and "had a conversation."

"I learned more than they did, I guess," he commented during this informal interview with *Geriatric Times*.

That's the typical style of the bushy-browed, 49-year-old New Jersey lawyer who heads the only congressional committee specifically designed to oversee the nation's programs affecting the elderly and to recommend the course they should follow in the future.

Sen. Harrison Arlington Williams, whose appearance and manner suggest Ivy League (which he was) and a liberal Democrat (which he is), has chaired the Special Senate Committee on the Aging since 1967. He'll continue to direct the panel at least for another two years, since the Senate will continue to be controlled by the Democrats.

"He's the kind of guy who can focus on people while others are talking about programs; he's people oriented," is the way one of his staff assistants sums up the chairman.

For instance, when he was invited to tour a large industrial plant in his home state company brass were forced to take the Senator down on the plant floor so he could talk to the production workers. Elaborate plans to entertain him in the executive suite had to be abandoned.

ELECTED IN 1953

The Senator, who commutes between Washington and his family home in Westfield, N.J., each weekend, was one of the "bright young men" of the Democratic party when he came to Washington. He was first elected to the House in 1953, and won his first Senate term in 1958.

Sen. Williams became a friend of the then Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. Sen. Williams was a member of the parent Labor and Welfare Committee, and was promoted by LBJ to the new Special Committee on the Aging over Senators with more seniority. In order to soothe ruffled feathers, the Special Committee was enlarged to its present 21-member complement.

Sen. Williams became chairman in 1967 upon the departure of Senator George Smathers, (D-Fla.)

Sen. Williams, of medium height with a somewhat rugged countenance and bushy, short-cropped black hair, has been pushing several new programs for the aged. His committee is not a legislative group—it cannot report legislation to the floor. Like other special committees of Congress, its job is to study, investigate and recommend legislation

to the appropriate committees. For instance, Social Security, Medicaid and Medicare laws are handled by the Senate Finance Committee because they involve taxation.

In spite of this "second class" status, Sen. Williams and the Committee have been extremely active and have played a major role in developing new laws and program expansions in the elderly field in recent years. They have pushed for the new White House Conference on the Aging to be held in 1970, were strong supporters of increased funds for aging research, and have pressed for congressional approval of increased Social Security benefits and "Preventicare," setting up a government program similar to Medicare to finance preventive health programs.

This year he barely missed congressional approval of an amendment to the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare to create a 15-member President's Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection. The plan involved no new funds, but would merely have authorized shifting of other funds to finance the committee's work in surveying medical knowledge.

Sen. Williams has urged President Johnson to get the special funds that would be needed to get this Commission started (hoping the next Congress will provide money to put the Commission in operation).

The Commission plan is typical of Sen. Williams' approach to the medical and other problems of the aging.

His Commission would "plan and recommend programs of preventive medicine, encourage programs of preventive medicine for the health professions and the general public, and engender national interest in preventive medicine."

"We must organize aging research into definite goals and set up a target date for results, like we did when the atomic bomb was developed during World War II," he says. "We cannot continue research into the aging process as scattered, fragmented programs, each going its own way," Sen. Williams declares.

As a political realist Sen. Williams, knows that the chances of major increases in aging research funds are poor in the foreseeable future. But he does see some major needs which he believes can be attacked now.

"The government must do more in the health facilities area," he says. "The federal government has done pretty well in helping create new hospital facilities, but we must have more nursing homes—this is an absolute necessity. And we need more medical personnel to staff them. These are not huge financial programs, so they can be undertaken now."

The Senator's father, incidentally, a retired successful New Jersey businessman, will become one of the first patients in a new nursing home in the Lake Placid, N.Y., area, built under a federal program. His father is covered by Medicare.

INADEQUATE INCOME

Talking informally to *Geriatric Times* he sipped a cup of soup in a restaurant near the Capitol. Sen. Williams repeated his oft-made assertion that inadequate income is the major problem facing most older Americans.

He has long advocated a 50 per cent increase in Social Security payments and a cost-of-living escalator system to keep payments abreast of inflation. He also favors broadening Social Security to cover all retired persons.

"We can't hope to cope with today's retirement income inadequacies—not to mention those of the future—unless we come up with a plan for both immediate and long-range national action," he says.

But Sen. Williams is frank to admit that

he doesn't believe that the government will ever be able to provide adequate income for all the elderly, even when matched against growing private pension plans. The tax base, he says, could never support such a program.

"The way things are going now, when we put together all the taxes, I am pessimistic that we can add enough new taxes to finance such a program," he comments.

"With compulsory retirement almost universal, adequate income for persons over 65 is a real problem. Even taken together, Social Security and most pensions don't provide an adequate income level for millions of people," he says.

Sen. Williams is proposing, as a first step, creation of an "Institute on Retirement Income."

"The institute, which would be similar to the federal 'think tank' now coping with urban problems, would be a 'problem-solving mechanism,' not a center for perpetual study and no action," he says.

NEED OPPORTUNITIES

In discussing the income problems of the aged, Sen. Williams stresses his belief that the answer is a combination of increased government financial help and increased economic opportunity for the elderly, with government lending a hand.

He and the committee staff are discussing a plan under which the Small Business Administration would create a special program to help the elderly set up their own small business firms.

"As far as I know, the U.S. Supreme Court and members of Congress are the only major groups today without compulsory retirement (and the voters sometimes have something to say about us), so continued economic activity after 65 is a must for millions who are not physically or mentally ready to stop all activity," he says.

"The rules and regulations that prevent a person from setting up a little business in his home or in a small shop are a major problem," he says. "We've got to help these people get past those roadblocks." He uses as an example a friend who, with one employee, wants to go into the business canning chicken fat for cooking purposes. But he ran afoul of such U.S. Department of Agriculture regulations as one requiring that both a men's and women's toilet be provided despite the fact that his lone employee would be a man. The business is still not off the ground.

Sen. Williams, whose interests include poetry (Robert Frost), casual golf (high score) and theatre (all kinds), is also a constant promoter of such programs as the Senior Service Corps, in which elderly help out in hospitals and various other institutions and offices, Foster Grandparent, in which they help underprivileged and orphaned children, and the Green Thumb program, in which elderly former farmers beautify state and federal public areas.

Balance is the key to the government's programs for the elderly, in the opinion of Sen. Williams. Income and economic opportunities, as well as their health needs, depend on a number of related problems, he says.

He cites particularly the desperate need of the elderly for mass transit facilities in order to get adequate medical care, to take advantage of programs designed to fill their hours, to take jobs or to become volunteer workers.

How about Sen. Williams' own retirement after nearly a decade of dealing with the retirement problems of others?

"I have made my own retirement program," he says. "I would be delighted to spend my retirement on a college campus, teaching political science—practical political science, not the kind that you usually get out of textbooks written by a person who has never even been a ward leader."

[From the Belleville (N.J.) Times-News, Jan. 23, 1969]

WILLIAMS OFFERING AGED LEGISLATION

It might seem strange that a 49-year-old Senator can be called "Mr. Aging," but U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., (D-NJ) has a claim on the title.

Not only is he Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, he's also the author of a legislative package designed to improve standards and services for aging and aged Americans.

With his proposal for a White House Conference on Aging enacted into law last year, the Senator moved quickly last week to introduce:

A bill establishing computerized health-screening centers for people 50 and over;

A measure to authorize an intensive study into the biological processes of aging—a measure which could help find answers to the mystery of why people grew old;

Legislation to create a problem-solving Institute on Retirement Income; and

Amendments to the landmark Older Americans Act of 1965, which would extend authorization for major programs and enable State agencies to conduct area-wide model projects for the elderly.

Senator Williams said that the bills were offered to Congress at the earliest opportunity, "so that we can make this the year of real breakthroughs in health services and income maintenance for older Americans."

The bill to create health-screening centers—dubbed "Preventicare"—would authorize the Surgeon General to assist medical schools and hospitals in establishing multiphasic screening programs, free of charge, for anyone past age 50. Data gathered at the centers—on hundreds of basic bodily processes and conditions—would be forwarded to the patient's physician for diagnosis and, if necessary, treatment of the condition.

Senator Williams pointed out that chronic disease and ill health plague the nation's seniors. He noted that four out of five persons over 65 suffer from some form of chronic illness. "Long-term illness and physical decay often go undetected until it is too late," he added. "A system of computerized screening stations offers the strong possibility that we will be able to head off trouble before it sets in."

The New Jersey lawmaker pointed out that his Preventicare measure does not create treatment centers, nor does it set up electronic diagnostic stations. The screening stations would be data-gathering outposts, where comprehensive tests could be made and the results compiled in a form that would help the physician proceed with diagnosis and treatment.

Such pre-diagnostic screening has received support from leading physicians throughout the country—from Scotland, Poland, the Soviet Union, and other nations. Dr. Josef Panaszewicz of the Polish Institute of Hematology, in Warsaw, summed up the relationship between machine and man when he noted that "no doctor can match the accumulated memory and experience of the computer, any more than the computer can match his human judgment."

Another Williams bill introduced this week would set up a Research Commission on Aging, under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to dig deep into the biological secrets of the aging process itself.

"We are spending only about five cents per person, every year, on research in aging," Senator Williams revealed, "and this in spite of the fact that every man, woman and child grows old—inevitably—and some with unfortunate side-effects."

The Research Commission would gather, analyze, and evaluate all available data on the biology of aging. It would then draft a five-year research program in aging, in the hope that by unlocking some of the body's

secrets, the aging process might be made less severe—and less disruptive to the individual.

Senator Williams said that he has received support for intensified research in aging from polio vaccine pioneer, Jonas Salk, and noted chemist, Linus Pauling. "These distinguished scientists agree," he said, "that we need basic information about the cell and the gene. We need accurate data about the basic physical changes which * * *."

One "change" which accompanies aging is all too apparent, according to the Committee Chairman, and that is reduction in income. "Inadequate income continues to be the number one problem faced by most older Americans," he said. "Pensions, Social Security, retirement financing of all kinds—these and other systems are not doing the job they must do to keep the elderly out of the shadows of poverty and near-poverty."

Recent studies point up the impoverished status of millions of older Americans: while total numbers of persons at or below the poverty line fell by some three million from 1966-67, the number of poverty victims 65 and over rose by almost 100,000 in the same period. The elderly poor now make up almost 20 per cent of the nation's poverty group.

Senator Williams' bill on retirement income would create a "think-tank" agency, geared to propose solutions and plan ways to put them into practice. Similar groups are at work on urban problems and crime in the nation's cities. "Why not adopt the high-level, concentrated approach to income for the elderly?" Senator Williams asks.

The Committee on Aging took some testimony last year to examine income problems of the elderly. It found that pensions, though adequate during working years, stay fixed as income and expenditures of the work force go up. The resulting "income squeeze" catches retirees and their offspring in the middle, and the trap grows tighter every year.

Senator Williams noted that national attention to the special problems, and unique attributes, of the elderly did not come about until the Older Americans Act was adopted in 1965. "This milestone legislation set up the prototype of community concern for the elderly," he said, "and we have been working within the framework of the Act since that time to expand and increase our programs."

Senator Williams said that he introduced the amendments to the Act "to extend the important provisions of the law through another three years, and to allow state agencies to conduct regional demonstration programs for older citizens." Other amendments would permit the Federal Government to redistribute unused funds between states, and would establish a program of planning and evaluation by private agencies.

"Senator Edward Kennedy has been a strong advocate of community involvement by, and for, the elderly," Senator Williams said, "and this week he spoke out on the importance of the Older Americans Act for the present and future."

Senator Kennedy said, in part: "I am joining Senator Williams from New Jersey to make this landmark statute even more helpful to our elders than it has been . . . the Older Americans Act has accomplished much at relatively small cost . . . we shall continue to press for legislation to improve the quality of older life in our nation."

Senator Williams is also readying several other proposals for introduction. One high priority bill would establish an Older American Community Service Program to enlist the elderly in public service activities right in their own home cities and towns. Williams previously introduced such legislation, but in 1968, the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, had a jurisdictional difference of opinion about the program. Late in 1968, Senator

Williams and Senator Kennedy issued a joint letter asking for opinions about the dispute.

They said, in part: "Both Departments are conducting limited, pilot programs that provide ample evidence about the desirability of matching up retired or unemployed older persons—who want something worthwhile to do—with worthwhile work that needs doing. We're now past the stage of limited demonstration programs, and we should have a truly national program that could attract hundreds of thousands of participants. Because of the importance of this concept, we are going to take our time in coming forward with a new, comprehensive bill."

THE NEW INTEREST RATES AND WATER RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, on February 10, I was privileged to address the annual luncheon of the Mississippi Valley Association, which was celebrating its 50th anniversary by holding its annual meeting in our National Capital. The luncheon was held in the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.

This occasion gave me an opportunity to discuss some factors in our water resource development program which have long troubled me as a member of the appropriations subcommittee charged with the funding of our public works projects dealing with the great water resources of the United States.

In this address, I pointed out how increased interest rates have made it more difficult to determine a favorable cost-benefit ratio for these public works projects and how our failure to include among the benefits derived from such projects many of the actual and potential benefits to be obtained from such improvements have tended to magnify our problems and to cause the rejection or delay of many projects of vast importance to America's future. To correct this situation and to modernize the calculations of our cost-benefit ratios, I offered some alternative proposals for getting our country's highly important water utilization projects back on track again.

Mr. President, for the benefit of Members of Congress, and of the country, generally, who might be interested in this analysis and inclined to cooperate in taking the required corrective steps, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my address to the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Association be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE KARL E. MUNDT, U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA, AT THE 50TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., FEBRUARY 10, 1969

THE NEW INTEREST RATES AND WATER RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

I would like to thank the Mississippi Valley Association for the invitation to address your annual meeting, and especially I express my appreciation to Mike Cassidy with whom I have worked for many years in the field of water resource development. Mike has worked untiringly for the development of water resources in America and, particularly, in the great Mississippi Basin.

I believe that the importance of water and its conservation and development was placed

in its proper perspective by President Johnson on September 30, 1968, on the occasion of his signing of the Colorado River Project Bill, when he asked those present to consider several very crucial facts of the time in which we live.

"Fact Number One. Next to the air we breathe, water is our most precious resource. Fact Number Two. Each year, civilization's appetite for water doubles and then redoubles. It takes 70,000 gallons of water to produce a single ton of steel . . ."

"Fact Number Three. As our demand surges, and our population grows, the earth's supply of water remains constant. That supply has not changed in 5,000 years."

Because of its inflexibility as to quantity, water is somewhat comparable to real estate since it increases in value with increased population similar to the increase in land values as our population increases and competition grows for the land and water. One has little value without the other.

Subsequent to the aforementioned remarks of President Johnson, two important documents have been released by the former President during the latter part of his Administration. On November 12, 1968, he transmitted to the Congress the first assessment of the Nation's water resources under the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965. This report, which is in excess of 400 pages, evaluates the water needs of our Nation by the year 2020 by regions. Even a cursory review of that document reveals the staggering program that will be required to meet these needs.

The second document sent to the Congress having a bearing on the subject was his prepared budget for fiscal year 1970. It is obvious that one bears little relationship to the other.

The total budget authority (largely appropriations) for fiscal year 1970 is \$210.1 billion compared to a present estimate of \$194.6 billion for 1969 and an actual of \$190.6 billion for 1968. This is an increase of slightly over ten percent in the past three years. During this same period the Construction, General appropriations for the Corps of Engineers decreased from \$967.6 million to a requested \$769.4 million for fiscal year 1970. This is a twenty percent drop in actual appropriations. When a fifteen percent price rise is taken into consideration, the funds requested will permit only about 70 percent of the work undertaken with the 1968 appropriations.

INTEREST AND DISCOUNT RATES

Anyone who has bought a house, a car, or other such items utilizing the services of a financial institution has paid interest and realizes that it is an important and inescapable fact of life. Let us consider for a moment the effect of increased interest rates on the monthly payments on our homes. Someone fortunate enough some years ago to obtain a \$20,000 mortgage for 18 years, at 5 percent, would have monthly payments of \$142.58. At 8 percent interest, the monthly payments on this same loan would be \$177.83. After determining the project cost, the amortization and interest charge is determined in a manner similar to the monthly payments on a mortgage. To this amount is added the annual cost of operation and maintenance to obtain the annual charge. This becomes the denominator for the benefit-to-cost ratio.

The application of the interest component on the benefit side is just the reverse. After determining the stream of benefits over the economic life of the project, by the use of the appropriate discount rate (interest charge), the total benefits over the assumed life of the project are reduced to present worth. The present worth of these benefits is then redistributed over the life of the project in the same manner as the total cost of the project is spread out over the life of the

project to determine the interest and amortization charge. Assuming a uniform flow of benefits over the life of the project, the average annual benefits over this period would not change as the interest rate increases, since the same interest rate is applied to a constant amount to obtain the present worth and to spread that total over the period of economic analysis. However, this is not the normal case. Usually, project benefits increase over the span of the project—in which case, the larger benefits accruing in the latter years of the project life have a lower present worth as the discount rate increases. Thus, the total present worth of the stream of benefits is a lesser amount which is then uniformly distributed over the life of the project.

IMPACT OF DISCOUNT RATE ON DECISIONMAKING

For the purpose of economical analysis and the computation of benefit-cost ratios, the Corps usually assumes an economic life of 50

years for navigation projects and local protection works and 100 years for reservoirs. They also assume that machinery and other moving parts have a shorter economic life and will require replacement during the assumed economic life, and provision is made in the annual charge for such replacement. From a practical standpoint, the facilities constructed will be effective many years beyond their assumed economic life, thereby resulting in an understatement of the benefit-cost ratio.

The interest rate used in the discounting of future benefits has a very dramatic effect on the benefit-cost ratio, particularly when the benefits of a project increase during its economic life, i.e., a new navigation project such as the Missouri River, where the commerce builds up over a period of years.

The following table shows the present value used in the economic analysis of a project for a benefit of \$1 in the fiftieth year:

TABLE 1.—EFFECT OF INCREASED DISCOUNT RATES ON FUTURE BENEFITS

Present worth of a benefit	Today	50 years hence discounted at—				
		3 percent	4½ percent	8 percent	10 percent	15 percent
\$1.....	\$1	\$0.22	\$0.11	\$0.2	\$0.9	\$0.09

The following table shows the general effect of an increase in the discount rate on the benefit-cost analysis for various assumptions as to economic life and whether the benefits are immediate or increased during the life of the project.

TABLE 2

Interest rate	Project 1		Project 2		Project 3		Project 4	
	Existing development (no provision for growth)		Benefits divided between existing and future development					
	50-year life	100-year life	50-year life	100-year life	50-year life	100-year life	50-year life	100-year life
3.....	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
4.....	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1
5.....	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	.8	.8	.8
6.....	1.0	.9	.9	.9	.9	.6	.6	.6

For Projects 1 and 2 in the above table, the benefits are based on existing conditions with no provisions for growth, and only the economic life of the project changes. For Projects 3 and 4, a substantial portion of the benefits accrue in the later years of their project life, i.e., there is a mixture of existing and future benefits.

For the first project, the benefit-cost ratio is reduced from 1.5 to 1.1 when the interest rate is increased from 3% to 5%, and the third project having the same 50-year assumed economic life drops from 1.5 to 1.0 because of the discounting effect of the higher interest rates on the larger benefits in the later years of its economic life. Now, comparing the projects with an economic life of 100 years, in the case of the second project the benefit-cost ratio is reduced from 1.5 to 1.0 when the interest rate is increased from 3% to 5%; whereas, for project 4, an increase of 2% results in an unfavorable benefit-cost ratio. In this latter case (Project 4) an increase of 1%, from 3% to 4%, reduced the ratio from 1.5 to 1.1, resulting in a marginal project. This demonstrates very dramatically the sensitivity of the benefit-cost ratio to changes in the discount rate.

In recent years, relatively few projects recommended by the Corps for authorization have a benefit-cost ratio in excess of 1.5. The impact of the proposed higher interest rate in evaluating Corps projects therefore becomes readily apparent.

There has been a great deal of discussion of the problem of the proper discount rate to be used in the evaluation of public invest-

ments, and, particularly, water resource projects. The advocates of high rates have presented their case for rates in the range of 10% to 15%. When proponents of water resource projects have expressed the fear that the implementation of such rates would kill water resource projects, some of the more ardent supporters have admitted that that is exactly what they want to do. Recognizing the cost of money to the Federal Government, I must admit that the formula for determining the interest rate on water resource projects as set forth in Senate Document 97 of the 87th Congress, which results in a current rate of 3¼%, is indefensible. On the other hand, the formula developed by the Water Resources Council which became effective in late December, is a sound basis for the determination of the appropriate interest rate. The new rate is 4½% with an annual adjustment of not more than ¼ a year. The new rate represents about a 42% increase in the interest rate. This is such a drastic increase in the interest rate that many thoughtful people have suggested a stepped increase which would permit more time for the development of better techniques for the evaluation of project benefits. This argument appears to have a good deal of merit when you consider that the Joint Economic Committee, that has been studying this problem Government-wide, noted the need for additional efforts to accurately measure and quantify the real benefits and costs of investment in this and other public investment areas.

I have joined with other members of the Subcommittee on Public Works of the Committee on Appropriations in a letter to the Water Resources Council, urging that regional hearings be held on present practices in the formulation and evaluation of water and related land resource projects. That letter stated in part that: "Unless all project benefits, both primary and secondary benefits, are fully and adequately evaluated, the interest rate used in project formulation will result in many projects being under-designed and others completely rejected. In view of the recent findings of the Water Resources Council in the national assessment of the Nation's water resources, we know that you will agree with us that we cannot afford under development of our water resources, and particularly reservoir sites, if we are to meet the water demands of the year 2020."

Some of the more obvious omission of types of benefits brought to the attention

of the Council by the members of the Subcommittee include the following:

AREA REDEVELOPMENT BENEFITS

Under the EDA Act, where an area is designated under Title IV as an area of persistent unemployment, it is appropriate to include redevelopment benefits. Last year, in considering the budget estimate for the Eel River project in California, it was noted that the area qualified under Title IV as an area of persistent unemployment but no redevelopment benefits were included in the economic analysis. The project had a favorable benefit-to-cost ratio of 1.06 to 1. In response to a question, the Division Engineer stated that, "Area redevelopment benefits will be included in the benefit-cost analysis if the project would otherwise lack overall economic justification."

This is an inconsistent policy and if these benefits are real they should be included wherever it is appropriate to do so. The Corps of Engineers computes only those benefits applying to labor costs during the construction plus an increment of the operation and maintenance costs for a limited time after construction; whereas, in many cases, the project provides the climate for expanded industrial and business activities that are more important to the economic prosperity of the area than the temporary economic activity stimulated by the physical construction. Further effort of the Council should be directed toward developing a methodology for evaluating these benefits. In making a determination of whether or not an area qualifies under Title IV, there must be a break-off point, and the community that just fails to meet the standard but is still plagued with unemployment is certainly entitled to a recognition of these types of benefits. Wherever there is under-utilization of resources there is a sound basis for recognizing these benefits.

Sometimes the survey and review of a water resource project can be a frustrating experience to Members of Congress as well as local interests.

Navigation, bank erosion, and flood control along the Missouri River have been major items of concern in the Dakotas, Iowa and Nebraska for well over thirty years. Completion of the five mainstem dams on the Missouri River in the Dakotas has materially reduced the flood hazard, but the bank erosion problem and the extension of the 9-foot navigation channel from Sioux City to the Gavins Point Dam have not been resolved.

In response to the authority contained in Section 112 of the River and Harbor Act of 1958 and a Senate Public Works Committee Resolution adopted in February 1960, as well as a number of earlier Committee Resolutions dating back to 1938, the Omaha District and Missouri River Division Engineers, after a thorough investigation, recommended extension of the 9-foot navigation and bank stabilization project from Sioux City, Iowa to Yankton, South Dakota. Their report was submitted to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors for review in April of 1965. This was just after the Corps, at the insistence of the Bureau of the Budget, established a new criteria for the evaluation of navigation benefits—that is, the savings in shipping costs were to be based on an estimate of what water compelled rates would be if the waterway were built. If the recommended project were evaluated on that basis it would not have been feasible. In fact, no new waterway projects were recommended any place in the country during the period that criteria was in effect. After this new criteria was modified by the Congress the Board completed review of the report and following consideration of the views of all interested parties advised the Chief of Engineers of its general concurrence and recommendation of the reporting officers in September 1966.

The views of the Governors of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Nebraska were favorable, and, after considering issues raised by the Federal agencies, the Chief of Engineers sent his report to the Secretary of the Army in January 1968.

At this point another stumbling block was thrown in the path of the report. The report attributed as major benefits from stabilization of the river banks significant contributions to large future increases in agricultural production in the flood plain. These increases were questioned by the Secretary of the Army and his staff and he requested further review of these agricultural benefits, which were essential to support a favorable recommendation to the Congress, and assurance that they could reasonably be credited solely to the project. The Chief of Engineers consequently solicited the assistance of the Department of Agriculture to re-examine the agricultural benefits. Necessary studies are currently in progress and the Chief of Engineers has assured me that every effort will be made to complete the re-evaluation as soon as practicable. But I am concerned and all of you should be concerned that the re-evaluation may again be on the narrow basis of the presentation made in the report rather than the more comprehensive evaluation of all the associated damages resulting from bank erosion.

I am convinced that the benefits from bank stabilization, if fully and properly evaluated, will justify the improvement. As we pointed out in the information presented to the Water Resources Council, which I will discuss in a moment, there are aspects of erosion control benefits that are presently being neglected in current evaluation procedures. One of my constituents in the project area recently advised me as follows:

"In 1968, a neighbor sold a 557 acre tract adjoining my farm and bordering on the Missouri river, wholly unimproved, the timber having been just removed from most of the acreage, . . . for \$460.00 per acre. So you can understand my interest in saving the rest of my farm from the ravages of the river. I have lost approximately 160 acres in the past 6 years."

We as a Nation cannot afford the continual erosion of land and the associated pollution and downstream damages resulting from the failure to protect our resources.

Now, let me return to the suggestions we have made to the Water Resources Council.

RECREATION BENEFITS NOT EVALUATED

In reviewing the justification for the Gilliam Reservoir in Arkansas, it was noted that the separable cost of specific facilities for recreation was \$328,000 but the breakdown of benefits did not include any recreation benefits. In response to a question, the Division Engineer stated, "Recreation is not an authorized purpose, Sir; so we included no benefits." If the general authority of the 1944 Flood Control Act, as amended, is sufficient authority to expend funds for recreation it certainly provides the authority to evaluate the benefits resulting from the expenditure of public funds for this purpose.

NAVIGATION BENEFITS

The justification sheet for Biloxi Harbor, Mississippi, included the following statement:

"In addition to the tonnage on which economic justification is based the Mississippi Power Company expects to barge 600,000 tons of coal per year over the channel beginning in January 1968, increasing to 1,000,000 tons in two to three years."

The Division Engineer stated that the Corps first became aware of these coal shipments in December of 1967, but did not include these benefits because the Corps was not able to evaluate or reevaluate the benefits between the time that they became aware of them and the time that the budgetary data had to be printed.

This is typical of what is happening on

most of our major waterways. The recent first national assessment of water resources predicts a six-fold increase in inland waterborne commerce over the next 50 years. The Committee recognizes that this projection is an average increase—that some will be greater than six-fold while others will be less. However, the Corps' projections of traffic on our inland waterways do not reflect such potential increases in water-borne commerce on any of the waterways. In this connection, it should be noted that all past projections have proven to be conservative and undoubtedly the first assessment by the Water Resources Council, in the light of actual experience, will also have to be revised upward.

As a matter of fact, it seems to me that we could employ some of the thinking of our part of the country to the resolution of the great problems confronting our urban areas—and by that I mean, going to the source of the problem to achieve its solution.

For example, in resolving the annual problems of floods along the lower reaches of the Mississippi Valley, we could have devoted all our efforts to the construction of levees to hold out the flood waters, but only to find that we compounded the problem and would simply have to devote more of our resources to the construction of more levees with the passage of time and still not achieve the solution sought.

We did not do this in the Mississippi Valley, but what we did do is go to the source of the problem for solution by constructing mainstream reservoirs along the Missouri River, to capture the flood waters before they could inflict their massive damage and achieve a stabilization that not only has meant an end to the devastating floods of recent decades but brought forth new developments which have benefited all areas along the Mississippi and its great tributary the Missouri.

I think we can make this same application to the problems of our cities—by going to the source of their problems, the massive influxes of population coming from rural areas to the cities. By directing our attention to programs which can keep our people in the rural areas—and repopulate these areas—we can make a major contribution to the resolution of the urban crisis. And I think one way to begin is for people, such as you from this association, and from the Army Corps of Engineers, and from the organizations and areas who understand the situation at the source—rural America—to be a part of the planning to resolve the problems of our big cities by creating job opportunities in rural America which will not only shut off at its source the migration of great numbers of people to flood our urban centers but which would also tend to start a reverse migration.

LOCAL PROTECTION PROJECTS

In the case of levee protection for flood control, the levee is built based on a project design flood of a certain magnitude but, in the estimate of damages prevented, it is not assumed by the Corps that the design flood will occur during the life of the project. It seems that if there is sufficient probability of a flood occurring to justify the expenditure of funds to build a project which will protect against a certain flood, it is reasonable to assume that that flood would occur some time during the life of the project.

ALLEVATION OF HUMAN SUFFERING

The 1936 Flood Control Act sets forth the policy that the Federal Government should improve or participate in the improvement of navigable waters for flood control purposes if the benefits to whomsoever they may accrue are in excess of the costs, and if the lives and social security of people are otherwise adversely affected by the absence of the improvement. The loss of life and social security of those affected has always been considered intangible loss for which no monetary evaluation can be made.

Recent news dispatches state that the flood of January 1969, in southern California's worst flood since March 1938, with 88 deaths attributed to the rains and floods and 9,000 persons evacuated from their homes. Several counties have been declared "major disaster areas" by the President. When the residents return to their homes there is the cleanup job—the shoveling of silt from the rugs and floors of their homes; the drying out of over-stuffed furniture and walls which, at best, will smell musty for a long time. The contamination of water supplies frequently requires the inoculation of entire communities. This is especially upsetting to small children still suffering from the shock of the flood disaster. No monetary value has ever been placed on the elimination of the human suffering attendant upon flooding.

A few years ago recreation benefits were considered intangible and not subject to monetary evaluation, but the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation has developed an empirical formula for assigning a dollar value to the various types of recreation. We are convinced that if we can determine the value of a day's recreation, it is feasible and practical to develop a similar empirical formula for assigning a monetary value to the prevention of the human suffering resulting from flooding.

BANK EROSION

In computing benefits from erosion control measures, the Corps considers only the benefits at the site and completely neglects the value of the land lost, the adverse downstream effects and cost of subsequent removal, say, from a navigational channel, or the effect the accumulation of silt within a reservoir has on reducing the useful life of a reservoir. The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration has cited siltation as one of the major sources of pollution of our streams. The contribution that bank erosion control plays in achieving our national objective of clean waters should be fully evaluated. In many cases where the alternative to bank protection is a levee set back we find that continual erosion necessitates subsequent set backs. Although a single levee set back may appear to be the cheapest alternative, the costs of repeated set backs usually greatly exceed the costs of the more permanent solution afforded by the erosion control measures.

HYDROELECTRIC

We are now embarked on an all-out effort on air and water pollution abatement, yet no consideration is given to the fact that hydropower does not pollute either the air or the water.

With the new air quality standards being imposed in many sections of the country the cost of low sulphur coal, for instance, will increase from two to three dollars a ton over the cost of the present fuel being used. This represents a very substantial increase in operating costs. In addition, there are indications that the low sulphur coals are injurious to the boilers thus necessitating more frequent repairs and earlier replacement. These factors should be taken into account in the economic evaluation of proposed hydro-installations.

THERMAL POLLUTION

Releases of water stored in the lower portions of a reservoir can have an important benefit in reducing the effects of thermal pollution downstream. The reduction of thermal pollution in turn has a beneficial effect on the fish and wildlife resources in the reaches of the stream below the dam.

WATER SUPPLY BENEFITS

The present method of evaluating water supply and water quality control benefits does not take credit for all the primary benefits. The current procedure is to assume the benefits are equal to the cost of the least costly alternative method of supplying the needed water. With the previous discount

rate, in most cases the alternative is a single-purpose reservoir and the assumption is that such a single-purpose project always has a benefit-to-cost ratio of 1 to 1. This assumption has many basic omissions or shortcomings.

With the use of a higher interest rate the benefits increase and other alternatives could appear to have an advantage over the single-purpose water supply reservoir. For example, development of a series of wells, which could be installed in stages according to demand schedules, might well appear to have an economic advantage over the reservoir with a high initial capital investment because of the option available to defer expenditures. While this solution may be satisfactory for a small community, ever increasing areas of the country are finding that extensive withdrawals of ground waters which have accumulated over thousands of years are lowering the water table which necessitates continual deepening of the wells resulting in final exhaustion of the supply. Conversely, the development of a multiple-purpose reservoir stores destructive flood waters for subsequent release for the generation of power, low-flow augmentation for many purposes, including enhancement of fisheries and dilution of pollution and navigation, as well as specific reservation and withdrawals for water supply.

The hearings before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee disclosed that the interest rates applied by agencies in discounting their proposed investment alternatives range from a minimum of 0% to a maximum of 20%. However, what was not made clear in those hearings was that except in the field of water and related land resource development, the studies were cost effectiveness studies used merely as a guide to determine which of several alternatives should be selected to accomplish a desired objective. Only in the field of water resource developments are benefit-to-cost analyses made to determine if the objective is to be met.

The determination to land on the moon and many other costly programs were not based on a benefit-to-cost analysis. The air and water pollution control programs were based on national objectives rather than on a benefit-to-cost analysis. Within these programs standards were set without regard to the status of the technology required to achieve them or the costs involved.

I do not deprecate the value of sound economics in the decision-making process, but to be effective it must be consistent with our national goals, and not be used to discriminate against a particular objective. I submit that if at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the President's advisors had insisted on an economic evaluation of the purchase, with the future benefits reduced to their present worth at that time, using the opportunity cost of money as the discount rate, the purchase would never have been made. I am equally certain that there is no economist in the country today that would suggest that it was a bad investment.

One very basic limitation of the benefit-cost ratio is that it attempts to measure only national efficiency gains of a project, i.e., the contribution a proposed project makes to an increase in the income of the nation. Equally important, however, is the regional impact of a water resource project. It might be in the national interest to increase the pace of industrial development of rural areas plagued by underemployment. Although a water resource project might be instrumental in initiating such a change, the conventional benefit-cost ratio does not include the developmental benefits. For example, in addition to the primary benefits currently being evaluated, we should evaluate the potential of each project to create job opportunities, not only during construction, but also permanent jobs resulting from industrial de-

velopments made possible by the primary project benefits.

A major contribution to the solution of the problem in our inner cities is the creation of a climate—where open space is abundant—which will attract industry through low-cost transportation, economical power, flood-free locations, and abundant water supply and recreational opportunities. These project benefits will combine with natural resources, both human and material, to stem the tide of rural migration to the congested cities which has so greatly increased our welfare problems.

This is but one example to suggest that project planners should show how water resource projects help meet our social goals—including beautification, reduction of pollution problems, and better distribution of people.

We will do our part in Congress, but there is a real service that organizations such as the Mississippi Valley Association can and must perform. I have in mind an intensified public information program.

The Water Resources Council's recent National Water Assessment contains a wealth of information on our water needs for the year 2020. But, unless the grass roots of America awaken to the challenge of fulfilling those water needs, we may forever lose the use of some of the few good reservoir sites remaining.

As the first step in such an educational program, I visualize the dramatic relating of each timely news event on water resource development. For instance, when a flood control project has protected an area or reduced damage from heavy rains—tell it like it is, in the local papers, radio, or television. Or, if an authorized project, even a study under way, would have alleviated flood damage—tell it like it is. In periods of drought—tell what relief has been received from an existing project, or outline the relief to be expected from a potential project.

At times in recent years, when low flows in the Ohio River aggravated pollution problems, one-half of that flow came from releases of stored water in upstream reservoirs! Were such facts to be fully reported when the related event is news, public works projects would soon lose the stigma of Pork Barrel!

Similarly, the benefits from recreation are worth a good story on the big days—say, the Fourth of July and Labor Day. And, a good story is more than the mention of attendance and special events—it is the story of the business activity created by the use of the facility.

Annual stories of the payroll and other construction activities resulting from low-cost barge transportation tie in well with year-end financial summaries.

Working together, we can and must meet the water resource needs of this country in an orderly manner, rather than await the crisis and then embark on a costly crash program.

In the immediate future, you should prepare well documented testimony to present at regional hearings of the Water Resources Council so that the planners will have adequate tools for project formulation and evaluation to meet at least the needs of the foreseeable future. I would also hope you would join our effort in Congress to update, modernize, and make more realistic the factors which should today be cranked into our cost-benefit formula.

In summary, a high discount rate decreases the apparent desirability of projects where the benefits increase over the life of the project, as in the case of recreation. This characteristic is probably the most objectionable feature of the use of a high interest rate in the economic analysis of projects. A high proportion of early returns usually means a less than optimum size project. Future enlargements are always more costly, but more im-

portant, in the case of a reservoir, surrounding developments could price out the full development of the site if delayed until some future date.

With the limited number of good reservoir sites I do not believe we can afford to pre-empt good sites with partial development under the guise of economic efficiency. With current projections of population growth and water consumption we will have difficulty explaining to the next generation our monument to planning insufficiency as evidenced by the number of undersized projects resulting from the use of a high imputed interest rate in project analysis. It will mean sizing projects to present rather than future needs. I cannot help but feel that even with the lower interest rates used in the past, a review of completed projects will show that in the vast majority of cases the future benefits have been greatly understated.

Many years ago I heard an old Chinese proverb which is applicable to my discussion today. It went something like this:

"If you are planning for tomorrow, gather twigs.

"If you are planning for next year, plant rice.

"If you are planning for 100 years, plant trees."

I hope that our planners and you together with the Corps of Engineers and Congress are going to start planting trees instead of gathering twigs.

NONPROLIFERATION TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it will not be long before the Senate opens debate on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. As we all know, this treaty was drafted and negotiated by the previous administration. In my view, it would be useful for the new Senators and new members of the administration to familiarize themselves with the processes of negotiation and the manner in which our Government agencies participated.

Since we now are beginning a new administration, we have a unique opportunity to study the technique of the previous one. Accordingly, I have today written to the heads of the agencies which have the statutory responsibility for being involved in such negotiations on the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. I am asking them to tell me how the previous administration went about this work and who were the experts assigned to this problem. This information will provide useful insights into the workings of our democratic form of government. When the Senate is asked to give its advice and consent to a matter as important as an international treaty, it should inquire into all phases of the work. I am hopeful that the heads of these agencies will act as quickly as possible providing this information, despite the tremendous burdens they face in beginning their work. I wish that so important a treaty could be considered at a more leisurely pace, but the present timing of its disposition appears to prevent that care.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the letters which I am today sending to five agency heads be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1969.

Hon. RICHARD HELMS,
Director, Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HELMS: Since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will soon be under discussion in the Senate, it would assist the Senate's Constitutional responsibilities to know the full history of the background of the negotiations which produced the text.

I would appreciate it if you could check the files of your agency and supply me with information on the composition of internal working groups and inter-agency committees in which your agency participated on Non-Proliferation Treaty questions. I am interested in the process of negotiating, and in the individual participants, both in the preliminaries in Washington, and in the work of the international conference teams abroad. I would particularly like to have this information with regard to the draft treaty of August 24, 1967; the draft treaty of January 18, 1968; the joint draft treaty of March 11, 1968; and the final draft of May 31, 1968.

In addition, I would like to know which departments of your agency and individuals who are presently assigned to responsibilities in regard to this treaty.

Because the treaty will reach the Senate in a matter of days, I would appreciate it if you could expedite the provision of this information.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1969.

Hon. HENRY A. KISSINGER,
National Security Advisor,
The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KISSINGER: Since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will soon be under discussion in the Senate, it would assist the Senate's Constitutional responsibilities to know the full history of the background of the negotiations which produced the text.

I would appreciate it if you could check the files of your agency and supply me with information on the composition of internal working groups and inter-agency committees in which your agency participated on Non-Proliferation Treaty questions. I am interested in the process of negotiating, and in the individual participants, both in the preliminaries in Washington, and in the work of the international conference teams abroad. I would particularly like to have this information with regard to the draft treaty of August 24, 1967; the draft treaty of January 18, 1968; the joint draft treaty of March 11, 1968; and the final draft of May 31, 1968.

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Because the treaty will reach the Senate in a matter of days, I would appreciate it if you could expedite the provision of this information.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1969.

Hon. GERARD C. SMITH,
Director, U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SMITH: Since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will soon be under discussion in the Senate, it would assist the Senate's Constitutional responsibilities to

know the full history of the background of the negotiations which produced the text.

I would appreciate it if you could check the files of your agency and supply me with information on the composition of internal working groups and inter-agency committees in which your agency participated on Non-Proliferation Treaty questions. I am interested in the process of negotiating and in the individual participants, both in the preliminaries in Washington, and in the work of the international conference teams abroad. I would particularly like to have this information with regard to the draft treaty of August 24, 1967; the draft treaty of January 18, 1968; the joint draft treaty of March 11, 1968; and the final draft of May 31, 1968.

In addition, I would like to know which departments of your agency and individuals who are presently assigned to responsibilities in regard to this treaty.

Because the treaty will reach the Senate in a matter of days, I would appreciate it if you could expedite the provision of this information.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1969.

Hon. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will soon be under discussion in the Senate, it would assist the Senate's Constitutional responsibilities to know the full history of the background of the negotiations which produced the text.

I would appreciate it if you could check the files of your agency and supply me with information on the composition of internal working groups and inter-agency committees in which your agency participated on Non-Proliferation Treaty questions. I am interested in the process of negotiating, and in the individual participants, both in the preliminaries in Washington, and in the work of the international conference teams abroad. I would particularly like to have this information with regard to the draft treaty of August 24, 1967; the draft treaty of January 18, 1968; the joint draft treaty of March 11, 1968; and the final draft of May 31, 1968.

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Because the treaty will reach the Senate in a matter of days, I would appreciate it if you could expedite the provision of this information.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1969.

Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will soon be under discussion in the Senate, it would assist the Senate's Constitutional responsibilities to know the full history of the background of the negotiations which produced the text.

I would appreciate it if you could check the files of your agency and supply me with information on the composition of internal working groups and inter-agency committees in which your agency participated on Non-Proliferation Treaty questions. I am interested in the process of negotiating, and in the individual participants, both in the preliminaries in Washington, and in the work of the international conference teams abroad.

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In addition, I would like to know which departments of your agency and individuals who are presently assigned to responsibilities in regard to this treaty.

Because the treaty will reach the Senate in a matter of days, I would appreciate it if you could expedite the provision of this information.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

JOHN DESOTO, JR., OUTSTANDING MOTORCYCLE RIDER

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, surfers from around the world have flocked to the beaches of Makaha, Hawaii, to test their skill against the 30-foot waves that break along the reef. As you can imagine, Makaha has produced a company of outstanding surfers.

I am very happy to report today that Makaha is the home not only of many surfing enthusiasts but also of an outstanding motorcycle rider—John DeSoto, Jr. A 21-year-old from Makaha, John was named the 1968 U.S. Professional 250 MotoCross Champion after competing against some of the best motorcycle riders in the United States and Europe.

He is currently en route to Europe where he and his teammate will compete for the world championship. They will be the first American team ever to contest these difficult races.

I wish to join John's family and his many friends in congratulating him on his past success and in sending very best wishes for the challenges he faces in the world championship races.

SENATOR MURPHY TESTIFIES ON TWO CALIFORNIA DISASTERS

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on Thursday, February 13, the House Committee on Public Works, which responded so timely to recent California disasters, was kind enough to permit me to testify before them.

I ask unanimous consent that my statement discussing the recent California floods and the Santa Barbara disaster be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT OF SENATOR GEORGE MURPHY, REPUBLICAN OF CALIFORNIA, HOUSE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE, TWO SUBCOMMITTEES MEETING IN CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY 13, 1969

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I want to thank you and the Committee for allowing me this opportunity to testify before you today. Your kindness and courtesies are deeply appreciated. Also, I want to thank you on behalf of the people of California for a timely response, as typified by your field hearings in our State, to the two recent tragedies that have struck California.

These two terrible disasters, one natural and the other man-made, which have brought so much personal suffering and inflicted so much damage, demonstrate our limited knowledge and our inadequate procedures for preventing and dealing with damaged resources when disaster hits.

The recent natural disaster resulted from nine days of rain, causing the worst floods in our State since 1938. It is estimated that the January flooding caused damages exceeding \$100 million and 88 persons are known to have lost their lives. Although we are unable to control the forces of nature, we must continue to press forward with our research in the various inter-related parts of our environment and their relationship to our weather and natural disasters.

There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that bills enacted and resultant actions taken in the area of flood control, erosion, and public works improvement in general have frequently prevented disasters and have helped to minimize the damage resulting therefrom. Senator Randolph, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, early last week estimated that "flood control structures authorized by Congress and built by the Corps of Engineers prevented an excess of \$1½ billion in damages to urban and suburban areas over the State of California." So, such programs of your Committee are surely a wise investment by the American people.

Congressmen Johnson, Clausen and Anderson and other members of the California delegation have introduced in the House of Representatives "The California Disaster Act of 1969." I have introduced a companion measure, S. 993, in the Senate. This bill provides assistance to the State of California for the reconstruction of areas damaged by recent storms, floods, landslides, and high waters. I urge early passage of the "California Disaster Act" so that needed assistance may be given to California to help us repair the damages resulting from this great natural disaster.

As part of the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors Bill of 1966 an amendment authored by me authorized a study of landslides, soil erosion, surface and sub-surface drainage conditions, flood control, and seismic disturbances. The amendment directs the Corps of Engineers to work in cooperation with the United States Geological Survey of the Interior Department in conducting this study. The recent natural disaster again points out the urgency of the landslide problem in this area, and I urge the Committee to do everything possible to accelerate the completion of this study.

The story out of Santa Barbara has been front-page news for approximately two weeks. And well it should be. While the spewing of 230,000 gallons of oil on any area would be a tragedy, I am certain that you who have seen and, therefore, fallen in love with the picturesque and scenic coastal city of Santa Barbara and surrounding area will feel, as I do, a particularly deep sense of personal loss based on your affection for the area.

While all of the facts and evidence are not in yet, I would make the following recommendations:

First, as the Nixon Administration has ordered, all drilling should stop. The cessation of drilling at Santa Barbara should continue until we can make certain that disasters of this kind will not again occur in the future. It should be pointed out that Santa Barbara citizens have been proven right, much to their regret, in their reservations regarding the beginning of the drilling operations a year ago. I am pleased that President Nixon has announced that these "reservations" will be fully re-examined when the panel, headed by Dr. Lee DuBridge, the President's Science Advisor, undertakes its study which will include methods to prevent "sudden and massive" oil pollution in the future.

Secondly, I understand that this disaster would not have taken place under California state law and regulations. California, as the Committee knows, has jurisdiction only over leases within a three-mile limit off the

California coast. The oil problem at Santa Barbara, occurring beyond the three-mile limit, was under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Further, I understand the governing federal regulations are fifteen years old and have not been upgraded or subjected to a full-scale review during this long period. That this should be the case, despite the proliferation of offshore drilling activity, to me, is shocking. I am pleased that the DuBridge panel will review the inadequacies of existing regulations for all wells operating off the coast of the United States and will suggest regulations needed to prevent future disasters from occurring.

Also, because the Santa Barbara oil flow demonstrates that oil does not respect the federal three-mile boundary and because states have a vital interest to see to it that their beaches are not polluted, I recommend that oil leases under the jurisdiction of the federal government be made to comply with state regulations and be subject to state inspection where the state regulations are stricter than the federal standards.

Thirdly, the Santa Barbara incident has underscored once again the need to accelerate a research development and testing program to increase and improve our capabilities for preventing, controlling, and cleaning up of oil spills and other hazardous substances. I recommend an amendment to the research section of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize an additional \$5 million for the acceleration of research on marine pollution problems, such as that posed by oil spillages. This was one of the recommendations of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources, the Commission which earlier this year issued a report charting the future direction of the nation's ocean exploration efforts.

Fourth, I urge that contingency plans be developed at the local, state and regional levels to provide for a quick response to oil spills and similar disasters. I understand that no such plans presently exist today. This is a serious deficiency in our pollution control arsenal and should be remedied immediately. In my judgment, such contingent plans should be an integral part of the state and federal water pollution control programs.

Fifth, present water pollution control legislation dealing with the spillage of oil and other hazardous materials is clearly inadequate. Financial responsibility must be placed on the owners and operators of both ships and shore facilities. Present law limits liability to dischargers who are "grossly negligent or willful." I supported legislation which passed the Senate establishing the responsibility of the responsible party to either clean up or authorize the government to do it and later recover the costs from the party responsible. I urge congressional action on this legislation, similar to that introduced by Senator Muskie of Maine in the Senate and Congressman Teague of California in the House of Representatives.

Sixth, while clearly establishing the responsibility of polluters to bear the cost of clean up, we should also establish an insurance system to cover the costs growing out of oil spillages.

Mr. Chairman, there are more than 12,000 oil wells off the United States' coast and the number is growing by more than 1400 each year. The number of oil drilling platforms in the Gulf of Mexico, I understand, has become so great that the United States Coast Guard and the Army Corps of Engineers with the cooperation of industry have found it necessary to establish fairways for ship travel in and out of the Gulf ports.

The lessons of Santa Barbara are that we must stop, look, and make certain that all possible steps are taken to guarantee as much as possible that similar disasters will not result. Californians, because of the State's long

and magnificent coast and because of the water problems of the West, have always been keenly aware of the importance of water and the dangers of pollution. As Committee members probably know, I had the pleasure of serving on the Senate Public Works Committee, and more particularly, on the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, up to this year. As a member of the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, I have supported all the measures designed to accelerate our nation's battle against pollution.

I have frequently stated that pollution, both air and water, is one of the most serious domestic problems confronting our country. With the growing population and expanding technological society, we are told that even with stronger pollution control programs, pollution is likely to increase in the future.

The Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources, to which I previously referred, in its report, "Our Nation and the Sea," noted the promises and potential of the oceans. In addition to calling for an accelerated ocean development program, the Commission rightly gave equal emphasis to an attack on water pollution problems. The natural disaster in the form of the floods and the man-made disaster at Santa Barbara drive home the significance of one of the summary statements of the Oceanographic Commission—"It is critical to protect man from the vicissitudes of the environment, and the environment, in turn, from the works of man." This is the challenge that we must meet. Thank you.

HUNGER IN AMERICA

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Members of Congress to the first of a series of articles on hunger in the United States written by Mr. Homer Bigart, the noted journalist of the New York Times.

Mr. Bigart's first article appeared as a front page story in yesterday's Sunday Times. It is a moving account, centering on hunger and malnutrition in parts of South Carolina.

The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs has for several weeks been looking into the extent, the nature, the cause, and the elimination of hunger in the United States. We have been assisted in that effort by the concern of the distinguished junior Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), who will testify before our committee on February 18, together with other authorities from South Carolina.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Bigart be printed in the RECORD.

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

HUNGER IN AMERICA: STARK DEPRIVATION HAUNTS A LAND OF PLENTY—I

BLUFFTON, S.C.—Hunger is a noun that means, among other things, a compelling desire for food, a nagging emptiness of stomach and gut. Persons old enough to remember the Great Depression may recall going hungry, but today it is a sensation generally reserved for those mired in poverty.

Chronic hunger seems so remote in this bounteous land that reports of extreme malnutrition among Negroes in the rural South, among migrant farm workers, among Mexican-Americans and reservation Indians have been set down as exaggerations and lies, the observers frequently assailed as charlatans or do-gooders who would sap the initiative of the hungry poor by expanding "giveaway"

Federal food programs or even conspiring for adoption of a guaranteed minimum wage.

Here in Beaufort County, Donald E. Gatch, an intense youthful-looking country doctor, has been shunned by the white community for insisting that hunger is a daily fact of life among the black families of this mossy tidewater.

He began losing his white patients two years ago after he charged publicly that he had seen children dying of starvation, that most black children of his area were infested with worms, and that families were living in hovels worse than the pigsties of his native Nebraska.

The Beaufort Gazette accused him of "running his mouth." Every other doctor in the county signed a statement deploring his "unsubstantiated allegations," contending that the "rare cases of infant malnutrition" that came to their attention were invariably due to "parental inexperience, indifference or gross neglect." And the County Health Officer, Dr. H. Parker Jones, said he had "never seen a case of starvation or extreme malnutrition."

Ostracized by the staff of Beaufort County Memorial Hospital, annoyed by threatening telephone calls, boycotted by white patients, Dr. Gatch closed his Beaufort office, sold his home and moved with his British-born wife and two young sons back to Bluffton (pop. 356), where he had started his practice 10 years ago.

One chilly, overcast day at the tag end of January Dr. Gatch consented to take a visitor on a tour of Negro shanties near Bluffton.

LIKE A MISSIONARY OUTPOST

The doctor, who sometimes appears disconsolate and withdrawn, peered glumly at the scene through horn-rimmed spectacles that kept sliding down his nose. From the clay road the weathered shanties, woodsmoke curling from the chimneys, looked quite charming. But Dr. Gatch, in his low tired voice, spoke only of the overcrowding, the filth and the smell of poverty within.

The Gatches had taken over a group of summer cottages on the bank of a tidal creek, living in one, using another for frequent guests (nutritionists and sociologists from all over are coming to see him) and hoping to convert a third into a clinic. (The doctor maintains a large, well-equipped office in the center of the village.)

The Gatch compound, shaded by live oaks decked in Spanish moss, had the quiet, mournful isolation of a missionary outpost in central Africa. The African connection was further strengthened when Dr. Gatch remarked that he had treated several children for kwashiorkor, a disease generally thought to exist only in underdeveloped countries.

Kwashiorkor is a Ghanaian word meaning literally "the disease that takes the child after it leaves the mother's breast." It is a disease of extreme protein deficiency, a starvation often brought on by a mother's inability to breast-feed an infant.

Down a dirt road Dr. Gatch paused at the decaying stoop of a family named Kinnard. Silent children with skinny legs sat listlessly on floors and beds. Fifteen people lived in the shack, Dr. Gatch said, and there was no privy.

COMFORTABLE WHILE STILL

He went directly to a young woman who was holding a crying, seven-month-old baby girl. He had examined the baby before, he said, and had detected symptoms of both kwashiorkor and scurvy. He remarked how the baby's hair had thinned, how the hairline had receded about an inch, and how the hair color had changed from black to dirty gray. These were the stigmata of kwashiorkor, he said.

He took the infant girl from the mother's arms and placed her on a sofa. The baby kept her matchstick legs drawn up and raised her

arms until the tiny hands were bent close to her head. Then she stopped crying.

"As long as the baby is completely still, she's comfortable," Dr. Gatch said, "but pick her up and she'll start crying again."

He noted the extreme dryness of the skin, the absence of subcutaneous tissue. He said the baby's diet was so deficient in iron that her hemoglobin count was "half of what it should be."

The baby's mother had been out of work since December. Dr. Gatch said the infant was now getting some baby formula food. It would probably live, he said, but he feared it had suffered irreversible damage through growth retardation of bones and brain cells.

As he left, Dr. Gatch noticed a 3-year-old girl sitting on the stoop, staring vacantly at the brown fields. Her legs and face were bloated by edematous swellings, the result probably of Vitamin A deficiency, the physician said, and the same deficiency was impairing her vision.

"There's just no excuse for rickets in this country," complained Dr. Gatch as he drove to another shack, hunting this time a whole family that he claimed was rachitic, a mother and five children.

Rickets is a disease of infancy and childhood resulting from a deficiency of Vitamin D and characterized by soft, deformed bones. The rachitic family was not at home, but Dr. Gatch found them on the stoop of a neighboring house.

ALL HAVE MISSHAPEN LEGS

The victims had gotten some relief and were now on a proper diet, Dr. Gatch said. All had misshapen legs. The mother, who seemed stout and cheerful, was very bow-legged; her children were either bowlegged or knock-kneed. Dr. Gatch commented that the legs of the three older children seemed to have straightened somewhat, but the twisted spindly legs of the two youngest remained badly deformed.

Milk is the main source of Vitamin D, Dr. Gatch noted, and the family might never have been blighted with rickets if fortified milk had been available to them.

But the Government's food donation programs for the domestic poor did not provide fortified dry milk until the end of 1968. Dr. Gatch might have been angrier had he known that since 1965, at the insistence of the United States Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture had been shipping dry milk enriched by Vitamins A and D to American aid programs overseas.

The three-year gap during which fortified milk was sent overseas while being denied to the poor at home came to light last month in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

Dr. Gatch stopped at an abandoned country store. Inside, two bedridden old ladies had found terminal shelter. One of them, crippled by rheumatoid arthritis, had been rescued from a mouldering shack where the bedding stank of urine and feces. The other was afflicted by Wernicke Syndrome, which Dr. Gatch said was characterized by loss of memory and confabulation (filling in a memory gap by falsifications that the patient accepts as correct).

DIET OF RICE AND GRITS

Dr. Gatch said he believed Wernicke Syndrome could have been induced by lack of thiamine, which is essential for growth, normal function of the nervous system and normal metabolism. Thiamine is found in liver, lean meat, eggs, whole grain or enriched cereal and cereal products. The old ladies, Dr. Gatch suspected, had been eating little more than rice and grits.

Now they were on Medicare and presumably getting a better diet. The old store was spotlessly clean, neater than most nursing homes.

Dr. Gatch was asked if he had encountered pellagra, one of the more dreaded of the dietary deficiency diseases. This disease, caused mainly by a deficiency of niacin, but also of thiamine, riboflavin, folic acid and other essential nutrients, is marked in its late stages by the classical four D's: dermatitis, diarrhea, dementia and death.

Dr. Gatch said it was not even rare. He produced an old man of about 70 who, he said, had pellagra symptoms including hyperpigmentation of elbows and knees. There the flesh had thickened and roughened until it felt like sandpaper.

How many pellagra victims had he seen? "I would guess 150 to 200 cases," Dr. Gatch replied.

Deaths by starvation, deaths by any of the diseases of malnutrition, were never counted, he said. Too many death certificates simply read "natural causes," Dr. Gatch said, and he intended to campaign for postmortems in those cases.

Over the years Dr. Gatch became convinced that there was close correlation between malnutrition and intestinal parasites. Most of the undernourished children he examined were wormy. Many Negro shacks, he observed, had no privies; people relieved themselves in the fields and woods. Children treated for worms quickly became reinfested by stepping on feces that contained the eggs of parasites.

"If you have 100 or 200 of these foot-long roundworms in your belly they're going to take a lot of food," he said. "They migrate to the stomach and actually get the food before the child does."

Some notion of the extent of infestation in the Negro children of Beaufort County was given a few days later. A study of 178 Negro preschool children showed that nearly three of every four had intestinal parasites either ascaris (roundworm) or trichuris (whipworm) or both.

"Fantastic," said Dr. James P. Carter, nutritionist of the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine, who participated in the survey. "Parasitism in Beaufort County ranks with some Central American countries and with Egypt."

In Nashville, Dr. Carter said the nutritional status of the 178 children was "in most cases inadequate and in all instances minimal." He said that by minimal he meant that the children had a low margin of safety, particularly from pneumonia and diarrhea.

The survey, financed by the Field Foundation, was conducted by researchers from the University of South Carolina, the Meharry Medical College, in Nashville, and Vanderbilt University.

The results were considered so shocking that some even suggested that the data be withheld from general publication. Many white Southerners feel that poverty conditions among the rural blacks have been exploited by civil rights zealots.

Dr. E. John Lease, nutritionist of the University of South Carolina, was among those who feared that the report, if given wide publicity, would anger the white Establishment and perhaps wreck the chances of co-operation on remedial projects.

Dr. Lease wrote to his collaborators suggesting that the distribution of data be restricted and that "none of the work coming from the University of South Carolina should be published or mentioned on radio or television as the results of the university or any of its staff members."

Later, Dr. Lease apparently had a change of heart, for the material was released to the press in Columbia, S.C.

There were other indications that the establishment now wanted the situation exposed. On Jan. 31, to the astonishment and gratification of Dr. Gatch, Senator Ernest F. Hollings, the former Governor, turned up in Bluffton and made the hunger tour.

FEDERAL DELAYS CHARGED

The Senator saw a near-starving baby, a reputed pellagra, a rachitic child and another child said to be recovering from scurvy. Deeply impressed, Senator Hollings said he would demand an end to "Federal roadblocks and redtape," which, he said, were frustrating local efforts to help the poor.

The local state Senator, James M. Waddell, also blamed the "Feds." He charged that the Office of Economic Opportunity had refused to fund a project that included privies for the poor.

"We can send a man to the moon," he cried on the floor of the South Carolina Senate, "but we can't build an outhouse."

Senator Hollings plans to testify next week before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

The committee, headed by Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, and dominated by liberals, had been planning field trips to suspected areas of hunger in a dozen states.

However, last week the Senate Rules Committee, dominated by conservatives, slashed the select committee's \$250,000 budget request by \$100,000. Senator Jacob J. Javits of New York, minority leader of the select committee, said he intended to carry the fight for the full appropriation to the Senate floor. But if the cut remains, the committee will have to curtail its travel plans, visiting perhaps only five or six states.

It means that the committee members will not see Beaufort County.

They still plan to visit the camps of migrant farm workers, like those in Immokalee, Fla., where life seems even more degrading than in the shacks of Beaufort County.

JOB SKILLS: AN ANSWER TO THE GHETTO

MR. HANSEN. Mr. President, millions of words have been written and spoken by the learned and the not-so-learned about the problems of the urban ghettos and what might be done to attack these problems.

The challenge of finding acceptable and effective ways of improving social and economic conditions for ghetto residents has yet to be met by the Government or by the private sector, though much progress has been made in certain areas, via certain approaches.

Recently, Mr. Roy Brundy, of Cheyenne, Wyo., wrote to me expressing his thoughts on the need for job training for ghetto residents as a means of breaking the cycle of poverty and despair. He described in some detail an approach that he feels would provide a framework of leadership and worthwhile training needed for good-paying jobs and economic stability.

Mr. Brundy, a retired teacher, has obviously given considerable thought and study to the relationship he believes colleges and universities should have to the solution of ghetto problems.

I ask unanimous consent that his comments in this area be printed in the RECORD.

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

JOB SKILL: ANSWER TO THE GHETTO (By Roy L. Brundy)

Colleges and universities across the nation provide an unsought and almost overlooked source of help in this time of national crisis. The college staff has the knowledge, the

teaching experience, and the organizing ability to begin nationwide, job-training programs in a crash effort to avert riots in the ghettos. Gathered together on college faculties can be found the leadership and technical training needed to instigate large educational projects and to keep them moving efficiently.

Colleges and universities should make available to young people tuition-free training under capable instructors. The job-training courses should be adapted to wide levels of aptitude and ability. They should have, also, well-publicized job potentials. The courses would not lead to a college diploma, perhaps, but they would lead directly to a three-dollar-an-hour job when skill would justify the wage. But time is of the essence.

Participation in the training courses should be voluntary. Persons interested ought to be able to select the kinds of jobs for which they wish to prepare. It should be elective job training; not conscription. When organized on an elective basis, the training courses would have the advantage of bringing to notice trainees who have strength of character sufficient to help themselves. It follows, then, as a matter of course, that persons "found" would receive promotions and recognition.

Increasing achievement for each individual is the goal. The aim is to make it unnecessary and unthinkable for any person possessing ambition and character to return to the ghetto. The discovery and winning of young people of sound character is the heart of the social problem under consideration. "Character is destiny". That jewel of reflection reaches us from across twenty-five centuries from the ancient Greek world. Job-training for all persons interested would implement the belief that sound character does in large measure determine destiny. Convincing young people of this, however, is a must, a first step in efforts to solve the social ills of the cities.

The college community can take the first step in restoring sound character as a value in the thinking of young people. Fortunately, the college community still raises a voice that is listened to.

Colleges cannot undertake training programs of the magnitude needed without federal aid. Already, they have mortgaged their futures for long years ahead. Loans from the federal government have been taken for much needed expansion of physical plants—buildings and equipment.

Also, the effects of spiraling costs on higher education have been disastrous. Colleges are faced with reorganization and curtailment of services in order to survive. Among other factors, increasing enrollments and demands for higher salaries for the teaching staff have contributed to the dismal outlook. Education is not something in a world apart. Education is an integral part of national life and it suffers from the ailments afflicting all society. Therefore, funds from the federal government—outright grants without mortgage on the future of institutions of higher learning—should come from Congress without delay.

Upon receipt of federal grants, enrollment in training courses and employment of all levels of labor and skill can begin. Persons who are willing to move from substandard city areas and are willing to participate in job-training courses, can be offered employment and start on new careers.

In order to make the job-training programs far-reaching and available to those whom they are intended to reach, make-work types of jobs must also come within the scope of the training programs. It becomes a two-pronged offensive—employment and job-training. By creating work and job-training opportunity, incentive and hope can be restored to young people now frustrated and

antagonistic. But to repeat, time is of the essence.

The ghetto exists because of unemployable persons. The frightful conditions under which large numbers of people live in the larger cities are with obvious exceptions a direct commentary on the weak and underdeveloped character of uncounted numbers of persons. Speculations of why do not help. The fact remains. It is untrained people who create substandard living areas—ghettos. It is people with proper motivation and incentives who can eliminate these same dark blotches from the national scene. It is the intellectual communities, the colleges and universities, that have help readily available to avert destruction and bloodshed. The nation must turn to the colleges with assistance, a program, and a mandate to carry it out without delay.

It is all too evident there is need to move rapidly. Time is past when Congress can be dilatory in facing either the social problem outlined or the need of colleges. Does one need to point to the lessons of recent summers? The financial losses of last summer alone, in just one or two communities, was sufficient to finance much of the nationwide training program that is projected here.

The plan now given consideration provides a reasonable approach to the problem of the ghettos. It directs opportunity and encouragement to individuals capable of making some small contribution to their own welfare. It provides that the unfit and the shiftless will be efficiently by-passed. Perhaps, the fundamental objective of the training courses would be to discover and to give recognition to persons who are willing to work. At the risk of repetition, the program will by-pass the shiftless, the irresponsible, and the revolutionaries aiming only at turmoil.

The result of the training courses becomes cumulative and far-reaching. A million-dollar-a-year grant to each qualifying institution, can make more than a token start toward solution of problems potentially disastrous in scope. A network of college-directed and supervised training programs, all of which are job orientated, would make present substandard living conditions unacceptable to persons of character and ambition.

The writer has yet to be convinced that there are not numerous persons willing to move from substandard city areas when opportunity for employment, training, and advancement is provided. Admittedly, the plan is unconventional; that the idea is unique. But, perhaps, a new approach is called for. In the long run, it could prove to be a wise investment for government.

Again, the unexpected may happen. An exodus from the potentially dangerous ghettos may result. An exodus, the like of which has not been seen in modern times, could be triggered by publicity that must accompany the job-training program.

Shades of the opening of Oklahoma Territory and the California Gold Rush! The movement to smaller communities where job-training and employment can be carried on without interruption could very well accelerate beyond expectation the dispersal of young people from the ghettos. Certainly colleges should survey locations and equipment available, develop plans for small-community work centers, anticipate needs, and be ready. Off-campus projects by the score with necessary supervising personnel as here contemplated, do not spring into being just because demand develops for them.

Finally, evacuation of substandard areas will leave such places to be razed and to be converted into parks or needed community facilities.

The training program under consideration does not constitute a last ditch effort to rehabilitate that which is beyond recovery. The program does not attempt to restore those who can never be restored. It does not

attempt the impossible. In effect, however, it does tend to isolate those who have elected to follow a path of selfishness and exploitation of their fellows.

It is a program built on the greatest resource of this country—the character of its people.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, February 16 marked the 51st anniversary of Lithuanian independence.

That day in 1918 was a happy one for that brave little nation, which had been under Russian and German domination since 1795. All attempts to suppress the culture of the Lithuanian people had failed during the long period of Russian domination which lasted until 1915. When the Germans occupied Lithuania in that year the Lithuanians were still true to their language, religion, and traditions.

The German Government, in response to pressure from Lithuanian leaders, called a congress of delegates. That congress elected a 20-member council which, under the leadership of Antanas Smetona, declared a free and independent Lithuania based on democratic principles.

Shortly thereafter, Russian troops entered the small nation and set up a Communist government. But the Russians had an unexpectedly short stay. In 1920 their army was driven out by Polish and Lithuanian forces. And on July 12, 1920, Russia signed a peace treaty with Lithuania, recognizing it as an independent nation.

That treaty, Mr. President, stated in part:

In conformity with the right declared by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic that all peoples have the right to free self-determination, including the right of full secession from the State of which they were a part, Russia recognizes without any reserve the sovereignty and independence of the State of Lithuania with all juridical consequences resulting from such recognition, and voluntarily and forever renounces all sovereign rights possessed by Russia over the Lithuanian people and territory.

Despite this treaty, Mr. President, Lithuania today is subject to control by Moscow. During World War II, German troops occupied Lithuania. When the German troops were driven out by Soviet troops in 1944, the Russian troops stayed. In violation of the treaty of 1920, the Soviet Union still refuses to allow Lithuania to take its rightful place among the independent states.

We hope that the hard-won independence which the Lithuanians enjoyed in the years between the two World Wars will once again be theirs. We commemorate the anniversary of their independence, and the strong sense of lost liberty which characterizes the brave Lithuanian people.

RESOLUTION OF AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE ON USE OF THE DRAFT

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the American Veterans Committee reaffirmed at its last meeting the position it had previously taken that the draft should not be

used punitively. Knowing of the Senate's interest in this matter, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

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

The American Veterans Committee reaffirms its position that the Draft must not be used as a punitive and disciplinary weapon by the Director of Selective Service or officials of the Selective Service Administration. Such misuse of the Draft is an affront to the concept of military service which AVC regards as an honorable privilege of Citizenship. AVC reaffirms its views stated in 1966 when it opposed the reclassification of the Michigan students, that the Selective Service System is not a law-enforcement agency and should not use its reclassification powers to punish.

THE RAPID CITY JOURNAL EXPLORES THE PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, in recent months the Nation's conscience and the Nation's responsibility to the socioeconomic plight of the American Indian and the Alaskan native have been awakened and have taken the form of newspaper articles and television documentaries.

As chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee and as author of a Senate-passed national policy resolution regarding the role of the National Congress in the conduct of Indian affairs, I have been pleased to read over the last few months a series of 18 articles published in the Rapid City, S. Dak., Journal, which seek to explore the problems of this American minority group.

Journal staff writer Bill Wagner has sought, with considerable success, I believe, to analyze and document both the contemporary and historical problems and the current efforts to solve them on the major Indian reservations in South Dakota. I congratulate Bill Wagner for his enterprise in this effort, and I commend the careful reading of the articles to other Members of Congress and their staffs.

I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the article, together with the introduction and conclusion, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"ANPO WICHARPI"—TETON SIOUX SEE THE DAWN OF A NEW DAY

(By Bill Wagner)

INTRODUCTION

Less than 100 years ago the Teton Sioux could look out and survey all he had—and it was an unending vision, a beguiling and bewitching vision.

For all he could see was his.

It was sometimes harsh but always sacred. He was one with Maka, his mother the earth and parent of all; Wi, the sun, lord of the sky; Skan, the sky who sat in judgment on high; Nyanan the Rock, authoritarian ancestor of all things, and Tatanka, the buffalo god who directed the hunt from the heavens. All was in harmony with Wakan Tanka, the Great Mysterious, the God of all gods.

Carrying him on his dream-like vision through the open plains was the horse acquired only a century earlier. On it he was free to ride after the sunset, to roam the

boundless and bountiful kingdom of buffalo grass, streams and buttes, the Badlands and the Paha Sapa.

It was a good dream and a good life.

But like so many a good dream this one came to be replaced by a nightmare and the good life by a meager existence of wants and woes. It is a pretty familiar story and not a very happy one. In place of the hunt came the rations and the dole, degradation and despair.

Black Elk, one of the great later-day holy men of the Tetons, saw his tribal brothers and lamented: "And now when I look about upon my people in despair, I feel like crying and I wish and wish my vision could have been given to a man more worthy. I wonder why it came to me, a pitiful old man who can do nothing. Men and women I have cured with the power the vision gave me; but my nation I could not help. If a man or a woman dies, it does not matter long for the nation lives on. It was the nation that was dying and the vision was for the nation; but I have done nothing with it."

Somehow the Sioux hung on through it all. Now their numbers are increasing. Something like prosperity is coming to the reservations, and along with it, more Indians are returning to their ancestral homes. Health standards are on the rise . . . all the indices show a marked upswing. But then they had no place else to go since the reservations for too long resembled the worst of Afghanistan instead of the United States of America.

Is it, as Black Elk predicted, the Indian revival which he foretold would come in a generation after his death? A generation which incidentally is now here. Is it as Black Elk said, "But if the vision was true and mighty, as I know, it is true and mighty yet; for such things are of the spirit."

There are some indications. Emerging Indian leadership is becoming more and more dynamic. Pride and joy in Indianess and Indian culture values are at a level never surpassed in this century. Just as the housing program at the Rosebud Reservation is called "Anpo Wicharpi"—"dawn of a new day," there is talk of a "new day"—Anpo Wicharpi—in many facets of Indian life.

We will examine this Anpo Wicharpi as it affects the Indians on primarily three reservations in South Dakota: Pine Ridge, Cheyenne, and Rosebud. We will see evidence of the Anpo Wicharpi—evidence of a brighter and better day. We will see the cultural confrontations as the Indian moves from what was only a little better and worse than nothing to his entering the 20th century while trying to retain some of his noble virtues.

We will take a look at some of the results of the war on poverty, this new tribal leadership, efforts at industrialization, housing, health and education and a variety of other topics.

We won't see a nirvana—just the Anpo Wicharpi, just the dawn of what may become a fuller and happier day. For quite a while there will still be poverty and its concomitant problems. But at least now there is hope of a sort, progress in a way and faith in the future.

PLIGHT OF INDIANS HAS LONG BEEN ON NATION'S CONSCIENCE—I

For nearly as long as he can remember the Indian has been hearing words that are supposed to have come from the "Great Father," who lives in a great white house far away and is chief of the Wasichus.

With more than a little practical experience, the Indians got tired of what the Great Father have supposed to have said. These men who spoke for the Great Father made many promises. They were best summed up by the Sioux who said: "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land and they took it."

Recent presidents have been concerned, genuinely so some feel, about the Indians' plight.

President John F. Kennedy once tagged the situation as a "national disgrace." He said "when the American Indians lost their power, they were placed on reservations, frequently lands which were strange to them, and the rest of the nation turned its attention to other matters."

"Our treatment of Indians during that period still affects the national conscience. We have been hampered—by the history of our relationship with the Indians—in our efforts to develop a fair national policy governing present and future treatment of Indians under their special relationship with the federal government."

Since then the first special message to Congress on Indians was sent by President Johnson. It was singled out as one of the "wonderful" accomplishment of the year by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert L. Bennett. This precedent shattering statement by the President is worth going over in some detail:

"... His myths and his heroes enrich our literature," said President Johnson.

"His lore colors our arts and our language."

"For two centuries, the American Indian has been a symbol of the drama and excitement of earliest America."

"But for two centuries, he has been an alien in his own land. . . ."

"The most striking fact about the American Indians today is their tragic plight:

"Fifty thousand Indian families live in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings; many in huts, shanties, even abandoned automobiles."

"The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 per cent—more than 10 times the national average."

"Fifty per cent of Indian school children—double the national average—drop out before completing high school."

"Indian literacy rates are among the lowest in the nation; the rates of sickness and poverty are among the highest."

"Thousands of Indians who have migrated into the cities find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life."

"The average age of death of an American Indian today is 44 years; for all other Americans it is 65."

To bring these figures closer to home, at least 50 per cent live in "dwellings" below the minimally accepted level in the state. The unemployment rates on area reservations are 26.7 per cent at Cheyenne, and at Rosebud and Pine Ridge, 49 per cent. And these figures are bolstered by many employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and other federal programs which could be sliced by Congress at any time.

Life expectancy for an Indian here is 62 years—10 years less than the average for all races. (Life expectancy is the age a person born today can expect to live; average age at death is an averaging of the ages of persons dying at the present time.) In 1958 the average age at death was 42.8 years for South Dakota Indians. By 1964 the figure had improved to an average age of death of 47 and to 57.9 years for those surviving their fifth birthday. This compares to the national average age of death of 62.1 years in 1958 and an average of 63.6 years by 1964, with an average age of death of 68.3 years for those who had survived their fifth birthday.

"The American Indian, once proud and free, is torn between white and tribal values," the presidential message continues, "between the politics and language of the white man and his own historic culture. His problems, sharpened by years of defeat and exploitation, neglect and inadequate effort, will take many years to overcome."

President Johnson touched on some other areas as well:

"The problems of Indian education are legion:

"Ten per cent of American Indians over age 15 have had no grade schooling at all."

"Nearly 60 per cent have less than an eighth grade education."

"Half of our Indian children do not finish high school today."

"Even those Indians attending school are plagued by language barriers, by isolation in remote areas, by lack of tradition of academic achievement."

Brought closer to home it reads like this: 35 per cent of South Dakota's Indians have less than an eighth grade education; only 50 per cent finish high school.

Commenting on health and medical care, the President's message said, "The health level of the American Indians is the lowest of any major population group in the United States:

"The infant mortality rate among Indians is 34.5 per 1,000 births, 12 points above the national average."

"More than half of the Indians obtain water from contaminated or potentially dangerous sources, and use waste disposal facilities that are grossly inadequate."

"The incidence of tuberculosis among Indians and Alaska natives is about 5 times the national average."

"Viral infections, pneumonia and malnutrition—all of which contribute to the chronic ill health and mental retardation—are common among Indian children."

"We have made progress since 1963:

"Infant death rates have declined 21 per cent."

"Deaths from tuberculosis are down 29 per cent."

"The number of outpatient visits to clinics and health centers rose 16 percent . . ."

For the South Dakota Indians, it stacks up like this: an infant death rate in 1965 (the latest year figures were available from the Aberdeen Area Indian Health Service office) of 37.4 per thousand compared to a national rate of 24.8 that year. TB is ten times more prevalent among the state's Indians than other races. And the Indian stands a five to one better chance of dying of tuberculosis than the rest of the population.

But the South Dakota Indian has made health progress along with the other gains chalked up by the rest of the nation's Indian population. Tuberculosis death rates are down 42 per cent in South Dakota from the years 1956-58. TB's incidence among Indians in the state is also down. Infant death rates are down 41 per cent. In 1967, Indian outpatient medical visits jumped 55 per cent since 1966.

What is to be done and what has been proposed will be examined in other articles. For now it is enough to say along with a Bureau of Indian Affairs official that "we see a lot of problems but no solutions."

BIA HEAD BENNETT CITES PROGRESS MADE ON INDIAN RIGHTS—II

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Bennett also speaks of a "new day" for the American Indians.

Citing strides in the last few years, he said in an interview with the Journal at Rosebud last May, "as good as the past has been, 1968 already has been wonderful."

The first Indian to serve as commissioner since the Grant Administration, Bennett singled out the Indian Bill of Rights, Sen. George McGovern's Indian policy resolution calling for more of a local voice in Indian affairs and President Lyndon Johnson's special message to Congress on American Indians.

His appointment was hailed as a milestone by his fellow Indians, not only because one of their own was now at the helm, but because President Johnson promised when he made the appointment that the first Americans would be "first" in programs for the underprivileged.

Being an Indian "has helped me a lot," said Bennett of his job. "Most of the Indian leadership in the country knows me."

"There was," he added, "some little justifiable concern at first whether I was going to stand up for all the convictions I've had during my career. I'm sure they have found that I haven't changed. It is to the Indian leadership that I go not only for ideas, but for inspiration also." And the Indian leaders have responded favorably to Bennett. At the meeting of the National Congress of American Indians before the election last fall, they asked the next president to keep Bennett in his post.

Commenting on the Indians' recent progress and poverty, Bennett said "there is no question but that there is a gap between the conditions of the Indian people and other people throughout the country. But I think it is very significant also to state that conditions among the Indian people have improved over the past 20 years. I don't think anybody is satisfied with the progress, but I think sometimes we forget that the Indian people compared to the past 20 years, have improved considerably—in educational levels of attainment, the decrease of death of young children, and life expectancy. There has been real progress but most people don't measure the conditions now with what they were 20 years ago. They measure their conditions with what has taken place around the country."

This progress, says Bennett, has come about through enlightened tribal leadership: "What has given a real impetus to the development on the reservation has been the fact that the Indian leadership is beginning to see for the first time the gap that does exist between their people and other people of the country. I think they want to close it. With this kind of leadership being provided by the Indian people, I think they are going to accelerate the closing of the gap more so than when the bureau was trying to do this years ago by itself and more or less pulling the Indian along with it. But now it is the Indian leadership and people out in front."

Citing instances of this gap closing, Bennett went on to say: "What I'm interested in doing is not so much trying to tell Indian leaders what they should do as much as to create an environment—an environment, an atmosphere—in bureaucracy in which Indian leadership can function and flourish. I think we have placed obstacles in the way of Indian leadership in the past. What I'm trying to do is remove the obstacles, get the underbrush out of the way so the Indian leadership can really function. I am dedicated to what the President stated in his special message on Indians to Congress. That is that this has to be a real partnership not only in fact but in spirit. I give a lot of attention to what I think are the psychological barriers that exist. I think it is just as meaningful that we remove those as well as some of the real concrete barriers."

This means, he said, getting away from the notion of the Bureau of Indian Affairs being the "enemy" or on the other hand being paternalistic. "As the President stated, we're trying to get away from any kind of paternalism in attitude. In my first public statement (after becoming commissioner) I recognized that the people in the Bureau of Indian Affairs have ability. But I'm just as much concerned with their attitude as well as their ability."

Getting closer to home, the commissioner said, "I think the Sioux Indian people today have progressed. The leadership is beginning to really emerge and they are facing reality. We in the bureau can provide the environment and be the advisors and counselors but not the decision makers. Twenty years from now most of the services which we now provide will be provided by the Indian people themselves under contract with the federal government."

This "reality," Bennett said, "is a recognition of the social, economic and political conditions in which they are. They no longer discourage education because the young person might then leave the reservation. They recognize that a young person has to be educated and if they don't want to lose them they have to have something at home for them. They're looking to themselves more and more, recognizing that the problems they have are their problems and not the bureau's."

"I'm very optimistic about the way they are taking hold of things and the way they are responding to challenges. This leads to another point: I don't think the Indians have been challenged enough. I think those of us who work with them and maybe society in general have established a level for Indians and then they keep challenging them underneath this level to be assured of success. I feel I am challenging them over any level that has been established for them, over any norm that may have been established, artificially or otherwise. I'm really challenging them and I will continue to do so. One of the real joys I've had is to see the way they are responding."

Along with the challenge the commissioner is convinced that the Indian can adjust to a new way of life without harm to his heritage. He cited his hometown: "I come from an Indian community up in the state of Wisconsin. We hadn't had a reservation as such since 1921. From seven every morning until six in the evening everybody is a 'white man.' From six in the evening until seven in the morning they are 'Indian.' In other words they participate and they all have employment—they're near an industrial area," but he added, "the mores of the community as an Indian people still exist. For instance, the people who come by my sister's home drop off three or four loaves because their mother baked bread. When my sister decides to make a big kettle of soup or something like that she calls the young people in and has them take a pail of soup home for their supper. This goes on all the time just as a matter of course."

This would all be theoretical if industrialization weren't going on both on the nation's Indian reservations and our own. Bennett describes how it's done:

"We do several things. We talk to the business people. We bring the business people in direct contact with the Indian leadership and let them talk together. We invite them to areas where there are Indian people working in plants. Once they are convinced and establish an industry, we haven't had any industry that has come to a reservation saying that they have been disillusioned or frustrated."

"The Indian people are real assets not only in the terms of their being there but the fact that they have some basic natural skills which make them highly trainable. This has been the experience. We have some testimonials from almost every industry that has come to an Indian reservation. The overcrowded urban conditions, I think, are going to cause some of the industrial leaders to look for other areas to bring industries so I think this is a natural."

This may come about, Bennett says, without special congressional legislation because "industrial leaders themselves are going to be looking. I think a very good case is General Dynamics which has decided to build an electric component plant on the Navajo Reservation. They like the quality of the employee that is coming to work for them. The fact they are highly trainable is another factor. So I think all of this will probably come to the reservations without, the necessity of the Congress having to state any policy on it."

INDIAN CULTURE IS A VITAL HERITAGE—III

When Sen. Robert F. Kennedy visited the Pine Ridge Reservation last spring, he

couldn't understand why the Indians were so hawkish on the Vietnam war.

He found it hard to understand because it is pretty well documented that minority groups are doing a disproportionate share of the fighting and dying.

Father Theodore Zuern, S.J., who was driving the late senator around the reservation told him that this is still somewhat of a warrior culture and it remains a highly valued trait among Indians, not to mention their intense patriotism.

Too many people when they think of Indian culture, think in terms of bead work and pow-wows. Culture is more than that, it is the sum of a people's experience, its outlook, and its attitude toward life—"a way of living, an approach to life, a way of making social evaluations," Father Zuern put it.

So what is it about Indian culture that makes it different, unique and hard for most of the white "mainstream" to get some kind of inkling, let alone fathom?

For one thing the Indian wants to be Indian.

That in itself is enough to send shudders down the white mainstream's collective spine: Don't we have the best of everything? Aren't we the envy of the world?

No, the Indians say. They say "we are."

As Dr. John Bryde, who has spent many years working with Indians said, the Indian is out to "retain" what he has, unlike the black American who wants to "attain" a white middle class culture. Cato Valandra, president of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, told a historical conference last spring that the Indians' situation is a bit different than the Negroes: "The Negro wants to be like the white man. We don't care to be too much like the white man. The culture is not the same. He (the Negro) wants what you want." This, he continued, was why Indians didn't take part in the then upcoming poor people's campaign. "We're not going to march or burn any buildings down."

But at the other end of the spectrum, one Indian who did take part in the poor people's campaign feels basically the same way. Vic Charlo, a fieldman for the Coalition of American Indian Citizens—a group which grew out of the small Indian element at the Poor People's Campaign, recounted that at the impromptu camp "we had to explain to Dr. Abernathy that we didn't want to be part of the 'mainstream'—what we want is our own stream, and an unpolluted one."

Most people who have studied the Indian vis a vis the white society would go along with Sandra Johnson in "The Indian Progress," where she said: "Since the public's attention is being turned toward civil rights, many people are equating the struggle of the American Indian with that of the American Negro. Actually, their situations are almost exactly opposite. The Negroes are striving to attain assimilation with the dominant white culture while the Indians are striving to resist this enforced assimilation with the rest of society."

"The Negro at the present time, unlike the Indians, has nothing to preserve in the way of land, culture, language or traditional arts and crafts. He is an uprooted people who is concentrating his struggle in legal rights. The Indians already have full citizenship rights so their legal struggle is to retain rather than attain."

Looking around an Indian reservation one wonders what there is worth retaining.

For one thing, the Indian is not money motivated. He doesn't have the desires we take for granted in an acquisitive society. Before the arrival of the white man, the Teton Sioux didn't even have money. A man was as big as the things he gave away, consequently today Indians still have trouble with money and budgets. This in turn resulted in government management and paternalism.

When the Indians came to judge a man, they judged him for what he was and not what he had. This attitude is still present. It is the Indian view to get along with all things, starting with nature, which is not something to conquer, as we see it, but something to live with and respect and the same for our fellow man.

While the Indian concept of bravery is still seen in such things as the famous Indian fire fighters and service in the armed forces, it also accounts for what we call laziness among the Indians. Back in the old tribal days the man was the warrior, the provider whose every act risked death. When there was something to do he did it. If there wasn't, he didn't. Nothing was full time, and this is an attitude that lingers on. The challenge is to direct this feeling to a useful end.

There are many other aspects of Indian culture that come to play on Indian society today. For example, the Teton Sioux didn't have any liquor until 100 years ago while Western civilization has had it since time immemorial. When he was finally exposed to drink, it was from fur traders. The whole idea then was to drink until drunk. The notion of social drinking never found a place in Sioux history.

It is important to keep these values in mind because the Indian should rightfully be at the center of policies designed to help him. He can "retain" the basic things of his culture—bravery, individual freedom, adjustment to nature and individual wisdom, while "attaining" some of the benefits of "mainstream" culture. He can have a foot in both cultures.

Another thing is that the Sioux—foremost among all the Indian tribes—cling the hardest to the old values and fight white cultural encroachments more than does any other Indian tribe. R. B. Hassrick wrote in "The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society" in 1964. "To characterize the Sioux as anything less than vainglorious would be inaccurate. Their arrogance was born of successful conquest . . . They could hardly help being aware of their great power. The Sioux were far more than aware: They were overbearing in their vanity." This, of course, refers to the old warrior culture, but the intense pride of race still hangs on.

Father Zuern has worked up a list showing the dimensions of the cultural cleavage between the Teton Sioux and western civilization which is worth looking at because many of these old ways can be seen in today's reservation culture:

Dwelling place—The Sioux moved about regularly with no fixed site. In the European culture there were permanent settlements and cities were built.

Land—With the Sioux, no land was owned privately; each was free to settle or camp anywhere. In European culture, all land was owned by somebody or some organization.

Buildings—Sioux: the tepee was the standard structure, it was easily moved and erected. European: there were sturdy permanent buildings, built to last a long time.

Sanitation—Sioux: Planned sanitation was not needed because they were always moving. There was a natural decay of waste materials. European: Permanent homes required sewer systems. There was a planned means of disposal.

Time—Sioux: They gauged their time to the seasons, with no time system as we know it. They were concerned with the present and not the future. European: Much emphasis on calendars and clocks; dates and appointments and specific times to meet obligations.

Planning and organization—Sioux: lived from day to day. There was no need for extensive planning and organization. Plans were carried out immediately although some organization was needed for war parties. European: Constant planning to make the most profitable use of the land and material. There was organization in all aspects of life.

Economy—Sioux: they had a free economy. There was no need for money. They were hunters and made what was needed. European: A monetary economy with division of labor. They had to barter or buy what wasn't made or raised.

Saving, thrift—Sioux: There was no need to save. Everything was free. They moved too much to be burdened. European: Always saving for future needs. Advancement often depended on thrift.

Possessions—Sioux: The fewer the possessions the better because they caused a moving problem. European: Gathered and saved many items including items of luxury.

Family—Sioux: Extended family system. Grandparents, aunts, uncles were members of the family. There was no Lakota word for "cousin." European: Parents and children made up the family although there was much association with relatives.

Helping others—Sioux: Anyone in need had to be helped. Often he was a member of the extended family. Tribal loyalty was a form of family loyalty. Europeans: Each family was expected to care for its own needs although others were aided in an emergency.

Work—Sioux: Men were the warrior hunters. Women did all the other work so the men could provide protection and food. The men worked long and hard when required and then rested. European: Most needed to work hard at steady chores.

Education—Sioux: There was informal training with the youth learning from elders. European: The ideal was a formal class in school by a trained teacher.

Government—Sioux: They had very democratic ideals. They were free to leave and form new tribal groups. European: The individual was always the citizen or subject of some state.

Nature—The Sioux: They lived by adjusting to whatever nature allowed or provided. There was no scientific approach to control and regulation.

Right from the start of the reservation era, the government decided what was best for the Sioux by the standards of European culture. For example, the government tried to make farmers out of the Indians by giving them individual land allotments. This failed because farming was women's work and did not provide for cooperation. On the other hand, when cattle were introduced to the reservations, the Indians excelled because they ignored land boundaries and cooperated. Cattle also were a challenge to the Indian male ego.

These cultural repercussions keep cropping up.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH YOKES GOD AND PEYOTE—IV

"The air is full of hymns. We catch them and sing them in our service.

"We see angels, heavenly robes and a lot of things."

That is what a service of the Native American Church is like, said James Bluebird, the man who organized it in 1922 when he said his group got a charter from the state of South Dakota.

Before that the church was outlawed because it used peyote. This, Bluebird said, was due to the "missionaries who went against us. They claimed peyote was a narcotic. That was just hearsay. I'm 80 years old and sound as a dollar.

"In those days the law used to arrest us. Every time we used peyote as a sacrament, they put us in jail."

But the Native American Church has clung to the use of peyote and today the drug or "medicine" or "holy herb," as its Indian members call it, remains the focal point of the religion.

"Peyote is an awful wonderful thing," Bluebird said, seated in front of a run-down shanty near Allen. "When you eat peyote you feel guilty in your conscience for being a

sinner. You think about yourself and try to lead a better life and be a brother to all. . . .

"Something around us tells us how far we stand from God. Then it is revealed to us what we should do and what we should not do.

"We don't try to convert," said the elderly Indian. "Let them come themselves."

Emerson Spider, high priest of the South Dakota Native American Church, said much the same thing. Spider at first declined to be interviewed but then consented so that his religion would be better understood. Of the drug-induced state, Rev. Spider said outside his modest home north of Porcupine: "It is a mystery. You can't tell or make a story out of it. Anybody who wants to know more or learn should find out themselves.

"That's one thing they ask me," said Rev. Spider of the holy herb. "It is a mystery of God. I can't tell in words what it does. Every individual is different. Once I was a roughneck, drank and did things out of the way. I took the herb and it taught me I was doing wrong. I felt I was burning alive. It taught me how to get out of there—that I should repent and become a good Christian; repent, the judgment day is coming. That morning I repented and became a Christian.

"I hope people will look at it this way: we are trying to lead a holier life."

The herb, Rev. Spider—whose father was the high priest before him—again stressed "is a mystery of God, you can't tell it out in words. I've always said it is hard to explain. Anything from God is God-made. It is a mystery of God like Jesus."

Sometimes there are specific visions. Bluebird said at a service in Wagner at the start of World War II "I saw a vision of soldier boys all laughing and running toward me on the road. Then I knew we would win the war and the boys would return." Another time "I saw a gate—I don't know who opened it. I went in. There were people all dressed in white robes and children playing and singing. It taught me brotherhood and how to get along with people."

"It will make a good man out of you," said Rev. Spider. It will even cure you, he claimed. He also said peyote will "straighten out problems and cure bad habits." And it will bring about brotherly love, said Rev. Spider. "There is too much hate. We should love one another."

The peyote is not just taken at any time. It comes with a ritual that begins on Saturday evening and lasts until Sunday morning.

Each service begins with the announcement of the purpose of the particular meeting—whether it is a memorial, a birthday, a baptism or a prayer for the boys in service. "We always remember the boys in the service," said Rev. Spider. "We pray for peace. We pray for the President on down. We want them to have good minds so we will have peace once again."

One service was devoted to peace in Vietnam: "God will intervene," said Bluebird. "God will put his hand across the war—that's what we believe."

Another service recently was for the children, Rev. Spider said. "In September we prayed for the little ones just going back to school."

After the announcements, the company says the Lord's Prayer, some in English, some in Lakota. During the service a container with smoldering cedar leaves is passed around, tended by a cedar man whose job it is to keep it burning. There is also a chief drummer to beat on a water drum all night long. When the service is held in a tepee, there is a fireman to keep the fire going. Then there is a waiter who serves water to those thirsty. He and the firemen are the only ones who can move around.

Then the Lord's Prayer is repeated, after smoking peyote. Then the peyote is passed around and eaten, "partaken," Rev. Spider said. Then eagle fans of all colors, a staff, a whistle, a gourd and a drumstick, all sacred

instruments in the rites, are incensed by the cedar burner.

This is followed by the singing of four spiritual songs. "They are pretty hard to learn," said Rev. Spider. "They are mostly like in the Bible where it says to speak in tongues. Some of the songs have definite words like 'Jesus is the light of the world' or 'God bless our soldier boys' or 'God Bless America.'" These songs are sung in English or Lakota. "Some of the boys compose songs in our own language," he added.

After the four songs, the sacred instruments are passed around. When the staff comes to a person he can call the drummer if he wants to sing four songs. At midnight there is a pause for reading the Holy Gospel. What is read depends on the special purpose of the meeting, Rev. Spider explained. "With the kids going back to school we read that fear of God is the beginning of knowledge." When a meeting is held in a tepee, there are three scriptural readings. Towards morning there is family worship where the members pray with their wives.

This is followed by four morning songs—first a water song when a container of water is placed out in the front, because "Jesus said 'I am the living water,'" explained Rev. Spider. "Through this water living things live. All living creatures have to have water to live."

Then the women drink the water and have a special service connected with corn, meat and fruit—four important elements in Indian life. After that ceremony there are four closing songs, "mostly spiritual—the last song has words saying, 'Come to Jesus,' 'Jesus has prepared a way for you.'"

For a while, Rev. Spider said, part of the Native American Church didn't know about Jesus, but he added, "I've been going to the old ones telling them of the second coming of Jesus, so now they know about the Bible and the second coming of Jesus. Before the white man came, they didn't know about Jesus."

The biggest problem, he says, is liquor. Even though the numbers of his church are growing—now estimated at 2,000 in the state—and young people are showing a greater interest, he said, "The white man made a big mistake by giving liquor to the Indians. It is ruining our church. Indians are losing the interest in churches and going the other way."

From this primitive religion, Rev. Spider has developed a simple hope:

"I sure wish we could all get together and have peace in the United States and have peace so the boys can come home."

"We should all get together and join hands together and pray for one another. We should love one another just like Jesus said. But we have grudges and say 'Our church is better.' . . ."

"We should all get together. We will not be judged by faith but by deeds, by our good things and bad things. We should lead a peaceful life."

"All Americans should live right."

DARK CLOUDS HAVE SCREENED THE DAWN OF THE NEW DAY—V

(By Bill Wagner)

PINE RIDGE—There have been some dark clouds on the dawn of the new day.

It is not hard to tell an Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge that the closing of the Wright-McGill Fishhook factories was all part of the Great Father's design.

Not hard because he has seen it before and likewise heard of it from his forebears. He has come to expect it—it ranks as a later day tradition that has become part of his life. But that doesn't make it easier to understand the inscrutable ways of the Great Father. Once the factories employed as many as 300 persons on several sites on the Pine Ridge Agency. The economics of the close-down are not hard to figure out. But when

you are on the short end of the graph, economics don't mean too much. As Harry Hopkins once said, "People don't eat in the long run, they eat in the short run."

That's what happened down here. For in the long run, while the mutual tariff cutting may result in an even stronger economic base for the United States and our friends, it will take a lot of filtering down before the impact of expanded world trade hits Pine Ridge.

What happened was that as the tariffs for fishhooks went down and down, the minimum wage went up and up. As the tariffs went down and down, the Japanese were able to manufacture the hooks at a lower cost because of lower wage rates. More and more of Japan's hooks flooded the domestic market.

And while all this was happening, the national minimum wage was climbing higher and higher, until it reached the point where Wright-McGill just could not meet the overseas competition. It tried a few measures; closing down some of the outlying plants and a few other economies. But the ledger told them what was becoming only too clear—that they just couldn't compete.

Wright-McGill fought the tide as long as it could and then joined it—it closed down in Pine Ridge and opened a plant in Mexico. Presumably this will help our relations with our southern neighbor—and in the long run in a small way help to foster world trade, peace and mutual understanding.

But it is back to the dole for the one-time efficient employees. The closedown raises some questions. Some are asking, while conceding that our tariff policy is worthwhile, shouldn't there be some exceptions made, or incentives offered to businesses hiring the disadvantaged? Like making up the difference between foreign and domestic labor costs, especially when the President promised the "first Americans" would be first in poverty programs?

For the Indians, it is another bad dream: develop good work habits, show up on time, take pride in your work and then have the foreman tell you and your co-workers that even though you are doing a good job, the plant is to be closed—to be reopened in Mexico you hear. Where do you go?

Back to the dole and the bottle.

And there were some other dark clouds on the horizon of the new day. They include the death sentence handed out to Thomas White Hawk, who pled guilty to the murder of a Vermillion jeweler—a sentence virtually all Indian groups, as well as many church groups have asked to be commuted to life in prison.

There was the closing of the Swift Bird Job Corps Center near Eagle Butte on the Missouri River which was designed primarily for Indian youth within a 200-mile radius. It was to have been a center where Indian young men could learn skills and trades without venturing far from their native soil. The closing of the never-opened but completely finished Job Corps Center prompted Frank Ducheneaux, tribal chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux to comment, "The canceling of the center is not in keeping with the statement made by the President of the United States in February of 1967. He promised us at that time the Indians would be first in all these programs. I don't think he meant we would be the first to be cut in these programs."

The camp—built at a cost of over a million dollars—still sits idle. It gets lookers but no takers.

Then there was the problem with plumbing: through a bureaucratic snafu, no funds were set aside to hook up the sewer and water lines with the mains for the new houses in one of the Rosebud housing programs. After a little juggling and a lot of waiting, the mess was finally cleared up, but it did add some anxious moments.

If all this weren't enough, Indian health services were among the hardest hit when Congress took the meat-ax to Lyndon Johnson's budget in return for the surtax. Congress required that federal employment in

most agencies be cut back to the level of June 30, 1966. One by one, various departments of the government escaped the bludgeon by special legislation. But with its minuscule muscle power, the Division of Indian Health of the Public Health Service couldn't beat the hatchet.

As a result, the health service is only replacing 7 out of 10 job openings in accordance with the congressional mandate. Since the cutback didn't go into effect until July 1, it is still too early to see any drop off in health standards. So far the health service is trying to cut down on clerical personnel. This will have drawbacks when doctors and nurses are required to do menial clerical tasks. Another thing is most of the openings are in the areas that are hardest to fill, such as nurses and dietitians. One thing is certain: Indian health standards won't be helped by the move. Concern has been voiced that the cutbacks could seriously impair Indian health standards, which already are the lowest in the nation.

Sometimes the Great Father is hard to understand.

WAR ON POVERTY BUILDINGS BEACHHEADS ON RESERVATIONS—VI

Although the war on poverty has been tagged a misfire, there is no getting around the fact it has built a beachhead on the Indian reservations.

That's pretty easy to understand. If you wanted to see a stereotype of poverty, all you had to do was go to an Indian reservation.

What you saw wasn't very appealing. You saw human beings living in rusted-out car bodies, log cabins, shacks or canvas tents. If you looked far at all you would see a lot of disease, both physical and mental.

And a lot of undernourishment. A lot of anemia, in inertness caused by steady carbohydrate intake. There would also be children for whom meat often meant dog.

All that is changing—because the Indians only had one place to go. That was up. There was no Indian middle class, at least not enough to amount to anything, so the Office of Economic Opportunity programs were welcomed by all.

That's running true in South Dakota. Take the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation as an example.

Tribal Chairman Frank Ducheneaux is chairman of the OEO board. Orrin Olson is the director. The program here got underway in 1965, first with Head Start. Later that same summer came the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), which hires youths from 14 to 21. Its purpose is to develop good working habits at an early age. NYC counselors also teach youths the niceties of such things as finance handling, budgeting and the like.

Let's look at the NYC: Here there are several types of programs. There is a summer unit employing about 300. In the school year, there's an in-school program for about 65. About 100 high school dropouts take part in another program. NYC does all sorts of community projects: cleaning up cemeteries, working on public buildings and housing projects, working in recreation areas, helping with various BIA projects and other tribe and community action with private enterprises.

So far NYC progress has been favorable: Juvenile delinquency has been "cut to a very, very minimum," says Olson. "Boys and girls have had a chance to earn money and keep busy. Now they can buy clothes and such things on their own," adds Olson. "Job placement has been very good," Olson said. Former corpsmen are now working on various jobs on reservation for the BIA, the tribe and private concerns. Olson says another plus for the NYC is fewer rejects for the draft. More boys are going into the service he says because the NYC taught them how to stay clean and healthy.

Head Start started with a bang on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation, Nov. 8,

1965 with 200 students in 12 communities. Last summer it had over 400 tykes aged 4-6 in 13 classrooms in nine areas on the reservation.

How is Head Start doing on the reservations?

Here's how the 1968 Progress Report of Indian Community Action Projects Consortium called it: "The value of the Head Start Program can hardly be overemphasized. When reservation pre-schoolers from impoverished backgrounds are placed in environments of learning and creative recreation, all sorts of previously closed doors are opened to them. They are able to participate in learning experiences, to improve their language resources, and to raise their self-images. In a controlled learning environment, disadvantaged children make rapid advances socially, culturally, and intellectually. Not only the children benefit from Head Start, but also the community benefits when it enables its young members to achieve fully their learning potential. Head Start children, equipped with learning and a better self-image, are therefore more likely to finish school and find good employment than they would without this early advantage."

"It is hard to give a true evaluation," said Olson, "but real progress has been made. There were areas on the reservation where children spoke Indian as the main language. They were taught English," Olson said.

They were also taught the traditional Indian values of cooperation and living together. As a result of the program, he said, the children were able to "start equal because they have been taught these things." First grade teachers, he commented "can definitely tell" which students have been in the program. Said Olson: "They can see a great amount of difference in their preparedness and readiness for school."

There are plenty of programs for adults, too. When Olson started at the Cheyenne Reservation in 1965, he wanted some carpenters for a bit of work and found there were none on the reservation. The same thing was true with masons and electricians. Through cooperation with BIA, the tribe, the Public Housing Service and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, carpentry, electrical, heating and plumbing trainees are building 40 Mutual Self-Help houses. By last summer, eight of the 3-bedroom houses were completed and five more were up for acceptance. Fifteen per cent of the Indians who have trained under the program have found jobs outside the reservation.

"Operation Mainstream" is training the chronically unemployed in such areas as carpentry, electrical, heating and plumbing. "Mainstream" trainees have renovated cemeteries and a dance pavilion, built two wash areas at Cherry Creek and Thunder Butte. They are also building 12 transitional type homes at Cherry Creek and renovating eight more. They were 75 per cent complete last summer. "They are just graduating now," Olson then said of the Mainstream men. "They are qualified to do rough carpenter work . . . those who have left the reservation have done well."

"The real purpose of all these training programs," Olson added, "is to teach good working habits along with a trade. This means to get to work on time, work while on the job and to respect their fellow workers."

When Olson first came to the reservation in 1965 he saw few alarm clocks of any type while visiting reservation homes. "There are several types of times used on an Indian reservation, 'Indian time' is simply any time. You call a meeting for 7 p.m. and they get there from 9:30 to 10 p.m. Then there is white man's time, clock time. During the last three years through the training programs they have learned to respect clock time. If a meeting is held they are there." Today, Olson says, there are plenty of clocks and watches.

There are several other programs—such as legal aid, health aides and a solidly established credit union, and Service and Maintenance for the Aged (SAM). Each program, Olson reports, is working smoothly. The OEO health aides, for example, work with the Public Health Service. "You see a vast difference in the communities in the line of sanitation facilities, especially as far as cleanliness is concerned. This is done mostly through health education," Olson said. "The aides do such things as discuss the purpose and reason for screens on windows, garbage pits and why rodents and insects should be held to a minimum. Working hand in glove with the Public Health Service, we have been able to avoid any serious epidemics in the last three years. Commonly you have impetigo and dysentery in the summer. Now the Public Health Service is alerted sooner and a lot of people who need to see a doctor are brought in."

All in all, Olson says Cheyenne River Sioux are much better off than they were in the pre-OEO days. "Economically we're much better off," he says. "Most of the OEO programs pay around \$300 per month," he added. Olson also cited hikes in income, especially in the less advantageous western end of the reservation.

Today they are a "happy people," Olson says of the reservation. "They don't feel the pressure of dominance. They are a freer thinking people and will express themselves."

Anybody but the most hard-bitten foes of federal programs or Indians would agree after seeing the Cheyenne River Sioux operation that as far as Indians are concerned the hopes Congress had when it enacted the program are seeing the light of day:

"It is the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

But what is probably most important in the long run is that the program is run by the Indians as well as for them. For a long time Indians have been saying the white man has made enough mistakes as far as the Indian is concerned—so bad the Indian couldn't do worse, he might even do better. John Belindo, executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, expressed it this way:

"Because the Office of Economic Opportunity has been able to distribute funds directly to the Indian tribal councils, generally located in rural depressed areas of Indian country, it has provided the tools necessary for self-sufficiency and self-fulfillment of the Indian people. . . ."

VISTA VOLUNTEERS ARE MOTIVATED BY CONCERN FOR HUMANITY—VII

EAGLE BUTTE.—A reservation is what's happening for Joyce Meloy.

She's one of several VISTA volunteers putting in a year on Indian reservations.

The petite, 24-year-old blonde calls Dubuque, Iowa, home. But since last December until midsummer she stayed at Cherry Creek, one of the most remote outposts on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

All she "earned" was her board and room and a little cigarette money each month. Before joining the Volunteers in Service for America she was a nurse technician. When she told her friends back home she signed up for VISTA they thought "it was a nice thing to do but they never would do it. It is like stopping your life and taking on a new one. It's like going into a kind of darkness."

Still others, Joyce said, had the same idea in the back of their minds but "they had car payments or this or that project to finish up and said 'maybe next year.'"

A big question is why?

Joyce says a lot of people are convinced VISTA volunteers are really paid a little something on the side, since they can't believe a person will work for nothing in this day and age.

But Joyce has a lot of reasons why. "I really always loved working with people and don't mind taking chances. It is caring enough to do something instead of thinking there are plenty of other people to do it. I wasn't just going to talk about it. I was going to do something."

And she's been doing quite a bit. Probably first and foremost is just living with the Indians on the reservation. Of her time there she says it showed them that all white people do not represent authority.

"We lived there in the same environment. I think personal contact is very important. Talking to them as part of a community and by living with them a better understanding came about," Joyce said. "You become aware so much more deeply how they think and you develop an appreciation of their culture. People go through the state and take a picture of an Indian and they think they have seen an Indian."

VISTA's main thrust, Joyce explained, is directed at community action work. This might mean tutoring for high school equivalency examinations, working with pre-schoolers, "trying for a recreation building for the teens so they might have some place to go at night," counseling ("just about everybody from teens on up to adults"), referring people to the legal aid center, Girl and Boy Scout work with the Indians, "telling them they have the right to choose the future, and discourage dropouts," which Joyce said is a big problem.

An important part of her work is serving as a buffer between teacher and students and working with dropouts. As Joyce puts it, she does "many things."

All things considered, Joyce thinks the Indians need "more opportunity to develop and the only way is through education and employment. That is the only way they can be independent."

It has been good for her, but not in a way a lot of us would understand. Says Joyce: "You are not in VISTA to get pats on the shoulder. If you want personal esteem, you wouldn't be in it. The rewards are just caring for people and they care back." She said the rewards back home are more "tangible while the work here is not in a lot of ways. It is sometimes frustrating but it makes you see yourself better as a person than you thought you ever could."

When she first came to the reservation, Joyce confessed she had "no other involvement with another race before. I didn't know what to expect."

That's one of the reasons she came. "VISTA is showing adults today that we are not going to accept ideas about minorities. You can grow up with the idea of having nothing against a minority group but still stay away from them."

"We're showing that the younger generation does care. We don't just hear the words 'justice and democracy' as long as 'I get my share' with no concern about the minority. Because I am white I have had opportunities these Indian youngsters have never had."

Joyce said this attitude will stay with her once her VISTA time is up. People are aware of racial injustice and the like but get tied up with their own problems, she says. "But in VISTA you are continuously aware that you as a person can't help but help."

INDIAN STUDENT MUST LEARN TO BLEND BEST OF BOTH CULTURES—VIII

When Senator Robert Kennedy visited Idaho's Blackfoot school district last spring he asked if the school had any books on Indian culture and tradition.

It had one: "Captive of the Delawares."

That inspired volume had a picture of an Indian scalping a white child on its cover.

This was just after President Johnson had told Congress of a plan to establish Indian "model community schools" which would "have the finest teachers, familiar with Indian history" and offer an "enriched curriculum."

Despite the disparity, Commissioner Bennett also had some optimistic words on Indian education last spring:

"Indians in particular have a cultural heritage that often puts them out of step with the rest of society. Yet this heritage is an asset, because it gives them inner support for their confrontations with the dominant society. If the child's background is respected and made the subject of serious study, then the entire group benefits."

While all this can not be dismissed as just wishful thinking, it is still pretty much that—thinking. No where is the cultural conflict more meaningful and pervasive than in the impressionable school age years, yet only in isolated instances is anything being done about it.

The facts are clear: in South Dakota less than 50 per cent of Indian youths graduate from high school. What is more important is that there are some grim facts behind this dropout rate—saddening and pathetic facts that should have been seen before.

We don't have far to turn to understand the dropout rate in South Dakota. In a remarkable and extensive study conducted at Pine Ridge, Dr. John F. Bryde gives the whys and the wherefores. His "The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict" is not pleasant reading but it provides perspective into the Indian education nettle.

He starts with the premise that "when the economic basis of a culture is destroyed and its natural ecology disrupted, the values that originally arose from that economy tend to remain active and alive, but relatively inoperable in the now changed culture. The nomadic Sioux, with their high valuation of physical bravery, generosity, individual autonomy, good advice and leisure are still vibrant and active."

Dr. Bryde delves into what is called "the crossover phenomenon": Indian children excel for a while "then reverse themselves and show a steady decline," Dr. Bryde writes.

Investigation of school achievement records of 164 eighth graders revealed excellent performance on the California Achievements tests from the fourth grade to the sixth grade, during which time the performance of these children excelled national norms. At the seventh grade level, the Indian students suddenly 'crossed-over' and fell two months behind the norms, and at the eighth grade level were lagging five months."

It is during this critical period of adolescence that the Indian child sees that the mainstream society has radically different and frequently conflicting values. But for the white student, it is a time of new vistas, an exciting age. On the other hand, the Indian youth sees that he is different, and this difference he somehow sees as the product of an inferior culture. He withdraws as he comes to the conclusion his whole upbringing has been wrong. He realizes that Dick and Jane and the visits to grandmother are far from reality.

Dr. Bryde cites George Macgregor's "Warriors Without Weapons" in saying that the Sioux child finds the world quite hostile: The behavior of adolescents reflects an almost sudden withdrawal, confusion and inability to find a satisfactory role. Adolescent boys, in particular, were frightened, unsure of themselves, felt the ill will and unfriendliness of society and since life on the reservation for them seems empty, they tend to retreat from life."

What his studies show, says Dr. Bryde, is that "the total Indian group reveals personality disruption and poorer adjustment. Notable among the meaningful variables were: feeling of rejection, depression, anxiety and tendencies to withdraw, plus social, self, and emotional alienation."

Dr. Bryde says "studies to date on the Sioux have shown that the cultural impact that has taken its toll in obstructing the development of the young Sioux personality. The young Sioux people meet the demands of the dominant culture with a passive resistance. This in itself, however, causes hostility, withdrawal and a general feeling of rejection. They cannot turn back and are not motivated to go forward. They are truly caught between the cultural stresses of the old world and the new."

New directions are needed, says Dr. Bryde:

"The findings of this study clearly point to a new approach to Indian education. The study sought to identify the psychological cause of breakdowns of scholastic achievement and general performance of Indian youth. Having identified the central pattern—alienation and anomie (personal disorientation), with resultant feelings of rejection, depression, and anxiety—it was seen that the Indian youth is alienated from himself and others. He is not effectively identified with his Indian heritage, nor can he identify with the hostile, white world facing him. He is, during the troubled years of adolescence, a nothing. He has an extremely crippling negative self image. He has no direction to his life and is lost."

"Since the Indian youth indicates that he is socially alienated, even from his own group, he shows that he is not Indian and has no effective awareness of his historical racial identity."

"Since awareness of historical origins is necessary for orientation to any kind of future action, the first part of this acculturation course should consist in teaching him a solid, clear history of his race, designed to give him pride in his racial origin. In current Indian education, the normal American History courses are taught in all Indian schools. Indian youths study about the Pilgrims, the early struggles to settle the country, the revolutionary war, etc. However, the Indian youth doesn't identify with these accomplishments because they were the accomplishments of another race and, what is more, some of the major struggles and victories of white settlers, on the early Atlantic seaboard and later in the West, were against his own race."

"Since the Indian does not get a sense of historical racial pride from the study of history that a white youth does, the Indian youth should be taught thoroughly and vividly the history of his Indian race first as the primary source and basis for personal identity. This history of his race would be the first necessary part of the course."

"The next part of the course would teach the Indian youth what values are and how they historically arise—usually from the economy from which a race makes a living. Having gained a mastery of the concepts of values as sources of common responses in a culture, the Sioux youth would proceed to a study of the traditional Sioux values."

"He would be shown why he acts as he does as a Sioux; his subconscious cultural drives would be brought to light and to conscious awareness for understanding and evaluation. Then having seen what the Sioux values are, he would proceed to a study of the major white-American values."

"He would be shown how certain major American values clash with his Sioux values; and bring about personality tensions and deviations. He would be taught basic, psychological principles of how to adjust to and relieve stress and conflict."

He will be shown clearly that acculturational psychology is not a matter of ceasing to be Indian. This is psychologically absurd. He is likewise shown that acculturation is not a matter of completely becoming white. This is also psychologically impossible.

"He will be shown how to take the best from two cultures, blend and integrate these values within himself with the result that he creates within himself a unique, precious third kind of personality—which is his enriching contribution to society. His personality would escape the stereotype of both races and enrich society with a qualitatively different personality. He would have the satisfaction of achieving a unique, modern Indian identity and full self actualization."

There is hope that this forward thinking may come into vogue. Dr. Bryde is now working with a BIA grant to implement his ideas on Indian education. Some 32 schools are using his course on a pilot basis.

HOLY ROSARY STRESSES OGLALA SIOUX CULTURE, HERITAGE—IX

PINE RIDGE.—"Before this course, we didn't even know that Indians were important or that it was important for us to know Indian history and values and what the old time Indians did hundreds of years ago."

"Now we can see that it is and it sure makes you feel good to know that you are Sioux. It makes you really proud to see all the obstacles the old time Sioux had to overcome and to know that the Indian race is the oldest race on the face of the earth today."

"Later on we are going to take these values and also white values, and see how, by putting them together we get modern Indians."

That's the way Patrick Kills Crow and Mary Crazy Thunder described the modern Indian psychology course at the Holy Rosary Mission school down here.

What it does is teach Indian children their Indian history and Indian cultural values. They then compare their ways and background to the customs and values of non-Indian society. This way Indian youth can learn the white way as well as the Indian. He can then fit into the white man's world without losing his Indian identity and pride.

"The most important thing," says the Rev. Theodore Zuern, S.J., Holy Rosary superintendent, "is to teach these children to be an Oglala Sioux Indian because that is what they are and never let them develop a sense of inferiority."

This covers a lot of ground. It starts at the pre-school level. Here the Montessori method is used. As it happens this "new" concept of education stressing individuality is quite similar to old Indian method of educating their young. Non-English speaking children are also taught English, but Lakota isn't neglected. Lakota is taught all through the grade school and is a high school elective. Whether the child mastered Lakota in the home, or learns it here it helps him develop pride in his origin.

Taking some advice from Socrates who said that before anyone starts to teach, they should know their subjects thoroughly, the faculty here learns of these Indian origins and cultural values in a week long orientation session before the start of the school year.

Another innovation down here is the culture center. It's run by Robert Sladky S.J., assisted by Mrs. Jessie Little Finger and Leo American Horse, who also fills in as a Lakota teacher. Here the Indian youngsters are taught a great deal of Sioux history, as well as the customs of the old way of life. There is an extensive library on Indian history and culture. To further help develop a sense of pride, each senior girl is encouraged to make a beaded buckskin dress. Senior boys are similarly encouraged to make a war bonnet. "The response has been real good," says Father Zuern. Indian arts and crafts, Indian

dances, porcupine quill work and this sort of thing are all covered.

"We're not making museum pieces out of them," stresses Father Zuern. He says the deeper Indian cultural values are stressed, but that adjustments must be made to modern day demands.

Here a page is taken from Sioux history: the arrival of the horse around 1750 brought about an entire new way of living for the Teton Sioux. The adjustment was an easy and a beneficial one. Today, the students are told, they must redirect their values as they adjust to the 1960's and the years that follow. Dr. Bryde's acculturational psychology is used.

As some examples, the old time Sioux notions of adjustment to nature, cyclical existence and the survival-leisure concept as opposed to the non-Indian values of scientific progress, and activity and work for itself are shown in a modern setting:

Survival is no longer the issue—there is a new way of making a living to survive. The Indian learns: "in this new way I have to improve myself or gain a new skill in order to survive and support my family. Some schooling is necessary." This way the modern Indian may still enjoy his old values.

The old time value of good advice from Indian wisdom is up-dated to include new knowledge to survive, such as being a carpenter, doctor or whatever. If he keeps the Indian knowledge necessary to give good advice and get some new knowledge, he has two sources of knowledge and, Dr. Bryde's reasoning goes, is better than the average non-Indian who has only one source.

Bravery, doing the hardest thing—but only once in a while; the Indians are taught now means doing a hard thing for them: a society where a man works from 8 to 5. Bravery is applied to a new setting: the 8 to 5 proposition. Staying on the job is doing something hard—and this is bravery. And they are taught here other areas where the Sioux cultural values in their modern context can give the Indian the best of two worlds.

This approach is meeting with a lot of success at Holy Rosary.

"The thing that amazes me," says Father Zuern, "is that we have 209 kids in high school where in years past we never had more than 160. Once the word got out on the new program we got a number of inquiries. The interest on the part of the student is there. The kids are enthusiastic and much impressed by it."

INNOVATIVE TODD COUNTY SCHOOL ONE OF FEW OF ITS KIND—X

MISSION.—"What is this?" asks the teacher, pointing to a picture of a dog.

"It is a dog," replies one of the Indian students in a few of its kind programs in the United States.

"Is the dog wearing a hat?" the teacher now asks.

"No, the dog is not wearing a hat," comes back the answer from the same tyke. At first blush this does not sound too innovative. Or original. What it is is part of a highly structured educational program at the Todd County School—one of 12 like it in the United States.

That still doesn't make it original or innovative. Only when you understand the scope of the problem are the merits of the program visible. The dog and hat business, for example, is part of a language program that requires a great deal of verbalization. The students must speak in complete sentences—the once accepted grunts, groans and shrugs are no go. The same is true of the highly phonetical reading course.

It is especially important because the connection between the written and spoken word is sometimes beyond the grasp of Indian youngsters. He may have been speaking Lakota from an early age. Or not knowing that sounds can be "reproduced" on paper.

He may never have seen a book or magazines. Head Start took care of a good many of these problems.

That's where the Todd County School came in.

Two years ago the school was one of 100 invited to a conference in Kansas City by the Office of Education. They were told to write a program for the first grade that used and expanded the successes of Head Start. Todd County's program was one of 40 to be funded by the federal agency.

The first grade program was named "Follow Through." It was a cooperative effort of the Todd County Independent School, the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, the Rosebud Community Action Agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Public Health Service. A parental advisory council played a large part in planning the innovative procedures, writing the initial proposal, selection of staff members, and assisting in obtaining parent participation in the program.

A unit on Indian culture, life and history was planned and introduced into the curriculum. A resource center was established with books, pictures, records, film-strips for teaching Indian history. The Sioux value of oratorical ability was utilized and stressed in the classroom.

Other aspects of the program included field trips to broaden the experiences of the Indian child living on the reservation. These trips included visits to the larger cities in South Dakota. Every child was given an airplane ride.

For the 40 dormitory residents, four Sioux Indian women were employed as substitute parents. Not only did they provide a home-like situation and serve as models with whom the Indians could identify, but these aides also were able to give emotional security to the child who was living away from home and family.

Follow Through worked out so well here that Office of Education told the Todd district it could continue on the same lines with another program for second grade students—this one to be called "Follow Up."

School officials picked the Brighter-Engelman program for Follow Up. It uses completely programmed materials and is highly structured. There is a parent advisory group that helps to select the aides—who also do some teaching. The children take home programmed materials which they work with the help of their parents, who have attended special sessions. During the classes, all activities are picked up on closed circuit television for the Brighter-Engelman people at the University of Illinois.

To further increase verbalization, "language master machines" are used. The use of these machines permits the grouping of children for similar needs and breaks the lock-step tradition of everyone doing the same thing at the same time. After careful planning, the teachers and aides created their own sound and word cards. These were used to introduce and build upon the consonant, vowel and blend sounds. As the year progressed, cards were created to help build vocabulary and sentence structure.

In the course, the teacher stays on a tightly programmed set of materials. She follows these explicitly and does not deviate. There are definite goals in mind instead of just letting the child go and hoping he will meet some sort of goal.

"Everybody knows what they are supposed to be doing and where they're going," explained Ron Hanson, program director and assistant superintendent of schools here.

This means that the teacher can tell where the child stands on any given subject on any given day. She can do this because she's adhering to the Brighter-Engelman programmed, structured course, while all the time stressing verbalization.

For example, Book III for days 50-61, for the teacher starts with a picture of a girl, a chair and table with no top. It's called

"Group Talk." The first problem says: "I see something funny in this picture. Who knows what it is? (If no response, point to missing top.) What's funny about this table? This table does not have a top. The top is missing. Everybody say it with me. The top is missing."

So far everybody connected with the program likes what they've seen. And the school is thinking of a "Follow On" course to keep up the work."

JUDGE HOLDS COURT WITH DASH OF SARCASTM—XI

PINE RIDGE.—The Hon. Hobart Keith is not a typical Indian, if there is such a thing.

Nor is he a typical judge, if there is such a creature: the chief judge of the Oglala Tribal Court once let a man off "for services his tribe rendered the Oglala Sioux at the Custer battle."

"It was a minor offense," says Judge Keith, "and I had to figure out a way to let him go."

As he dispenses justice on the nation's second largest Indian reservation, he does so with a highly developed, occasionally controversial and sometimes questionable philosophy.

He is loaded with barbs of sarcasm directed at modern mores and white society. Of the state government he cites Thoreau:

"Wherever a man goes men will pursue him and paw him with their dirty institutions and if they can, constrain him to belong to their desperate odd-fellow society."

He bases this in part on his belief that the reservations are not really part of the state of South Dakota. Judge Keith maintains Pine Ridge is a division of the Teton Sioux nation existing coterminously within the United States.

To prove his point, this past summer he signed a restraining order preventing the state from collecting the sales tax at a reservation store.

Commenting on his decision in a rich resonant voice, the holder of four battle stars earned in the South Pacific says: "The lying lion, the United States government of this vast sociological den of thieves and nuts of the human jungle known as the black and white great society, has had their fill of the kill, now the jackals and hyenas of the South Dakota Revenue Department feel they have every license to move in and feed on the remaining entrails of the Teton Sioux nation."

While the state says it does not try to collect the tax from reservation Indians, the judge says it tries to "subtly coerce" grocers to collect the tax.

"I'm up for impeachment every time the tribal council meets," says Judge Keith, "but I always hold them at bay." Part of this trouble he says comes from the "undue influence" of the tribe's current attorney, Richard Shifter, whom Judge Keith tags the "Raspoutine of the tribal government."

Talk of impeachment comes about because of his insistence on seeing that all the laws are enforced. Not everyone would agree with Judge Keith, for example, in his view that Indians don't have to pay income tax while it is settled that Indians on reservations don't have to pay state taxes or levies.

There are, however, certain legal rights Indians enjoy that they insist on maintaining. There are some certain misconceptions. For instance, no one is "paid" for being an Indian. Any money an Indian draws from the government is either welfare, such as everyone is entitled to, or money for payment of land or trust money. It flows out of agreements made between the Indian and the United States government.

The patchwork of Indian law comes from nearly 400 treaties and over 4,000 federal statutes and an even larger number of judicial and administrative decisions which attempt to apply these treaties and decisions.

Broadly speaking, the special relationship Indians have with the federal government

goes back to before John Marshall's day. He held Indian tribes or nations "had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, retaining their original natural rights . . . the settled doctrine of the law of nations is, that a weaker power does not surrender its independence—its right to self-government—by associating with a stronger power, and taking its protection."

Since this decision, the federal courts have generally held that Indian tribes have the same powers of self-government of any sovereign except as modified by Congress. The major modification was the Major Crimes Act which granted the federal government jurisdiction over major crimes committed on the reservation. This legislation, incidentally, came about as a result of the murder of Spotted Tail by Crow Dog on the Rosebud Reservation. The Supreme Court held that when Crow Dog gave up a few horses and followed the Indian custom in the case of murder, federal authorities had no jurisdiction over him.

But the notion still persists that the Indian is somehow a second class citizen because of this special relationship. This is no more true in the case of Indians than it is in the cases of other groups that have special claims on the federal government such as homesteaders, veterans, holders of federal securities, government employees or government contractors.

Felix Cohen, the foremost legal scholar on Indian affairs, put it this way:

"By and large, it must be remembered, whatever we have given to the Indians, whatever we give them today is not a matter of charity, but is part of a series of real estate transactions through which about 90 per cent of the land of the United States was purchased from the Indians by the federal government. Failure to appreciate this fact leads to all sorts of ludicrous and unjust results.

"For example, the fact that Indians generally stipulated that payments for land cessions should be made in the form of goods and services came to be pushed rapidly into the background and public opinion with the result that well meaning blunders rose to denounce the rendering of such services and goods as degrading and encouraging idleness, and persuaded Congress to pass a law prohibiting the distribution of rations to able bodied Indians unless they performed services in exchange.

"Imagine the howl of anguish that would have gone up if Congress had determined that payment of government bonds to their holders encouraged idleness and should not be effectuated with respect to able-bodied bondholders except upon performance of equivalent services. This is a typical example of the double standard which is engendered by a sense of race superiority and an ignorance of history."

If it sounds easy, try convincing anyone of it.

And Judge Keith?

"I used to be real bitter but I wouldn't trade places with anybody. There is so much romance here, Kipling could really write a story."

TREATIES LIFE WORK OF FRANK KILLS ENEMY—XII

KYLE.—Frank Kills Enemy's sole concession to the twentieth century is a sleek attaché case. In it he has a file of documents, promulgations, laws and treaties that date back to the treaty of 1868.

"I've got every law, every one of them."

He is a committee of one—or two if you count his part time assistant, Frank Short Horn, trying to get all the Indian treaties and agreements fulfilled to the letter of the law.

Kills Enemy spends a good deal of his time on the road telling Indians in the Lakota

tongue about their rights under these treaties. So far he hasn't started any groundswell.

When he's not on the road, he can be found at his modest log home nestled down a bottom not far north of here. With only a few yelping dogs to keep him company, Kills Enemy studies his documents by a kerosene lamp.

"The reservation Indians are in bad shape. My grandfather was one of the chiefs who signed the 1868 treaty—Red War Bonnett," he said, not at all at ease speaking English.

He is riled about Indians of less than full blood because he says only full blood Indians were covered by the treaties. The mixed bloods, whom he blames for a lot of reservation's trouble, he says, should be given the heave-ho.

Chances are Kills Enemy will die of a broken heart before he sees any of these provisions carried out. There is one little glimmer of hope though:

The Black Hills.

"I want to know why the government doesn't fulfill its treaties. I want to know if the treaties are good or bad. I want to know if we are going to get any compensation for the Black Hills."

A lot of Indians are concerned about the Black Hills claim. For one thing it means a lot of money—probably around \$50 million for the Teton Sioux tribes. It is now before the Indian Claims Commission, a tribunal established during the Truman administration to compensate Indian tribes for broken treaties.

This claim has for its basis the treaty of 1868. Back then the United States government was interested in stopping the fighting along the Powder River. So a treaty was signed setting up the Great Sioux Reservation, taking in all of western South Dakota. Both parties agreed that no cession of any part of the reservation would be valid unless agreed to by three fourths of all the adult males on the reservation.

Things worked out well for a while. Then Custer made his famous geological expedition to the Black Hills. Word soon leaked out that gold abounded in the Black Hills. The rush was on.

After the Custer debacle, Congress abrogated the treaty with the Sioux but on the condition that the Sioux consent to the change of the reservation's western boundary. A commission was sent out to secure this approval. About all they got was five per cent of the adult male signatures. This unratified agreement went into effect just the same.

It might have ended there but for the efforts of the late Ralph Case. When he was a boy growing up on the reservation (his father was an Indian agent), he once dared a soldier to throw a bucket of water on an old buck. The soldier did. Two days later the agency chaplain was killed by a rifle shot. It turned out it was the old buck thinking he was shooting the soldier who had thrown the water on him. Case vowed then and there he would do whatever he could to help the Indians.

He became an attorney and took on many cases for the Sioux and won several. He started with the Black Hills case in 1922. It was to be a long process. For one thing it required special legislation to sue the United States. When Case got this legislation and went to court, the Court of Claims told him the legislation wasn't quite good enough. He then helped put together the Indian Claims Commission legislation. This is the door through which the Sioux hope to re-enter, monetarily at least, their once sacred Black Hills.

Nov. 10, 1969 is the date set for the opening of the trial. The Sioux tribes will show loss in minerals, timber, land and the like. The United States will offset the claim of the

Sioux by deducting money it has given the Sioux since they lost the Black Hills.

There will be a great deal of pressure for per capita split as soon as Sioux get their award—expected to be between \$40 million to \$60 million. Tribal leaders looking beyond the next election may well be advised to resist this based on the experience of earlier per capita Indian settlements. Some have turned out to be strictly here today, gone tomorrow propositions.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is also expected to ask that the money be set up for certain definite and long lasting programs.

YOUNG, BOLD INDIANS BECOMING MORE VOCAL—XIII

The big "in" Indian book this year is Stan Steiner's "The New Indians."

It is billed as "The first full scale report of the gathering 'Red Power' movement . . . a revolt against the white man's culture and debasement of the tribal way."

In his foreword, Steiner tells us: ". . . In the distant hills of the Indian reservations, there has arisen a new generation of university educated Indians. These young men and women have given voice to a human morality and tribal philosophy of life that weds the ancient and the modern. And they cannot be understood by harking to the old prejudices, false images, and the ugh-ugliness of Hollywood Indians who don't exist, if indeed they ever did. The emergence of the new Indians demands that the country listen with new ears."

Although Steiner's opus has come in for criticism by some who say his quotations of them weren't quite accurate and that on the whole it is a little too fanciful, Steiner is right in saying that a new, intelligent and vocal group of young Indian leaders and thinkers is emerging.

Vic Charlo, in the area as a field man for the Coalition of American Indian Citizens, disclaims any "red power" appellation even though he and his organization were part of last summer's Poor People's March. Of "red power" he says "if it is meant to be synonymous with black power, everybody gets scared off. It is not our purpose to antagonize but to deal with people at the local level." But in any event Charlo does represent the young, vocal, college educated Indian Steiner talks about.

Charlo's thing is Indian involvement.

On the topic of education he said "Educators are making a mistake when they say Indians want the same things (as the middle class does) so they give them the middle class treatment. Then they give a conference and invite a lot of non-Indians to participate. They are unwilling to accept Indians. I was at a meeting at Penn State: out of 100 there, just 16 were Indians. We sat there and listened to the so-called Indian experts—nothing happened."

"It is frustrating," Charlo continued, "trying to make inroads. The Indians are always coming out a very poor second. They can't see the Indians as competent—maybe it is the BIA attitude."

All this leads up to the native of Montana's Flathead Reservation's main concern, "at least give the Indians a chance to try"; contends Charlo, "the whites have made enough mistakes already. Let the Indians learn from their mistakes."

This means allowing Indian leadership to take a more active role. "You have to get the Indian leaders involved—they may not be educated but they have to be involved. I'm surprised more Indians aren't schizos—they are taught to be successful, like Ben Reifel and people like him who the teachers hold up as examples. Then the kids go home and see their own parents."

"The people the Indian child has looked up to as leaders are not educated but they are Indians. These Indian leaders," he said, "are the ones we have to consider. In the OEO

jobs the past couple of years all the emphasis is on high school or some college—the Indians can't qualify." Of some of those "uneducated," Charlo said "I have seen people just as competent or more competent with a better understanding of what the Indians face."

What this means, he says is:

"We're saying let's move, let's get going at these things that effect us—getting BIA welfare without getting eight doors slammed in the face, getting water or lease money. There is a lot of talk, but the people are never touched by the programs."

Charlo has a lot of other ideas. On education:

"We all know Indians are dropping out. They're saying 'we know something is wrong.' They know they are somehow different while the educators feel there is no difference." Charlo says as the Indian student gets older, this feeling is intensified.

Middle class children, Charlo says, are brought up to finish high school and then go to college. Indians do not have this same motivation.

"Why go to college? Maybe to get a good job, a new home—the sort of thing whites accept as being necessary that the Indian doesn't necessarily want." He thinks there is a need, among other things, that a lot more counseling be made available to Indian students all the way up through college.

On the Bureau of Indian Affairs: "Bennett (Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Bennett) has a lot of good intentions but because of the bureaucracy, he can't function at a local level. All his programs are so watered down by the time they get down to the local level they just don't work. Bennett is concerned but he is just as good as his bureaucracy—he's a very concerned individual with his hands tied. I asked Bennett," Charlo said, "about the innovative schools the BIA was going to start. I asked him if he could with the teachers he had, some of whom are very bad. Bennett said no. I asked if he could get rid of them. Bennett said no."

On the war on poverty: While it has opened up jobs, he says "it is still missing local involvement." He thinks Community Action programs should be permitted to devise their own programs.

On industrialization: "I have mixed emotions. In some cases it is just another thing breaking down family ties. In a lot of cases the wife is going out working reversing the father-mother relationship. I don't have all the answers but I think industrialization should be looked at closely. I've talked to psychologists on reservations who are concerned for the same reasons."

On Indian values: "When we mention different values to whites they become upset. They say 'we have the best things, those damn ingrates, look at what we've done for them.' A lot of Indians would like to be part of middle class society but some don't. What we're working for on the reservations is adequate housing and medical services, lowering the death rate and the right to live a comfortable life the way we want to live it."

BOB BURNETTE SCORNS INDIAN "ESTABLISHMENT"—XIV

MISSION.—Bob Burnette is a thorn in the side of the Indian "establishment."

Talk to him for more than five minutes and he'll tell you all sorts of stories about wrong doings at Rosebud in particular, where he was tribal chairman for eight years and now dissident in residence, and of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in general, which he puts down as a bunch of no goods.

One of these days, says the articulate former executive secretary of the prestigious National Congress of American Indians, he is going to pull himself away from a book he's writing on the Indian situation for Pren-

tice-Hall and write a letter to President-elect Richard Nixon headed "If I were named Indian commissioner."

What he would do is simple enough; he would do away with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs is my target," he says. "Eventually I hope to disintegrate it even if it takes five or ten years. I'll do it, it's going to be gone because the bureau is suppressing these people."

He has a similar feeling about Robert Bennett, the incumbent BIA commissioner. Burnette's old organization asked the next president to retain at its annual meeting early last fall.

"I don't think anything of Bennett," says Burnette. "I think he's a louse and I'll tell him so to his face."

"I would like to have them appoint me commissioner for three or four years," he adds. "I would do what they have been talking about for years. I would make employees heel to what they have been hired for—that is to assist Indians take their proper place in society. It does just the opposite."

"What they do is hinder and roadblock. I can take you to any Indian on the reservation and he'll tell you the same thing. The BIA takes their money and does it out." This "doling" out of trust money, Burnette maintains, enables the BIA to "control" the Indians.

"What I would do is say 'This is your money and you are going to have to learn sooner or later the money is yours and if you spend it, too bad.' They are teaching our people to lie and scramble every day for a living. They are even learning how to cry—a lot of women tell a little lie and make tears run down their cheeks."

Burnette makes no secret of his feelings. He tells with particular relish of a time not too long after Bennett's confirmation as commissioner when he attended a dinner in New York City where Bennett was the speaker. Burnette's version has it that he went up and congratulated the new commissioner only to have Bennett tell him "Now I'm on top and I can reverse everything you've ever done." Burnette told him he was jealous of the new facilities he was able to get at Rosebud—a new school, jail and hospital—by going over the BIA's area office head.

He claims Bennett aided Cato Valandra in some sort of unholy alliance in ousting him. In fact, he says he decided to quit as executive director of the National Congress of American Indians when he says Valandra told him of some of the things he was doing back at Rosebud. Needless to say, Burnette has nothing good to say about Valandra. He claims Valandra's election was fraudulent, although the Department of the Interior didn't agree.

The Office of Economic Opportunity programs are another of Burnette's targets: "I think the OEO is one of the most wicked, misadministered kind of things that has ever happened to the Indians. It's real bad, even the legal aid." Achieving full legal rights for Indians is Burnette's main theme these days. He says it was largely through the efforts of an organization he heads that the Indians Bill of Rights act was passed this year. "Legal aid," he continued, "is a great thing if it's restricted. It's terrible. It has broken up more families than you can shake a stick at. For six dollars you can get a divorce." The poverty programs, says Burnette are "really hurting all the people it is being applied to."

For example, he says the houses are overpriced, but what's more it is bringing the Indians up to a high economic level only to drop them down again as the programs phase out. Besides that, he says the program is completely political so far as selection for participation in the programs is concerned.

Burnette plans to chronicle all he has done for the Indians "not just at Rosebud, all of them" in the book he is now writing. Chances

are his book will be dismissed by the powers that be, but it is safe to predict one thing of it: it will be read.

MODERN HOUSING UNITS PROVE BOON TO SIOUX—XV

ROSEBUD.—Robert Kills Plenty last year and the year before had a hard time getting his boy Sterling to go to school.

Now the family is living in one of the over 800 new houses built on the reservation here and it's a different story.

Sterling tells his father, "Dad, now I can get up and take a bath; Mom can wash the clothes and everything. I don't have to worry whether they're going to call me a stinking Indian."

The Kills Plenty family is not alone. Morale has skyrocketed here—and on other reservations with new housing programs as well. "That's why they call it 'anpo wichapi'—it really is the dawn of a new day," says the Rev. Richard Pates, S.J., who was the OEO housing director at Rosebud from its start until this month when he left the reservation for further studies.

Before the new housing came, reservation life was pretty grim. That's putting it mildly. Father Pates put it like this: "I don't know how you could stand it unless you're drunk most of the time. You just couldn't stand it otherwise."

"How would you like to be a parent and seeing your children getting sick all the time, catching TB and missing the school bus because it's too cold to get out of bed before 10 a.m."

"We aren't facing the glories of the past," continued Father Pates, "just the degradation of the present. People wonder what happened to the Indian crafts—what kind of craft can you keep up in a situation like that? How can you buy beads when you don't have enough money to buy bread?"

Rosebud's, as did the other reservation programs, began with the advent of the war on poverty. Residents were asked what they needed most and the uniform reply was just about always housing. After a lot of bureaucratic folderol, the programs got under way. Father Pates got involved when Episcopal and Catholic clergymen formed the Christian Social Action group to help with the housing. He struck with it because there was no one else to take the unpaid job of drawing up the original request which Father Pates said turned out to be quite a "manuscript."

"We set it up to be people-orientated," he said. "Many people don't understand that the poor people are suspicious of the power structure. We didn't want to ram anything. These people still had their pride and dignity."

Pride and dignity even though many of the Indians were living in car bodies, tents, log huts and shacks, shanties and even recon-verted windowless chicken coops. They shared a common stench, had dirt floors and were lit by oil lamps. Water was often far away.

Aside from a big boost in morale, the new housing programs had some other positive results. First and foremost would probably be health. Not only because the new tenants were taught to live according to the dictates of modern hygiene, it was now possible. Public health people can tell the difference.

A couple of statistics tell the story pretty well. Although the infant death rate for Indians is far above the national average—even though it has dramatically declined, the Indian death rate is actually lower than that of all other races for the first six days. For days 7-27, the rate for Indians is 2.9 per thousand live births compared to a national average of 1.8. From 28 days to 11 months, the Indian death rate jumps to 19.9 compared to the national average of 6.9. This is the time when the infant is at home—a time when a draft or an unsanitary home is often fatal.

One thing all the reservation housing programs share is rumor mongers who insist the Indians are tearing up the houses piecemeal, selling the parts or otherwise, vandalizing and damaging them. But none of the reservations report any serious cases. Independent investigation has found little or none. Abuse means expulsion, and the Indians have waited too long to risk that. Besides that, most of the programs call for inspection.

Father Pates lays the blame for rumors at the door of white people living near the reservation who can't stand to see the Indians get ahead. "There are quite a few near here at Valentine and Gordon who will be bitterly disappointed if the Indians don't ruin the houses because they are so prejudiced with the idea Indians are no good. It shatters their illusions to think they will use the houses well."

Although Rosebud has nearly satisfied its needs with 92 low-rent houses, 50 units of mutual help, 375 transitional type houses and 400 more "turnkey" houses, the needs of the other reservations have not been met. With nearly twice Rosebud's population, Pine Ridge has only 200 low-rent units, 50 mutual help units, 202 units set for housing improvement and 50 middle income units. Cheyenne River has 40 mutual help units, 26 housing improvement units and 104 low rent units. Standing Rock, Crow Creek, Lower Brule and Sisseton have even smaller programs.

INDIAN LEADER LOOKS AT FUTURE OF RESERVATIONS—XVI

ROSEBUD.—There's an old saying that the best chiefs are first good Indians.

That's running true down here—and on the other area Indian reservations.

Cato Valandra has built for himself the enviable distinction of being singled out as one of the nation's outstanding Indian leaders.

He's a member of President Johnson's advisory council on poverty, was one of the few South Dakotans along with Sen. George McGovern connected with Robert Kennedy's funeral and has chalked up a lot of other distinctions.

Valandra manages to remain modest about all this. He doesn't know just what to attribute his status to but suggests "instead of asking me questions, you should sit with me in my office for a day."

Only a few minutes in Cato's office are needed. The first thing you notice are the stacks of files on the several desks. He averages a phone call about every two minutes. He replies, after thinking it over a moment, in a clear and clipped voice. There is always a long line of people waiting outside his office. He sees them all.

His only distraction, if it can be called that, is when he stops to light a cigarette. Although he could probably land a key executive job with a major industry based on the way he has managed the \$24 million assets of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, he'd never make an advance man for the American Cancer Society. He chain smokes with the relish only a true nicotine addict can have. Between puffs he does his work—and told the story of how he thought Rosebud got to where it is.

He cites his political success down here "in the continuity year after year of the various programs. I think you have to know what you're going after," he said.

"You've got to tell the people, just like in any political campaign, what your programs are and what you think would be beneficial to them." These things, he adds, are "job security, health and sanitation, additional housing—all these things are part of the picture. You have to keep them informed on what's going on."

But this doesn't always win elections. "Indian people vote for the personality. They don't think too much about management of tribal affairs or too much of what was brought here. I learned that in the last election. I thought with the housing, the jobs

and all the other things we are bringing here it would mean something to them. I didn't campaign in the primary because I thought it was obvious what we were trying to do here.

"It must not have been obvious because I lost the primary election and had to get out and campaign and tell the people what we've done here."

From that experience, he says he's trying to educate his people with the idea that the tribal operations should be looked at like a big corporation. "Eventually the tribe will be handling a lot of the programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Twenty-five years from now the tribal council as we know it now will not be in existence. It will be more of a management corporation or operation than a political entity."

"It's leaning that way now, and if we progress the way we're going it will have to go that way. We're getting into management of property and assets more than being just a political entity. We will have a membership vote on the board of directors. It is almost like that now except we have these elections every two years."

This means (he says, getting people on the Rosebud Reservation "conscious of the fact that we are going to manage and operate this reservation for the beneficial use of the people just like any other corporation." The tribal members, he says, will be regular stockholders—even with the right to sell out to the tribe. Hopefully, there will be more concern with good management than with politics.

Even though the corporation concept does appear to suit the tribe, one thing irks Valandra: that is the \$75,000 limitation on tribal indebtedness. "Any corporation with assets of \$24 million can go out and borrow. We are restricted by the Department of Interior. It has a revolving loan fund but it is always broke."

One of the reasons he would like to be able to borrow more is for one of the prime interests here: more industry. The present political set-up can be an impediment to industrialization. "Management says okay, but what might happen two years from now. We're making changes," says Valandra, "so that businesses won't be subject to whims of a political entity."

A big problem in industrial recruitment, says Cato, is that businessmen have no concept of what an Indian reservation is. "What is an Indian? Who are these people who have been separated from the general run of people for years and years and here they are popping out now. What we have to do is educate industry."

In his quest for more tribal management, Valandra asked not too long ago that the tribe be allowed to take over some of the functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, one of the announced goals of the bureau, by the way. It was no go. Valandra thinks Commissioner Bennett has some good ideas but they haven't filtered down through all the layers of bureaucracy yet.

This view is shared by Frank Ducheneaux, who has been chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe for 14 years. Enos Poor Bear at Pine Ridge says he doesn't see too much of the old BIA attitude because of Brice Lay, agency superintendent, whom Poor Bear calls "outstanding." And a brief conversation with Lay is enough to convince anyone that Lay is intent on promoting both the letter and spirit of Bennett's hopes for more of a partnership with the Indian leadership.

Leadership is often contentious and changing at the whim of the electorate. The way to stay in office says Frank Ducheneaux is to be "honest and never lie."

NEW INDUSTRIES BEGIN COMING TO STATE'S INDIAN RESERVATIONS—XVII

You've all heard about the Indian chief who called ahead for a reservation.

Well, Frank Ducheneaux is the only one who can on his own telephone line.

That's because he's the tribal chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, owner of the Cheyenne River Sioux Telephone system. It's the only Indian operation of its kind in the world.

Since the initial purchase of the West River Telephone Co. from Henry Harding in 1958, the Indian owned concern has grown to the point where it now has three exchanges serving Eagle Butte, Dupree and Isabel. Its lines stretch across Dewey and Ziebach Counties.

When the tribe took over the company, it had roughly 400 subscribers. Today the line boasts 1,039 customers—and assets of \$778,000. Tribal officials say it turns over "a good profit" on its gross receipts of \$188,000 a year.

Other than for investment purposes, the tribe took the concern over because it felt it could do a service and provide more service to a bigger area.

But aside from its Indian ownership, the telephone company is much the same as any rural independent line. It isn't what you'd expect to find on an Indian reservation, though.

Cheyenne, for example, is the only reservation in the country that operates the reservation police department on a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is listed in Dun and Bradstreet's Million Dollar Directory. The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe owned about half a million acres 10 years ago. Today it owns a million it uses to benefit the tribe. It has an extensive program to get its members started out in cattle ranching.

Cheyenne is just an example. They're doing much the same at Rosebud and Pine Ridge. Rosebud, for example, is always cited as being one of the most outstanding and progressive when anybody makes a national survey of Indian reservations. At an industrial park near Mission, one of the few automated Formica plants in the world is in operation.

Pine Ridge proved its workmen had the mettle until foreign competition forced the closing of the Wright-McGill fishhook plants. They're betting at Pine Ridge that it won't be long before someone will step in and take over that ready trained labor force. In fact, at Pine Ridge they are thinking beyond getting the one-time snellers back to work. There's talk now of a large scale oil exploration venture as well as a tourist attraction featuring a modern motel and the like on the edge of the Badlands.

All these things mean more than money to the Indians. They mean jobs and a paycheck. The jobs and paychecks mean a chance for self-respect and a self-sustaining livelihood. Where once the emphasis was to train the Indians and ship them off the reservation, the trend now is to get industry to come to the reservations. As far as the Indian is concerned, the importance of this can't be stressed enough. While everybody wants to make a living in his own locality, it is doubly true for the Indians who have a deep, almost religious love of their native locale.

Businessmen find a ready and willing labor pool to greet them. Besides that, there are a variety of government training programs, including on-the-job, to assure the work force is able in addition to being ready and willing. Industries like electronics requiring a great deal of manual dexterity have been especially pleased with the Indian made products.

This growing industrialization on the reservations didn't just happen. All of the reservations drew up master plans. They work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and state agencies such as the Industrial Expansion and Development Agency.

Cato Valandra went one better. He asked a businessman to take a look around Rosebud to see what would have to be done before industry would even consider the reservation. He said two things were needed: better roads and housing. Cato saw to it

that Rosebud got both, several new industries came and the per capita income on the Rosebud Reservation was doubled in just a few years.

Better housing, the businessman said, was needed because nobody living in the then shacks and shanties could be expected to do a decent day's work.

The man behind much of Rosebud's industrial expansion is Bob Johnson. He has served as head of the Greater South Dakota Association and the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce. One of the things he has to overcome in selling a business on starting at Rosebud is the notion of the Indian a lot of people have—a shiftless bum.

He has an answer for that. For one thing, he says, the average type industry that is apt to relocate in a rural area isn't going to be one that will start off paying \$4.98 an hour. So in a lot of areas you're not going to get the best prospective employees. Johnson has a study to back this up. At the same time Rosebud Electronics started, a firm which manufactures cable components for IBM a similar plant was set up in St. Cloud, Minn. The St. Cloud firm hired workers off the street. The study showed better performance at the Rosebud plant in all categories: tardiness, absenteeism, quality and length of attention spans.

This is true nationally as well. BIA Commissioner Robert Bennett said he's heard "no complaints" from the industries that selected reservation sites.

MENTAL HEALTH CENTER CURES, BUT ALSO PROBES THE CAUSES—XVIII

PINE RIDGE.—When Dr. Carl Mindell first came down here, rumor had it that he was taking down names of people to be sent to Yankton State Hospital.

As it happened a lot of names were taken down—but not for residents to be shipped out. It was all part of the start of the first community mental health center on an Indian reservation in the United States, Dr. Mindell was the program's first psychiatrist.

It all goes back to 1955 when the Division of Indian Health was transferred from Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Under the new scheme, there was a marked increase in manpower, new facilities and more research. The old killers and disabilities that had so long plagued the reservation—tuberculosis, infant death, dysenteries, pneumonia—all showed a sharp decline.

Now the big problem became alcoholism, poor nutrition, the whole big area of family breakdowns and auto accidents, usually related to drinking. The South Dakota Indian reservations have a tremendously disproportionate amount of the state's highway fatalities, and drinking is almost invariably involved. For example, Todd County, all part of the Rosebud Reservation, has 9 per cent of the states' traffic fatalities but only .007 per cent of the state's population. Drinking was a factor in every one of the Todd County highway deaths.

"It's the whole world a doctor doesn't usually treat in the clinic," said Paul Stuart, a psychiatric social worker here of the work going on.

This all happened in the early 1960's when there was a nationwide movement for community mental health centers. Congress appropriated funds to establish these local centers. The Division of Indian Health was interested because the major diseases were close to being conquered. It wanted to do something about alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, depression and family breakdowns in general.

Another outfit that was interested in alcoholism and family breakdowns was the Lakota Tuberculosis and Health Association, an organization with membership in several states interested in bettering Indian health standards. Because of this interest, Congress granted funds to establish the program.

While there are other mental health programs in the Division of Indian Health, most of these are at the area level. They generally only deal with acute cases and also help get patients into hospitals. The Pine Ridge center is the only one located where the people are. There was a great deal of interest at first in research in gathering data and much interest in community organization.

Stuart says the major approaches used are to give the mental patients good clinical care, and to try to prevent mental illness by identifying the causes. Like any other disease, they believe down here, mental illness can be prevented if caught in time. This means identifying the causes of mental illness and working on those causes.

Some psychiatric aides were trained by Stuart, but he says there is a tremendous shortage of trained people. "We feel we're seeing only a small percentage of the emotionally disturbed people," he said.

So that the program could see where it was going, a research study was started in 1966 by Dr. Eileen Maynard, an anthropologist. This was needed, said Dr. Maynard because "research has been a vital part of the community health program since its inception. The rationale being that one cannot improve the mental health of people unless one is cognizant of their problems and the possible etiology (cause or origin) of these problems. Also implicit is the necessity of a baseline for the measurement of change on the Pine Ridge Reservation."

"Much of the information about the Pine Ridge population remains in the realm of speculation: often based on hearsay evidence. For this reason, it was felt that objective studies were required in order to pinpoint with greater accuracy the demography and major problem areas."

So the Baseline Data Study was started under the direction of Dr. Maynard. Now all but complete, it set out to have depth interviews with everyone on the reservation by the use of an 18 page questionnaire starting with questions like "Do you speak Lakota?" to "Do you think an able-bodied man should work even if he gets enough money to get by on?" Basic demographic data such as the degree of Indian blood is also obtained.

This information in turn is fed into a computer. It will be used to determine what groups are problem areas, and the possible causes leading, hopefully, to a cure.

A wide range of topics have been covered—ranging from marital conditions, education, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, glue sniffing and more. The inter-relationship of these findings is also weighed.

Some of the things the studies have shown have discovered things that were known but never proved: that unemployment is ten times that of the national average; that educational levels are low but increasing—but still not keeping pace with national average. Other things it has shown include the finding that Indian children are more likely to name the mother as the one who makes the decision, while the role of father, often unemployed, becomes less important.

It had always been assumed, for example, that the loss of a parent was not as traumatic for an Indian child because of the Indian extended family. The study showed a 36 per cent higher rate of juvenile delinquency or mental illness when one or both parents are dead.

The high rate of alcoholism and problems with drink and the higher incidence of mental illness, they feel here as a result of their studies are not only linked to the Indians lower economic status, but go back to the historic dependence on the government and the feeling of powerlessness on the part of the Indian. The study has shown that old time Indian values still persist, even though there is no need for some of them, and some of them are a detriment in today's economy for the Indian. Drinking is an outlet for

repressed aggressions as well as an easy means of sociability.

There is also a sense of inferiority about being Indian. One study shows a much higher rate of attempted suicides here than does the rest of the population. Mental health staffers believe that Indianness should be a source of pride. Some of the areas where this can be done, in education for example, have been recommended.

It is only a start, but progress is being made.

MCGOVERN RESOLUTION SETS NEW DESTINY FOR AMERICAN INDIANS—XIX

CONCLUSION

Solutions to the "Indian problem?"

They've been a dime a dozen. What has been overlooked is that by and large they have been motivated by the best of white intentions.

For instance the allotment program was designed to make self-sustaining farmers of once nomadic warrior hunters by the most enlightened views of the turn of the century. As a barbaric race, it was thought the Indians would first have to go through a stage as farmers before they could fully partake of modern civilization. It was thought the Indians would gladly cast aside their old traditions and take up their roles as husbandmen with the gusto of the sod shanty pioneer.

They didn't. In the process they nearly lost all their land to white land grabbers. But this was a result, not a cause.

Our national Indian policy goes back to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that stated: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property, rights, and liberty shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice in humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

By and large the United States respected these property rights—the Great Sioux Reservation break-up in South Dakota is one of the glaring exceptions. Felix Cohen, the late Indian law expert who was also regarded as a great legal philosopher as well, said: "The process of white land acquisition is one that has been largely misunderstood and misrepresented. I should be the last to deny that wrongs have been committed in the course of this acquisition of our public domain. But the fact remains that of all the public domain acquired by the United States approximately 95 percent was purchased through formal treaty or agreement with Indian tribes and only 5 percent was acquired in other ways."

Cohen also said: "There is no nation on the face of the earth which has set for itself so high a standard of dealing with a native aboriginal people as the United States and no nation on earth has been more self-critical in seeking to rectify its deviations from those high standards."

What is more pertinent is that we often missed the mark and misjudged the Indian. We have heard such things as "if only the Indians would work harder, stop saying 'we're different,' become thrifty and show up on time" and the like. We have seen the importance of Indian culture and what it means. It is also easy enough to understand that constantly changing "solutions" can not solve any problem.

Congress thought it had the answer in 1953 when it passed House Concurrent Resolution 108 which set aside much of the good established by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 under which the Indians were given an opportunity to improve their living conditions by management of their own affairs. The 1953 policy declaration pro-

posed to "free" Indians from federal controls, finish the Indians' wardship and treat them the same as all other citizens. This was the so-called "termination" policy. It did not work. Economic chaos resulted in some tribes. Indians were encouraged to move to the urban areas where the job situation was said to be better. It was also a failure.

The first comprehensive study in recent years of the condition of the American Indian, the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian, recommended "An objective which should underlie all Indian policy is that the Indian individual, the Indian family, and the Indian community be motivated to participate in solving their own problems. The Indian must be given responsibility, must be afforded an opportunity he can utilize, and must develop faith in himself."

In 1966, Sen. George McGovern, now chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, introduced a policy statement along those lines. It unanimously passed the Senate this year. McGovern said, "There is need for new programs—not from Washington, but from the local areas—to give Indians a greater voice in their own destiny and to provide more self-help. We should insist that reservation development plans be worked from the grass-roots level upwards, rather than evolving as creatures of Washington superimposed on reservations with little or no Indian involvement."

Where it has been tried—here the Community Action programs come to mind—it is working. Indian leadership is becoming more dynamic and more effective. While not perfect, it should be remembered that every emerging group has been called unfit to govern . . . itself or anyone else. It was said of the Irish. And it took only three generations to produce the Kennedys.

It might not be out of line to point out that much of the impetus for democracy as a form of government came from the Indian. When Indian contributions to civilization are mentioned the bountiful potato and Indian corn, which reproduces itself three-hundredfold, jump into mind. These crops saved Europe from starvation many times; they enabled the world to feed a larger population—without them it is questionable if half the world's population would be alive today. But along with Columbus and the other explorers there also filtered back the Indian notion of a just and democratic government. Montaigne, Montesquieu, Locke, Rousseau and Voltaire all saw the Indian light of democracy as a beacon for the future.

Now it is up to us through our government to live up to our side of the partnership as embodied in the McGovern resolution. It will have to be a real partnership, one which is willing to accept Indian mistakes as part of the price for full participation in society by Indian people, while at the same time retaining their valued and valuable cultural identity and pride.

In the case of the Teton Sioux, help is legally and morally due as a result of treaties made and broken. But more than that, democracy, if it is to succeed requires it. Cohen observed:

"The issue is not only an issue of Indian rights; it is the much larger one of whether American liberty can be preserved. . . . We must believe in liberty itself to defend it effectively. What is my own divides me from my fellow man. Liberty, which is the other side of the shield of tolerance, is a social affair that unites me with my fellow man. If we fight for civil liberties for our side, we show that we believe not in civil liberties but in our side. But when those of us who never were Indians and never expect to be Indians fight for the cause of Indian self-government, we are fighting for something that is not limited by accidents of race and creed and birth. . . . We are fighting for what

Jefferson called the basic rights of man. We are fighting for the last best hope of earth. And these are causes that should carry us through many defeats."

And there have been many defeats. But we have seen and examined recent accomplishment. There is much to be done. Much has been done, there is the "anpo wicharpi," the dawn of new day for the Sioux Indians.

What kind of day it will become depends on us—and them.

THE PUBLIC URGES SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—XVIII

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Milwaukee Journal has enthusiastically endorsed Senate ratification of the human rights conventions. This emphasizes the fact that there is a true and active concern over the need to ratify these treaties. I have received numerous letters of support for the treaties over the past months from various groups and individuals throughout the country. The public is concerned in the cause—The Senate should feel this same sense of urgency. I urge prompt ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Genocide, Political Rights for Women, and Forced Labor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Milwaukee Journal editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE BRIGHTEST BEACON

Sen. Proxmire (D-Wis.) is renewing the campaign he started two years ago to get Senate ratification of the human rights conventions. He spoke out on 360 consecutive legislative days in the last Congress. He intends to speak every day in this one, or until ratification is accomplished.

The senator's concern is with the conventions on forced labor, genocide and political rights for women. He has had some success. The Senate in the last session ratified the supplementary convention on slavery and the protocol treaty on the status of refugees. But those were the first ratifications since the first of the conventions was sent to the Senate in 1948.

It is difficult to understand the reluctance to ratify the human rights convention. As Proxmire points out, "an overwhelming majority of countries in the world" have agreed to it. Most of the nations which haven't complied are dictatorships.

Genocide—the deliberate extermination of political, religious or racial groups—is certainly something the United States is against. It was submitted to the Senate in 1949, a foreign relations subcommittee reported it favorably, the full committee held hearings, but no action has been taken.

The convention on forced labor, as Proxmire says, "prohibits any forced or compulsory labor for the purpose of, first, political coercion or punishment; second, mobilizing labor for economic development; third, labor discipline; fourth, punishing participation in strikes; or, fifth, racial, social, national or religious discrimination." What American couldn't support that?

Or, take the convention on political rights for women. It provides that women shall be allowed to vote on equal terms with men, may run for publicly elected offices and hold public office and be equal with men in exercising public functions established by national law. American women have those rights now.

The senator should keep on talking, keep on reminding his colleagues each day that

they are stalling on a moral commitment. As President Nixon said during his recent campaign:

"For centuries, the advance of civilization has been measured by the progress made in securing human rights. The struggles that divide the world today center on questions of human rights. It is America's role and responsibility, as the brightest beacon of freedom, so to conduct itself as to provide an example that will truly light the world."

MINERAL KING RECREATIONAL AREA, CALIFORNIA

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on January 27, the U.S. Forest Service announced approval of a \$35 million master plan of the Walt Disney organization for the development of Mineral King as an all-year recreational area.

Mineral King is the result of long and close cooperation between many State and Federal agencies as well as private citizens and civic groups throughout California. Its many benefits to the people, government, and State will come without any additional costs to the taxpayer.

I ask unanimous consent that articles from Time magazine, of February 7, 1969, and Newsweek, of February 10, 1969, and an editorial from the San Francisco Examiner of January 29, 1969, be printed in the RECORD. All are concerned with this vast project for which I and so many of my colleagues have worked during the past few years.

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

[From Time magazine, Feb. 7, 1969]

TO GUARD AND PRESERVE? OR OPEN AND ENJOY?

The last time anyone really got excited about the terrain was in the last third of the 19th century, when prospectors discovered what seemed to be rich veins of gold, silver, copper and lead. The bonanza was short-lived, but the mountain's enticing name endured: Mineral King, an area of majestic 12,000-ft. peaks in California's eastern Sierras, 228 miles north of downtown Los Angeles.

The last of the miners had left by the turn of the century, and it was not until four years ago that a new band of prospectors returned to Mineral King. Financed by the late Walt Disney, they systematically surveyed the Sierra woodland—now a part of a national forest. Finally they suggested that Mineral King's real riches could be realized in 20th century America as a year-round vacation resort. It sounded at first like a sterling idea to almost everyone concerned. Last week, however, when the Disney group's plans were given final approval by the Forest Service, Mineral King became the center of a modern claims battle between conservationists, who want to keep the wilderness sequestered, and recreationists intent on opening it for fun.

The conservationists were led by California's potent Sierra Club. Though it originally supported the idea, the club bridled at the project's Disneyland proportions (proposed 1978 capacity: 8,000 skiers, 3,300 overnight visitors). It claimed that such numbers would cause overcrowding, might result in erosion from road drainage and upset the ecological balance of the 20-sq.-mi. resort valley. It also objected to the construction of an essential access road through 8.5 miles of the Sequoia National Park.

That part of the conflict soon turned into a battle between giant federal departments, with Agriculture (which runs the forestry service) behind the development and Interior (which runs the park service) opposed to it.

Before leaving office last month, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall finally approved the highway plan, noting that it would not result in the removal of a single redwood. However, both he and the Sierra Club had already created the impression that the developers would be violating a pristine piece of America's wilderness.

NO LONGER KINGS

In fact, Mineral King is not quite that. The skeleton of the abandoned mining town (onetime pop. 500) is still in plain view and at least 60 summer homes now dot the proposed ski valley, which can be reached by an existing dirt road. Moreover, Mineral King is the jumping-off point for summertime pack-horse trips into the wild, mountainous wonder. Disney officials say that the Kaweah River is already polluted downstream from the stable of the horse-renting concession—and promised to do something about it.

No doubt the developers intend to mine Mineral King with the same antiseptic efficiency and imaginative salesmanship that they exercised on Disneyland itself. They promise to ban automobiles from the village and advocate a five-level underground garage. From there, visitors would ride a cogwheel train the last mile and a half. The ski valley would have more than two dozen lifts and tramways leading up slopes. Summertime guests would find fewer trees, but there would be good swimming and hiking.

Still, critics who believe that America's natural glories are seriously threatened today are appalled by the prospect of all that super-organization—and all that cuteness—which could lead to a village of Snow White Synthetic or Plastic Alpine. Moreover, the area around Mineral King would also be profoundly altered as a result of the resort. What seems to bother the Sierra Club most is the prospect that the pack travelers and other outdoorsmen will no longer be the only kings on this hill. Jack Hope, senior editor of *Natural History* magazine, voiced the typical objection. Disney's plan, he said, "conjures up pictures of tourists picking the grounds clean, of skiers watching the white wrappers of their candy bars floating to the ground." The Sierra Club is contemplating legal action on several technical grounds, but there seems little indication that Disney can be headed off at the pass. Nor, considering the need for well-planned recreational development, does there seem much cause for trying.

[From Newsweek, Feb. 10, 1969]

CONSERVATION: MOM VERSUS APPLE PIE

Mineral King Valley squats inside the Sequoia National Forest, surrounded by the towering, snow-capped peaks of California's High Sierra, 7,800 feet up in the kind of spectacular ski country that makes rank snow bunnies itch to do the slalom. Eight vast, natural snow bowls curve upward from the valley floor and offer uninterrupted downhill runs that are judged the equal of Europe's best. Most important of all to snow-hungry southern Californians, now thoroughly bitten by the skiing bug, the valley is only 170 miles north of Los Angeles.

So there were fervent cheers last week when the U.S. Forest Service, after two decades of pondering various plans to develop the valley, finally approved one of them. And there were more cheers from some quarters over the choice of developer. Who better to build a people's paradise in a serene mountain wilderness than Walt Disney Productions, creator of Disneyland?

The Disney plans were nothing short of supercalifragilisticexpialidocious. Disney proposed to invest some \$35 million in Mineral King, much of it for an "Alpine Village" of steeply pitched and many-gabled roofs designed to house some 3,300 good family folk. Horse-drawn sleighs would ply the streets while cars remained hidden away in a 5-

acre underground garage 1½ miles from the village; an electric cog railway would carry visitors from vehicle to village.

TO COURT

And who could possibly knock such a Technicolor scheme? The Sierra Club, that's who. No sooner was the Forest Service's OK official than the militant conservationist group announced it would go to court to stop the development. The 70,000-member club argued that the Federal government exceeded its authority in permitting construction of such "heavy facilities" as the Disney installation and a paved highway leading into it through Sequoia National Park.

The Disney proposal has the backing of California's Gov. Ronald Reagan and Sen. George Murphy as well as key Federal agencies and major ski groups, but few who have ever been up against the Sierra Club are ready to call the spunky organization outgunned. In the past, the cantankerous amalgam of rugged outdoorsmen and urban nature lovers has challenged the water interests of seven states—and come off the winner by almost singlehandedly halting the building of two dams that would have flooded parts of the Grand Canyon. Just last September, the club's fervent efforts to save California's redwoods finally paid off in a 58,000-acre addition of redwood stands to the National Park system.

The club's first article of faith is that the nation's remaining wilderness areas should be protected from all forms of outside incursion. Toward this end, it has been led for the past sixteen years by its arrogant and dynamic executive director, David R. Brower, 56. Although the 77-year-old group has grown nearly ten-fold under Brower, the white-thatched director has himself lately become almost as much of a controversial figure for club members as a runaway logger in a redwood grove. Brower has sponsored a succession of elaborately illustrated book productions extolling the U.S. wilderness—and recently announced a new line of international books. Many of his critics think the book program has got entirely out of hand while other members think he has simply grown too big for his hiking britches. He infuriated even some of his friends recently when on his own he ran a page-and-a-half club ad in *The New York Times* that called for viewing the globe as a sort of Earth National Park.

TEST

To the building furor over his iron hand in the organization's affairs, Brower replies: "I think the issue is whether the Sierra Club . . . continues to grow in its scope and competence." He plans to test his own aggressive personality and philosophy in April by running for the first time for a position as one of the club's fifteen board members. If he does not get elected, he says that he will quit as executive director.

It just may be that the internecine battle over Brower will distract the club from its declaration of war on Disney. But don't count on it. There is nothing like a threat to America's dwindling wilderness to rally the membership. And barring any further internal upheavals, it promises to be quite a battle. For if a Disney production is as difficult to oppose as apple pie, nearly the same has been said of the Sierra Club. In the fight between club and logger over the redwoods, one lumber spokesman lamented: "We think they're wrong, but we're not going out to fight motherhood." When apple pie comes smack up against motherhood, it is plainly anybody's ball game.

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 29, 1969]

MINERAL KING

The U.S. Forest Service has approved the Disney organization's plan for recreational

development of the Mineral King Valley area of Sequoia National Forest, provoking threats of a suit by the Sierra Club.

We recall that 20 years ago three skiers surveyed Mineral King's potential, remaining there from October until May, and came out with the report, "Take half a dozen Sun Valleys, line them up and you'll have some idea of Mineral King."

The site is indeed magnificent, not only for winter but summer recreation. It will provide in particular new opportunities for winter sports for Southern Californians who in growing numbers already crowd existing facilities.

We stand with the Sierra Club on the issue of protection of wilderness resources, but this viewpoint must be balanced against the legitimate recreation needs of increased population.

Disney was only one of six bidders for Mineral King. The bid would not have been accepted, nor the project initiated at all, if in the government's opinion it held prospects of destructive exploitation. This is especially true since the program was overseen by one of the most conservation-minded national administrations in American history.

Obviously there can be a slip twixt the drawing board and the execution. The Agriculture Department and, where concerned, the Interior Department, must see to it that this does not occur.

Constructive monitoring by conservation groups as the development proceeds will be of great value.

TOWARD A SOCIAL REPORT: HEALTH AND ILLNESS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on January 5 I introduced the Full Opportunity Act of 1969—S. 5. The bill, which establishes a Council of Social Advisers and a Joint Committee on the Social Report, provides for an annual social report to be given by the President on advice from the Social Council. I firmly believe that a social report will enable us to direct our efforts toward the realization of the goal of S. 5—full opportunity for every American. As I noted on February 4, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has recently published "Toward a Social Report." At that time I placed into the Record the introduction and summary of the report. The report, which caps a 2-year effort, should be seen not as a final model of the social report but rather as a preliminary working model.

Today I should like to invite attention to the first chapter of the report: "Health and Illness." Preliminary research has resulted in several sets of "hard data" which point to as yet unsolved and in many cases unfronted public policy questions. We are aware that present medical care financing provides an incentive for "underuse of preventive care" as opposed to curative care. Yet we are presently unaware as to whether or not the Nation "can provide health services in a manner which will not discourage preventive care, and which will insure that all persons have access to health services which are reasonably comprehensive." We are aware that since the turn of the century life expectancy at birth has increased 20 years; at 5 years of age it has increased 9 years; whereas, at 65 years it has increased less than 3 years. However, we are not yet aware as to how best to

allocate our Nation's health resources among people in the prime of their life, in the early years of their life, or in the later years of their life. We are aware that between June 1967 and June 1968, hospital daily service charges rose 12 percent and doctors' fees 5 percent. We are not as yet, however, aware of how we can "find new ways to meet the challenge to the health status of the population" which is posed by these and other sharp increases in medical costs. There are, of course, numerous other instances in the report in which preliminary collection of "hard data" points to complex problems. In the future I will note some of these.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the first chapter of "Toward a Social Report" be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHAPTER I. HEALTH AND ILLNESS—ARE WE BECOMING HEALTHIER?

Good health and a long life are among the most elementary requirements for human achievement and enjoyment. The primary concern of this chapter is to review and appraise both the measures of change in health and life expectancy among groups in our society and the factors which have retarded improvements in the Nation's status.

The satisfactions a positive state of health can bring are matters for other chapters. Further, such important matters as the absence of pain or minimization of discomfort are neglected because they cannot be measured at this time.

Are we getting healthier?

Long Run Gains

The advance of medical science and rising standards of living in the Twentieth Century have brought about major improvements in health and life expectancy. Some diseases, like polio and diphtheria, have almost disappeared. Others, like tuberculosis and measles, are far less common than they used to be. The "miracle" drugs have reduced the danger from pneumonia and other infectious diseases to an extraordinary degree.

The increase in life expectancy has been striking (Table 1). At the turn of the century, the average life expectancy at birth in the United States was 49.2 years; in 1966, it was 70.1 years. Women have gained more than men. In 1900, women lived two years longer than men on the average; they now live seven years longer.

TABLE 1.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF LIFE REMAINING AT SPECIFIED AGES, UNITED STATES, 1900-1902 AND 1966

Age at beginning of year	Average number of years of life remaining		Increase in average remaining lifetime (in years)
	1900-1902	1966	
Birth.....	49.2	70.1	20.9
1.....	55.2	70.8	15.6
5.....	55.0	67.1	12.1
25.....	39.1	48.0	8.9
65.....	11.9	14.6	2.7

The gain in expectation of life at birth has occurred mainly because of the reduction in the death rates among infants and children. In 1900, the average child, age five, could expect an additional 55 years of life; now a five year old can expect to live an additional 67.1 years, or a gain of 12.1 years. In contrast, life expectancy among 25 years olds has increased 8.9 years, and a typical 65 year old can expect another 2.7 years of life.

Life expectancy at older ages has not improved greatly because medical science has

not yet developed the knowledge needed to control the degenerative diseases of old age. As more people survive long enough to become vulnerable to these diseases, death rates from the chronic non-infectious diseases have continued to increase. In 1966, heart disease, cancer, and stroke accounted for two-thirds of all deaths, compared to less than 20 percent in 1920. (However, with the recent breakthrough in drug therapy for hypertension and Parkinson's disease new knowledge is beginning to be brought to bear on some of the degenerative diseases of old age.) The incidence of some degenerative diseases that are painful or crippling, but usually not fatal, such as arthritis, has also increased.

Unfortunately, the great gains in increased years of life have not been equally shared by the American people. Nonwhite expectation of life at birth in 1900 was 33.0 years, 14.6 years below that of the whites. By 1965, nonwhite life expectancy had risen to 64.1 years but was still 6.9 years below that of whites.

Similarly, while the risk of death in early childhood has decreased markedly for both white and nonwhite children, the disparity between the death rates for white and nonwhite children has actually increased over the years. In 1965, the nonwhite death rate for infants under one year of age was 187 percent of the white rate, as compared to 160 percent in 1935.

Some Recent Trends

Since the mid-fifties there have been some gains in health, some losses and some areas where we are holding our own or where progress has been uncertain. For example, the incidence of such infectious diseases as diphtheria, measles, polio, and whooping cough has declined since 1957. On the other hand, some diseases, including hepatitis, food-borne infections and streptococcal infections, have become more frequent. In addition, age-specific death rates for coronary heart disease among adults have continued to advance, as have death rates for cancer of the lung, cirrhosis of the liver, and chronic lung diseases such as emphysema, and chronic bronchitis. The diet and sedentary life associated with affluence, cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption and perhaps air pollution are major factors in the occurrence of these diseases. The death rate from motor vehicle accidents has also risen but less markedly.

Furthermore, the number of years which Americans can look forward to without any form of bed disability has changed little since 1958, the year when this calculation first became possible. This finding is based on a social indicator calculated for the Social Report. This indicator measures the expectation of healthy life. It reflects both those increases in the length of healthy life that are due to reductions in bed-disability or institutional confinement, and those that are due to increases in life expectancy.

As Table 2 shows, the unchanged life expectancy over the decade and the static expectation of disability days have resulted in a nearly constant expectation of healthy life. The figure in 1957-58 was 67.2 years, but this was a year of an influenza epidemic, so no upward trend can be clearly established, and if one exists at all it is very slight. The figures on expectation of healthy life remaining at age 65, shown in Table 2, also indicate only limited improvement.

Males and females show slightly different patterns. Since 1958, females gained a full year of total life expectancy at birth or 1.3 years free of bed-disability, while males improve their situation by only 0.4 years of life expectancy or 0.6 years free of bed-disability. Expectations at age 65 show even greater sex discrepancies, with males having made no advances at all while females gained about a half year in both total and disability-free years.

The findings that expectation of healthy

life is increasing so slowly does not mean that the health of the population has not improved. The measure of expectation of healthy life does not take into account differences in suffering. It is likely that the average day of bed-disability has become easier to bear in recent years because of the development of tranquilizers, pain killers and sedatives. Also, the index does not measure the progress made in relieving victims of illnesses that do not require bed disability. During July 1966-June 1967, the average American experienced 15.4 days of restricted activity, of which only 5.6 days required bed-disability.

TABLE 2.—EXPECTATION OF HEALTHY LIFE (IN YEARS), UNITED STATES, FISCAL YEARS 1958-66

Year	Expectation of life ¹	AT BIRTH	
		Expected bed disability and institutionalization during life	Expectancy of healthy life
1958.....	69.5	2.3	67.2
1959.....	69.6	1.8	67.8
1960.....	69.9	2.0	67.9
1961.....	69.9	1.9	68.0
1962.....	70.2	2.1	68.1
1963.....	70.0	2.1	67.9
1964.....	69.9	2.0	67.9
1965.....	70.2	2.0	68.2
1966.....	70.2	2.0	68.2

Year	Expectation of life ¹	AT AGE 65	
		Expected bed disability and institutionalization during life	Expectancy of healthy life
1958.....	14.2	1.1	13.1
1959.....	14.3	1.0	13.3
1960.....	14.5	1.1	13.4
1961.....	14.4	1.1	13.3
1962.....	14.6	1.1	13.5
1963.....	14.4	1.1	13.3
1964.....	14.3	1.1	13.2
1965.....	14.6	1.1	13.5
1966.....	14.6	1.1	13.5

¹ Disability and institutionalization figures are given in terms of the fiscal year that overlapped the calendar year listed. Expectation of life figures are for the calendar year during which the fiscal year began.

Source: Estimated from published and unpublished data obtained from the censuses of 1950 and 1960, and from the Health Interview Survey and Vital Statistics Division of the National Center for Health Statistics.

Recent reductions in infant mortality represent a hopeful sign. Though the infant mortality rate was practically unchanged from 1950 to 1965, it decreased by more than five percent in 1966 and by another five percent in 1967. While we cannot be certain about the causes of this possible trend, the sudden reduction in infant mortality may well be related to the new Federal programs for maternal and infant care and family planning.

Trends in mental health and illness

It is difficult to know with certainty whether mental illness represents an area of improvement or a growing problem. Because of still unsolved problems of psychiatric diagnosis, and because the types of behavior which are considered manifestations of mental illness change with our culture, no adequate measures of the mental health of a population have been developed. Nationwide data on the prevalence of emotional disturbance in the general population are meager.

Local surveys have been carried out in the United States to determine the prevalence of mental disorders, but their results do not lend themselves to comparison. Despite the lack of comparability among studies, each shows that sizable proportions of the population studied suffer or have suffered from a mental disorder.¹

¹ To illustrate, three of these surveys carried out in different parts of the United

Data on trends in mental health status are limited. Only for the most serious and incapacitating forms of mental illness which may require hospital care do the data bear trend analysis.

It is noteworthy that the number of persons in state and county long-term care mental hospitals has declined since 1955, from 559 thousand to 401 thousand in 1968. These data probably reflect mainly the impact of tranquilizers and other new drugs and the wider availability of community-based care which have reduced the need for prolonged hospitalization of the mentally ill.

How much healthier could we be?

Is it realistic to hope for major gains in health and life expectancy during the next decade? In the absence of extraordinary scientific breakthroughs in the treatment of degenerative diseases, the gains in expectation of life will not begin to match those achieved during the first half of this century. Even if all deaths below age 55 were eliminated, expectation of life at birth would increase only 6.5 years.

To what extent could we improve health or extend life with presently known biomedical knowledge and technology? To obtain some insights into this question we can compare the health status of different groups in this country. Though the possibility of some genetic differences in health and life expectancy cannot be excluded, large differences in health and life expectancy would probably indicate that we had not done all that we could in applying medical skills and resources to advance health and life. Such differences would also be of interest because of what they told us about the inequalities in our society.

Another way in which we can examine the question of whether we could be significantly healthier with present technology and resources is by comparing the life expectancy of the United States with that of other developed countries. Some differences may conceivably be due to climatic or genetic factors, but large differences could surely not be explained in this way.

Differences Within the United States

The data reveal striking differences among the regions and groups in our society. There are, for instance, substantial differences in life expectancy among the geographic regions of the country. For white males, life expectancy at birth in the South is about one-half year below that in the North and West. There is a difference of about five years in life expectancy at birth between those States with the best records and those with the worst. Moreover, the infant mortality rate was twice as great in the poorest state as in the best State, and the maternal mortality rate was four times as great. Infant mortality rates are also available by county. In the worst 10 percent of the counties the infant mortality rate in 1961-65 was about 21 per 1,000 live births more than in the best 10 percent of the counties.

There is a significant difference in health status between whites and non-whites. While bed-disability is only slightly greater for Negroes, there is a major disparity between

States during the past 30 years demonstrated the following:

(1) 60 per 1,000 of the total population of an urban area were on the active rolls of mental hospitals and a large number of other health, welfare, social, educational and correctional agencies that provided services to persons with mental disorders;

(2) at least 70 per 1,000 of the population of a rural county would have been referred to a mental health clinic had one existed in the county;

(3) at least 100 per 1,000 of the noninstitutional population, all ages, of a major urban area were found to have a serious mental disorder.

the life expectancy of Negroes and whites ages 65 and less (Table 3).

Negro infant mortality has been about four-fifths greater than that of whites. While infant mortality for whites was 20.6 per 1,000 live births, for non-whites it was 38.7 per 1,000 in 1966. Negro maternal mortality has been about four times as great as the white rate (in 1965, 90.2 and 22.4 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, respectively).

TABLE 3.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF LIFE REMAINING AT SELECTED AGES, BY COLOR AND SEX: UNITED STATES, 1964

Age	Average number of years of life remaining					
	Males			Females		
	White	Non-white	Difference	White	Non-white	Difference
0.....	67.7	61.1	6.6	74.6	67.2	7.4
5.....	64.6	59.5	5.1	71.3	65.1	6.2
15.....	54.9	49.9	5.0	61.5	55.4	6.1
25.....	45.6	40.9	4.7	51.8	45.9	5.9
45.....	27.4	24.7	2.7	32.9	28.7	4.2
65.....	13.0	12.8	.2	16.3	15.6	.7
75.....	8.1	9.8	-1.7	9.6	11.1	-1.5

Negroes also have higher death rates for infectious diseases than whites, and higher death rates for certain tumors, such as cancer of the cervix. Since all of these death rates are subject to large reductions through more and better health services, the inequalities in the distribution of health services in our society are clearly an important factor accounting for these differences.

Furthermore, the available information indicates that illness causing limited activity is significantly higher for persons with low incomes, both black and white. For example, for males in the working age group 45-64, those with incomes of less than \$2,000 have three and one-half times as many disability days as those in the over \$7,000 income group.²

Moreover, several studies have shown that less than half of the low-income children with chronic conditions, including mental and emotional disorders, and hearing and vision defects, are under treatment. Yet two-thirds of these conditions could be prevented or corrected if the appropriate health services were available.

International Comparisons

At least fifteen nations have a longer life expectancy at birth than the United States. Life expectancy in the leading countries, Holland, Sweden, and Norway is about 3.5 years longer than it is in the United States. At the start of the decade at least 27 countries had lower age-adjusted death rates for heart disease among males than the United States.

Part of the explanation for our relatively low rank in life expectancy in comparison with other developed nations is our style of life and the competitive pressures in our society. More than a dozen countries have lower rates of ulcers, diabetes, cirrhosis of the liver, hypertension without heart involvement, and accidents. Our high automobile accident rate is perhaps due to the fact that we have more automobiles and use them more. The rates for diabetes and cirrhosis of the liver may be partly explained by the fact that we eat and drink more than some other peoples. The high rates of ulcers and hypertension may be part of the price we pay for our dynamic and competitive economy.

Some of the areas in which we lag behind could be affected by the amount and quality of health services available to our population. In 1964, the United States ranked fourteenth among the countries with the lowest

² In comparing low and high income groups, it should be noted that one reason why persons may have low income is that they are ill.

infant mortality rates. Moreover, our relative rank with respect to infant mortality rates has progressively worsened over the years. In 1950 the United States ranked fifth; in 1955 we ranked eighth; and we fell to twelfth by 1960. While many other countries were making great progress in the reduction of infant mortality, the United States rate declined sluggishly. Also, at least five countries have better maternal mortality rates. Finally, our death rates from tuberculosis and pneumonia are far from the best.

Why Aren't We Healthier?

The United States cannot attribute the shortcomings of its health record to a lack of total expenditures for health services or to deficiencies in its supply of highly trained health manpower. The United States spends more on health services as a percentage of Gross National Product than any other country. And the proportion of GNP devoted to health care is rising rapidly. It increased from 4.6 percent in Fiscal Year 1950 to 6.5 percent in Fiscal Year 1968 or from \$12.1 billion to \$53.1 billion. When compared to the 13 countries with better infant mortality rates than the United States in 1964, we had the fourth highest ratio of both dentists and physicians to population, and the third highest ratio of professional nurses to population.

Nor can our poor showing compared to many other developed nations be blamed on the state of bio-medical science and technology in this country. The United States spends considerably more on bio-medical research than any other country. It is widely acknowledged that we are the leading nation in bio-medical science and technology.

Genetic and environmental factors could possibly help to explain why our health is not better. Indeed, it is possible that adverse environmental factors and changes in life styles have cancelled out many of the more recent improvements in health services. The chapter on Environment shows that air pollution can be detrimental to health and this is also evident from the increase in death rates during periods when pollution is exceptionally severe. And a growing majority of Americans live in large metropolitan areas which are generally subject to concentrations of polluted air.

Perhaps more important than environmental factors, however, is the American style of life. For the vast majority of the population, health may be adversely affected by rich diet, smoking, lack of exercise, and the pressure of business and professional life. The high pressure of life may explain why the United States male life expectancy is so much lower by international comparative standards than the female life expectancy. For the underprivileged minority, bad health may reflect inadequate diet and ignorance about both proper preventive behavior and the value of early care, as well as unfavorable housing and sanitary conditions.

Of all these adverse factors, the health consequences of smoking have been perhaps best documented in recent years.³ A wide variety of studies indicate that cigarette smoking leads to a substantial excess of deaths among those who smoke. It increases the risk of death from chronic bronchitis, pulmonary emphysema, heart disease, and lung cancer. Life expectancy for young men is reduced by an average of 8 years in "heavy" cigarette smokers, those who smoke over two packs a day, and an average of 4 years among those who smoke less than one-half pack per day.

Style of life and environmental factors do not account fully for the shortcomings in our health status. Two other factors, the unequal distribution of our medical care, and

³ See, for example: The Health Consequences of Smoking, 1968 Supplement, U.S. Public Health Service Publication No. 1969.

the deprivation suffered by the nation's poor and disadvantaged, contribute to these shortcomings.

Socioeconomic Deprivation and the Distribution of Medical Care

The lower a person's income is, the less often he sees a doctor. Whether we look at data on visits to physicians per year, or the interval since the last visit, or the use of a specialist's services, we see a clear, positive relationship between higher income and greater use of physicians' services. At the same time, there is more illness to be treated among low income than high income people.

The use of dentists also varies markedly with income. More than 20 percent of people in families with incomes under \$3,000 have never visited a dentist, as compared to 7.2 percent of those in families with incomes over \$10,000.

There is further evidence of the unequal distribution of medical care, and its importance for our health status, in the provision of prenatal care. Though virtually all American babies are now delivered in hospitals, the expectant mother usually seeks out prenatal care on her own initiative and at her own expense. As a result, in most major cities, one-third to one-half of the women delivered in public hospitals have had no prenatal care. This is in sharp contrast to the practice in the Netherlands, for example, where infant mortality rates are among the lowest. There, nearly all expectant mothers get prenatal care, but a substantial proportion of the babies are delivered at home rather than in hospitals.

A person's race is also related to the likelihood that he will obtain medical care, even after adjusting for differences in incomes. Negroes at every income level use medical services less than whites. The number of physician visits per year for Negroes earning \$10,000 or more, for example, was 4.3 in 1964-65 as compared to 5.1 for whites with similar incomes. This suggests that cultural and educational factors may also influence the use of health services, and that fewer health services may be available and accessible to Negroes.

The place a person lives has a major effect upon his access to medical care. For example, Mississippi has less than one-half as many physicians in relation to its population as New York, and only 58 percent as high a doctor/population ratio as the national average. Rural areas tend to have fewer doctors in relation to population than metropolitan areas (about 55 percent as many), whereas inner city ghetto areas have fewer doctors than middle class neighborhoods in the same cities. In general, States with low doctor/population ratios tend to have high infant and maternal mortality rates, a relatively high incidence of infectious diseases, and a shorter than average life expectancy.

The Cost of Medical Care

The uneven distribution of medical care in this country is due in part to the fact that medical care is becoming more costly in relation to other goods and services. Medical care prices have been rising faster than other prices throughout the postwar period. From 1946 to 1967, all consumer prices increased 2.6 percent annually while medical care prices increased at an annual rate of 3.9 percent. Moreover, in recent years the rise in medical care prices has accelerated. They increased at an annual rate of 6.5 percent during 1965-67.

Hospital daily service charges have been increasing faster than other medical care prices. They rose at an annual rate of 8.3 percent from 1946 to 1967. More recently, hospital daily service charges have increased sharply. During the two-year period 1965-1967, hospital charges rose 35 percent. In contrast, physicians' charges increased at an average annual rate of 7.0 percent during the same two-year period.

The relatively rapid rise in medical care prices and increases in demand for services have resulted in an increase in the percentage of personal disposable income devoted to medical care (from 4.1% in 1950 to 5.9% in 1966). Even so, the public probably consumes fewer medical services than they would have if prices had risen less rapidly.

Fortunately, the proportion of the direct medical expenditures that are paid by private health insurance or public programs have been rising, and this has greatly reduced individual financial burden from 1950 to 1966, the proportion of personal health care expenditure met by "third party" payments (government, private health insurance and philanthropy) rose from 35 percent of the total to 50 percent. Still, there are millions under 65 without private health insurance who do not qualify for aid under Medicaid, and who are accordingly left to their own resources when illness strikes. Moreover, it is estimated that Medicare covers only about 35 percent of the total medical care expenses for those age 65 and older. Thus, despite the fact that public outlays for personal health services have risen from \$7.9 billion in fiscal year 1966 to \$15.7 billion in fiscal year 1968, the medically indigent and those persons over age 65 must still pay for a substantial share of their own medical expenses.

Though low income families spend a higher percentage of their income for medical care than more affluent families, they spend less in absolute terms. This shows up most notably where preventive, as opposed to curative or ameliorative, care is concerned. During 1963-64, for instance, 54 percent of those persons under 17 years of age with family incomes in excess of \$10,000 had at least one general physical examination, but only 16 percent of those persons under 17 years of age with family incomes of less than \$2,000 had such a routine checkup. Generally, poor people fall farther behind high income people in their expenditures for physicians' and dentists' services, which are partly for preventive purposes, than for hospital care, which is largely designed to cure or ameliorate existing health problems.

In addition to the direct costs of medical care, there are the costs of the earned income foregone when a person is sick or obtaining medical care. For the family with the medical problem, as for the economy as a whole, these costs are considerable. In 1963, an estimated 3.8 million man-years were lost through illness, and 2.9 million of these would have been economically productive.

One estimate has placed the value of the labor lost for that year at \$15.9 billion. Such an estimate can only be illustrative, for we cannot know what labor would be worth in a society without any health problems. But it does illustrate the point that the indirect costs of health problems are considerable, and that the burden of expenditures for medical care often falls on people whose incomes have been diminished because they could not work.

The System of Providing Health Care

Given the unmet health needs of our population and the rapidly increasing cost of medical care, the nation can certainly not afford to waste its health resources. Yet our system of providing and financing medical care fosters inefficiency and waste.

First, our methods of paying for health care provide incentives to use too little preventive care, and relatively too much curative and ameliorative care. Both private and public insurance generally cover hospital and surgical care, but they rarely reimburse patients for physical checkups and other forms of preventive care. There is considerable evidence that, as a consequence, our prevailing forms of health insurance have some effect on the decisions of patients, and the advice of physicians to patients, to use surgical services. A number of studies indicate that sur-

gical rates for such "elective" procedures as tonsillectomies, hysterectomies, and appendectomies are considerably higher for persons with hospital insurance.

Even those who have no insurance are induced to take relatively to much curative and ameliorative care and relatively too little preventive care. The Chinese in ancient times used to pay their doctors when the patient was well, but not when he was sick. This system of payment gives a doctor a strong incentive to provide preventive care, but our system does not. Health professionals are usually paid in accordance with the amount of care rendered, and therefore they have little financial incentive (but considerable ethical incentives) to avoid providing unnecessary care.

Second, prevailing insurance plans generally give the patient incentives to use the highest cost component of the health care system—the hospital—when less costly outpatient facilities or services might be equally satisfactory. The United States has more short-term hospital beds in relation to population than all but a few countries; and there is a good deal of evidence that hospitals are overused in this country. For example, a detailed study of the Kaiser Health Plan in California, which is a comprehensive prepaid health care plan providing a full range of health care services, showed that the age-adjusted utilization rates for Kaiser hospitals were more than 30 percent below the California average. Thus, the Kaiser Plan held its rise in hospital expenditures to 15 percent during 1950-65, as compared to a 50 percent increase for the country as a whole.

Third, the reimbursement of hospitals on the basis of costs provides no rewards for efficient operation. The Medicare and Medicaid hospital reimbursement formulas, based on "reasonable cost," and the formulas of most private insurance plans, make it easy for hospitals to "pass on" cost increases to third parties. At present, there are generally no reimbursement systems which make the level of income of hospitals depend upon the ability to operate effectively and thereby control costs.

Further, our system of independent hospitals and practitioners discourages coordination among the various elements responsible for providing medical care. This in turn leads to gaps in the type of care offered, a wasteful duplication of facilities and equipment, and considerable difficulty for many individuals in finding points of entry into our medical care system. However, there are some examples which show that a greater degree of coordination of health services is possible. In some areas of the country regional planning bodies have been effective in assuring that unneeded facilities are not constructed. Further, some group practice plans provide convenient access to care, the appropriate utilization of the skills of different medical specialists, and comprehensive care. Moreover, the experimental federally supported neighborhood health care centers for the poor may demonstrate that greater use of para-medical personnel outside of the hospital setting can work effectively in this country. Our present almost exclusive reliance on the physician for care outside the hospital is in sharp contrast to the extensive use of such personnel as visiting nurses and midwives in many foreign countries.

And finally, a factor that may help account for the high cost of medical care is the basically "small scale" of the health industry. Hospitals in the United States are generally small in comparison to those of Europe and, unlike foreign hospitals and United States commercial plants, are usually independently managed. The most striking example of small-scale production is, of course, the individual physician, especially the general practitioner. Although group practice is increasing, it is still unusual for moderate size groups of physicians to practice together and

utilize common laboratory facilities and ancillary staff.

The policy challenge

We have seen that the first half of the twentieth century saw extraordinary advances in health and life expectancy, but that the rate of advance has been slower in the fifties and sixties. In large part this slower rate of advance has been due to the fact that many of the most serious health problems of infants, children, and young adults had been solved by mid-century; and to the fact that it has not been possible to make many significant scientific breakthroughs in the treatment and prevention of degenerative diseases associated with the process of aging.

Nonetheless, the considerably longer life expectancy in some other countries, and the differences in health status among the different groups in our own country suggest that we could have better health and longer life, even without any new breakthroughs in medical science. There can be little doubt that appropriate public policy decisions can help to alleviate some of the factors adversely affecting the health status of our population. Public policy can aim to redress the imbalance in health resources, prevent and control harmful environmental factors, and even influence our thinking about those personal habits and forms of behavior which may prove detrimental to our health.

We have made some progress in the provision of health care for the young, in better preventive care, and in providing broader access to mental health facilities. The neighborhood health care centers of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the community mental health centers supported through the National Institute of Mental Health are examples of new public policy actions in these areas.

However, much remains to be done. Many old but still unresolved public policy questions must be reexamined. The preceding discussion of the health status of our nation suggests that these are among the most important issues which must be resolved:

How much of our resources should be devoted to medical research for tomorrow and how much to provide services now?

Can the nation provide health services in a manner which will not discourage preventive care, and which will insure that all persons have access to health services which are reasonably comprehensive?

How much of the nation's health resources should be used to serve the elderly as opposed to young children and those in the prime of life?

Can we find new ways to meet the challenge to the health status of the population posed by sharp increases in medical care costs?

How can public policy redirect or control harmful practices which damage our environment, and alter personal habits and styles of life harmful to health, while still allowing organizations and individuals a satisfactory degree of freedom?

At present, we have no answers or only partial answers to these questions and many similar but subsidiary questions. America, in short, needs not only more effort, but also more debate and thought, if it is to realize the full potential for better health and longer life inherent in its advanced level of scientific and economic development.

OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, in the city of Philadelphia, in my own city of Wilmington, Del., and in 73 other cities across the country there is operating a program which has trained 20,000 of America's poor for work and found permanent jobs for them.

That program is the Opportunities Industrialization Centers, founded by the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, a Philadelphia minister who put the resources of his congregation to work.

In addition to the successful training programs, Dr. Sullivan's efforts have led to creation of an entrepreneurial program that now embraces a shopping center, a garment factory, and the aerospace industry.

The OIC has done, and is continuing to do, these things with minimal help from the public sector.

From his congressional base he has expanded to obtain help from private industry and from private philanthropy. The Federal Government now contributes to the support of 25 of the 75 OIC projects; and, as far as is known, Delaware is the only State to offer financial support.

Dr. Sullivan says that increased Government support would be beneficial to his program; but, unlike many similar projects, he emphasizes it will continue, with or without the support. He says:

I'm going to continue doing what I'm doing, even if the government doesn't give me a penny. My train is on the track. The government can get on board if it wants to. If it doesn't the train is pulling out anyhow.

Mr. President, the February 17 edition of the U.S. News & World Report contains an interesting interview with Dr. Sullivan. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Feb. 17, 1969]

BLACK CAPITALISM AT WORK: WHAT'S HAPPENING IN PHILADELPHIA—AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

(NOTE.—President Nixon is pushing this idea for easing the nation's racial conflict: Give Negroes a bigger stake in America by promoting black ownership of business firms—with help from U.S. private enterprise. Does this approach offer real hope? What are the results in places where it is being tried? One man who has made a widely acclaimed success of "black capitalism" is the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan of Philadelphia. In this interview with staff members of "U.S. News & World Report," Dr. Sullivan describes what "black capitalism" really is—and how Negroes can work together to build a better future for themselves.)

Q. Dr. Sullivan, what is needed to solve America's racial conflict in the long run?

A. Many things are needed to bring that about. There must be full justice and opportunity for the Negro to show what he can do. He must be given the education he needs to compete in our complex society.

Ultimately, I think, the black man will require a fair share of ownership in the American economy. And that will come in large part through his own efforts. Thus he will gain self-respect through self-help.

A man is not free until he owns something and has self-pride. This is not to say that riots and disruption may not be productive of gains in their own peculiar way. Many of my people are locked up in the box of deep prejudice and segregation and ignorance, and they can't get out. The only way they can let you know they are there is just to pound on the box and even knock down the sides.

In the long run, however, the only way that the streets of America are going to be cooled is by people in those streets believing in the country—giving something to it in their work, and getting in subordination to what they give.

Q. Does that mean "black capitalism" is the answer?

A. You can't have "black capitalism" and white capitalism in an effective economy, any more than you can have a "black America" and "white America" in an effective society.

No, I see the African American becoming a part of American capitalism—in fact, joining the free-enterprise system worldwide.

For all the years that my brothers and sisters—and my poor ancestors—have been a part of America, we have been outside the door of free enterprise, outside the door of capitalism. What I want to see is my black brothers walking through the door of free enterprise, not as "black capitalists" but as black men who can join the whole free-enterprise system and share its benefits.

Separatism in any form offers no future. What a lot of people are talking about, really, when they talk about "black capitalism" is a separate economy, and that would be no different from the way things are in the Republic of South Africa. I see the future of black Americans being fulfilled when America is Americanized for all people.

PROVING NEGRO ABILITY

Q. In economic terms, how is that going to be accomplished?

A. I think in Philadelphia we're showing how it can be done. We're showing how black people, with very few resources except will and energy, can train themselves for jobs and pool their capital to create jobs for more people by going into business for themselves.

The ordinary Negro is proving that he can become a successful businessman, just as the white man or a person of any other race can become a good businessman. We have a job-training program that is being copied all over the country and even abroad. We have an investment program. We have business firms and industries making more jobs for more people—both black and white, I might add.

Q. How was this done?

A. Well, I am a minister, and everything I do flows from that fact. It sounds strange—how can a man be a minister and still get involved in business and job-training?

My church has 5,000 members, and the first thing I did was to create the "selective buying" movement in 1958, which some people called a boycott. We simply told merchants: "Either you employ people on the basis of their ability, not the color of their skin, or we will not buy from you."

With the support of 400 ministers in Philadelphia and a half million people, we opened thousands of jobs to black men and women, and the movement has been borrowed and improved upon in other cities.

Q. So your first step was to find job opportunities for Negroes in white-owned enterprises?

A. That is right. Now, when these opportunities opened up, I began to find it difficult to find black men and women to fill the jobs in business and industry. These jobs were a new world to us. Our world has been more of a "servicing" world that required little education and few skills.

So in 1964 I created the Opportunities Industrialization Center, with the help of many people—mostly ministers. OIC was the first massive program in manpower training to "reach the unreached" in this country. It was dedicated in an old jailhouse that I had secured from the city for \$1 a year in rent.

To get it started, I raised \$100,000 from the black community, an anonymous donor gave me \$50,000, and my church gave me a \$40,000 loan. I mortgaged my house to round out the rest of what was needed to get OIC started.

"HAND-UPS," NOT HANDOUTS

Q. Did the Federal Government offer any help?

A. I had no federal money because I always initiate a program without Government money. Once someone starts giving you

money and telling you how to do a job, you can never get it done the way you want. After it is working, the support will come. That's what happened with OIC. The Federal Government saw the value of the program within a year's time. The officials saw that we were dealing with poor people who, for the most part, had never finished high school, and many were on relief. Most had given up hope. These were people who, it was said, wanted only handouts. I felt that what they wanted, really, were "hand-ups." They wanted payrolls—not relief rolls.

When the training program caught on in Philadelphia, industry began to support me, too. I told the top men: "Put your machines where your mouth is. You say you want to employ black men. All right, supply the machines to train them with, and then give us the job opportunities."

They began to supply me with machines, and they helped develop curricula that would train people for jobs that exist right now—not the antiquated vocational training that has offered phony training for so many years.

The success was phenomenal. Our rate of "discontinuance" students—what some people call "dropouts"—is notably low, and many have come back to finish training. We have placed in jobs 90 per cent of those finishing our training course, and more than 80 per cent of the people who have taken these jobs have stayed on them for a year or more.

Q. Some critics say that most of the jobs these graduates fill are low-paying or menial jobs—

A. That is absolutely untrue. OIC has trained people for the most highly sophisticated jobs in industry, including electronics, chemical laboratories, machinist industries and so on. We train people to operate the lathe, the miller, the grinder. We are teaching Teletype operators in what we believe to be the first privately developed communications school in the black community—made possible through the assistance of the Western Union Company.

Some people also say we are "creaming"—training only those people who would get jobs anyway. Well, more than a third of our students are on relief, and many of them have mothers and grandparents on relief, too. Ninety-five per cent are in poverty categories, and even those who have been working usually get very meager wages.

Q. Do you pay them to learn, as some other programs do?

A. No. Our program is based purely on motivation. People come because they know it is their program, that they are going to get a job if they stay—because they know we train for jobs, not diplomas.

These people get jobs at night to go to OIC during the day, or work during the day and go to our classes at night. If they are jobless, they get by on relief checks or unemployment compensation. When they get stuck for money, we have a "brotherhood fund" that students put together to help each other—carfare and lunch money—just to keep hardships cases going until they finish the course.

Q. How do training costs per student compare with those of Government programs?

A. Our costs are \$1,000 per trainee—from the street to a job. That includes a total vocational and technical program based one half on attitudinal development, the other on development of actual skills. Government programs average out at \$3,600 for the kind of comprehensive package that we offer.

Q. Is OIC still getting support from the business community?

A. Absolutely—locally and nationally. In fact, several months ago I organized an OIC National Industrial Advisory Council, composed of 25 of the most influential business leaders in America, to help me with my OIC work. This council is presently headed by George Champion, chairman of the board of

the Chase Manhattan Bank. This council has been terrific in support of the things I am doing.

Q. How many cities is OIC working in now?

A. It has spread to 70 cities, and is getting Government support. So far, throughout the country, we have raised about 5 million dollars from the private sector. Local programs start with the local money and equipment and volunteer services.

Federal support comes to about 18 million dollars, and I think it should be four times that much. We have federal money in only 25 of our programs. If the Government had followed the recommendation of support levels made by Sargent Shriver a few years ago when he was running the "war on poverty," we could be training hundreds of thousands of people each year.

MORE THAN 20,000 PLACED IN JOBS

Q. How many have you actually trained?

A. In Philadelphia alone, we have put 7,000 people into jobs, earning more than 25 million dollars in new purchasing power for the Philadelphia economy and doing away with 4 million dollars in relief that these people would have cost the community otherwise.

Nationwide, more than 20,000 people have been placed in jobs in the last two years, with another 20,000 now in training. Everywhere we have thousands and thousands on the waiting list for OIC training. And we even have OIC programs developing in Puerto Rico, Kenya, Senegal and Nigeria.

Q. Why are those countries interested in this kind of program? They don't have many industries—

A. I think the idea of self-help is great motivation. Black men want to believe that they can do anything white men can do. OIC is something we do for ourselves—we initiate, we control, we administer and we help our people because we are our people.

Interestingly enough, in some communities here in the United States, the majority of trainees are not African Americans. In San Jose, Calif., 80 per cent of the trainees are Mexican Americans. In Roanoke, Va., 50 per cent are Appalachian whites. In Oklahoma City, many are Indians.

So OIC has really become an American program for the American people—initiated by a black man. Historically, it should be remembered, and I'm not going to let anyone forget it.

Q. Might OIC, in the long run, be training more whites than Negroes?

A. In the long run, that might just happen.

HOW THE PROGRAM BEGAN

Q. When did you tackle the problem of getting more black men into business for themselves?

A. While training people for white-owned businesses, I began to realize we could train people for businesses created by us.

When I was a boy, my grandmother used to tell me: "Leon, one day you're going to build houses for yourselves and you're going to build factories."

So I decided that the time had come not just to provide workers for others but to supply work for ourselves so the benefits of the free-enterprise system could flow back into the black community. It was time not just to get crumbs from the table but to make some of the bread.

Q. Where did you plan on getting your capital for starting up business enterprises?

A. First of all, from my own people. I was inspired to do that out of the Bible. One Saturday night when I was thinking about this whole problem, I read about Jesus feeding 5,000 people with bread and fishes a little boy had given Him. The miracle, you see, was in the sharing rather than in the little boy's giving. So I decided that in my congregation we could share our resources and create a financial base on which to build housing and, ultimately, business enterprises.

That Sunday morning I preached about gathering up the fragments and asked 50

members of my church to contribute \$10 a month for 36 months in an investment pool that I call "The 10-36 Plan." That same morning, 200 members responded, and within a year's time we had significant capital accumulating in banks all over the city.

Even before the 36 months was up, I had enough money to initiate the building of a million-dollar apartment complex, using conventional financing and Government programs that had been used by white people—but not by blacks—all these years.

During that period, too, a couple in my church tried to rent an apartment in an all-white building. They were refused. They told us, and the next week we bought the apartment house.

Q. Did you evict the white tenants?

A. No, but we put a whole lot more colored folks in there.

Money was still continuing to come in, and it was then I decided that we would really go into business. I went to my church and asked more members to join the plan, and 450 did. So I had 650 people in the plan. They continued to put \$10 bills together in this 10-36 Plan until I had raised a quarter of a million dollars.

Why did they respond?

First, they saw returns in the future, because we established a trust fund so that profits from what we did would provide scholarships and educational benefits for our children and our children's children, and health benefits for ourselves when we grew older.

I also structured into this plan a profit motive. Forty per cent of the profits comes back as dividends to the investors; 40 per cent goes to the workers, and 20 per cent to the investment trust.

Within the framework I began to initiate several enterprises. A main one was Progress Plaza, a shopping center. It is perhaps the first—and the largest—shopping center owned by blacks in the world.

Q. What does it consist of?

A. It is on 4½ acres of ground. We have 16 stores. Ten are black-owned and operated. The other six are high-rated firms we needed to anchor a conventional mortgage. The bankers weren't going to provide me with a million dollars' worth of mortgage money just on untied businesses, no matter how wonderful they thought our plans were. It had to be a dollar for a dollar's value, so I brought in established firms—but stipulated that they had to have black managers, the majority of the workers had to be black, and we had to get a portion of the profits over a certain gross amount.

That is how the center got big firms to put in a supermarket, two banks, a shoe store, a telephone-company office and a restaurant. The supermarket alone pays us \$50,000 a year rent. And isn't that something—white folks paying \$50,000 in rent money to black folks like that?

This meant I could give my black entrepreneurs some breaks in leasing arrangements. For the first five years, I'm taking nothing out of gross profits over a certain amount. After five years, they've got to come across like everybody else—on their own. The only think I'm doing is helping a man stand on his feet. I don't believe in carrying anybody who can walk.

Q. What are your other projects?

A. Well, we've built an entrepreneur-training school with a grant I got from the Ford Foundation. This trains blacks to run businesses. Starting in early 1969, we will be training 200 entrepreneurs a year for Philadelphia alone—training people to become owners of their own businesses, managers of businesses, and owners of franchises. I'm calling it the Economic Development Training School, and every shop in Progress Plaza will become a training ground for its students.

Then I wanted to create something sophisticated. I didn't want people saying about our

projects, "Oh, well, anybody can do that." Therefore, I decided to set up an aerospace factory to produce items for the moon shots. I said if white folks could go to the moon, black folks could too—and integrate heaven, maybe. When the first landing on the moon came, I wanted something there that a black man had made. So, using my same capital, we launched Progress Aerospace Enterprises, which now employs 120 people and will be employing 160.

Now, you can't just go and set up an aerospace factory without able people and markets. I went to General Electric and asked them to help train our black management. I wanted to be sure the plant would succeed, because I can't afford a failure. I also got my top manager from General Electric itself—he was one of the top blacks they had. We got others from General Electric, but behind every one of my men, I put in management support borrowed from General Electric for the first few weeks. General Electric also supplied me with a contract for 2.5 million dollars to produce components for the space shots.

Out of this venture we also got a manpower-training contract from the National Alliance of Businessmen. Usually such contracts are for white folks to train black people, but we got one of the largest NAB contracts in the city—for training 100 "hard core" persons to be electronics assemblers, technicians and workers. Most of these workers came out of OIC training school, so it all tied in together.

There you see how my line has developed. I was able to open industry to employ black people. I was able to train men to go into industry. Then I was able to develop industry to take advantage of the skills being developed in our own training centers. It was money spinning round and round.

Q. Are you involved in any other projects right now?

A. Oh, yes. After Progress Aerospace got started, I decided people might be thinking we were shooting too high and saying: "Come down to the ground, brother." So next we began the Progress Garment Manufacturing Company. We got a contract from one of the largest makers of women's clothes in the country to take our output. Their management took our black management into their shops to learn the whole garment-manufacturing process.

In the coming year we expect to produce about a quarter of a million garments. We have 75 employees and we're shooting for 100. At Progress Aerospace, where we have 120 workers, we are aiming for 160 in the next four or five months.

GROWTH: 16 TIMES OUTLAY

Q. What has all this cost in terms of investment capital from the black community here?

A. From 650 people, it has amounted to about a quarter of a million dollars—with which we have acquired about 4 million dollars' worth of properties.

Q. How are your investors organized?

A. All belong to the Zion Investment Corporation.

Q. Are all of them church members?

A. That was true until several weeks ago. Recently we concluded that the entire community should participate in what we are doing, so these 650 people are keeping exclusively for themselves only an apartment house. This remains in the trust for the benefit of our children. The rest of it—the shopping center and our factories—we opened up to the community. In three weeks, we had 3,500 people owning shares and 2,000 more on the waiting list.

Q. Could the programs you have been describing be developed in other cities?

A. It's a program any city could carry out in the free-enterprise tradition of America.

Q. Do Negroes make good businessmen?

A. They can be as good as anyone else. I think more and more of them will become successful businessmen as training schools for young entrepreneurs—such as the one we operate in Philadelphia—turn out hundreds of young black men and women into the world of business ownership and management.

Now, I am not holding out the idea that every one of them can become a good businessman, any more than every white man can become a good businessman. But many whites succeed, and many blacks are going to succeed.

BILLIONS IN FUTURE WEALTH

Q. How long do you think it will be before the Negro acquires his full share of ownership in the American economy?

A. It is my hope that by the year 2000 at least 100,000 new businesses will have been created by blacks—selling or making things for the total American community. By that time, I hope, these establishments will be employing 5 million people and generating 50 billion dollars in new wealth.

Q. Will the range of black-owned companies widen?

A. I should hope so. Actually, what I am doing is something like the first flight of the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk. They tied their craft together with a lot of strings and wires and flew a little bit. I hope this little thing I've created will develop into a superliner—even in my own time—where I'll have all the marketing and other technical expertise that goes to make up a broad entrepreneurial front. And this will create tens of thousands of jobs for young blacks coming out of colleges and high schools to compete with white Americans.

Q. Do you expect the role of Government to grow in helping Negroes create and expand their own businesses?

A. Well, the wealth of America isn't in the Government: The wealth is still in the private sector. America still belongs to the people. The Government can support what we do—but we, the people, must create it, we must run it, we must put into it our resources as businessmen, as citizens.

I'm going to continue doing what I'm doing, even if the Government doesn't give me a penny. My train is on the track. The Government can get on board if it wants to. If it doesn't, the train is pulling out anyhow.

You see, I just can't wait on Government to do it. Every day more colored children are born in poverty. Every day more colored men and women live longer because of medical advances. So I can't wait for all these studies and commissions. And when I say "I," I mean my people who are working with me.

Of course, the Government can and should give significant help in providing credit and other financial support for black-initiated and black-run enterprises of any size. Perhaps there will be large banks supported by federal funds to help things along. But I believe that such help is our minor resource, and that the major factor must be the involvement of private enterprise.

Q. President Nixon said a great deal in his campaign about the necessity of developing "black capitalism" with the help of the private economy. Do you think he may find the answer to this problem?

A. I don't know if he can move things in that direction, but I'm hopeful that he will. I believe he is sincere about his desire to do something in this area of black entrepreneurship.

But he is going to need a lot of help, not only within the Government but within the black community itself. I mean that we must develop a new kind of self-dependent stance among blacks—generate the confidence of local banking institutions in our efforts.

Q. What do you see your programs as accomplishing, primarily?

A. I think they are helping black people

gain a decent posture in the American society. They are helping black men realize that they can do anything white men can do and acquire anything that white men can acquire.

But I don't like the term "black capitalism" when it is used to describe this. I believe in the desegregation of everything I do. My shopping center sells to a total American community, and there are whites working in black-owned shops in Progress Plaza. Our enterprises are not all-black, because I do not believe in all-black, all-white anything.

Q. Has the lack of black entrepreneurs been a serious handicap for Negroes in the past?

A. Absolutely. When the African American was freed from slavery a century ago, he was freed with literally nothing. Many were even freed without a name, most were freed without money, and nearly all were freed without property. Capitalization—owning a business or creating a factory—was a foreign world to the freed slave. He had no resources.

Look at business enterprises—or the medium-sized and large ones—and you will find, for the most part, that the people who own them or are presidents and chairmen of the board didn't create all that wealth themselves. These enterprises represent an accumulation of wealth over the years. Until the black man could get something to build on, he had to enter a service kind of occupational world, amounting almost to subservience.

Now, for the first time, we are getting to the place where we have something to build on—a monetary and property resource that brings us into the takeoff stage.

Q. Are there Negroes who oppose your programs?

A. I've met some opposition from blacks who do not believe that I have actually raised this money from black people. All of us have so long seen instances of "black ownership" or "black management" that were phony—that had whites in the background really running things—that many blacks distrust claims of black achievement. For example, many said my shopping center was owned by whites, that I was fronting for someone.

In other words, I'm having to get my people to realize their true capabilities. One reason some people might call me egotistic is because I say, "Look what I have done." Frankly, every time I say "I," I feel terrible, because I must ask myself: "What am I doing?" But I have to do it that way so my community can know that because I say, "I did it," it is a black man who did it—and they can, too.

"NO TIME FOR ARGUMENTS"

Q. What about "black power" militants who see disruption and violence as the answer to the U.S. racial problem? How do they feel about your work?

A. I'm a black man and proud of it. I think of myself and what I'm doing as "black power" itself—it is black, it is capitalism, it is American.

I will never be satisfied until every black adult in America owns a piece of this country individually or mutually, even if it is no more than two square feet of earth or a share of stock.

But I don't have time to get into arguments. I've got 5,000 more days to work, and those days have to be used as God, I think, wants me to use them—in building self-respect and self-dependence among my people so we can make America work for us as it works for any other American.

NEEDS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, the National Advisory Committee on Mexican-American Education recently issued a

report entitled "The Mexican American: Quest for Equality."

The report focuses on the educational needs of the Mexican-American community and makes various recommendations. I am particularly pleased that the Committee has strongly endorsed both the bilingual education program, which I coauthored, and the dropout prevention program, which I authored.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report and a letter which I sent to President Nixon urging full funding of the bilingual education program, be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE MEXICAN AMERICAN: QUEST FOR EQUALITY
(A report by the National Advisory Committee on Mexican American Education, 1968)

(NOTE.—The National Advisory Committee on Mexican American Education was created to advise the Commissioner of Education on the education of Mexican Americans. The opinions expressed in this, the Committee's first report, are those of the Committee and do not necessarily reflect the official view of the U.S. Office of Education.)

A WASTE OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Failure to provide education to hundreds of thousands of people whose cultural heritage is "different" has resulted in a shameful waste of human resources. The melting pot ideology that we speak of so proudly has not produced a moral climate in which all citizens are accepted on the basis of individual worth.

Educators, especially, must search their consciences for an answer to the question: Is only a monolingual, monocultural society acceptable in America?

Never before has the need for equal opportunity for all Americans been so sharply put into focus. And no group is in greater need of equal educational opportunity than the Mexican American.

THE MEXICAN AMERICAN: HOW HAVE WE FAILED HIM?

There are more than five million Mexican Americans in the United States, 80 per cent of whom live in California and Texas. Most of the others are found in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Illinois, and Ohio. In excess of four million of these people live in urban areas.

The Mexican American is the second largest minority group in the United States and by far the largest group of Spanish-speaking Americans. The fact that most of them have learned Spanish as their first language and that millions are not fluent in English makes them no less Americans. Their interests, attitudes, and aspirations differ little from those of other Americans.

Yet they have been denied the opportunities that most other Americans take for granted. Suffering the same problems of poverty and discrimination of other minority groups, the Mexican American is additionally handicapped by the language barrier. The typical Mexican American child is born of parents who speak little or no English, and thus Spanish becomes his only language. When he reaches school age, he is enrolled in a public school where only English is accepted. Bewildered and ashamed of his "backwardness," the Mexican American child is quickly discouraged and drops out within a few years, enlarging the ranks of the uneducated, unskilled, and unwanted.

Let's look at some shocking statistics.

The average Mexican American child in the Southwest drops out of school by the seventh year. In Texas, 89 per cent of the children with Spanish surnames drop out before completing high school!

Along the Texas-Mexico border, four out

of five Mexican American children fall two grades behind their Anglo classmates by the time they reach the fifth grade.

A recent study in California showed that in some schools more than 50 per cent of Mexican American high school students drop out between grades 10 and 11; one Texas school reported a 40 per cent dropout rate for the same grades.

Mexican Americans account for more than 40 per cent of the so-called "mentally handicapped" in California.

Although Spanish surnamed students make up more than 14 per cent of the public school population of California, less than 1/2 of one per cent of the college students enrolled in the seven campuses of the University of California are of this group.

These facts give tragic evidence of our failure to provide genuine educational opportunity to Mexican American youth; and today there are nearly two million of these children between the ages of 3 and 18.

It can't be said that nothing has been done for these youngsters. The Federal Government, through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), has given a good deal of financial aid to schools for the purpose of improving the education of Mexican Americans. Although a few millions of dollars have been spent, hundreds of millions still need to be spent—and for hundreds of thousands of Americans it is even now too late. State and local agencies have spent respectable sums of money—and even more energy—in behalf of the Mexican American but none has given the problem the really massive thrust it deserves.

Money is only one problem. Perhaps an even more serious one is the problem of involuntary discrimination—that is, our insistence on fitting the Mexican American student into the monolingual, monocultural mold of the Anglo American. This discrimination, plus the grim fact that millions of Mexican Americans suffer from poverty, cultural isolation, and language rejection, has virtually destroyed them as contributing members of society.

Another problem is that we have not developed suitable instruments for accurately measuring the intelligence and learning potential of the Mexican American child. Because there is little communication between educators and these non-English speaking youngsters, the pupils are likely to be dismissed as "mentally retarded." Common sense tells us that this is simply not so. The chasm that exists between the teacher and the student in the classroom is even wider between the school and the home, where there is virtually no communication. Such lack of understanding soon destroys any educational aspiration the pupil might have or that his parents might have for him.

SIX CRITICAL ISSUES

The Committee believes there are six critical issues in the improvement of Mexican American education:

Issue No. 1: The existing educational programs for the Mexican American have been woefully inadequate and demand serious evaluation.

Issue No. 2: Instruments are lacking for measuring intelligence and achievement potential of Mexican Americans.

Issue No. 3: A very small percentage of Mexican American students who could qualify for college actually enroll.

Issue No. 4: Legal restrictions in various states discourage instructions in languages other than English.

Issue No. 5: There is an exceedingly high dropout rate of Mexican Americans in public schools.

Issue No. 6: Society has not recognized, or at least accepted, the need for a multilingual, multicultural school environment.

HOW CAN WE ATTACK THE PROBLEM?

The Mexican American Affairs Unit of the U.S. Office of Education has identified four

imperatives for educational success of the Mexican American:

1. Preparation of teachers with the skills necessary to instruct Mexican American pupils in such a manner as to insure success. This includes bilingual capability.

2. Instruction in both English and Spanish so that the mother tongue is strengthened concurrent with the pupil learning a second language, and then using both languages. This bilingual instruction must occur in all curriculums, and at all grade levels until the student is thoroughly at home with his second language.

3. Instruction to preschool Mexican American pupils so that they are more nearly ready to take their place with others by the time they enter school.

4. Complete programs for adults in both basic education and vocational education.

The vehicles for achieving the foregoing imperatives already exist:

1. Teacher preparation: Educational Personnel Development Act, Bilingual Education Act, Title I, ESEA

2. Bilingual education: Title VII, ESEA, Bilingual Education Act

3. Early childhood education: Headstart and Followthrough, Title I, ESEA

4. Adult basic and vocational education: Amendments to the 1963 Vocational Education Act

BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION

Once we have faced up to the critical issues and recognized the imperatives, the Committee recommends specific action on several fronts.

General

1. We must immediately begin to train at least 100,000 bilingual-bicultural teachers and educational administrators.

2. We must make use of current knowledge and encourage further research to assist in creating educational programs that promise learning success for the Mexican American.

3. We must agitate for priority funding by the U.S. Office of Education to develop educational programs immediately.

4. We must see that testing instruments are developed that will accurately measure the intelligence and achievement potential of the Mexican American child.

5. We must promote programs to assist state legislatures in taking the necessary action to permit instruction in languages other than English.

6. We must help the various states to recognize the need for statewide programs in bilingual education.

7. We must provide assistance, through Federal funds, to Mexican American students in pursuit of a college education.

8. With the leadership of the Federal Government, we must increase the adult basic education and vocational programs, to equip the Mexican American adult with skills and knowledge necessary to become a partner in our economic society.

9. We must encourage parental involvement programs at the state and local levels.

10. We must encourage state and local education agencies to use more effectively the Mexican American personnel on their staffs.

11. We must foster a joint effort of the Federal Government and private enterprise to produce instructional materials that are designed expressly for Mexican American students.

Federal legislation

1. Increase the funding of Title VII, ESEA, to \$150,000,000 for the year 1970, to provide a minimum of \$100 per child for relevant educational services for the Mexican American.

2. Increase the funding of Headstart and Followthrough by 10 per cent, to provide a sufficient financial base to meet the needs of many Mexican Americans not presently served by these programs.

3. Continue the present funding level of

the Migrant Education provision of Title I, ESEA.

4. Continue Title VII, ESEA, as a discretionary program administered by the U.S. Office of Education.

5. Continue Title VIII, ESEA, Dropout Prevention Act, as a discretionary program administered by the U.S. Office of Education, and increase its funding for 1970 to \$50,000,000.

6. Increase the funding support of Title IV-A of the Higher Education Act, Educational Opportunity Grants, by 15 per cent, to be directed toward college enrollment of Mexican Americans.

7. Establish a Land Grant College, with specific responsibility for programs and research related to the bilingual-bicultural student.

8. Amend Title I, ESEA, to permit the use of funds for the education of Mexican Americans whose income may not qualify him, or as more often is the case, whose children may not qualify because of cultural attitudes toward depending on public welfare support.

State legislation

1. Remove legal barriers to instruction in the public schools in languages other than English.

2. Appropriate and identify supplementary funds for support of specialized programs for the Mexican American.

Administration—U.S. Office of Education

1. Expand the responsibility of the Mexican American Affairs Unit of the Office of Education to include all Spanish-speaking programs.

2. Continue to press for employment of Mexican American professionals and supporting personnel in all units of the U.S. Office of Education.

3. Allocate specific funds for determining the most effective direction in research for the Mexican American.

4. Develop an intensive program of information on the educational needs of the Mexican American.

Administration—Chief State school officers

1. Seek out and employ Mexican Americans in policy and administrative positions in state departments of education, and encourage similar programs in local education agencies.

2. Set up a unit for coordinating and encouraging the development and operation of programs for the Mexican American.

3. Develop a statewide program for bilingual education.

4. Promote the redirection of priorities in the use of Title I, ESEA, funds, to focus on bilingual-bicultural programs.

5. Promote the increased involvement of the Mexican American in advisory committees in local educational programs.

(The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U.S. Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the USOE should be inferred.)

(The Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory of Albuquerque, deeply concerned with and dedicated to improving the educational opportunities of the Mexican American, as well as other Southwestern culturally divergent groups, is pleased to have published this report.)

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON MEXICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

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Edward E. Booher, President McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, New York.

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Nick Garza, Principal, Sidney Lanier High School, San Antonio, Texas.

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Maria Urquides, Dean of Girls, Pueblo High School, Tucson, Arizona.

Administrative director

Armando Rodriguez, Chief, Mexican American Affairs Unit, U.S. Office of Education.

JANUARY 27, 1969.

The President,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I want to call your attention to and urge your support for full funding of the Bilingual Education Act.

The critical need for this program is evident by the following appalling statistics: (1) Of the 1.6 million Mexican-American children entering the first grade in the five southwestern states, one million will drop out before they reach the eighth grade. (2) Mexican-Americans in the United States has an average grade level of 7.1 compared to a grade level of 9.0 for Negroes and 12.1 for Anglo-Americans.

In my own state of California, I understand that fifty percent of the Mexican-American children drop out by the eighth grade. Yet, evidence and experience suggest that this need not be. Many countries of the world have successfully solved the problem by instructing first in the youngster's mother tongue and as soon as possible instructing the youngster in the national tongue.

California is moving to attack this serious problem and to reverse the above appalling statistics. In 1967, Governor Reagan signed into law needed and enlightened legislation that permits instruction in Spanish in California's public schools.

Since the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act in 1967, which incidentally was conceived and initiated by the Congress over the opposition of the former Administration, there has been the greatest of interest in California in the promise and potential of the program. Last year, the Johnson Administration gave token endorsement to the program requesting only ten million dollars of the thirty million authorized. The House of Representatives failed to appropriate a single cent. Thereafter, I personally pleaded with the Senate Appropriations Committee to reverse the shortsighted action of the House and to fund the program. As a result, the Senate Appropriations Committee provided ten million dollars and we were able to hold 7.5 million dollars in conference.

Because of the critical nature of the problem, I urge your Administration to enthusiastically get behind the Bilingual Education Program and support its full funding. As a co-author of the Bilingual Education Act, I am confident that such an investment and such an endorsement by the Administration will be wise for the nation and will make a significant difference in the lives of many children.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MURPHY.

REPORT OF NATIONAL STUDENT SYMPOSIUM ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, reportedly, some students' actions these

days are speaking so loudly that we cannot hear what they are saying. Therefore, I am pleased to find again and again that many students are saying things which we can hear—and should hear—if only we will listen. A recent instance is the report entitled "Students Speak Out on International Issues," made by the National Student Symposium on U.S. Foreign Policy.

The National Student Symposium was sponsored by the Council on International Relations and United Nations Affairs—CIRUNA—and held December 19 to 22, 1968, at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., with 200 college and university students participating. Their purpose was to discuss and make recommendations for the conduct and direction of U.S. foreign policy for presentation to the policymakers of the new administration and Congress.

This student view of our foreign policy is so well considered, comprehensive, and imbued with practical high intentions that I wish to make it readily available to Senators.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed as follows:

STUDENTS SPEAK OUT ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

(Report of the National Student Symposium on U.S. Foreign Policy, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., December 19–22, 1968)

PREFACE

College students in the United States, aware of the influence and impact of their nation's foreign policy upon all nations, peoples, and their own lives, are concerned about the future direction of United States foreign policy. Students realize that at this particular time, past commitments and future options are being examined; rather than remain silent during this time of re-evaluation, they desire to make their views and opinions known.

The Symposium planners endeavored to bring together students from a great variety of backgrounds, from all sections of the nation, and from many student organizations to get a broadly representative cross-section of concerned student opinion on foreign policy. In this they were successful as the participants at the Symposium constituted a diverse spectrum of political viewpoints and perspectives. The final Report of the Symposium was the product of much discussion, argument, conflict among antithetical positions, and the introduction of unconventional and creative proposals.

Students are capable and willing to do more than react negatively to a policy with which they do not agree. By making concrete and constructive suggestions for U.S. foreign policy now, while a new policy is in the making, the students at the Symposium demonstrated their commitment and deep concern. The students met in fourteen discussion groups which dealt with specific problem areas of U.S. foreign policy. The conclusions of each group were discussed, at times amended or replaced by a Minority Report, and democratically adopted by the Symposium participants as a whole in plenary meeting. The resulting recommendations offer specific suggestions as well as general guidelines. We urge careful reading and consideration of the recommendations in this Report.

The Symposium participants approached their work with a sense of their limitations. They realized they did not have all the information available to our policy makers. In trying to formulate policy recommendations, they developed an increased awareness of the complexities of policy making.

The Symposium was wholly conceived, planned and executed by students and student leaders, and did not result from the initiative of any institution—it was a response to a need. The Council on International Relations and United Nations Affairs was the primary sponsor of the National Student Symposium on United States Foreign Policy; other major student organizations served as cooperating organizations. CIRUNA, the collegiate affiliate of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, is a non-partisan, educational student organization devoted to the creation of knowledgeable and informed opinion on issues of international concern. The recommendations in this report are those of the Symposium and its participants, and the positions expressed do not constitute nor necessarily reflect the positions of CIRUNA or of the cooperating organizations. A listing of the cooperating student organizations is in the Appendices. Much credit for the success and quality of the Symposium belongs to the host, the International Relations Club of Georgetown University, which provided staff and the University facilities.

The section of the Report that focuses on the Role of Students in World Affairs and United States Foreign Policy stresses student frustration: students in the United States, for the most part unable to vote, feel distinctly limited in their role and influence. But student concern and involvement in the international issues facing this nation is intense; students are speaking out and should be heard. In this spirit, the Report of the National Student Symposium on United States Foreign Policy is presented for consideration.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE, AID, AND DEVELOPMENT

The Symposium strongly urges a shifting of United States foreign policy from its present emphasis on unilateral aid and trade arrangements to a policy of multilateral and international agreements. United States policy toward the developing countries is a manifestation of a set of national priorities which we regard as subject to review. It is obvious that hopes expressed in such bodies as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have not been realized. In our considerations, therefore, we attempted to discover the ramifications of national v.s. international priorities, dealing with the many facets of development policy, trade relationships, and aid priorities. The following is a synthesis of the recommendations formulated.

First priority for development

No nation should have to import food to the detriment of its trade and development potential. The people of a developing nation must be fed primarily by their own national production where feasible, thereby freeing capital for use in import of capital goods, equipment, and basic nation-building materials, and providing for the re-allocation of human resources to other sectors of the economy.

We recommend that the U.S. place high priority on development of highly productive agricultural technology in the developing nations, with particular attention paid to the training of indigenous personnel. (Caution must be advised here to avoid the destruction of cultural values and religious views in the developing nations for the sake of a "western view of progress".)

Trade with the developing nations

Trade must be increased with the developing nations, as their already minimal share in the world volume of trade is diminishing sharply.

We recommend that the U.S. strongly encourage businessmen to cooperate in development efforts within developing countries, especially in the building of processing plants and other light industries related to

those developing nations' primary products. To accomplish this, we suggest a systematic program of government subsidies to businesses which invest in developing countries.

We recommend that the U.S. encourage private business to take cognizance of resolutions passed by the United Nations and supported by the U.S. on the subjects of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Namibia—particularly the prohibition against commercial agreements with South Africa (e.g. airlines), and against the provision of nuclear reactors to South Africa, as well as against certain commercial dealings with the illegal Rhodesian regime.

Further, we strongly urge that businessmen be encouraged to divert a certain proportion of their profits toward the development of the host country, e.g. in disease control and the establishment of technical training centers.

Tied aid

A major proportion of aid to developing countries is returned to the U.S. in the form of payment for U.S. goods and services in accordance with the policy of "tying aid."

We recommend that this anomalous policy be dropped and that developing nations be allowed to choose how they will utilize incoming aid. U.S. products will most likely continue to be preferred—however, it must be the choice of the developing country, rather than a determination by U.S. foreign policy.

We recommend that the U.S. give loans and grants for development on other than a short-term basis, since development plans, by nature, are not short-term. These grants must not be subject to the vagaries of annual fiscal decisions by Congress.

Basic to this recommendation is the assumption that the recipient country have a cogent long-term development plan, as is the prerequisite of the World Bank's loan policy.

Another critical drain on capital resources of a developing country is the high rate of interest on debt repayment. We urge that interest rates on loans be substantially reduced in the immediate future.

Further, we urge that outstanding debts which are presently strangling development plans in some developing countries be cancelled.

Trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

In view of present trading realities we recommend that the U.S. expand its trade relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in non-strategic goods.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

In line with the recent meeting of UNCTAD in New Delhi, we recommend the following shifts in U.S. priorities:

That certain commodities from developing countries be given preferential treatment—if necessary, over those same products or their substitutes from developed countries;

That tariff and quota systems be substantially revised in order that markets for developing countries' products be expanded; and

We strongly urge that the U.S. fully cooperate in future commodity agreements, that is, sugar, cocoa, rubber, and continue cooperating with the existing international coffee agreement.

International merchant fleet

Present shipping and insurance rates being prohibitive, it is mandatory to promote a low-cost transport of products from developing countries to other developing countries. The U.S. should contribute to construction and maintenance of new low-cost merchant vessels, with international crews, to be run at low-cost. The U.S. should encourage a feasibility study of this by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Cooperation with other international agencies and multi-lateral arrangements

We generally recommend that the U.S. put much greater emphasis on assisting the work of agencies involved in the development effort.

In the field of population control we urge: Greater support for the food programs of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Freedom from Hunger Campaign of the United Nations. Increased technical assistance to birth control programs such as those of the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the World Health Organization.

In both of the above, we urge, where possible, operational merger of the U.S. programs with internationally-administered programs, and cooperation with other nations' projects.

In relation to the International Development Association (IDA): Funds for the IDA have been severely curtailed to the point of nonoperation. "Soft loans" are essential to the continuity of the development process. We strongly urge that the U.S. do its utmost to reactivate the IDA. We further urge that the U.S. give financial support to the recent instituted Capital Development Fund, which was enthusiastically endorsed at the recent UNCTAD session.

A competitive contract system should be instituted in both unilateral and multilateral development projects to ensure the most efficient utilization of domestic resources within the developing countries.

Establishment of an International Revenue Service: In order to meet the goals of the Development Decade in a systematic fashion, we recommend that the institution of an international tax of one percent on gross national products of the developed nations be explored by the U.S. This tax would be imposed and collected by an international body for use in development projects administered by the UN Development Program. We further recommend that while this is under study, the U.S. review its commitment to the first Development Decade, and greatly improve its contribution to the second Development Decade—to the target level of 1% of G.N.P.

Military aid

The Symposium is strongly opposed to unilateral military assistance where development-oriented assistance would prove more beneficial to the recipient country. Such military aid frequently tends to strengthen the very forces which are detrimental to socio-economic development, i.e. those interests which would have the status quo remain intact.

The Symposium felt that the anti-communist impetus for this aid is a result of a fear syndrome which is obsolete.

Hence, we strongly urge that priority be given to shifting military assistance funds (such as for arms, missiles, and some personnel) to use in agricultural, industrial, and social development.

Education

With the development of agriculture and basic industries, improved education is a necessary base for development.

Vital scholarship and exchange programs have been cut, or may be cut in the near future. The potential damage of this near-sighted action is enormous. We strongly urge that such programs and financial aid to students—especially those from developing countries—be reinstated immediately and expanded.

We also recommend that the Teacher Corps concept be expanded to include the waiver of repayment of academic loans (NDEA-type) for teaching service in a developing country for a pre-determined amount of time. (The loan could be waived at a rate of 20% per year of service.) Institutions should be encouraged to make arrangements for granting credit toward an

advanced degree for satisfactory international teaching service of two or more years.

International monetary policy

The Symposium urges the strongest support of the U.S. in the full implementation of the plan for Special Drawing Rights drawn up at the recent International Monetary Fund Conference in Rio de Janeiro. We also strongly urge U.S. support for the logical extension of this plan to the creation of a true international bank with power to create international monetary reserves, i.e. "Paper Gold."

Conclusion

The Symposium would emphasize its concern for a stringent review of present economic policy and priorities in regard to: unilateral trade arrangements, the preponderance of military aid over development aid, and the lack of evidence or real commitment in past U.S. policy for development. We recommend a major shift of policy on the part of the U.S. to the use of multi-lateral, international aid programs.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

It is obvious from even the most cursory study of Africa that the present political units were often formed as devices of convenience by their colonial rulers. As a result, many African states have faced considerable difficulties in at least one of two ways: The state is not a viable economic unit; it has little potential for development of either a sound internal or external market. The state has a large number of tribal groups who are not culturally compatible. The tensions created by demands for tribal sovereignty of the central government can seriously, perhaps permanently, impair the development of the country.

The natural reaction to this situation would be to advocate endorsement of all sincere efforts to realign the ruling units of Africa. This Symposium considers this an inappropriate response for two reasons: Backing for such movements for realignment as a matter of general principle would greatly undermine such stability as now exists. It is not, in general, proper for the U.S. to intervene in such a vital domestic affair of Africa. Moreover, it would generate an unacceptable amount of resentment among the African nations.

In light of these two countervailing sets of conclusions, we suggest the following:

1. The United States should continue to give support and aid to the present African states in the manner suggested in this report.

2. When clear conflicts arise, the United States should maintain as a general rule a strict policy of political neutrality. However, it should carefully reassess merits of the positions involved and should therefore remain much more receptive to the merits of a downfall of a central government.

3. In a few disputes in which fighting erupts, the revolutionary forces may manage to make the affair highly politicized. In those cases, e.g. the Algerian revolution, the traditional response of strict neutrality is unsatisfactory. To maintain a valid stance of neutrality under International Law, a nation must forego certain options which are often the most humane and realistic.

Therefore, this Symposium recommends that the United States work more closely with the United Nations to establish acceptable new standards of behavior in these instances.

Economic development

1. In view of the wasteful duplication which has been witnessed in Africa in terms of the same industries being developed in neighboring nations; and, in terms of duplicate investments on the part of Western powers, this Symposium recommends: That the United States encourages economic development among African nations, and participates in cooperative investment procedures with the other Western nations.

2. In the past, when large corporations set up industries within developing nations, there was a tendency to adopt a "neo-colonial" attitude. It is recommended that: Large corporations should work with local authorities in developing stock-sharing plans with the result being a greater investment on the part of the local people. The United States government and American industrial and entrepreneurial concerns should invest capital in locally owned industries which develop the available natural resources.

3. It was felt by the Symposium that the greatest emphasis in the area of economics should be on the development of human resources. More money must be geared towards education and training. In conjunction with this, the U.S. should re-evaluate the criteria for compensation for this educational aid.

Furthermore, greater effort must be made to keep this training and education within the country itself, rather than bringing students to other more developed nations.

South Africa

The Symposium was in strong agreement on the subject of a complete and unconditional economic boycott of South Africa, active discouragement of private loans and investments by American businessmen and bankers, abolition of the sugar quota, an arms embargo, and closure of our missile and space tracking stations.

This action should be taken on the basis that South Africa is, at present, illegally occupying Namibia.

It is also recommended that the U.S. should work for the application of multilateral sanctions against South Africa through the UN.

Rhodesia

The policy recommended by the Symposium on the subject of Rhodesia is as follows:

1. The U.S. should support the United Kingdom in the dispute.

2. The U.S. should support the economic sanctions, in conjunction with the United Kingdom and the United Nations, in order to put an end to the Smith regime; the ultimate goal being self-determination with equal rights for all.

3. The U.S. should not become directly involved.

Portuguese territories

The United States should suggest and recommend that the new Portuguese regime in Lisbon enforce the Constitution of Portugal, especially those sections dealing with voting rights and social opportunity, upon all of its citizens—especially those in Angola, Mozambique, and other parts of Portuguese Africa.

If necessary, the United States should use its influence through the United Nations to insure that the inhabitants of these territories in Africa, controlled by Portugal, are guaranteed their basic human rights.

Concluding statement on the role of the United States in Africa

1. On political issues, the U.S. should not be a determining power. Rather, she should assume the role of a benevolent agency toward the developing nations.

2. The U.S. should avoid and abandon the concept that we are in competition with the U.S.S.R. or the People's Republic of China in Africa; and

3. The U.S. should abandon the concept that we have the traditional prerogatives of a "great power".

U.S. POLICY TOWARD LATIN AMERICA

We commend and approve the stated goals of United States foreign policy toward our American neighbors. No one can seriously dispute the fact that economic and cultural development, security, freedom, education, and social justice are vitally needed in Latin America today. To the extent that American foreign policy facilitates the achievement of these aims in the hemisphere it should be continued. But all too often our policies are

inadequate to promote their stated goals, and, lamentably, they sometimes actively impede their achievement. Because we believe that the contradictions inherent in our policies can no longer be tolerated in these times of crisis, we recommend that the following measures be implemented:

1. The United States should, as a matter of policy, recognize any government which achieves control of the administrative machinery in a country and becomes the symbol of authority in that nation. Diplomatic communications can be extremely useful in working out mutual disagreements and in warding off disaster. Because of American refusal to recognize the Castro regime, the United States is hampered in its efforts to resolve urgent matters with the government of Cuba (for example, the hijacking of American planes).

2. Treaties should be as simple as possible, direct, relevant and confined to specific issues. They should respect Latin American independence and should be beneficial to Latin American States. Treaties should generally not be of perpetual duration; we specifically recommend negotiating duration. We further recommend negotiating a new treaty for a trans-isthmian canal. The agreement should include control by the nation through whose territory it will run, with reservation of the right of passage for all states.

3. The United States should encourage, by its example, respect for international law and international organizations such as the Organization for American States. Canada should be invited to join the hemispheric organization, and Cuba should be restored to full participation in the OAS. The headquarters of the Organization should be moved out of Washington to a Latin American city. The United States should not mount any military intervention in Latin America without prior OAS authorization and approval.

4. Ambassadors should be appointed on the basis of merit. They should not have any business interests in the countries in which they serve or have had any such interests for at least four years prior to their appointment. Ambassadors should be left to serve in a country for a period of time sufficient for them to develop useful relations.

5. The U.S. Information Agency will be valuable diplomatically if it helps Latin Americans realize their own aspirations. Emphasis should be placed on education rather than propaganda.

6. Military aid and military assistance programs to Latin America should be discontinued.

7. All sales of heavy armaments to Latin American nations should be prohibited.

8. Programs for training officers from Latin American armies at command and staff schools in the United States and in the Canal Zone should be eliminated.

9. Support and aid for military juntas should be withdrawn.

10. The CIA should be confined to its role as an information gathering agency, and its political and military interventions in Latin American internal affairs should cease.

11. Technological and educational assistance programs should be expanded. Emphasis should be placed on Latin American leaderships of such programs.

12. Foreign aid should encourage stable economic growth, diversification and industrialization. Requirements that aid be used for purchases in the United States should be eliminated. Economic independence for Latin American countries should be encouraged, and aid programs should not be designed with the primary goal of helping United States business interests.

13. Programs such as the Peace Corps which place emphasis on community development should be expanded.

14. A study should be commissioned to examine the feasibility of establishing an internationally directed agency for the distribution of multi-lateral aid to supplant a

large portion of our current bi-lateral aid system. Particular emphasis should be placed on Latin American leadership of such an organization.

15. The development of a Latin American common market should be encouraged.

16. Individual nations should be encouraged to take measures to prevent the flight of domestic capital to Europe and other investment markets. The United States should prevent unreasonable profit-taking by American corporations and Latin American affiliates through adjustments in the tax structure to penalize excessive profits.

17. The United States should actively enforce its anti-cartel laws, especially against international price fixing conspiracies.

18. The United States should adjust its tariff and quota policies to favor Latin American products more than is presently done.

19. American corporations doing business in Latin America should be encouraged to institute profit-sharing and regional development plans through a system of tax incentives.

The foregoing suggestions were not made in the belief that they represent a panacea for the ills of the hemisphere. They arise from our strongly held belief that our relations with Latin America are fast approaching a critical stage and that drastic reform measures are needed. These recommendations, if implemented, might go a long way toward fulfilling that need.

THE UNITED STATES: AN ASIAN POWER?

A discussion of the current problems and policies of Asian nations must be qualified by an awareness:

1. that the Asian community includes Australia, the U.S.S.R., and the People's Republic of China;

2. that the concept of community is cognizant of the "sovereign integrity" of each member;

3. that any thrust of policy should be a meshing of national interests.

The following proposals are designed to achieve a practical solution to the economic, political, and social turmoil in Asia. Helping Asian countries achieve the goals of national survival and sovereign integrity must be the first goal of U.S. foreign policy in this area.

The Asian community today is plagued by economic and political instability, as well as socio-cultural tension. The general fault of U.S. policy to date has been based on inadequate knowledge and understanding of the Asian mind. This reliance upon a poor interpretation has resulted in the implementation of such western techniques as the alliance concept. Historically, these motives have been inconsistent, and the core problems have yet to be defined.

Generally, the overall policy advocated by the Symposium emphasizes the implementation of the following concepts:

1. the gradual systematic withdrawal of U.S. military personnel;

2. the discouragement of outright unilateral grants, and the encouragement of multilateral financing of local industries;

3. the lessening of the use of alliances as primary tools of policy;

4. the encouragement of the development of an Asian economic community such as that of the E.E.C. and E.F.T.A.; and

5. the encouragement of the involvement of private U.S. business in giving financial and technical assistance to industries, ensuring that control of these industries does not transfer to American industries.

Indonesia

Indonesia is currently experiencing severe economic problems such as food shortage, rising inflation, and balance of payments deficit.

The U.S. should give top priority to giving technical assistance to Indonesia in modernizing and intensifying her agriculture and to providing managerial assistance in development of industries.

Native Indonesian industries should be en-

couraged to develop extensive trade with foreign nations, especially with those in the Asian community.

The U.S. should end unilateral monetary assistance to this area and all other Asian areas and should instead channel this aid through international monetary, technical assistance, and economic, social, and cultural organizations. Also, private U.S. commercial industries should be asked to assume a more responsible role in the development of native Indonesian industries.

Southeast Asia

The U.S., recognizing the economic instability and under-development of Southeast Asia, should give technical and qualified financial assistance to Southeast Asian nations and should encourage private international commercial interests in an effort to modernize and intensify Southeast Asian agricultural methods, to establish a firmer indigenous industrial base, and to aid their economic advisors in stabilizing currency and establishing a program for inter-Asian economic cooperation.

The U.S. should make no troop commitments or supply armaments to Southeast Asian nations unless the denial of such commitments would abrogate U.S. Treaty agreements (i.e. SEATO).

The Asian community should be encouraged to strengthen inter-Asian defenses in such a way that the responsibility lies chiefly with the members of the community.

Japan

Japan desires withdrawal of U.S. bases in Japan due to the political tensions incurred by their presence.

The bases ought to be closed with a recommendation that the Japanese government provide jobs for those people secured with base operations.

Okinawa

As Okinawa plays a significant role in any discussions of the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty, which expires in 1970, the question of jurisdiction over Okinawa must be resolved, or there will be strong opposition to the renewal of the treaty.

Okinawa should be returned to Japanese administration with gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops. In addition, a recommendation should be made to the Japanese government that those Okinawans who are employed by the bases should be provided with new jobs of comparable income.

India and Pakistan

A state of hostility exists between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, Jammu, and other border areas. The United States recognizes the need for India and Pakistan to determine their own futures and encourage continued economic advancement in both nations.

The U.S. should urge through mediation the resolving of outstanding conflicts between India and Pakistan and should continue to refuse to supply either nation with any military assistance until a state of amiability exists between them.

The U.S. should also relinquish military installations in Pakistan and should provide aid to India and Pakistan through qualified financial assistance and foodstuffs in the hope that they will develop their own economic capabilities.

Philippines

While the United States has recently been increasing military and economic assistance to the Philippines, growing nationalistic forces in the Philippines have indicated that American business interests should be redirected toward domestic consumer development.

The U.S. should encourage all private international investments in the Philippines on conditions stipulated by the Philippine government.

The Philippine Rehabilitation and Trade Acts should be honored through its expira-

tion date with an encouragement to reduce monetary and technical assistance by the U.S. in the next four years.

Upon request, the U.S. could provide suggestions for the reform of the civil service system of the Philippine government.

Furthermore, the U.S. government should gradually withdraw military aid from the Philippines.

Korea

The economy of South Korea is, to a large extent dependent upon current U.S. military personnel presence. This dependence should ease with increased economic diversification in the field of trade and commercial interests. As the South Korean army is militarily under-equipped and unequal to the task of repelling an attack by North Korea's "modernized armed forces", the United States should increase military assistance in the field of conventional weapons until South Korea has reached a military self-sufficiency in regard to the defense of her own sovereignty. The United Nations should have control in determining when South Korea has reached military self-sufficiency. Once South Korea reaches this point, the U.S. will at that time cease all conventional weapons assistance.

The U.S. should promote an increase in international trade with South Korea in an effort to supplement and eventually supplant current massive U.S. economic assistance. By encouraging private investment and by aiding South Korea in the development of international trade agreements, her economy should be and must be able to sustain any loss incurred through a U.S. cutback in troop commitments.

China

The National Student Symposium on U.S. Foreign Policy believes that the United States should attempt to improve relations with the People's Republic of China, and be willing to concede its legitimacy as a nation.

1. The United States should cease referring to the People's Republic of China as the "Peiping" regime immediately; and, rather, should refer to it as the Peking government.

2. The United States should be willing to offer diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China if that government is willing to accept it. The United States should also continue to recognize the Taiwan government if that government so desires.

3. The United States must recognize that China has a legitimate interest in Asia. Included in this interest is an understandable aversion to foreign troops occupying its smaller neighbors.

4. The United States should reverse its policy of opposition to the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

5. The United States should strongly consider the possibility of establishing trade with China.

6. The United States should offer to assist the People's Republic of China in solving its problems concerning the production and distribution of food stuffs. This should be done as a gesture of humane concern and not solely for its political value. If preferred by the People's Republic of China, the assistance could be channeled through the appropriate agencies of the United Nations.

There is no guarantee that any peaceful overtures or concessions on the part of the United States will lessen tensions between these two nations. There is similarly no guarantee that the offers described above will be accepted by the Chinese Government. It is contended that the United States must begin dealing with the People's Republic of China in terms other than the "Yellow Peril" or as part of the "Communist Monolith". The above concessions can be made without detriment to our foreign relations and could be the beginning of a rational policy toward the People's Republic of China.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The immediate objective of the Paris Peace Talks should be the development of an agreement between the National Liberation Front, the Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the United States to de-escalate the war and to withdraw all foreign troops and political cadres with utmost haste.

1. The talks should be carried on in the spirit of compromise without regard for bloc identification; and

2. The effectiveness of the International Control Commission should be expanded through negotiations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. and among the members of the Commission: India, Poland, and Canada.

The United States should recommend to the South Vietnamese Government that the National Liberation Front be included in the South Vietnamese Government as a recognized political segment of her population guaranteeing it full democratic freedoms from reprisal and unreasonable coercion with the following stipulations:

1. The members of the National Liberation Front renounce force as a means of attaining their objectives.

2. That the Front renounces its alliance with the Lao Dong Party of North Vietnam.

In order to prevent future Vietnams, we recommend the following:

1. A greatly accelerated economic and social development program should be initiated in Southeast Asia.

2. The development program should be placed in the hands of international, multilateral organizations.

3. The support of the United States in aiding the development of the countries of Southeast Asia should not be predicated on a communist/non-communist basis.

4. The United States should end military assistance to those countries where it is used to suppress internal political movements—as in the cases of Guatemala, Greece, Brazil, Paraguay, and the Portuguese African territories.

5. The United States should end political and economic support of racist regimes in South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, and Rhodesia; private investment such as the U.S. Bank Consortium for South Africa should be prevented.

6. The United States should recognize the right of other countries to protect and nationalize their own resources and to secure their own interests against the exploitation of private foreign investment in developing economies.

CRITERIA FOR U.S. RECOGNITION OR NONRECOGNITION OF GOVERNMENTS

Introduction

The purpose of these recommendations is to establish a realistic and yet progressive approach in developing criteria for the recognition of governments by the United States.

After examining the American experience in the recognition of foreign governments and studying the advantages, disadvantages, and effectiveness of both the Wilsonian and Stimson doctrines, we have amended these policies and have tried to apply them to present day situations, adding our recommendations for future policies.

In order to facilitate the understanding of our findings, we have divided our report into sections which include: the meaning of recognition, the purpose of recognition, the criteria for recognition, the types of recognition, and the application of one type of recognition to the China question.

The meaning of recognition

A clear indication of an intention by the United States to deal with a new government as such and to accept it as having the authority to govern the state it purports to govern.

Through granting recognition, the United States accepts the recognized state as independently sovereign in the community of nations and acknowledges the international rights granted to such a state and requires from this state that it fulfill its international obligations.

The purpose of recognition

The overall past consideration of recognition has been whether or not such recognition was in the national interest of the United States. Such consideration should not be of top priority, rather fostering of good will and understanding through communication should be the major reason for U.S. recognition of a foreign nation.

Criteria for recognition

Evidence of government: The control of administrative machinery, i.e. control and performance of the administrative functions and operations in the state necessary to sustain the government's existence and exhibit the government's potential for permanence and stability; territorial integrity.

Evidence of a state: The U.S. recognizes as a state a geo-political area which has certain ideological, economic, and ethnic ties and which is supervised by a single government.

Evidence of cooperation with nations: The ability and willingness to fulfill its international responsibilities which will entitle this state, when recognized, to international rights.

Types of recognition

De jure recognition: is the formal recognition of a government meeting the three aforementioned criteria, and extends the traditional diplomatic amenities and privileges in such a way as to recognize the legitimacy of that government as well as the fact of its existence.

Conditional recognition: is the recognition of a government without approval by the U.S. of that government's previous actions (such as West Germany).

De facto recognition: is the provisional recognition of a government meeting the three aforementioned criteria as the existing government but does not necessarily extend the traditional diplomatic amenities and privileges.

Temporary recognition: is the recognition of a government which is new, emerging, or currently unrecognized. We feel these nations should be granted such temporary recognition in order to establish lines of communication to help bear out the willingness of that government to fulfill its international responsibilities. After a period of time, the performance of the government in question should be reassessed to determine whether that government has fulfilled the criteria for another type of recognition.

Application of temporary recognition to the China question

Evidence of government: It appears from various sources that the People's Republic of China sufficiently controls the administrative machinery and possesses territorial integrity in the area that is known as mainland China.

Evidence of a state: Historical evidence conclusively proves the basis for a state in the People's Republic of China today.

Evidence of cooperation with nations: the ability and willingness of the People's Republic of China to meet her international rights and obligations with regard to the protection of foreign nationals, diplomatic immunity, and respect for territorial integrity of other nations is questionable; however, we cannot assume the People's Republic of China's failure to meet these criteria without giving her the opportunity to react in a diplomatic situation.

Proposal

Temporary recognition of the People's Republic of China is recommended at this time, in order to establish lines of communication

which will help ascertain the real willingness of the People's Republic of China to fulfill international responsibilities.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED STATES

Since World War II, the United States policy toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has become the keystone of all American foreign policy. This policy, to a large extent, is based on an antiquated attitude towards the Soviet Union and "communism". The basis of much of our policy towards communist countries is founded on the belief that Russian attitudes remain essentially unchanged since the days of the Stalinist era. We still base policy on the assumption that there is a monolithic communist movement directed from Moscow with the immediate and/or eventual goal of world domination to be achieved by any means necessary, primarily military.

In the past twenty years, the world situation has changed; Russia and communism have changed with it. United States foreign policy must meet these changes. In this nuclear age, it is mandatory for survival that the U.S. take the initiative toward lessening the tensions between the East and the West. This report and our recommendations are based on this attitude.

1. The United States and the Soviet Union have failed to utilize the strongest guarantee of peace in neglecting to develop mutual trade. The United States should therefore remove artificial barriers to the realization of both nations' comparative advantage. To this end, the following measures are suggested:

The liberalization of credit restrictions as applicable to the Soviet Union;

An extension of the present government insurance program to cover losses to American businesses resulting from Soviet default;

A realistic downward revision of the strategic goods list; and

Removal of existing stipulations concerning the nationality of ships involved in U.S.-Soviet trade.

It is further recommended that the possibilities be investigated for a mutual U.S.-Soviet policy regarding aid to the developing nations. This would diminish duplication and unproductive competition and the ability of other nations to utilize the U.S.-Soviet frictions to their own advantage.

2. An increased understanding between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. lessening mutual suspicion and mistrust, is a necessary prerequisite to peace. This can be accomplished through exchanges between our two countries. Each government could appropriate funds for further knowledge and appreciation of the other major power. We suggest:

Increased student exchanges. Student awareness provides insurance for further understanding;

Increased cultural exchanges. An appreciation of each other's social, political, and economic culture can be accomplished by studying art, literature, and music representative of that culture. Again the government must take the step to bring the people closer together.

Increased technological exchanges. Joint ventures in space and science can be a realistic goal with increased understanding.

3. A further step toward eliminating tensions must involve U.S. encouragement for a depolarization of Europe. The U.S. must also seek mutual military disengagement from Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. must jointly assume the initiative in securing a summit conference on the Middle East to work together to initiate multilateral peace-keeping policies. By implementing the above, we can help lessen the tensions and mistrust that presently exist between the two nations.

4. Recognizing that disarmament is an essential step to the eventual rapprochement between our two countries, the continued proliferation of nuclear weaponry becomes

a matter of grave concern. We cannot on the one hand talk peace and cooperation, and on the other hand allow the continued existence of the possibility of global destruction. We must demand of President Nixon that he urge immediate Senate ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We must make renewed and serious efforts to find mutually acceptable methods of disarming. Military strength can no longer be the basis on which we judge the greatness of nations.

President Kennedy directed the attention of the country to improving U.S.-Soviet relationships in his inaugural address with these words:

"Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring the problems which divide us. . . Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce."

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE UNITED STATES

Since both the United States and Soviet Union are inextricably involved in the strategic area of the Middle East, both nations bear primary responsibility for finding a peaceful and durable solution which will avoid a possible nuclear confrontation.

Recommendations

As a consequence of this shared involvement and responsibility it is essential that influence must be exerted by the United States and the Soviet Union on Israel and the Arab states. A prerequisite to creating an atmosphere conducive to reconciliation is that the fundamental ground-work or preparations for negotiations be carried out immediately between the two great powers in some form of ministerial level conference under either the United Nations or other auspices.

Given the mounting tension in the area caused by acts of violence from whatever origin, the great powers must exercise some mutual restraint in their continued supply of sophisticated armaments to the various protagonists in this area. Nevertheless, until some meaningful form of detente exists, it seems necessary that a rough equivalence of military strength must be maintained in order to avoid creating the temptation for a reckless military solution to what is essentially a political problem.

The result of the suggested preliminary ministerial conference should be to move the parties directly involved (Israel, the United Arab Republic, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and the various independent military groupings) to a substantive discussion of the issues and problems which separate them. Among the specific matters to be agreed upon are:

1. Formal recognition of the State of Israel by all parties involved.
2. Negotiation concerning the occupied territories in order to arrive at agreed boundaries and a solution to the problem of the refugees.
3. Free and uninterrupted access to and navigation of international waters. The Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba shall be recognized as international waterways.
4. Free access guaranteed to all persons to the holy places of the city of Jerusalem under the protection of the United Nations, with agreed upon penalties to be imposed in the case of denial of such access.

A further recommendation for increasing communication and mutual understanding between Israeli and Arab students now studying in American educational institutions is the arrangement of an informal student-led national conference with provisions for U.S. government and other expert resource personnel to be available as needed. Such a conference could be followed by a series of regional meetings with a similar purpose.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

The most dangerous feature of today's nuclear deterrence is its evolution toward un-controllable complexity. The dangers of a nu-

clear war are going to increase unless fundamental steps are taken by the new Administration to stop the succession of new rounds in the arms race and to develop perspectives and long-range programs for fundamental stabilization of the international order. We feel that it is necessary to analyze the above issues in the context of the Republican statements during the 1968 campaign on arms control and on defense policies. Specifically, we are concerned by President Nixon's emphasis on superiority over parity; "negotiation from a position of strength"; a renewed emphasis on "professional military advice"; and the Republican proposals for new strategic systems.

There are several observations which must be made with regard to the present state of the arms race and the present policy of deterrence.

The arms situation has now reached the point where the major powers involved are getting decreasing, even negative, security returns for increasing expenditures for defense.

Parity, not superiority, is the key factor in the operation of stable deterrence. Deployment of additional weapons systems escalates expenditures and force levels beyond usefulness, and also increases the operational complexity of deterrence to a point where control of a crisis situation or of the overall deterrent situation becomes difficult, increasing risks to a dangerous degree.

In matters of nuclear policy, there is no such viable condition as "negotiating from a position of strength". As long as the two nuclear superpowers have adequate and secure "second strike" capacities, one nuclear power's adding to its capabilities either qualitatively—addition of new weapons systems—or quantitatively—expansion of existing weapons systems—will not be translatable to negotiating or bargaining advantages. Not only will the qualitative or incremental additions to force levels not yield any negotiating advantages, but it will frustrate substantive negotiation altogether and will start another round of escalation which will increase the already dangerous "mad momentum" of the arms race.

In light of these considerations, the Symposium recommends the following:

1. *No new strategic programs:* The U.S. could renounce its current Anti-Ballistic Missile and multiple war-head programs without much danger to its deterrent position vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. It should terminate these programs in order to keep deterrence as safe and as calculable as is possible within the present rough parity.
2. *Conventional weapons:* The U.S. must decide very carefully how it will restock its inventory of conventional weapons after the Vietnam War is terminated. The spiraling unit costs of modern weapons, in conjunction with proposals to create a whole new assault force for the Navy and to give the Army total mobility would add astronomical sums to current defense budgets.
3. *Non-Proliferation Treaty:* The U.S. should ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty as soon as possible in order to demonstrate the importance of the issues at stake, issues that should transcend Western outrage at the invasion of Czechoslovakia.
4. *Offensive-Defensive Systems Talks:* The U.S. should get these talks under way as soon as possible, and should try to get them started off as continuous low-level talks rather than at a more sporadic and less flexible high-level discussion (e.g. summit talks). A model for these talks would be the Warsaw Talks which the U.S. has maintained with China. An almost inevitable complement to these talks would be mutual agreement, tacit or overt, to maintain a parity or "freeze" of present capabilities as a "negotiating backdrop" or base. These talks, moreover, should take place on a systems or overall basis rather than on an item-by-item basis.

5. *China:* Special consideration should be given to the People's Republic of China, especially as to its receptivity to arms control proposals. If possible, attempts should be made to "educate" China to see the military usefulness and the political dangers of an independent nuclear force. The U.S. should also communicate to China the great dangers of "indirect" deterrence, i.e. deterring the U.S. by threatening Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, or India. It should also point out the dangers of a regional arms race in East Asia: Chinese refusal to compromise on the Hydrogen bomb would put great domestic pressures on Japan and India to develop anti-Chinese deterrents. Yet the U.S. should also take into account a possible reciprocity between the Chinese Hydrogen bomb, the Russian Anti-Ballistic Missile system, and the increasing tensions on the Sino-Soviet border.

6. *NATO and the Allies:* NATO defensive forces should be streamlined and even selectively reduced. Politically, NATO should be conceptualized and maintained as an arms control mechanism—the function of giving the U.S. and Europe the all-important conventional option or "buffer zone" in Europe. The U.S. should on no account encourage further elaboration of the British nuclear force, as it did—with disastrous results for Britain's application for Common Market membership—at Nassau in 1962 with the agreement to transfer Polaris missiles to Britain. British renunciation moreover would have a salutary effect on international morale, as slowing of the arms race would decrease the present sense of helplessness. As to France, hopefully, a successor regime to DeGaulle will see the inadvisability of "omni-directional defense" (i.e. directed against the West as much as against the East) and also the dangers of nuclear-armed neutrality within the NATO framework.

7. *Reorganization of Arms Policy Planning and Decision Making:* A new framework should be set up so as to avoid concentrating all initiatives for arms planning and policies in the Defense Department and its related Congressional committees. With weapons like ABM's and multiple warheads, both of which would give the U.S. a one-sided counter-force capability against the U.S.S.R. and thereby undermine the present stability of deterrence, it is no longer possible to permit an uncontrolled further elaboration of third-, fourth-, and fifth-"generation" weapons systems; neither can we permit an incremental or "follow-on" mode of policy thinking, which often encourages in the services an intellectual and conceptual linearity. The pace and the internal momentum of the research-development-procurement-deployment cycle is such that it continually brings up whole new permutations and combinations of weapons and strategies. A premium should be placed on simple and calculable deterrents rather than on exotic systems whose long-range effects would be de-stabilizing and dangerous. A new long-range planning body, a super- or "overview" agency should be set up to integrate and encourage synoptic long-range planning in the Defense Department, the State Department, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

8. Systematic attention should be given to maintaining a rough plateau and parity of arms. In the context of weapons like ABM's and Multiple Individually-Targeted Re-entry Vehicles it will be very difficult to reach and maintain an arms plateau such as that of today. Also, in view of the present unstable leadership of the U.S.S.R., the U.S. should not initiate new strategic programs which might precipitate a panicky build-up or counter-reaction such as our own in the late 1950's "missile gap" era.

9. In the area of mutual arms discussion, the issue should be depoliticized as much as possible, given the self-generating and feedback characteristics of the arms race.

Arms control measures and defense policies should be evaluated in politically neutral terms. In other words, it may be useful for the U.S. to compartmentalize its arms relation and deterrent behavior vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. just as the Soviet Union does with the world at large; for example, permanent low level arms talks should be insulated as much as possible from the intractable issues, the inflexible declaratory policies and the crisis encounters in other areas of the world: the Middle East, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, etc.

10. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. should come to a tacit agreement on their subsidizing or back-up roles in the Middle East. The U.S. should also discourage other powers, especially France and Great Britain, from subsidizing arms races in South America, the Middle East, and Africa (especially Nigeria/Biafra and South Africa).

11. Most importantly, the U.S. should institute policy studies concerning the stabilization of the international order and for resolving the legacy of World War II: the Cold War and its accompanying arms race. For example, former Under-Secretary of State George Ball, has suggested a 3½ super-power arrangement of the U.S., U.S.S.R., a united Western Europe and Japan. In the more immediate area of arms deployments, former Assistant Secretary for Defense, Roswell Gilpatrick, has suggested balanced reductions in offensive forces which would be guaranteed by complementary ABM deployments. This could be an interim, or even possibly a long-range, means of stabilization. The U.S. should retain parity, and should drastically slow down the tempo and dynamics of arms race reactions, so that it does not indiscriminately eliminate "options" or strategic settlements. MIRV deployments, for example, by just one side would effectively torpedo Gilpatrick's scheme.

The recognition of the fact that arms control is consonant with the long range goal of disarmament is extremely important. General and complete disarmament should be the long-range goal of U.S. defense policy. It is important, additionally, for decision makers to realize that arms control negotiations and agreements are eminently practical in themselves and that those must and will form the eventual basis of structures and trust for disarmament. Thus, U.S. policy must, if it is to be effective, consider the long range goal of disarmament as precisely that and not as a short-term panacea.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, EASTERN EUROPE, AND THE UNITED STATES

Preface

We recognize the considerable influence which the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have consistently exercised upon their respective neighbors. Although we recognize that these forces do, in fact, exist, we nevertheless support in principle the sovereignty of nation-states with particular reference to their territorial integrity. Furthermore, we assert that a nation-state has the right to determine the direction and scope of her economy.

In light of these beliefs, we condemn the unwarranted and illegitimate exercise of force by the U.S.S.R. upon Czechoslovakia.

In order to facilitate this examination we have divided our statement into the following areas: Political, Economic, Military, and Socio-Cultural.

Political

We recognize that the U.S. and U.S.S.R., the major world powers, consider implicitly that certain areas do constitute their spheres of influence. While we do not necessarily accept the morality of such political concept, we recognize that the U.S.S.R. does consider the Warsaw Pact countries as constituting part of her sphere of influence. Any overt U.S. political influence in this area, i.e. Eastern Europe, would greatly increase world tension.

Yugoslavia and Austria being members of neither defense alliance (NATO or Warsaw Pact) shall be treated autonomously.

We wish to make clear that we do not consider economic ties to a nation-state as an attempt to establish a sphere of influence. Economic ties between the U.S. and the Eastern bloc nations would not be impinging upon what the U.S.S.R. considers to be its sphere of influence.

There exists a feeling of discontent among the Warsaw Pact countries which has in part arisen out of the exposure to the Western world and out of the Sino-Soviet split. Cognizant of the realities of thermo-nuclear warfare and the U.S.S.R.'s estimation of her interests in the area, the U.S. shall not encourage such dissent.

Economic

Non-military foreign aid should be made available to Yugoslavia, Austria, and the Warsaw Pact countries.

In addition, reciprocal trade agreements should be encouraged with Eastern European countries. To facilitate such agreements, we believe that an international monetary unit system should be developed.

The U.S. should neither directly encourage nor discourage business investment in Eastern European countries, nor should we encourage or discourage Eastern European investment in the U.S. The economic interests of the U.S.'s firms in a country are under control of that country. All agreements should be made between the individual business firms and the specific countries which are involved.

Military

We recognize that it is presently necessary to continue the defensive military status of NATO. At the same time, we urge that our Western European allies assume a greater role in the present NATO commitment. However, we further recognize the dangers in our continued dependence upon such multilateral commitments as NATO and the Warsaw Pact given the political tensions in our world today. These tensions are reflected in the recurring confrontations in Eastern Europe, specifically in the problems of the reunification of Germany, the neutrality of Yugoslavia and Austria, and other situations which could very easily bring us to the brink of World War III if the resolution of these problems were to be attempted unilaterally or multilaterally.

Therefore, we would commit the United States to the furtherance of a permanent United Nations Peace-Keeping Force and the strengthening of the International Court of Justice. As the first act of faith in this measure, we call upon our Congress for the immediate repeal of the Connally Amendment.

We support the right of NATO to intervene against outside aggression at the request of the legitimate governments of Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia, until such time that the protection of these and other countries could be guaranteed by the establishment of permanent international bodies such as the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force and a strong World Court. At that time, we would withdraw our commitment to all unilateral and multilateral military treaties.

Because of the acute danger of nuclear war, which would arise from U.S. intervention, the U.S. should not intervene in the affairs of the Warsaw Pact countries under any foreseeable circumstances.

We assert our right to the use and access of the Black Sea, which was accorded to us under the 1936 Montreux Conference.

Sociocultural

In making the following suggestions, we strongly urge that the specific academic institutions involved be responsible for the structuring necessary to implementation.

We encourage student exchange programs,

including the establishment of extension campuses and the transference of academic credits.

We encourage unlimited travel between countries.

We urge the restoration and expansion of Fulbright and similar scholarship programs.

We encourage the expansion of participation by the United Nations specialized agencies in cultural, professional, and scholarly exchanges. We further urge the formulation of bi-lateral exchanges which would foster greater understanding and cooperation among nations.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS AND THE UNITED STATES

"The United States has failed to make the kind of showing Mr. Johnson hoped for when he proclaimed 1968 'Human Rights Year' in keeping with the UN designation of it as International Year for Human Rights. President Nixon could take few actions early in his administration that would so boost this country's international stature and that of the UN as would the completion of this unfinished business on human rights." (New York Times, December 15, 1968.)

The National Student Symposium on U.S. Foreign Policy advances the following proposals in the hope that the new Administration and the people of this country will recognize, in action as well as in words, the fundamental importance of establishing and preserving basic "human rights" for all.

We recommend ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the official implementation of the principles embodied in the Declaration on the national and international level through the substantive policy measures subsequently proposed in this report.

Adoption and implementation of the International Covenants on Human Rights

The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights should all be adopted and implemented in our nation.

The main reason that these conventions have not been adopted is grounded in the belief of major policy makers in this country that national sovereignty would be imperilled by the adoption of these conventions. In 1968, Mr. Roy Wilkins, U.S. delegate to the International Human Rights Conference stated, "I submit that under the United Nations Charter, no nation is entitled to wrong its own citizens. Either the charter provisions dealing with human rights have meaning or they are a cruel fraud. If these provisions are meaningful, they must carry their thrust into the boundaries of member states. Human rights violations occur in the territories of states."

We urge the passing and the adoption of the principles of the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. That is: It is the right of all people to determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development. This also includes the right of peoples to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources.

We recommend that the United States government adopt and implement the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to that Covenant through the following measures:

1. We propose an end to conscription for military service. A person has the right and the obligation to decide, on the basis of his own individual convictions, whether or not to kill.

2. Recognizing that the Covenant specifically abolishes involuntary servitude, and believing that conscription by the government for any purpose is in violation of the Covenant as well as our own Constitution, we urge the abolition of all such activity, for example, Selective Service.

3. Realizing that domestic policy is a basis of international policy formulation, we recommend that the United States establish direct and popular election of the President and the Vice President.

4. We believe that the right to representative government is a basic human right. Therefore, we further urge that the convention system of nominating the President and Vice President be abolished and replaced with some form of direct national primary.

5. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to enfranchise all citizens at the age of eighteen (18).

6. We recommend the abolition of capital punishment in the United States.

Human rights convention

"United States action on United Nations Conventions to implement or flush out the noble principles written into the Universal Declaration has been negligible. . . . The United States has adhered to only two of the more than twenty major human rights conventions adopted by the UN and its agencies. . . . Six conventions still await Senate action. . . . 'We have failed ourselves,' Chief Justice Warren said recently, in reference to this meager record. 'We as a nation should have been the first to ratify the Genocide Convention and the Race Discrimination Convention.' Instead, the United States may be nearly last to ratify the genocide ban, which President Truman sent to the Senate almost twenty years ago, and which has now been adhered to by eighty nations." (New York Times, December 15, 1968.)

We propose that the new Administration consider at the earliest possible date the Human Rights Conventions this country has yet to ratify. We endorse these conventions and recommend their ratification and implementation.

Of the specific conventions covered under the International Covenants on Human Rights, first and foremost we urge immediate ratification of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which involves the committing of certain acts "with intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group". Genocide is characterized as a crime under international law, whether committed in time of peace or of war.

We specifically urge that the conflict between Biafra and Nigeria be recognized as involving genocide, and that we morally commit ourselves to ending the starvation and suffering in Biafra according to the terms of the Convention. We recognize that the United States has donated \$17 million to the American International Red Cross, but as of now, little or none of the food or medical supplies which were purchased with this money has reached Biafra. Biafran representatives charge that the International Red Cross has exhibited partisanship in the handling of these funds. We propose that the United States government immediately request the International Red Cross to account for the expenditure of these funds. If it is found that effective aid to Biafra is not issuing from the International Red Cross, our commitment to this organization should be reassessed, and we should seek more effective avenues for aiding the people of Biafra.

We firmly endorse the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In addition, we appeal to the new Administration to make the United States a signatory to this Declaration and a world leader in its implementation.

The primary way in which the United States can become a leader in ending racial discrimination in the world is to remedy already-existing situations within its own boundaries. In order to accomplish this, we recommend that:

1. Present laws prohibiting racial discrimination be enforced on all levels, including

prosecution by the office of the Attorney-General of the cases of the victims of discrimination;

2. Present programs such as Head Start, Job Corps, Vista, the Teacher Corps, Upward Bound, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, be not only continued but also expanded in scope and funds, to provide minority groups with a strong economic base;

3. The members of minority groups receive the kind of education necessary for them to assume an equal role in the economic, social and cultural world in which they find themselves, and that the bulk of the population be provided with the education which will help them to understand the history, the culture, and the particular problems of these minority groups.

On the international level, the United States can take the lead in the movement to end racial discrimination in two ways:

1. By giving material and technical aid to those developing nations which have suffered from the effects of racial discrimination since colonial days. Perhaps one of the most concrete ways of aiding these nations is by granting them tariff concessions. As contributing members of the community of nations, they will gain the respect necessary to end racial discrimination.

2. By instituting suitable sanctions against South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal to make them realize that continued discriminatory practices against Black majorities in Africa will not be tolerated. The United States should end the South African sugar quota and stop buying sugar from South Africa; by providing a sugar quota to South Africa, the United States is subsidizing apartheid. Further, the United States should cease supplying arms of any kind suitable for putting down native revolts in Portuguese territories in Africa.

On the elimination of discrimination against women

We endorse the United Nations effort to obtain equal rights for women. This endorsement includes specific support for the Convention on the Political Rights of Women of 1952, the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women of 1957, and the convention passed in 1962, which declared that all legal marriages must be with the consent of both parties. We recognize that these conventions may violate the customs of some cultures. However, we endorse them as a standard of achievement for all nations in the belief that these rights are inherent for every human being. Women should have equal rights with men in the custody of their children, to marriage only by consent, and to divorce.

The conventions would have only internal obligations, most of which have already been fulfilled in our nation. We applaud, for instance, the Supreme Court decision of 1967, which declared that American citizens could only lose their citizenship by renouncing it. This decision is in accord with the Conventions on the nationality of married women, under which no woman would lose her citizenship automatically upon marrying a foreigner. The United States already subscribes in principle to these conventions and should formally ratify them.

Conclusion

We feel that Human Rights in general, and specifically those enumerated in this report cannot be fully guaranteed either at home or abroad in a world wrought with tension and conflict. In the interest of full implementation of Human Rights the United States must, as must all nations, devote its energies to the development of policies which will lead to the reduction of this tension.

We thus strongly urge the creation of a cabinet level Department of Peace. "The function and purpose of [which] shall be to promote the cause and advancement of peace both in this Nation and throughout the world"—H.R. 20250; 90th Congress, 2nd Session.

FORMULATION OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

Fundamental changes are necessary in the making of United States foreign policy. The various roles of contributing institutions must be re-defined. New procedures and new guidelines are of crucial importance. Modern foreign policy objectives and the need for greater international cooperation require better methods in formulating policy. The effects of poor policy formulation are obvious: often disastrous use of the military on occasion after occasion (Dominican Republic, Gulf of Tonkin), a conditioning of the American people to "crisis politics", and a gross preoccupation with short-run considerations.

The national security bureaucracy (the President, his closest advisors, and their related agencies) has too often made policy inside a "closed society". Representative dissent, the give-and-take of debate, the process of conflict and consensus, the presentation of viable alternatives—all this has been lacking, not only in national emergencies requiring quick decisions, but also in the formulation of general policy. The result has been a series of foreign policy disasters, with Vietnam the prime example. Because the key decisions were made by a few policy makers, the groundswell of domestic opposition to the war was unexpected by the Administration. Because the bureaucracies involved misread the realities of Southeast Asia (whether willfully or not), the reliance on military measures proved to be a failure. Increased participation by other agencies and institutions such as the U.N. and the Fulbright Committee in policy formulation along with great dispersal of information through public debate would be one general improvement.

The following are several observations and recommendations, both general and specific:

1. The President will, by necessity, exercise the initiative in making policy. He has, and must retain, the capacity to meet an emergency instantaneously. However, the Chief Executive and his inner circle have shown an unfortunate tendency to utilize post-World War II tensions in monopolizing the entire formulation process.

2. The Congress, particularly the Senate, has often neglected its Constitutional duty in the foreign policy field. The role of Congress in contributing to formulation and in restraining advantages is not a right; by the Constitution it is a duty.

The Fulbright-Mansfield resolution, expressing the opinion that Senatorial approval is necessary for massive troop commitments abroad, should be passed.

The Selective Service System should be abolished immediately. As an alternative, a viable volunteer armed forces would be substituted. At the same time, we would pledge our country's full support for the future establishment of a permanent United Nations Peace-Keeping Force. Without the Selective Service System, the President would have to approach Congress for its approval of our participation in any situation which would require the mass call-up of troops and/or the declaration of war; thereby re-establishing the system of checks and balances.

The Congress can, and should, advise and consent to specific policy involvements, especially para-military adventures which easily escalate into military commitments. The voting or denying of appropriations for a specific policy, which can be used as a check on the Executive, is not a new recommendation; it was made the law of the land in 1789.

The education of public opinion (and even the Executive) through Foreign Affairs Committee hearings should be heavily encouraged and expanded. This would be in conjunction with long-term policy formulation. (The Fulbright hearings on our China policy are an excellent example.)

3. The military's role in foreign policy, the standard government text would say, is to implement a specific objective. But in reality, the militarization of our policy is no

slogan, especially on the formulation level. The "military-industrial" complex is not an idle cliché. When a major percentage of the public resources of our society is devoted to the accumulation of devastating weapons, of war, and when faulty policy formulation allows the random dispersal and use of these weapons, the spirit of democracy suffers. Greater considerations in policy making councils must be given to political, economic, and moral concerns and their appropriate representatives, whether it be the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency or the Council of Economic Advisors. The role of the military in making policy has been too powerful. It must be curtailed and de-emphasized.

4. The inclusion of more contributing institutions in the formulation of our foreign policy would be useless unless these institutions are provided with essential information. Lack of good information has been one problem in the policy making process—the screening and management of information (as seen in the incredible history of official Vietnam statistics) is a larger problem. This is a matter of crucial significance: the Congress, with better resources of information, can contribute directly to the formulation of policy. The CIA should be under the control of the President, State Department, and Congressional watch-dog committees, with the latter having greater power over the supervision of the CIA.

5. Interest groups and organized public opinion, contrary to popular cynicism, have a role in the formulation process, and this role should be expanded. Specific interest groups can better contribute to formulation if they isolate one particular goal, such as a proposed Department of Peace. Various "Save Biafra" groups have at least succeeded in involving the U.S. in some direct efforts in providing food and medicine. The effect of Vietnam peace groups had more than a minimal impact upon the policy making process. The effectiveness of massed demonstrations, however, is dubious. Only when a non-violent confrontation can demonstrate dramatically and clearly the bankruptcy of a particular institution is there a good chance of real change.

Finally, to re-state part of the introduction: new foreign policy objectives will do no good without major changes in the actual formulation of these objectives. Likewise, policy formulation would not be complete without appropriate guidelines. It must be recognized that the United States has sustained major failures in world affairs through its attempts to extend military and political influence into developing countries. These efforts have proved to be costly and often wasteful in human and financial resources and have dominated the scope of our foreign policy. We recommend that the U.S. refrain from becoming involved in the internal disputes of other nations. Often the revolutions in developing countries are healthy political attempts to throw off the shackles of repressive regimes. In the past, the U.S. has lent support to these repressive governments at the expense of the popular feeling in the country.

Basic policies should recognize the social and economic inequalities in many of these nations and take massive efforts toward correcting world hunger and poverty without regard for the political gain to the U.S. and with more regard for the UN and other international agencies. This is a plea for realistic idealism: better formulation of policy can give a more accurate reflection of reality—and reality can only be changed through carefully formulated policies.

STUDENT ROLE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy is the concern of all Americans. In this time, as in all others, it is imperative that we as students, and as the largest, single, unified, educated non-voting

bloc of American Society, take an active and responsible voice and vote in decisions which vitally affect our lives.

We as American students feel we are the recipients of an unjust structure in our society. We resent being told that we are more educated than 95% of all the world's peoples, and 70% of all the people in America, but not mature or responsible enough to vote in American elections until we reach the age of twenty-one. We resent knowing that we are attending Universities which claim to question accepted patterns of thought and attitudes, but which fail to provide any unified means for suggestions to the legislative and executive branches of our government. Further, as American students we resent and denounce the educational system which places more of a value on receiving high grades than on critical thought and learning.

As American students we are told that we will inherit the world our elders pass on to us; that we are the future leaders of the country and of the world. From pre-school to the very end of college, we are constantly reminded that great deeds and great men will evolve from our unrealistic idealism, and that our idealism, if not destroyed, will be the guiding light for the future of our nation.

In the midst of all those possibilities which are said to exist is the situation which we as students see. We see a great deal of student alienation and frustration against both our University administrations and our government, as evidenced by the nationwide student revolts across college campuses and by the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention, and the anti-Vietnam Demonstrations. We see that this alienation and frustration is so great in places that many students feel they will be listened to only by boycotting, striking, demonstrating, and by rioting. Many students feel that the "establishment" is so immune to change that the only way the student voice will be heard and listened to is by threatening the present power structure in existence. The overwhelming majority of these students are not anti-American or Communists, but rather frustrated and angry at the system that they feel has not allowed them the opportunity to be listened to and considered when the decisions are being made.

We would therefore recommend those solutions which we feel would provide greater involvement in the decision-making processes of our government.

1. We believe that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is an important facet in the formulation of American foreign policy. We therefore propose that a position of student liaison to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should be established as a basis for representation of U.S. student opinion. This liaison committee should be set up by an advisory committee to the legislative and executive channels of our government and be composed partly of students and partly of members of Congress. It is suggested that the Student Liaison Committee should be aided by regional advisory committees throughout different areas of the country.

2. We recommend the establishment of a President's Youth Council, as proposed by President Nixon. If feasible, elections or other means should be employed to ensure that the President's Youth Council is representative of student opinion on foreign policy and of legitimate student organizations. We further urge that a great deal of importance be placed on the recommendations proposed by that council.

3. A strong nationwide effort should be made to lower the voting age to eighteen (18).

4. More funds and appropriations should be made available for student intern posi-

tions in Congress, to create a greater degree of student interest in Congressional politics.

5. A greater degree of Congressional and Executive interest should be taken in student opinion of U.S. foreign policy. An increased interest in student opinion is vital as long as the voting age remains the same, because most students in America cannot vote, and therefore cannot officially be represented in any other way.

APPENDIX A

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

Campus Americans for Democratic Action.
College Young Democratic Clubs of America.
College Young Republicans.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Youth and College Division.
Student Forum on International Order and World Peace.
Student National Education Association.
Student World Federalists.
United States National Student Association.
United States Student Press Association—Collegiate Press Service.
Young Men's Christian Association, National Student Caucus.
Young Women's Christian Association, National Student Division.
Host: Georgetown University International Relations Club.

APPENDIX B

Participation in the Symposium was not limited to members of the cooperating student organizations, but also included members of the following youth and students groups. This list is included solely to indicate the cross-section of student representation at the Symposium. As indicated in the preface, all recommendations in this report are those of the Symposium participants, and not of the organizations of which they are members.

American Association of International Law.
American Civil Liberties Union.
Christian Resistance Movement.
Congress on Racial Equality.
Keep Biafra Alive.
National Council on Urban Awareness.
New Democratic Coalition.
Student American Medical Association.
Students for a Democratic Society.
Students Opposing White Racism.
World University Service.
World Youth Crusade for Freedom.
Young Americans for Freedom.
Youth for the Extension of Suffrage.

APPENDIX C

STATES REPRESENTED AT THE SYMPOSIUM
Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

INCREASED FUNDS FOR TITLE I, ESEA—EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

MR. HART. Mr. President, our national commitment to quality education for all children is discussed with clarity and deep understanding in a recent report to the Congress dealing specifically with the landmark legislation of 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The National Advisory Council for Disadvantaged Children in its annual report to the Congress states that "it is dis-

tressed at what appears to be a weakening Federal commitment to the education of disadvantaged children." As evidence it points to "the cutback of \$68 million in title I, ESEA, from \$1.191 billion last school year to \$1.123 billion this school year. The report further states that "this cutback combined with the continuing increase in the cost of education, results in an estimated \$400 million less for disadvantaged pupils in local schools this year than was available in the first year of the program." The council also "recommends that the executive and legislative branches move as quickly as possible to close the gap between the title I appropriation and its authorization of \$2.7 billion." The formula for title I permits and promises a Federal payment of \$300 for each child counted among the poor in the States and we are now providing only \$170 in actual appropriations from the Federal Government.

I agree with the Council's report that we have not fulfilled our commitment to the disadvantaged children of America. Not only has the title I formula not been funded fully, but also, unjust inequities between suburban and urban school expenditures still exist. This is illustrated by the \$449 average per pupil expenditure in city schools as compared with the \$573 average per pupil expenditure in suburban schools—Alvin K. Campbell, "Inequities of School Finance," *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 11, 1969. Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Wilbur Cohen in his testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor on January 15, 1969, made two recommendations that would reaffirm our commitment to education of the disadvantaged and seek to remedy the inequities of traditional patterns of resource allocation. He suggested that the Congress add \$270 million to the title I budget request of President Johnson for fiscal 1970 and that the allocation formula be examined to see if there is some way of bringing the concept of a national per pupil expenditure minimum into programs for the disadvantaged. We should move immediately to study the feasibility of these two worthy recommendations.

Another problem which the NAC report points out is the damage done to the quality of title I programs by the continued uncertainty of local school administrators about the level of funds available for title I programs. Because of funding uncertainties lower grade staff have been assigned to title I projects—administrators have declared they would not assign their best teachers to "a program that may go bust anytime"—single-purpose programs not integrated with the regular school curriculum have been planned, and a minimum of basic changes in the total school curriculum for disadvantaged children have been stimulated. Both the NAC report and Secretary Cohen in his testimony have recommended that we consider extended legislative authority for title I, so that educators can plan the unremitting, comprehensive effort it will take to successfully attack poverty through improving the education of poor children. I also strongly urge that we explore this recommendation for strengthening title I.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on February 16 the Lithuanian community in the United States commemorated the 51st anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day. For more than a half century Lithuanians continued their courageous struggle for independence. Although held in Soviet Communist tyranny for so many years, the Lithuanian people have still retained a strong sense of nationhood and yearn to regain their lost liberty. The history of their struggle in this century shows a people dedicated to freedom and self-determination in the face of overwhelming odds.

After years of subjugation by Russia, and occupation by Germany during the First World War, the Lithuanian people declared the "establishment of an independent Lithuania" on February 16, 1918. Yet by the end of that same year, the Soviet Union had invaded the country. Lithuania fought back and, though stripped of part of its territory, succeeded in gaining recognition from the Soviet Union as a sovereign state in 1920.

But the hard-won independence of the Lithuanian people was short lived. In 1940, Soviet troops occupied the country and annexed it to the Soviet Union. When the war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union the following year, Lithuania fell under German administration until, as the Nazi occupation collapsed in 1944, Lithuania was again crushed by the Soviet Army.

For 7 years, Mr. President, the Lithuanian people struggled to liberate their land. During that struggle, 30,000 Lithuanians died for the cause of self-determination, and hundreds of thousands were deported to the Soviet Union, where they died wholesale in forced labor camps.

But the Lithuanian people continue to yearn for freedom and the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state. As consistent supporters of the principle of self-determination, Americans acknowledge the commemoration of the 51st anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence, to demonstrate our sincere hope that liberty, so long repressed in Lithuania, will rise to fulfillment again.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is the intention of the leadership to turn to items on the calendar beginning with Order No. 11, including a number of immigration bills, as well as appropriations approved by the Committee on Rules and Administration for various committees and subcommittees.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now turn to the calendar, beginning with Order No. 11, and that the calendar be considered in sequence.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DR. JORGE P. GARCIA

The bill (S. 129) for the relief of Dr. Jorge P. Garcia was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 129

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Jorge P. Garcia shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of June 18, 1962.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 91-9), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Jorge P. Garcia as of June 18, 1962, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. CARLOS M. PEREZ-ABREU

The bill (S. 130) for the relief of Dr. Carlos M. Perez-Abreu was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 130

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Carlos M. Perez-Abreu shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of March 13, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 91-10), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Carlos M. Perez-Abreu as of March 13, 1961, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. JOSE RAMON FERNANDEZ-GONZALEZ

The bill (S. 132) for the relief of Dr. José Ramón Fernández-González was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 132

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor José Ramón Fernández-González shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 1, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 91-11), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. José Ramón Fernández-González as of July 1, 1961, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. MIGUEL A. GOMEZ

The bill (S. 147) for the relief of Dr. Miguel A. Gomez was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 147

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Miguel A. Gomez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 1, 1960.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-12), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. JUAN ALFREDO MILERA

The bill (S. 148) for the relief of Dr. Juan Alfredo Milera was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 148

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Juan Alfredo Milera shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of March 22, 1956, and the periods of time he has resided in the United States since that date shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of such Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-13), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. FERMIN FERRO

The bill (S. 151) for the relief of Dr. Fermin Ferro was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 151

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality

Act, Doctor Fermin Ferro shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 3, 1963.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-14), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Fermin Ferro as of July 3, 1963, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. CARLOS JESUS AGUILAR
LIMA

The bill (S. 153) for the relief of Dr. Carlos Jesus Aguilar Lima was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 153

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Carlos Jesus Aguilar Lima shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 14, 1962.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-15), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Doctor Carlos Jesus Aguilar Lima as of July 14, 1962, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. JOAQUIN FRANCISCO
PALMEROLA CABRERA

The bill (S. 154) for the relief of Dr. Joaquin Francisco Palmerola Cabrera was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 154

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Joaquin Francisco Palmerola Cabrera shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of January 6, 1963.

DR. JOSE RAMON PORTELA Y
MARGOLLES

The bill (S. 155) for the relief of Dr. Jose Ramon Portela y Margolles was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 155

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That the periods of time Doctor Jose Ramon Portela y Margolles has resided in the United States and any State since December 30, 1942, shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

DR. AURELIO JULIAN ANDRES
JIMENEZ CORTINA

The bill (S. 156) for the relief of Dr. Aurelio Julian Andres Jimenez Cortina was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 156

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Aurelio Julian Andres Jimenez Cortina shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of October 30, 1960.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-18), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Aurelio Julian Andres Jimenez Cortina as of October 30, 1960, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. MARTINIANO L. ORTA

The bill (S. 157) for the relief of Dr. Martiniano L. Orta was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 157

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Martiniano L. Orta shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of March 25, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-19), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Martiniano L. Orta as of March 25, 1961, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. CESAR BARO ESTEVA

The bill (S. 572) for the relief of Dr. Cesar Baro Esteva was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 572

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Cesar Baro Esteva shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 9, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-20), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. METE V. ALTUG

The bill (S. 113) for the relief of Dr. Mete V. Altug was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 113

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Mete V. Altug shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 29, 1957.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-21), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Mete V. Altug as of November 29, 1957, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. JOSE CARLOS SUAREZ-DIAZ

The bill (S. 127) for the relief of Dr. Jose Carlos Suarez-Diaz was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 127

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Jose Carlos Suarez-Diaz shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of June 26, 1957.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-22), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Jose Carlos Suarez-Diaz as of June 26, 1957, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. MIGUEL ANGEL GARCIA PLASENCIA

The bill (S. 149) for the relief of Dr. Miguel Angel Garcia Plasencia was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 149

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Miguel Angel Garcia Plasencia shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of August 4, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-23), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Miguel Angel Garcia Plasencia as of August 4, 1961, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

SOON-HIE CHO YOUNG

The bill (S. 76) for the relief of Soon-Hie Cho Young was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 76

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Soon-Hie Cho Young shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 22, 1967, upon payment of the required visa fee and the periods of time the said Soon-Hie Cho Young has resided in the United States and any State since such date shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of such Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-24), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to proceed to naturalization.

DR. JAGIR SINGH RANDHAWA

The bill (S. 85) for the relief of Dr. Jagir Singh Randhawa was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 85

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Jagir S. Randhawa shall be held and considered to have been lawfully ad-

mitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 4, 1957.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-25), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Jagir Singh Randhawa as of September 4, 1957, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

PETER RUDOLF GROSS

The bill (S. 378) for the relief of Peter Rudolf Gross was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 378

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the periods of time Peter Rudolf Gross has resided in the United States and any State since his lawful admission for permanent residence on April 15, 1961, shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. In this case the petition for naturalization may be filed with any court having naturalization jurisdiction.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-26), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

GYORGY SEBOK

The bill (S. 490) for the relief of Gyorgy Sebok was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 490

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Gyorgy Sebok shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of October 1, 1962.

SEC. 2. The time Gyorgy Sebok has resided and has been physically present in the United States since October 1, 1962, shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-27), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. JOSE R. GUERRA

The bill (S. 573) for the relief of Dr. Jose R. Guerra was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 573

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Jose R. Guerra shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of August 29, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-28), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Jose R. Guerra as of August 29, 1961, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

DOMINGO LAMADRIZ

The bill (S. 584) for the relief of Domingo Lamadriz was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 584

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Domingo Lamadriz shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of January 23, 1962.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-29), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Domingo Lamadriz as of January 23, 1962, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization.

NGUYEN VAN HUE

The bill (S. 586) for the relief of Nguyen Van Hue was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 586

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Nguyen Van Hue may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in his behalf by Master Sergeant Norman Leon Snyder, XXXXXXXXXX

United States Army, and Muriel Guest Snyder, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act: *Provided, That the natural brothers or sisters of the beneficiary shall not, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act.*

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-30), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the adjustment of status as an immediate relative of the alien child to be adopted by citizens of the United States.

DR. EDUARDO FERNANDEZ-DOMINGUEZ

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 131) for the relief of Dr. Eduardo Fernandez-Dominguez, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the period of time Doctor Eduardo Fernandez-Dominguez has resided in the United States and any State since September 24, 1928, shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-31), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable Dr. Eduardo Fernandez-Dominguez to file a petition for naturalization. The amendment is technical and makes no substantive changes.

DR. KENNETH SIU

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 112) for the relief of Dr. Kenneth Siu which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, in line 6, after the date "1953" insert "and the periods of time he has resided in the United States since that date shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of such Act."; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Kenneth Siu shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 29, 1953, and the periods of time he has resided in the United States since that date shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of such Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-32), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Kenneth Siu as of July 29, 1953, and to enable him to file a petition for naturalization based on his residence and physical presence in the United States since that date. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents.

BASIL ROWLAND DUNCAN

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 165) for the relief of Basil Rowland Duncan which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment in line 6, after the word "of" strike out "August 9, 1962" and insert "February 13, 1962"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Basil Rowland Duncan, shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 13, 1962.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-33), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Basil Rowland Duncan as of February 13, 1962, thus enabling him to file a petition for naturalization. The purpose of the amendment is to reflect the proper date upon which the beneficiary last entered the United States as a student.

CONFERRING U.S. CITIZENSHIP POSTHUMOUSLY UPON L. CPL. THEODORE DANIEL VAN STAVEREN

The bill (S. 256) to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon L. Cpl. Theodore Daniel Van Staveren was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Lance Corporal Theodore Daniel Van Staveren, a native of the Netherlands, who served honorably in the United States Marine Corps from February 24, 1967, until his death on April 10, 1968, shall be held and considered to have been a citizen of the United States at the time of his death.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill to confer United States citizenship posthumously upon Lance Corporal Theodore Daniel Van Staveren."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-34), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Lance Cpl. Theodore Daniel Van Staveren. The purpose of the amendment is to correct the spelling of the beneficiary's name as it appeared in the title of the bill.

MARIE-LOUISE (MARY LOUISE) PIERCE

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 495) for the relief of Marie-Louise (Mary Louise) Pierce which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, in line 7, after the word "fee" insert a colon and "Provided, That a suitable and proper bond or undertaking, approved by the Attorney General, be deposited as prescribed by section 213 of the said Act."; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Marie-Louise (Mary Louise) Pierce shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee: Provided, That a suitable and proper bond or undertaking, approved by the Attorney General, be deposited as prescribed by section 213 of the said Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-35), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Marie-Louise (Mary Louise) Pierce. The bill provides for the payment of the required visa fee. The purpose of the amendment is to provide for the posting of a bond as a guarantee that the beneficiary will not become a public charge.

STELLA DRIBENSKY

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 510) for the relief of Stella Dribensky which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 212(a) (2) and (4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Stella Dribensky may be issued an immigrant visa and be admitted to the United States for permanent

residence if she is found to be otherwise admissible under the provisions of such Act: *Provided, That a suitable and proper bond or undertaking approved by the Attorney General be deposited as prescribed by section 213 of such Act: And provided further, That these exemptions shall apply only to grounds for exclusion of which the Department of State or the Department of Justice has knowledge prior to the enactment of this Act.*

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

FRANCISCO RENIGIO FABRE SOLINO (FRANK R. S. FABRE)

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 678) for the relief of Francisco Renigio Fabre Solino (Frank R. S. Fabre) which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, in line 6, after the word "of" strike out "April 13, 1960" and insert "November 5, 1960"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Francisco Renigio Fabre Solino (Frank R. S. Fabre) shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 5, 1960.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-37), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended to reflect the date upon which he was last admitted as a visitor.

RENE E. MONTERO

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 682) for the relief of Rene E. Montero which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, in line 6, after the word "of" strike out "the date of February 13, 1962, upon payment of the required visa. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available."; and insert "February 9, 1962"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Rene E. Montero shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 9, 1962.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-38), explaining the purpose of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents and to reflect the proper date upon which he was paroled into the United States as a refugee.

DR. JUAN ANTONIO LOPEZ

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 686) for the relief of Dr. Juan Antonio Lopez which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, in line 6, after the word "of" where it appears the first time, strike out: the date of his entry into the United States, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available", and insert "January 2, 1962"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Juan Antonio Lopez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of January 2, 1962.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-39), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents and to reflect the proper date upon which he was paroled into the United States as a refugee.

DR. BENITO V. ODULIO AND DR. BRUNHILDA G. ODULIO

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 109) for the relief of Dr. Benito V. Odulio and his wife, Dr. Brunhilda G. Odulio which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Benito V. Odulio shall be held and considered to have a priority date of February 16, 1967,

for the purpose of filing a petition pursuant to section 203(a)(3) of that Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Doctor Benito V. Odulio."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-40), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to preserve the beneficiary's sixth preference petition filing date of February 16, 1967, when he files a petition pursuant to section 203(a)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The bill has been amended to facilitate the beneficiary's adjustment of status. A further amendment deletes the name of the beneficiary's wife, since she will be entitled to the same preference as her husband in the adjustment of her status.

LILLIANA GRASSESCHI BARONI

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 319) for the relief of Lilliana Grasseschi Baroni which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments, on page 1, line 4, after the word "Act," strike out "Lilliana Grasseschi Baroni" and insert "Lilliana Grasseschi Baroni", and in line 10, after the word "proper" strike out "quota control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year such quota is available." and insert "officer to reduce by one number, during the current fiscal year or the fiscal year next following, the total number of immigrant visas and conditional entries which are made available to natives of the country of the alien's birth under paragraphs (1) through (8) of section 203(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act."; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Lilliana Grasseschi Baroni shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper officer to reduce by one number, during the current fiscal year or the fiscal year next following, the total number of immigrant visas and conditional entries which are made available to natives of the country of the alien's birth under paragraphs (1) through (8) of section 203(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Lilliana Grasseschi Baroni."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the

RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-41), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Lilliana Grasseschi Baroni. The bill provides for the payment of the required visa fee and for an appropriate visa number deduction. The bill has been amended to correct the spelling of the beneficiary's first name. A further amendment is conforming in future.

YUKA FUKUNAGA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 458) for the relief of Yuka Fukunaga which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments on page 1, in line 4, after the word "amended," strike out "Yuka Fukunaga" and insert "Yuka Awamura" and in line 8, after the word "Act" insert a colon and "Provided That no brothers or sisters of the beneficiary shall thereafter, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act." so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, Yuka Awamura may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of that Act, and a petition may be filed in her behalf by Mrs. Edith Fukunaga, a citizen of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act: *Provided*, That no brothers or sisters of the beneficiary shall thereafter, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Yuka Awamura."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-42), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to facilitate the entry into the United States in an immediate relative status of the alien child to be adopted by a citizen of the United States. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents and to correct the name of the beneficiary.

INVESTIGATION OF AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 59) to provide funds for the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate now stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 1 o'clock and 52 minutes p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. GRAVEL in the chair).

INVESTIGATION OF AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 59) to provide funds for the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business (S. Res. 59) be laid aside temporarily and that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 56, Senate Resolution 27.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hearing none, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after Senate Resolution 27 is disposed of, the Senate return to the consideration of Calendar Order No. 45 (S. Res. 59), and that the remainder of the resolutions on the calendar be considered in sequence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hearing none, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, under rule VIII, each Senator shall be entitled to speak once and for 5 minutes only on any question on a bill or resolution that arises. It has been held that a unanimous-consent request to reconsider a question during a call of the calendar came within the 5-minute limitation of debate.

During a call of the calendar, a Senator is entitled to speak for 5 minutes on any subject; debate is not required to be germane.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that stipulation be lifted so that any Senator can speak for as long as he desires.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RESOLUTIONS PROVIDING FUNDS FOR VARIOUS SENATE COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, before I call up Senate Resolution 27, I should like to make an opening statement concerning the money resolutions which we are about to consider.

Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, 37 resolutions providing funds for various committees and subcommittees of the Senate to conduct inquiries and investigations during the coming year were referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration. That committee held 3 days of hearings at which representatives of the committees and subcommittees involved appeared in support of the funds requested by them. In addition, the Senate Rules Committee received written justifications and budgets on each proposal.

After careful appraisal of all of the material presented and review of the accomplishments of the Senate committees' investigations during the previous year, it was the decision of the Rules Committee to reduce the amounts involved in 21 of the 37 so-called money resolutions. In making these reductions, it was the Rules Committee's objective to provide adequate staff representation and at the same time exercise a measure of control over the Senate's overall expenditures.

The total amount requested by all committees of the Senate was \$7,748,360. The total amount approved by the Senate Rules Committee is \$6,944,700. This represents a reduction of \$803,660.

It has always been the Rules Committee's position that should a particular committee or subcommittee during the course of the coming year demonstrate a genuine need for additional funds and request authority for additional expenditures, the Rules Committee would give such request prompt and understanding consideration.

I point out at this point that the representatives of a number of committees appeared before the Committee on Rules and Administration during the last session and the money requested was promptly provided for them.

As a matter of additional interest, Mr. President, there are certain subcommittees of the Senate whose request for funds exceed or approach the amounts asked by full standing committees of the Senate. The Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, for example, has requested only \$40,000; the Committee on Armed Services, \$225,000; the Committee on Foreign Relations, \$275,000—reduced to \$260,000—and the Committee on Public Works, \$240,000. The Committee on Agriculture requested no additional funds.

STUDY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATES AND MUNICIPALITIES

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 27) authorizing a

study of the intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 24, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$175,211" and insert "\$130,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

S. RES. 27

Resolved, That the Committee on Government Operations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by subsection 1(j) (2) (D) of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities, including an evaluation of studies, reports, and recommendations made thereon and submitted to the Congress by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 86-380, approved by the President on September 24, 1959, as amended by Public Law 89-733, approved by the President on November 2, 1966.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$130,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, the intergovernmental relationships resolution, Senate Resolution 27, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on Government Operations through its Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations to expend not to exceed \$175,211 this year for a study of intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities.

During the last session of Congress \$130,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$113,908 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$175,211 to \$130,000, a reduction of \$45,211.

Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator KARL E. MUNDT.

During the last session, this subcommittee was authorized an expenditure of

\$130,000 of which over \$16,000 went unspent. It was the sentiment of the Senate Rules Committee that the studies performed by the subcommittee could be funded during the coming year by the same authorized expenditure of \$130,000. In taking this action, the members of the Senate Rules Committee wanted it made clear that the amount of money spent by a particular subcommittee in a particular year does not necessarily govern the amount that the Rules Committee would authorize in a succeeding year. It is, however, a factor to be carefully evaluated in trying to apply a measure of economy to the Senate's operations and in projecting a likely cost to the Senate of a particular study or program.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I shall direct my remarks at the moment to the general situation that existed when the Reorganization Act of 1946 was passed. We recall that when Congress was reorganized, we provided for 150 employees and created 15 standing committees. Each committee was allowed four professionals and six clericals.

The Reorganization Act reduced the number of committees that we had in the Senate from 38, as I recall, to the 15 I have just mentioned. Initially there were very few, if any, subcommittees. Soon after the Reorganization Act was passed, we began to create these subcommittees, and the amount spent at the beginning was approximately \$140,000 over what could be spent under the Reorganization Act.

Since that time, Mr. President, all committees, except the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and the Committee on the District of Columbia, created separate subcommittees of each committee, which required quite a sum of money. Over the years, we have been spending at the rate of approximately \$5 million per year for that purpose alone, and this amount is in addition to the amount provided under the Reorganization Act.

In other words, under the Reorganization Act, a fixed sum is set for each committee, for its regular employees, and each committee is also allowed a certain amount of money to operate the committee. What we are speaking of today is an amount in addition to the regular amount provided for by the 15 original committees.

Since the Reorganization Act, we have made a permanent committee of the Select Committee on Small Business as well as the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. Those committees at first were provided with the same number of employees as the original committees created under the act of 1946.

As I have stated, the amount of money spent in the last 10 to 12 years has averaged approximately \$5 million over the amounts provided for the regular standing committees, without any additions to them.

I have before me a table of figures for the last 4 years. It indicates that in 1965 the Senate provided \$5,391,000 for special subcommittees. As I have said, that does not include the regular amount provided for the permanent employees of expenses of each Senate committee. In

1966 we went up from \$5,391,000 to \$5,798,000, and in 1967 we went up to \$6,270,900. In 1968, the amount was \$6,543,900.

I understand that the present resolutions call for a total expenditure during fiscal 1969—that is, in this year—of \$6,944,700; in other words, \$400,000 more than was authorized last year.

As we all know, there is a move in progress to construct another Senate office building. Of course, we all know that more employees mean more spaces. Since 1946, when the Reorganization Act became effective, we have added, aside from the regular employees, 78 other permanent employees. So that in the Senate today, for all our committees, aside from the 150 employees originally provided for under the act, we have a total of 228 permanent employees. I point out that in addition to these 228 employees, we have added 478 investigative staff. So that in 1968 we provided for a grand total of 702 employees, which means more than 450 over and above the regular employees I have just mentioned, as well as the employees originally provided for by Congress.

It is no wonder that we are looking around now for more space and for perhaps a new Senate office building, when, as I point out, we are providing for 700-odd employees. Last year, we had 702 employees on the payroll, and the new presentation eliminates 17, leaving a total of 685 employees. If the 150 original regular employees I have just mentioned are removed from that amount, it will be noted that since reorganization we have added 535 new employees to operate and administer the 16 standing committees of the Senate, at the cost I have cited.

I note that the requests for this year were \$7,748,360, and the committee saw fit to reduce the amount to \$6,944,700.

As we go along, Mr. President, I should like to find out from the chairman of each subcommittee what has been done in the past 12 months by way of hearings and by way of legislation. I think it is in order for us to find out that information. As I have pointed out on many occasions, we have had the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency on the books now for over 20 years. That committee was supposed to complete its work in a year or 2 years at the most, from the date on which it was originally created. I notice from the number of committees we are going to deal with today that there have been few committees that have completed their work. It seems that once they are created they are there forever, although when created it is said they expect to do this, that, and the other and complete their work in just a few years.

However, the RECORD will show that with the exception of one committee, a case involving consolidation of one committee with another committee, we have the same number of committees. We will develop that as we go along.

I predict that if the trend toward additional employees keeps increasing there is no question that we will need more space. I can well remember when efforts were made to construct the New Senate Office Building. We debated the issue for

about 11 years as to whether or not we should have a New Senate Office Building. Some of us felt we could find quite a few more offices in the Old Senate Office Building. Also, if we decided to extend the east wing of the Capitol, we thought we could find a sufficient amount of space, combined with the space we had in the old building, to take care of the situation.

However, because of the increase I have been speaking of, to the point where we now have 685 employees employed by these committees, every bit of space in the old building is now occupied. The New Senate Office Building is also occupied entirely and the east wing of the Capitol is built and that is pretty well filled.

In this increase in employees continues, we may have to build a third Senate office building, which may well need to be much larger than either of the ones we have at present.

Mr. President, I want to be frank. I do not expect to receive much assistance in trying to cut back. Nonetheless, it should be done. I am very hopeful that the chairman of each of these committees, without being asked to do so, will rise and tell the Senate what has been done in the last 12 months to justify a renewal or extension of these subcommittees. I shall be very anxious to listen to them and to hear them.

With that, I have nothing further to say, although I shall have more to say as each individual resolution is considered.

Mr. President, what is the first resolution?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is considering Senate Resolution 27, Calendar No. 56, which the clerk will state.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 27) authorizing a study of intergovernmental relationships between the United States, and the States and municipalities, reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, line 24, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$175,211" and insert "\$130,000".

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand it, this is a part of the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. MUSKIE. The Senator is correct. This is for the subcommittee.

Mr. ELLENDER. How many subcommittees do we have in the Committee on Government Operations? Does anybody know?

Mr. MUSKIE. There is this committee and there are five other subcommittees.

Mr. ELLENDER. Five others?

Mr. MUSKIE. The Senator is correct. As the Senator knows, the Committee on Government Operations is by nature and function an investigative committee under the Reorganization Act. This is the only way in which it operates. It is not primarily a legislative committee and it is not a money committee. It is an investigating committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. Can the Senator tell

us what the committee has done during the last year?

Mr. MUSKIE. Yes, I shall be happy to do so.

Mr. ELLENDER. What investigations have been made? The Senator might make reference to copies of reports that have been made. We would not want them in the RECORD, but we would want to know what the members of the committee have done and also the employees of the subcommittee.

Mr. MUSKIE. I shall be happy to do so.

Mr. President, at this point I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter which goes into some detail on the points the Senator raised, which I submitted to the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration in support of the resolution.

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

JANUARY 30, 1969.

HON. EVERETT JORDAN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR EVERETT: I am enclosing a copy of S. Res. 27 authorizing continuation of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, which I reported from the Committee on Government Operations on January 17, 1969. It has the unanimous approval of the Committee.

Pursuant to Senate Resolution 221 in 1968, the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations has carried forward the study of relationships between the United States and States and municipalities which has been its responsibility since the Subcommittee was established in 1962.

In the course of its efforts, the Subcommittee has examined the increasing demands made on government at every level, and has sought to identify areas where the capacity and purpose of government to deal with these demands could be increased through more effective intergovernmental cooperation.

The records of the hearings on such subjects have been published and the findings of special studies have been issued as committee prints.

In accordance with the mandate given it, the Subcommittee has examined all reports and recommendations submitted to the Congress by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

It has considered and reported on legislation referred to it by the Committee on Government Operations.

A. LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES: 90TH CONGRESS

1. Legislation

1. S. 698, the *Intergovernmental Cooperation Act*—S. 698, based in part on S. 561 which was passed by the Senate in 1965, and in part on S. 1681 which was passed by the Senate in 1966, was introduced in January, 1967. It was the purpose of this bill to promote the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities among the levels of government by improving the administration of grants-in-aid to the States, providing for periodic Congressional review of Federal grants-in-aid, permitting provision for reimbursable technical services to State and local government, establishing coordinated intergovernmental policy and administration of grants and loans for urban development, and authorizing consolidation of certain grant-in-aid programs. It also provided for the acquisition, use, and disposition of land within urban areas by Federal agencies in conformity with local government programs, and for a uniform relocation assistance policy and a uniform land acquisition policy for

Federal and federally aided programs. On July 24, the Committee on Government Operations reported the bill to the Senate, which passed it unanimously on July 29.

The House of Representatives on September 16, passed a companion bill, H.R. 18826, and amended S. 698 by substituting for its provisions those of the House passed bill. On September 30 a committee of conference met to resolve differences between S. 698 and the House amendment (H.R. 18826), and agreed on a substitute bill. The substitute omitted the two titles having to do with uniform relocation assistance and uniform land acquisition policy, which had been included in the Senate bill but were not in the House bill. The House agreed to the conference report on October 1 and the Senate on October 4, thus completing action on S. 698, which, upon approval by the President, became Public Law 90-577.

2. *S. 699, the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1967*—This legislation, containing basically the same provisions as S. 3408, considered in the 89th Congress, was introduced in January, 1967. In April, 1967, at the request of the Administration, I introduced S. 1485, the Intergovernmental Manpower Act of 1967. The objectives of the two bills were identical—to improve intergovernmental cooperation in the management of Federal aid programs through: (1) broader use of the merit principle in public employment; (2) improvement of State and local personnel administration; (3) special training for public employees engaged in the administration of federally aided programs; and (4) opportunity for interchange of employees between Federal, State, and local levels of government. Hearings on both measures were held in April, 1967, and on October 10, 1967, S. 699 was reported, with amendments, to the parent committee. The Committee on Government Operations, on October 31, 1967, reported the bill to the Senate. The Senate, on November 7, 1967, approved S. 699 with amendments. No action was taken on the bill by the House of Representatives.

3. *S. Res. 68, providing for the establishment of a Senate Select Committee on Technology and the Human Environment*—This resolution was introduced on January, 1967. It was identical to S. Res. 298, which I introduced in the 89th Congress. Hearings were held in March and April, 1967, and the resolution, with minor amendments, was reported to the parent committee on June 28, 1967. No further action was taken.

4. *S. 2981, the Joint Funding Simplification Act of 1968*—This bill was introduced on February 16, 1968, by request. It had been drafted by the Bureau of the Budget and submitted to the President of the Senate for introduction in order that certain of the objectives enumerated in the President's Message of March 17, 1968, on the "Quality of American Government" might be fulfilled. The purpose of S. 2981 was to implement the President's recommendation that legislation be enacted to permit "Federal agencies to combine related grants into a single financial package, thus simplifying the financial and administrative procedures—without disturbing, however, the separate authorization, appropriations, and substantive requirements for each grant-in-aid program." The Subcommittee took testimony on this bill in the hearings held in May, 1968, and approved the bill without amendment, transmitting it on July 2 to the full Committee on Government Operations for consideration. No further action was taken.

II. Other legislation referred to the subcommittee

1. *S. Res. 79*. Introduced by Senators Mondale and Muskie, to authorize a study of revenue sharing by the Committee on Government Operations.

2. *S. 567*. Introduced by Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts, to establish a Temporary National Commission on Intergovernmental Fiscal Needs and Resources.

3. *S. 671*. Introduced by Senator Muskie, to establish a National Intergovernmental Affairs Council in the Executive Office of the President.

4. *S. 799*. Introduced by Senator Scott, to institute a system of comprehensive planning and coordination among the several levels of government.

These bills were studied by the Subcommittee and their purposes were examined in the course of hearings on Creative Federalism, but no action was recommended by the Subcommittee.

The Subcommittee considered two other bills, on which no action was taken beyond staff study, namely—

1. *S. 1364*. Introduced by Senator Muskie, to establish certain conditions under which States or other taxing authorities might subject persons to liability for payment of property taxes on property located in Federal areas within such States; and

2. *S. 3732*. Introduced by Senator Boggs, to create a catalog of Federal assistance programs, and for other purposes.

III. Research and information

1. *Creative Federalism*. This is a continuous study in the course of which hearings are held from time to time. Part I of the hearings, containing testimony of representatives of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government presented on November 16, 17, 18, and 21, 1966, was published in January, 1967. Testimony of officials from the State-Local-Regional level was taken at hearings held January 31, February 1, 2, 7, and 9, and March 21 and 22, 1967, and this has been published as Part II of Creative Federalism.

During the 90th Congress, the Subcommittee issued several committee prints.

2. *The Federal System as Seen by Federal Aid Officials*. S. Con. Res. 6 was considered and agreed to on May 11, 1967, authorizing the printing of additional copies of this publication.

3. *Criteria for Evaluation in Planning State and Local Programs*. This study was prepared for the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee by Harry P. Hatry, Chairman of the State-Local Finances Project of George Washington University. It was issued July, 1967 and reprinted in August, 1968.

4. *Periodic Congressional Reassessment of Federal Grants-in-Aid to State and Local Governments*. Prepared by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, this report, first adopted by the Commission, June, 1961, was revised to include fiscal data as of January, 1967, and was issued July, 1967.

5. *State Utility Commissions*. This publication is composed of data compiled from responses by State utilities regulatory bodies to questionnaires regarding their form of organization, jurisdiction, staffing, and other characteristics. It was issued on September 11, 1967 and reprinted in November, 1967.

6. *Federal Disaster Relief Manual*. The Subcommittee staff is engaged in revision of this manual. Questionnaires were sent to approximately twenty-five departments and agencies of the Federal Government requesting detailed pertinent information to be used in the revision.

7. *Catalog of Federal Aids to State and Local Governments*. With assistance from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, the Subcommittee is compiling a current and consolidated edition of the *Catalog of Federal Aids to State and Local Governments*, first issued by the Subcommittee in 1964, and its 1965 and 1966 supplements.

Reports of the ACIR

The Subcommittee continued to receive and review reports of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Three major reports were received, in final or preliminary form, as follows:

The published report entitled "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System";

The published report entitled "Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth";

Summary of report on "Intergovernmental Problems in Medicaid."

These reports and their recommendations remain for further consideration by the Subcommittee.

B. LEGISLATIVE AGENDA: 91ST CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

I. Legislation

1. *The Uniform Relocation Assistance and Land Acquisition Policy Act of 1969 (S. 1)*. This bill is intended to provide for uniform and equitable treatment of persons displaced from their homes, businesses or farms by Federal or federally assisted programs. It is also intended to establish uniform and equitable land acquisition policies for Federal and federally assisted programs.

Provisions for uniform relocation assistance and land acquisition policies were included in the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 as introduced and passed by the Senate. Because of a conflict of committee jurisdiction in the House of Representatives, it was not possible for the Senate and the House to agree on the relocation and acquisition sections of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968. These elements were left from the bill. This was a jurisdictional problem. There was no disagreement on the merits of the provision. Conferees have agreed on early action in the 91st Congress.

2. *The Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1969 (S. 11)*. This bill is almost identical to the bill passed by the Senate in 1967. It is intended to help strengthen State and local governments through improved personnel administration and more efficient recruitment and training of personnel, particularly in the administrative, professional, and technical categories.

This bill has the widespread endorsement and support of many public officials and citizen groups. It passed the Senate with a substantial majority. The House did not have an opportunity to act on it.

We anticipate hearings on the proposal and to report as soon as practicable a bill which can be considered in the House in this session, and hopefully, enacted.

3. *A resolution to create a Select Committee of the Senate on Technology and the Human Environment*. This is similar to the resolution approved by the Subcommittee in the 90th Congress but not reported for floor action. The proposed composition of the Select Committee has been broadened and would be authorized to make a comprehensive study and investigation of (1) the character and extent of technological changes that probably will occur, and which should be promoted within the next 50 years, and their effect on population, communities and industry; and, (2) policies which would encourage the maximum private investment in means of improving the human environment.

4. *Other Legislative Proposals*. The Subcommittee anticipates that several proposals will emerge from draft legislation submitted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. These would include (1) an omnibus Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1969 to amend Public Law 90-577; and, (2) the Urban and Rural Development Act of 1969.

There is also a prospect of legislation to be considered by the Subcommittee on the availability to the Congress, the general public and particularly State and local governments of information on Federal assistance

programs, and of the possible uses of information technology for this purpose. Legislation on this subject was referred to the Subcommittee late in the 90th Congress, and there is widespread concern over the underlying problem.

II. Creative federalism, part III

It is planned that most of the new investigative activities of the Subcommittee will be carried on through Part III of Creative Federalism hearings. These hearings would focus on major national objectives and the means of attaining them through the combined operations of Federal, State and local governments. As presently planned, the hearings will concentrate on certain areas of investigation most closely related to existing and emerging problems, namely—

1. The means by which Federal agencies can most effectively cooperate with State and local governments in the management and coordination of domestic programs.

2. The availability of social, economic, fiscal, and other data needed for purposes of policy development and decisionmaking, for definition of problems, setting of goals, and measurement of progress toward achievement of these goals.

3. Program planning requirements and aids necessary to achieve the orderly development and effective implementation of public programs with special emphasis on cooperation among the components of the Federal system.

4. Examination of the system of grants-in-aid and related financial and technical assistance by the Federal Government to State and local governments for the accomplishment of purposes identified with the national interest.

5. Fiscal relationships, examining the financial resources available to each element of the Federal system for performance of its responsibilities and proposals for redirection of the flow of public revenues by such means as tax sharing, bloc grants, income tax credits, and others.

Out of these hearings we would expect further legislative proposals to be developed.

C. CONCLUSION

In view of the responsibilities that confront the Subcommittee during the coming year, we are asking for an appreciable increase over our request for 1968. The projected budget totals \$175,211, as compared with our request of \$148,000 and an appropriation of \$130,000 last year.

In 1967, we requested \$142,500 and were reduced to \$130,000. The reduction of funds in both 1967 and 1968 severely curtailed planned activities, including field hearings on legislation, staff consideration of several pieces of legislation of major importance in the field of intergovernmental relations, and Part III of our hearings on Creative Federalism.

The requested increase will cover proposed increases in our staff that are necessary to carry the prospective increase in workload, and the expenses of hearings and investigations that are incumbent upon us by the terms of our resolution.

Some additions to staff are mandatory of the outlined program is to be carried out. The projected budget would allow for the additions of two professionals in the middle salary range. It also includes funds for the mandatory salary increases expected to apply in the last half of this year. The only other increase of any significance is attributable to the program of hearings, again resulting from deferral of these investigative activities from 1967 to 1969.

Sincerely,

EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
U.S. Senate, Chairman.

Mr. MUSKIE. The work of this subcommittee, as is true of the full Committee on Government Operations, is

concerned with investigations, and our investigations are directed to the particular area of intergovernmental relations, that is, relations between the three levels of government. In that connection, we have three areas of work. First of all, there is the area of legislation. The subcommittees of the Committee on Government Operations do not normally handle much legislation.

In this subcommittee we do have legislation because we are charged under our charter with oversight of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and its work. For that reason from time to time we go into the legislation developed by the Commission in the governmental field.

Last year we considered the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act (S. 698), which was the product of 3 years' work before we were able to put it into a form approved by both Houses and signed by the President last year.

Also last year we introduced for the second time the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1967, designed to be of assistance in coordinating manpower policies of Federal, State, and local governments. It was introduced for the second time.

We also considered legislation submitted by the administration and reported the bill to the Senate, which was passed by the Senate, with amendments. No action was taken by the House of Representatives. The bill has already been reintroduced this year and we hope we can get it through to final passage in light of the fact that the new administration is also interested in this field.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is that the reason for renewing this subcommittee?

Mr. MUSKIE. This is one of the aspects of work in which the subcommittee is involved. I should be happy to go into detail.

The third piece of legislation was in connection with Senate Resolution 68, providing for the establishment of a Senate Select Committee on Technology and the Human Environment. This is an area in which there is growing interest in the Senate, the House of Representatives, and throughout the country. Because of the interest that was shown last year by the introduction of that legislation, there is a movement in both Houses to consider a joint committee. A new committee may not be created but the important thing is that this resolution was intended and did focus public attention on the importance of relating what we do here, in many of our legislative committees, to the rapid developments of science and technology. So we had hearings last year and by this resolution we were able to generate a useful dialog which was of benefit to other committees.

Mr. ELLENDER. What is proposed to be put there? Will the Senator inform us? What good will come from it?

Mr. MUSKIE. With that particular resolution?

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes.

Mr. MUSKIE. The purpose is not so much the resolution as the necessity to focus attention upon the impact of sci-

ence and technology on the lives of our people, not only the direct benefits of technology which they bring to the people but also the impact of new technology upon the lives of our people. We know what the automobile has done to our society in the form of overcrowded cities, congested highways, and dirty air. If there had been a committee of that kind in existence at the time the technology of the automobile began to be created, it may be that we would have focused a little more effectively and a little more wisely upon the implications of the automobile on the future lives of our people.

It is the purpose of the resolution, at the very least, if no committee is ever created, to focus the attention of Senate committees, dealing with legislation which stems from the technological development, upon the human implications of those developments and the question of whether, by Government policy or Government appropriation, we are to encourage particular forms of technological development. We have the expertise which is now being considered by the Senate and which has tremendous application for life in this country, which is under the jurisdiction of the committee and the committee is focusing on it. But what we are urging, when we introduce a resolution of this kind, is for Congress to focus attention upon those aspects of American life. We are asking the American people to think about and to consider policies which can be proposed in the light of developments and the problems which may show up, so that we can legislate more wisely.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator from Maine led the way in introducing and having passed legislation to rid ourselves of air and water pollution. How did he accomplish that? Was it not through an existing committee?

Mr. MUSKIE. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. Which one?

Mr. MUSKIE. The Public Works Committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. All right. Why do we have to have another committee to step in and study that? To me, that is just duplication. The Senator was effective in having air pollution legislation enacted into law. They are very good laws, to do the very things he is talking about now. Now he wants to get another committee to look further into that. I just cannot follow it.

Mr. MUSKIE. That committee is not before us.

Mr. ELLENDER. No, but the Senator states he proposes to study that—

Mr. MUSKIE. What the Senator is saying is that he does not even want the idea proposed for consideration. I think that is a negative attitude to take.

Mr. ELLENDER. I did not say that.

Mr. MUSKIE. All I did was to introduce a resolution. I am perfectly aware of the difficulties of creating new committees. I submitted a resolution in order to point out an area of thought which I think Congress and the country should be exploring, so that the resolution to create a committee would be a stimulus to thought. As a result, we had many

days of constructive hearings listening to people with good minds who came here to contribute to a better understanding of the problems. We may never get a committee, although I may say that I am going to continue to press for one. The important point is not whether a committee is created, but whether we can bring the attention of Congress to the fact that it should consider this matter, either through a special committee or through existing committees. What I am merely talking about right now is not being considered by the committees which have jurisdiction. They are all busy with many other items of business. They have not yet had time to focus attention on this area.

Accordingly, what I am trying to do with that resolution is, first, to stimulate existing committees to focus attention on that area for their future work, or if they cannot do it, if they have not got the time to do it, if a special committee is a better way to do it, that we consider doing it with a special committee; but, of course, that is a decision yet to be made.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand it, the Committee on Commerce will. Shortly, that committee will ask for quite a nice sum of money to make studies in the very areas the Senator is now speaking of. Automobiles—if something should be done about improving the automobile, and other facilities that we now have that cause pollution, why cannot the Committee on Commerce do that? Why does a subcommittee want to barge in and study, evidently, the same subject?

Let me point out further to the Senator, as I said, the Senator was very successful in getting before a committee of the Senate bills on water and air pollution, which were enacted into law, and he did not have to have a special committee to effect that.

Mr. MUSKIE. That is after the fact, Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. I understand.

Mr. MUSKIE. What I am urging upon Congress is to try to anticipate difficulties like that. Right now, for example, we are involved in the problem of thermal pollution. We are being told by all of the fossil fuel industries and power companies that we do not have to worry about that, that we do not have to establish policies with respect to that until we know what the problems will be.

All the while the problems are developing, we will be discharging into our streams and waters all across the country massive quantities of superheated water. The problems will be upon us and we will have made investments in powerplants. Then, when we propose policies, the people will say it is too expensive, we cannot afford to close down the plants, or we cannot afford to close down the industries. Thus, after the fact, we may come up with some weak-kneed legislation that may not do the job.

Water pollution legislation was enacted after the problems were created. What I am urging now is that we do a little thinking about these problems, before they come into existence, and try to do a little something about avoiding their

coming into existence at all. I am talking about preventive medicine.

If what the Senator wants is only surgery, after the problems have been created, then let us not think about the future. But, if what we are concerned about is avoiding some of the difficulties and social problems, then all I am asking the Senator is, let us do a little thinking about the future before we take these irrevocable steps.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand it, the Committee on Public Works is also engaged in work along the lines of—

Mr. MUSKIE. The Committee on Public Works has jurisdiction over air and water pollution and problems in existence—

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes; and also—

Mr. MUSKIE. What I am talking about is—

Mr. ELLENDER (continuing). Authorizing the very instrumentalities that will cause pollution.

Mr. MUSKIE. But what I am talking about goes across the board. For example, the Committee on Commerce has jurisdiction over the railroads—

Mr. ELLENDER. A good deal more than that—

Mr. MUSKIE. The Committee on Commerce has jurisdiction over aviation. Another committee has jurisdiction over other aspects of it.

When we talk about preventive medicine, we are talking about problems arising that lie within the jurisdiction of more than one committee. The fact is, the proposed select committee, which is not before us, would involve jurisdiction of seven legislative committees. That is how far reaching the implications of modern technology are. No committee in the Senate today has broad enough jurisdiction to consider all the far-reaching and interrelated implications of modern technology. I think that we should have some understanding of the interrelationship of the various areas of responsibility. When we settle down finally to identify the jurisdiction and the authority, we may settle on leaving it where it is, or we may decide to create another committee. But that is for the Senate to decide at such time as it has completed its consideration.

All we are asking for here is the money to consider it, to explore it, to raise the questions, and to define the issues so that the Senate, as a whole, can decide how to handle the problem.

Mr. ELLENDER. Now, as I understand it, what the Senator is talking about now means the creation of another committee?

Mr. MUSKIE. I am not proposing that.

Mr. ELLENDER. No, no, but it is to be studied by another committee, not by the committee which is now asking for \$130,000.

Mr. MUSKIE. We are talking about—

Mr. ELLENDER. Is that right?

Mr. MUSKIE. That is right.

Mr. ELLENDER. But I was particularly anxious to find out what the present committee intends to do. I thought that—

Mr. MUSKIE. I was in the process of

doing that when we got into the discussion of the committee which is not before us. The Senator asked me what areas of activity we were involved in and I was in the process of describing the legislative activities of such a committee, and I had gotten to the third of 10 items.

There are other items of legislation which are fully described in the letter I put in the Record, which I shall be happy to go into if the Senator is interested in that; but all of them involve the kinds of operations that the Committee on Government Operations was created to perform.

It is the job of the Committee on Government Operations to look over the whole area of governmental activities; to look over the areas in which Government performance falls short of what it is supposed to do, and to suggest proposals for improving that performance. In order to do that work, the Committee on Government Operations was involved in 10 pieces of major legislation.

Mr. ELLENDER. One was enacted.

Mr. MUSKIE. One was enacted by Congress. Another was enacted by the Senate, and hopefully will be reenacted. Another was enacted by the Senate and was enacted in part in other bills that came out of committees as a result of our work. The uniform relocation assistance, and land acquisition policy found its way into legislation coming out of the Public Works Committee and the Housing Committee.

So that is an example of the work of this committee, coming under the jurisdiction not only of our subcommittee, but of the parent committee, which the Senator is interested in.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Committee on Government Operations has five subcommittees at the moment, I think. I think we started out with a very small amount. Now that committee is spending in excess of \$1 million.

Mr. MUSKIE. May I point out that this is one committee whose appropriation was reduced by the Rules Committee this year.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes.

Mr. MUSKIE. And my committee has been held at the present figure for 3 years running.

Mr. ELLENDER. But the investigatory part of it is going to be increased.

Mr. MUSKIE. The appropriations of two subcommittees were cut.

Mr. ELLENDER. In any event, as I said, it is easy to find work to do. I have my own Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. I have always tried to use the money available that was provided under the original act of 1946. It may be that more work could have been done by that committee by employing more people than we now have, but I believe our Agriculture Committee has done a good job.

As a matter of fact, of the four professionals that I can employ, I employ only two. Ever since I have been chairman of that committee, I have had only two professionals—a good lawyer and a good economist. In my view, if I were to put two economists and two lawyers on the committee, they would be passing the buck to each other. I believe that is the

trouble in a good many of the committees today. They have too many employees who pass the buck to each other, and very few who do the work.

I am not making any excuses for my committee. I think a good job has been done. It is the only committee, as I recall now, that has not as yet appointed subcommittees of the standing committee, as we have been talking about here.

I notice among the resolutions one to create a subcommittee for the Committee on the District of Columbia. We will get to that matter after a while. That was the only committee, besides the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, that did not have subcommittees for which Congress provided funds for special investigations.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no particular criticism of this subcommittee, but I rise to defend the action of the Committee on Rules and Administration. In the Senate we are not only faced with a multiplicity of subcommittees; we have a shortage of room space. After reviewing all the facts, the Committee on Rules and Administration recommended an amount for its subcommittee equal to what it had last year. The committee had some money left over.

It is my opinion that this subcommittee has no jurisdiction that its parent committee does not have. Also, there is some possibility of overlapping of its efforts with other subcommittees of other parent committees that are seeking special funds from the contingency fund.

It would be my hope that the Senate would support the Committee on Rules and Administration. I believe that, under the chairmanship of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN), the committee has done a good job. It has reduced some requests. In this case it has recommended as much money as the subcommittee had last year.

I thank the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for yielding.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the original Government Operations Committee started out by doing its own work with the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN) at the head. Now we have five separate subcommittees under that committee. They are going in every direction. For instance, why should foreign aid expenditures be under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Government Operations? Also, we have the subject of national security relations. I think the committee of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND) has jurisdiction of that matter.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, the one on foreign aid expenditures—

Mr. ELLENDER. Was under Senator Gruening.

Mr. CURTIS. That has been discontinued.

Mr. ELLENDER. I understand, but it was there.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I said, subcommittees should deal with subjects in the jurisdiction of their parent committees.

Take national security operations. A lot of time and money could be spent sending investigators around on the subject of national security operations. As I understand it, the Committee on the Judiciary has asked for \$300,000 to do this very thing. In the Committee on Foreign Relations, there is also bound to be duplication. That is what I am complaining about. We have too many subcommittees that duplicate.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, I do not stand in judgment over any Senator or any committee. It is my own personal feeling, however, that we do have too many subcommittees.

Mr. ELLENDER. If the Senator admits that, his subcommittee should have done something about it.

Mr. CURTIS. I understand. We did in some instances. We tried in others.

Mr. ELLENDER. Did the subcommittee do away with any of them? All of them got the money they asked for.

Mr. CURTIS. The Committee on Rules and Administration did not deny any request in its entirety; but I thought I was rising to support the position of the Senator from Louisiana against the idea of restoring the original request. Is not the issue the committee amendment?

Mr. ELLENDER. This committee is receiving \$130,000.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I said, I am not complaining so much of this. The Committee on Government Operations was supposed to deal with the Federal Government, and now we are dealing with intergovernmental relations. Then we get into intergovernmental relations. All of them are being looked into by the subcommittees.

For example, under the Committee on the Judiciary, there is a subcommittee headed by my good friend, the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND). Here we have a subcommittee on Internal Security which deals with the same subject matter that is envisioned under Government Operations.

Mr. CURTIS. The point I wish to make is this: I understand that the pending business is the committee amendment.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Which reduces this amount by \$45,000. Is the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for the committee amendment, or against it?

Mr. ELLENDER. I am for the committee amendment.

Mr. CURTIS. So am I.

Mr. ELLENDER. I would like to see it wiped out altogether, because, as I have said, there are other subcommittees dealing with that field.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no quarrel with the idea that we have too many subcommittees.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, if I may say so to the Senator, what he is arguing for is abolition of the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. ELLENDER. No; I am not.

Mr. MUSKIE. Let me make my point clear. The Committee on Government Operations operates across the board and, through its entire jurisdiction, in a sense, overlaps the jurisdiction of all the legislative committees. It is not supposed to get into the substance of the legislative jurisdiction of the legislative committees, but it is rather difficult to separate substance from organization and procedure.

As the Senator from Nebraska has pointed out, these subcommittees have not enlarged the jurisdiction of the Committee on Government Operations. We are discharging a function of the committee. I do not see what is so mysterious about that. Each of the subcommittees to which the Senator refers is handling a piece of the authority of the parent committee, because the parent committee standing alone could not do all of the work that is necessary concerning oversight of the efficiency and the economy of the whole of the operations of the Government.

The Federal Government has grown from something like a budget of \$90 billion when I first came to the Senate to one of almost \$200 billion, and the Government Operations Committee is charged with the responsibility to oversee all of this vast operation from the point of view of economy and efficiency. We in the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee have one piece of the parent committee's jurisdiction, because the parent committee decided that in order to do that job effectively, it had to have a subcommittee to do that part of its job.

So if the Senator is arguing against the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, if his argument is to have meaning, then he has got to extend it against the whole Committee on Government Operations, and say that because the Committee on Government Operations has jurisdiction that overlaps the jurisdiction of other committees it ought to be abolished, because we have separate subcommittees working on these various features.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I recall, not too long ago the original committee, under Senator McCLELLAN, took care of all of these matters.

Mr. MUSKIE. That is right.

Mr. ELLENDER. It is only in the last 4 years, as I recall, that subcommittees have developed.

Mr. MUSKIE. No, when I first went on the committee in 1959 there were subcommittees.

Mr. ELLENDER. There might have been one or two. But now we have five, until the one dealing with foreign expenditures is abolished.

Mr. MUSKIE. Exactly.

Mr. ELLENDER. Then, as I have said, there is this Subcommittee on National Security, which to me is a field in which the Committee on the Judiciary is engaged, and could easily handle that, rather than have a separate committee under the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. MUSKIE. As I have just stated, we could have each legislative committee deal with that portion of the Government Operations Committee's work that falls within the department with which

the legislative committee is charged; but, in the Reorganization Act, Congress decided that it would be useful and wise to have an investigative committee charged with the responsibility of oversight over the operations of the whole structure of the Government. The Committee on Investigations, which is Senator McCLELLAN's principal responsibility, has been heavily engaged in that work, as can be seen from its budget, in the investigative field. It would not have had time to get into this intergovernmental relations field, or into Senator RUBINOFF's reorganization field, or the other fields that the committee has regarded as important and requiring investigation.

Is there anything so odd about the committee charged with the investigation of the whole structure of government breaking down its work into subcommittees, in order that it may do more and do it more efficiently, because the workload has grown? What is so strange about that? The Appropriations Committee has divided its work up among subcommittees. Why do they not do it all with one committee?

Mr. ELLENDER. But we do not ask for any extra money to do it with.

Mr. MUSKIE. But they do it with subcommittees. They have plenty, I think, in their Appropriations Committee to do it. They break it up into subcommittees, because if it were left to one committee, they could not do all the work.

That is the point here. If we left it to the Investigations Committee, we could not do all the work. It is as simple as that.

Mr. ELLENDER. But this has grown and grown.

Mr. MUSKIE. The whole structure of government has grown. The supermarket down on the corner is bigger than the old country grocery store. The country has grown, and the responsibilities of government have tripled since I have been here. Do we have to do the additional work with the same number of people and the same number of committees?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; I am not saying that at all. But it strikes me that the job could be done; that is, the job of the Government Operations Committee with fewer subcommittees and fewer people.

Mr. MUSKIE. I appreciate the Senator's sense of responsibility with respect to the public trust; but may I, with all respect, suggest that we are also sensitive to it? We appreciate our responsibility to do our job, and to do it at minimum cost. I believe if the Senator will look at the figures on the costs for my subcommittee over the years, he will find we have never spent every cent appropriated to us, if I recollect correctly.

Mr. ELLENDER. This does not show that.

Mr. MUSKIE. We spent \$113,000 out of \$130,000 last year. So we are careful with the dollar. We have a twofold responsibility. First, to do our work and, second, to do it as cheaply as possible. I submit that the record of my subcom-

mittee over the past few years supports our dedication to both objectives.

Mr. ELLENDER. Did the Senator from Arkansas wish to be heard?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think I had better let it go.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 45, Senate Resolution 59.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to its consideration. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

S. RES. 59

Resolved, That the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the aeronautical and space activities of departments and agencies of the United States, including such activities peculiar to or primarily associated with the development of weapons systems or military operations.

SEC. 2. (a) For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized, from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970, inclusive, to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable, (2) employ upon a temporary basis and fix the compensation of technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants, and (3) with the prior consent of the head of the department or agency of the Government concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any department or agency of the Government.

(b) The minority is authorized to select one person for appointment as an assistant or consultant, and the person so selected shall be appointed. No assistant or consultant may receive compensation at an annual gross rate which exceeds by more than \$2,400 the annual gross rate of compensation of any person so selected by the minority.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$40,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question? Are we going to consider all of these subcommittees in the order they appear on the calendar now?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes; just exactly as they appear, in their order?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Does the Senator mean now, on the calendar?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. As they appear on the calendar.

Mr. ELLENDER. Which resolution is now being taken up?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Order No. 45 is the first one on the calendar. It deals with aeronautical and space sciences.

Mr. President, Senate Resolution 59, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences to expend not to exceed \$40,000 this year for a study of matters pertaining to the aeronautical and space activities of the departments and agencies of the United States.

During the last session of Congress \$50,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$34,002 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I speak for the chairman of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, the distinguished Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), who cannot be present in the Chamber this afternoon.

The explanation of the resolution is very simple. It is a modest amount that has been provided every year. The amount is less this year. The money will be used to pay the salaries of additional staff members for the committee.

This committee needs technical men. Some of them are scientists. The employees of the committee are engaged in oversight duties almost entirely—in detailed work that Senators cannot find time to do and for which a technical staff is needed.

This is on a \$4 billion program. Last year, only \$34,000 of the \$50,000 allowed was expended. This year, the chairman of the committee, one of the most effective men in the handling of money in the Senate, the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON) has requested only \$40,000. That money will be used to pay the salaries of the two extra people. I assume that the item will not be contested. I hope that it will not be.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, it involves four people above what the committee is regularly entitled to. I have no objection.

Mr. STENNIS. The Senator from Mississippi is correct on the two employees. It is possible that four will be employed. But it is contemplated that there will be only two.

Mr. ELLENDER. The record shows the committee had 14 last year, 14 the year

before, and 14 the year before. They had 15 in 1965.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the committee contemplates that there will be only two more people employed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 59) was agreed to.

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

The resolution (S. Res. 56) to make a study of all matters within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Armed Services was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 56 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Armed Services through its Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee to expend not to exceed \$225,000 this year for the continued operation of that subcommittee, which maintains surveillance over the policies, operations, and expenditures of the Department of Defense.

During the last session of Congress \$175,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$157,630 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator JOHN STENNIS is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I note that last year the amount appropriated was \$175,000 with 19 employees. This year the committee is asking for \$225,000. That is an increase of \$50,000 with the same number of employees. How will those employees be used?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the resolution would provide money for employment of the staff and payment of other expenses of the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

The subcommittee itself has a very small number of employees for the volume and nature of the business that it is called upon to handle. We have only six men and four secretaries.

The additional money requested is for two purposes. We have heretofore been able to absorb the salary increases. This year, however, even though we are returning more than \$9,000 for the calendar year 1968, we will not be able to absorb all of the salary increases. In addition, we propose to have assigned on a temporary basis two men from the General Accounting Office. They will be reimbursed by the Preparedness Subcommittee from the funds we are requesting. We propose to use two of their better

men under our direction and jurisdiction to pursue some of these enormous military contracts, particularly those contracts for the more modern and sophisticated weapons on which the prices are increasing so drastically and so rapidly.

I have been chairman of the subcommittee since 1961 and have personally followed the expenditure of every dollar and have had the Senator from Georgia (Mr. RUSSELL) looking over my shoulder.

None of this money will be thrown away. We have very fine staff members and virtually all of the money last year was spent for salaries. Some small amount was spent for consultant fees. We spent in the neighborhood of \$250 for the year for telegraph and telephone, for stationery and supplies, \$300, and for transportation and travel, only \$1,700, although some transportation was provided by military planes. Those are very conservative figures, I assure the Senate. This increase, even though it is significant, reflects an increase of activity in the subcommittee's area of responsibility.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, my question was to the effect that the committee is asking for \$50,000 more than it had last year, and it has the same number of employees. I wanted to know what the committee was to use the extra \$50,000 for if it has the same number of employees as last year.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I tried to answer that question. I said that we were going to obtain two additional men from the General Accounting Office.

Mr. ELLENDER. Will those men be in addition to the 19 the committee now has?

Mr. STENNIS. The subcommittee has only six men on its staff at this time and four secretaries. The General Accounting Office men will be in addition to these.

Mr. ELLENDER. That will be \$50,000.

Mr. STENNIS. No. The first item is that we will have those two men for a limited time, perhaps for a full year, perhaps less, and will reimburse the General Accounting Office for their salaries and expenses.

We must take care of the salary increase. That salary increase is already on the books. Unless rescinded, the money will be required to take care of this item. I understand that the increase will run somewhere around a 12 percent increase. That is my information.

There is about a \$10,000 contingency margin in the request.

We handle one bill that has \$25 billion in authorization. This requires direct surveillance with emphasis upon some of the major items in the bill if the money is to be authorized this year, much less spent. We believe that we can make a contribution in that field.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I was not questioning the amount of money at all. What I was asking is what the extra \$50,000 was to be used for. The Senator has explained it. That is all I desire to know.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 56 proposes to authorize the Committee on Armed Services to investigate certain matters relating to the national defense and to provide addi-

tional funds in the amount of \$225,000 therefor. This resolution was considered by the Committee on Armed Services and approved unanimously on January 23, 1969.

I am sure you are generally familiar with the work of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee and its responsibility to maintain surveillance over policies, operations and expenditures of the Department of Defense as it relates to military readiness and preparedness. The subcommittee had an extremely active and productive year in this area in 1968 and contributed to the national security through an extensive series of hearings and reports to the full committee, including the status of U.S. strategic power, the U.S. tactical airpower program, the U.S. submarine program, and the additional procurement of M-16 rifles.

It is my conviction that the full committee's consideration of the annual military authorization bill can benefit greatly by utilizing the subcommittee staff to acquire data and information and make studies of the major items and activities involved in the authorization bill. In other words, the information and expertise of the subcommittee staff will be utilized to the greatest extent by the full committee when the authorization bill is heard, considered, and acted upon. I propose to use the subcommittee staff in this manner.

In addition, it is planned that the subcommittee and its staff will devote considerable attention to defense procurement, and exercise and maintain a close and continuing surveillance over the larger and more important defense programs authorized and funded by Congress. In other words, it will attempt to monitor the manner and method by which the funds authorized and appropriated for major defense programs are obligated and expended.

Of course, it is also planned that the subcommittee will continue its traditional and usual investigations and inquiries relating to combat readiness and preparedness and to focus attention on such deficiencies as may be found in these areas.

In both the 89th and 90th Congresses the annual amount authorized for expenditure by the subcommittee was \$175,000. During these 4 years, the subcommittee absorbed the statutory standard salary increases within these amounts. This is no longer possible and, therefore, it has been necessary to request an increase for this purpose.

In addition, it is my present intention to secure personnel from the General Accounting Office to assist in our procurement studies and to do the necessary accounting work. The GAO people will come to the subcommittee on a reimbursable basis. This accounts for approximately \$30,000 of the increase which the subcommittee is requesting.

I believe that the continued existence of the subcommittee is fully justified and that the amount requested is both reasonable and necessary.

According to an estimate of subcommittee expenditures under Senate Resolution 225 we plan to return almost \$10,000 to the Treasury this year.

Amounts in excess of this have been returned each year during the time that I have served as chairman of the subcommittee, and I can assure you that the subcommittee will be operated just as economically and prudently as is reasonably possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 56) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 56

Resolved, That the Committee on Armed Services, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to—

- (1) common defense generally;
- (2) the Department of Defense, the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Air Force generally;
- (3) soldiers' and sailors' homes;
- (4) pay, promotion, retirement, and other benefits and privileges of members of the Armed Forces;
- (5) selective service;
- (6) size and composition of the Army, Navy, and Air Force;
- (7) forts, arsenals, military reservations, and navy yards;
- (8) ammunition depots;
- (9) maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal, including the administration, sanitation, and government of the Canal Zone;
- (10) conservation, development, and use of naval petroleum and oil shale reserves;
- (11) strategic and critical materials necessary for the common defense; and
- (12) aeronautical and space activities peculiar to or primarily associated with the development of weapons systems or military operations.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$225,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF BANKING AND CURRENCY MATTERS

The resolution (S. Res. 22) authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to examine, investigate, and study certain matters was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 22, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on Banking and Currency to expend not to exceed \$110,000 this year for a study or investigation of several matters within its jurisdiction.

During the last session of Congress \$120,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$106,324 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator WALLACE F. BENNETT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 22) was agreed to as follows:

S. RES. 22

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to—

- (1) banking and currency generally;
- (2) financial aid to commerce and industry;
- (3) deposit insurance;
- (4) the Federal Reserve System, including monetary and credit policies;
- (5) economic stabilization, production, and mobilization;
- (6) valuation and revaluation of the dollar;
- (7) prices of commodities, rents, and services;
- (8) securities and exchange regulations;
- (9) credit problems of small business; and
- (10) international finance through agencies within the legislative jurisdiction of the committee.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$110,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the Committee.

STUDY OF HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

The resolution (S. Res. 23) authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate matters pertaining to public and private housing and urban affairs was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 23 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Banking and Currency through its Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs to expend not to exceed \$155,000 this year for a study of public and private housing and urban affairs, including urban mass transportation.

During the last session of Congress \$150,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$142,011 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator JOHN G. TOWER.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I notice that last year the amount of \$150,000 was provided for nine employees, and this year \$155,000 was asked for and obtained in committee. The number of employees is eight.

I assume it involves a question of salary adjustment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. A readjustment of salaries.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 23) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 23

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to public and private housing and urban affairs, including urban mass transportation.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$155,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

The resolution (S. Res. 79) to authorize the Committee on Commerce to make certain studies was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 79 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Commerce to expend not to exceed \$550,000 this year for a study or investigation of certain matters within its jurisdiction.

During the last session of Congress \$525,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$467,133 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator NORRIS COTTON.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MATHIAS in the chair). Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 79) was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 79

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to—

- (1) interstate commerce generally, including consumer protection;
- (2) foreign commerce generally;
- (3) transportation generally;
- (4) maritime matters;
- (5) interoceanic canals;
- (6) domestic surface transportation, including pipelines and highway safety;
- (7) communications, including a complete review of national and international telecommunications and the use of communications satellites;
- (8) Federal power matters;
- (9) civil aeronautics;
- (10) fisheries and wildlife;
- (11) marine sciences; and
- (12) weather services and modification, including the use of weather satellites.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation, as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$50,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The resolution (S. Res. 84) authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate certain matters within its jurisdiction was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 17, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$129,400" and insert "\$57,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the District of Columbia, particularly, as rule XXV provides, in the matters of public safety, the municipal and juvenile courts, the municipal code, and amendments to the criminal laws.

Sec. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$57,000 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 84 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the District of Columbia to expend not to exceed \$129,400 this year for a study or investigation of crime in the District of Columbia.

During the past session of Congress the committee had been authorized to employ three additional clerical assistants. The pending request would provide funds for the addition of two more clerical assistants and four professional staff members to the committee's temporary staff, and for the corresponding operating expenses.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$129,400 to \$57,000, a reduction of \$72,400. This should allow for four additional clerical assistants or three additional clerical and one additional professional employees.

Senator JOSEPH D. TYDINGS is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator WINSTON L. PROUTY.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, this is a subcommittee of the District of Columbia. I understand that \$129,000 was requested and \$57,000 was allowed. This committee has four professionals and 10 clericals. I wonder why it is necessary to form a subcommittee and provide the amount of money that is requested.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I am just inquiring why it was necessary to create the subcommittee, when it now has a clerical staff of six and four professionals. It seems to me that the little work involved might be done by the present staff.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. This is not a subcommittee. This is the addition of some extra clerical help that was requested last year and was granted, and additional help this year. This is for the full committee on the District of Columbia. It is not a subcommittee.

Mr. ELLENDER. They hired additional people?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Yes. Senator PROUTY is on his way to the Chamber. He desires to be heard on this matter.

Mr. ELLENDER. I was just trying to find out why these additional funds were requested.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. KENNEDY. As I understand, this committee is chaired by the distinguished Senator from Maryland (Mr. TYDINGS).

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The Senator is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY. As I understand—and I wish the distinguished Senator from North Carolina would correct me if I am wrong—what they are really asking for is a continuation of the three secretaries, the addition of one secretary, a caseworker, and four professional staff members. The caseworker is needed because the District of Columbia Committee traditionally has acted as ombudsman for District of Columbia residents and handles more than 500 cases a year. The additional professional staff was to meet the committee workload, to develop new initiatives to meet the National Capital's problems, and to help expedite the anti-crime legislation President Nixon and the committee believe necessary.

With regard to its associate committee in the House of Representatives, I understand that this is an extremely modest recommendation and that it was made by the committee and its chairman, the Senator from Maryland (Mr. TYDINGS). In the judgment of the Rules Committee, an extensive cutback was

made. I know that the distinguished chairman of the committee, Senator TYDINGS, felt strongly that the cut was not really cutting out any fat. The committee needs this additional help, and the chairman is hopeful that there will not be any further cuts on the floor.

Mr. ELLENDER. This is the first year, I understand, that extra money was provided for this committee. Is my understanding correct?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. No. Last year, Senator BIBLE came before the Rules Committee sometime close to the middle of the year and asked for three additional employees to handle the workload which had developed in the District of Columbia. Those people were granted, and they are included in this request. They are asking for the additional number this year because the workload in the District of Columbia, because of crime and other matters, has increased greatly. We took all this into consideration.

Mr. ELLENDER. So that the amount of \$50,000 would take care of the extra employees provided for last year?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Last year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 84), as amended, was agreed to.

AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE TO EMPLOY ADDITIONAL CLERICAL ASSISTANTS

The resolution (S. Res. 66) to continue for 1 year the existing authority for the Committee on Finance to employ six additional clerical employees was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, at the beginning of line 2, strike out "from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970" and insert "until otherwise provided by law"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance is authorized until otherwise provided by law, to employ six additional clerical assistants, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at rates of compensation to be fixed by the chairman in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 90-57, approved July 28, 1967, as amended.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 66 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Finance to employ six additional clerical assistants from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970.

During the last session of Congress a similar authorization had been granted to the committee—likewise in 1967 and 1966.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has amended Senate Resolution 66, so as to authorize the Committee on Finance to employ the additional clerical assistants on a permanent basis. The committee adopted this amendment at the request of Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, chairman of the Committee on Finance. The ranking minority member of the Committee on Finance is Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS of Delaware.

Mr. ELLENDER. This does not add any employees, does it?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. No, it does not add any employees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 66), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICIES

The resolution (S. Res. 64) to provide for a study of matters pertaining to the foreign policy of the United States by the Committee on Foreign Relations was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 20, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$275,000" and insert "\$260,000", so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make complete studies of any and all matters pertaining to the foreign policies of the United States and their administration.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; (3) to hold such hearings to take such testimony, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, and to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; and (4) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government, as the committee deems advisable.

SEC. 3. In the conduct of its studies the committee may use the experience, knowledge, and advice of private organizations, schools, institutions, and individuals in its discretion, and it is authorized to divide the work of the studies among such individuals, groups, and institutions as it may deem appropriate, and may enter into contracts for this purpose.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under

this resolution, which shall not exceed \$260,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 64, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on Foreign Relations to expend not to exceed \$275,000 this year for a study or investigation of all matters pertaining to the foreign policies of the United States.

During the last session of Congress \$225,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$205,959 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$275,000 to \$260,000, a reduction of \$15,000.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority leader of the committee is Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 64), as amended, was agreed to.

SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 26) authorizing the Committee on Government Operations to make investigations into the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches of Government was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 26 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Government Operations through its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to expend not to exceed \$698,500 this year for investigations into the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches of the Government.

During the last session of Congress \$750,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$671,334 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN is chairman of the full committee and of the Investigations Subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the committee and subcommittee is Senator KARL E. MUNDT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That, in holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by section 134 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Government Operations or any subcommittee thereof is authorized from February 1, 1969, through

January 31, 1970, to make investigations into the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches of the Government, including the possible existence of fraud, misfeasance, malfeasance, collusion, mismanagement, incompetence, corrupt or unethical practices, waste, extravagance, conflicts of interest, and the improper expenditure of Government funds in transactions, contracts, and activities of the Government or of Government officials and employees and any and all such improper practices between Government personnel and corporations, individuals, companies, or persons affiliated therewith, doing business with the Government; and the compliance or non-compliance of such corporations, companies, or individuals or other entities with the rules, regulations, and laws governing the various governmental agencies and its relationships with the public: *Provided*, That, in carrying out the duties herein set forth, the inquiries of this committee or any subcommittees thereof shall not be deemed limited to the records, functions, and operations of the particular branch of the Government under inquiry, and may extend to the records and activities of persons, corporations, or other entities dealing with or affecting that particular branch of the Government.

SEC. 2. The Committee on Government Operations or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is further authorized from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, to conduct an investigation and study to the extent to which criminal or other improper practices or activities are, or have been, engaged in in the field of labor-management relations or in groups or organizations of employees or employers, to the detriment of interests of the public, employers, or employees, and to determine whether any changes are required in the laws of the United States in order to protect such interests against the occurrence of such practices or activities. Nothing contained in this resolution shall affect or impair the exercise by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of any power, or the discharge by such committee of any duty, conferred or imposed upon it by the Standing Rules of the Senate or by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

SEC. 3. The Committee on Government Operations or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is further authorized and directed from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, to make a full and complete study and investigation of syndicated or organized crime which may operate in or otherwise utilize the facilities of interstate or international commerce in furtherance of any transactions which are in violation of the law of the United States or of the State in which the transactions occur, and, if so, the manner and extent to which, and the identity of the persons, firms, or corporations, or other entities by whom such utilization is being made, what facilities, devices, methods, techniques, and technicalities are being used or employed, and whether or not organized crime utilizes such interstate facilities or otherwise operates in interstate commerce for the development of corrupting influences in violation of the law of the United States or the laws of any State and, further, to study and investigate the manner in which and the extent to which persons engaged in organized criminal activities have infiltrated into lawful business enterprise; and to study the adequacy of Federal laws to prevent the operations of organized crime in interstate or international commerce; and to determine whether any changes are required in the laws of the United States in order to protect the public against the occurrences of such practices or activities. Nothing contained in this resolution shall affect or impair the exercise by the Committee on the Judiciary or by the Committee on Commerce of any power, or the discharge by such

committee of any duty, conferred or imposed upon it by the Standing Rules of the Senate or by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

SEC. 4. The Committee on Government Operations or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized and directed until January 31, 1970, to make a full and complete study and investigation of all other aspects of crime and lawlessness within the United States which have an impact upon or affect the national health, welfare, and safety.

SEC. 5. The Committee on Government Operations or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized and directed until January 31, 1970, to make a full and complete study and investigation of riots, violent disturbances of the peace, vandalism, civil and criminal disorder, insurrection, the commission of crimes in connection therewith, the immediate and longstanding causes, the extent and effects of such occurrences and crimes, and measures necessary for their immediate and long-range prevention and for the preservation of law and order and to insure domestic tranquillity within the United States.

SEC. 6. The Committee on Government Operations or any of its duly authorized subcommittees shall report to the Senate by January 31, 1970, and shall, if deemed appropriate, include in its report specific legislative recommendations.

SEC. 7. (a) For the purposes of this resolution, the Committee on Government Operations, or any of its duly authorized subcommittees, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized, as it deems necessary and appropriate, to (1) make such expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate; (2) hold such hearings; (3) sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjournment periods of the Senate; (4) administer such oaths; (5) take such testimony, either orally or by sworn statement; (6) employ on a temporary basis such technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (7) with the prior consent of the executive department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, employ on a reimbursable basis such executive branch personnel as it deems advisable; and, further, with the consent of other committees or subcommittees to work in conjunction with and utilize their staffs, as it shall be deemed necessary and appropriate in the judgment of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee: *Provided further*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment and the person selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee.

(b) For the purpose of this resolution the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, or its chairman, or any other member of the committee or subcommittee designated by the chairman, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized, in its or his or their discretion, as may be deemed advisable, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents.

SEC. 8. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$698,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION

The resolution (S. Res. 25) to provide funds to study and evaluate the effects of laws pertaining to proposed reorganizations in the executive branch of the

Government was announced as next in order.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolutions?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 25), which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 19, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$155,000" and insert "\$115,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Government Operations, or any duly authorized subcommittee, thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a full and complete study for the purpose of evaluating the effects of laws enacted to reorganize the executive branch of the Government, and to consider reorganizations proposed therein.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized at its discretion to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings upon the study and investigation authorized by this resolution, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$115,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 25 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Government Operations through its Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization to expend not to exceed \$155,000 this year for a study of the effects of laws enacted to reorganize the executive branch of the Government.

During the last session of Congress \$115,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$108,668 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$155,000 to \$115,000, a reduction of \$40,000.

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator JACOB K. JAVITS.

In his presentation to the Senate Rules Committee, Senator RIBICOFF emphasized the subcommittee's intention of making a comprehensive review of the 21 separate departments and agencies of the Fed-

eral Government concerned with the question of health. The members of the Senate Rules Committee have granted increased funds to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and to the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Actually, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has an active Subcommittee on Health, which has the principal jurisdiction over Federal health programs. In view of these factors, the Senate Rules Committee held the amount requested for Senator Ribicoff's subcommittee to the same amount (\$115,000) which was provided to that subcommittee last year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 25) as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FINANCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The resolution (S. Res. 38) authorizing the Committee on Government Operations to study the origin of research and development programs financed by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 38 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Government Operations through its Subcommittee on Government Research to expend not to exceed \$63,852 this year for a study of the operations of research and development programs financed by the Federal Government.

During the last session of Congress \$85,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$83,953 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with a minor amendment rounding off for accounting convenience the requested amount from \$63,852 to \$63,800.

Senator FRED R. HARRIS is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator KARL E. MUNDT. The budget accompanying the resolution runs through September 30, 1969, only. The subcommittee intends to go out of business then.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 3, line 14, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$63,852" and insert "\$63,800"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That in holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by section 134 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and in accordance with its jurisdiction under

rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Government Operations, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970, to make studies as to the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches and functions of the Government with particular reference to:

(1) the operations of research and development programs financed by departments and agencies of the Federal Government, including research in economics and social science, as well as the basic sciences, biomedicine, research, and technology;

(2) review those programs now being carried out through contracts with higher educational institutions and private organizations, corporations, and individuals to determine the need for the establishment of national research, development, and manpower policies, and programs, in order to bring about Government-wide coordination and elimination of overlapping duplication of scientific and research activities; and

(3) examine existing research information operations, the impact of Federal research and development programs on the economy and on institutions of higher learning, and to recommend the establishment of programs to insure a more equitable distribution of research and development contracts among such institutions and among the States.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized—

(1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable;

(2) to employ upon a temporary basis and fix the compensation of technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority of the committee is authorized at its discretion to select one employee for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and

(3) with the prior consent of the head of the department or agency concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize on a reimbursable basis the services, information, facilities, and personnel of any department or agency of the Government.

Sec. 3. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$63,800, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, this involves Government research.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I anticipated that the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) would make a statement, if he wished to do so.

I might make this observation, Mr. President. This committee was appointed a subcommittee at the suggestion of other members of the committee. Senator HARRIS in particular thought there was an area in which they would like to make some studies and it was on that recommendation that the committee considered and decided to establish this subcommittee. In the meantime, I am certain the committee has done some very good work and has made some studies. However, I have concluded, as chairman of the committee, that we can do with the subcommittees we have. We can do this work where it needs to be done. I do not want a proliferation of sub-

committees. This was to be a temporary subcommittee, and I have insisted that it be terminated.

I would agree that some few months might be needed to enable them to complete their work and to make their report. That is the status. We are discontinuing that subcommittee, and, as the Senator may know, another subcommittee has already been discontinued and abolished. Therefore, we have reduced the number of subcommittees from six to four. I do not know whether another reduction can be made, but I did find that, in my judgment, six subcommittees were too many for the efficient operation of subcommittee work. Apparently four subcommittees are required and needed. We will continue with four subcommittees, and also with the Investigations Subcommittee, to which appropriation the Senator did not object a moment ago. I appreciate that because the Investigations Subcommittee is taking over the work that was given to former Senator Gruening's subcommittee. We are taking it over.

We also reduced our request for funds this year, and that has been further reduced to some extent. I believe we have been allowed the full amount of our request. We are absorbing the work of one committee, are absorbing pay increases, and are asking for less money than last year. Last year \$51,800 was turned back out of the moneys the Committee on Rules and Administration allowed us. We had made a larger request, but the Committee on Rules and Administration reduced it \$40,000 or \$50,000. In investigations work we cannot be certain how much money will be needed. Extra work develops unexpectedly, and sometimes it is unanticipated. Sometimes we have to take on extra help. We have taken on our duties with a view toward economy. I believe the record will show that we are continuing to operate economically and that we take measures to be more efficient and economical whenever we have the opportunity.

Mr. ELLENDER. The reason I asked the question as to Government research is that this subcommittee was organized on a temporary basis, as I understand the matter.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It was, I agree with the Senator. We were going to treat it that way.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is it necessary to have the subcommittee now?

Mr. McCLELLAN. This amount of money requested is to enable the subcommittee to wind up its work. It is supposed to wind up by August 1. This request is to close it out; not to continue it. The Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) is not here. However, this amount is to enable us to close out the subcommittee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The chairman of the subcommittee has assured the Committee on Rules and Administration that the subcommittee will be discontinued by September 1 and that it will go out of business.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is why I asked the question. I thought that the amount we gave last year was for that purpose.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It was temporary. This year we are closing it out.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I would hope that the Senator from Arkansas would maintain the interest of his committee in the field of research and development, which I think is most important in this country and which I think has grown considerably in recent years, without sufficient scrutiny on Congress part.

We spend on the order of \$18 billion a year on research and development. Of that amount, \$8 billion is spent by the Department of Defense.

The Department of Defense should carry on research and development in things military and in mission-oriented research connected with defense, but I think their present involvement has to be examined with a fine-toothed comb, and I can think of no better committee, along with the Committee on Appropriations, to be charged with the responsibility and which has the capability for looking into this important segment of the economy which costs so much money.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It is not the disposition of the committee to abandon any of its responsibilities. I point out in all candor, and I think chairmen of other subcommittees recognize what I say as a fact, that with so many subcommittees holding hearings, our problem is to get enough Senators to attend subcommittee hearings. Every Senator is busy with his own subcommittee, and that makes for inefficiency of the committee.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I agree. There is too much emphasis on staff members instead of on Senators.

Mr. McCLELLAN. We are trying our best.

Mr. ELLENDER. I understood the Senator from Arkansas to say that he was going to dispense with this subcommittee by September, but that he is going to continue to look into these matters.

Mr. McCLELLAN. We are not abandoning our responsibility.

Mr. ELLENDER. He does not think it necessary to have the subcommittee.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Just so we do not lose sight of the necessity to scrutinize this important segment of expenditures.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. If I have the floor, I yield to the Senator.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in response to the Senator from Montana, with respect to the \$8 billion in the defense authorization bill for research and development, we are not transgressing on the jurisdiction of any other committee. This item is referred to the Armed Services Committee for authorization. The money has to be authorized before it can be appropriated.

We propose and already have in mind a subcommittee which would come from our committee and would use present staff members. They are well versed in a great number of these weapons, and they would be able to do a great deal of the work before sums such as this were

authorized and would follow up the rest of the year and after the bill was reported. This would be the background for work in the same field next year for authorization. In that way we could build a background of knowledge to cope with this matter. This concerns very involved and long-range research and development in a very extensive field of weapons.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wish to emphasize that I favor Government-sponsored research and development. So far as the Department of Defense is concerned, I favor having it provide for itself within the sphere of the Department of Defense. But I do not want that department or any other department or agency of Government to exceed or expand their areas of involvement beyond those spheres directly related to their missions. I suspect a present tendency for some to go off at peculiar angles and far flung tangents.

I want further study in the area of indirect costs. It has the appearance of a double subsidy in certain areas. It should be studied thoroughly. I think research having to do with health and urban areas, social science and the general pursuit of knowledge should be the concern of the department or agency most directly charged with these responsibilities and not the Department of Defense.

I feel confident that a detailed analysis of the expenditures for research and development over past years will reveal that a disproportionate amount has been allocated to the Defense Department. Prior to last year when the chairman of the committee put a check on them, all they did was to hold out their hands, and they got what they wanted, whereas many other departments which were better equipped to handle specific types of research then being sponsored by Defense could get little or nothing at all.

I am delighted that the Senator is going into this matter in detail, and I shall repeat for the benefit of the Senate that while I have many questions about which agency sponsors the research and development and at the present rate of \$18 billion a year, I have nothing against research and development in its proper sphere. In addition, I believe that proper agency sponsorship will eliminate inefficiency, duplication, and wasted effort. I am sure that no Member of this body would disagree with me that such an elimination would be desirable.

Mr. STENNIS. With that statement, I agree.

Mr. ELLENDER. I should think the Senator from Montana would want to have the need for some of these committees shown. As the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN) has just said, he wants to dispense with this subcommittee, because there are too many subcommittees.

Mr. MANSFIELD. He is continuing with his work in this most important field. That was my most important point.

Mr. ELLENDER. A good deal of the work of the Committee on the Judiciary could be done by fewer subcommittees. That is the point I am stressing.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would not disagree with the Senator from Louisiana. I think this body is getting subcommittee-happy.

Mr. ELLENDER. I agree fully. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Carolina yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand, the resolution does not provide that the subcommittee will terminate its studies in September.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The resolution does not so provide, but the chairman of the committee notified the Rules Committee that it would, and we have an understanding to the effect that the subcommittee will complete the work.

Mr. ELLENDER. And the budget calls for—

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Eight months. The work will be terminated in 8 months.

Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 38), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 24) to study certain aspects of national security and international operations was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 24 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Government Operations through its Subcommittee on National Security Operations to expend not to exceed \$105,000 this year for a study of certain aspects of national security and international operations.

During the last session of Congress \$90,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$69,237 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

The Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT).

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as I understand, this is the resolution to study certain aspects of national security and international operations.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The Senator is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. Why cannot this work be done by the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Mr. JACKSON. This is an area in which the Committee on Government Operations has jurisdiction under the Reorganization Act. Our studies relate to more than one department of Government. We conduct inquiries and audit interagency operations which involve a number of departments and agencies in the national security field, with a view to

determining their economy and efficiency.

We do not deal with just one department or agency—we audit interagency operations, for example, the National Security Council, joint State-Defense Department programs, and so forth.

Mr. ELLENDER. Why cannot the Foreign Relations Committee do that, because it deals with national security?

Mr. JACKSON. No. Last year we conducted a pioneer study of the planning, programming, and budgeting system—PPBS—in the State Department, the Defense Department, the Bureau of the Budget, and other Government agencies. This is the whole basis of the jurisdiction of the Government Operations Committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. Maybe the name of the committee should be changed, say to the national security operations—

Mr. JACKSON. Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate provide that we have authority to look into certain aspects of international organizations. I point that out to the able Senator. We are not duplicating the work of any other committee. No other committee has the same jurisdiction with respect to those areas which we have been inquiring into.

Mr. ELLENDER. As was pointed out a while ago in colloquy with my good friend from Maine, I understood and felt that much of the work was done by the Committee of the Judiciary for internal security.

Mr. JACKSON. No, sir. Our work has nothing to do with the investigative work in matters relating to internal security.

Mr. ELLENDER. Could it not be done by that committee?

Mr. JACKSON. No, sir.

Mr. ELLENDER. Why not?

Mr. JACKSON. For the simple reason that they deal with problems of subversion, and so forth. Their jurisdiction is completely different from ours. Our jurisdiction is set forth under rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

I quote this from the provisions of the standing rules as they relate to the jurisdiction of the Committee on Government Operations: "a study of governmental relationships between the United States and international organizations of which the United States is a member."

Then, in addition, we have the jurisdiction relating to interagency operations. This is the basic charter of the Government Operations Committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Committee on Foreign Relations does a little dabbling in that, too.

Mr. JACKSON. That is right, in certain areas, but it has not gone into the interagency areas we have been talking about.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator from Arkansas made a fine presentation a while ago, that we have too many subcommittees and in order to prevent duplication, we should make the committees which have the work do the work. It strikes me that a good deal of this work could be done by the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is asking for some funds here to do work similar to that which the Senator is speaking of.

Mr. JACKSON. The Senator is, I

think, not correct in that regard. I hope that the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. Fulbright) will speak to that. We are involved in the area of planning, programming, and budgeting systems. We have been engaged in doing the pioneer work relating to the National Security Council. I do not know of any other committee in the Senate that is looking into that area. I want to say to the able Senator from Louisiana that there is no duplication of jurisdiction here.

Mr. ELLENDER. Then the Senator feels that it is absolutely necessary to have this?

Mr. JACKSON. I point out to the Senator that the new administration which has just come into power has drawn upon the work of our subcommittee in the National Security Council area for assistance during the transition period. I have met with the President of the United States personally in this regard, as I met with the late President John F. Kennedy on this subject. I point out to the Senator from Louisiana that our work in this area has been unique and no other committee has been involved in it.

Mr. ELLENDER. Has the Senator held hearings and made reports of any kind?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, continuously. I will be glad to supply a big stack of them to the Senator which go back almost 10 years.

Mr. ELLENDER. Was any legislation derived from the hearings?

Mr. JACKSON. As the able Senator from Maine pointed out, the Committee on Government Operations has a limited jurisdiction in the legislative field affecting the General Accounting Office and reorganization plans. The rest of the work of the committee is investigative, studying various matters relating to the efficiency and operation of the Federal Government, and making findings and recommendations.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am very hopeful that the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, will look into this matter again. We dispensed with the Foreign Aid Expenditures Subcommittee and, come September, will do away with Government research.

The distinguished Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McClellan) might look into that, with a view, perhaps, to—

Mr. McCLELLAN. I want to say to the Senator from Louisiana that so far as I have found, and because it was advisable to eliminate two of the subcommittees in line with the purpose of operating the committee economically and efficiently, and because we found it advisable to do that, does not signify that all other subcommittees should be abolished. There is work for them to do. I can say for this subcommittee chaired by Senator JACKSON that it is an active committee. It is an economical committee. It is not a committee spending a lot of money. It is one that I would say is a permanent fixture of the Committee on Government Operations, if the Committee on Government Operations is going to carry out all its functions. Because it is impossible for the full committee to do this work as a full committee, to do all of it and do what is now being done in the subcommittee processes, I think

this is a very much needed subcommittee. I also think that the request for money is very, very modest compared to the work it does.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 24) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That in holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by section 134 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Government Operations, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized, from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970, to make studies as to the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches and functions of the Government with particular reference to:

(1) the effectiveness of present national security methods, staffing, and processes as tested against the requirements imposed by the rapidly mounting complexity of national security problems;

(2) the capacity of present national security staffing, methods, and processes to make full use of the Nation's resources of knowledge, talents, and skills;

(3) the adequacy of present intergovernmental relationships between the United States and international organizations of which the United States is a member; and

(4) legislative and other proposals or means to improve these methods, processes, and relationships.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized—

(1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable;

(2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, and fix the compensation of technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority of the committee is authorized at its discretion to select one employee for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and

(3) with the prior consent of the head of the department or agency concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize on a reimbursable basis the services, information, facilities, and personnel of any department or agency of the Government.

Sec. 3. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$105,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

The resolution (S. Res. 60) authorizing the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to investigate certain matters within its jurisdiction was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 60, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on Interior and Insular Af-

fairs to expend not to exceed \$160,000 this year for a study of all matters within its jurisdiction.

During the last session of Congress \$125,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$107,627 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator GORDON ALLOTT.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I notice an increase of \$35,000 over last year, and provision for one additional employee.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. I point out to the distinguished Senator that the work of our committee has increased tremendously. The Senator may recall that this is the committee of the Senate that was under the leadership and direction of my predecessor, the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), and that the overall appropriations were cut more than in half when he became chairman in the 87th Congress. Our work, as I have indicated, has increased by a very substantial factor. For example, in the field and in Washington, last year the committee held 178 public hearings on various measures. In the last Congress it reported 155 bills. Of the 155 reported, 144 were approved by the Senate. Of those, 114 were approved by the President and became public law.

I think the Senator will agree that the problems of improving the quality of our environment and the appropriate development of the Nation's outdoor recreation resources have become major issues in the United States. Our legislative workload has increased substantially over the past few years, and we are going to face a heavier one ahead. We believe we have made a very modest request.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. JACKSON. I yield.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I have been, and the members of the Committee on Rules and Administration have been, tremendously impressed with the economy of this particular committee under the chairmanship of the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON). Some figures will be of interest to the Senate.

In the 85th Congress, \$389,662.04 was spent.

In the 86th Congress, \$435,387.04 was spent.

In the 87th Congress, the committee asked for and spent only \$192,496.

In the 88th Congress, the committee spent \$161,638.

In the 90th Congress, the committee spent \$112,487 through December 1967.

The committee has asked for \$160,000 this year.

Those figures show the tremendous economy which the committee has exhibited over this period of years. I want to commend the chairman and his committee for the fine job they have done and the amount of money they have saved over that period of years.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ap-

preciate very much the support the distinguished Senator has given to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In connection with its budget requests, we have tried to economize in every way possible; and, considering the workload, I consider the request very modest.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 60) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 60

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, including national parks and recreation areas; Indian affairs; irrigation and reclamation; water and power resources; minerals, materials, and fuels; public lands; environmental studies; and territories and insular affairs.

SEC. 2. Pursuant to its authority under section 134(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, the committee is authorized to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, documents, and to take such testimony on matters within its jurisdiction as it deems advisable.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$160,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

The resolution (S. Res. 39) to study administrative practice and procedure, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 23, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$244,820" and insert "\$210,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a full and complete study and investigation of administrative practices and procedures within the departments and agencies of the United States in the exercise of their rulemaking, licensing, investigatory, law enforcement, and adjudicatory functions, including a study of the effectiveness of the Administrative Procedure Act and the study of the recommendations of the Administrative Conference of the United States, with a view to determining whether additional legislation is required to provide for the fair, impartial, and effective performance of such functions.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$210,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 39 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure to expend not to exceed \$244,820 this year for a study of administrative practice and procedure in Government departments and agencies.

During the last session of Congress \$210,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$198,840 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$244,820 to \$210,000, a reduction of \$34,820.

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

This is another instance involving a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary wherein the Senate Rules Committee felt constrained to hold the line at last year's authorization. The members of the Senate Rules Committee are aware of the fact that a major portion of legislative items are referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. They are equally aware that there has been a continuing

proliferation of subcommittees in that committee with corresponding increases in funds requested.

Last year, the total amount authorized to the Judiciary Committee for investigations was \$2,631,900. This year that committee requested a total amount of \$2,934,997—an increase of \$303,097. The requested sum has been reduced to \$2,613,400 by amendments. The Rules Committee feels that it has a difficult responsibility in drawing a fair line between committee expenditure authorizations and adequate committee staffing. The committee has conscientiously attempted to execute that responsibility. It has always been the committee's position that should a particular committee or subcommittee during the course of a session ascertain that it has a genuine need for additional funds to carry out its functions and request more money, the Rules Committee will give such request prompt consideration.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I understand that, but I simply wish to point out that the Judiciary Committee of the Senate has a subcommittee for each Senator, I think. Its expenditures have increased from year to year. The record shows that the Judiciary Committee of the Senate has a budget, in addition to its regular budget, of \$2,613,400 for 1969. I understand the committee had asked for \$2,937,997.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. We cut the request \$321,597. It is about \$500,000 less than it got last year. Of course, we are going to hear from them. Some of the members want to restore that amount, as the Senator well knows.

Mr. ELLENDER. I would not be surprised; but, as I pointed out, from year to year this committee has been spending a little over one-third of the total for all committees of the Senate. It has 187 employees altogether. This, of course, includes the 15 permanent employees that were provided under the Reorganization Act. The rest of them are provided for here—that is, by an appropriation each year. Am I correct in that?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. It is not my purpose to go over each and every committee; but, as I said, I felt that the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN) wisely pointed out a while ago that it is possible for a committee to have too many subcommittees. If a committee had fewer subcommittees, better work could be done and more work could be done with fewer employees. I have been making this argument for 10 or 15 years now, but it does not seem to hit the mark. I am not going to waste any more time on it.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I would like to comment for just a minute. We took all those factors into consideration, but about 50 percent of all the legislation reported to the Senate comes within the jurisdiction of this committee or its subcommittees.

Mr. ELLENDER. I wish to say that in 1946 I was chairman of the Claims Committee. With one clerk, and having a group of Senators who really worked, we reported over 52 percent of the bills passed by this body. This committee is doing the same work, but it has four

lawyers and God knows how many clerks. In addition, there are, of course, several attorneys in the Attorney General's office who do this work.

I realize that the committee sends many bills to the Senate, but in the past this same work was done by the Claims Committee, of which I was chairman. Of course, it took work to do it. I am proud that we were able to do it. As I said, it is no argument to me to say that the committee accounts for over 50 percent of the bills passed in the Senate. The committee has a great deal of help to do it, much more than I had when I handled those bills, and when my Claims Committee handled over 50 percent of the bills passed by this body.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I wish to present the views of the members of the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure and the members of the Judiciary and Rules Committees relative to Senate Resolution 39.

The subcommittee proposed, and the full committee approved, a request for \$244,820, an amount equal to the amount received last year plus an allowance for the cost of the July 1968 Government-wide salary increases as well as the estimated cost of the expected July 1969 Government-wide salary increases. The Rules Committee has amended the resolution with a reduction of \$34,820, to leave a request of \$210,000, exactly the amount the subcommittee received last year.

Thus, in asking for the same amount as last year, the subcommittee will have to absorb the cost of the 1968 pay raise, or make other adjustments in the already tight budget. I would point out that while the subcommittee did have some funds remaining unexpended at the end of the 90th Congress, the prior chairman had been defeated in a primary in August, and the subcommittee's activities and staff both continued at a reduced level for the remainder of the fiscal year.

Since the coming fiscal year will find the subcommittee fully staffed and fully active for the entire 12 months, it is to be expected that the budget will be strained to its limits, especially in view of the need to absorb the cost of past salary increases.

The letter from the chairman of the Judiciary Committee to the chairman of the Rules Committee, dated January 24, 1969, which included a letter from me to Chairman EASTLAND outlining in some detail the matters which the committee will have under consideration this year, is included in the printed report. Let me just add that during the brief time I have been chairman of the subcommittee and have had occasion to review its responsibilities, I have been extremely impressed with the importance and timeliness of its duties. The need to revise and update the Administrative Procedure Act alone is a project of great complexity and utmost priority. That act affects the daily workings of over 100 Federal agencies, yet has not been revised since 1946. The administrative conference is now operative and has already produced many important recommendations on administrative practices which the subcommittee

will be reviewing. The Freedom of Information Act and title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, both of which the subcommittee was heavily involved in legislatively, are now also fully operative, and we will have a continuing responsibility for reviewing the performance under these laws.

In addition to the items referred to in the letter, I have already received other suggestions deserving of subcommittee consideration which would keep the subcommittee busy for many years. These include the general themes of enhancing citizen impact on the decisionmaking process, procedures for making available the latest technological and scientific resources for regulatory and other decisionmaking agencies, and the practices and procedures which determine the relative impact of agency members and agency staff on administrative decision-making.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 39), as amended, was agreed to.

INVESTIGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS

The resolution (S. Res. 40) to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 3, line 5, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$623,500" and insert "\$525,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a complete, comprehensive, and continuing study and investigation of unlawful restraints and monopolies, and of the antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, their administration, interpretation, operation, enforcement, and effect, and to determine and from time to time redetermine the nature and extent of any legislation which may be necessary or desirable for—

(1) clarification of existing law to eliminate conflicts and uncertainties where necessary;

(2) improvement of the administration and enforcement of existing laws; and

(3) supplementation of existing law to provide any additional substantive, procedural, or organizational legislation which may be needed for the attainment of the fundamental objects of the laws and the efficient administration and enforcement thereof.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems

advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$525,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President—

Mr. HART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, let me react briefly to the proposal that is being made to us by the Committee on Rules and Administration. The Rules Committee recommends that the authorization for the Antitrust Subcommittee be reduced by \$98,000.

In the last 5 years, sometimes with the acquiescence only of the subcommittee chairman, at other times with enthusiastic support, the personnel of this subcommittee has been reduced 27 percent. I do not think I will have any takers when I ask if any other one does any better. Twenty-seven percent. I cannot acquiesce, at this juncture, in any further reduction, which would not be a phased reduction at all, but would compel the elimination virtually, as of next month, of three to five professionals. I realize that the total figure that has been requested by the Antitrust Subcommittee over the years has been high relative to other subcommittees.

But is it relevant to talk about the relevancy of the figure? Is not the relevant consideration rather what it is that this subcommittee is supposed to wrestle with—a massive economy that further concentrates its power?

I do not pretend that the Antitrust Subcommittee is going to come up with any answer as to how we may diminish the trend toward concentration in American industry, but I hope that all here present believe that if there were just one source of employment in this country, and just one source of production, we would have destroyed the whole nature of our society. I think everyone agrees that is wrong.

Our subcommittee has developed figures which I think cannot be refuted, showing that about two-thirds of American industrial capacity and output currently is in the hands of 200–200 corporations, they call them, but 200 management decisions that affect two-thirds of our output—and the trend rapidly accelerates.

If this committee could do nothing else than make clear to America the threat that is involved here—and I hope this does not sound like Bryan resurrected—it would justify fully twice the sum.

We will be asked, of course, what bills have come out of the subcommittee. There have been efforts by some of us to get some bills out. Very few have emerged.

We have been asked, though not as gracefully as this question is phrased, "What have you ever done that has done anybody any good?"

I would submit that we have saved the consumers of this country, in the last 12 months, about \$750 million. How? By the settlements that have been effected as a consequence of our hearings, which we have generated in the areas of electrical machinery and of pharmaceuticals. And if you can get a cheaper funeral tomorrow, you can thank the subcommittee for that also. There is a wide variety of fields in which the activity of this committee has contributed materially to the budget of every family in the country.

But I repeat, Mr. President, I think most important of all is the fact that when I inherited, as seniority operates in this body, the subcommittee, there was a total of 44 personnel. That number has now been reduced to 32, over a period of 7 years. That is a reduction in personnel of 16 percent; and, beginning with the year when I first had full responsibility for the committee, the reduction has been at the rate of 27 percent.

I really believe that on a record such as that, the Senate might consider supporting an effort, in the form of an amendment I proposed to offer, to reinstate the sum necessary to continue the present personnel, allowing only for the salary increase which the Senate adopted last summer. That would involve, Mr. President, substituting for the figure recommended by the committee, which is \$525,000, the figure of \$593,000, or an increase of \$68,000.

Last year's authorization was \$577,500. The figure of \$593,000 would represent, actually, a sum of only \$15,500 more than our authorization of last year.

However, Mr. President, before making such a suggestion, I would inquire of the chairman of the Rules Committee if it might not be possible, inasmuch as some of the figures that I have now developed were not available to the Rules Committee at the time of our hearing, but are now available in tabulated form, that we provide these figures to him, and, while I can understand why he might not be in a position to do it, whether he could not agree to accept the modification, if we could pass this resolution, enabling the staff of the committee to determine the accuracy of the table which, I repeat, was not available at the time we presented our case.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator's request, at the time of the hearing there was a full quorum of the Rules Committee present. We went over all the requests and all the information furnished. I am personally not in a position to ac-

cept the amendment, because the Rules Committee came up with these recommendations in the full committee.

If the Senator wishes to offer an amendment from the floor, of course, that is perfectly all right; I have no objection to his doing that.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, it had been my thought—and let me repeat, because, in view of the exchange on the floor, perhaps the able chairman has not heard me fully—that inasmuch as there has been developed a tabulation that makes very clear that there has been in fact a personnel reduction of 27 percent in this subcommittee in the last 4 years, we might leave that with the committee, and enable the chairman, in the next few hours, perhaps, to reevaluate, in the light of that performance, the reasonableness of our request, rather than offering the amendment at this time under circumstances which, if I were in the position of the chairman of the Rules Committee, would compel me to oppose.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I shall be glad to talk with the members of the committee and discuss the matter with them, but I do not think we will have another meeting of the committee. I will be glad to take the matter up the next time we meet, because we are going to meet tomorrow, and meanwhile I will discuss the matter with other members of the committee.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, if I understand correctly, then, the chairman of the Rules Committee would not object to passing over this resolution at this time, since we can anticipate the Senate being in session tomorrow to consider resolutions, and the matter could be considered at that time. In the meantime, the chairman might have an opportunity to analyze the tabulation he has just been given.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I am not certain that I understand exactly what the Senator is now saying.

Mr. HART. Nor was I clear with respect to the Senator's reply.

I would much prefer, rather than offering an amendment against an exchange which has been heard by relatively few Senators, to leave with the chairman of the Rules Committee the tabulation I have just described, and that we not act upon this resolution today, provided, however—and this is what I wanted to make clear—that we anticipate being in session tomorrow, and that on tomorrow the resolution could be called up, and we would act, either in support of the recommendation of the Rules Committee or of the modification that I have advanced.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. And act on this matter tomorrow instead of today? That is agreeable to me.

Mr. President, I ask that further consideration of the resolution go over until tomorrow.

Mr. HART. Then, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the tabulation I have just described.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Would

the Senator make for the RECORD a statement of his amendment also? He has just presented me with this tabulation, which I had not seen.

Mr. HART. The amendment, Mr. Pres-

ident, would be simply to strike the figure "\$525,000" on page 3, line 5, and insert in lieu thereof the figure of "\$593,000." This would maintain the staff at the level of last year's authorization, with

the addition only of the salary increase of last year.

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

SENATE ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY SUBCOMMITTEE BUDGET DATA

Year	Amount appropriated	Payroll included in budget	Pay raise		Personnel				Grand total
			Date	Amount (percent)	Professional		Clerical		
					Total	(Minority)	Total	(Minority)	
1959:									
Feb. 2	\$395,000								
Aug. 9	30,000								
Total	425,000	\$337,116.10			23	3	15	1	38
1960:									
Feb. 8	425,000								
Aug. 29	25,000								
Total	450,000	361,290.35	July 1, 1960	7.5	23	2	15	1	38
1961:									
Feb. 8	450,000	384,625.89			22	3	16	1	38
1962:									
Feb. 7	450,000								
Feb. 7, 1963	23,000								
Total	473,000	379,956.77	Oct. 1, 1962	7	22	3	17	1	39
1963:									
Feb. 10	468,250	476,171.67			26	6	18	3	44
1964:									
Feb. 10	512,000								
Jan. 3, 1965	28,500								
Total	540,500	449,464.14	July 1, 1964	(*)	25	6	15	2	40
1965:									
Feb. 8	543,500	477,075.84	Oct. 1, 1965	3.6	21	5	14	2	35
1966:									
Feb. 8	561,700	493,805.99	July 1, 1966	2.9	21	5	14	2	35
1967:									
Feb. 8	560,000	487,996.10	Oct. 1, 1967	4.5	21	5	13	2	34
1968:									
Mar. 15	560,000								
July 31	17,500								
Total	577,500	513,995.00	July 1, 1968	5.85	19	5	13	1	32
Percentage of change, 1959-68	+35.9	+52.4		+57.3	-17.4		-13.3		-15.8
1969 (requested)	\$623,500	\$547,371		(*)	19	5	13	1	32
Percentage of change, 1968-69	+8.0	+6.5		+10					

* For 13 months.

* For 11 months.

* Ranging from 5 to 21 1/2 percent.

* Salary includes 5.85 percent for 5 months plus estimated 10 percent for 7 months.

Mr. HART. In addition, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement which analyzes in greater detail our reaction to the reduction, together with some summary of the activities of the committee during the year.

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

STATEMENT

Since taking over the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee in the fall of 1963, I have, if not cooperated, at least acquiesced in the cutting of the staff from the 44 I inherited to the present level of 32. This is a 27 percent cut. While our budget has risen during this same period, the increase covers only, and I emphasize "only," pay raises voted by the Congress.

This year the subcommittee asked for \$623,500 which is for the same size staff we had in 1968. The 1968 staff had been further reduced by two professionals. The dollar increase over last year is for last year's pay increase and the estimated amount of the increase to go into effect in July.

The subcommittee members unanimously supported this request as did the full Judiciary Committee. The Rules Committee cut this request by \$98,500.

This time I cannot in good conscience acquiesce. It seems to me that it is time to put the budget, not only of this subcommittee, but of others in perspective.

It is not relevant to talk about appropriations for committees as if they existed in a vacuum—as absolute amounts. They are not. Today's dollar in 1959 terms is worth 81

cents. We are not living in the world of 1959 but in the world of 1969 and this is something we must take into consideration.

This Congress through its committees has a vital oversight function of executive expenditures and activities. In 1959 the Federal unified budget was \$92 billion. In 1968 that expenditure was \$179 billion, an increase of 94.6 percent. Obviously the executive branch does not operate on 1959 programs and dollars. And if we are to fulfill our obligations, neither can the Congress.

Our subcommittee has the obligation to be concerned with the state of competition in the entire economy. In 1959 the Gross National Product was \$484 billion. In 1968 it was \$861 billion, an increase of 77.9 percent. In 1959 our 500 leading corporations had sales of \$197 billion. In 1968 they had sales of \$380 billion, an increase of 92.9 percent.

Yet in the same period our total appropriation has risen only 35.9 percent and our staff has decreased 15.8 percent.

The basic question is not the size of our appropriation but how we are fulfilling our obligations to the American people to stay abreast of developments in our jurisdiction in this exploding economy.

Let me detail just what our subcommittee has done to fulfill this obligation.

Subcommittee hearings in four areas—electrical machinery, antibiotics, library books and quinine and quinidine, an essential heart drug—have led to private class actions which are expected, when all the settlements are tallied, to total three-quarters of a billion dollars. Most of this money has been or is being recovered on behalf of states, cities, library districts, other local governmental units and consumers.

In other words, from the \$5 million in-

vested in our subcommittee during the past decade, the American people—primarily local government units—have received a return of \$750,000,000, which amounts to a 15,000 percent return. If we had done nothing else, our existence in dollars returned to local government units alone would have been justified hundreds of times over. But it only scratches the surface of our work.

Today everyone is concerned about increasing economic concentration and the conglomerate corporation. It was in the vital economic concentration hearings held by this subcommittee that the phenomenon was identified and examined. We have in seven volumes of hearings explored all aspects of this current problem.

We are responsible for changes in SEC regulations to make it easier to evaluate the conglomerate corporation. We have needed the enforcement agencies incessantly and I believe have increased their awareness of the problem. And we are responsible for the present FTC investigation in this area. Based on those hearings—as soon as we receive the FTC report—I will be prepared to introduce or consider appropriate legislation.

In fairness to the Rules Committee, there has been a new development since its meeting on the budget. President Nixon has indicated that the new administration may soon introduce legislation to deal with conglomerates. Our subcommittee during the past five years has built up an expertise which will enable us to deal intelligently with the recommendations. But if in fact the administration's recommendations will necessitate hearings not contemplated when we requested this year's budget, now would seem a poor time to cut the subcommittee back further.

Our work in other areas has achieved positive benefits. Here is a brief outline:

1. **Diet Pill Industry**—Subcommittee hearings forced the FDA to move—after knowing of these cases for some 35 years—and take dangerous drug combinations used for reducing purposes off the market. The hearings indicated a possible 65 deaths suspected to have been caused by drugs used by some obesity doctors. It is fair to say that a substantial number of additional deaths will not take place in 1969 because of our hearings. In addition, the Medical Restraint of Trade bill is being amended to reduce further possible injuries caused by these pills.

2. **Competition in Defense Procurement**—The Defense Department and GAO have been meeting and scrutinizing suggestions surfaced at our hearings for putting more competition into defense procurement. Potential savings here could be up to \$5 billion—more than we are spending on grants to education, job training, model cities, rent supplements, urban mass transit, Appalachia, youth summer jobs, basic water and sewers and school lunches. Recommendations surfaced at these hearings for the first time are now being actively considered by GAO and the Defense Department and we expect to have a report in early spring which may represent a significant breakthrough in procurement procedures.

3. **Automobile Insurance**—Insurance companies tell us that since our hearings began, they have stopped including race on insurance reports. Also companies now are beginning to stop cancelling policyholders at age 65 because of information in our hearings that they really are among the best auto insurance risks.

4. **Automobile Repair and Service Industry**—Since these hearings, we have been informed that major automobile manufacturers are devoting additional resources toward design that will build repairability and protection into the automobiles in the future.

5. **Credit Bureaus and Credit Reporting Industry**—Since these hearings, an Industry Advisory Committee has developed a code of ethics which, if followed, will allow credit buyers access to their own credit files for the purpose of correcting and explaining material contained therein.

6. **Funerals**—Based on our hearings, Justice obtained a consent decree removing barriers to price advertising. Savings to consumers cannot be fairly estimated, but may be assumed to be substantial.

7. **Credit Life Insurance**—Our hearings resulted in an introduction of legislation in several states to correct practices we uncovered such as kickbacks to lenders. Senator Proxmire and I will soon introduce Federal legislation which, if passed, will result in savings of millions of dollars to persons using this kind of insurance.

8. **Oil Shale**—Subcommittee hearings resulted in cancellations of earlier Department of Interior leasing plans which would have resulted in a giveaway of this great national treasure estimated to be worth hundreds of billions of dollars.

9. **Housing**—During hearings on new technology and concentration, the subcommittee became aware that new technology was the only hope of meeting the need of 6 million new housing units in the next 10 years. This led to an amendment to the Omnibus Housing bill which is designed to guarantee a market for this new technology by requiring it be used wherever possible in Federally-supported housing.

10. **Medical Laboratories**—Law requiring licensing of medical labs was enacted following revelations at our hearing of horrors committed by unlicensed labs.

11. **Independent Businessmen and Franchising**—We have been told by many independent businessmen that since the subcommittee investigations they have noted considerable improvement in their treatment

by franchisors. Also many franchise contracts now include arbitration clauses—as set forth in the bill introduced last year as a result of the hearings. A new bill will soon be introduced.

This brings me up to our hearing schedule for 1969 which will have to be curtailed if this budget cut is allowed to stand:

1. Continuation and conclusion of auto insurance investigation.
2. Continuation and conclusion of auto repair investigation.
3. Continuation and conclusion of credit bureau and credit reporting industry hearings and their impact on the fast approaching checkless society.
4. The skyrocketing cost of hospital care.
5. Government interference with the market mechanism with the petroleum market being the first area for examination.
6. Competitive problems in the rapidly changing communications field.
7. Competitive problems in defense procurement.
8. Conglomerate mergers and what legislation can best deal with the problem.

These, I believe, are important programs which promise very positive benefits to all American consumers and businessmen. And they represent only a fraction of major competitive problems which are brought to our attention almost daily.

I would hope that the Senate would concur with the Judiciary Committee that the amount requested is altogether appropriate in view of the work the subcommittee is doing.

I know the Senate fully realizes the importance—indeed, the absolute necessity—of involving ourselves in the challenges of these times. I said during the Democratic Administration, and I say now, that we cannot abdicate our responsibilities to the executive branch. But to carry out that responsibility requires adequate staffing. And we cannot get adequate staffing if our primary concern is shaving budgets rather than the quality of the work performed.

I ask that the resolution be amended so as to permit the subcommittee to retain its current staff—which means that in dollar amount the figure recommended by rules of \$525,000 be increased by \$68,000 to \$593,000. It represents last year's authorization of \$577,500, plus the wage increase of last year. This is \$15,500 more than our authorization of last year.

GROWTH IN GNP, FEDERAL BUDGET, AND SALES OF 500 LARGEST INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS, 1959-69

[Billions of dollars]			
Year	Gross national product	Federal unified budget outlays	Sales, 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations
1959	484	92	197
1960	504	92	204
1961	520	98	209
1962	560	107	229
1963	591	111	245
1964	632	119	267
1965	685	118	298
1966	748	134	333
1967	790	158	359
1968	861	179	380
1969	900	184	400
Percentage of change, 1959-68	+77.9	+94.6	+92.9

¹ Estimated.

Source: Economic Report of the President, 1969, and Fortune Directory.

Mr. HART. I thank the chairman very much.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, and in accordance with the request of the Senator from North Carolina, further consideration of the resolution will go over until tomorrow.

STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 42) authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 16, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$139,500" and insert "\$120,000; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to constitutional amendments.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its activities and findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$120,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 42 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments to expend not to exceed \$139,500 this year for a study of all matters relating to constitutional amendments.

During the last session of Congress \$120,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$110,092 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$139,500 to \$120,000, a reduction of \$19,500.

Senator BIRCH BAYH is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 42), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 43) to investigate matters pertaining to constitutional rights which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment, on page 2, line 15, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$220,000" and insert "\$200,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to constitutional rights.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$220,000, \$200,000 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 43 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to expend not to exceed \$220,000 this year for a study or investigation of matters pertaining to constitutional rights.

During the last session of Congress \$220,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$193,407 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$220,000 to \$200,000, a reduction of \$20,000.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 43), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 52) to make a full and complete study of the separation of powers under the Constitution which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 22, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$130,000" and insert "\$95,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a full and complete study of the separation of powers between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of Government provided by the Constitution, the manner in which power has been exercised by each branch and the extent if any to which any branch or branches of the Government may have encroached upon the powers, functions, and duties vested in any other branch by the Constitution of the United States.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$95,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 52 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Constitutional Separation of Powers to expend not to exceed \$130,000 this year for a study of the separation of powers between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the Government.

During the last session of Congress \$95,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$72,021 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$130,000 to \$95,000, a reduction of \$35,000.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the sub-

committee is Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

The Senate Rules Committee decided to keep the authorization for this subcommittee at \$95,000 which was the same amount authorized for the subcommittee last year. Approximately \$23,000 of last year's authorization was not expended and it was the Rules Committee's opinion that the availability of this sum would allow a sufficient expansion of the subcommittee's activities during the coming year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 52), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF CRIMINAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 44) to investigate criminal laws and procedures which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with amendments on page 2, line 2, after the word "appointment", insert "and the person so selected shall be appointed"; and, in line 15, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$142,000" and insert "\$120,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of criminal laws and procedures.

Sec. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ on a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$120,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate by vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 44 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures to expend not to exceed \$142,000 this year for a study of criminal laws and procedures.

During the last session of Congress \$120,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$100,738 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$142,000 to \$120,000, a reduction of \$22,000.

Senator JOHN L. McCLELLAN is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 44), as amended, was agreed to.

FEDERAL CHARTERS, HOLIDAYS, AND CELEBRATIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 41) to consider matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 41, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations, to expend not to exceed \$9,500 this year to provide the subcommittee with required clerical assistance.

During the last session of Congress \$8,500 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$6,873 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I should like to find out what was done by the committee during the last year. I notice there is one employee at a salary of \$9,500.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois is the chairman of that subcommittee.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the report on this particular resolution there is a letter from the distinguished minority leader, who is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations. He is one of the few Republican subcommittee chairmen in the Senate—perhaps the only one now.

The letter states:

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: During the second session of the 90th Congress, Senate Resolution 234, agreed to March 15, 1968, appropriated the sum of \$8,500 for the operation of the Standing Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. This is also contained in the amendment. It

involves one employee. I note that the Senator from Illinois is now in the Chamber.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator tell me how one can get along with less than one employee?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I would do away with that employee and let the regular staff take care of that work. There is a regular staff of four provided for under the original act, and six clerical employees, plus 18 other permanent employees.

With such a small amount of work, I think the regular staff could do it and save the Nixon administration at least \$9,500.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The Senator from Louisiana has the floor.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask for the floor in my own right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, my distinguished friend, the Senator from Louisiana, does not fully understand the chores and burdens that fall upon that subcommittee that require at least one employee.

In a single session we have gotten out as many as 35 or 40 resolutions. Will the Senator show me a single committee or subcommittee of the Senate that has such a working score?

We have some very important things come before that committee. Consider for a moment the people who call for the incorporation of organizations so that they will have a Federal charter and can then go to every section of the country for the purpose of raising money and carrying on the stated objective.

There is a resolution on my desk now seeking to incorporate the Association of Paralyzed Veterans. How do you quarrel with it? They are paralyzed as a result of gunshot and land mines and artillery shells in Vietnam.

I cannot quarrel with it. As a matter of human compassion, you cannot quarrel with it. One has to put the matter over and fight about it later. We get it out of the subcommittee and then the work starts. We have not been able to persuade the chairman of the House committee that this ought to be done.

We have had the same problem with the Catholic War Veterans, the Jewish War Veterans, and the Paralyzed War Veterans. We go over the matter over and over again.

The committee was handling the matter of the Monday holidays bill. I took all of the testimony on the bill. There was a great deal more to it than the Senator suspects.

We had to give the calendarmakers 2 years to adjust. We had to give the State legislatures the opportunity to bring State legislation in line with the act.

We will then have the Monday holidays which will provide for the 3-day holiday at the end of the week. There are many people who do not like this provision. I am still hearing from people who do not like the idea of moving Lincoln's Birthday holiday. People like members

of the DAR complain about changing Washington's Birthday. The fact of the matter is that George Washington was not born on the 22d day of February. He was born on the 22d day under the Gregorian calendar, but not under the Julian calendar. And the calendar was changed when George Washington was alive.

We have to take the heat generated by these matters and carry on correspondence with people all over the country, including labor unions. How do they feel about it? How does management feel about it?

The Senator would be surprised at how my mail is encumbered with these problems.

That is the most overworked subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee and the most overworked subcommittee in the Senate.

I must appeal to the charitable sentiments of my friends in the Senate not to touch this little amount of \$9,500. It is a bag of peanuts compared to a lot of the other items. I wonder how I get along with that as well as I do.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I think we had better agree to the resolution before the amount is doubled.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I might ask for an increase before we get through.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I point out that it seems to me there is little left for the regular committee staff to work on. This committee has, aside from its regular staff members, 187 employees. The cost to the Government is \$2,613,400. And this additional work, it strikes me, could easily be done by the regular staff of the committee. That is all I am saying. I am not saying that it is not important.

I was presented a while ago with a list of the staff members of the House Judiciary Committee. That committee has, I am sure, almost as much work as the Senate Judiciary Committee. Yet, the House Judiciary Committee has 32 employees altogether, whereas the full Senate Judiciary Committee has 187 employees. They do a little more work in these committees, but of what importance it is, I have yet to learn.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, we are talking about one subcommittee, the Subcommittee on Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations. When Senator McCarran, of Nevada, was the chairman and Senator Langer, of North Dakota, was the ranking Republican, they made a deal. They said, "Well, we will give you humble Republicans one chairmanship. We will give you Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations." And that is how Senator Langer, a Republican, from North Dakota, became the chairman of that committee. I was second in line. So when the time came and Senator Langer left the Senate, I took over.

In all that time, we have not requested an increase and we have not asked for any additional employees. We ask only that you take care of the pay increase that the Senate and House have voted, and that is all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution, (S. Res. 41) was agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to consider all matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$9,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The resolution (S. Res. 47) to study and examine the Federal judicial system was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 2, line 20, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$213,000" and insert "\$200,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a study and examination of the administration, practice, and procedures of the Federal judicial system with a view to determining the legislation, if any, which may be necessary or desirable in order to improve the operations of the Federal courts in the just and expeditious adjudication of the cases, controversies, and other matters which may be brought before them.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, professional, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of departments and agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$200,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 47 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery to expend not to exceed \$213,000 this year for a study and examination of the Federal judicial system.

During the last session of Congress \$203,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$186,324 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$213,000 to \$200,000, a reduction of \$13,000.

Senator JOSEPH D. TYDINGS is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 47), as amended, was agreed to.

INVESTIGATION OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION MATTERS

The resolution (S. Res. 45) to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 45 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization to expend not to exceed \$200,000 this year for a study of matters relating to immigration and naturalization.

During the last session of Congress \$185,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$174,981 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 45), was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization

Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$200,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INTERNAL SECURITY

The resolution (S. Res. 46) to investigate the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, on page 3, line 2, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$475,000" and insert "\$450,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, insofar as they relate to the authority of the committee, to make a complete and continuing study and investigation of (1) the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended; (2) the administration, operation, and enforcement of other laws relating to espionage, sabotage, and the protection of the internal security of the United States; and (3) the extent, nature, and effect of subversive activities in the United States, its territories and possessions, including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage, and infiltration by persons who are or may be under the domination of the foreign government or organizations controlling the world Communist movement or any other movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be

so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$450,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 46 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Internal Security to expend not to exceed \$475,000 this year for a study and investigation of the administration of the national security laws and matters relating to espionage.

During the last session of Congress \$400,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$390,583 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$475,000 to \$450,000, a reduction of \$25,000.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 46), as amended, was agreed to.

INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The resolution (S. Res. 48) to investigate juvenile delinquency was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment on page 2, line 24, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$257,500" and insert "\$225,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to juvenile delinquency in the United States, including (a) the extent and character of juvenile delinquency in the United States and its causes and contributing factors; (b) the adequacy of existing provisions of law, including chapters 402 and 403 of title 18 of the United States Code, in dealing with youthful offenders of Federal laws; (c) sentences imposed on, or other correctional action taken with respect to, youthful offenders by Federal courts; and (d) the extent to

which juveniles are violating Federal laws relating to the sale or use of narcotics.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings together with its recommendations for legislation, as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$225,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 48 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency to expend not to exceed \$257,500 this year for a study of all matters pertaining to juvenile delinquency in the United States.

During the last session of Congress \$225,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$208,310 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$257,500 to \$225,000, a reduction of \$32,500.

Senator THOMAS J. DODD is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA.

It was the decision of the Senate Rules Committee that the amount authorized for this subcommittee should not exceed the amount authorized during the previous year.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I urge the Senate to adopt this resolution to continue the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee.

Youth crime has gone up 10 percent in the last year for which we have complete statistics.

The experts say that 40 percent of the juvenile population will have an arrest record within the next decade.

It is known that 70 percent of all offenders were first arrested under the age of 25.

We know that so far in this decade young people under 18 years of age have shown the largest increase for any age group for murder—56 percent.

We also know that entire segments of our youth are turning their backs on the Government and on society as evidenced by draft card burning, by campus demonstrations, by militant gang activities, by drug abuse, and by hostile clashes between youth groups and the police.

I do not think this is the time for the U.S. Senate to question whether or not

it will continue to be concerned with the problem of juvenile delinquency.

I say this not because the Juvenile Delinquent Subcommittee, or any other committee, can by itself do away with youth crime. But, because the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee has taken effective action in the past and has proposed action for the future to counteract each of the serious crime problems that victimize this society and its youths.

It was this subcommittee that made the early proposals leading to the passage of the first major Federal juvenile delinquency law, the Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961.

My colleagues know that it was this subcommittee that first proposed gun control laws to protect young people from the mail-order traffickers in firearms. In 1968, 5 years later, we finally obtained passage of two of the most far-reaching firearms laws in the history of this country.

This subcommittee authored the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 to protect our young people from the unregulated traffic in literally billions of dangerous drugs.

This subcommittee held extensive hearings and helped pass the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966 to enable heroin addicts to get back on their feet rather than make them rot in prison.

This subcommittee helped write the congressional guidelines for the Drug Penalty Amendments of 1968.

And we introduced and got passed an amendment to the latest Federal delinquency bill—Public Law 90-445—the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 which is an extension of the original 1961 act.

Today, I ask for continuation of the subcommittee because there are other needs in the delinquency field that have not been met by the above measures.

I have outlined our program for this year in my letter to the chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

First, we must investigate the conditions in correctional institutions for young offenders.

There are many reasons for this. Of major importance is the fact that we have overwhelming evidence that the Nation's institutions in most cases do not correct the inmates, but actually release them more crime prone, more hostile and more dangerous than ever.

We have evidence that the long sentences under which many young offenders are kept in institutions do not help to rehabilitate them, but give them more time to learn better crime methods from fellow prisoners.

And, we have evidence that many young offenders are kept in incarceration under grossly inhuman conditions and are subjected to brutality and abuse from other inmates and often even from the custodian personnel of the institution.

I wrote Senator EASTLAND that not only is delinquency increasing, but that we are falling further and further behind in our efforts to rehabilitate the growing army of young lawbreakers in this country.

I am wholly convinced that a major cause of this regression is the abominable

conditions in our youth institutions which further derange and dehumanize rather than correct and rehabilitate.

Second, I believe we must consider the effectiveness of current Federal delinquency control legislation.

A case in point is the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 which is designed to develop community-based treatment programs for young offenders.

We passed the law.

We publicized it.

And, we called for a \$25-million expenditure in the first year.

Then this same Congress turned around and authorized only \$5 million to actually put the law into operation.

What is the result? The result is that we have fooled the public into thinking that the Federal Government is solving delinquency, when in reality our effort amounts to nothing at all.

Indeed, I wonder if we do not fool ourselves by this giving with one hand and taking away with the other.

I will not be surprised if after 3 years there will not be voices heard in Congress labeling the Delinquency Act ineffective, while neglecting to point out that we simply did not pay the money we promised to even get the law off the ground.

But even more important, I think this Congress will have to consider whether a piecemeal approach to delinquency prevention can ever be successful. I think this kind of approach has been a part both of the 1961 and the 1968 Delinquency Acts.

Particularly, the sad state of our correctional systems leads me to think that we must consider some type of ongoing Federal assistance in the correctional field. I have in mind the kind of help we now provide schools under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and to hospitals under the Hill-Burton program.

The Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee will explore these possibilities in our forthcoming hearings.

Third, the subcommittee will consider better ways to handle the problem of the abuse of marihuana and to prevent its illegal importation from other parts of the world, particularly from Mexico.

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, primarily because of marihuana, narcotic arrests in 1967 rose 60 percent over 1966.

In the under 18 years of age category, the increase was 134 percent.

Marihuana is the most popular drug among this Nation's youth. It has also become the most controversial of the drugs used to affect the mind and distort emotions. Some researchers claim it is harmless, others claim the opposite. And yet, while it is being used by possibly hundreds of thousands of teenagers and youths, marihuana violators are often subjected to what today appear archaic, unrealistic and ineffective penalties both at the Federal and the State level.

I believe this subcommittee must look into this matter, both to find means of cutting down the booming marihuana traffic across our borders and to establish more equitable and effective handling of

young people who are caught up in the faltering efforts of the Government to meet the problem.

Finally, there are new forms of delinquency and youth crime which have in recent years added to the overall crime problem and which cannot be suppressed with the conventional crime control methods.

I speak of what the scientists call "alienation" of entire segments of our youth from society and from our system of government.

This is expressed in youth crimes such as draft card burning, disorderly anti-war demonstrations, sit-ins, campus riots and violence intertwined with political activity.

Members of such youth groups as the Students for Democratic Society, the Black Panthers, the Blackstone Rangers, and others are actually engaged in open rebellion against society.

They incite riots, they disrupt the administration of justice in our courts, and when imprisoned, they often continue their violent behavior and create havoc in our correctional institutions.

The net result of many of these activities is a demoralizing effect on our law enforcement machinery.

Much of this violence is identified with generally accepted causes such as civil rights, the war on poverty, and others. Because of this, these youth groups are normally handled with an extraordinary amount of tolerance for fear of escalating any disturbance into a full scale riot.

This works to further aggravate the police who are exposed to the threat of violence from these troublemakers, but are frequently not allowed to react to episodes of flagrant lawbreaking. An example of this demoralization was evident in the controversial police suppression of demonstrators in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention. To a lesser scale similar conditions were evident during the inauguration in Washington, D.C.

Whether it be gang violence resulting in multiple deaths, campus demonstrations setting forth unrealistic demands, or an unruly protest against Vietnam, these activities are an expression of serious differences between large segments of our youth and the government establishment.

Unless we seek to understand the causes of these differences, we can only expect more violence and even greater demoralization and undermining of our law enforcement machinery.

I believe that it is important to look into these matters and I believe the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee is well equipped to carry out these inquiries.

For these reasons I call for the adoption of Senate Resolution 48.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, every time this resolution has come up, I have had a little to say. The amount requested is the same as it has been for the last 2 years—\$225,000. I am wondering whether or not the work of that committee has increased.

Mr. DODD. Yes, it has.

Mr. ELLENDER. What subjects is the committee now looking into? I thought we could get rid of some of these sub-

committees. I believe this is a good place to start.

Mr. DODD. If we could get rid of some of the juvenile crime in this country, we could get rid of some of the work of the subcommittee.

Mr. ELLENDER. It seems to me that the longer this committee goes on, the more juvenile delinquency we have.

Mr. DODD. That is like saying the more people who have cancer, the more reason we should cut off research on it, or some other dreadful physical ailment.

We have had growing juvenile crime for years, since this subcommittee was founded. I believe the subcommittee has made great progress in this area; I wish it could have made more. I believe it has done its work well.

The Senator has asked a question, and I should like to reply.

Every year at budget time I am confronted by one or two colleagues with the same proposition. The Congress appropriates money for the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee and yet juvenile crime continues to increase. I am then faced with the conclusion on the part of some of my colleagues that we are useless.

I would like to use the District of Columbia as a case in point to refute this argument. In 1962 I outlined to the Congress, based on this same subcommittee's studies and investigations, what steps should be taken to halt crime in the Nation's Capital.

I outlined in detail the shortages in the police department, of both trained men and modern crime fighting equipment.

I stressed the pressing need for more courts and court personnel and the lack of probation and parole officers.

I emphasized the failure of the District school system to handle its difficult and delinquency-prone students and its utter failure to help dropouts refrain from criminal behavior.

I emphasized the fact that the correctional facility at Lorton, which now looms so large in this city's crime picture, was even at that date, overcrowded and lacked any followup facilities for counseling and employment assistance services.

I pointed to the rampant mail-order firearms traffic that swelled the city's crime figures.

I called for an end to discrimination in job opportunities for our minority youths.

I said then that if Congress wants to curb violence in the streets of the Nation's Capital, it must face the fact that money is needed to buy expanded crime prevention and crime control tools.

I introduced legislation to help the city with many of these problems. But the Congress failed to act on most of it or it moved so slowly—the mail order gun bill took 7 years—that once the legislation was passed, we had already reached and passed the crisis point in crime.

So, I say to my colleagues today it is not the fault of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee that youth crime is still increasing, but it has been to a large measure the failure of Congress to act with enough speed and resources that has contributed to the crime problem, not only in this city but in cities across the Nation.

Mr. President, here are the first three sentences of a speech I made in 1962:

Those who live in the Washington area are experiencing a growing feeling of distress and frustration and even fear because the Capital of the United States is the most dangerous place in the country after dark. The District of Columbia has the Nation's highest rate of aggravated assault.

In recent weeks we have been going through another of those recurrent waves of crime in the Capital.

I was describing Washington and the crime problems it faced at that time.

In my comments that day, March 28, 1962, I predicted what Washington of 1969 would be like if Congress continued to ignore the crime problem here.

It was almost 7 years ago that I said:

We in Congress share the power to govern this city and therefore we must bear a large share of the responsibility for what happens here. . . .

We have the responsibility of providing better police facilities, better court facilities, better laws and improved social conditions. . . .

And until the Members of Congress become just as concerned with the needs of the District of Columbia as they are with their own home districts or their own home states, the Nation's Capital stands in danger of becoming the Nation's crime capital.

My recommendations to Congress almost 7 years ago were characterized in an editorial in the March 30, 1962, edition of the Washington Post, as follows:

Senator Dodd has given us a thoroughly enlightened list of countermeasures against attacks and robberies in Washington's streets, the volume of which has become intolerable. He observes, correctly, that we must work at two levels. We need immediate protection against the results of this city's failures, over the last generation, in education and welfare. We must concurrently work diligently at curing these failures over the next generation.

In view of the demonstrated failures of Congress to cope with the crime problem as it has developed in the years since 1962, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the following:

First, my comments as delivered here on March 28, 1962, and, second, a series of newspaper articles by reporters Elsie Carper, Eve Edstrom, and Leslie H. Whitten, published in the Washington Post between March 29, 1962, and April 7, 1962, which is an analysis of my recommendations to the Congress in anticipation of the crime problems developing in the District of Columbia some 7 years ago.

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

STATEMENT BY SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, MARCH 28, 1962

Those who live in the Washington area are experiencing a growing feeling of distress and frustration and even fear because the Capital of the United States is the most dangerous place in the country after dark. The District of Columbia has the nation's highest rate of aggravated assault.

In recent weeks we have been going through another of those recurrent waves of crime in the Capital. Last month eleven persons were murdered in the District, an increase of almost 300% over the corresponding month a year ago. In the same period robbery

was up 7 per cent, petty larceny was up 34 per cent, auto theft up 11 per cent, and grand larceny up 9 per cent.

A couple of weeks ago the country heard of a bus driver, Mr. Page M. Powell, who in the performance of his duty on the streets of the Capital was viciously assaulted by a "rat-pack" of youths in front of a diffident group of passengers who did not feel compelled to rise to help defend a helpless fellow citizen.

The term "rat-pack" is not mine; it is the name these young criminals apply to themselves. And "rat-packing" is the term they have coined to describe their more vicious assaults; for instance, the one in which they struck down, clubbed, kicked and murdered 57-year-old Mr. Jess Murchison in front of his wife.

It is easy at a time like this to raise a clenched fist, to denounce the police or the younger generation or the District Government. It is easy to blame the problem on race relations or softness on the part of the court system or even "welfare give-aways."

The people who live in the District have every reason to feel frustration and anger at what they see going on around them. But those who are in positions of leadership in this community had better examine their own conduct before they make sweeping judgments on what is happening here.

We in the Congress share the power to govern this city and therefore we must bear a large share of the responsibility for what happens here.

The Nation's Capital ought to be the model of the nation in every field. I say this not just because the diplomatic leaders and press representatives from all over the world are here and tend to judge our country by what they see, nor do I say it primarily because millions of Americans flock to the Capital from all over the country and the image of the American Government which they take home is bound to be sullied by what they see.

I say it because Washington ought to be the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people. It ought to represent what we hope to achieve in the country and in the world. The Nation's Capital should be the nation's leader in education, in urban development, in parks and playgrounds, in schools, in housing, in race relations and above all, in law enforcement.

It is therefore time to probe not only the breakdown of law and order in the District of Columbia but to probe as well the needs of the Capital and the way in which the Congress has met, or has failed to meet, those needs.

My objective today is to look at the facts and to look at the needs and to make some recommendations to the Congress, particularly in the field of juvenile delinquency, in which I have a special interest arising from my membership on the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee.

Let us look first at the outrages that have been committed on the 3,900 miles of sidewalks, streets, and alleys of the national capital in the last calendar year.

During 1961 there were 82 people murdered—ten more than in the previous year. And another 22 deaths were classified as "manslaughter" or "negligent homicide."

Last year 122 District women were raped, seven more than during 1960. In addition, there were 25 more attempted rapes.

One thousand six hundred and ninety four people were robbed and that was 523 more than the previous year. And additional attempts were made to rob 169 other persons, 43 more than in 1960.

There is no place like home, but last year District residents had 4,737 visitors they did not want. Almost 13 times every day last year someone's home was broken into.

During the calendar year of 1961 there were 4,737 housebreakings—488 more than the

previous year. And more than that, 185 additional attempts were made. That in itself was 25 more than the previous year.

Larceny, petty and grand, totaled 9,683 last year, an increase of 632.

Between five and six cars were stolen every day of 1961 for a grand total of 2,183, an increase of 230.

In almost every category of crime the trend was up.

I would like to turn for a moment to the category of juvenile crime.

Never since the turbulent years of the post-World War II era has Washington had more delinquency than today. And this is delinquency that cannot be explained as due to wartime pressures on families and youth.

In 1961, Washington had 11 cases of juvenile homicide, while in 1960 there were only three. Juvenile robbery increased from 276 to 418 cases and housebreaking from 681 to 806 cases.

Robberies characterized by force and violence increased by 25 per cent.

Armed holdups increased by 62 per cent.

Yoking robberies, among the most odious of crimes, increased by 14 per cent.

In this category was 18-year-old Edward Smith, who committed 30 yokings from May to December, 1961. He operated with three heavy rings, two of lead and one of brass, on the last three fingers of his right hand. "They work pretty good the way I use them," he said, and boasted that crime in Washington should go down 100 per cent with his arrest.

In the lesser crime categories, there were increases in arson, destroying private property, destroying movable property, unlawful entry, and assault.

In 1959 one referral of homicide was made to the juvenile court. In 1960 there were two such referrals, while in 1961 the number of homicide referrals was eleven. Furthermore, in the first two months of 1962, four cases of homicide have already been brought to the D.C. Juvenile Court.

Specific figures for specific offenses fluctuate from year to year. However, the total court referral rate in Washington has risen in a disturbing manner, in spite of new control measures which we enact periodically.

It is worth while to note that in 1955 the District established a Youth Aid Division in the Metropolitan Police Department. This division allowed the police themselves to dispose of certain cases without official action so as not to overcrowd the court. That year the number of complaints received by the court fell from 3,900 in the previous year to 3,100. However, in 1961, in spite of the fact the police still release an increasing number of juveniles without court action, the court's complaint figure has again risen to 3,900 cases.

In spite of yearly increases in delinquency control programs, and in spite of statistical manipulations and classifications, delinquency in Washington has kept growing.

Those are the essential facts about crime in the District. What can we in this Congress do about those facts?

I believe our approach should take two directions:

First, to see to it that the needs of the Police Department and of the courts are met and to see to it that whatever deficiencies there may be in the law itself are so remedied as to make it clear to each would-be criminal that he will be swiftly apprehended and punished.

Second, we have got to step up our attack on the underlying contributing causes of crime.

I therefore urge Congress to take immediate action to build up the metropolitan police force to the authorized strength of 3,000 men, instead of slowly adding these men in yearly installments.

I further urge that Congress take action to appropriate the requested number of

man-and-dog teams and that the police department step up its training programs so that these teams can be placed on the streets in a period of several months, instead of years.

I feel that the Juvenile Bureau of the police department should have at least ten police cruisers on the streets each night, instead of the five or six they are able to muster at the present time.

And Congress must consider ways to remove the obstacles placed in the path of effective police work by the provisions and interpretations of the Durham and Mallory decisions. According to Police Chief Murray the requirements set by the Mallory decision make law enforcement more difficult in the District than under state laws, and as a result "a number of our most heinous crimes could not be prosecuted."

Over fifty per cent of the serious offenders are repeaters. This means that our correctional attempts are falling very badly and have to be re-evaluated.

It has become evident not only in the District of Columbia but also across the country that correctional and rehabilitative measures applied by professional personnel in correctional institutions and as part of probation and parole supervision have thus far substantially failed to reform the criminals. They have resulted in recidivism, or repeat offenders, in approximately 70 per cent of cases released, and have thus been highly responsible for the rampant crime and delinquency conditions which prevail in the District and elsewhere.

It is therefore evident that we must re-evaluate present policies concerning the length of sentencing and the manner of disposition of court cases.

Your Subcommittee will look at the possibility of recommending that the appropriate laws governing length of sentencing be changed to replace minimum and maximum length of incarceration. We will consider indeterminate sentencing clauses which will allow correctional administrators and boards of crime control experts to retain or release offenders strictly according to the individual merits of each case and not according to laws which fail to differentiate between a deeply disturbed and recidivism-prone offender and between a stable person, who may only once in a lifetime be influenced to crime by a unique constellation of circumstances.

Such a revision of the laws, I feel, is necessary to both insure protection of the public from a corps of dangerous and perverse criminals and lead to more successful rehabilitative and correctional practices by crime control personnel.

We must take another look at the juvenile court laws here in the District.

The juvenile court was created to help young boys and girls who have made a mistake to keep away from further excursions into crime. But today many of those who go before the juvenile bench are already hardened young criminals. These hoodlums have not just broken a few windows and stolen some apples from fruit stands. Instead they have killed, yoked, robbed, and assaulted innocent people. There are many among them who can only contaminate and corrupt the immature children whom we used to call the juvenile delinquents. This I think goes against the spirit of the juvenile law. I know that Judge Ketchum has exercised his right of waiving juvenile cases to the criminal court perhaps more than any other judge in the country. I understand that he has been criticized for this.

I think the judge has done well and we should look at the waiver procedure to see if it should be used to an even greater extent. We must make sure that those criminals on our streets who are often young in age only, but not in experience and viciousness, are met with the full force of the criminal law and are made to suffer the consequences.

An examination by the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency into two matters closely related to the so-called "crime wave" reveals the responsibility which society as a whole bears for a good deal of criminal behavior and points to some constructive steps the Congress can take.

I have mentioned that armed holdups by youths increased by 62 per cent last year. Certainly one factor in this situation is the easy availability of cheap mail-order guns. Here irresponsible adults are to blame.

During 1961 and up to the present time, we have been investigating the recipients of mail-order handguns which have been shipped into the District of Columbia through the Railway Express Agency. We have tried to determine the character and stability of the recipients of these guns and to determine if there is any correlation between the areas of high crime rate in the District and the areas in which mail-order handguns are predominantly found.

Concerning the types of persons receiving mail-order guns, Subcommittee investigators have determined that 25 per cent of the recipients have criminal records in the District of Columbia. These records range in seriousness from misdemeanors to felonies. Included among the more serious felonies are assaults with such deadly weapons as guns, knives, and icepicks, assaults on policemen, narcotics violations and homicide. Others have long records of disorderly conduct and drunk arrests. These records indicate substantially that an undesirable element of this city is receiving firearms through mail-order houses.

The mail-order recipients for the most part live in the so-called "slum areas" of the city. Many are itinerant and are economically living on a bare survival basis.

Concerning the relationship between high crime areas of the city and incidence of mail-order weapons, it was found that delivery of mail-order handguns corresponds with the high crime areas in the city.

We found that in the following five police precincts of the District of Columbia there is a higher incidence of mail-order guns delivered than in any other precincts in the city. Those precincts are the 2d, 1st, 13th, 10th, and 9th. Crimewise, these rank first, second, third, fourth, and fifth, respectively.

We are drafting legislation to deal with interstate mail-order traffic in guns and have already succeeded in obtaining the voluntary support of many of the responsible elements in the production, transportation and sale of weapons.

One of the most significant findings of our committee concerns the increasing number of unemployed able-bodied young men in the District of Columbia. It has been estimated that there are 13,000 out-of-school, out-of-work youth here. This waste of human lives is not just the waste that results from the idleness of thousands of 16- and 17-year-olds. The damage is multiplied by the destruction created by out-of-school, out-of-work youth who become delinquents.

As unemployment increases in this age group, it is accompanied by increasing delinquency. Walter Tobriner, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District, told us that "studies have shown that the youth employment situation in Washington, D.C., has a direct bearing on the youth crime rate here. Too many young people with nothing to do and limited job opportunities for them seems to be one of the major reasons for the increased crime rate here."

Why does this growing number of unemployed youth exist in the District? Most basic to the situation is the population explosion of the 1940's which first made the schools bulge and now swells the labor market. Our continuing technological advance means that more can be produced by fewer workers. Youth is caught in this squeeze. They lack the skills as well as the experience to enable

them to compete for the diminishing proportion of jobs.

The lack of industry in the Capital creates an even greater demarcation in the types of available jobs. Primarily, there are jobs in government which require educational and technical skills or there are jobs in service industries which supply the large number of government workers. Employers are frequently reluctant to hire youths, because of rigid and outmoded child labor laws which have not been modified to meet the needs of a changing society.

It is extremely difficult for young people to get into labor unions. It has been said that "it is harder to get into the plumbers' union than it is to get elected to Congress."

Many officials in the District are not only aware of the problem, but have taken many foresighted steps to alleviate it. However, most of these are on a limited scale due to lack of funds. For example, Mr. Hyman Perlo is working under a small grant to locate school dropouts and help them find jobs. But how can one man hope to find thousands of young men jobs?

There are many other privately sponsored projects, such as the Woodward Foundation High School Scholarships or the MacFarland Guidance Project and the Urban Service Corps from the Meyer Foundation. The situation has reached such proportions, however, that this effort is not enough. Despite the fact that the D.C. employment office has a new youth section, Mr. Fred Z. Hetzel, its director, says that essentially "all that has been done so far is only on paper." The District of Columbia is fortunate in having people of the caliber of Dr. Hansen and Mr. Hetzel who are capable of dealing with the problems of youth, but they are restricted by the lack of means to put their ideas into effect on a larger scale.

The Congress can help and should help in at least five specific ways.

(1) The District of Columbia must have the funds for its schools which are necessary to give youth the guidance and skills needed to qualify them to compete in the labor market. Dr. Hansen has continuously spelled out what could be done in the school system.

(2) The D.C. employment office must have more funds to maintain a large enough staff to provide counseling aid to our out-of-school, out-of-work youth.

(3) A subsidized youth employment program should be established under the Board of Commissioners.

(4) A Fair Employment Practices Act should be established in the District immediately.

(5) There should be a review of the child labor laws and a greater effort to educate employers concerning them.

We in this Congress cannot evade responsibility for the tragedy of crime and violence in Washington. We have the responsibility of providing better police facilities, better court facilities, better laws, and improved social conditions here, and until the Members of Congress become just as concerned with the needs of the District of Columbia as they are with their own home districts or their own home states, the Nation's Capital stands in danger of becoming the nation's crime capital.

The problem of combating criminal behavior runs far deeper than the addition of more policemen or the tightening of laws or the improvement of social conditions.

Criminal behavior cannot be explained solely in terms of social or legal concepts nor can it be solved by government programs. We cannot ignore the responsibility of the individual, which remains when all allowances have been made for environment and circumstances. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the history of evil is as old as the history of man, that evil antedates all

the modern social problems that can be described as contributing causes of crime. Any attempt to explain crime solely in terms of poverty or slum conditions or broken homes or insecurity or the cold war is a futile exercise.

All we can say is that in all people there is a struggle going on between the forces of good and evil and that the kind of society we have makes a great difference on the outcome of that struggle, for the individual and for the nation.

It is true, as we are frequently reminded, that the ideal place for the preventing and handling of delinquency is in the home, the school, the church, the neighborhood. But it is precisely because these institutions have so often proved unequal to the problem that government is forced to deal with it. We have an epidemic of crime, not just in the District but throughout the country, and we must bring to bear upon it all the resources that we have.

Our task, then, is to see to it that the society we build in the District of Columbia and in the nation is a positive, vigorous force for good. I believe and hope that the recommendations I have made will help toward this end.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Mar. 29, 1962]

CONGRESS CENSURED FOR DISTRICT CRIME (By Elsie Carper)

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) said yesterday that Congress shares the blame for the crime that has made Washington "the most dangerous place in the country after dark."

In a Senate speech, Dodd declared that "we in the Congress share the power to govern this city and therefore we must bear a large share of the responsibility for what happens here."

Dodd, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, recommended a broad approach to meet the problem and to get at the sources of crime and delinquency.

"We have the responsibility," he said, "of providing better police facilities, better court facilities, better laws and improved social conditions . . ."

"And until the members of Congress become just as concerned with the needs of the District of Columbia as they are with their own home districts or their own home states, the Nation's Capital stands in danger of becoming the Nation's crime capital."

Dodd recommended that Congress:

Take immediate action to build up the Metropolitan police force to the authorized strength of 3000 men "instead of slowly adding men in yearly installments."

Appropriate the requested number of man-and-dog teams. The Police Department should step up its training program so that the K-9 teams can be put into action in months instead of years.

Give the Police Department's Juvenile Bureau at least ten police cruisers on the streets each night instead of the present five or six.

Consider ways "to remove the obstacles placed in the path of effective police work by provisions and interpretations of the Durham and Mallory decisions."

He listed five specific ways that Congress could help with the large number of out-of-school, out-of-work youths, who become delinquents.

"The District," he said, "must have the funds for its schools which are necessary to give youth the guidance and skills needed to qualify them to compete in the labor market." School Superintendent Hansen has continuously spelled out what can be done, Dodd said.

The D.C. Employment Office must have more funds to maintain a large enough staff to provide counseling aid, he said.

He also called for a subsidized youth employment program, a Fair Employment Practices Act, and a review of child labor laws.

Dodd cited statistics for 1961 showing a growing incidence of crime and said that not since the "turbulent years of World War II" has so much crime been committed by juveniles. One such case involved an 18-year-old youth, who committed 30 yokings in an 8-month period, Dodd said.

"He operated with three heavy rings, two of lead and one of brass, on the last three fingers of his right hand," Dodd said. The youth boasted that "they work pretty good the way I use them," Dodd quoted the youth as saying. The suspect also claimed that crime should go down 100 percent with his arrest, it was said.

Dodd said his Subcommittee has been investigating the availability of cheap mail order guns, and has found that they are being delivered to slum areas and to areas where crime is prevalent.

With the growing crime rate in the city, particularly that of aggravated assaults, it is easy "to raise a clenched fist, to denounce the police or the younger generation of the District of Columbia," Dodd declared.

"It is easy," he added, "to blame the problem on race relation or softness on the part of the court system or 'welfare giveaways.'"

"The people who live in the District have every reason to feel frustration and anger at what they see going on around them. But those who are in positions of leadership in the community had better examine their own conduct before they make sweeping judgments on what is happening here," he said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 30, 1962]

SENATOR DODD'S LIST

Senator Dodd has given us a thoroughly enlightened list of countermeasures against attacks and robberies in Washington's streets, the volume of which has become intolerable. He observes, correctly, that we must work at two levels. We need immediate protection against the results of this city's failures, over the last generation, in education and welfare. We must concurrently work diligently at curing these failures over the next generation.

Generously, but also accurately, the Senator acknowledges that "We in Congress share the power to govern this city and therefore we must bear a large share of the responsibility for what happens here." Home rule for the District is, of course, the real answer to the low quality of municipal government provided by the Congress of the United States.

Lowering the crime rate will require more money than Congress, our city council, has ever before provided. But the District must be prepared to use the money boldly. The Metropolitan Police must be given the men and equipment they require. The mail-order business in firearms ought to be stopped at once. But there is much more to be done and quickly.

The youths involved in serious street crimes usually have one characteristic in common: they have been in trouble with the police before. If the surveillance and assistance of youths with police records can be improved, the city will have closer control over that relatively small number who are the chief danger to women and elderly men on the sidewalks at night.

Now that the Juvenile Court is about to have its three judges, we can expect cases to be heard promptly. But sooner or later boys must be sent home on probation. The average load carried by a probation officer is 80 boys. That is to say, each of them is likely to get only cursory attention. The city needs more parole and probation officers, and it needs to broaden their responsibilities. The truly critical point in the careers of these youths is their return home.

Senator Dodd makes several very helpful suggestions when he speaks of training for these boys and young men, local legislation against racial discrimination in hiring, and most important of all, an earnest effort with public support to find jobs for them. For boys being released from detention, the city might profitably establish a halfway-house, where they could live under the eyes of professional counselors while they found work and associations away from the places where they first got into trouble.

Many parts of Washington are neighborhoods only in the geographical sense. They evoke no sense of community, they lack common civil institutions. No resident there feels any responsibility for what goes on around him. These are the neighborhoods where children turn into yokers. The city is not entirely powerless to instill a measure of community feeling in these blocks. For example, last summer the Welfare Department asked for money to begin a pilot experiment to that purpose in the Northwest Redevelopment Area. Congress cut the item out of the budget. In the end, Congress will have to decide whether to spend this kind of money or put armed men on every street corner after sundown.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Mar. 30, 1962]

CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—I: ARE RAT- PACKS, STREET CRIME THE BEST DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CAN OFFER? SENATOR DODD ASKS (By Eve Edstrom)

Out-of-school youth jobs for whites but not for Negroes, rat-packs and street crimes— is this the best the Nation's Capital can offer?

This was the basic question which Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) put to the Congress of the United States this week.

The question was asked of the Nation's lawmakers because, as Dodd emphasized, "we in the Congress share the power to govern this city and, therefore, we must bear a large share of the responsibility for what happens here."

And then Dodd went on to answer the question. Like many speakers before him, he said the Nation's Capital "ought to be the model of the Nation in every field." But the reasons he gave differed from those heard so often in the past.

The District should be a model, Dodd said, not because the world's diplomatic leaders visit here or their press representatives write about us or that millions of fellow Americans flock to their Capital.

Our chief goal, he said, is to make Washington "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

"It ought to represent what we hope to achieve in the country and in the world," he continued. "The Nation's Capital should be the Nation's leader in education in urban development, in parks and playgrounds, in schools, in housing, in race relations and above all in law enforcement."

And so Senator Dodd charted a course of action for the Nation's Capital—a course which only Congress by loosening its purse strings and enacting long-sought legislation, can put into effect.

For weeks now, Dodd, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Delinquency, has been disturbed over the upsurge in crime here.

To combat the law violators Dodd offered many-sided solutions ranging from putting more policemen on the streets to broad job opportunity measures in an effort to strike at the core of the causes of crime.

In so doing, Dodd did not deal with brand-new solutions. In fact, he noted that many of the proposals have been discussed by District officials for years.

But they haven't been put into effect because Congress has not provided the money. In addition, many of them have not enjoyed

uniform community support because of the cleavage between those who would adopt a punitive approach to criminals and those who seek to rehabilitate them.

Dodd, as a conservative member of the Senate, as a former prosecuting attorney and as a former Federal Bureau of Investigation agent, has adopted a middle-of-the-road approach to the problem.

He wants strong law enforcement tools—more police, more man-and-dog teams, more Juvenile Bureau police cruisers—to stop the vicious criminal and to protect the public.

But he views as equally important strong rehabilitative measures—more flexible court sentencing procedures, expanded probation and parole services—to help those who can be turned away from crime.

Therefore, it may be possible that Dodd's proposals can serve as a bridge between conflicting views which have existed in Congress and the community. If so, it may be possible to make a start on preventing many of the causes of crime.

In succeeding articles in this series, various avenues suggested by Dodd for correcting the problems will be examined.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Mar. 31, 1962]

CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—II: DODD STRESSES MONEY NEEDS IN FIGHT ON CRIME

(By Eve Edstrom and Alfred E. Lewis)

If Congress wants to curb violence on the streets of the Nation's Capital, it must "face the fact" that money is needed to buy expanded crime-prevention and crime-control tools, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) said yesterday.

He pledged that he will do all he can to get that message across when hearings begin on the District's budget for the next fiscal year.

Dodd, who charted a course of action for the Nation's Capital in a speech to the Senate this week, made clear that his plea for more policemen on city streets was not based on the desire to make an armed camp out of Washington.

To the contrary, he believes the police force, as well as all other municipal services, should be the very best that can be operated by a free people.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, which soon will hold hearings on police needs here, Dodd said Washington's Metropolitan Police Department under Chief Robert V. Murray is a good one.

But he said Congress has the responsibility to make it "the crack police force of the Nation"—efficient in terms of crime detection and a guiding example in establishing programs to prevent crime. If it enjoyed such a reputation, Dodd said problems of recruiting men of excellent caliber would be diminished.

Dodd said the timetable for increasing the police force should be stepped up. Currently, the police department is 2836-strong, eight under the number for which funds have been provided. By July 1, funds are expected to be available for 2900 men. The following July 1, the fully-authorized strength of 3000 men is expected to be attained.

But Dodd urged that Congress take "immediate action" to obtain the 3000 men now "instead of slowly adding these men in yearly installments."

Dodd also wants more training of police. And the training, he said, should not be geared solely to law enforcement measures.

Policemen, Dodd said, should be particularly sensitive to the special social problems that exist in their community so that they can understand and, therefore, deal more effectively with the causes of crime. The entire community must be able to look up to its police force as the protector of all its citizens, he said.

In addition, Dodd said police should be acquainted with many facets of life in an ever-growing metropolitan area. Urban living, he continued, presents many difficult problems that are not apparent to those who may have been reared in closely-knit small communities.

Dodd does not overlook the extremely important role played by the Youth Aid Division under Deputy Chief John E. Winters.

He strongly supported Winters' efforts to increase the 52-member Division with 20 more officers and four more scout cars.

"We actually want to establish a preventive patrol," Winters said. "When we see idle youth hanging around joints and street corners, we would like to be able to spend more time, talking to them and to their parents so as to avert trouble."

Dodd who declared that "I'm all for the preventive approach," recalled his experience as a former Federal Bureau of Investigation agent who dealt with many young car thieves. He said much more can be done with young people before they get into trouble.

But of necessity, Dodd said, the Youth Aid Division and the entire police department must operate on a "symbolic" law enforcement basis.

"This means that at no time does the police force have enough equipment and men to control all crime," he said. "They must selectively distribute their force among high-crime areas as directed by periodic flare-ups of law violations."

"Thus, it is extremely crucial that the police force be given at least the minimum amount of men and equipment they request."

"This is what the people of this community want," he said. Dodd reported that the response of Washington residents to published reports of his Senate speech "has been tremendous."

He was particularly impressed with a letter from the Georgetown Citizens Association which shared the Senator's views on increasing the number of police-and-dog teams on city streets. Mrs. Frank Allen West said the Association felt so strongly about this that they raised \$1350 to buy more dogs.

"You must find it refreshing as a change to have citizens contributing instead of requesting money," she wrote.

Dodd said he did find it "refreshing." He said it was all the more reason for Congress to take stronger measures than it has.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 1, 1962]

CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—III: DODD SEEKS TO CURB MAIL-ORDER GUNS HERE

(By Eve Edstrom)

A law to get mail-order guns out of the hands of undesirables here will be passed soon if Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) has his way.

He has collected a drawer full of the deadly weapons. And he has a sheaf of Washington police criminal records, one five pages long, on some of those who ordered similar guns by mail.

For several months now, staff members of his Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency have been at Railway Express Agency offices here, looking at the names and addresses of gun recipients.

Of 174 names checked with police, 43 had criminal records. This represents about 25 per cent of those checked, but Dodd believes this is a minimum figure.

It was impossible to verify criminal records in many instances, he notes, because some recipients, who picked up their guns at the Railway Express Agency, used fictitious names and addresses.

When Dodd's investigators attempted to locate them, they found, for example, that one person's address was in the middle of the Potomac River.

Some of the guns had been ordered by persons previously convicted of such felonies as

assaults with guns, knives and icepicks, assaults on policemen, narcotics violations and homicide.

In one instance, a man with 15 arrests obtained his pistol through mail order shortly after the Metropolitan Police Department had confiscated his gun.

In another case, delivery of the gun to a narcotics addict was halted when it was found that he was in the prison ward of a mental hospital.

Investigators also were able to establish that at least two mental defectives and seven minors received mail-order guns. One minor was refused delivery when his only identification was a Juvenile Court probation card.

In addition, Dodd's investigators found that mail-order gun recipients "for the most part live in the so-called slum areas of the city." Many are itinerants who live on a "bare survival" basis.

This was emphasized last week by Dodd when he made a Senate speech charting the numerous ways in which the Congress could help the Nation's Capital curb crime as a first step toward making Washington "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

Delivery of mail-order guns, Dodd said, "corresponds with the high crime areas in the city." More guns went to residents of precincts no. 2, 1, 13, 10 and 9. In crime rates these rank first, second, third, fourth and fifth respectively.

"We are drafting legislation to deal with interstate mail-order traffic in guns and have already succeeded in obtaining the voluntary support of many of the responsible elements in the production, transportation and sale of weapons," Dodd said.

In the past, efforts to limit firearms have run into strong opposition from such powerful groups as the National Rifle Association of America.

But Dodd and his staff have spent many hours laying the groundwork for the legislation which would be acceptable to such groups, none of which want to see guns in the hands of hoodlums.

At present, guns may be offered by mail but cannot by law be shipped through the mails. They may, however, be shipped direct to purchaser by common carrier.

Tentative proposals considered by Dodd are:

Making it unlawful for a common carrier, such as Railway Express, to deliver a pistol or revolver to any person under 18.

Raising the license fee for firearms dealers, making it more likely that only legitimate dealers would seek licenses.

Specifying a statutory age limit of 21 for obtaining a dealer's license. At the present time, there is none.

Requiring shippers of pistols and revolvers to label gun packages clearly if the shipment is of 10 or less items. Larger shipments would be exempted because they are most frequently the object of in-transit pilfering.

Such remedial legislation is only one facet of the blueprint for action which Dodd believes is necessary if the Nation's Capital is to be "the model of the Nation in every field."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 2, 1962]

CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—IV: DODD HAS OPEN MIND ON MALLORY, DURHAM

(By John P. MacKenzie)

In the midst of pressures to administer justice this way or that way in the District of Columbia, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) is a calm man.

The Senator who, wants to see Congress do more to keep the city's people free from violence, is steadfast in his desire to see that liberties are not abridged in the process.

Law enforcement officers, sociologists and civil liberties advocates all are having their say as the rate of street crimes appears on

the rise. Dodd says he begins his quest for law and order with no preconceptions, but he is sure of this:

"There's no impasse between protecting the rights of people and efficient enforcement of the law."

The courts as well as the streets of Washington were embraced in Dodd's wide-ranging speech Wednesday, which asked that the city become "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

Singling out the Mallory and Durham decisions as the sources of complaints by police, Dodd said he wanted to satisfy himself that these were not "obstacles" to law enforcement. He called for a review of their impact and an intelligent appraisal of how to get along with them.

Amplifying his remarks in an interview, Dodd said he is not ready to call for legislation. He said he lacks the assurance of both those who praise the rulings and those who condemn them.

"I don't say we should do away with the Mallory Rule," said Dodd. "I say we can do a better job at living with it than we've been doing."

In the 1957 Mallory decision, a unanimous Supreme Court reaffirmed a 1943 ruling that confessions may not be extracted from prisoners arrested by Federal officers without sufficient evidence to take them promptly before a judge for a hearing. Since it freed a District man who had confessed to rape, the decision aroused the ire of police and many citizens.

Dodd, a former prosecutor who has also tried cases for the defense and served as an FBI agent, says he has no taste for abuses of the law by police and no desire to eliminate the restrictions against such abuses. A concentration, especially in the detective bureau, of more skilled interrogators, may be one answer, Dodd said.

Turning to criticism of the District's rule on criminal insanity, Dodd said he has no proof of any connection between the rise in insanity acquittals and the general rise in crime. He said he is keeping an open mind.

A study is under way, he noted, to find out what happens to those who are excused from criminal responsibility and sent to a mental hospital instead of jail. He wants to know whether such persons, if later released, contribute significantly to the police problem.

The rise of insanity verdicts from a handful before the 1954 Durham decision to 34 acquittals in 1960 make for statistics that are easy to "exploit" and oversimplify when talking about crime, Dodd said.

Informal surveys have indicated that the rate of criminal "repeaters" among those who have been released after treatment at St. Elizabeths Hospital is dramatically lower than the repeater rate in the Federal prison system. Dodd noted, however, that there is a "public uneasiness" about the problem.

"The man on the street is fussing. He says there are too many getting out on grounds of insanity," Dodd said.

The Senator said he had some reservations about the ability of the "average juror" to evaluate psychiatric evidence. At the same time, he asked, "Can we slam the door on science? Can we say that our broadening knowledge in the mental health field has no application to the criminal process?"

Proponents of the Durham Rule contend that a broadened standard of insanity—replacing the century-old criterion of the defendant's ability to know he was doing "right" or "wrong"—gives jurors more of the facts needed for an intelligent verdict. Critics say it has caused "confusion."

Agreement that the court rulings can be "lived with" came yesterday from United States Attorney David C. Acheson, who as the District's top prosecutor represents still another interest, Dodd said must be reckoned

with in working out answers. Among points made by Acheson in an interview were:

There is no proof that the Mallory decision has encouraged crime. "If you believed that," he said, "you'd have to believe the average criminal had enough understanding of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure and made a conscious calculation of his chances for acquittal before breaking the law."

"The real basis of civil liberties, which makes us superior to the Nazi or Communist state, are our criminal safeguards. They are the last aspects of the criminal law I would tinker with."

Reversals of convictions on the grounds of Mallory Rule violations have been few. Prosecutions dropped because they were based strictly on such prohibited evidence numbered only two or three a year out of about 1000 criminal indictments and half that many trials.

While not to be described as "happy" with the Durham Rule, "I wouldn't say we can't live with it."

Acheson has supported legislation to modify the rule and has argued in the courts for changes he considers "in the interest of clarity and concreteness." Much more disturbing than any rule, said Acheson, is the low caliber of some psychiatric testimony.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 3, 1962]

CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—V: JOB-TRAINING OF SCHOOL DROPOUTS SEEN AS CRIME DETERRENT

(By Jean White)

At least one of every five District youngsters aged 16 or 17 is not enrolled in schools and almost half do not have jobs.

These statistics, from the files of the Senate Subcommittee Investigating Juvenile Delinquency, point up the problem of the District's unemployed youth. It is the out-of-school, out-of-work boy or girl, with idle time who is the most crime prone.

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) troubled by the rise in Washington's crime, last week listed expanded job opportunities for youth as one way to get at the causes of crime. In this, as in every field, the Senator said, the Nation's Capital should be a model, "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

For the school dropout, the first three months out of school can be crucial, both for him and for the community.

"If we or some other interested group don't get him within three months and help him find a job, he is lost. He has formed a pattern of life—life on the streets—and joined groups."

These are the words of Beatrice H. Thompson, whose job is to help District youth find jobs. She heads the youth employment section of the United States Employment Service office for the District.

The link between youth unemployment and crime has been summed up this way by District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner: "Too many young people with nothing to do and limited job opportunities seems to be one of the major reasons for the increased crime rate here."

In Washington, the task of finding jobs for 16 and 17-year-olds is complicated by several factors: race discrimination, lack of job skills, limited industry in a Government-dominated city and some outmoded laws.

The first is the tough one. At least 75 per cent of the youthful job-seekers are Negroes. Discriminatory hiring practices of some employers freeze them out of many job chances.

What can be done to find jobs for the District's youth?

Congress, Sen. Dodd has suggested, can help in at least five ways:

Provide funds for the District schools to job-condition youths to compete in the labor market.

Provide more money for the District employment office to counsel out-of-school, out-of-work youths and help them to jobs.

Set up a subsidized youth employment program for on-the-job training.

Enact a Fair Employment Practices Act. Review child labor laws and set up a program to educate employers about them.

Such a subsidized youth employment program would be aimed at helping the most delinquency-prone and least employable group in Washington's youth population—the school dropout, the potential dropout and the delinquent child committed to Children's Center.

The dropout would, first of all, receive some pre-job training on good grooming, how to fill out an application, how to make out a sales slip. Then a counselor would place him on a job with part of the salary being subsidized by the city. This way he could learn minimal skills on the job to compete in the local labor market.

The Senate subcommittee has estimated that it would cost about \$200,000 a school year to subsidize employment for 340 enrollees. They would work 40 hours a week up to six weeks and be paid \$1 an hour.

The important thing, Commissioner Tobriner emphasizes, is to spot the potential dropout the year before he leaves school. Then there is time to give him at least a rough finishing course to prepare for job competition.

With no job skills or training, the dropout carries a big handicap—one that he will have all his life.

In Washington, the chief industry is Government. This results in a sharp demarcation in job opportunities—the civil service job, which requires education and technical background, and the services industries.

For a civil service job, an applicant must be 18, pass a test, and/or have a high school education or the equivalent. This eliminates the school dropout.

But with minimal training, dropouts can be prepared for some jobs in offices, hospitals, laundries and gasoline stations. They can be busboys in restaurants, messengers, sales clerks and waitresses.

But training isn't all. Here is where race enters the picture. The basic fact is that Washington operates an integrated school system in a highly-segregated labor market.

Nothing, as Tobriner points out, can be more frustrating to a Negro than to be trained for a job and then be frozen out. This is seen again and again as Negro boys from the city's vocational high schools (with the training that dropouts do not have) find union apprenticeship programs closed to them.

Only 13 per cent of the retail sales jobs here are definitely open to both races, the Senate subcommittee files show.

In the retail trade, outmoded child-labor regulations cut down job opportunities for girls. Society has changed and evening hours are now part of the shopping pattern. But girls under 16 can work only to 7 p.m. in the District.

Within limited funds and staff, the schools, USES, and other groups are trying to help the unemployed youth here.

Each month the schools send the USES office a list of dropouts. The USES reaches about two-thirds of these through letters and they report for counseling and vocational tests. Placement officers go out and beat the bushes to find them jobs.

"No job comes to us," Mrs. Thompson says. "We have to go out and drum them up. We play on an employer's sympathy. Whatever you say, the problem of juvenile delinquency is one for all of us. Employers can help by giving these boys and girls a chance."

Once the dropouts are given a chance with a good employer, they become good workers, she finds. But only 15 percent of the District employers hire dropouts, the Senate subcommittee says.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Apr. 4, 1962]

**CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—VI: NEGLECT
OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOLS CALLED
MAJOR CAUSE OF CRIME**

(By Carole Bowie)

Neglect of the District school system is one of the basic causes of the ever-growing rate of delinquency in the Nation's Capital, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) said yesterday. "Authorities have repeatedly stated that the school is the most vital element in the development of a child—next to the family. I think that we have been grossly negligent in recognizing this factor," he said.

Adequate support of education was listed by the Senator last week among wide-ranging proposals to curb crime here. In education, as in all other fields, the Senator said, the District should be "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

"We have neglected our schools because we have attempted to teach 80 per cent of our children in dilapidated, demoralizing, decaying shacks . . . and because these 80 per cent are taught in the oversize classes where effective instruction is all but impossible," he said.

Dodd, whose mother, daughter and three sisters are teachers, also pointed out that more than 700 children were barred from kindergarten classes this year because space and teachers were not available. Another 2000, he said, attend school only part-time.

"These children are forced to absorb the complete education given to more fortunate youngsters in a much shorter period of time. It is small wonder that some of them never acquire this education but are forced to drop back to become truants, to roam the streets and finally take the road to crime," he said.

Requests by school officials for new classrooms to take youngsters out of substandard facilities and for more teachers to reduce class size and provide special help for more than 2000 retarded pupils now in regular classes, Dodd noted, have been granted only partially or denied altogether.

"It has been similarly recognized that all school children, and particularly those who manifest problems, occasionally need the services of school counselors professionally trained to deal with disturbed young criminals," he said.

"However," he continued, "from a requested number of 39 school counselors for elementary, junior, and senior high schools, the School Board has received only six."

He cited further evidence of neglect in the School Board's failure to win "even a minimum amount of money" for repair of schools. "It is impossible to measure the demoralizing influence which inferior school buildings have on young citizens," he declared.

Dodd and District School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen agree that these deficiencies in the basic school program—lack of class rooms, teachers and specialists—must be remedied if the schools are to fulfill their role in the fight against crime.

"Our first need," Hansen has said, "is for a generally adequate school program beginning at the kindergarten level. If we were bold enough," he said, "we would say even before kindergarten for children who are deprived in their homes."

But Hansen would go beyond the traditional school program to reach the potential school drop-out, the troubled youngster who is most likely to drift into crime, and to prepare him to take his place in the labor force.

Dodd has asked Congress to heed his recommendations, to give the District "the funds for its schools which are necessary to give youth the guidance and skills needed to qualify them to compete in the labor market."

Some of Hansen's programs, aimed specifically at potential drop-outs and supported largely with private funds, are already being tried on a limited scale in District schools. They include efforts to:

Curb a major cause of delinquency and drop-outs—failure to learn to read and write—by giving youngsters special language training in early grades.

Discover talented students and keep them in school by providing special guidance and remedial help at the junior high school level.

Identify potential drop-outs and give them practical training in such areas as shoe repair, car painting, printing and electrical trades and custodial work, on a part-time-school, part-time-work basis.

Allow children who cannot afford to stay in school to finish their education by providing scholarship aid.

Hansen would expand all these programs, greatly increasing opportunities for part-time school and work training. "We need," he said, "to show students who are rejecting school a direct relationship between class training and job experience."

Also needed, he has stated, are added vocational shop facilities and teachers to train students in skills, such as electronics that are needed in this area. Special instruction, he says, should also be provided for seriously disturbed youngsters who cannot attend regular classes and for those forced to leave school because of pregnancy or incarceration.

Hansen has held often that such a school program, geared to the individual needs of children would be the best investment a community could make in terms of increased employment and decreased crime.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 5, 1962]

**CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—VII: GUIDANCE
URGED FOR PRISONERS RETURNING TO SOCIETY**
(By Eve Edstrom)

A guidance center where Washington's youthful offenders can make the transition between life in prison and life in the community was called for yesterday by Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.).

The center was one of several crime preventive and control measures which Dodd said are necessary if street crimes are to be curtailed in the Nation's Capital.

He amplified on a speech made to the Senate last week when he charted a broad course of action to make Washington "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

Of particular concern to Dodd was the high percentage of criminals who repeat their offenses.

To cut down on the number of violators who must be returned to prison, Dodd recommended that plans be drawn for an "intermediate rehabilitative institution" where offenders could go after leaving Lorton Youth Center to receive counseling and employment assistance services.

Since last fall, the Federal Bureau of Prisons has been experimenting with a similar program in small guidance centers located in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Brooklyn. At any one time, the centers accommodate between 20 to 30 youthful offenders who are believed to be good parole risks but who are still in custody.

With the cooperation of employment, school and family agency officials, the youths are helped to get jobs or to return to school. Many receive expert counseling services or centering on the family or other difficulties which caused them to get into trouble.

When an offender finally appears ready to make it on his own, he is taken from parole authorities and usually wins his release under supervision.

In seeking such a program here, Senator Dodd also noted that the rehabilitative facility is needed because the Lorton Youth Center, not yet two years old, is on its way

to running out of bed space. The Youth Center will have a capacity for 400 inmates when a new dormitory housing 100 men opens in a month. But Dodd observed the commitment rate to the Center "is building up at such a speed that it will soon reach 200 a year" while the average stay of a youthful offender is slightly under two years.

"Therefore, the institution will be forced to release about 200 cases each year regardless of whether correction has been completed," Dodd said.

Besides the proposed rehabilitative facility, Senator Dodd, who is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, made a strong plea for strengthened probation and parole services.

This need long has been recognized here and was the subject of an exhaustive study made in 1957 by a blue-ribbon committee headed by the late District Commissioner David B. Karrick. Some gains, made following the Karrick report, have been wiped out by increasing caseloads.

Although the nationally-recommended caseload for a probation officer is 50 cases, Dodd noted that probation officers for the United States District Court for the District carry caseloads of 80. In addition some officers, who also must make presentence investigations, are responsible for as many as 100 cases a month.

Although Chief Probation Officer Edward W. Garrett requested nine additional workers for this fiscal year, Dodd said he obtained only one.

"This again is one example, one underlying cause, why we have the crime conditions in Washington that have alarmed us in recent months," Dodd said.

Dodd emphasized that he would ask Congress to include funds for the eight probation officers in the budget for the next fiscal year.

In addition, he said he would seek seven more workers to eliminate "excessive caseloads" carried by the District Board of Parole. And he warned that the two new judges authorized for Juvenile Court will not be effective in rehabilitative efforts unless that court also obtains probation manpower.

"If we are dedicated to reduction of the serious crime situation in the District," Sen. Dodd said, "we will have to re-evaluate our needs in terms of priorities and give crime fighters the necessary tools."

"... It is important to recognize that probation and parole are institutions with two major goals. They strive to treat, correct and rehabilitate a law violator to return him to a constructive life but, on the other hand, they are also charged with protecting and safeguarding the community from criminals and delinquents."

"Unless probation and parole caseloads are of a realistic size, it is not difficult to understand the failures that do take place."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
April 6, 1962]

**CHALLENGE TO A FREE PEOPLE—VIII: FUNDS
AWAIT TAPPING IN CRUSADE FOR A MODEL
CAPITAL**

(By Eve Edstrom)

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) is the first to recognize that it will take money to achieve his goal: Making the Nation's Capital "the symbol and the image of the best that we can do as a free people."

But he also believes there are many untapped resources which could help the District to become "the model of the Nation in every field."

For example, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, Senator Dodd is well aware of the advantages which could accrue to the District if it participated in the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961.

Over the years the subcommittee helped lay the groundwork for ultimate passage of the 30-million-dollar program to establish

community demonstration programs to curb juvenile delinquency and to train personnel in the correctional field.

The Nation's Capital, Senator Dodd believes, should be among the first to participate in this program because local authorities, just for the asking, could draw upon expert technicians from the Departments of Justice, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare to devise a model anti-delinquency program.

To achieve this end, his subcommittee staff members have been conferring this week with representatives of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, which authorizes financial grants to communities.

To date that Committee has authorized only one grant to aid a community (New Haven, Conn.) in mapping an all-out attack on delinquency.

But the request of the Nation's Capital for planning money to begin a program of action is high on the Committee's priority list.

In fact just this week the President's Committee assigned one staff member, W. Don Ellinger, to work with community leaders in achieving the widest possible support for the program.

Ultimately this could mean that the District would receive as much as \$750,000 a year for three years to expand services to youth in trouble.

To get a first hand look at these youths, Senator Dodd toured downtown night spots from midnight until 2 a.m. Thursday with Sgts. Charles H. Calderwood and Rudolph P. Biro of the Police Department's Youth Aid Division.

Of particular interest to the Senator was the number of Maryland and Virginia youths who came into the District to drink beer. Youths are served at age 18 in the Nation's Capital, but must be 21 in the neighboring jurisdictions.

Senator Dodd saw one such youth being taken away by police after his car hit a fireplug at 11th and G sts. nw. But as it was a week night, Senator Dodd did not observe much crime.

He was disturbed, however, by the number of idle youths. Senator Dodd has said that much of Washington's crime is committed by out-of-school, out-of-work youngsters.

While lack of skills contributes to their unemployment problem, they also are victims of discriminatory hiring practices, Dodd emphasizes.

"For example, only 13 per cent of the sales positions in the District are available to Negroes," Dodd said. "Yet Negroes constitute a majority of the youth in this city."

"In view of this, I think it is imperative that the Congress enact a Fair Employment Practice Act for the District. I have already begun to prepare such a bill, one of several I will introduce in an effort to strike at some of the underlying causes of crime here."

Also being readied is a bill aimed at getting mail order guns out of the hands of undesirables. Members of Dodd's staff have been meeting with officials of the National Rifle Association of America in an effort to draft a bill. In addition, hearings on the problem of mail order guns will be conducted by Dodd in about a month.

Senator Dodd intends to go before the congressional appropriation bodies for the District to support more funds for better schools, housing, law enforcement and correctional programs in the capital.

In a speech to the Senate last week, Dodd made clear that existing ills in the Nation's Capital, such as street crime, can and must be cured by Congress.

"It is easy," he said, "to raise a clenched fist, to denounce the police or the younger generation or the District Government. It is easy to blame the problem on race relations or softness on the part of the court system or even 'welfare give-aways.' . . .

"But those who are in positions of leadership in this community had better examine their own conduct before they make sweeping judgments on what is happening here. We in the Congress share the power to govern this city and therefore we must bear a large share of the responsibility for what happens here."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 7, 1962]

THE DROPOUTS

The devil finds work for idle hands, as the saying reminds those who look for the causes of street crime in the District. Senator Dodd has observed the clear connection between the rate at which children drop out of high school and the frequency of sidewalk violence. In this city, one of every 10 youngsters 16 and 17 years old is out of school and out of work. Some left their classrooms because the work had defeated them, some because their families pressed them to begin earning money. Once out of school, they promptly learned the bitter lesson that in this generation only real skill entitles a man to a steady job. And they are utterly unskilled.

The school system acknowledges its responsibility to identify future drop-outs well before they turn 16. It is already experimenting with new kinds of training devised to keep them in school and provide them with work that will impress them as relevant to their own lives. In a very hopeful departure, schools here and throughout the country are devising broader vocational courses with on-the-job training that actually pays wages.

But vocational courses are particularly difficult to administer, for the schools must be sure that they are training boys for jobs that exist. Since this is a city of large public buildings, Cardozo High School is setting up a very sensible program to train 20 boys to be building custodians. The capacity of this program, unlike a course in English literature, is severely limited, not by the number of children who want it or need it, but by the number of jobs that annually are to be filled.

American high schools are being required increasingly to diversify their fare. For some pupils, this will mean instruction in Russian or advanced mathematics. For some it will mean instruction in running heating plants and waxing floors. But highly diversified education, providing special work for small groups of youngsters, is very expensive.

Senator Dodd has suggested specific steps by which the District can improve its vocational training and job placement facilities for young people. Most of them require money. Against that cost, we must balance the price of a high crime rate. The solid good sense of the Senator's recommendations is apparent. Whether we can proceed to put them into effect depends essentially upon the attention that Senator Dodd's congressional colleagues pay to his advice.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 15, 1962]

CITY LACKS PENAL SPOT FOR JUVENILE TOUGHS (By Leslie H. Whitten)

The tough young defendant is a special problem in the District.

Juvenile Court cannot send him to the adult institutions at Lorton or to the D.C. Jail.

Federal prison officials do not want him at the National Training School. And there is no other juvenile facility to which he can be sent.

Caught in this quandary, the Juvenile Court has been doing one of three things:

It has sent the youth to the National Training School, but limited the commitment to his 18th birthday or 18 months, whichever is longer. This is done under an agreement with Federal officials that the Court will not make use of its power to commit a youth under age 21.

It has in rare cases placed him on probation in the hope that he will sin no more—at least not until he is 18 and his offenses thus no longer come under Juvenile Court.

It has waived some youths to District Court who probably would not have been sent to adult court if the District had its own institution for older youths. Waivers, reserved for serious cases, still enable District Court to take advantage of the Federal Youth Corrections Act which pegs the period of imprisonment to a young criminal's progress toward rehabilitation.

The heart of the District problem is aggressive 15, 16, and 17-year-olds who come before the court and those 18- and 19-year-olds who are already in the training school under Juvenile Court commitment.

Their offenses include robbery, housebreaking, serious assault and other crimes of violence. And although some adapt to the school—which is designed for younger inmates from out-of-state—the unruly few from the District have disrupted school activities, according to officials.

Early release from the Training School or the seldom used but risky problem for these aggressive youths, probably is a small but potentially dangerous factor in the city crime picture, officials report.

And a recent survey showed that out of 28 waivers from Juvenile Court—where non-judicial findings that the youth is involved in the offense almost always precede a waiver—a total of seven escaped both treatment and punishment.

Paradoxically, the situation may get worse when the District's two additional judges are appointed. As they dig into the youth case backlog of some 830, they will be bringing an increasing number of youths into court—and the problem of what to do with them will arise more often.

Judge Orm W. Ketcham, the Court's lone judge, said last year he was sending 100 to 125 youths to National Training School a year. On April 10, youths sent by Juvenile Court made up 136 of the 385 inmates.

The growing desire of the Bureau of Prisons to transfer the school to a site in the South makes the need for a solution even more urgent.

There is general agreement that the solution lies in a new juvenile institution for the District—one that would replace and enlarge the services now provided. But the budget problem has not been solved and as long as the School can be used as a make-shift, officials have been reluctant to press the issue.

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) who as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to investigate Juvenile Delinquency has interested himself in the question of a new institution, had this to say yesterday:

"There are several alternatives. It could be located at Lorton under the administration of the District Department of Corrections as proposed by Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.).

"It could be placed under the authority of the Bureau of Public Welfare. It could be administered independently, or it could be administered by the Juvenile Court."

The problem cannot be adequately solved even on a temporary basis, by sending older aggressive youths to young adult institutions outside the city, as has been done by the Bureau of Prisons, Dodd pointed out. The practice is legally questionable.

The Hartke bill would provide facilities for 15-year old youths and older and those unmanageable at the National Training School."

It would require that juveniles be kept separate from the young adults, but would allow use of certain facilities by the two groups of inmates at different times.

The Hartke bill has passed the Senate and is before the House District Committee.

At present a Juvenile Court Advisory Committee study is being made of the whole problem by a subcommittee under G. Howland Shaw, a civic leader and youth guidance specialist.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I say to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana that the request was for \$257,500, and we cut the amount to \$225,000, a reduction of \$32,500.

Mr. ELLENDER. I noted that, but the number of employees has been increased by one.

Mr. DODD. No, that figure was based on the original budget request which, as you know, was reduced by the Rules Committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. That will go down, then?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 48), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF NATIONAL PENITENTIARIES

The resolution (S. Res. 54) to investigate national penitentiaries was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 54 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on National Penitentiaries to expend not to exceed \$5,000 this year for an investigation of national penitentiaries.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator QUENTIN BURDICK is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 54) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 54

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and inspect national penitentiaries.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Sen-

ate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$5,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

EXAMINATIONS AND REVIEW OF THE STATUTES RELATING TO PATENTS, TRADEMARKS, AND COPYRIGHTS

The resolution (S. Res. 49) to examine and review the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment on page 2, line 17, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$117,000" and insert "\$105,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a full and complete examination and review of the administration of the Patent Office and a complete examination and review of the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$105,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 49 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights to expend not to exceed \$117,000 this year for an examination and review of the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

During the last session of Congress \$110,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$96,929 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Admin-

istration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$117,000 to \$105,000, a reduction of \$12,000.

Senator JOHN L. McCLELLAN is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator HUGH SCOTT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 49), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE FLOW OF REFUGEES AND ESCAPEES

The resolution (S. Res. 50) to investigate problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment on page 2, line 17, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$109,227" and insert "\$100,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

SEC. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$100,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate by vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 50 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its

Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees to expend not to exceed \$109,227 this year for a study of the problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees.

During the last session of Congress \$105,400 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$89,790 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$109,227 to \$100,000, a reduction of \$9,227.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator HIRAM L. FONG.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 50), as amended, was agreed to.

STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO REVISION AND CODIFICATION OF THE STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES

The resolution (S. Res. 51) to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment on page 2, line 16, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$48,950" and insert "\$48,900"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to revision and codification of the statutes of the United States.

Sec. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That if more than one counsel is employed, the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$48,900, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 51 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on the Judiciary through its Subcommittee on Revision and Codification to expend not to exceed \$48,950 this year for a study of all matters pertaining to revision and codification of the statutes of the United States.

During the last session of Congress \$47,500 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$45,033 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator HUGH SCOTT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 51), as amended, was agreed to.

AUTHORIZING CERTAIN STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The resolution (S. Res. 81) to authorize certain investigations and studies by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment on page 2, line 18, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$695,400" and insert "\$550,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare including all matters relating to education; health, labor relations, labor safety, wages and hours, and migratory labor conditions; manpower training and utilization; poverty; railroad retirement; and veterans education, health, and readjustment to civilian life.

Sec. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for ap-

pointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$550,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 81, as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, would authorize the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to expend not to exceed \$695,400 this year for a study of all matters pertaining to its jurisdiction.

Even though this request incorporates the additional temporary employees authorized last session—14 employees for a total maximum compensation of \$254,919—as well as funds for the now defunct Subcommittee on Migratory Labor—\$75,000—it represents a considerable expansion of contemplated committee activities.

Although the Committee on Rules and Administration is sympathetic to the legitimate aspirations of the Labor Committee, it was felt that the desired expansion should be taken in smaller steps. Consequently, the Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$695,400 to \$550,000, a reduction of \$145,400. This is still an increase of \$200,000 over the committee's authorization last year.

Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator JACOB K. JAVITS.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I simply wish to point out that the funds provided for the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare have been increased year by year. In 1968, there was a total of 52 employees, and funds to pay 24 of them as investigative staff amounted to \$439,000-plus. I note that for 1969 there is a request for a total of 66 employees. That is an additional 14 employees. I wonder whether an explanation could be made as to why that is necessary.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Perhaps the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) can answer.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, first, to have printed at this point in the RECORD the letter request that we made to the Rules Committee, appearing at pages 2 to 6 of the report accompanying this resolution.

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

U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., February 3, 1969.

HON. B. EVERETT JORDAN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On January 29, 1969, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare unanimously ordered reported Senate Resolution 81, which provides funds for the tem-

porary hiring of staff and operating expenses of the committee. The form of this resolution has been changed from those which have been submitted in the past in order to conform with the general practice of other standing committees of the Senate. However, the need for and use of the funds which may be authorized is unchanged.

In the last Congress, the committee's request for temporary staff which was approved by your committee and the Senate was embodied in two resolutions. Senate Resolution 220 provided authority for the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to employ one assistant chief clerk, six professional staff members, and seven clerical assistants. Senate Resolution 222, which provided for a study of all matters pertaining to migratory labor, in effect provided for an additional staff of one professional staff member and six clerical assistants. Persons employed under the authority of these resolutions have been assigned to perform staff functions for the Subcommittees on Education, Labor, Employment, Manpower and Poverty, and Migratory Labor, and for the minority.

As you are undoubtedly aware, the 91st Congress brought major changes in the chairmanships of the various subcommittees of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and during the committee consideration of Senate Resolution 81 it was the unanimous opinion of both the majority and the minority that a modest expansion of staff above the number of temporary positions authorized last year is essential.

The members of the Rules Committee, I am sure, are fully aware, as are all Senators, of the seemingly endless rise in the volume of business transacted in our offices and by the committees of Congress. This rise has been spectacular in the case of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The continually expanding volume of legislation which is handled by this committee, especially in the fields of health, education, labor, manpower, and the broad spectrum of activity encompassed by the word poverty, has inevitably brought with it a corresponding increase in administrative, professional, and editorial activity. Correspondence, requests for information and printed materials, telephone traffic, consultations with Senators' offices and administration officials and representatives of the innumerable organizations vitally concerned with the progress of legislation—all appear to double arithmetically every Congress.

As you are no doubt aware, in a letter dated January 5, Senator Mansfield, the majority leader, emphasized to each committee chairman the need to carry out "oversight activities" on legislation which passes through their committees. It is my understanding that some committees have established special oversight subcommittees, such as the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee. However, that approach is not practical for a committee such as Labor and Public Welfare which has such wide and varied jurisdiction. It would not be practical to expect one subcommittee to oversee the varied problems involved in public health, education, the National Institutes of Health, labor, poverty, veterans' affairs, etc. Therefore, as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I will assign oversight functions to the standing subcommittees so that those most knowledgeable with the various areas will be responsible for the oversight functions of the committee. The need for additional staff to carry out this function is apparent, since the same staff person can hardly be expected to concentrate on legislative proposals under active consideration and at the same time review the operation of programs enacted in previous Congresses. However, this range of oversight by each subcommittee of its area of jurisdiction will assure close cooperation between

those staff persons engaged in oversight and those engaged in working on current legislation.

As I have pointed out, the request from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with the exception of the Indian Education Subcommittee which is a special case for a very limited period of time, is for a lump sum amount. While this amount may seem large when considered as a whole, it is modest when the requirements of the several permanent subcommittees are considered. I believe I can make this point clear if you will follow me in the following calculation: If you take the total amount which is permanently authorized and the amount which is being requested by the pending resolution for the operation of the committee, you will realize that I am in effect requesting \$40,000 each for the two minor subcommittees—Veterans' Affairs and Railroad Retirement, and slightly less than \$190,000 each for the major subcommittees—Health, Education, Labor, Employment and Manpower, and Migratory Labor.

At this point I would like to discuss the staff requirements on a subcommittee-by-subcommittee basis so that you may fully appreciate the need for the personnel involved in this request and will understand the staff arrangement for each subcommittee.

We are requesting one additional staff member each for the Subcommittees on Education, Labor, Employment and Manpower, Veterans, and Migratory Labor. We are requesting two staff members for the Health Subcommittee, which I have the honor of chairing.

We are, in addition, requesting two clerical positions to be assigned to the Health Subcommittee and the Migratory Labor Subcommittee.

The committee is requesting a lump sum of \$78,500 for the purpose of hiring highly skilled consultants such as actuaries, accountants and computer analysts on a "when needed" basis. This will give the committee greater flexibility and enable more economic operation than the full-time employment of such personnel.

Turning to the needs of the individual subcommittees, the Health Subcommittee, with the increase in health legislation in recent years, has had a rising demand for staff support to consult with Senators' offices and with the officials of executive agencies, as well as with representatives of the numerous organizations vitally concerned with health problems and legislation. This need continues to increase with each session. It is estimated that the Federal outlay for health under programs under the jurisdiction of this subcommittee will rise to over \$3.5 billion in fiscal 1970. The subcommittee also plans to examine areas which have not in the past received sufficient consideration, such as the rise in medical costs, the need for additional health programs in ghetto and rural areas, and the entire area of drug abuse and control. In addition, the subcommittee will give extensive attention to the question of health manpower needs.

The Subcommittee on Education is responsible for legislation authorizing a total of 77 programs being administered by the Office of Education. Of these programs, approximately 25 are due for reconsideration in 1969. The total authorization of appropriations for the programs under the jurisdiction of the subcommittee for fiscal 1970 alone is \$7 billion. The Subcommittee on Education has been conducting a broad review of education legislation which resulted during the 90th Congress, and 16 separate committee prints have been published to provide the Senate with information concerning the administration of the education programs. This very important work on the part of the subcommittee will continue and it is essential if the oversight functions of the com-

mittee are to be maintained. Additionally, during 1969 the subcommittee will receive approximately 50 annual reports which are required by law on various education programs. Each of these reports will review the operation of a program or programs during the past year and will make recommendations for changes in administration and legislation. To keep the subcommittee members informed it is necessary to have the appropriate staff support to analyze reports submitted to the committee and to prepare comments on the legislative proposals.

In the last Congress, the committee, through its Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, with a separate and additional budget of \$185,000, conducted an intensive investigation of the effectiveness of the entire poverty program, a program which is presently funded at about \$1.3 billion. This work resulted in a number of new proposals, several of which require continuing refinement. In addition, President Nixon's task force has recommended to him that major changes be made in both the method and level of action on poverty in the United States. The poverty program must be considered as an integral part of the Nation's war on crime and the new administration's recommendations are entitled to receive the same careful consideration as has been given previous programs. In addition, the Nixon administration has indicated that it may have several new manpower proposals to combat hard core unemployment. These responsibilities for both forward planning and oversight have caused the committee to request a slight addition to the staff of the subcommittee concerned.

In the past Congress, the Subcommittee on Labor was made acutely aware of the need for renewed consideration of legislation in the area of industrial health and safety. The recent coal mine disaster and the extraordinarily fine work of the Committee on Commerce has performed in the fields of consumer protection and safety have caused a renewed public interest in the health and safety of workers. The committee has also found that there is growing interest in an in-depth study of the entire field of private pension plans. In 1956 this committee last investigated the general field of pension plans. The information available at that time indicated that pension plans held funds in the area of \$16 billion. Today, private pension plans have assets of over \$100 billion and cover more than 25 million workers. The committee believes that if the Labor Subcommittee is to meet its responsibilities to the Senate and the country, it, too, should be given a slight increase in professional staff.

For a number of years the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has requested separate funds to staff a special Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. Because of the great amount of work involved and the interest of millions of Americans in the problems of migrants, a decision was made this year to make the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor permanent as one of our major subcommittees. Therefore we have not asked for a special resolution for the Migratory Labor Subcommittee but have included funds in our overall request to appropriately staff and fund continued operations in the areas of education, health and labor problems of our people who are involved in migratory labor. Thus this large group of people will receive the special attention which their problems demand.

In sum, while we are asking for a substantial increase in the overall budget of the committee, were we to break this down by individual subcommittees it would not be so apparent. And since this committee authorizes programs which are budgeted in excess of \$20 billion each year, it appears to me that the Senate of the United States will be best served by our having staff which has the

capability to do the research necessary to have the members of the committee fully informed at all times.

I think it would be appropriate to also point out that in the last Congress the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare established five additional subcommittees to deal with specific legislative problems. These subcommittees were Arts and Humanities, Aging, International Health, Education and Labor Programs, Science, and Utilization of Scientific Manpower. While I cannot at this time state exactly how many of these special subcommittees will be established during the coming session, I am sure that a number will be. I have not requested any money for the operation of these subcommittees and it would be expected that staff hired under the pending resolution would be assigned on a temporary basis as needed to work with any special subcommittees which the committee may see fit to establish.

I should also note that consonant with its past practice the committee intends to assure that minority members are adequately supplied with professional and clerical staff to assist them to meet their share of the burden. It is proposed that two additional professional staff members and one research assistant will be assigned to the minority if the request for funds is approved as submitted.

As chairman, I can assure you that the committee will maintain its policy of filling positions only as the workload requires. And while the method of presenting our request for funds has changed, our desire to insure economy in the operation of this committee remains unchanged.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am
Sincerely,

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
Chairman.

PROPOSED BUDGET

Position	Number	Annual salary	Monthly salary	Total for period of budget
STAFF				
Legal and investigative:				
General counsel or staff director	1	\$24,278	\$2,023.17	\$24,278.00
Chief counsel	2	24,278	2,023.17	48,556.00
Special counsel (minority)	4	24,278	2,023.17	97,112.00
Assistant chief counsel	1	24,278	2,023.17	24,278.00
Assistant counsel	4	21,492	1,791.00	85,968.00
Editorial and research:				
Research director	4	21,492	1,791.00	85,968.00
Research assistant	1	11,542	961.83	11,542.00
Staff member (minority)	1	15,552	1,296.00	15,552.00
Administrative and clerical:				
Assistant chief clerk	1	18,109	1,509.08	18,109.00
Assistant clerk (file)	2	10,149	845.75	20,298.00
Assistant clerk (record)	2	10,149	845.75	20,298.00
Assistant clerk (hearing)	2	10,149	845.75	20,298.00
Stenographer	8	8,557	713.08	68,456.00
Total	33			542,305.00

Administrative

Contribution to employees health benefit programs (\$8.88 per month per employee)	\$3,516.48
Contribution to civil service retirement fund (C $\frac{1}{2}$ percent of total salaries paid)	35,249.82
Contribution to employees Federal employees group life insurance (30 cents per month per \$1,000 coverage)	1,952.28
Travel (inclusive of field investigations)	11,000.00
Hearings (inclusive of reporters' fees)	12,000.00
Witness fees, expenses	750.00
Stationery, office supplies	3,200.00
Communications (telephone, telegraph)	4,100.00
Newspaper, magazines, documents	2,400.00
Contingent fund	426.42
Consultants (WAE)	78,500.00
Total	153,095.00
Grand total	695,400.00

Funds requested, Senate Resolution 81, \$695,400; funds approved by Committee on Rules and Administration, \$550,000 (-\$145,400).

A letter in support of Senate Resolution 81 addressed to Senator B. Everett Jordan, chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, by Senator Jacob K. Javits, ranking minority member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, is as follows:

U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE
ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., February 5, 1969.

HON. B. EVERETT JORDAN,
Chairman, Senate Rules Committee,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As ranking minority member of the Committee on Labor and

Public Welfare, I write to confirm my testimony before your committee today indicating support of the minority of our committee for Senate Resolution 81. This sum is necessary for the operation of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, especially in the area of legislative oversight. I urge its acceptance.

With best wishes,
Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS.

Mr. YARBOROUGH, In direct answer to the distinguished senior Senator from Louisiana, may I say that we have requested one additional staff member each for the Subcommittees on Education, Labor, Employment and Manpower, Veterans, and Migratory Labor, and two staff members for the Health Subcommittee. We have requested two clerical positions to be assigned to the Health Subcommittee and the Migratory Labor Subcommittee.

Turning to the needs of these subcommittees, I point out that the Health Subcommittee, with the increase in health legislation in recent years, has the smallest staff now of any of the regular subcommittees. The need is growing greatly in that field because of the increasing Federal participation in health matters.

The Senate last year extended the Hill-Burton Act for 3 years. The House cut it out, with no extension. They wanted to rework the whole thing and change the method of financing.

Finally, in a compromise in conference between the House and the Senate the Hill-Burton Act was extended for only 1 year. This problem will be with us this year again.

There are widespread complaints all

over the country about the increase in medical costs. The entire area of drug abuse has grown in this country to mammoth proportions and we need to examine the problems of drug abuse and drug control. The subcommittee will also give extensive attention to health and manpower needs.

In the field of education we asked for one more staff member. There are 77 programs administered by the Office of Education created by this committee. Twenty-five of those programs are due for reconsideration this year.

This committee has jurisdiction over funds involving 21 percent of the Federal budget when one takes out defense, social security programs, and the public debt.

There is demand for legislative oversight. We should have legislative oversight. We do not have a staff person designated for oversight. We are asking for one staffer for each of these subcommittees. I think we have asked for the minimum.

The Federal Government has approximately 3 million employees. The House and the Senate have 5,000 employees. Yet we pass on the budget which involves billions of dollars. How can that be done without an adequate staff? We cannot sit individually and examine a budget which approximates \$190 billion. I wish we had the other \$150,000 we asked for. However, we had our hearing, and they allowed us a part of this. They did give us more staff on the committee to assume the task of oversight.

We have complaints about overlapping programs. We want to investigate the effectiveness of programs and we do not want to wait for the executive branch to come up here with their own evaluation. We pay executive employees salaries higher than we pay our people. How can we be a coequal body if we do not hire people that will enable us to be a coequal body? I would like for us to be coequal. Do Senators think that this branch is coequal with the executive branch? We are not coequal because we do not hire the staff to enable us to be coequal. We should hire sufficient professional staff so that people will know that the legislative branch is coequal as the Constitution provides we should be. Until we get the staff and pay them enough money we will never gain the coequality we request. I think our request was modest. The Committee on Rules and Administration gave us about one-half of our request. I am happy to get the one-half. I am not going to offer an amendment to increase it.

On the other hand I ask that the Senate not delete the one-half which the Committee on Rules and Administration gave us.

Mr. ELLENDER. I notice that the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor has been combined with another committee.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Last year \$359,900 was spent for that committee and this year they are asking for \$550,000. I mean, the committee has given them \$550,000, but the Senator has asked for \$695,000, just for the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. This is the total amount.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The \$695,000 which the Committee on Rules and Administration cut back by \$150,000, includes everything we have. This is everything except the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. It is everything in one lump figure.

Mr. ELLENDER. I could not fathom this matter. I know the amount for the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor has been increased both in dollars and employees.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. It is all in there. Mr. ELLENDER. The assumption is that it is combined in other committees.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. It is all in one lump sum now. We have to take this and distribute it out of this lump sum.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am not talking about the lump sum the Senator just mentioned. It was an oversight on my part. I thought this dealt with it. The document I read was dealing solely with the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, but this item deals with others. The Subcommittee on Migratory Labor had only seven employees last year. Now, they have 14-plus. Where did they come from?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That number is for the entire committee. The 14 employees are for the entire Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The biggest subcommittees are Health, Education, Labor, Employment Manpower and Poverty, and Migratory Labor.

Mr. ELLENDER. How many people are employed to handle the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That would be approximately four employees.

Mr. ELLENDER. They had seven employees before. Are they decreasing the request?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. This is the composite group. Three of those last year were assigned to the minority. This is the unanimous recommendation of both parties. Every man on the committee of both parties recommended \$695,000.

Mr. ELLENDER. All of the subcommittees will work as they have in the past? None of them are being disturbed?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. No. The Subcommittee on Migratory Labor was a special subcommittee. It was renewable year by year. We made it a regular subcommittee instead of having it temporary. We have it arranged so that they all come out except the Subcommittee on Indian Education. By agreement with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs they will terminate in 6 months.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. They will terminate in 6 months.

Mr. ELLENDER. Why was this done? I cannot understand it. Heretofore each subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare asked for its own budget.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The Senator is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am wondering why it was consolidated.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I wish to answer that question to this extent. The Subcommittee on Migratory Labor last year asked for money on its own. This year it is consolidated in the asking of HEW.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is what confused me a while ago.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Another thing I want to point out is that last year then-Senator from Alabama, Mr. Hill, came in and asked for 14 people. The request did not show dollars. The people were granted. They are still on the committee. The committee money is incorporated here, which is the better way to do it.

Mr. ELLENDER. And a more expensive way to do it.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. No.

Mr. ELLENDER. They will not be able to trace it.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. They will be able to trace it this way, because money can be traced better than people.

Mr. ELLENDER. Let me ask the Senator this: How many employees will there be, aside from the regular employees on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. If I understand it correctly, and the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) can bring me up to date, about 40 in total, I think.

Mr. ELLENDER. I notice here, for 1969, the total number of employees is 66. What do they represent? We have that out of the Record here that the Senator himself prepared.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Let me go back and answer that the total which puts it altogether, as we cut out of their asking, \$145,404, the total from what they asked for to carry on a committee, all committees which were combined in one, which included 14 people last year, which were not asked for in money but just in number of people, that was the situation which prevailed a few years ago in the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. We cut that out and said for them to please come in and ask for money instead of people because when one asks for people we do not know how much money they will spend because it does not show in the Record.

Mr. ELLENDER. To clarify the record, am I to understand correctly that the total amount to be appropriated for the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is \$622,000? For all the subcommittees is what I am talking about, since the Senator is not treating them separately. He has wedded them.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. The total amount, as I had one of my boys add, is \$622,000?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That is correct. They asked for \$695,000.

Mr. ELLENDER. As to the total number of permanent employees, as I remember it, the former Senator from Alabama, Mr. Hill, came up here several times to ask, in the past, for permanent employees in addition to the ones which were provided under the act of 1946.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. So that this committee as a whole, for itself and the subcommittees, will have a total of 28 permanent employees.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. And 24 additional investigative staff employees.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That depends on how the Senator from Texas

(Mr. YARBOROUGH) distributes the money. Go back to the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency and he may put four, six, or eight employees on there, depending on the workload. That would be in excess of the money to do that job for that subcommittee. Is that not correct, I ask the Senator from Texas?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. But, in any event, the original committee and the subcommittee of that committee now have a total of 52 employees?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. The Senator will have to ask that of the Senator from Texas.

Mr. ELLENDER. We should know about that. It is very confusing. I am just wondering what the advantage is of combining these, because we cannot go into detail on each subcommittee this way, because we can shift it one place one year and another place another year.

The Senator mentioned the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency asking for its own money. In the Committee on the Judiciary we have each committee asking for so much money to operate, and so many employees. Here we have a different approach. Instead of asking for money for a certain committee, or four or five or six subcommittees, we have combined them so that we will be able, at the discretion of the chairman, to spend whatever he deems necessary—I presume the \$622,000—and to utilize the number of employees, in the total number of 52, as it was in 1968, or 66 as is anticipated for 1969.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Let me say to the Senator from Louisiana that theoretically it is at the chairman's discretion, but I do not need to tell the Senator, who is himself the chairman of a committee, that when we have only one man extra to allocate, it is very hard to know where to place him. It is a job for Solomon.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am wondering why that was done. The way it was done heretofore, we could follow the work being done of each subcommittee, the amount spent, and the number of employees utilized. Now we have it all in one big sum, and we can employ 52, or 60, perhaps, if we wish. Am I right?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. We changed that at the suggestion of the Committee on Rules and Administration, because of the way it was handled heretofore by the former Senator from Alabama (Mr. Hill), who handled it as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare different from any other committee. When I became chairman, I received some gentle suggestions that we would have to conform with the other committees of the Senate. So, we changed the system. It was changed at the suggestion of the Committee on Rules and Administration. We made it conform to its suggestion.

Now, in response to the Senator's question as to how many people we would employ, that is very hard to state. Suppose we have one man at \$24,000. We could hire him, or hire two younger staff men at \$12,000 and get younger men, but with less experience than the one who would earn \$24,000. That is where the lump sum comes in and is more reasonable.

That seems to be a better way to get enough people to do what needs to be done under this oversight. We are urged by everyone to exercise oversight over the problem, but we have had no one to allocate for that job. The Committee on Rules and Administration has screened our budget and has trimmed us by \$150,000, which it has cut out. The Committee on Rules and Administration has been thrifty with us as to the allowance. I hope that the Senator would not ask that we set a minimum here.

Mr. ELLENDER. In answer to a question I propounded a few minutes ago, the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN), stated that in addition to the 28 permanent employees there are 24 additional employees, for a total of 52.

Now the Senator from Texas is telling us that he may, instead of employing 52, may employ 50 at a better salary, or 48.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The Senator must understand that we work under a limitation as to how many we can hire. The Senator must know that. It is set by the amount of money approved by the Senate.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Let me answer that question by stating that the Committee on Rules and Administration asked the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to do it this way because the Commerce Committee does it the same way, as well as the Armed Services Committee, the Foreign Relations Committee, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Space Committee, the Post Offices and Civil Service, and Public Works. They all ask for a lump sum for their full committee, instead of coming in, as the Senator from Alabama, Mr. Hill, did last year, asking for 14 people.

Then they had to augment the regular routine money to meet the expenses out of it. Thus, it does not show up in this. They are doing exactly the same thing as all committees except the Committee on the Judiciary and one other—the Committee on Government Operations. Since we have cut \$145,000 from what they asked for, we do not know the number of employees, because we have cut out a lot of the asking money.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. As I understand it, in the last session of Congress, \$185,000 was appropriated for the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. No; that is not correct.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. The total amount authorized for the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was \$185,000.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That is correct, Senator, except for one thing. It does not show the amount of money expended for 14 additional employees who were authorized for that committee and were paid over one-quarter of a million dollars.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an answer?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What had happened was that the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, over a period of years, had come in with resolutions that had no dollar amounts. Upon the passage of such a resolution, it was required that the committee employ a certain additional num-

ber of employees—14 last year—and that the salaries be paid out of the contingency fund. It was the only committee in the Senate that did not fix a dollar amount in its resolution. So the \$185,000 does not reflect the amount that had been paid in previous years.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I appreciate the Senator's clearing that matter up.

Mr. CURTIS. The committee received \$185,000 plus the money for the 14 employees. I wonder if we could be informed what that amounted to.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. About \$255,000.

Mr. CURTIS. My information is that it is shown on the sheet which is before each Senator. In the lower righthand side, it will show that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare received, under its resolution, for 14 additional employees, the amount of \$254,919, plus \$185,000, plus an additional \$20,000, the increase that it asked for.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. That makes it much clearer and makes the case of the Senator from Texas much stronger, because, the way I read it, the committee authorized \$185,000 last year plus \$254,919. The committee is now authorizing \$662,000, an increase of \$223,000, which is more than the total increase that all the committees are getting.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Next year we will not have this problem. That is exactly the reason why it is very difficult to understand it. It is going to come in a lump sum, as every other committee is provided for, except the Committees on Government Operations and Finance.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. The amount authorized last year was \$185,000, plus \$254,919.

Mr. CURTIS. Plus \$20,000.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. And that is a total of \$459,919.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Now we have a better understanding of it and the Senator from Texas, case is a much better case.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I think, for the purpose of the RECORD, we should point out that last year the committee received \$459,919. This year the committee asked to increase that amount by a little over \$218,767. The committee cut that request by \$145,000.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Texas a question. Since the Senate does not allocate specific numbers of employees for various subcommittees, is it possible, under the plan that has been devised, for the Senator to add to some subcommittees and subtract from others—in other words, do what he pleases with the money?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That is what has been done in the past.

Mr. ELLENDER. No, not when we treated them separately. Here we have an authorization of \$622,000.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. They were not treated separately under Senator Hill.

Mr. ELLENDER. The proposal of Senator Hill was to provide for additional

permanent employees, and those, of course, cannot be touched.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. But he put them where he wanted to. Most of the employees he assigned where he wanted to. If I became in need of help on the GI bills, he assigned those employees to my committee. As soon as they were through, he pulled them out and assigned them elsewhere. He operated really like a fire department. He put employees where the fire was burning, and did a very skilled job.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is that what the Senator from Texas proposes to do?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I wish I could do that well. I am not egotistical enough to think that I, as a new chairman, could do as well as Senator Hill did, with all his expertise, courtesy, and skill. He was the most able chairman I have ever seen.

Mr. ELLENDER. I did not want to take away from Senator Hill or add encomiums to the Senator; but the Senator from Texas would do that if he desired it, and he could create an additional subcommittee if he decided to do it?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Yes. That has been the custom of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. ELLENDER. As long as the Senator remained within the \$662,000 provided?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That is right. If a chairman abuses his authority, there are steering committees and policy committees and rules committees. No chairman is an island unto himself.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish, as ranking minority member of the committee, to sustain the chairman of our committee and to express to the Senate the support of the minority for the action which has been sought by our chairman.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on adoption of the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 81), as amended, was agreed to.

AUTHORIZING A STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The resolution (S. Res. 80) to authorize an investigation into the problems of education for American Indians was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment on page 2, line 5, after the word "than", strike out "\$2,300" and insert "\$2,400"; so as to make the resolution read:

S. RES. 80

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the

Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the education of American Indians.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, to July 31, 1969, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than July 31, 1969.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$72,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, Senate resolution 80 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare through its Special Subcommittee on Indian Education to expend not to exceed \$72,000 for a study of matters pertaining to the education of American Indians. It is the intention of the Labor Committee, and the resolution so provides, that the inquiry shall terminate July 31, 1969.

During the last session of Congress \$110,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$97,758 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution as amended.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator PETER H. DOMINICK.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Texas why he did not lump-sum the Indian Affairs Subcommittee authorization with the others? I notice he is asking for a separate committee.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), is on his feet, and I think he would want to answer that question.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the history of the subcommittee goes back some 2 years. Initially, a rather small amount was authorized. Last year it was increased rather significantly. It was done in cooperation with the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON). The subcommittee itself will expire on July 31 of this year.

Over the course of particularly last year, the committee held extensive hearings, and also had some additional scheduled hearings in Alaska and in the West. The committee itself plans to continue

those scheduled hearings, and it will then expire on July 31. There are no additional increases in committee staff.

The rather sizable figure which is suggested by the resolution takes into account the expense of travel for the subcommittee and staff into Alaska. There has been a strong indication of interest by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. One of the members of that committee, the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), will go on that trip, I think, and the other Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) as well. We hope to get into that area about April. A substantial percentage of the budget itself is for traveling expenses to Alaska.

Tomorrow we begin 3 days of hearings in Washington, D.C.

We are working very closely with the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. It is the feeling of the full committee that there was a special responsibility on the part of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which has responsibility in the field of education.

It was the feeling of the full committee, and the Education Subcommittee, at that time under the chairmanship of the distinguished former Senator from Oregon, Mr. Morse, that this subcommittee be so developed, and it has worked closely with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and expects to make its recommendations before the end of July of this year.

This special circumstance was the reason that the matter came before the Senate as a separate item.

Mr. ELLENDER. The reason why it came as a separate item, as I understand from the Senator, is that the subcommittee will expire come July?

Mr. KENNEDY. That is correct, and we are working very closely with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the chairman of that committee (Mr. JACKSON), and the members of his committee who have an interest in the problems of Indian education. The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) and others are working closely with the subcommittee. The reason is that the subcommittee will expire, as stated by the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 80), as amended, was agreed to.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education will be holding important public hearings on February 18, 19, and 24. The hearings will encompass additional examination of the severity and extensiveness of our failure to provide an effective education for our American Indian citizens. The subcommittee intends to analyze the failure of our policies, past and present; to examine the bureaucratic malaise of our Federal school system and the indifference and neglect of our public school programs; to receive suggestions for administrative and organizational changes to remedy

these defects. Last, but most important, the hearings should point up the need for amending old legislation and enacting bold new legislation so that in a matter of a few years hence we can proudly say that educational programs for American Indians are not only successful but exemplary, and a matter of national pride, not shame.

To highlight the importance of these hearings I ask unanimous consent that the following materials be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

First. An excellent short paper written for the subcommittee by Lloyd New, director, Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Second. A letter with several attachments, which I sent to Secretary Walter Hickel and Secretary Robert Finch on February 1, 1969, highlighting the important findings of the subcommittee hearings last fall on the serious mental health problems of many Indian students and Indian communities.

Third. A recent article which appeared in the New Republic entitled "Regimented Noneducation—Indian Schools." This article points up some of the findings of the subcommittee.

I should also mention that the subcommittee has published five volumes of hearings which provide a comprehensive review of our failure to provide an effective education for our American Indian citizens. The hearing record is available to all who are interested. Thank you.

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

SOME HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS RELATED TO THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

(By Lloyd New, director, Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, N. Mex.)

For almost five centuries the American Indian has been subjected to a process of attrition which has slowly eroded the roots of his cultural (and economic) existence. His physical ways have been completely obliterated in many areas and, presently, his spiritual existence is in extreme jeopardy.

The many and varied attempts that have been made to "help" him, and particularly "educate" him, have been largely unsuccessful.

Perhaps in part because it was assumed that the sooner the Indian was forced to abandon his ways and join the melting pot of America, the better off he would be: But he has displayed unique resistance to that idea, possibly because his psychological relationship to the land was different from that of the immigrant groups who eventually surrounded him. Failure on the part of those who have dealt with the Indian to understand the basis of his tenacious observance of his own cultural mores has resulted in the abortion of almost every attempt to assist him. Even now, various kinds of human salvage operations, such as urban relocation, employment assistance, on-the-job training, and other rehabilitation efforts are, at best, only stop-gap efforts to meet his worldly needs, while failing miserably to provide the cultural and emotional substance required to put his life in balance.

The American Indian has always been devoted to a philosophy which holds that one's existence should blend into the comparatively passive rhythms of nature, as opposed, to the dominant society's quest for control of nature through scientific manipulation of its elements. In the main, direct attempts to switch him from his philosophical position have failed, much to the consternation of those who have tried.

In the past, public apathy and disinterest permitted him to maintain a certain degree of privacy in his way of life but in recent times he has been forced into the public struggle for economic survival, due to the lack of an environment supportive of his old ways. With limited land holdings and the inevitable encroachments of the dominant society the American Indian is hard pressed in his efforts to maintain his viewpoint while adjusting to the exigencies of a modern world.

No longer in a position to make war with the opposition, the Indian, in general, has adopted a tendency to withdraw and lie quietly in the remnants of his old world, only half-heartedly picking at the offerings made to him by his multitudinous and dominating neighbors.

Poverty, poor health, unemployment, and a growing rate of alcoholism among Indian adults, and a shocking prevalence of suicide, drop-outs and delinquency among Indian youth attest to the fact that there has been an overall failure to provide an educational approach sufficiently effective to promote constructive social transition.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
February 1, 1969.

HON. ROBERT FINCH,
Secretary, Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

HON. WALTER HICKEL,
Secretary, Department of Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The central focus of concern of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education has been the welfare of the Indian child, respect for the integrity of the Indian family and the cultural background of the tribe. A substantial public record has now been established (2500 pages of public record, published in six volumes; more than 40 Indian witnesses have formally testified) which indicates that both in the past and the present, the cultural background of Indian tribes has been either neglected or abused, the integrity of the Indian family has been overlooked or rejected, and the consequences have been devastating for the welfare of the Indian child.

I am enclosing two documents from the last hearings of the Indian Education Subcommittee which deserve your careful attention. First, an opening statement by Senator Walter Mondale which summarizes some of the findings of the Subcommittee and secondly, the testimony of Dr. Robert Leon, Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry, University of Texas Medical School.

On the basis of these documents and the substantial record of field research and public hearings of the Subcommittee I am requesting the following courses of action:

1. A thorough mental health survey of the elementary boarding schools on the Navajo reservation by a team of nationally recognized mental health specialists—(based on his previous work Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University would make an excellent coordinator for this evaluation.)

2. The recommendation of the American Academy of Pediatrics, Committee on Indian Health in their conference, report of Spring, 1967 should be implemented—"The Committee feels that more information is needed with respect to the psychological problems associated with placing children in boarding schools and recommends that the Division of Indian Health in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs enlist the aid of a group of consultants to thoroughly study the psychological problems in boarding schools."

3. The Subcommittee feels that a major effort should be made to collect data on the mental health problems of the American Indian. A Summary of the kinds of data needed by the Subcommittee is attached.

4. A Subcommittee staff team conducted

10 days of field work on the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho. It is clear that the suicide problem on that reservation, particularly among adolescents is of epidemic proportions and deserves special consideration. Out of a population of 2600 people, there have been 36 suicide attempts in the last year—3 of which were successful.

I would like to commend the efforts which have been initiated by Dr. Rabreau of the Indian Health Service. The Indian Health Service over the past several years has established a mental health program which the Subcommittee has been in close contact with and has great respect for. For example, Dr. Bergman on the Navajo Reservation and Dr. Mindell on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota have made extremely important contributions to the Indian populations they serve. This program has clearly demonstrated its worth and deserves substantial expansion of funding.

Dr. Yolles of NIMH has initiated a program under the direction of Dr. Larry Dizmang to plan and coordinate epidemiological surveys on a number of Indian reservations; Dr. Dizmang is also compiling all of the research material on mental health problems of Indian populations. The Subcommittee feels that both of these efforts also deserve encouragement and adequate funding.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman.

[From hearings on "Indian Education," Oct. 1, 1968, U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare]

STATEMENT OF HON. WALTER F. MONDALE, A
U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF
MINNESOTA

Senator MONDALE. We are meeting today to conduct the first public hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education since the tragic death of the late chairman, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. During the 6 months of his chairmanship, Senator Kennedy devoted an enormous amount of time, energy, and personal concern to the work of this subcommittee. In this short 6-month period despite many other pressing concerns, including his presidential campaign, Senator Kennedy visited Indian schools and reservations throughout the western part of the United States, listened to dozens of Indian witnesses, and talked privately with an even larger number of our Indian citizens.

In that short period of time his concern for the problem facing Indian children and adults became a national concern, and the question of the quality of educational programs for Indian students became a national issue. It was indeed an extraordinary accomplishment. He pricked the conscience of the Nation and significantly raised the hopes and aspirations of an entire minority group. He became in the process a symbol of compassion and vision for all of the poor and disenfranchised citizens of our nation. It was indeed an act of political courage and conviction for which we are all deeply indebted, and it has left a burden of great responsibility on the Senators of this subcommittee to fulfill his promise and achieve his goals.

It is highly appropriate that the hearings today should focus on what this subcommittee has come to realize is perhaps the most fundamental problem facing Indian education—the question of mental health. First, because Senator Kennedy, through his experience on the subcommittee, gave it the highest priority. Second, because the American Journal of Psychiatry in its August 1968 issue has devoted a special section to "The Mental Health of the American Indian." One of the authors in that special section, Dr. Harry Saslow has previously appeared before this subcommittee, and a second author, Dr.

Robert Leon will be testifying today. I would like to submit this special section on mental health for the record to be included in the official transcript.

I would like to briefly outline some of the major concerns of the subcommittee and some of the information that has already been established in previous hearings. It has been rather well established that the basic policy of the Federal Government toward Indian tribes since the Allotment Act of 1887 has been one of coercive assimilation. This appears to at least have been the dominant policy dictated by Congress although there have been some variations in the actual administration of Indian affairs. The Allotment Act of 1887 did tremendous damage, not only to the land base of Indian tribes, but also to the social and psychological viability of their way of life. By the 1920's the American Indian had not only lost 100 million acres of land but the hostile-dependency syndrome had become well established on most reservations. Additional testimony has indicated that despite the reform movements of the thirties the general pressure of the dominant society on Indian cultures has been destructive. Discrimination, hostility, and exploitation in varying degrees appear to be a common phenomena in towns bordering most reservations. On the reservation, Government paternalism has been emasculating and oppressive. Dr. Forbes, an anthropologist and historian who has written extensively about the American Indian and other minority groups has pointed out "Indian problems are generated by white men, and will go unsolved without change in white men. The white man cannot pretend to be the doctor; he is the sickness!" Perhaps this puts the matter too strongly, but it deserves our most serious consideration.

Quite frankly the subcommittee has had some difficulty understanding what is happening on Indian reservations that we have visited. There often appears to be a considerable amount of social disorganization and a general process of cultural disintegration. Alcoholism appears to be widespread and a serious problem among every Indian group we have visited. Broken families also appear to be a fairly common problem. In addition, we have found high suicide, homicide, and accident rates on many reservations. Many times it would appear that accidents, particularly car accidents, are masked suicides. In addition to all of these problems we have also found very high unemployment rates on many reservations. Recent research has indicated that much of this unemployment is a function of psychological maladjustment and is really not unemployment at all, but rather something that could be better called idleness. In addition, and despite many pronouncements to the contrary the ill-conceived termination and relocation policies of the 1950's are still with us in the 1960's and rather than alleviate these problems they aggravate and reinforce them.

As early as our first hearings in December of last year, the subcommittee was deeply concerned about the mental-health problems of BIA boarding schools. The Association of American Indian Affairs made a very strong case in our initial hearings that the boarding schools for elementary school-age Indian children were highly questionable. Dr. O'Connell made several points in his testimony that I would like to summarize.

1. There are approximately 9,000 Indian children 9 years of age and under in boarding schools.

2. Approximately 8,000 of these children are Navajo children.

3. To a large extent this is due to a lack of roads on the Navajo reservation.

4. Navajo parents do not necessarily oppose boarding schools for their children but really have no choice when they do feel the schools are unsatisfactory.

5. There is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of a child from the family unit is a destructive influence.

6. That family relationships are more complex and more important to an Indian child than in white society, and crucial to his development of a sense of identity. Thus, separation from the family is potentially even more traumatic and emotionally destructive.

7. That boarding schools as they presently exist are totally inadequate as a substitute for parents and family—and even with very substantial improvements can never be an adequate substitute for a home and family.

The painful reality of this problem has been brought forcefully to the attention of this subcommittee by a very perceptive letter which was received from a teacher in one of the large boarding schools for elementary age Navajo children. Senator Kennedy often quoted from that letter and was deeply moved by it, and I would ask at this point that the letter be included in my remarks in its entirety.

(The letter referred to follows:)

TUBA CITY, ARIZ.,

February 27, 1968.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I hope that some of the thoughts and observations in this letter may be of some use in your coming inspection and study of the Navajo reservation. First, I had better admit, that I am a BIA peon (that is, teacher) and so I can't—or at any rate don't want to sound as if I can perceive or understand the total picture of problems and progress on the reservation—I have only been here two years, and have only experienced the problem here in a limited manner.

However, two years is long enough for observations to be made, and opinions formed, on the little I have experienced, here at the local level, and this might in turn help provide you with some insight, or at least one person's feelings, on what is or isn't happening. This can at times be valuable, for here is the level at which the successes and failures of people and programs can be most honestly assessed, after all the promoters and disclaimers have made all the speeches and put forth all the ideas. This is the place at which reality steps in, and it is often not pleasant to face.

I realize, of course, that your concern covers many aspects of the life here and the problems are in dozens of areas. It makes for difficulty in selecting one as being the most crucial. However, I'm prejudiced. I feel that many of the problems and answers lie within the reservation schools.

I've only had experience in teaching here at the Tuba City Boarding School. But I've seen enough here and at schools that I've visited, and talked with enough people from different places to come to some—hopefully accurate—conclusions. I hope they prove to be valid, and useful.

One major problem of course, is the boarding school per se. Although the idea of a boarding school, which draws in students from a broad area, is undoubtedly less expensive and more readily controlled than a large number of small day schools, and offers the students advantages such as a good diet and health and sanitation facilities, the problems that it creates are vast, and require solutions. The problems are often recognized, and are often bemoaned, but little has been done to eliminate them. One of these is distance from the home.

In an age and area which need local community interest, involvement and understanding, in which we are supposed to be building and maintaining a harmony between cultures, we find many schools at such distances from the homes of the students, that meaningful contact is difficult to say the least. These distances make meaningful re-

lationships, or even mere visiting, a severe hardship. (For example, the two young boys who froze to death while running away from a boarding school were trying to get to their homes—fifty miles away.) The lack of transportation and the ruggedness of the terrain compound the problem.

As a result, most children on the reservation starting at age six, only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times parents are usually "allowed" to check out their children—if the child's conduct in school warrants it, in the opinion of the school administration. If he has been a "problem" (e.g. has run away) parents are often not allowed to take him until he has "learned his lesson." This may take up to a month to accomplish. This may tend to cut down on runaways, but it would seem that we should work toward eliminating the cause, rather than punishing the results.

However, these are often the lucky children. I have no evidence of this, except the word of teachers who are directly involved, but I have been told of schools (e.g. Toadlena Boarding School) at which parents are not allowed to check their children out on weekends, in order to eliminate runaways (except for emergencies).

When children are taken from their homes for nine months a year, from age six onward, family ties are severely strained, and often dissolved. Even brothers and sisters in the same boarding school rarely see each other, due to dormitory situations, class and dining hall arrangements. The children become estranged from relatives, culture and much-admired traditional skills. (For example few of my students have been able to learn the art of rug-weaving, or are familiar with Navajo legends, and sandpaintings.)

Yet, this could almost be understood if we were replacing it with something strong on which they could build a new life. We are not. We may be providing some opportunities for academic training—but that is all we are doing.

For example, my own school, the Tuba City Boarding School is the largest on the reservation, housing 1200 elementary students. This alone creates immense problems. I don't believe any public school system in the country would tolerate an elementary school of this size, for the simple reason that the individual student would be lost in the crowd. We have them here, not only for an ordinary school day, but twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, nine months a year.

The problems of properly running any institution of this size are enormous—be it hospital, prison or whatever. However, when we are involved in what is actually the home situation of young children from another culture, we had best do everything possible to provide a secure, pleasant, stable and enlightening environment for them. We aren't.

For instance, if day schools are not possible, could we not at least provide some overnight guest facilities for parents who would like to visit their children? Nothing elaborate or expensive would be necessary—a hogan would suffice and could be put together easily by Navajos in the vicinity. Or, a small frame building might be constructed.

Yet, as far as I know, this is not done anywhere. This might tend to make the school more of a Navajo school, and less a white school for Navajos.

There are many other ways in which the schools could serve. For instance, they could be opened in the evening to provide training, or formal courses, or just things of interest, to the people. Areas which require instruction, such as English, or writing, could be taught by the teachers themselves. In many depressed areas, teachers earn extra money by such professional means. Why not here? Also, many talented Navajos might wish to earn extra money by conducting courses in the weaving of quality rugs, or in teaching oral English to the people. Consumer and health

education could be included, with field trips to make them meaningful. The possibilities are endless. Yet nothing is being done in this area.

The academic program could also be improved. It should be realized that the Navajos are a pragmatic people. Perhaps courses which reflect this could be offered to make school more important and more understandable in their eyes. Classes in sheep, agriculture and native crafts would be greeted with far greater enthusiasm and understanding than the typical curriculum arouses.

(This idea doesn't set well with many of the "old hands" among the administrators—teachers from my own school—agricultural majors—have been turned down in requesting permission to initiate programs of this sort. The reasons given being a) we are not training them to be rural dwellers—we are urbanizing them; b) they can do these things in certain secondary schools; c) there isn't enough water. However: a) they are rural people; b) they are not made aware of all the possibilities of secondary schools, and without earlier experience, interest and ability will be limited; and c) you should see the water that comes from the myriad of sprinklers in town from spring through the fall.

If the opportunity arises, look into the "typical" (as opposed to "showplace") schools. You will see how the limited curriculum is hindering us. (I must admit my direct supervisor is very interested in this area—but personnel and funds—along with policy—limit her.)

However, no matter how lacking our program may appear to be, we always manage to consider the academic department to be high quality when we compare ourselves with our dormitory counterpart, the "guidance" department. Herein lies the most serious deficiency of the entire boarding school system, for these people are in charge of the children sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, yet they are understaffed, underprogrammed, undersupervised and overextended. For example, each dormitory has only one teacher, and it is extremely difficult to find suitable personnel for these crucial, demanding positions. Yet, even the finest teachers could accomplish little, when they are working with 150 children of a different culture, and are responsible for their care and welfare seven days a week.

Of course, there are aids working with the teachers—usually two, but occasionally only one on duty at a time. However, what with trying to mend clothes, supply linens, check roll, keep order, fill out forms, prepare children for meals, bathing, school and bed, there is little time to do more than keep the walls from being pulled down. There is nothing to take the place of the homes they have left behind, or the personal interest and training they would have received from their families. The social relationships and interaction which brings about stability and contentment are denied them.

Even an effective guidance program could not replace that. But the truth is, we don't have an effective guidance program, only a "maintenance" program, due to the shortages of guidance personnel, funding and planning. This accounts for the high degree of regimented confusion that abounds after the school day ends. Vast blocks of time are filled with boredom or meaningless activity. There are no learning activities, and few recreational or craft areas being worked in.

The children search everywhere for something—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them, or to any straw, that might offer escape from boredom. You can't help but see it in their faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boys' dormitories, they are used to the conditions—you can see that too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone. Many have lost the ability to accept

anything past the material level, even when it is offered. Unless you lived with them over a period of time, and see the loneliness and the monotony of the daily routine, you cannot appreciate the tragedy of it but it's there.

Yet, even if the guidance department were consistently able to do what they set out to do, it would be something. However, basic things are often neglected. Many children will "slip by" without showering, or washing their single pair of socks, until the odor makes it obvious. Toothbrushes are lost by October or November, or worn out, and that's the end of it. No one has time to check to see if they've been replaced, or even notice if they are missing. Shoes are worn after they are coming apart. Often, dirty clothes will be worn until clean ones are available. Boys get a "zip" haircut from anyone who has a spare minute, regardless of their wishes, or of Navajo tradition. (And what haircuts!) Girls wash their long hair with bars of soap, for lack of shampoo. Stealing in the dorms is rampant.

Because of the shortage of personnel, there is a tendency—a pronounced tendency—to "herd" rather than guide. The boys and girls are yelled at, bossed around, chased here and there, told and untold, until it is almost impossible for them to attempt to do anything on their own initiative—except, of course, to run away. The guidance people definitely need help!

It should be adequately staffed and provided for, and have well planned programs in order to live up to its name (for example, each dorm might have three teachers or more, instead of only one). We might then reduce the necessity of the child's having to run away to his own culture, to receive the personal attention he craves. Until then, perhaps these "prolonged absences" could be viewed as necessary for emotional stability and security, rather than frowned upon. Perhaps traveling specialists could help in the transition of making BIA schools into Navajo schools. Perhaps they could become centers of community interest, instead of white refugees in the Indian world. These, of course, are only suggestions, but it would be nice to see someone begin to do something. Finally, please don't bother to send this letter on to the BIA, as I wrote you last year and the letter came back "down the line" to the local level, and the very people involved in some of the situations described here evaluated themselves and their programs. The only thing that came out of that were some dark days for me, and a label as a trouble-maker.

I'd like to, someday, be able to work my way up to a position where I could change things—that would be hard to do if I'm on my superiors "s" (for special)! list, so, as a young troublemaker working his way up to being a bigger and better one, I'm asking—don't rock my personal little boat!

Thanks for your interest.

Senator Mondale. Senator Kennedy, on several occasions referred to this practice of separating Indian children from their families as a "barbaric" practice. This was both a profound understanding on his part of the supreme importance of personality development in young children, and of the cardinal principles of cultural and family integrity.

The deepest violation of these principles is perhaps summed up in a young Indian child's prayer, recently recorded by a fieldworker in a Methodist boarding school on the Navajo Reservation—"Dear Lord, help me not to hate my mother and father."

Dr. John Collier, Jr., based on the recent fieldwork of one of his graduate students, has described a boarding school on the Navajo Reservation that in many ways matches the worst practices of boarding schools 70 years ago. For example, "children are beaten, pervasive attacks are made against their cultural beliefs, classes start

with the Lord's Prayer, and teachers advocate the free labor of Navajo girls in their homes, doing laundry, scrubbing floors, et cetera, all done on students after-school time, 'to teach them the American way of housekeeping.'"

A second problem area that was established in our initial hearings by Dr. Harry Saslow, a clinical psychologist in residence for 3 years at the Albuquerque Boarding School, was the serious inadequacies and mental health problems of the off-reservation boarding schools. A number of witnesses have testified regarding this problem from various parts of the country. Some of the problems identified are as follows: A large number of the students have serious emotional or social problems before they ever come to school. Some of the schools appear to be only masquerading as schools, functioning primarily as juvenile detention centers with little or no provision for rehabilitation. Dr. Saslow pointed out that there is no screening process for identifying the problems of these students when they come to the school. Even if there were, there is little or no provision for treatment. There is little or no mental health staffing in any of the off-reservation boarding schools that we know of. To my knowledge the figures that I am about to cite are new to the record, Senator Fannin.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has recently advised us that there is one psychologist in the whole BIA school system and only two or three social workers. The problems of many of these youngsters appear to get worse rather than better in the boarding school environment. Others simply retreat into a shell and vegetate "putting in your time" as the Indian students call it or "going AWOL."

As a result, very little academic progress is made by many of these students. The atmosphere of the school is usually authoritarian and repressive. Dormitories are often barracks and horribly understaffed. Guidance counselors are rarely professionals, usually disciplinarians. The quality of administration of both on and off reservation boarding schools is often bad. The tendency too often appears to be for the good teachers to get disgusted and leave while mediocre and bad teachers stay on, some eventually becoming administrators. There is also a tremendous amount of shifting of students from school to school, which testimony would indicate is damaging. There is not one boarding school in the whole BIA system which provides a "therapeutic community" for its students.

It should also be pointed out that testimony has also established that many public schools are failing Indian children as badly as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Dropout rates of many public schools run from 40 percent to as high as 100 percent (for example, Alliance, Nebr.). Research conducted by Dr. Bryde and Dr. Splika demonstrates the profound effect of cultural alienation in the adolescent years. Dr. Mindell at Pine Ridge has interviewed a number of Indian students and found a striking amount of repressed self-hatred. These phenomena appear to be common in a number of different Indian student populations.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of the mental health problem of Indian students in public schools was driven home to the subcommittee by its visit to the Fort Hall Reservation in January of this year.

The subcommittee was told during its visit to that reservation that the suicide rate among teenagers was perhaps as high as 100 times the national average. No one really knew for certain but everyone could cite examples. We were told that suicides had occurred as early as 10 years of age. Two days after the subcommittee visit, a 16-year-old Indian boy whom Senator Kennedy had met at a public high school just off the reservation committed suicide. He hung himself in

the county jail where he had been placed without a hearing and without notification of his parents after having been accused of drinking during school hours and referred to the police by his high school guidance counselor. He had been placed in a cell where a large pipe extended across the cell; two other Indians from the same reservation had committed suicide in the same cell, by hanging, from the same pipe, in the preceding 11 months. One of them was a 17-year-old Indian girl from the same high school.

We have been informed since then that two additional members of the boy's family, as well as his only close friend, have since then made serious suicide attempts. For the first time study is now underway of all Indian adolescents on the Fort Hall Reservation and the preliminary results suggest that thoughts about committing suicide and general discussion about violent death can be found throughout the reservation.

The scope and depth of this problem is staggering to the imagination. It is for this reason that we have called together today leading experts on mental health problems who have had considerable experience with Indian affairs.

I apologize to Senator Fannin, to Dr. Menninger, and the other witnesses and everyone here for these extended remarks but it has been some 6 months since our last hearing and I thought it important to summarize some of these main points.

TESTIMONY TO U.S. SENATE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION BY ROBERT L. LEON, M.D., OCTOBER 1, 1968

One of the great problems of our age is human development—not so much as a resource but to allow people to comfortably and happily reap the benefits of modern technology in twentieth century society. Can this be done without sacrificing integrity of human beings? My thesis is that it can and should be done in such a way as to allow people to reach their full potential and that the federal government has an opportunity to demonstrate this through its work and partnership with the American Indian. The facts and figures which document the plight of the American Indian are available to you and need not be repeated here. Rather I propose to outline some of the problems in a general way and then proceed to some principles underlying programs to attack the problems.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs started out with an authoritarian, repressive approach toward "the Indian problem". The fact that the Bureau is in the Department of the Interior under the Assistant Commissioner for Land Management says a great deal. As a Bureau it tends to be oriented toward things, money and land and has only recently begun to be interested in the development of people. Repressive paternalism persists in some Bureau programs and certainly in the minds of Indians. Indians react to their image of the Bureau in passive and self-destructive ways.¹

INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS

Indian Boarding Schools, by and large, have had difficulty struggling out from under the handicaps imposed by the original purposes for which they were set up—"to free the children from the language and habits of their untutored and oftentimes savage parents".²

In 1883 the Secretary of the Interior stated, "If a sufficient number of manual labor schools can be established to give each youth the advantages of three to five years of schooling, the next generation will hear nothing of this difficult problem, and we may leave the Indian to himself."³ It is unfortunate that in the 1960's the Boarding Schools are just beginning to disengage

Footnotes at end of article.

themselves from this attitude that Indian education should be limited to manual and vocational training. Even in public schools Indians tend to be more encouraged to pursue vocational training rather than careers which lead to professional and executive positions. Vocational training is desirable and necessary, but even vocational training facilities are often inadequate, and the training may very well lag behind the training that is necessary to equip Indian students to work in modern industry.

New Indian secondary schools are being built, and modern vocational and academic programs are being instituted. Yet in these schools, many of which are in or near large cities, the Indian students find themselves isolated from the larger community. This is partly a psychological problem within the Indian students. They find it difficult to find their place in a modern city. The fact that this psychological problem exists speaks for the need for additional mental health services to the Indian Boarding Schools. Many of the educators are aware of this and would welcome additional funds to institute mental health programs.

Some of the effects of Indian Boarding Schools are demonstrated by the very people who are now working in the Boarding Schools. Many Indian employees, most of whom are guidance personnel, are themselves a product of the Indian Boarding School. I have found that some of these people have great difficulty in discussing their own experience as Indian students. Many of them show, what I would call, a blunting of their emotional responses. This I would attribute to the separation from the parents and the oppressive atmosphere of the boarding school. It is difficult for an individual to admit that his own life experience has been less than adequate so that these Indian employees are very defensive and will not admit to themselves that they have had bad experiences. Thus they unwittingly help perpetuate the boarding school system. If one can get the trust and confidence of these Indian employees and allow them to feel comfortable in discussing their past experience, some of them will begin to admit the difficulties they had in going through the boarding schools and will for the first time, and to their own great surprise, express much hostility and resentment about the treatment they received. This example is used to illustrate two things—one is the ultimate effects of the boarding school experience but the second is that it illustrates very well how the system has become self-perpetuating because of the necessary self-denial within the Indian employees.

The statement I just made easily lends itself to misinterpretation. I am not singling out Indian employees as culprits, just as I am not laying blame at the feet of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Rather I am attempting to place before you an objective picture of the malignant interaction which has developed between Indians and the Federal Government using examples to illustrate this interaction. Indians who are products of the boarding school system and who are now a part in the operation of that system present one of the best examples of this malignant interaction. He who places blame on these Indian employees has missed the point entirely. One does not blame a father for not reading books to his children simply because the father grew up in a migrant farm family and had to pick berries or thin sugar beets instead of going to school. Outside resources must be brought to bear to interrupt all malignant cycles such as these.

I have mentioned in another paper what I consider to be other effects of the Boarding School experience.³ One vivid example keeps coming back to my mind. While tour-

ing one of the Indian Boarding Schools I asked one of the dormitory matrons if the children expressed any feelings at the beginning of the school year when they first arrived at the boarding school. She said, "I many times stay up late at night holding a girl's head on my lap while she is crying, but when you have a hundred students in a dormitory it is impossible to comfort all those who need comforting."

Children in any setting need an advocate and should never totally be placed at the mercy of the individuals within a closed system. Nor should anyone for that matter, but children are less able to defend themselves than adults. The closed system of the boarding schools developed out of the philosophy to break the will of the Indian child, and for this reason the schools, of course, discourage any parent participation. This leaves children at the mercy of the system.

Any institution which cares for children discourages parental visitation unless they have been enlightened by some of the newer facts discovered by child psychiatry. Following parental visits children are often more upset. They cry more, and they are more difficult to manage. We now know through various studies that it is much better for a child to express his feelings. It is only through expressing these feelings of anger, fear and grief that a child can learn to manage these in relationship to the outside world. If he is in an oppressive atmosphere, he must repress these feelings. When such intense feelings remain bottled up inside a child or an adult they find expression in more subtle ways and in ways in which the individual himself is not aware. As I have described in a paper, this is part of what produces the passive-aggressive response that Indians have to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is part of the reason for the self-destructive behavior since the intense hostility later on is turned in against the Indian himself. This may be one of the reasons why we see such a high suicide rate in adolescents. I do not want to belabor these psychiatric principles but rather use them to illustrate how the Indian Boarding School system has not yet caught up with twentieth century knowledge.

Since school tends to alienate parents from children when the children learn a different cultural orientation in the school from that they have learned from their parents, the Indian schools should make efforts and programs available to involve parents of the children and in this way aid in the continuity of the family. To my knowledge, and I could well be wrong about this, none of the Indian schools operated by the federal government make any attempt to introduce parents to information and values which are being taught to the Indian children.

Boarding schools for elementary age children present a problem. In my opinion there should be no Indian Boarding Schools for children in the elementary grades. I say this without qualification. These schools do more harm than good. They do not educate, they alienate. Those children who have families should remain with their families, and those children who are so unfortunate as to not have families should be placed in adequate foster homes. I am fully aware that in some locales, particularly the Navajo reservation, the education of children who are geographically isolated does present a problem but modern technology should and must be used to solve this problem. Human suffering should have no price, but indeed the price for its prevention would be relatively small. If good roads and modern buses are necessary, they can be obtained. If distances are too great for bussing, teams of educators or groups of children could be transported at regular intervals to central locations by airplane or by helicopter. A child does not have to be in school six hours every day to learn what is necessary. Several decades ago no

one thought of wrenching the children of rural farm families from their parents to give them schooling. The one-room school house may be outmoded for a rural America. Something like the one-room school house may not be outmoded for the Navajo Indian reservation.

A MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS

A mental health program appended to BIA schools in their present form will most likely fall even if the mental health program is well funded. I say this because now the authority for the education, counseling, and dormitory programs rests with school administrations. This gives administration complete control over the life of an Indian child while he is in school—control over educational methods and content, control over whatever guidance and counseling program exists, and in the case of boarding schools control over all activities permitted outside the classroom. A mental health program added to this structure can do nothing but attempt to repair the shattered psyche and the disrupted identity of the Indian child. Repair is needed but has limited impact.

A mental health program to be truly effective should have prevention as its aim. The program should be broad in scope and relate to health and welfare as well as education. I will limit my comments here to education.

It is necessary that all schools that Indian children attend develop modern educational methods adapted to the special needs of Indian children. Schools must find ways to encourage self-expression, creativity and ways to help Indian children find their identity in two cultures. These programs not only require special skills, but they also require special personnel to carry them out. The finest program can be subverted by rigid, fearful, unimaginative people.

I therefore recommend that if a comprehensive mental health program is instituted in schools for Indians, the total system be overhauled and mental health personnel be placed at high administrative levels in Washington, in area offices and in schools themselves. Mental health personnel should share with those in education the responsibility for program content and methods and the responsibility for personnel selection. In my opinion this is the only way mental health can make any impact on the closed system of BIA education.

In short, mental health personnel must have authority and power within the system. There have been pilot projects and studies in boarding schools. Flandreau is an example. The Flandreau project had no lasting impact because it was not accepted by the system. If mental health is part of the system and has power within the system, it may then show some lasting results.

I am sure that you have heard testimony to the effect that Indian Boarding Schools contain children who have a relatively high percentage of emotional and social problems. This has been documented with studies both at the Albuquerque Indian Boarding School and the Flandreau Indian Boarding School.⁴ Educators at the Indian schools will also attest to these facts. Indeed, many Indian Boarding Schools now exist only to receive children who have such severe social and emotional problems that they cannot remain in public schools. These are children whom the community cannot contain because they have no families, or unstable families, and no one to care for them; or they are maladjusted for any of a number of reasons and have continual conflicts with authority causing them to be labeled delinquent; or they have severe emotional problems with resulting crippling fears or bizarre behavior; or they have a combination of any or all of these.

In spite of the fact that it is well known that such children predominate in many of

Footnotes at end of article.

the Indian Boarding Schools, these schools have no programs with which to alleviate the problems. These schools must be given the professional and technical capability to cope with the children who come. I propose to you that funds be made available from the Congress to convert many of the Indian Boarding Schools into residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children.

The schools which are converted into residential treatment centers should be administered by mental health personnel. The program should be planned and developed jointly by mental health and educational personnel. All educational and dormitory personnel should have training in the care and treatment of emotionally disturbed and socially deprived children.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the American Indians have been for years locked into a destructive interactional system. Indian education has destroyed the Indian's identity and Indians in turn have destroyed Bureau programs. I have elsewhere written of this in some detail. This interactional pattern, I believe, stems from the inability of Indians to actively rebel against paternalistic attitudes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is a two-way interaction and simply changing one party or the other will not remedy the situation. We find Indians reacting in passive-aggressive, self-destructive ways to their anger over Bureau domination. Even when Bureau officials reverse this attitude as they have in some places and encourage participation by Indians, Indians still react in old patterns of passive-aggressive responses. To break up this malignant interaction we recommend the use of behavioral science theories, principles and techniques to help free Indians of longstanding emotional and cultural blocks to full participation in their own development. The Seattle Orientation Center is an example of the application of behavioral science to the planning and operation of programs.

The Seattle Orientation Center is a program to aid Alaskan natives relocating to cities in the lower forty-eight states under programs of the Employment Assistance Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.⁶ In the center clients learn new skills necessary to urban living, but more importantly clients begin to deal with the emotional reactions related to migration. Emotional reactions are explored within the context of a therapeutic community using a modification of group therapy.

The atmosphere necessary to the expression of feeling is the most difficult to maintain. To maintain this atmosphere requires constant battle with those who refuse to admit their own feelings and are consequently fearful of the expression of feelings in others. This is why I recommend that behavioral scientists be placed at high administrative levels. The necessary climate was maintained in the Seattle Orientation Center by an untrained person who received limited, intensive instruction from a behavioral scientist team for a limited period prior to assuming duties as administrator of the program. Thereafter consultation was given by professionals. In this way the program was maintained for a period of time in spite of inability of some administrators to understand the basic principles.

Many visitors from government and industry came to the center, but not all perceived or understood the atmosphere and the mode of encouraging self-expression.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. All Boarding Schools for elementary school age children should be abolished.
2. A comprehensive mental health program should be instituted for all Indian children including those attending public schools. For this mental health program to be effective mental health personnel must

have authority to modify the educational system.

3. All schools dealing with Indian children should develop programs to allow parents to participate in the education of their children and in the planning of educational programs for their children.

4. Selected Boarding schools should be converted into treatment centers for disturbed children and staffed appropriately.

5. Behavioral scientists should be involved in all levels of planning and operation of programs dealing with Indian people.

The Indians' relationship to the federal government is unique. Indians are the only group of people in the United States for which the federal government has such direct responsibility. In the past this responsibility has appeared to many as a liability. I propose rather that this be viewed as an opportunity to demonstrate to the citizens of this country and to the citizens of the world how the use of behavioral science knowledge by the federal government in a democratic society can truly enable a technologically backward group of people to find satisfaction and fulfillment in a modern industrial society.

FOOTNOTES

¹ "Maladaptive Interaction Between Bureau of Indian Affairs Staff and Indian Clients", Leon, Robert L., *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, July, 1965.

² *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. American Indians and American Life*. George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Eds. Vol. 311, May 1957.

³ "Mental Health of Indian Boarding School Children and Mental Health of Considerations in the Indian Boarding School Program", Leon, Robert L., in *Emotional Problems of the Indian Students in Boarding Schools and Related Public Schools*. Published: New Mexico Department of Public Health. 13-17 and 41-49, April 11, 12, and 13, 1960.

⁴ *Third Annual Report of the Mental Health Clinic at the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School; Flandreau, South Dakota*. Bureau of Indian Affairs—Branch of Education and U.S. Public Health Service—Division of Indian Health. July 1958-June 1959.

⁵ "The Seattle Orientation Center: An Assessment of its Operation", Martin, Harry W., Leon, Robert L. and Gladfelter, John H., A Report to: The Employment Assistance Branch, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior. January, 1965.

TESTIMONY TO U.S. SENATE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION BY HARRY W. MARTIN, PH. D., OCTOBER 1, 1968

A brief review of Indian affairs history of the United States raises serious doubt as to whether we are able to correct the deplorable life condition among our Indian citizens. There is evidence which suggests that the more Congress legislates on Indian affairs, the more conditions worsen among Indians. The Dawes or General Allotment Act of 1887, says Theodore Haas, created a vacuum by weakening tribal governments. Authority of federal administrators over Indians expanded into the vacuum as evidenced by increasing legislation. Indian statutes had exceeded 4,000 by 1949 and moved toward 6,000 by 1957.

In spite of increased legislation, repeated studies by task forces and commissions, and welfare, health, and educational programs costing hundreds of millions, the general state of life conditions among Indians has not appreciably improved. By now, this committee and its staff have amassed considerable data and testimony documenting our failure. What are the reasons for the failure? Its roots, I think are fed from several sources: the society at large, the Congress,

the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and by Indians themselves.

The underlying attitude of the society cannot be ignored. This attitude, rarely verbalized, was made explicit in 1881 by Senator Pendleton of Ohio. He said, "They [Indians] must either change their mode of life or they must die. We may regret, we may wish it were otherwise, our sentiments of humanity may be shocked by the alternative. . ."

Pendleton was a poor prophet—there are about twice as many Indians in the country now as there were when he spoke. He failed to see a third course, that is, our inability to follow either of his alternatives. We have fallen handsomely between the horns of his dilemma. Our humanity was more than adequate to prevent extermination, but insufficient for helping Indians join us as full participants in the fruits of the society.

Congress supposedly reflects the wishes of the body politic which now, by legislative ritual, includes Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs which implements laws and programs authorized by Congress is caught between Congress and Indians, to say nothing of sharpshooters on the sidelines. I have a strong impression that the Bureau spends as much or more time in defending itself against attacks from these quarters as it does on assigned tasks. This statement is not meant to defend the Bureau, but to suggest an imperative need for a candid and objective review of the Congress-BIA-Indian relationship. Such a review may be more profitable than further investigation of conditions among Indians. I do not mean to be impertinent, but why add depressing fact to depressing fact when the facts are well-known?

The Bureau of Indian Affairs needs no further criticism. Indeed, it appears essentially impervious to criticism, no matter what the source. One fact is clear, however, it has failed to do the job. But this failure is a collective one, not solely that of the Bureau.

The time has come, however, to question the ability of BIA to do the job. It is a large and complex system, bound by bureaucratic norms and protocol and fiscal and regulatory rules which inhibit creative action. Defensive about its own survival, much emphasis is put upon corrective bureaucratic means and procedures. All too often this emphasis is most important for survival and advancement with the Bureau. An overriding sense of necessity to operate programs and services strictly within legal and regulatory limits appears to sustain the means-over-ends emphasis. Such reversals usually stem from anxiety and/or uncertainty about goals and ends. There is a reward and punishment system including Siberian assignments for troublemakers and nonconformists, that is, persons who try to put ends before means.

The entire structure and function of all elements of the Bureau need careful examination. The review should include interrelationships of programs and services, and careful attention should be paid to formal and extra-formal consequences of the Civil Service on staff recruitment and personnel policies. Abolishment or radical reform is needed. Although the Bureau appears to be the chief present day enemy of Indians, abolishment might produce an uprising. Perhaps that is needed. In any event, some sort of Indian affairs agency will be required to implement the wishes of Congress; however, unless Congress provides a totally new concept of goals and operation, and freedom to operate in terms of this mandate any new agency will likely soon be entrapped in the same pitfalls.

Experimentation is required for finding more effective ways of doing the job. For example, small but comprehensive programs offering a unified approach are in order; piecemeal, fractionated approaches are simpler, but less effective. Funding should be long-term, gradually escalated as need develops, and gradually de-escalated, unless conditions indicated faster termination. Pro-

grams could be proposed and conducted by business organizations, nonprofit voluntary organizations, universities or various joint undertakings between such organizations. Cooperative ventures between any of these and agencies of the various governmental levels—local, state, national—could be tried. Adequate funds for monitoring and evaluating programs should be provided.

Personnel of all such programs should undergo at least three months of intensive training on how to work with people. Such training is a basic need within the Bureau. All personnel, new and existing, and regardless of whether they are in teaching, land management, law enforcement, or whatever, should be trained. Such training should begin first with people in supervisory and administrative positions—from the top down. Training a staff does little or no good unless supervisors understand and support new ways of working with people.

A few comments should be made regarding Indians and their relationship to the Bureau. We have rather forced Indians into modeling their attempts at self-government after our own system. I am rather convinced that those parts of our system which they have most effectively incorporated are among the least desirable, i.e., low-level ward politics and practices to obtain votes, to gain special privileges, and to fight the BIA. Relatively few statesmenlike leaders appear to have arisen among Indians at the tribal and intertribal level. Co-optation of better educated Indians by BIA has siphoned many potential leaders—both men and women. This is a dilemma. Joining the BIA is a major avenue of social mobility for Indians; however, working for the Bureau limits leadership action and identifies such persons as joining the enemy camp.

A major problem of our society is the fact that our welfare programs (health, education, and welfare) at all levels of government are tied in with politics. Invariably, the politics of welfare are for the welfare of politics. It is perhaps too much to ask that politics be removed from the field of welfare. Politics, however, force us into two avenues of ineffectiveness; either too little too late provided in a fashion which demeans and cripples, or too much too fast to be effectively absorbed. It remains to be seen whether we are willing and sufficiently creative to find solutions to problems of poverty amidst our unprecedented affluence.

[From New Republic, Feb. 15, 1969]

REGIMENTED NONEDUCATION: INDIAN SCHOOLS (By Daniel Henninger and Nancy Esposito)

(NOTE.—Daniel Henninger is on the staff of The New Republic. Nancy Esposito is a freelance writer living in Washington. Last fall she visited several Indian schools in the Southwest.)

Senator Edward Kennedy has taken over the chairmanship of his late brother's Indian Education Subcommittee, which is soon to release a report recommending basic changes in the ways we educate Indian children. It's about time. The Bureau of Indian Affairs spent \$86 million of its \$241 million budget in 1968 on the education of 55,000 Indian children, and there's little to show for it.

Nearly 60 percent of these youngsters must attend BIA boarding schools, either because there's no public or federal day school near their home or because they are "social referrals" (BIA jargon for anything from a bilingual difficulty to serious emotional disorders and juvenile delinquency). One percent finish college. In Alaska there is only one federal high school, so two-thirds of the Alaskan Indians are sent to a boarding school in Oregon; 267 others go to school in Chilocco, Oklahoma. The Navajo nation comprises one-third of the BIA's responsibility, and 92 percent of its children are in boarding schools. The schools have a 60 percent dropout rate, compared to a national average of 23 percent.

Assimilation has been the aim of the Bureau of Indian Affairs since the early 1800's. But it no longer expresses that purpose in the embarrassing language of a World War II House subcommittee: "The final solution of the Indian problem [is] to work toward the liquidation of the Indian problem rather than toward merely perpetuating a federal Indian Service working with a steadily increasing Indian population." From the BIA's "Curriculum Needs of Navajo Pupils" we learn that the Navajo child "needs to begin to develop knowledge of how the dominant culture is pluralistic and how these people worked to become the culture which influences the American mainstream of life . . ."; "needs to understand that every man is free to rise as high as he is able and willing . . ."; "needs assistance with accepting either the role of leader or follower . . ."; "needs to understand that a mastery of the English language is imperative to compete in the world today . . ."; "needs to understand that work is necessary to exist and succeed . . ."

Often the Government places children in federal boarding schools at the age of six or seven; over 9,000 under the age of nine are so placed. That quite a few parents resist having their young taken from home for a year is indicated by a 1966 HEW survey: 16,000 Indian children between the ages of eight and 16 were not in school.

The Indian school curriculum is standard: ancient history, European history, American history, geography, arithmetic, art, music (an Indian "needs training in proper tone production in order to properly and effectively sing Western music"). Not much about their history. The Interior Department investigated Indian schools in Alaska last spring and found that "education which gives the Indian, Eskimo and Aleut knowledge of—and therefore pride in—their historic and cultural heritage is almost nonexistent . . . In the very few places where such an attempt is made, it is poorly conceived and inadequate." Most of the boarding school teachers are aware of the variations in language, dress and customs of their students, but their sensitivity to the less obvious differences in Indian values, beliefs and attitudes is peripheral and by the way. Most Indian children speak English poorly or not at all; communication between teacher and pupil is difficult or impossible. Yet Bureau schools conduct all classes in English.

It doesn't take long to discourage young, dedicated teachers: "Most of the teachers came to Chilocco because of humanitarian reasons," said a former teacher at the Oklahoma boarding school. "They saw the pitiful situation and truly wanted to help, but after months of rejection and failure, they either quit or they began looking at it as an eight to five job with no obligation to their students." A teacher at an Arizona school wrote the BIA last year, suggesting that the inclusion of courses in agriculture and native crafts might arouse his habitually unresponsive students. "This idea [didn't] set well with many of the 'old hands' among the administrators," he later said. "The only thing that came out of it were some dark days for me, and a label as a trouble-maker." The turnover rate among teachers is double the national average. To an Indian child, the teacher is a stranger passing through. An obvious remedy is to enlist more Indian teachers. At present only 16 percent of the Bureau's teachers are Indian, and with only one percent of the Indians graduating yearly from college, there is little chance that the percentage will rise.

Estranged from his family, confronted with an alien culture and unable to talk to his teachers, the Indian's academic performance is predictably poor. What is harder to explain is the "crossover phenomenon." For the first few years of school, Indian achievement parallels that of white children and then slowly but persistently regresses. An Indian starts to fall behind between the sixth and eighth

grades, and if he doesn't drop out finishes high school with a 9.5 grade education. Despite this regression, a boarding school student is never held back for academic failure; at the end of each year, he is promoted to the next grade whatever his performance. Summer school programs are scarce. Bureau teachers are contracted by the year, and one-third go on educational leave during the summer while the rest clean up the schools, take inventory and so on. As a result the typical high school class contains highly intelligent students as well as many who should still be in grade school. The teacher tries to compensate by aiming his instruction somewhere between the two extremes, so much of the class drops off to sleep or stares blankly at books.

One would think that after school the children could find some release from this dreariness, in the dorms or in some extracurricular activity. Life at a federal boarding school, though, is regimented and arbitrary. Seen from the air, many of the schools look like military installations—complexes of one-color, one-texture buildings set in the middle of otherwise barren areas. The impression of physical isolation mirrors the cultural isolation in the classroom. The building-complex usually includes dormitories (boys and girls), classroom buildings and housing for the staff. Many of the buildings are in disrepair. In a number of places (Tuba City, Arizona, for example) condemned buildings are still in use. The Fort Wingate Elementary Boarding School in New Mexico uses old Fort Wingate, once commanded by Douglas MacArthur's father. Forty years ago, the Brookings Institution's Merriam Report declared this plant unsuitable.

Even the new buildings are designed to reinforce the numbing sterility. Long, narrow, lifeless dormitories house row upon row of double-decked iron beds and little else. Windows are sometimes barred. Floors are bare; the vivid personal decorations that are so much a part of many Indian communities are discouraged. Dress, too, is strictly regulated. The system makes individualizing one's appearance or environment fairly impossible. Beneath all the regulation is the Bureau's implicit concept of the children: all Indians are alike. In reality some children are at boarding schools because there is no alternative schooling available, while an increasing number, the "social referrals," come to the schools with serious emotional problems. Dr. Anthony Elite of the Public Health Service's Indian Health office in Phoenix has said that "with this great change in the profile of the student body, there has not been a concomitant change in staffing skilled workers or training existing personnel to cope with these problems."

Each hour of a child's day is planned by the clock, with strict schedules posted in the dorms. Classes, meals, study periods, chores, free-time, bed—the routine never varies. Frequent headcounts are taken to quickly identify runaways or "AWOLS" as the Bureau calls them. Demerits are handed out for breaking the rules. The demerits can be removed by performing extra chores or by sacrificing privileges like TV, a school movie or snacks. At the Chinle Elementary Boarding School each child has a punchcard fastened to the end of his bed with punched holes representing demerits on one side and merits on the other. A little boy proudly displayed his card to the visitor. He was especially proud of the large number of holes he had accumulated. Most of the holes were on the demerit side. He didn't know the difference. At another school two small boys were seen sitting on the floor, tearing up old textbooks as a punishment.

Dr. Robert Bergman, a PHS psychiatrist on the Navajo Reservation said, "the somewhat limited social opportunities of the boarding high school give the adolescent students few protected ways of exploring boy-

girl relationships. The sexes are pretty well kept separate most of the time, and even casual contact between them is looked on with some suspicion by school officials anxious about possible scandal. A hostile rebellious attitude develops in the students, and they make their own opportunities away from the potential help of adults. Many students make a very abrupt transition from no dating at all to sneaking out to drink and make love." The administration's response to such behavior is more repression and school officials at a number of boarding schools cite discipline as their most important problem. Asked what he would do if given more money, the superintendent at Chilocco said he would build a jail and hire more guards.

To maintain discipline, the schools eliminate as many outside or uncontrollable influences as possible. A visitor is discouraged from talking to the children. A child "caught" talking to a visitor gets a sharp warning glance from a school official. Authorities address the children in English and discourage using native language in both the classroom and dorms. Dr. Bergman relates the rather bizarre results of this policy: "I often encounter [dorm attendants] who pretend not to speak Navajo. They have become so convinced that speaking Navajo is a bad thing to do that they often won't admit that they can. [Most attendants are themselves products of boarding schools.] The children learn that what they say in Navajo is effectively kept secret from the authorities even if one of the Navajo-speaking members of the staff hears them, because the Navajo staff member will be too ashamed of having understood to tell anyone."

School authorities in effect dictate when children may go home for weekends and when parents may visit the schools. The Bureau has a *de facto* policy of discouraging such visits, because the children are noticeably upset and troublesome afterwards, and the number of runaways invariably increases. To reach the school, parents must travel long distances over roads that are impassable most of the year. The schools afford them neither accommodations nor transportation. At the easily accessible Fort Wingate school, signs on the dormitory doors announced that no child would be permitted home for two weekends prior to Thanksgiving. A teacher at the Tuba City Boarding School wrote of the problem last year to Sen. Robert Kennedy, then chairman of the subcommittee on Indian Education: "Most children on the reservation starting at age six only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times parents are usually allowed to check out their children—if the child's conduct in school warrants it, in the opinion of the school administration. If he has been a 'problem' (e.g., has run away) parents are often not allowed to take him until he has 'learned his lesson.'" The students' most visible emotional problem is boredom—the deadening routine of marching in line to meals and class, the lack of recreation or an interesting diversion. The letter to Sen. Kennedy summarized the emptiness of life at a boarding school: "The children search everywhere for something—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them, or to any straw that might offer some escape from boredom. You can't help but see it in their faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boys' dormitories, they are used to the conditions—you can see that, too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone."

Their reaction to this gradual dehumanization is extreme. Recently on the Navajo Reservation, two young runaways froze to death trying to make it to their homes 50 miles away. Escape through glue-, paint- and gasoline-sniffing is as common as chronic drunkenness at the boarding schools. On Easter morning two years ago, authorities

at the Chilocco school found a Crow boy who had apparently drunk himself to death. More recently a runaway at the Albuquerque Boarding School was found frozen to death after an alcoholic binge.

Suicide among young Indians is over three times the national average and an even greater problem at the boarding schools. Yet the Superintendent of the Albuquerque school said he had never seen an Indian suicide in any school in his 28 years of experience. Testifying before Sen. Kennedy's subcommittee, Dr. Daniel O'Connell found evidence to the contrary: "The situation as far as suicide is concerned is especially acute among the boarding school children, particularly in high school. . . . In the Busby School in the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, for example, with fewer than 250 students, there were 12 attempted suicides during the past 18 months."

The closest thing the child has to a surrogate parent is the so-called instructional aide or dormitory attendant. Aides are responsible for the children in the dorms and supervise their routine activities—dressing and washing the smaller children, housecleaning and free time. Psychologically, the instructional aide is the most important member of the staff, since the dorm is the closest thing the children have to a home life. But he is the lowest paid and has the lowest status in the school hierarchy. Each aide is expected to care for 60 to 80 children. At a conference with Dr. Bergman, an aide asked for help in getting her 75 first-graders to put their shoes by their beds at night. Every morning is mass hysteria as seven-year-olds scramble for a missing right or left shoe. Night attendants are responsible for 180 to 260 children, so there is rarely someone to comfort a youngster having a normal childhood nightmare.

The instructional aides are not encouraged to take a personal interest in the children. An aide was severely reprimanded for inviting some girls to her room to make Navajo fry-bread. The authorities would prefer that the system's few professional guidance counselors handle the children's problems. The present ratio of students to counselors is 690 to one. One counselor complained that 30 to 40 percent of his time is spent retrieving runaways, another 30 percent supervising housekeeping, leaving little time for serious counseling.

For its more serious problems—the suicide-prone the alcoholics, the psychotics—the BIA employed one full-time psychologist last year for the entire federal school system. A rebellious or uncooperative student gains a reputation as a "troublemaker" and is expelled from one school after another until he is old enough to drop out. A Fort Hall boy who has attempted suicide six times was sent to Chilocco last fall for lack of anywhere else to send him. Among the Indians, Chilocco is considered the end of the line.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School in northeastern Arizona is a welcome anomaly in this chain of dead-end desert schools. Jointly funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the BIA, the Navajo boarding school is innovative in that it is run by Indians. The seven Indians who comprise the school board set school policy, hire and fire teachers and manage the school's \$790,000 budget. The curriculum includes daily instruction in Navajo culture, history and language, and the school's Cultural Identification Center attracts talented Navajo artists and translators to produce meaningful texts for Indian children. Nor is the built-in bleakness of dorm life found at Rough Rock. The school has 10 counselors, and parents are invited to live in the dorms for eight-week periods (reducing the child-adult ratio to 10 to one). The parents work as dorm aides, with pay, and attend adult education programs, since many are less-educated than their children. Students are encouraged to

go home on weekends and the school provides transportation for those who would otherwise have to stay at school. The school's teachers make periodic visits to the children's homes to let the parents know how their children are doing. (The parents of many children at other schools haven't the slightest idea of what grade their children are in.) Of the school's 82 full-time employees, 62 are Indians, and for many it is their first permanent job. It is too early to say whether Rough Rock's community-involvement approach is the answer to Indian education. The experiment is expensive (\$2,500 per student) and the school will have to look elsewhere for support after OEO funding expires in June. What the Indians at Rough Rock have proved is that given effective control of the immediate forces that shape their lives, they can be a success, qualified in measurable achievement, total in terms of self-respect.

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 63) authorizing the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to make certain investigations which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment on page 3, line 4, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$250,000" and insert "\$200,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

S. RES. 63

Resolved, That the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to examine, investigate, and conduct such studies as may be deemed necessary with respect to any and all aspects of—

(1) the postal service, including studies of mechanization, modernization, personnel policies, utilization of manpower, hours, wages, work schedules, and management techniques, designed to improve postal service in the United States;

(2) the Federal civil service, including retirement, life and health insurance, and general consideration of legislation to improve the quality of Federal employment and Federal personnel policies and practices; and

(3) committee jurisdiction concerning the census and the collection of statistics.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1969, until January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ on a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employer; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments and agencies concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$200,000, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 63 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to expend not to exceed \$250,000 this year for a study of the postal service and the Federal civil service.

During the last session of Congress \$150,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$131,892 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$250,000 to \$200,000, a reduction of \$50,000.

Senator GALE W. McGEE is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator HIRAM L. FONG.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment. The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 63) as amended, was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL STAFF AND FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

The resolution (S. Res. 34) to provide funds for the Committee on Public Works was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 34 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Public Works to expend not to exceed \$240,000 this year for an investigation of certain matters within its jurisdiction.

During the last session of Congress \$160,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$127,967 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH is chairman of the committee. The ranking minority member of the committee is Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 34) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 34

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Works, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to flood control, navigation, rivers and harbors, roads and highways, water pollution, air pollution, public buildings, and all features of water resource development and economic growth.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, on a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by

more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$240,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 31) authorizing a study of Federal election laws and related matters, was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 31 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Committee on Rules and Administration through its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to expend not to exceed \$105,000 this year for a study of certain matters within its jurisdiction, with special emphasis upon the Federal election laws.

During the last session of Congress \$150,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$88,830 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator HOWARD W. CANNON is chairman of the pertinent subcommittee. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee is Senator CARL T. CURTIS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 31) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 31

Resolved, That the Committee on Rules and Administration, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to—

- (1) the election of the President, Vice President, or Members of Congress;
- (2) corrupt practices;
- (3) contested elections;
- (4) credentials and qualifications;
- (5) Federal elections, generally; and
- (6) presidential succession.

Sec. 2. For the purpose of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and the personnel of

any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$105,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF SMALL AND INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

The resolution (S. Res. 57) authorizing the Select Committee on Small Business to make a complete study of the problems of small and independent businesses, was announced as next in order.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 57 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Select Committee on Small Business to expend not to exceed \$145,000 this year for a study of certain problems of small and independent businesses.

During the last session of Congress \$145,000, the same amount, was authorized for that purpose, of which \$127,663 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution without amendment.

Senator ALAN BIBLE is chairman of the Select Committee. The ranking minority member of the Select Committee is Senator JACOB K. JAVITS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 57) was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 57

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Small Business, in carrying out the duties imposed upon it by S. Res. 58, Eighty-first Congress, agreed to February 20, 1950, as amended and supplemented, is authorized to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of the problems of American small and independent business and to make recommendations concerning those problems to the appropriate legislative committees of the Senate.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$145,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

The resolution (S. Res. 68) to continue the Select Committee on Nutrition and

Human Needs, was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over, Mr. President. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution will be passed over.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, may I inquire as to which resolution was passed over?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Calendar No. 80, Senate Resolution 68, the Hunger resolution, so that it may be considered, along with the Hart resolution to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws tomorrow. These items will take some time.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 76) to continue the Special Committee on Aging, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration with an amendment, on page 3, line 7, after the word "exceed", strike out "\$214,000" and insert "200,000"; so as to make the resolution read:

S. Res. 76

Resolved, That the Special Committee on Aging, established by S. Res. 33, Eighty-seventh Congress, agreed to on February 13, 1961, as amended and supplemented, is hereby extended through January 31, 1970.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of such committee to make a full and complete study and investigation of any and all matters pertaining to problems and opportunities of older people, including but not limited to, problems and opportunities of maintaining health, of assuring adequate income, of finding employment, of engaging in productive and rewarding activity, of securing proper housing, and when necessary, of obtaining care or assistance. No proposed legislation shall be referred to such committee, and such committee shall not have power to report by bill or otherwise have legislative jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. The said committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable.

Sec. 4. A majority of the members of the committee or any subcommittee thereof shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of taking sworn testimony.

Sec. 5. For purposes of this resolution, the committee is authorized (1) to employ on a temporary basis from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970, such technical, clerical, or other assistants, experts, and consultants as it deems advisable: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (2) with the prior consent of the executive department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to employ on a reimbursable basis such executive branch personnel as it deems advisable.

Sec. 6. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$200,000 from February 1, 1969, through January 31, 1970, shall

be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Sec. 7. The committee shall report the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970. The committee shall cease to exist at the close of business on January 31, 1970.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Senate Resolution 76 as referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration would authorize the Special Committee on Aging to expend not to exceed \$214,000 this year for a study of problems relating to the aging citizens of the Nation.

During the last session of Congress \$200,000 was authorized for that purpose, of which \$183,036 was expended during the 12-month investigative period.

The Committee on Rules and Administration has reported the resolution with an amendment reducing the requested amount from \$214,000 to \$200,000, a reduction of \$14,000.

Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., is chairman of the special committee. The ranking minority member of the special committee is Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 76), as amended, was agreed to.

SENATE DELEGATIONS TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS OR PARLIAMENTARY BODIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 65) to authorize the Senate to respond to official invitations received from foreign governments or parliamentary bodies and associations, was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 65), was agreed to, as follows:

S. Res. 65

Resolved, That the President of the Senate is authorized to appoint as members of official Senate delegations such Members of the Senate as may be necessary to respond to invitations received officially from foreign governments or parliamentary bodies and associations (including the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association) during the Ninety-first Congress, and to designate the chairmen of said delegations.

Sec. 2. (a) The expenses of the delegations, including staff members designated by the chairmen to assist said delegations, shall not exceed \$25,000 for each such delegation, and shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairmen of said delegations.

(b) The expenses of each delegation shall include such special expenses as the chairman may deem appropriate to carry out this resolution, including reimbursements to agencies for compensation of employees detailed to each delegation and expenses incurred in connection with providing appropriate hospitality to foreign delegates.

(c) Each member or employee of each delegation shall receive subsistence expenses in an amount not to exceed the maximum per diem rate set forth in section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended

by Public Law 88-633, approved October 7, 1964.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, that concludes the call of the calendar for today.

INVESTIGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 60, Senate Resolution 40.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 40) to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there will be no further action on this resolution today. I understand there are some speeches on various matters which several Senators wish to make. It is anticipated that there will be considerable discussion on the two resolutions left on the calendar tomorrow, and, for the information of the Senate, it is anticipated that discussion will not begin until somewhere between 1:30 and 2 o'clock tomorrow, because of various meetings which are to be held.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 12 NOON TOMORROW

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HUNGER IN AMERICA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a very interesting and fine statement on the problem of hunger in America issued just today by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Finch. This statement by the Secretary is specific proof of the determination of the Nixon administration to deal vigorously with this issue and, I think, is a very clear indication of its intention with regard to our vote tomorrow on the budget for the Select Committee on Nutrition and Basic Needs.

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

THE HUNGRY AMERICANS

(Report of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, to the National Governors' Conference)

I. THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recently issued the first results under the National Nutrition Survey being conducted by Dr. Arnold Schaefer. This survey has thus far examined 12,000 persons in four states; ten more states will be added during 1969. Among his sample group, 80 percent of whom had incomes under \$5000 per year and

the majority of whom had incomes under \$3000 per year. Dr. Schaefer found that one-third of the children under six were anemic; one-third of the children under six suffered from vitamin A deficiency; one-sixth of those in all age groups studied were deficient in vitamin C.

He found evidence of rickets, protein malnutrition, goiter, and abnormally bad dental conditions. Eighteen percent of all subjects in the survey over ten years of age reported that it was painful and difficult to bite and chew. Ninety-six percent of the sample had an average of ten teeth decayed, filled or missing with five of these needing immediate attention. Three and one-half percent of the sample showed bone growth retardation—a major warning signal that other forms of retardation may have occurred.

Dr. Schaefer's reports on malnutrition confirm the inevitable consequences of poverty in this country. We already knew that there are over 12 million Americans living with annual per capita incomes under \$550, or \$2200 for a family of four. The United States Department of Agriculture estimates that such a family must spend between 66 and 75 cents per person per day to have a balanced diet at absolutely minimum levels. This adds up to \$1000 to \$1100 per year which such a family should spend on food. Yet that family must also cover its fixed costs, such as rent, utilities, clothing, transportation and medical bills, and cannot do that with the \$1100 remaining. Typically, then, it is the food budget which is cut back. Moreover, there are some 1.8 million families whose incomes are under \$1000 per year. For these people, mere survival is a daily contest.

We have Federal programs to deal with these problems, but they are woefully inadequate. There are about 26 million poor in the country, but only about one-third of them are reached by welfare programs. We have had direct food assistance programs since the 1930's, but still only slightly about 6 million of the poor are helped by the surplus food distribution and food stamp efforts.

There are still over 500 counties which are not served by either the surplus food distribution or food stamp programs, and in many areas where such programs do exist the participation by the poor may be as low as 5 percent.

Some assistance is provided by the Child Nutrition programs, of which the School Lunch Program is the best known. While it serves 20 million students, only 2 million are from among the poor. Another 4-5 million poor children, including many in our depressed ghetto areas, do not receive school lunches.

II. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare carries a heavy responsibility in dealing with this problem.

First, hunger has direct consequences in terms of health. It is fairly well confirmed that malnutrition in the pregnant mother, particularly protein malnutrition, can precipitate premature births, mental retardation or actual infant deaths. If an infant does not have a balanced food supply during the final months in the womb and during the first months of his life—the period fastest brain development—the risk of mental and physical retardation mounts. The malnourished child spends longer periods in convalescence, is more vulnerable to disease, and may simultaneously suffer from other more readily apparent ailments which further debilitate the body. Physical development and vigor may be adversely affected.

There are also certain obvious educational ramifications of the problem. Malnutrition and hunger have been shown to affect a child's ability to learn and to concentrate. Moreover, the educational system offers a major resource, if properly used, for the feeding of children and for the transmission of good nutritional practices to their parents.

Finally, we know that if our welfare programs were more effective, people would have the means to buy food to feed themselves.

With these responsibilities in mind, I am today directing this Department to take certain specific steps.

First, I am directing the Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs to expand and strengthen the National Nutrition Survey to cover more states, to improve analyses of data obtained, and to follow-up on those cases found to require immediate medical attention.

Second, I am directing the Administrator of the National Institute of Child Health and Development to provide me with data on the interrelationship between malnutrition in the pregnant mother, malnutrition in the infant, prematurity, infant deaths, and mental retardation. I am particularly concerned over the possible learning retardation which can result from improper nutrition in infancy and early childhood.

Third, I am initiating a special Department-wide review to examine how we can take preventive and remedial action in dealing with malnutrition and its consequences.

Finally, we will be reviewing the intricate structure of responsibilities between the various agencies of government, the counterpart state agencies, and county agencies and officials to determine how we can further improve our joint effort.

III. CONCLUSION

The President has asked that I bring these matters to your attention so that we might jointly plan for more effective action. There is no special Federal wisdom on this matter. We need your advice and your assistance. We need your strong influence to make existing programs work better, and to provide the health and educational services to the poor that must accompany any increased food supply. I hope very much that at your forthcoming conference you will establish a mechanism through which we can work together for a decisive attack on hunger in our land.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD articles published in the New York Times of factual inquiries on this subject, of which two have now been published, written by Homer Bigart.

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

HUNGER IN AMERICA: STARK DEPRIVATION HAUNTS A LAND OF PLENTY (By Homer Bigart)

(NOTE.—Following is the first of a series of articles on reports of hunger in the United States.)

BLUFFTON, S.C.—Hunger is a noun that means, among other things, a compelling desire for food, a nagging emptiness of stomach and gut. Persons old enough to remember the Great Depression may recall going hungry, but today it is a sensation generally reserved for those mired in poverty.

Chronic hunger seems so remote in this bounteous land that reports of extreme malnutrition among Negroes in the rural South, among migrant farm workers, among Mexican-Americans and reservation Indians have been set down as exaggerations and lies, the observers frequently assailed as charlatans or do-gooders who would sap the initiative of the hungry poor by expanding "giveaway" Federal food programs or even conspiring for adoption of a guaranteed minimum wages.

Here in Beaufort County, Donald E. Gatch, an intense youthful-looking country doctor, has been shunned by the white community for insisting that hunger is a daily fact of life among the black families of this mossy tidewater.

He began losing his white patients two years ago after he charged publicly that he had seen children dying of starvation, that most black children of his area were infested

with worms, and that families were living in hovels worse than the pigsties of his native Nebraska.

The Beaufort Gazette accused him of "running his mouth." Every other doctor in the county signed a statement deploring his "unsubstantiated allegations," contending that the "rare cases of infant malnutrition" that came to their attention were invariably due to "parental inexperience, indifference or gross neglect." And the County Health Officer, Dr. H. Parker Jones, said he had "never seen a case of starvation or extreme malnutrition."

Ostracized by the staff of Beaufort County Memorial Hospital, annoyed by threatening telephone calls, boycotted by white patients, Dr. Gatch closed his Beaufort office, sold his home and moved with his British-born wife and two young sons back to Bluffton (pop. 356), where he had started his practice 10 years ago.

One chilly, overcast day at the tag end of January Dr. Gatch consented to take a visitor on a tour of Negro shanties near Bluffton.

LIKE A MISSIONARY OUTPOST

The doctor, who sometimes appears disconsolate and withdrawn, peered glumly at the scene through horn-rimmed spectacles that kept sliding down his nose. From the clay road the weathered shanties, woodsmoke curling from the chimneys, looked quite charming. But Dr. Gatch, in his low tired voice, spoke only of the overcrowding, the filth and the smell of poverty within.

The Gatches had taken over a group of summer cottages on the bank of a tidal creek, living in one, using another for frequent guests (nutritionists and sociologists from all over are coming to see him) and hoping to convert a third into a clinic. (The doctor maintains a large, well-equipped office in the center of the village.)

The Gatch compound, shaded by live oaks decked in Spanish moss, had the quiet, mournful isolation of a missionary outpost in central Africa. The African connection was further strengthened when Dr. Gatch remarked that he had treated several children for kwashiorkor, a disease generally thought to exist only in underdeveloped countries.

Kwashiorkor is a Ghanaian word meaning literally "the disease that takes the child after it leaves the mother's breast." It is a disease of extreme protein deficiency, a starvation often brought on by a mother's inability to breast-feed an infant.

Down a dirt road, Dr. Gatch paused at the decaying stoop of a family named Kinnard. Silent children with skinny legs sat listlessly on floors and beds. Fifteen people lived in the shack, Dr. Gatch said, and there was no privy.

COMFORTABLE WHILE STILL

He went directly to a young woman who was holding a crying, seven-month-old baby girl. He had examined the baby before, he said, and had detected symptoms of both kwashiorkor and scurvy. He remarked how the baby's hair had thinned, how the hairline had receded about an inch, and how the hair color had changed from black to dirty gray. These were the stigmata of kwashiorkor, he said.

He took the infant girl from the mother's arms and placed her on a sofa. The baby kept her matchstick legs drawn up and raised her arm until the tiny hands were bent close to her head. Then she stopped crying.

"As long as the baby is completely still, she's comfortable," Dr. Gatch said, "but pick her up and she'll start crying again."

He noted the extreme dryness of the skin, the absence of subcutaneous tissue. He said the baby's diet was so deficient in iron that her hemoglobin count was "half of what it should be."

The baby's mother had been out of work since December. Dr. Gatch said the infant was now getting some baby formula food. It would probably live, he said, but he feared

it had suffered irreversible damage through growth retardation of bones and brain cells.

As he left, Dr. Gatch noticed a 3-year-old girl sitting on the stoop, staring vacantly at the brown fields. Her legs and face were bloated by edematous swellings, the result probably of Vitamin A deficiency, the physician said, and the same deficiency was impairing her vision.

"There's just no excuse for rickets in this country," complained Dr. Gatch as he drove to another shack hunting this time a whole family that he claimed was rachitic, a mother and five children.

Rickets is a disease of infancy and childhood resulting from a deficiency of Vitamin D and characterized by soft, deformed bones. The rachitic family was not at home, but Dr. Gatch found them on the stoop of a neighboring house.

ALL HAVE MISSHAPEN LEGS

The victims have gotten some relief and were now on a proper diet, Dr. Gatch said. All had misshapen legs. The mother, who seemed stout and cheerful, was very bow-legged; her children were either bowlegged or knock-kneed. Dr. Gatch commented that the legs of the three older children seemed to have straightened somewhat, but the twisted spindly legs of the two youngest remained badly deformed.

Milk is the main source of Vitamin D, Dr. Gatch noted, and the family might never have been blighted with rickets if fortified milk had been available to them.

But the Government's food donation programs for the domestic poor did not provide fortified dry milk until the end of 1968. Dr. Gatch might have been angrier had he known that since 1965, at the insistence of the United States Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture had been shipping dry milk enriched by Vitamins A and D to American aid programs overseas.

The three-year gap during which fortified milk was sent overseas while being denied to the poor at home came to light last month in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

Dr. Gatch stopped at an abandoned country store. Inside, two bedridden old ladies had found terminal shelter. One of them, crippled by rheumatoid arthritis, had been rescued from a mouldering shack where the bedding stank of urine and feces. The other was afflicted by Wernicke Syndrome, which Dr. Gatch said was characterized by loss of memory and confabulation (filling in a memory gap by falsifications that the patient accepts as correct).

DIET OF RICE AND GRITS

Dr. Gatch said he believed Wernicke Syndrome could have been induced by lack of thiamine, which is essential for growth, normal function of the nervous system and normal metabolism. Thiamine is found in liver, lean meat, eggs, whole grain or enriched cereal and cereal products. The old ladies, Dr. Gatch suspected, had been eating little more than rice and grits.

Now they were on Medicare and presumably getting a better diet. The old store was spotlessly clean, neater than most nursing homes.

Dr. Gatch was asked if he had encountered pellagra, one of the more dreaded of the dietary deficiency diseases. This disease, caused mainly by a deficiency of niacin, but also of thiamine, riboflavin, folic acid and other essential nutrients, is marked in its late stages by the classical four D's: dermatitis, diarrhea, dementia and death.

Dr. Gatch said it was not even rare. He produced an old man of about 70 who, he said, had pellagra symptoms including hyperpigmentation of elbows and knees. There the flesh had thickened and roughened until it felt like sandpaper.

How many pellagra victims had he seen? "I would guess 150 to 200 cases," Dr. Gatch replied.

Deaths by starvation, deaths by any of the diseases of malnutrition, were never counted, he said. Too many death certificates simply read "natural causes," Dr. Gatch said, and he intended to campaign for post mortems in those cases.

Over the years Dr. Gatch became convinced that there was close correlation between malnutrition and intestinal parasites. Most of the under-nourished children he examined were wormy. Many Negro shacks, he observed, had no privies; people relieved themselves in the fields and woods. Children treated for worms quickly became reinfested by stepping on feces that contained the eggs of parasites.

"If you have 100 or 200 of these foot-long roundworms in your belly they're going to take a lot of food," he said. "They migrate to the stomach and actually get the food before the child does."

Some notion of the extent of infestation in the Negro children of Beaufort County was given a few days later. A study of 178 Negro preschool children showed that nearly three of every four had intestinal parasites either ascariis (roundworm) or trichuris (whipworm) or both.

"Fantastic," said Dr. James P. Carter, nutritionist of the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine, who participated in the survey. "Parasitism in Beaufort County ranks with some Central American countries and with Egypt."

In Nashville, Dr. Carter said the nutritional status of the 178 children was "in most cases inadequate and in all instances minimal." He said that by minimal he meant that the children had a low margin of safety, particularly from pneumonia and diarrhea.

The survey, financed by the Field Foundation, was conducted by researchers from the University of South Carolina, the Meharry Medical College, in Nashville, and Vanderbilt University.

The results were considered so shocking that some even suggested that the data be withheld from general publication. Many white Southerners feel that poverty conditions among the rural blacks have been exploited by civil rights zealots.

Dr. E. John Lease, nutritionist of the University of South Carolina, was among those who feared that the report, if given wide publicity, would anger the white Establishment and perhaps wreck the chances of cooperation on remedial projects.

Dr. Lease wrote to his collaborators suggesting that the distribution of data be restricted and that "none of the work coming from the University of South Carolina should be published or mentioned on radio or television as the results of the university or any of its staff members."

Later, Dr. Lease apparently had a change of heart, for the material was released to the press in Columbia, S.C.

There were other indications that the establishment now wanted the situation exposed. On Jan. 31, to the astonishment and gratification of Dr. Gatch, Senator Ernest F. Hollings, the former Governor, turned up in Bluffton and made the hunger tour.

FEDERAL DELAYS CHARGED

The Senator saw a near-starving baby, a reputed pellagrin, a rachitic child and another child said to be recovering from scurvy. Deeply impressed, Senator Hollings said he would demand an end to "Federal roadblocks and redtape," which, he said were frustrating local efforts to help the poor.

The local state Senator James M. Waddell, also blamed the "Feds." He charged that the Office of Economic Opportunity had refused to fund a project that included privies for the poor.

"We can send a man to the moon," he cried on the floor of the South Carolina Senate, "but we can't build an outhouse."

Senator Hollings plans to testify next week

before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

The committee, headed by Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, and dominated by liberals, had been planning field trips to suspected areas of hunger in a dozen states.

However, last week the Senate Rules Committee, dominated by conservatives, slashed the select committee's \$250,000 budget request by \$100,000. Senator Jacob J. Javits of New York, minority leader of the select committee, said he intended to carry the fight for the full appropriation to the Senate floor. But if the cut remains, the committee will have to curtail its travel plans, visiting perhaps only five or six states.

It means that the committee members will not see Beaufort County.

They still plan to visit the camps of migrant farm workers, like those in Immokalee, Fla., where life seems even more degrading than in the shacks of Beaufort County.

HUNGER IN AMERICA: POVERTY LEAVES MIGRANTS PREY TO DISEASE (By Homer Bigart)

(NOTE.—Following is the second of a series of articles on reports of hunger in the United States.)

IMMOKALEE, FLA.—Ten miles southwest of here, strung out like garbage along the edge of a cypress swamp, is Smith's Camp, a gathering place for some of the migrant farm workers who flock here in winter to pick the vegetable crops.

It consists of a dozen or more windowless plywood shacks, all without toilets or running water, all painted a dull green and all facing a dark slough choked with bottles and trash.

Some distance away there are three smaller shacks, two of them privies, the third a cold-water shower. None shows signs of recent use. Few migrants are hardy enough to take cold showers out of doors in the dead of winter, even in Florida, and the latrines are unspeakably filthy, seats and floors smeared with dried defecation. So the people use the woods.

A spigot planted in the ground provides water for the shacks. But the 20 or 30 migrants who live here say the water is foul smelling and foul tasting. The only apparent amenity is the naked electric light bulb hanging from the ceiling of each shack.

Such a place is Smith's Camp, its condition of poverty far removed from the showy affluence of nearby Gulf Coast resorts and its people, during frequent periods of unemployment, vulnerable targets for hunger and disease. A Senate committee investigating hunger will be in the area March 10.

GATHERED IN CANTEN

On a recent Saturday, a visitor found most of the camp's adult population assembled in the canteen. The migrants had just been paid, apparently, and several men and women were finding release from the surrounding squalor by getting themselves soddenly drunk.

One woman, still sober enough to talk, said that in good times she made as much as \$60 for six days work in the fields, picking beans and peppers, but now work was slack because cold weather had retarded the crops.

"We've got to pay \$10 a week for these huts," she said. "Last week the water was up so high we had to wade to the door. I never would've left Carolina, but they told us the rent was free."

Someone had skinned a possum in front of one of the shacks, then left the meat for the flies. The cadaver of another skinned animal floated in the slough.

A man who introduced himself as "Hobo Bob" reeled out of the canteen and proudly produced an old photo that showed him with a wine bottle in one hand and a pistol in the other, a cigarette dangling from his lips creased in a grin. He said he was sending

the photo to a cousin in South Carolina, to show the relative what a happy life migrants could lead.

"That's Hobo Bob," he laughed, patting the photo.

Retrieving a cardboard box from his shack, Hobo Bob offered visitors some cold grits mixed with beans and fatback.

Smith's Camp is one of 60 or 70 accommodations for migrants around Immokalee. Other camps seem less appalling in physical appearance but hold a greater potential for human degradation and misery because they swarm with children.

UNEMPLOYMENT HEAVY

Albert Lee, an energetic young Negro who heads the local antipoverty project, the Community Civic Workers, said it was a bad season for migrants with heavy unemployment.

Immokalee, a town of 3,000 near the northern edge of the Everglades, normally has a mid-winter population of 12,000 migrants, he said, but now there were only about 10,000. Many who normally wintered in Immokalee had gone to Texas instead.

Immokalee is in Collier County. Many well-to-do retired people live in Naples, the county's biggest community, and this element, plus the big farm owners, have insured a highly conservative county government.

The county has a long history of snubbing Federal aid, even during the Depression era, and in recent years the county commissioners have stoutly rejected the food distribution programs of the Department of Agriculture.

Today Collier County offers neither direct food distribution nor the food stamp program. Migrants who run out of money here are out of luck.

How do they keep alive, Mr. Lee was asked. He said he had received on Christmas Eve \$500 from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The instructions were that the money could be distributed only for emergency food.

"PINCHING AND PINCHING"

"Now I've got a few dollars left," he said, "but I've been pinching and pinching and pinching."

He explained how he made the money last. He was doling out \$1 a day per person to the most desperately hungry, then cutting them off after 14 days.

"That's it," he said. "After 14 days if they can't get handouts from the neighbors they don't eat."

Two young lawyers from the O.E.O.-financed South Florida Migrant Legal Services program, T. Michael Foster and William F. Dow 3d, said that their organization had been trying for years to get Federal food sent into Collier County.

Last summer Mr. Foster wrote to the then Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, telling of hunger and malnutrition in the labor camps, reporting the refusal of Collier County to participate, like most Florida counties, in making food surpluses available to the poor, and pleading for intervention.

ATTITUDE OF COUNTY AIDES

Washington did nothing. Congress had authorized the O.E.O. to take over the distribution of food in the poorest counties, which, for one reason or another, were not participating. But Collier County was not poor enough to qualify; the median annual family income, thanks to the wealthy Gulf Coast resorts, was \$4,673 a year.

"I have seen hunger in Immokalee as bad as in Latin America," said Mr. Dow, a graduate of Yale and Columbia, "yet the Collier County commissioners always say the problem doesn't exist, that the county always looks after its own 'worthy poor.'"

Observers noted that the rural admonition, "root hog, or die," seemed to express the commission's attitude toward migrants. They recalled that at a hearing last August Vice Chairman A. C. Hancock warned: "There are those sitting with their hands out waiting

to be fed, and that's a situation we won't go for."

Other officials expressed the fear that if migrants were given food they would not work. Others thought that free food would drive the corner grocery into bankruptcy.

Immokalee, which calls itself the "watermelon capital of America," is a flat, sprawling, dusty town where people of different colors, black, brown, red and white, live in strict residential segregation. Smith's Camp, out in the swamp, is all black, but there are several other Negro camps inside the town.

These are in "The Quarters," an area that contains not only the Negroes but "Utopian" of concrete-block huts occupied by Mexican-Americans. Outside "The Quarters," scattered around the rest of the town, are camps for white migrants. A few score Seminole Indians live in grass huts on the eastern edge of the community.

RENT OF \$10 TO \$20 A WEEK

Most of the camps are clusters of wooden shanties, concrete huts, trailers. Rents range from \$10 to \$20 a week, plus utilities. Flush toilets are a rarity, most camps providing a communal latrine. Regardless of the color of the occupants, the camps appear universally mean and squalid.

Mrs. Angela Spencer, 38, and two small pallid children occupied a trailer in one of the white camps.

"I was lucky enough to get three days work this week," she said.

She said she had been averaging two and one-half days of work a week, earning \$25, out of which she had to pay a baby sitter \$3. The rent was \$15. That left \$7 for food and all other expenses. She owed \$19 in back rent, she said, and \$100 in doctor's bills.

There was a platter of green beans and hominy on the stove. Clouds of flies wheeled about. The refrigerator was empty except for three sticks of margarin, a partly empty bottle of milk and a box of powdered milk.

She had been helped from Albert Lee's meager allotment of cash, as had Mrs. Caroline Conner, an attractive blonde who lived in another white camp and was 10 days out of the hospital after delivering a baby girl. Her husband had abandoned her.

"We were real desperate," Mrs. Conner said of herself and the baby. "If it weren't for my friends, I wouldn't have been able to make it."

LIKES MICHIGAN BEST

Mrs. Conner said she had been migrating from Florida to the Great Lakes and back for the last four years, following the spring strawberry crop to northern Florida, then Arkansas, Illinois and Michigan; picking Michigan's blueberries, peaches and grapes during late summer and early fall, then going back to Immokalee for winter tomatoes, peppers and "cukes," or cucumbers.

She liked Michigan best, she said, because migrants got free quarters there. In Immokalee her rent was \$20 a week, and she had just about run out of the money she had received from Albert Lee.

"Whether she feels well or not, she's gotta go to work," Mr. Lee said.

"I got to do something," Mrs. Conner agreed.

Down in The Quarters, an elderly black named James Kelley and his yellow dog, Lady, found a way to beat the rent. A tolerant crew leader had let them take over an old abandoned bus.

Mr. Kelley, a diabetic whose fingers were gnarled and disfigured, was wearing two pairs of pants against the cold. An unvented oil heater had been installed near the front of the bus, and he had to keep a window open to avoid suffocation from the fumes.

He and Lady slept on piles of rags near the rear, where there was a little cookstove. The only food visible was a pan of fatback and some pieces of fish heavily salted for preservation. Mr. Kelley said he had not worked in

eight months, but he seemed happy. He had just received \$7 from Mr. Lee.

TEN CHILDREN IN HUT

In a black camp near Mr. Kelley's bus, Mrs. Pauline Milton and 10 children were crammed into a two-bedroom-and-kitchen hut.

"Me and two of the little ones sleep in this bed," said Mrs. Milton, "and there are two beds in the other room and one in the kitchen for the rest."

She had worked two days that week, earning \$11.05 each day, and paying \$2 a day for baby sitters.

"I couldn't afford to give them breakfast," she said, surveying the hungry brood, "but we had boiled beans, rice and potatoes for lunch, and I'll give them the same for supper."

Mrs. Milton is one of a comparatively few migrants eligible for county welfare, for she has lived in Immokalee for seven years. She said she had applied, but had been told that her application would take 30 to 45 days to process.

Of all the ethnic groups, the Mexican-Americans probably suffered most during times of hunger, Mr. Dow said as he drove past "Utopian Homes." Some of the Mexicans had tried to alleviate the bleakness by planting flowers around the huts.

"Mexicans are proud," Mr. Dow explained, "and feel they are violating cultural mores if they ask for help."

Mr. Foster said that the Florida State Board of Health has denied the existence of widespread malnutrition in Collier County.

PARASITIC INFECTION CITED

"People are hungry, no one can quibble about that," he insisted. "And there is a tremendously high incidence of parasitic infection."

Last March the state health board issued a report saying that a team of doctors had "closely observed" some migrant children at play or in schools and clinics and that "none had gross signs of malnutrition."

The report said that pellagra, a severe dietary deficiency disease, had been noted but only in "known chronic alcoholics."

In riposte, friends of the migrants released next day the results of clinical examinations of the 23 migrant farm children of Immokalee by the Variety Children's Hospital of Miami.

The sampling uncovered 38 clinical diseases in the 23 children, ranging from pneumonia to worms.

The hospital's executive director, Gerald W. Frawley, described the findings as "rather incredible . . . a most extraordinary morbidity rate" and concluded: "The migrant population must be about the most underprivileged in the nation, at least in terms of medical attention."

In a few weeks Collier County will feel the spotlight of national publicity. The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs is making this county its first stop on a tour of suspected hunger areas.

The committee is seeking information on the failure of the Federal food programs to reach millions of poor Americans.

IRAQI NEWSPAPER DESCRIBED PUBLIC HANGINGS 6 MONTHS BEFORE THEY OCCURRED

Mr. JAVITS, Mr. President, 6 months before the public hangings of alleged Iraqi traitors in Liberation Square in Baghdad and in Basra and 5 months before their arrest, there appeared in an Iraqi newspaper, which has served as a spokesman for the government, an article not only describing the events which were to take place months later but also giving the names of some of the victims. Such an article confirms the suspicion

that the trials and the public show executions were rather a premeditated political maneuver on the part of Iraq's rulers seeking to strengthen their position at home.

The article speaks for itself.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD these stories from a newspaper in Baghdad, published on Saturday, August 24, 1968.

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

REPORT ON ZIONIST ACTIVITIES IN BASRA—WHEN WILL THE SPIES OF ISRAEL BE EXECUTED IN IRAQ?

The decision to impound the Coca Cola Factories in Iraq was received with great satisfaction by all nationalist circles especially the working class. . . . The decision unveiled a black page from the pages of the deposed regime that used to deal, make pacts and cash in at the expense of the people and their destiny. . . .

The masses of the people demand that the government of the revolution unveil all the black pages of the previous regime. . . .

We want a frank exposure of all merchants of politics!

We want to know the role of the "advisory offices" in Beirut, Baghdad, London and others. . . .

We want the enactment of a law—where did you get this from?

We want to know about the source of money transferred into grand palaces.

We want to know the patrons of clubs, from which agents of American intelligence function. . . .

We want to know the names of those who cover for the spy networks!

We want to identify the names of those who are smuggling Jews out of the country.

We want and we want—

Since we mentioned the "Jews", it is appropriate to copy a portion of the report of our correspondent in connection with the Zionist activities, and I put it at the disposal of the responsible authorities and the people as well. . . .

The report states:

The activities of the Jews and their work for the Zionist cause is going in a hysterical manner, especially after the aggression of the black fifth of June. Meetings are still being held at the home of the one called—Elias, who lives near the Department of Civil Affairs Registration at Ashar, a dealer in construction materials. His house is frequented by—Albert Gareh, Anwar Peres, Naji Zilkha and Abdul-Nabi—(the renowned smuggler) and Ghali the moneychanger and Jack Atrakchi, and Fouad Gabbay. Through the moneychanger and Gabbay, smuggling of Jews, information, and foreign currency is carried out.

Many of these merchants had friendship with source responsible members of the previous regime and with some of the merchants backed by them, I reserve the names of these merchants to whomever asks for it from the loyalist.

All the Jews in Basra have brothers and relatives in Israel and Iran and contact is made with them through certain agents by way of Iran. . . . One of the most famous Jewish personalities in Basra, a man called Anwar Peress, an import merchant, and a big monopolizer of construction materials. This Peress worked for the Intelligence Service during the second war and after, and was one of the accused in the smuggling of arms in the famous Adas case. He was arrested on several occasions when he was pointed out by Jews arrested while attempting to flee to Iran.

One of the well known persons is Abdul-Nabi who lives in Azizlia. He was arrested on several occasions, the last of which, when a

fleeing family was captured and confessed on him. He was engaged in smuggling Jews to Israel. This Abdul Nabi has a son who is a pilot with the Israeli Air Force, after graduating from the American Air Institute. Who knows, may be this pilot participated in killing our proud and courageous people.

Among them, Ghali Bowkar, a money changer and forger and a well known smuggler whose family had connections with the previous responsible personalities.

He sent his son Fouad to London. After he received his pilot's license, he joined the Israeli Air Force. A few days before the misfortune, this Israeli pilot came in on a foreign passport and a foreign name and engaged in Zionist activities together with his father according to instructions given to them by Israeli Intelligence in West Germany, Holland, Austria and England. . . .

Of the Zionist, Yousef Sadka, a television dealer, he was proven to have sold television sets made in Israel. This Sadka had a history full of spying when he worked for British Intelligence while he was an employee of the British Gray-McKenzie Company.

Among them, Zilkha, owner of Zilkha Stores, well known by his strong connection with the leaders of the previous regime. He has already sent all members of his family to Iran. Through this person, hiding of Jews coming from Baghdad to flee to Iran was accomplished. This Zilkha was also active in selling the assets of Jewish fugitives to Israel. He sold one or two pieces of property for 17000 dinars two days before the issuance of orders prohibiting Jews from selling their property. Where did this money go?

And there is Khethoury Heskell and Saleh Rahmlim and others and others.

Revolutionaries of July. . . . I put before you these facts which I have previously presented to the old regime with the result, the cover up of Zionism and its networks.

As I put this before you I am waiting with the rest of the nation for the great day when the Israeli spies will be hanged in Liberation Square. . . .

I add no more. . . . !!

SEIZURE OF AMERICAN FISHING BOAT

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I call to the attention of the Senate to another unfortunate chapter in a long series of harassing events that have endangered one of the most important industries in my State—the fishing industry.

A fleet of tuna clippers was fishing off Peru last week. Motor torpedo boats of the Peruvian navy circled in and out and then began firing on two of these ships.

Yet these boats were fishing some 50 miles off the coast of Peru, and to all intents and purposes they were fishing in international waters, which are generally recognized to begin 12 miles or less off the coastline. Some countries in South America, however, claim the boundaries from their coasts begin 200 miles off their shores. The basis for this claim seems to be a speech made during World War II by President Roosevelt in which he said that he would protect the territorial integrity of the American continent if he had to go out 200 miles. It should be remembered, however, that all recent international conferences the great majority of sea-bordering nations have agreed that the territorial sea should not extend beyond 12 miles.

The *San Juan* which was the hardest hit of these vessels put into the port of Salinas, in Ecuador, at the request of our Government, so that the damage might

be assessed and the facts surrounding the incident might be ascertained. It was the understanding of the captain of the *San Juan* that once the damage had been assessed and the information gathered, his ship would be permitted to go back to sea and to continue on its course to its home port.

After a meeting between the representatives of the U.S. Government and the port authorities, the captain had been told that he would be permitted to put out to sea again. However, the representatives of the U.S. Government left before the ship departed and the captain of the *San Juan* was told, to his surprise, that he could not take his ship out. At this point, the captain, in desperation, did the only thing he could think of doing. He attempted to leave because he had a catch aboard and it has been customary for Peru and Ecuador to take these ships into port after their catch is on board in that the vessels can keep their refrigerating plants going for only a limited period of time.

The fines levied against these vessels have been large and resulted in a systematic shakedown with which we have been far too patient in the past. I think the position of the United States in the matter of protecting its nationals and its ships—its fishing fleets—in every other matter, including areas in the military, such as the unfortunate incident of the *Pueblo*, should be made clear and distinct. There should be no question as to our feelings and our determination and a firm request for a new assessment of this entire problem and a new set of rules. Our Government should insist immediately on an international convention to determine, once and for all, the borders of the territorial sea, and the contiguous fisheries jurisdiction.

These Latin American countries benefit from our foreign aid, our vessel loans which have actually been used to seize our commercial fishing ships, and the American importation of the fisheries products of these nations. Consequently, it is time for our State Department to decide which of these should be stopped in order to prevent any further recurrences of this type of gunboat diplomacy.

Mr. President, I think the message should be written in the strongest possible terms. I think at long last the Governments of Ecuador, Peru, and Chile should be made to understand that the Government of the United States is going to take a positive and a very firm position in these matters and do everything possible and necessary to protect our fishermen, and to see that these incidents of harassment and international shakedown come to an end.

Further, I believe the President of the United States should instruct the Ambassadors of these nations and our Ambassadors firmly and distinctly that we have a new administration, that there will be new rules, and that there will be protection extended to these people who are down there fishing legally and properly.

I am grateful for the opportunity to bring this matter to the attention of the Senate today. I sincerely hope that Senators will join with me in urging the new administration, the new Secretary

of State, and the Department of State, to take a new stance, a firm approach, and to stop vacillating in these matters and to have firmness in regard to the rights of American fishermen and American citizens.

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, would the Senator yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. COOK. Is it not true that the *San Juan* proceeded to leave the harbor without paying the fine and was shot at?

Mr. MURPHY. The captain of the *San Juan* found, to his surprise, that his ship was not permitted to leave, because it had been his understanding that if he would go into the harbor and allowed the representatives of the U.S. Government to examine the damage he would be permitted to sail on his way. When he found he was not permitted to leave, he left regardless, and as he was going back to board his ship he was fired upon from the shore by Ecuadorians. He was able to depart and the last report I have is that he was moving toward international waters for the preservation of his ship, the safety of his crew and the catch which is on the boat.

I thank the Senator from Kentucky for his interest in this matter.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I wish to compliment the able and distinguished Senator from California upon the presentation he has just made to the Senate. I hope the people of this country will learn more about what is happening over the world and the disrespect now being shown, and which has been shown for a number of years, to the citizens of this Nation. I do not feel that the United States should permit many things to happen that have been happening for several years.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the distinguished Senator. I have been interested in these matters for a long time. Many years ago, when I was in the motion-picture industry, we attempted to make motion pictures in one of the Latin American countries and we experienced the same type of harassment.

We finally took a firm position that unless proper conditions and understandable regulations were written, we could not make motion pictures there any longer.

I think the time has come when we, as the leader of the hemisphere and the entire free world, should make it understood that there must be proper and equitable rules and regulations drawn up that affect all countries that operate in international waters.

I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I yield back the floor.

(At this point Mr. EAGLETON assumed the chair.)

EAST GERMAN RESTRICTIONS ON BERLIN

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the past few days we have all become familiar with the actions of the Soviet-controlled Government of East Germany in placing restrictions upon the free movement of West German citizens to the western sector of Berlin.

These restrictions are openly provocative, particularly in view of our President's own plans to visit West Berlin. Behind the transparent facade of the East German Government is the iron hand of the Soviet Union. No one can pretend that the Government of East Germany is a free agent. The Soviets presently maintain a garrison of 21 divisions of Soviet troops in East Germany, an increase of one since the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Under such circumstances, the actions of East Germany are clearly condoned, perhaps directed and ordered, by the Soviet Union itself. Americans can only view this recent harassment as an overt, concise, calculated attempt to harass both West Germany and the United States.

Although to some it may appear that the United States has no direct interest in these actions since the actions are directed against West German citizens, I would like to refer the attention of this body to the agreement signed between the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and the United Kingdom on May 4, 1949, in New York City, and the further communique issued by the sixth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris on June 20, 1949. This communique reaffirmed the New York agreement and explained the obligations undertaken by the powers in more detail, as follows:

In order to promote further the aims set forth in the preceding paragraphs and in order to improve and supplement this and other arrangements and agreements as regards the movements of persons and goods and communications between the Eastern Zone and the Western Zones and between the zones and Berlin, and also in regard to transit, the occupation authorities, each in his own zone, will have an obligation to take the measures necessary to insure the normal functioning and utilization of rail, water and road transport for such movement all persons and goods and such communications by post, telephone, and telegraph.

This agreement, which is still in effect, clearly sets forth the obligation of the Soviet Union to see that no interference is made with the movement of any persons and goods, whether West German or otherwise, in and out of Berlin. Although the East German restriction is aimed at citizens of West Germany, the agreement with the United States clearly guarantees the free movement of these people. It would be a mistake if we allowed the East Germans and the Soviets to get away with this direct affront to international peace and understanding.

According to various reports, the Warsaw Pact forces are holding maneuvers near Berlin in an obvious attempt to escalate the pressure being put upon both West Germany and the United States. There are also reports that the East Germans have made practice attempts in jamming aircraft communications in the area and are planning harassment of the air corridors.

The Soviets appear to desire to increase the tension at a time when our President is preparing to visit the area and when the whole question of our future relationships with our NATO allies is under close review. The Soviet aim has always been to break up NATO or at least to sow discord among the members

of that pact. If they succeed in causing the West Germans or the Americans to relinquish their rights in Berlin, they will cast doubt upon the effectiveness of the NATO powers and they will begin to drive a wedge between West Germany and the rest of the allies.

It would be a mistake, then, to view the Soviet provocations against Berlin as a threat against Berlin itself or even West Germany itself. The rights in question are American rights, subscribed to by a four-power agreement. The West German access is guaranteed by virtue of American rights, not West German rights. The airlines serving West Berlin are the airlines of the United States, Great Britain, and France, not West German airlines. The air rights being threatened, according to newspaper reports, are our rights by virtue of our occupation of that city. Neither the Soviets nor the East Germans have any power to affect those rights unilaterally. In fact, as the agreement I have just referred to states, the Soviets actually have the responsibility to see that rights of access through Soviet East Germany are assured.

In all of our relations with the Soviets at this critical period, we should pay particular attention to the Soviet policies as they are being put into effect this week.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 18, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 17, 1969:

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Edwin S. Cohen, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Creed C. Black, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Jerome M. Rosow, of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

James M. Beggs, of Maryland, to be Under Secretary of Transportation.

James D. Brame, of Washington, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation.

Paul W. Cherington, of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation.

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

John A. Hannah, of Michigan, to be Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named person for appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 1, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Robert J. McCloskey, of Maryland.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 2, consular officers, and secretaries in

the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

William C. Taylor, of the District of Columbia.

Earle M. Welch, Jr., of Rhode Island.

Now Foreign Service officers of class 3 and secretaries in the diplomatic service, to be also consular officers of the United States of America:

John G. Oliver, of Texas.

Peter J. Peterson, of California.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 3, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Howard T. Robinson, of the District of Columbia.

Edward B. Whitman, Jr., of Maryland.

Charles R. Wilds, of Maryland.

For appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 4, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Thomas Solitario, of California.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 7 to class 6:

Alvin P. Adams, Jr., of New York.

Wayne R. Appleman, of Wisconsin.

Everett D. Ayer, Jr., of Massachusetts.

Robert W. Beales, of Virginia.

Barry L. Bem, of Colorado.

Miss Dorothy Jean Black, of California.

Albert Peter Burleigh, of California.

Roger J. Daley, of New York.

Miss Martha Ann DeWitt, of Colorado.

William Robert Falkner, of Virginia.

Dennis Finnerty, of New Jersey.

Edward W. Gallagher, of New York.

Keith Patrick Garland, of Illinois.

Ronald D. Godard, of Texas.

Dennis C. Goodman, of the District of Columbia.

Robert J. Gross, of New York.

Richard E. Hecklinger, of New York.

Paul W. Hilburn, Jr., of Texas.

Richard L. Howell, of Florida.

Thomas R. Hutson, of Nebraska.

Stan W. Jorgensen, of Illinois.

Philip S. Kaplan, of California.

Richard R. La Roche, of Rhode Island.

Terry Lee Litzell, of Pennsylvania.

Alexander T. Liebowitz, of New York.

Jim D. Mark, of Georgia.

Donald J. McConnell, of Ohio.

Miss Marilyn Ann Meyers, of Minnesota.

Stefan Cox Nadzo, of Virginia.

Miss Linda A. Odum, of Tennessee.

Thomas Parker, Jr., of North Carolina.

B. Lynn Pascoe, of New York.

Miles S. Pendleton, Jr., of Massachusetts.

Lee M. Peters, of Pennsylvania.

Charles J. Pitman, of Iowa.

Blaine D. Porter, of Hawaii.

Robert Maxwell Pringle, of Virginia.

John F. Richard, of Connecticut.

Theodore Roosevelt IV, of Pennsylvania.

Jeffrey E. Silver, of New York.

Daniel H. Simpson, of Ohio.

Ronald L. Spaulding, of Washington.

Samuel D. Starrett, of Indiana.

Peter D. Whitney, of Tennessee.

Irving A. Williamson, Jr., of Missouri.

For promotion from Foreign Service information officers of class 7 to class 6:

R. Don Crider, of Florida.

Sherwood H. Demitz, of Michigan.

Karl H. Dixon III, of California.

Dennis D. Donahue, of Indiana.

David D. Grimland, of Texas.

Christopher M. Henze, of California.

Seth Robert Isman, of New York.

Thomas F. Johnson, of New York.

Miss Judith E. Lee, of Louisiana.

Michael D. Love, of Oklahoma.

Larry L. Marshall, of California.

Darryl L. Penner, of Michigan.

Ross E. Petzing, of New Jersey.

Roger S. Russell, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

Donald F. Sheehan, of New York.

Frank C. Strovass, of Colorado.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 8 to class 7:

Timothy Michael Carney, of Nebraska.

Miss Kathleen J. Croom, of Missouri.

Richard D. Cummins, of New York.

Richard Lewis Fenton, of New York.

David P. Garretson, of New York.

David C. Harr, of Illinois.

Richard Dale Kauzlarich, of Illinois.

William J. Lawhorn, of Wisconsin.

George E. Moose, of Colorado.

Eric David Newsom, of California.

Robert C. Reis, Jr., of Missouri.

Basil Scarlis, of the District of Columbia.

Miss Barbara Jane Schrage, of Wisconsin.

James A. Smith, of Ohio.

John W. Solomon, of New York.

Edward Richard Stumpf, of New York.

Garry V. Wenske, of Idaho.

For promotion from Foreign Service information officers of class 8 to class 7:

Miss Beverly H. Brock, of California.

Miss Elizabeth A. Cain, of Pennsylvania.

James W. T. Clarkin, of Rhode Island.

Miss Frances D. Cook, of Florida.

Miss Cynthia J. Fraser, of Texas.

Miss Mary E. Gawronski, of New York.

Miss Gail J. Gulliksen, of Illinois.

Miss Katherine Hashmall, of New York.

Miss Anita Jeanne Heger, of Pennsylvania.

George C. Kinzer, of California.

Miss Katherine Kline, of Ohio.

John J. Morgan, of Indiana.

Eugene A. Nojek, of Illinois.

James C. Pollock, of Pennsylvania.

Andrew D. Schlessinger, of New York.

James E. Smith, of Ohio.

Kenneth A. Yates, of Connecticut.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 7, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

David L. Cahn, of New York.

Taylor Edward Clear, of Virginia.

William H. Dameron III, of Georgia.

Alan W. Eckert, of Virginia.

James W. Elghmie, Jr., of the District of Columbia.

Thomas Howard Gewecke, of Illinois.

Edward W. Gnehm, Jr., of Georgia.

Hugh G. Hamilton, Jr., of Kansas.

Daniel T. Hickey, of Pennsylvania.

Michael R. Jackson, of Washington.

Sander A. Johnson, of California.

John F. Keane, of New York.

Robert A. MacCallum, of Pennsylvania.

Tain Pendleton Tompkins, of the District of Columbia.

Benjamin Tua, of the District of Columbia.

Colin M. Warnes, of Utah.

Daniel F. Waterman, of New York.

Thomas Gary Weston, of Michigan.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 7, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Robin A. Berrington, of Ohio.

Miss Juliette Frydman, of New York.

J. Michael Houlahan, of Iowa.

Don M. Jacobs, of Texas.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 8, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Christopher G. L. Jones, of the District of Columbia.

William A. Krug, Jr., of California.

Paul M. McGonagle, of Virginia.

David Norman Miller, of Nebraska.

Earl Douglas Weniger, of New York.

Lyn F. Wheeler, of the District of Columbia.

For appointment as Foreign Service information officers of class 8, consular officers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

C. Roy Fleming, Jr., of Tennessee.

Miss M. Kathleen Schroeder, of Virginia.

Foreign Service Reserve officers to be consular officers and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Frank Ahmed, of Massachusetts.

Miss Aurelia E. Brazeal, of Georgia.

Edgar D. Brooke, of Virginia.

Glenn O. Brown, of Illinois.

David L. Cardwell, of Pennsylvania.

Edward S. Chase, Jr., of New Hampshire.

George L. Coale, Jr., of California.

Jerry L. Drew, of Illinois.

Andrzej T. Falkiewicz, of Florida.

Sylvester L. Farrell, of California.

Bernard J. Fennell, of Nebraska.

Robert G. Flershem, of the District of Columbia.

Edward J. Foy, Jr., of Texas.

Miss Janet E. Hall, of Michigan.

Carter H. Hills, of New Jersey.

Theodore G. Hoffman, of Michigan.

Robert W. Ince, of Virginia.

George A. Kulstad, of California.

Lewis J. Lapham, of Maryland.

Donor M. Lion, of Virginia.

W. Barrett McGurn, of New York.

Miss Betty L. Myles, of California.

Alfred H. Neal, Jr., of the District of Columbia.

David A. Peterson, of Maryland.

Jarrel H. Richardson, of Virginia.

Donald C. Rickard, of Colorado.

Wallett Bancroft Rogers, of New York.

William S. Tilney, of California.

Humberto A. Valenzuela, of Arizona.

Edward L. Williams, of New Jersey.

Foreign Service Reserve officers to be secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

John H. Funari, of Pennsylvania.

Kenneth R. White, of Kentucky.

Foreign Service staff officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

Abelardo J. Abreu, of Florida.

John B. Barbadoro, Jr., of Massachusetts.

Miss Leila S. Belaval, of Puerto Rico.

Harold M. Buchholz, of Ohio.

Lenard R. Clarke, of Connecticut.

William A. Colwell, of New York.

Stanley C. Douglass, of Indiana.

Irwin Ebenau, of California.

Miss Lucy Fabricatore, of New Jersey.

Miss Loretta Freedman, of the District of Columbia.

Miss Mary I. Gerber, of Ohio.

Miss Naomi M. Gilman, of Florida.

Norman H. Goldman, of Connecticut.

Miss Margaret L. Gulise, of the District of Columbia.

Kenneth C. Humborg, of California.

Philip A. Klein, of Virginia.

Miss Frances T. Lide, of Mississippi.

Teodor J. Lopatkiewicz, of Virginia.

Edward E. Martinez, of Texas.

Miss Mary Ann Meyenburg, of Nebraska.

Sueo Morimoto, of Hawaii.

Gerald C. Mull, of Michigan.

Robert Prieto, of Wisconsin.

H. Clarke Rodgers, Jr., of South Carolina.

Jack W. Ronto, of the District of Columbia.

Andres G. Sanchez, of Texas.

Lyle A. van Ravenswaay, of Missouri.

Rudolph R. Weiss, of Minnesota.

Miss Chloe C. Wing, of Washington.

Vincent P. Zavada, of New Jersey.

OFFICE OF EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

James D. O'Connell, of California, to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

IN THE NAVY

Having designated Rear Adm. Robert L. Townsend, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

Having designated Rear Adm. Vincent P. de Poix, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

The following-named officers of the Naval Reserve for temporary promotion to the grade of rear admiral subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

LINE

Alban Weber John B. Johnson
Frederick A. Wiggins Michael Lorenzo

MEDICAL CORPS

Eugene Cronkite

SUPPLY CORPS

Harland E. Holman

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, and with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

To be major (biomedical sciences)

McNeil, John S., XXXX

To be captain (dental)

Davis, Frederic C., XXXX

To be first lieutenants (dental)

Arnold, Ralph M., XXXX
Hedrick, Michael C., XXXX
Kizzle, Anderson, XXXX

To be first lieutenant (Judge Advocate)

Arnold, Robert C., XXXX

The following Air Force officers for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

To be majors

Abbott, Dean E., XXXX
Adams, Glen L., XXXX
Adams, William R., XXXX
Addy, Gordon W., XXXX
Alexander, Robert M., XXXX
Anderson, Joseph D., XXXXXX
Barfield, William M., XXXX
Beckham, Lewis N., XXXX
Blain, Wesley G., XXXX
Bowen, Christopher, XXXX
Bradfield, Bruce H., XXXX
Brennan, Joseph T., XXXX
Bull, Kenneth W., XXXX
Burroughs, Lorenzo, XXXX
Buzan, Robert E., XXXX
Carter, Ray S., Jr., XXXX
Cesta, Francis G., XXXX
Chavis, Wilton R., XXXX
Ching, Kim W., XXXX
Clark, Charles W., XXXX
Conner, Ralph L., XXXX
Davidson, Richard T., XXXX
Deavers, Glenn W., XXXX
Devitt, Albert E., Jr., XXXX
Dishongh, Joe B., XXXX
Donahoe, John B., XXXX
Drain, Jack L., XXXX
Eichler, Frank M., XXXX
Elvington, Charles L., XXXX
Fett, Robert W., XXXX
Fisher, Eugene, Jr., XXXX
Flecker, James D., XXXX
Fousel, Kenneth D., XXXX
Freer, Charles L., XXXX
Frew, Donald V., XXXX
Gant, John R., XXXX
Gisvold, Leigh W., XXXX
Gosline, Earl S., XXXXXX
Graham, Dwight R., Jr., XXXX
Green, William R., Jr., XXXX
Hall, Donald C., XXXX
Hazel, Joe T., XXXX
Hebert, Joseph P., Jr., XXXX
Henley, Edgar L., XXXX
Hienz, Robert J., XXXX
Higginson, Glenn A., XXXX
Hillis, Sammy J., XXXX
Hinton, John M., Jr., XXXX
Hocken, Robert W., XXXX
Hofflich, Warren C., Jr., XXXX
Horton, Joseph P., Jr., XXXX
Hubbs, Charles H., XXXX
Iden, David J., XXXX

Jampsa, Walter C., XXXX
Jenkins, Jack H., XXXX
Judy, Jack B., XXXX
Kagan, Harry, XXXX
Karalus, Peter H., XXXX
Keehr, Wallace W., XXXX
Kelley, Edward W., XXXX
Kelley, Will G. Jr., XXXX
Kendrick, Donald E., XXXX
King, Thomas J., Jr., XXXX
Knaggs, Nelson S., Jr., XXXX
Kuethe, Dale E., XXXX
Kunzman, Betty R., XXXX
Leake, Stanley E., XXXX
Leftwich, Dalton L., XXXX
Leifeste, Harold E., XXXX
Leong, Lillian L., XXXX
Lindsey, Harry V., Jr., XXXX
Littlepage, Thomas M., XXXX
Long, Thomas C., Jr., XXXX
Lowman, James K., XXXX
Luther, Homer G., XXXX
Lutz, Richard C., XXXX
MacCallum, Douglas H., XXXX
Macon, Lawrence H., Jr., XXXX
Mark, George S., Jr., XXXX
Martin, Thomas M., XXXX
May, William H., XXXX
McGrath, James C., XXXX
McLean, William W., Jr., XXXX
Metcalf, John R., XXXX
Minnix, Joseph C., XXXX
McLean, William W., Jr., XXXX
Mooney, Gene A., XXXX
Morris, John E., XXXX
Moses, Simon W. C., XXXX
Mulcahy, William E., Jr., XXXX
Murphy, John F., Jr., XXXX
Myers, James G., XXXXXX
Ukihiro, George, XXXX
Petkosek, John R., Jr., XXXX
Pierce, Charles D., XXXX
Polhemus, Robert A., XXXX
Potter, John W., XXXXXX
Powell, Alton W., XXXX
Pulliam, David L., XXXX
Pulse, Paul F. II, XXXX
Railey, Douglas J., XXXX
Ratiana, Nicholas, XXXX
Richards, George C., XXXX
Roach, Robert W., Jr., XXXX
Ryan, Joseph C., XXXX
Semmler, Paul F., XXXX
Shewmaker, Horace W., XXXX
Stanley, Thomas M., XXXX
Strain, Charles R., XXXX
Stripling, Grady O., XXXX
Thomas, Audrey E., XXXX
Thomas, Richard C., XXXX
Tiernan, Edward V., XXXX
Voss, John E. Jr., XXXX
Wade, William L., XXXX
Walen, Loyd A., XXXX
Wall, John W., XXXX
Watkins, Marion W., XXXX
Watson, Jake G., XXXX
White, Richard E., XXXX
Whitney, Gerald G., XXXX
Wickstrom, Thomas L., XXXX
Williams, Larry D., XXXX
Williamson, Richard E., XXXX
Willingham, Letha P., XXXX
Wilson, Richard K., XXXX
Woodward, David, XXXX
Woolard, William H., XXXX
Woolvorton, Alton L., XXXX
Wuest, Willys D., XXXX
Zillmer, David A., XXXX
Zuspan, Norman D., XXXX

To be captains

Achey, Dale A., XXXX
Adams, William B. Jr., XXXX
Allenberg, James P., XXXX
Armbruster, Kermit L., XXXX
Arnold, Wilson T., XXXX
Bach, John J., III, XXXX
Bakunas, Darius V., XXXX
Bauman, Roger A., XXXX
Bennett, William G., XXXX
Berger, James R., XXXX
Bergmann, Richard G., XXXX
Blisbury, Stephen J., XXXX

Bilton, Bertran W., XXXX
Blohm, James C., XXXX
Brown, Carl D., XXXX
Buehrig, Richard H., XXXX
Carr, John P., XXXX
Cobb, Harold E., XXXX
Cole, Ernest L., XXXX
Collins, Walter A., XXXX
Combs, James C., XXXX
Compton, James R., XXXX
Coon, Wayne H., XXXX
Cox, Beula L., XXXX
Daniels, Thomas F., XXXX
Davis, A. D., Jr., XXXX
Davis, Dennis O., XXXX
Davis, Forrest W., XXXX
Davis, Norman E., XXXX
Davis, Thomas H., XXXX
Dely, Robert E., XXXX
Donnelly, Raymond H., XXXX
Dougher, Joseph, XXXX
Drust, Leroy T., XXXX
Erni, Walter A., XXXX
Ferguson, Joseph F., Jr., XXXX
Fey, Leslie R., XXXX
Forgey, Dennis A., XXXX
Frederick, Alva J., XXXX
Garrett, Doris G., XXXX
Gay, Teddy, XXXX
Gibeau, Edward J., XXXX
Goff, Gerald G., XXXX
Guinn, Robert H., XXXX
Handrock, Robert P., XXXX
Hargrove, Wilbur H., XXXX
Hassell, Joel A., XXXX
Hawkins, Richard C., XXXX
Heim, Robert L., XXXX
Horton, William R., Jr., XXXX
Hover, Fred W., XXXX
Hudson, Robert W., XXXX
Johnson, Jay A., XXXX
Keating, Eddie J., XXXX
Kennedy, George E., XXXX
Kielcheski, Carlin J., XXXX
Lampkin, John A., XXXX
Legg, John F., XXXX
Lennon, Frank J., XXXX
McLaughlin, John R., XXXX
McMurphy, Boyce D., XXXX
Miller, Merle H. J., XXXX
Miller, Robert J., XXXX
Mitchell, Robert W., XXXX
Moore, Jack L., Jr., XXXX
Morton, William W., XXXX
Munsey, Norman D., XXXX
Nichols, Joseph P., XXXX
Nylm, Roger E., XXXX
Oliver, Royce E., Jr., XXXX
Oswald, Francis L., XXXX
Potter, William J., Jr., XXXX
Powers, Maurice A., XXXX
Randel, Gene A., XXXX
Ratliiff, Donald K., XXXX
Rice Thomas J., Sr., XXXX
Robb, Claude A., Jr., XXXX
Rodriguez, Paul E., XXXX
Roe, Jerry D., XXXX
Romaine, William A., XXXX
Roeder, David S., XXXX
Schanzenbach, Walter, XXXX
Sessions, Jerry L., XXXX
Sfameni, Peter E., XXXX
Simmons, James H., XXXX
Sine, Riley, XXXX
Smith, Newbern D., XXXX
Sollinger, Richard L., XXXX
Sullivan, James H., XXXX
Sutherland, Alexander C., XXXX
Thomas, Cecil W., XXXX
Thomas Donald C., Jr., XXXX
Thompson, Vincent B., XXXX
Trimble, Rodney L., XXXX
Vanderneck, Gustave R., XXXX
Walker, Harry W., XXXX
Waltonen, Wallie W., XXXX
Welborn, Lawrence B., XXXX
Wells, Bruce J., XXXX
Wolff, Warren A., XXXX
Wonderly, Paul C., XXXX

To be first lieutenants

McKinnon, John W., XXXX
Meiley, Emery G., XXXX

Ross Jon W., XXXX
 Sewell, Gayle W., XXXX
 Smith, Breckinridge S., XXXX

The following distinguished graduates of the Air Force Officer Training School for appointment in the Regular Air Force in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of section 8284, title 10, United States Code, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

Alderman, Gary L., XXXX
 Beck, Gary W., XXXX
 Boucher, John N., XXXX
 Buechler, Ralph L., XXXX
 Carmichael, Douglas D., XXXX
 Collins, Fredric R., XXXX
 Connell, Stanley E., XXXX
 Crawley, Glenn S., XXXX
 Deane, Robert A., XXXX
 Diggle, David W., XXXX
 Dixon, Charles J., XXXX
 Doherty, James E., XXXX
 Dyer, William B., XXXX
 Fanelli, Edward V., Jr., XXXX
 Farmer, William D., XXXX
 Ferris, Bruce D., XXXX
 Ford, James G., XXXX
 Fraley, Theodore R. E., XXXX
 Gilbert, James M., III, XXXX
 Gregory, Ernest, Jr., XXXX
 Griffin, Stanley D., XXXX
 Grubb, John G., Jr., XXXX
 Haller, Ralph S., XXXX
 Harper, John E., XXXX
 Hemminger, Eugene W., XXXX
 Henderson, Melvin J., XXXX
 Herod, Patrick L., XXXX
 Hodges, Harry N., Jr., XXXX
 Hohberger, Todd H., XXXX
 Hussey, Charles T., XXXX
 Ines, Victor D., XXXX
 Kulling, Frank A., XXXX
 Lang, Benjamin G., XXXX
 Lindsly, Lewis G., XXXX
 Long, Trecla A., XXXX
 Lundy, Wilson T., Jr., XXXX
 Masters, Russell M., Jr., XXXX
 McGrath, Stephen G., XXXX
 McLaughlin, Thomas M., XXXX
 McLean, Jimmy L., XXXX
 Menz, Manfred, XXXX
 O'Brien, Donald C., XXXX
 O'Leary, John G., Jr., XXXX
 Owen, Earl C., III, XXXX
 Parsons, Wade H., XXXX
 Piller, Steven J., XXXX
 Quintana, Richard P., XXXX
 Radley, Roger J., Jr., XXXX
 Raguskus, Andrew G., XXXX
 Ramsey, Frank P., Jr., XXXX
 Reynolds, Peter T., XXXX
 Samanie, Donald P., Jr., XXXX
 Sears, Joel L., XXXX
 See, Henry S., XXXX
 Shope, James D., XXXX
 Siler, Larry G., XXXX
 Starr, Gerald A., XXXX
 Stewart, Cameron R., XXXX
 Stolee, Eric M., XXXX
 Thoma, Merline A., XXXX
 Thompson, Samuel B., XXXX
 Tomlins, Frederick L., XXXX
 Tootle, Alvin E., Jr., XXXX
 Wagner, Daniel J., XXXX
 Wheeler, William H. G., XXXX
 Willett, Richard D., XXXX
 Williams, Edward M., Jr., XXXX
 Williams, Walter E., XXXX
 Wood, Gary E., XXXX

Subject to medical qualification and subject to designation as distinguished graduates, the following students of the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of section 2106, title 10, United States Code, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

Ambrose, Ralph T., Jr. Anderson, Timothy L.
 Andersen, Albert E., Ansell, Lee V.
 Jr. Atkinson, Robert H.

Bagley, Ronald L.
 Barron, Patrick I.
 Barter, Stephen H.
 Bash, Leroy C.
 Black, Larry W.
 Blackburn, Richard S.
 Bolton, Claude M., Jr.
 Bostick, Robert A., Jr.
 Bowman, David W.
 Boyd, Edward J.
 Brick, Jon C.
 Bussian, Donald J.
 Bustle, Daniel G.
 Calderon, Daniel A.
 Carlson, Alan S.
 Certain, Robert G.
 Chapman, John P.
 Cheney, Brian A.
 Cherry, Maurice L.
 Cimino, John J.
 Cinibulk, Robert, Jr.
 Coleman, Billy K.
 Coleman, Leland J.
 Corbett, Charles E., Jr.
 Corbett, Alfred L.
 Crowe, John B.
 Dalley, Garrett C.
 Davis, John A.
 Day, Thomas E.
 Demott, Dale A.
 Detwiler, Gene C.
 Dolan, Kenneth H.
 Downing, Jeffrey N.
 Draggo, Thomas E.
 Durant, Howard R.
 Eastman, Warren L.
 Elmore, Ashby D.
 Elstun, Roger E.
 Emory, Steven R.
 Fanning, Arthur E.
 Fee, Darrell C.
 Fiumara, Henry
 Foley, Robert J.
 Franklin, Alan R.
 Fuller, Rex L., III
 Garrett, Roger G.
 Gielegem, Thomas A.
 Gray, Leland A.
 Gushwa, Dean A.
 Gutierrez, Hector, Jr.
 Haggard, Freddy M.
 Hamilton, Donald E.
 Hammond, Paul G.
 Hankerson, Kenneth L., Jr.
 Heckathorn, William G.
 Hee, Patrick Y. W.
 Henneke, David O.
 Herrelko, David A.
 Herron, Randall A.
 Hightower, Charles D.
 Hill, Larry A.
 Hofer, George E.
 Hope, Oscar C., III
 Humpherys, Thomas W.
 Jackson, Phillip L.
 Johann, Donald F.
 Johnson, Raymond P.
 Johnson, Ronald H.
 Jordan, John A.
 Keesee, Orville W.
 Kiemele, Mark J.
 Koppelke, Lee W.
 Kunciw, Bohdan G.
 Lamb, Douglas G.
 Lichtenberg, Byron K.
 Lundell, Edward A.
 Maddox, Stephen B.
 Maguire, Thomas P., Jr.
 Mallamo, Arthur J., Jr.
 Martin, Thomas A., III
 Mazzeo, George C.
 McGee, Robert A.
 McMillian, William H.
 McNeese, Larry B.
 Meadors, William P., II
 Mercer, Harold G.
 Merrell, Richard L.
 Miller, William L.
 Morey, Richard J.
 Murphy, Richard O.
 Odgers, Karl J.
 Oliver, Dale H.
 O'Neill, Michael E.
 Osborn, David B.
 Parris, Keith R.
 Parry, Alan J.
 Passmore, Robert D.
 Pearson, Steve H.
 Perry, Keye E.
 Peterschmidt, David C.
 Phillips, William M. F.
 Policinski, Thomas P.
 Powell, David L.
 Powell, Ronald G.
 Racey, Frederick W.
 Rather, Stephen H.
 Raymond, Victor P.
 Reece, Roger P.
 Reynolds, Thomas J., II
 Richardson, James F.
 Ritchie, Lynn V.
 Rouse, David L.
 Rudolph, Gregory W.
 Schott, Marvin A.
 Schutz, Pierre M.
 Silvey, Charles D., Jr.
 Slusher, George C.
 Smith, Kenneth M.
 Smith, Larry J.
 Stewart, William G.
 Stimer, Richard R., Jr.
 Streater, Donald A.
 Talbot, Terry R.
 Tippet, Floyd S., Jr.
 Troyer, David M.
 Vogt, Donald A.
 Vonkaenel, Larry E.
 Ward, Milton R.
 Weir, Ted R.
 Whipps, Daniel W.
 White, Charles M.
 Wildung, Kenneth L.
 Williams, Roosevelt L.
 Wilke, Ronald S.
 Wills, Gary M.
 Winkler, William J.
 Wittish, Richard W.
 Wright, Keith C.
 Young, Walter W., Jr.

IN THE ARMY

The following named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3284 and 3305.

To be colonels

Adams, Claude M., XXXXX
 Adams, Dwight L., XXXXX
 Adams, Edwin C., XXXXX
 Adamson, James B., XXXXX
 Ahrenholz, Albert F., XXXXX
 Akers, Walter W., XXXXX
 Alexander, Arnold W., XXXXX
 Allan, Robert H., XXXXX
 Andreoli, Robert L., XXXXX
 Andrews, George H., XXXXX
 Applegate, William, XXXXX
 Archer, Robert E., XXXXX

Ardery, Edward R., XXXXX
 Ashline, Carl, XXXXX
 Aykroyd, Albert W., XXXXX
 Baber, Roy L., Jr., XXXXX
 Bahrich, Garry A., XXXXX
 Bakewell, Arthur L., XXXXX
 Barfoot, Van T., XXXXX
 Barker, John P., XXXXX
 Barnes, Joseph P., XXXXX
 Barrett, Raymond D., XXXXX
 Bauknight, George W., XXXXX
 Beam, Wilmer M., XXXXX
 Bellino, Joe O., Jr., XXXXX
 Benckart, Robert G., XXXXX
 Benge, Charles J., XXXXX
 Bennett, James G., XXXXX
 Bercaw, Roger M., XXXXX
 Berger, Casper, XXXXX
 Betschel, Robert W., XXXXX
 Bethea, Ned R., XXXXX
 Beuke, Henry A., XXXXX
 Beyer, Richard A., XXXXX
 Blaha, Charles R., Jr., XXXXX
 Blakie, John W., XXXXX
 Blanchard, George S., XXXXX
 Boardman, William M., XXXXX
 Boesch, Eugene F., XXXXX
 Bolter, Quellen D., XXXXX
 Botchin, Philip, XXXXX
 Bowers, Verne L., XXXXX
 Bowman, Joseph C., XXXXX
 Brady, Walter, XXXXX
 Brake, Ralph W., XXXXX
 Brandenburg, William, XXXXX
 Brant, William A., XXXXX
 Braun, Gustav J., Jr., XXXXX
 Bressler, Howard E., XXXXX
 Brinnon, William H., XXXXX
 Brinson, Arthur, XXXXX
 Brown, Charles H., XXXXX
 Brown, George B., Jr., XXXXX
 Brown, Royal B., XXXXX
 Bruno, Nicholas J., XXXXX
 Buchanan, James, Jr., XXXXX
 Bullard, Robert H., XXXXX
 Burkholder, James B., XXXXX
 Burley, Roy W., XXXXX
 Burr, William E., II, XXXXX
 Buto, Junichi, XXXXX
 Buzalski, Ernest A., XXXXX
 Buzzett, Harry A., XXXXX
 Cabell, Derosce C., XXXXX
 Cahill, James P., XXXXX
 Callahan, Leslie G., XXXXX
 Campbell, Hubert S., XXXXX
 Campbell, James W., XXXXX
 Canham, Robert C., XXXX
 Capka, Jerry G., XXXXX
 Carley, John W., XXXXX
 Carraway, Joseph G., XXXXX
 Carter, Doniphon, XXXXX
 Cash, Carl V., XXXXX
 Cassidy, John A., XXXXX
 Caton, June C., XXXXX
 Caudell, Louis, XXXXX
 Cellucci, Loreto, XXXXX
 Chamblee, John J., XXXXX
 Cheek, Leon B., Jr., XXXXX
 Christin, Charles A., XXXXX
 Church, Charlie R., XXXXX
 Clark, Charles R., XXXXX
 Clifford, John W., XXXXX
 Cline, Charles L., XXXXX
 Coberly, James E., XXXXX
 Coburn, Dick, XXXXX
 Cody, Robert L., XXXXX
 Coe, Joseph P., Jr., XXXXX
 Coleman, Bernard H., XXXX
 Condit, Ross R., Jr., XXXXX
 Connell, James M., XXXXX
 Cooch, Francis A., XXXXX
 Cook, Woodrow W., XXXXX
 Cooper, Kenneth E., XXXXX
 Cooper, Walter H., XXXXX
 Cowherd, Robert M., XXXXX
 Crain, Charles L., XXXXX
 Cranford, Jack, XXXXX
 Creel, Buckner M., XXXXX
 Cronin, Eugene S., XXXXX
 Crouch, Floyd W., Jr., XXXXX
 Cullen, John J., XXXXX
 Curington, Russell, XXXXX

Cushman, John H., XXXXX
 Cutrona, Joseph F. H., XXXXX
 Cyr, Clarence W., XXXXX
 Dallings, Hyrum, XXXXX
 Dalton, Elvin, XXXXX
 Daly, Robert C., XXXXX
 Darden, Harry L., XXX
 Dart, Robert C., XXXXX
 Daub, David L., XXXXX
 Davis, Frank B., XXXXX
 Davis, Gerald W., XXXXX
 Dayton, Kenneth G., XXXXX
 De Arment, Harold G., XXXXX
 De Graff, Andrew J., XXXXX
 Dean, William L., XXXXX
 Decker, Edwin R., XXXXX
 Deeter, Chalmers L., XXXXX
 Denman, Dale, Jr., XXXXX
 Desmond, John B., XXXXX
 Devine, James E., XXXXX
 Di Silvio, Armond, XXXXX
 Dickson, Herbert F., XXXXX
 Dinkins, Holly W., XXXXX
 Dodson, Arthur W., XXXXX
 Donaghey, James C., XXXXX
 Donaldson, John W., XXXXX
 Dooley, Edward M., XXXXX
 Dougherty, Joseph F., XXXXX
 Downie, John W., XXXXX
 Drake, Robert E., XXXXX
 Dufault, Robert C., XXXXX
 Duncan, Carl R., XXXXX
 Dunn, Richard J., Jr., XXXXX
 Dunson, Noble H., XXXXX
 Durbon, Roy C., XXXXX
 Durham, James T., XXXXX
 Duttweiler, Oscar E., XXXXX
 Emley, Paul C., XXXXX
 Epp, Orlando C., XXXXX
 Erlenkotter, Richard, XXXXX
 Evans, Jolin M., XXXXX
 Everett, Frank G., Jr., XXXXX
 Ewing, James W., XXXXX
 Fair, Robert L., XXXXX
 Felder, Louis F., XXXXX
 Ferrell, Odel P., XXXXX
 Fierke, Alfred H., XXXXX
 Finnegan, John B., XXXXX
 Fischer, Leonard J., XXXXX
 Fisher, Paul M., XXXXX
 Fleck, Harold J., XXXXX
 Ford, Clifford H., XXXXX
 Forsyth, George E., XXXXX
 Fraser, Ronald F., XXXXX
 Freda, James J., XXXXX
 Freeman, Herman O., XXXXX
 Fritz, William H., XXXXX
 Fry, Ernest M., XXXXX
 Gardner, Ralph V., XXXXX
 Garrett, O. G., XXXXX
 Genger, Edward P., XXXXX
 Gentleman, Robert W., XXXXX
 Gephart, John W., XXXXX
 Glamario, Theodore, XXXXX
 Gibson, Harold B., Jr., XXXXX
 Gill, Bryan E., Jr., XXXXX
 Gist, William W., III, XXXXX
 Glaser, Robert D., XXXXX
 Goodman, Paul, XXXXX
 Gorwitz, Bertram K., XXXXX
 Goss, Donald F., XXXXX
 Grace, Henry A., XXXXX
 Graham, William B., XXXXX
 Grant, Philip S., XXXXX
 Graves, Ernest, Jr., XXXXX
 Graves, William F., XXXXX
 Gregory, William A., XXXXX
 Grimland, Neal G., XXXXX
 Gruenther, Donald A., XXXXX
 Gwynn, John E., XXXXX
 Haar, Herbert R., Jr., XXXXX
 Hackwood, Arthur W., XXXXX
 Haen, Clifford L., XXXXX
 Hall, John B., XXXXX
 Hallanan, George H., XXXXX
 Ham, William W., Jr., XXXXX
 Hamilton, Robert B., XXXXX
 Harper, Wilson C., XXXXX
 Harris, Douglas L., XXXXX
 Harris, Earl D., XXXXX
 Harris, Walter R., XXXXX

Harris, William T., XXXXX
 Hartley, C. W., Jr., XXXXX
 Hartline, John D., XXXXX
 Hayward, Harold I., XXXXX
 Heaser, William J., XXXXX
 Henderson, Oran K., XXXXX
 Henion, John Q., XXXXX
 Hennessey, John J., XXXXX
 Hesser, William F., XXXXX
 Hicks, Orman E., XXXXX
 Higgins, Robert F., XXXXX
 Hochmuth, Milton S., XXXXX
 Hodges, Warren D., XXXXX
 Hoffman, Robert L., XXXXX
 Hollister, Robert L., XXXXX
 Horneij, Edwin D., XXXXX
 Hospelhorn, Cecil W., XXXXX
 Howland, John S., XXXXX
 Hoy, Thomas H., XXXXX
 Huber, Robert E., XXXXX
 Humma, William J., XXXXX
 Hurow, Arthur, XXXXX
 Hutter, Dean E., XXXXX
 Hyman, Arthur S., XXXXX
 Ice, Jack C., XXXXX
 Illston, William G., XXXXX
 Ingham, Frederick L., XXXXX
 Irvine, James, Jr., XXXXX
 Jackson, Harry H., XXXXX
 Jackson, Robert J., XXXXX
 Jackson, Saul A., XXXXX
 Jacobs, Bruce M., XXXXX
 Jenkins, Paul W., XXXXX
 Jepson, Warren H., XXXXX
 Johnson, Frederic E., XXXXX
 Johnson, Ivan H., XXXXX
 Johnson, William F., XXXXX
 Kajencki, Francis C., XXXXX
 Kantz, Robert J., XXXXX
 Karnes, Howard L., XXXXX
 Kaufmann, Paul R., XXXXX
 Keezell, David B., XXXXX
 Kelley, Charles L., XXXXX
 Kennedy, Arthur H., XXXXX
 Keown, James L., XXXXX
 Kessler, Herman E., XXXXX
 Ketcham, Donald T., XXXXX
 Kettelhut, Marvin C., XXXXX
 Kettler, Jack F., XXXXX
 Killian, John J., XXXXX
 Kinnard, Leo D., XXXXX
 Kirshrot, Isidor J., XXXXX
 Kissinger, Harold A., XXXXX
 Kjellstrom, John A., XXXXX
 Klaver, Clarence A., XXXXX
 Klekas, Louis J., XXXXX
 Knuepfer, Dieter C., XXXXX
 Kolankiewicz, Charles, XXXXX
 Krell, William P., XXXXX
 Kroesen, Frederick, XXXXX
 Kuffner, John E., XXXXX
 Kurkjian, George A., XXXXX
 Ladd, Harley W., XXXXX
 Ladson, Robert N., XXXXX
 Langham, Dwight W., XXXXX
 Lansford, Jack P., XXXXX
 Latimer, Harry D., XXXXX
 Le Van, C. J., XXXXX
 Leonard, William B., XXXXX
 Lerch, Archer L., Jr., XXXXX
 Lindell, Rodney W., XXXXX
 Lindstrand, Nelson, XXXXX
 Linn, Herschel E., XXXXX
 Livingston, Curtis, XXXXX
 Livingston, Douglas, XXXXX
 Long, Louis E., XXXXX
 Lopez, Leonard F., XXXXX
 Lowe, Thomas A., XXXXX
 Lowry, Walter C., Jr., XXXXX
 Lucas, John G., XXXXX
 Luckey, James P., XXXXX
 MacDonald, Alan, XXXXX
 MacKechnie, Theodore, XXXXX
 Macidull, Joseph C., XXXXX
 Mahin, Frank C., Jr., XXXXX
 Malkemes, William C., XXXXX
 Maltese, Edward V., XXXXX
 Marks, Joseph W., XXXXX
 Marschhausen, John, XXXXX
 Marshall, Arthur R., XXXXX
 Martin, Doyné K., XXXXX

Martin, Stephen G., XXXXX
 Mason, Anthony, XXXX
 Matte, Robert G., XXXXX
 May, Billy J., XXXXX
 Mayhall, John O., XXXXX
 McAuliffe, Dennis, XXXXX
 McCaffrey, John E., XXXXX
 McCaffrey, William, XXXXX
 McCarren, Edwin J., XXXXX
 McClary, William T., XXXXX
 McConnell, Donald, XXXXX
 McConnell, Donald, XXXXX
 McDonald, Thomas J., XXXXX
 McDonald, William, XXXXX
 McFadden, Charles, XXXXX
 McFarland, B. J., XXXXX
 McGinnis, Eugene J., XXXXX
 McGuire, James M., XXXXX
 McGuire, Thomas J., XXXXX
 McGurk, Donald J., XXXXX
 McKeen, Chester M., XXXXX
 McKeever, Bernard, XXXXX
 McKenna, James O., XXXXX
 McKinnis, Charles, XXXXX
 McLellan William, XXXXX
 McMillan, William, XXXXX
 McSoley, George F., XXXXX
 Meares, Edward D., XXXXX
 Mellen, Thomas W., XXXXX
 Melloh, James L., XXXXX
 Mendelson, Sheldon, XXXXX
 Mendenhall, Francis, XXXXX
 Merrick, Thomas L., XXXXX
 Metz, Robert G., Sr., XXXXX
 Metzler, Howard C., XXXXX
 Milburn, Earl P., XXXXX
 Miles, Charles E., Jr., XXXXX
 Miller, Donald E., XXXXX
 Millington, Edgar N., XXXXX
 Mills, Edgar F., XXXXX
 Molloy, Cornelius J., XXXXX
 Moon, Franklin B., XXXXX
 Moore, Frank E., Jr., XXXXX
 Moore, Robert K., XXXXX
 Moore, Thomas E., Jr., XXXXX
 Morey, Galen C., XXXXX
 Morris, Robert C., XXXXX
 Moss, Felix R., XXXXX
 Moulis, Wallace J., XXXXX
 Mullen, William C. F., XXXXX
 Mumford, Elmer S., XXXXX
 Munt, Francis R., XXXXX
 Murdock, Eugene J., XXXXX
 Murphy, Robert H., XXXXX
 Murray, John E., XXXXX
 Naughton, Francis E., XXXXX
 Neal, William D., Jr., XXXXX
 Neilond, Patrick M., XXXXX
 Nelson, William J., XXXXX
 Newton, Cleon H., XXXXX
 Nicholson, James E., XXXXX
 Nicholson, Tom M., XXXXX
 Norman, William S., XXXXX
 Norwood, Roger M., XXXXX
 O'Brien, James K., XXXXX
 O'Donnell, Edwin T., XXXXX
 O'Donohue, Thomas J., XXXXX
 Okier, Oliver E., XXXXX
 Olin, Warren S., XXXXX
 Oliver, George S., XXXXX
 Olney, Gregory L., XXXXX
 Olszewski, Walter J., XXXXX
 Orchel, Stanley, XXXXX
 Orr, Lawrence E., Jr., XXXXX
 Osborne, Lloyd A., XXXXX
 Ott, David E., XXXXX
 Owings, James B., XXXXX
 Pahl, Irving C., XXXXX
 Pappas, George S., XXXXX
 Parker, Burton F., XXXXX
 Parker, Woodrow W., XXXXX
 Parson, Nels A., Jr., XXXXX
 Patterson, James H., XXXXX
 Patton, Oliver B., XXXXX
 Pearce, Robert M., XXXXX
 Pelland, James G., XXXXX
 Perna, Leonard P., XXXXX
 Perry, Eugene M., Jr., XXXXX
 Peterson, Carl L., Jr., XXXXX
 Peterson, John T., XXXXX
 Peterson, Palmer A., XXXXX

Pettigrew, Dee W., Jr., XXXXX
 Pickell, George W., XXXXXX
 Pierce, Gardner T., XXXX
 Pierce, John R., Jr., XXXXXX
 Pittenger, Edwin C., XXXXXX
 Pitts, Kern P., XXXXXX
 Potter, Jack C., XXXXXX
 Powers, John F., Jr., XXXXXX
 Powers, Joseph W., XXXXXX
 Presley, Lemuel L., XXXXXX
 Pye, William S., XXXXXX
 Rafert, Walter E., XXXXXX
 Raleigh, Edward C., XXXXXX
 Ramos, Francisco J., XXXXXX
 Rateau, Munro A., XXXXXX
 Reed, Gilbert R., Jr., XXXXXX
 Reid, Robert D., XXXXXX
 Reidenbaugh, Charles, XXXXXX
 Revollinsky, Philip, XXXXXX
 Rich, Robert E., XXXXXX
 Richards, Howard W., XXXXXX
 Richards, Robert H., XXXXXX
 Richmond, Allen P., XXXXXX
 Robbins, George B., XXXXXX
 Robbins, Robert A., XXXXXX
 Robbins, Vernon E., XXXXXX
 Rodgers, Otis H., XXXXXX
 Roller, Thomas A., XXXXXX
 Rosell, Thomas G., XXXXXX
 Sadove, Aaron S., XXXXXX
 Samuel, Robert W., XXXXXX
 Sanders, Frederick, XXXXXX
 Sanders, Joseph L., XXXXXX
 Sanders, Roy A., XXXXXX
 Sayes, Thomas H., XXXXXX
 Sayre, Gordon E., XXXXXX
 Scanlon, William E., XXXXXX
 Scherberger, Richard, XXXXXX
 Scherer, Charles R., XXXXXX
 Schoemaker, Fred B., XXXXXX
 Sciolla, Ralph A., XXXXXX
 Scott, George A., Jr., XXXXXX
 Scott, Winfield S., XXXXXX
 Selton, Robert W., XXXXXX
 Senechal, Jack F., XXXXXX
 Shadle, Charles M., XXXXXX
 Shanklin, John D., XXXXXX
 Sharp, Sam H., XXXXXX
 Shealy, Carroll D., XXXXXX
 Shemwell, Elwood H., XXXXXX
 Sheppard, Byron E., XXXXXX
 Sheppard, Orval H., XXXXXX
 Sheriff, Herman W., XXXXXX
 Silver, Benjamin S., XXXXXX
 Silver, David L., Jr., XXXXXX
 Sliska, John R., XXXXXX
 Skaggs, Joseph E., XXXXXX
 Smith, Albert C., Jr., XXXXXX
 Smith, James C., XXXXXX
 Smith, Jeffrey G., XXXXXX
 Smith, Ray H., XXXXXX
 Smith, Robert A., XXXXXX
 Smith, Robert M., XXXXXX
 Snow, Beverly C., Jr., XXXXXX
 Sollosi, John S., XXXXXX
 Spires, George H., Jr., XXXXXX
 Stahelski, Anthony, XXXXXX
 Standish, Myles E., XXXXXX
 Stanfield, Charles A., XXXXXX
 Stanley, Spencer G., XXXXXX
 Starr, John B., XXXXXX
 Staser, Bruce I., XXXXXX
 Steel, Charles L., Jr., XXXXXX
 Stevens, Kenneth T., XXXXXX
 Strock, Robert D., XXXXXX
 Sullivan, John S., Jr., XXXXXX
 Tabor, Harry E., XXXXXX
 Tarnell, Benedict A., XXXXXX
 Tarpley, Thomas M., XXXXXX
 Taylor, Thomas A., Jr., XXXXXX
 Tharp, Charles D., XXXXXX
 Them, Eugene F., XXXXXX
 Thomas, Gordon F., XXXXXX
 Thomas, Joseph A., XXXXXX
 Tichenor, John F., XXXXXX
 Tjossem, Oliver P., XXXXXX
 Toffler, Alan R., XXXXXX
 Tompkins, Charles H., XXXX
 Tootle, Vernon M., XXXXXX
 Toppin, Joseph D., XXXXXX

Treadwell, Jack L., XXXXXX
 Truman, Corbie R., XXXXXX
 Valenstein, Earle L., XXXXXX
 Van Atten, William, XXXXXX
 Van Lydegraf, Dean, XXXXXX
 Vance, Wendell W., XXXXXX
 Venables, Joseph E., XXXXXX
 Walts, Charles C., Jr., XXXXXX
 Wamsted, Leland D., XXXXXX
 Ware, Richard S., Jr., XXXXXX
 Wear, George E., XXXXXX
 Weaver, Maurice S., XXXXXX
 Wessels, Robert R., XXXXXX
 Weston, John M., Jr., XXXXXX
 Weyant, Wallace W., XXXXXX
 Whalen, Donald E., XXXXXX
 Whitesides, Bruce M., XXXXXX
 Whitlock, Charles T., XXXXXX
 Wilson, Albert F., Jr., XXXXXX
 Wilson, Roy L., XXXXXX
 Wilson, Samuel V., XXXXXX
 Winton, Marshal C., XXXXXX
 Young, Mason J., Jr., XXXXXX

To be colonels, Chaplain

Benner, Herman N., XXXXXX
 Walsh, Emmett L., XXXXXX

To be colonels, Women's Army Corps

Bailey, Mildred C., XXXX
 Branch, Elizabeth H., XXXX
 Guyette, Mary J., XXXX
 Hoisington, Elizabeth, XXXX
 Kehrer, Marie, XXXX
 Michl, Maxene B., XXXX
 Yonlack, Frances M., XXXX

To be colonels, Medical Corps

Amos, James D., XXXXXX
 Austin, James A., XXXXXX
 Bach, Sven A., XXXXXX
 Baker, Stewart L., Jr., XXXXXX
 Beck, Marcus R., XXXXXX
 Belaval, Gustavo S., XXXXXX
 Bernstein, Robert, XXXXXX
 Blehusen, Frederick, XXXXXX
 Blohm, Raymond W., Jr., XXXXXX
 Boysen, Alexander M., XXXXXX
 Bres, Edward C., Jr., XXXXXX
 Buescher, Edward L., XXXXXX
 Caldwell, Samuel W., XXXXXX
 Champlin, Gerald A., XXXXXX
 Chandler, Bruce F., XXXXXX
 Cohen, Arthur, XXXXXX
 Cole, Norman J., XXXXXX
 Conte, Nicholas F., XXXXXX
 Coppedge, Richard L., XXXXXX
 Cowley, Ray G., XXXXXX
 Daniels, Roswell G., XXXXXX
 Fancy, Henry F., XXXXXX
 Fried, Julian J., XXXXXX
 Gallup, Samuel C., XXXXXX
 Gamble, Robert D., XXXXXX
 Gardner, Henry S., XXXXXX
 Greene, Calvin E., XXXXXX
 Griffin, Herschel E., XXXXXX
 Hall, Robert J., XXXXXX
 Hall, Robert M., XXXXXX
 Hamilton, George B., XXXXXX
 Hansen, James L., XXXXXX
 Hedberg, Charles L., XXXXXX
 Hemphill, James E., XXXXXX
 House, Royce E., XXXXXX
 Howie, Donald L., XXXXXX
 Hurd, Harry F., XXXXXX
 Jackson, Lawrence M., XXXXXX
 Jessemann, Winston C., XXXXXX
 Johnston, Edward H., XXXXXX
 Juel, Roger A., XXXXXX
 Kielman, Edmund R., XXXXXX
 Kraul, Charles W., XXXXXX
 Lewis, Evan L., XXXXXX
 MacDonald, William, XXXXXX
 Maldonado, Leonard, XXXXXX
 McCurdy, Harry W., XXXXXX
 Mendenhall, Max K., XXXXXX
 Meriwether, William, XXXXXX
 Meroney, William H., XXXXXX
 Moore, Charles A., XXXXXX
 Moser, Robert H., XXXXXX
 Nelson, Thomas G., XXXXXX

Peczenik, Alois, XXXXXX
 Peyton, Alton B., XXXXXX
 Pillsbury, Robert D., XXXXXX
 Pixley, Charles C., XXXXXX
 Plough, Irvin C., XXXXXX
 Porter, Warren E., XXXXXX
 Pratt, Daniel W., XXXXXX
 Reid, Spencer B., XXXXXX
 Robbins, Thomas L., XXXXXX
 Rosegay, Harold, XXXXXX
 Ross, Richard H., XXXXXX
 Scott, Norman M., Jr., XXXXXX
 Sharp, John H., XXXXXX
 Sieber, Paul E., XXXXXX
 Taylor, Richard E., XXXXXX
 Terrill, Arthur A., XXXXXX
 Teschan, Paul E., XXXXXX
 Throm, Urban L., II, XXXXXX
 Tiffany, William J., XXXXXX
 Umlauf, Harry J., Jr., XXXXXX
 Vivona, Stefano, XXXXXX
 Whelan, Thomas J., Jr., XXXXXX

To be colonels, Dental Corps

Alling, Charles C., XXXXXX
 Arbuckle, Robert B., XXXXXX
 Baranowski, Leo F., XXXXXX
 Baze, Wallace R., XXXXXX
 Chandler, John R., Jr., XXXXXX
 Di Joseph, Benjamin, XXXXXX
 Hill, James J., XXXXXX
 House, Ernest E., XXXXXX
 Kepper, John C., XXXXXX
 Konze, Charlie F., XXXXXX
 Lancaster, Carolus, XXXXXX
 Margetis, Peter M., XXXXXX
 McCall, Howard W., XXXXXX
 Monahan, James L., XXXXXX
 Moody, Ashton A., XXXXXX
 Pollock, Jack P., XXXXXX
 Rowland, Robert B., XXXXXX
 Schreiber, Leonard, XXXXXX
 Schroeder, Charles, XXXXXX
 Sneed, Ralph B., XXXXXX
 Stalker, Francis, XXXXXX
 Strong, William C., XXXXXX
 Styer, Donald J., XXXXXX
 Suriano, Raffaele, XXXXXX
 Thomasson, Kenneth, XXXXXX
 Thompson, Henry C., XXXXXX
 Thompson, James T., XXXXXX
 Watkins, John A., Jr., XXXXXX
 Wlan, George I., Jr., XXXXXX
 Zack, Justin S., XXXXXX

To be colonels, Veterinary Corps

Dixon, George F., XXXXXX
 Faust, Herbert R., XXXXXX
 Grogan, Earl W., XXXXXX
 Henderson, Joshua E., XXXXXX
 Hogge, Arthur L., Jr., XXXXXX
 Miller, Henry M., XXXXXX
 Nims, Robert M., XXXXXX

To be colonels, Medical Service Corps

Brady, Joseph V., XXXXXX
 Bryan, George R., XXXXXX
 Cheezum, Lynn R., XXXXXX
 Couch, James H., XXXXXX
 Craig, Howard H., XXXXXX
 Drotning, Theodore, XXXXXX
 Ellis, Paul H., XXXXXX
 Fern, Robert C., XXXXXX
 Franklin, Charles L., XXXXXX
 Godwin, Frank D., XXXXXX
 Haggerty, John E., XXXXXX
 Hammond, Henry L., XXXXXX
 Hood, David H., XXXXXX
 Huffman, James V., XXXXXX
 Kinney, Charles R., XXXXXX
 Lavault, Paul A., XXXXXX
 Leary, John J., XXXXXX
 Madden, James P., XXXXXX
 McNamara, Jack W., XXXXXX
 Miller, Quentin H., XXXXXX
 Overmyer, Chester E., XXXX
 Schmahmann, Lionel, XXXXXX
 Shively, Charles J., XXXXXX

To be colonels, Army Nurse Corps

Best, Bonnie J., XXXX
 Bonnet, Edith J., XXXXX

Caylor, Jennie L., XXXX
 Clarke, Lacadia M., XXXX
 Coover, Dora M., XXXX
 Fischer, Mercedes M., XXXX
 Henley, Nellie L., XXXX
 Henry, Jonike E., XXXX
 Jablunovsky, Veima, XXXX
 Lessard, Marcia M., XXXX
 Lozinak, Mary M., XXXX
 Morse, Mary F., XXXX
 Nolan, Charlotte L., XXXX
 Travers, Sadye T., XXXX
 Treacy, Jeanne M., XXXX
 Williams, Althea E., XXXX
 Williford, Sarah L., XXXX

To be colonels, Army Medical Specialist Corps

Brigham, Agnes A., XXXX
 Hamrick, Mary L., XXXX

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3299:

To be lieutenant colonels

Corrington, Roger A., XXXX
 Donaldson, Kenneth C., XXXX
 O'Shaughnessy, John P., XXXX
 Wilson, Raymond C., XXXX
 Yonushonis, William L., XXXX

To be majors

Beers, John R., XXXX
 Bowman, Joseph R., XXXX
 Buckman, Joseph C., XXXX
 Byrom, Robert, XXXX
 Chambers, John A., XXXX
 Charlton, James S., XXXX
 Cook, Robert C., Jr., XXXX
 Ellingwood, Dean C., XXXX
 Gajeski, Edwin A., XXXX
 Graham, James R., XXXX
 Greyhosky, August, XXXX
 Hill, Michael E., XXXX
 Horwedel, Alan T., XXXX
 Jones, Daryl D., XXXX
 Kavanaugh, William W., Jr., XXXX
 Koun, John N., XXXX
 Koziatek, Norbert W., XXXX
 Lieber, Albert C., XXXX
 Mathison, Theodore, XXXX
 Matthias, Norman A., Jr., XXXX
 McDonald, Donald F., XXXX
 Pauley, Francis L., XXXX
 Perkins, Albert R., XXXX
 Ples, Donald A., XXXX
 Porter, Donald C., XXXX
 Rickard, William D., XXXX
 Rybat, Edward S., XXXX
 Scheg, Leonard J., XXXX
 Smith, Isaac D., XXXX
 Speicher, Vernon L., XXXX
 Sutton, Bryan J., XXXX
 Torsani, Joseph A., Jr., XXXX
 Van Hemert, Willem, XXXX
 Venn, Raymond D., XXXX
 Walpole, Richard W., XXXX
 Ward, Floyd J., Jr., XXXX

To be majors, Chaplain

Shannon, Sylvester, XXXX
 Shaw, James E., XXXX

To be majors, Medical Corps

Chamlian, Dikran L., XXXX
 Giddens, Warren W., XXXX
 Peter, Peter R., XXXX
 White, Richard H., XXXX

To be majors, Dental Corps

Berube, Joseph D., XXXX

To be majors, Medical Service Corps

Blume, Robert M., XXXX
 Krawczyk, Joseph R., XXXX

To be captains

Achenbach, Garland U., XXXX
 Alderman, John H., XXXX
 Andersen, Arne, XXXX
 Arter, Jerome S., XXXX
 Bacon, Douglass P., XXXX
 Barnhart, Fred P., XXXX
 Baxter, Boyd R., XXXX

Bennett, Walter D., XXXX
 Boberek, Frank M., Jr., XXXX
 Brafford, Robert T., XXXX
 Brin, Oliver O., XXXX
 Buford, William C., XXXX
 Butler, Perry C., XXXX
 Caruso, James R., XXXX
 Chomko, John, XXXX
 Cooper, Teddy N., XXXX
 Coyne, Richard J., XXXX
 Crigger, Donald E., XXXX
 Davis, James A., XXXX
 DeBlois, Thomas A., XXXX
 Dibble, George B., XXXX
 Dommer, Paul P., XXXX
 Dompe, John W., XXXX
 Ed, Robert C., XXXX
 Ehrlich, Arlin G., XXXX
 Eldridge, Robert E., XXXX
 Ellington, Jimmy R., XXXX
 Elliott, Thomas L., XXXX
 Eubank, Gerald T., XXXX
 Fellers, Donald P., XXXX
 Fowler, Orville E., XXXX
 Garrett, Robert W., Jr., XXXX
 Giese, Paul A., XXXX
 Guenther, Hartmuth D., XXXX
 Hakola, John A., XXXX
 Hall, Donald G., XXXX
 Harms, Roger D., XXXX
 Helms, Harold J. A., XXXX
 Heying, David R., XXXX
 Hipp, Gerald T., XXXX
 Hippensteele, Tom, XXXX
 Holmes, Allan J., XXXX
 Hospodar, Edward J., XXXX
 Howell, Neil T., XXXX
 Humphries, Charles, XXXX
 Johnson, James C., XXXX
 Johnson, Ronald L., XXXX
 Keating, David W., XXXX
 Keenan, James E., XXXX
 Kelley, Oliver, XXXX
 Kennedy, James E., XXXX
 King, Fred H., XXXX
 Kolch, Marvin J., XXXX
 Kulik, William R., XXXX
 Kunkel, Donald H., XXXX
 Laslie, James C., Jr., XXXX
 Lee, Stephen H., XXXX
 Lofton, Hoyt D., XXXX
 Luker, Charles F., XXXX
 Mackenzie, Robert B., XXXX
 Maguire, Roger F., XXXX
 Makowski, Kenneth R., XXXX
 Matsuda, Clarence C., XXXX
 McConnell, John J., XXXX
 McGeachy, Clinton B., XXXX
 McIlwain, Charles P., XXXX
 McMillion, David, XXXX
 Miller, Donald W., XXXX
 Mobley, William L., XXXX
 Moss, Frederick E., XXXX
 Piper, Paul K., XXXX
 Potter, Richard W., XXXX
 Prescott, Daniel J., XXXX
 Price, James F., XXXX
 Quamo, George, XXXX
 Ray, Ernst R., XXXX
 Ritenour, Thomas J., XXXX
 Rowe, William J., XXXX
 Sands, Thomas J., XXXX
 Schreer, Robert O., XXXX
 Sessoms, William R., XXXX
 Sinclair, James V., XXXX
 Smith, Clarence R., XXXX
 Spoonemore, Bobby B., XXXX
 Sprouse, James V., Jr., XXXX
 Stauffer, Wallace J., XXXX
 Stevens, Robert M., XXXX
 Stewart, Alan P., XXXX
 Stillman, Jon C., XXXX
 Swaim, Royce M., XXXX
 Syczlo, Rodney S., XXXX
 Tilden, George E., XXXX
 Timmons, Aurin C., XXXX
 Tragesser, John N., XXXX
 Walker, Edward G., XXXX
 Washburn, Curtis J., XXXX
 Watkins, Jack R., XXXX
 Webster, Robert H., XXXX

Wright, Frederick S., XXXX
 Yager, Lawrence W., XXXX
 Zick, Robert E., XXXX
 Zobrist, Edward E., XXXX

To be captains, Chaplain

Bailey, John C., Jr., XXXX
 Cooke, James P., XXXX
 Olszewski, Clarence A., XXXX

To be captains, Medical Corps

Almquist, Howard T., XXXX
 Aussem, John W., XXXX
 Bell, Thomas D., XXXX
 Bianchi, Anthony, XXXX
 Blount, Richard B., XXXX
 Bollman, Charles S., XXXX
 Bridenbaugh, Robert H., XXXX
 Buratto, Gregory J., XXXX
 Burdick, George E., XXXX
 Burke, Lucien F., XXXX
 Carr, Joel S., XXXX
 Cherin, Harris A., XXXX
 Cole, Robert E., XXXX
 Cox, Jack A., XXXX
 Cranford, James S., XXXX
 Crawford, Robert C., XXXX
 Drake, Frank R., Jr., XXXX
 Fesler, Ken W., XXXX
 Glass, Billy L., XXXX
 Hutson, Richard M., XXXX
 Larson, Arthur W., Jr., XXXX
 Lauring, Lewis M., XXXX
 Leman, Milton H., Jr., XXXX
 Lovelace, Dallas W., XXXX
 Mahakian, Charles G., XXXX
 Martin, Carroll M., XXXX
 Maybee, David A., XXXX
 McManus, Lawrence, XXXX
 Merenstein, Gerald B., XXXX
 Phyllis, Robert L., XXXX
 Shuger, Richard D., XXXX
 Steudel, Wolfgang T., XXXX
 Susac, John O., XXXX
 Turner, Clifford J., XXXX

To be captains, Dental Corps

Brady, Robert E., XXXX
 Cunningham, David E., XXXX
 Dalzell, Daniel P., XXXX
 Hicks, John L., XXXX
 Johnson, Warren, XXXX
 McCoy, Clark H., XXXX
 Morgan, Don W., XXXX
 Redmond, Hight S., XXXX

To be captains, Veterinary Corps

Montrey, Richard D., XXXX
 Ray, Marlan E., XXXX

To be captains, Medical Service Corps

Holland, Leon L., XXXX
 Holmes, Garth H., XXXX
 Mahoney, James V., XXXX
 Parsons, Ray E., XXXX
 Spruiell, Jerry B., XXXX

To be captains, Army Nurse Corps

Dockal, Harvey J., XXXX
 Hildebrand, Teddy L., XXXX

To be captains, Army Medical Specialist Corps

Dayton, Miller P., III, XXXX
 Fenninger, Joanne E., XXXX
 Ong, Harry M., XXXX
 Shannon, Phillip D., XXXX
 Swanson, John A., XXXX

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate, February 17, 1969.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

U. Alexis Johnson, of California, to be U.S. alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 5 years and U.S. alternate Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of 5 years, which was sent to the Senate on January 24, 1969.