

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

AID FOR BIAFRAN CHILDREN

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most remarkable humanitarian efforts directed at relieving the misery of the Nigerian-Biafran tragedy is known as Aid for Biafran Children—ABC.

One of the principals in this effort is Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review. Another is a pediatrician, Dr. Fergus Pope, of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., a man with whom I discussed ABC several months ago in my Washington office.

These men and others in their group have undertaken the organization of a mobile medical program in Biafra, directed chiefly at treating children but turning away no one of any age.

So far ABC has been a modest effort. Dr. Pope, Mr. Cousins, and their associates have limited resources. They are not using a professional fundraising organization and have made no formal appeals. Support for their plan has come mostly from Saturday Review readers and from persons who have heard about the project by word of mouth.

It is an impressive story of humanitarianism, as Mr. Cousins reports on the background and progress of ABC in the following article from the February 1 Saturday Review:

ABC

Over the years, the editor and readers of *SR* have been engaged in various projects that come under the general heading of the human situation. After the end of the Second World War, for example, they accepted responsibility for 400 children in Hiroshima who were orphaned by the atomic explosion. The children were brought up in Japan but their "moral parents" in the United States helped to meet their various needs, including college education in many cases.

A second project involved several dozen girls who had been disfigured or disabled by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The girls were brought to the United States for plastic and rehabilitative surgery, and, in some instances, vocational training. The girls returned to Japan after a year in the United States. Many are now married and have families; others are in business for themselves as dress designers or beauty shop operators; some are working for social agencies. An integral part of this project was the training of several Japanese doctors in plastic surgery. These doctors in turn trained colleagues in Japan, the result being that hundreds of disfigured victims of the atomic explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki received special surgical treatment.

A third *SR* project involved thirty-five Polish women whose bodies and minds had been badly scarred as the result of their experiences at the Ravensbrueck Concentration Camp in the Second World War. They had been used as involuntary human guinea pigs by Nazi doctors who had cracked open bones in their arms and legs, inserting gangrenous materials such as broken glass or oily rags in order to produce massive and raging infections which they then attempted to check with new sulfa drugs. The project in behalf of these ladies—who had come to

be known as the "Ravensbrueck Lapins"—was of a dual nature. One aspect was to bring them to the United States for medical and surgical care. The other aspect was to obtain from the German government at Bonn adequate compensation that would enable them to live without continued and excessive hardship. Both these parts of the project were carried out.

The editors now invite the readers of *SR* to join them in a fourth project. It is called ABC—Aid for Biafran Children. Herewith, some background.

Last September, when the food blockade of Biafra was at its worst, and when thousands of children were dying from protein shortage, it seemed to the editors that it might be useful to evacuate some Biafran children by air. The plan envisioned an airlift to the United States of approximately 150 children who lacked parental care or were homeless and who were in need of urgent hospital treatment. We put the proposal before representatives of the Biafran government and were assured of its full cooperation. We then communicated with hospitals in the New York metropolitan area, asking each one to accept responsibility for one or more Biafran children. The response was immediate and heartening. Some fifty hospitals offered to participate. All 150 children would have hospital beds. Pan American World Airways would provide and equip a plane for the direct flight to the United States. Convalescent care would be undertaken by the New York Center of the American Friends Service Committee, which had mounted the out-of-hospital care programs for the Hiroshima Maidens and the Ravensbrueck Lapins. Many Biafran students from the New York City area volunteered to maintain contact with the children, thereby reducing cultural adjustment problems.

We also appealed to the board of directors of the Schweitzer Fellowship, of which we are a member. The board followed the urgent recommendation of its then-president, Mr. Leslie Paffrath, to finance a relief program for child refugees at the Albert Schweitzer Hospital in Lambaréné, Gabon, only a few hundred miles away from Biafra. The advantage of the Schweitzer Hospital in Lambaréné was that it had accumulated invaluable experience over the years in dealing with children's diseases native to the area.

By a stroke of good fortune, at just about this time, we received a telephone call from Dr. Frank Catchpool in California. Dr. Catchpool, whom we had met for the first time at the Schweitzer Hospital in Lambaréné ten years ago, and who was now doing advanced medical research in the United States, was eager to undertake a medical relief program in behalf of the Biafran evacuees. He was an ideal person to carry out the project at the Lambaréné Hospital under the auspices of the Albert Schweitzer Fellowship. Dr. Catchpool came to New York for extended discussions, then left for Lambaréné, from which he has recently sent exciting progress reports; Biafran children are already at the Schweitzer Hospital and are responding favorably to treatment.

Meanwhile, we also had the good luck to meet Mr. George Orick, who had lived in Nigeria for several years and was working as consultant to the United Nations Children's Fund. Mr. Orick joined our project and proceeded to develop plans for translating the experience of the pilot program into a massive airlift involving 100,000 children or more.

We also talked to Mr. Maxwell T. Cohen, a New York attorney who had just returned from Biafra where he had consulted with government officials about his ideas for bringing Biafra's case before the United Na-

tions. On the basis of his first-hand observations, Mr. Cohen spoke of growing problems confronting evacuation of children by air. He brought us together with Mr. G. A. Onyegbula, Permanent Secretary of Biafra, who had just arrived in New York on a brief government mission. Mr. Onyegbula spoke of the severity of Biafra's needs. Two thousand children and 4,000 adults were dying daily of starvation. Food and medical supplies were being flown into Biafra in larger quantities than had been possible for some months. But the situation continued to be critical and was apt to remain that way until there was a dramatic breakthrough in direct access. He asked whether we would be willing to consider mounting a relief program directly inside Biafra itself.

The shortage of Biafran doctors, Mr. Onyegbula said, was not as acute as had been commonly supposed; the difficulty, he added, was in providing them with adequate medical and surgical equipment and transporting them to the places where they were most needed. He also spoke of a hospital field station inside Biafra for which he hoped we would accept supervisory and operational responsibility, and where American and Biafran doctors could work side by side. We told Minister Onyegbula we would try to help in any way that might be useful.

The more we pondered the Onyegbula proposals, the clearer it became that the massive airlift ought to be deferred in favor of on-site operations. We needed a medical field director. Dr. Catchpool was an obvious choice, but he was already at the Schweitzer Hospital in Lambaréné. Two other names came immediately to mind: Dr. Fergus Pope, of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota; and Dr. Omar Fareed, of the Carr Foundation in Los Angeles, who had undertaken medical field projects in equatorial nations around the world.

Fergus Pope was a footloose young man of twenty-five when he decided in 1956 to motorcycle in Africa. He dropped in on the Albert Schweitzer Hospital in Gabon, helped to fix the hospital generator, and, like many people who were exposed to "le grand docteur," decided the life he had been living wasn't good enough. Though he lacked a science background, he decided to obtain a full medical education in order to serve under Dr. Schweitzer at Lambaréné. He went to London, completed his qualifying studies, then enrolled in the University of London School of Medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. After seven years, he returned to Lambaréné as a full-fledged physician. Following Dr. Schweitzer's death, Dr. Pope decided to specialize in pediatrics. This brought him to the Mayo Clinic in the United States as a resident in pediatrics.

We put in a telephone call to Dr. Pope in Rochester. Would he be able to take a leave of absence from the Mayo Clinic to work with us—for perhaps six months or more? Affirmative response. Two days later, Fergus Pope was at our office in New York, going over the project plans in detail.

Dr. Fareed is a Los Angeles internist who has spent at least half his time traveling to far-off places such as Vietnam, the Congo, and Peru doing medical field work or pursuing projects such as the distribution of "Meals for Millions," an inexpensive, high-protein food. He also worked with AMDOC, a coordinating organization for voluntary service abroad by American physicians.

We reached Dr. Fareed at his home in Los Angeles. Within two or three minutes we had our answer: He would drop everything to serve.

We informed Dr. Nwonye Otue and Raphael Nwakoby of the Biafran mission to the United

States of our readiness to proceed. They suggested that Dr. Fareed, Dr. Pope, and N.C. go to Biafra for joint planning with Biafran officials and for direct observation of some of Biafra's medical needs.

The suggestion was accepted. The day before the scheduled trip to Biafra, N.C. came down with the flu. At his insistence, Dr. Fareed and Dr. Pope proceeded as planned. They flew Pan American World Airways to Frankfurt, where they boarded the Joint Church Airlift plane to Sao Tomé, an island off the coast of Biafra. From there they were flown at night to a secret airstrip in Biafra, where they met with Permanent Secretary Onyegbula, Dr. S. J. Cookey, Commissioner J. Udo-Affia, Dr. E. Ritchie, and Dr. A. Iekwunigwe.

Dr. Fareed and Dr. Pope were lodged in a guest house in a small town in Biafra. They were taken by jeep to surrounding villages where they were able to see at first-hand the impact of food and medical shortages on people of all ages. When they returned to their lodgings they found the place strewn with casualties. The town had been bombed and strafed; twenty-seven persons were dead and many more were wounded. The American doctors gave emergency treatment to the injured.

When they returned to New York a week later, they brought with them a letter to N.C. from Dr. Cookey, proposing that we undertake a large mobile medical program inside Biafra. Dr. Cookey envisioned a large number of mobile units, directed by American and Biafran doctors and going directly to the villages for on-the-spot medical and surgical care. The emphasis would be on the treatment of children, but no one of any age would be turned away.

Dr. Pope proposed that we begin almost immediately with one or two units as a sort of pilot project. He would be willing to superintend the initial operation himself, working with Biafran doctors who would be made available for this purpose.

Dr. Fareed would be in charge of recruiting American doctors for the post-pilot phase of the project and would go to Biafra later for direct work in the field.

Now came the hard planning. Dr. Pope drew up his requirements for the pilot project. We were appalled at the length and variety of the items on the list—at least two large jeeps, several motorcycles, drugs, food supplies.

Apart from this were the requirements inside Biafra itself. We needed a lot of money. Where would it come from? We told Dr. Pope and Dr. Fareed that we had some fairly strong ideas on the subject. There should be no public fund-raising drives. In the case of SR's previous projects, we employed no professional fund-raisers, made no formal appeals. For the most part, SR's readers volunteered the sums necessary. In return, they got 100 cents on the dollar. None of their money was spent for administrative services or money-raising agencies. Outside SR, individuals heard of the project and asked to participate.

We were confident that we could operate the same way with ABC. Within a few days, this philosophy began to bear fruit. A group of citizens in Minnesota, learning of the project in which Dr. Pope, now a Minnesotan, was engaged, offered a substantial contribution. At the suggestion of a friend, Dr. Pope spoke to Mr. Terry Tearnan of Yamaha International Motorcycle Company. Result: six motorcycles free of charge.

Lawrence Gussman, newly elected president of the Albert Schweitzer Fellowship, obtained many of the necessary medical supplies. At the suggestion of Dr. Fareed, Mr. Dennis Karzag of the Direct Relief Foundation donated \$26,000 worth of drugs, and Mr. Sam Berkman of Bioscience Labs gave us a portable laboratory. Finally, Dr. Davida Taylor of Harvard School of Public Health obtained further gifts from drug companies throughout the nation.

Dr. Pope spoke to us about the possible availability in Biafra of extra vehicles, many of which were now disabled by shortage of spare tires. We telephoned Victor Holt, president of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Akron, Ohio. Rather than wait for the regular processing of the request through company machinery, Mr. Holt personally purchased tires and shipped them to us.

How to get all this material to Biafra? Here a human miracle by the name of Abie Nathan materialized. Mr. Nathan, an Israel citizen, had become a sort of one-man Biafran relief operation. He had managed to obtain the use of a Norwegian freighter, chartered by two relief organizations in Holland. The freighter was now in the United States and was loading up with American supplies.

Mr. Cohen brought Mr. Nathan to SR's offices. We found him as cooperative and agreeable as he was energetic. He said he would happily carry all our supplies to Sao Tomé.

So much for the report to date. Obviously, most of our problems are ahead of us. There is the major problem, of course, of getting Hercules-type freight planes to fly the jeeps and other weighty equipment into Biafra. We know we cannot minimize this difficulty, but we are not without confidence. Besides, Dr. Pope will be at Sao Tomé when Abie Nathan's boat arrives. And Dr. Pope is a most remarkable and effective young man.

JOINT STATEMENT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent joint statement published on February 6, 1969, by the American Friends of the Captive Nations and the Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent:

JOINT STATEMENT

(By Msgr. John Balkunas, chairman, Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent, and Christopher Emmet, chairman, American Friends of the Captive Nations)

The tragic invasion of Czechoslovakia by the U.S.S.R., with the participation of most of the Communist satellite regimes of Eastern Europe, shattered the optimism about "bridge-building" and detente which prevailed in the United States and Western Europe. Though there can be no satisfaction to anyone in these grim events, the fact remains that the skepticism our organizations have often expressed has now been all too graphically confirmed.

Although recently the Soviets have done their utmost to divert our attention from the lessons of Czechoslovakia by temporarily adopting a more conciliatory tone on other matters, the fact is that public confidence in Europe has been weakened by the minimal U.S. and NATO response to Communist encroachments in Berlin last spring, by our silence when Czechoslovakia was threatened before the invasion, and our weak reaction afterwards. Europeans compare it with President Kennedy's call-up of 150,000 Reserves after the building of the Berlin Wall.

The military balance of power has been changed with the presence of more Communist divisions in the forward areas. Both our reliance on warning time for strengthening NATO in case of a crisis, and our estimate of Soviet intentions have proved fallacious. The NATO Commander, General Lyman

A. Lemnitzer, has recently warned of an increased threat from the Warsaw Pact countries. And Ambassador George F. Kennan, a former advocate of disengagement in Europe as well as Asia, called the proposed Moscow summit meeting between Johnson and Kosygin "madness," and urged the dispatch of 100,000 more American troops to Europe until the Soviets leave Czechoslovakia. We can ignore all this only at our peril.

The only way now to help the Czechoslovak people and keep their hopes alive is to speak out boldly and repeatedly on their behalf in the United Nations and outside it; to strengthen the defense of the West; to negotiate from strength and hold the line until the pressures for freedom recently revealed, not only in Eastern Europe but in the Soviet Union itself, bring the present nightmare to an end. The Czechoslovak breakthrough to freedom ended in tragedy as in Hungary; but, like Hungary, it proved that freedom in Eastern Europe is again on the march. It will prove unconquerable if we stand firm and thus encourage the continuing passive resistance among the Captive peoples.

1. As part of our political offensive, the U.S. and her NATO allies should move to have the continued occupation of Czechoslovakia formally debated and condemned by the next U.N. General Assembly. If we compare what the U.S. and the U.N. did to protest and expose the Soviet invasion of Hungary with what we have done on Czechoslovakia, we can see how far an increasing timidity has silenced us.

2. We must rebuild the only solid alliance we still have to deter further Soviet aggressions—the NATO Alliance. We must abandon the folly of talking about withdrawing U.S. troops from Europe, at a time when NATO has been expelled from France and weakened by Britain's financial crisis, on top of the shift in the balance of power, which General Lemnitzer referred to.

3. Obviously this cause will be helped by every possible public gesture and utterance by our statesmen of a pro-NATO nature. There should be a NATO summit conference, as Chancellor Kiesinger suggested, instead of a Moscow summit while the Soviet aggressor still occupies Czechoslovakia!

4. The power of NATO to deter aggression depends both on its strength and on confidence in its will to use that strength, if necessary. The NATO information budget should be enlarged to give more publicity in Europe about the continued need for NATO and about the technical progress NATO had made even before Czechoslovakia, despite its ouster from France and its neglect by statesmen and by the news media.

5. A NATO Information Office should be set up in every NATO country, including the United States.

6. We do not have to choose between future negotiations with the Soviets on the one hand and strengthening NATO on the other, because we cannot negotiate with the Communists successfully except from positions of strength. But to avoid misunderstanding by our allies we must not only consult them at every stage, but must prove to them, as well as to the Kremlin leaders, that we have no illusions about Soviet objectives; that we realize one Soviet purpose in such negotiations will be to divide us from our allies and to create an illusion among the Western peoples and Parliaments that further sacrifices for NATO are unnecessary, because we are on the road to arms control agreements. The exaggerated optimism about the scope of the Test Ban Treaty and U.S. pressure on its allies for immediate ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, despite Czechoslovakia, are examples of mistakes which must be avoided.

7. Because of a recent escalation of savage Soviet Cold War rhetoric, especially against West Germany, the U.S. must escalate its defense against this propaganda. To date we

have been virtually silent. As it is, many Europeans fear that the U.S. is unwilling to risk even irritating, not to speak of provoking, the Soviets in our quest for detente. Even if we cannot prevent the Soviet reenslavement of the Czech people, we can at least tell the truth about it, and so make the Soviet action most costly to their influence around the world and hasten the day when they may be forced in their own interests to withdraw. The American people also have a right to frankness from their government about what the Soviets are doing in Berlin, the Near East, Korea and Latin America.

As for the fear that such frankness would endanger the proposed missile talks, when did a so-called "Cold War atmosphere" prevent successful negotiations with the Soviets in Berlin, Korea, Austria or Cuba? The fact is that a willingness to speak out on Soviet acts which deserve criticism is a part of negotiating from strength which will increase our bargaining power. The Soviet leaders themselves always maintain their propaganda pressure. They are cold and realistic bargainers who use propaganda as a weapon in negotiations, not sensitive prima donnas whose policies are changed by verbal irritations.

8. Finally, and not least important, we must use all our economic power in our dealings with the Soviet bloc as a means of pressure and bargaining in negotiations to promote peace and freedom. For whatever one's view of the recent Western policy of extending credits to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself, in order to encourage liberalization and independence from Moscow, such credits now can only strengthen the Soviet effort to end liberalization and independence. This is so because the Kremlin today fully controls the satellite economies, either through direct force, as in Czechoslovakia, or by threat of force as in Rumania.

The economic cost and dislocation within the Communist bloc caused by the invasion of Czechoslovakia, plus the enormous cost of the whole recent Soviet policy of expanding its armed forces and its military aid around the world, from Korea to Cairo, gives the West a new opportunity for economic bargaining to press for political concessions.

Therefore, the export of sophisticated Western plants, "know how" and credits at this time can only help the Soviets to remain in Czechoslovakia, to reestablish their empire elsewhere, to continue the arms race in the Middle East. This kind of Western trade and aid would also reduce the pressure for the economic reforms which the Soviets were forced to adopt at home and tolerate throughout Eastern Europe, in order to compete with the West. Granted that no fully united NATO action along these lines is possible, the more our allies cooperate in this effort, the greater will be our bargaining power for peace, arms control and freedom.

Needless to say, our objection to long-term credits and trade in certain categories of sophisticated and potentially strategic items does not apply to ordinary reciprocal trade, nor to the desirability of promoting cultural contacts on the largest possible scale, provided it is on a reciprocal basis.

ELECTORAL REFORM

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on February 5, when I testified before the House Judiciary Committee on the subject of electoral reform, I said that there

are many serious doubts about the substantive merits of direct popular election, and that it might be better to correct immediately the two major defects in our present system—the faithless elector and the possibility that the election may go to the House—and then thrash out the pros and cons of direct popular election.

The reason for speed in making the first reforms is clear. The reason for delay in approving direct popular election is that there are so many doubts, that there are voices not yet heard.

The New Yorker magazine, which does not often give its first page to political commentary, apparently thinks it so important that its readers know of the dangers of moving to direct popular election that it has led off its February 8 issue with an excellent article, which I recommend highly to my colleagues. The article follows:

THE TALK OF THE TOWN: NOTES AND COMMENT

Last December, as they have done every fourth year since the beginning of the Republic, the newly elected members of the electoral college assembled in every state to choose the President of the United States. This forty-sixth meeting will have been the last if those who advocate the abolition of one of our most venerable institutions win the current battle for electoral change.

The Founding Fathers provided in the Constitution that each state should elect a small group of men who, in turn, would exercise their independent judgment in selecting a President. Each of these men, called an elector, was given one vote, and each state was entitled to a number of electors equal to the combined number of its senators and representatives. As a result, representation in the electoral college, as in the Congress, was roughly proportional to population. And if no candidate received an absolute majority of electoral votes, the President was to be chosen by the House of Representatives. This system has survived to the present day, with one all-important difference. It rapidly became an established custom that all the electors of a state would automatically vote for the candidate receiving most of the state's popular vote. Today, a separate slate of candidates for the post of elector is pledged to each Presidential candidate in every state. When you vote for President, you are in fact voting for the slate committed to your favorite. For example, any New Yorker who voted for Vice-President Humphrey was really voting for the forty-three electors of the Democratic Party. And even though Humphrey received a bare majority of New York's popular vote, he won all forty-three of its electoral votes. (Legally, of course, any of these electors could have voted for someone else, and on a few rare occasions an individual elector has dishonored his commitment.)

Under this system, it is theoretically possible for a Presidential candidate to receive a majority of the electoral votes even though his opponent is the popular victor. To see how this might happen, assume, for a perhaps uncomfortable moment, that the President was chosen by New York and California alone. If Humphrey won New York by fifty thousand votes, and Nixon won California by one hundred thousand votes, then New York's forty-three electors would go to him, and Nixon would receive California's forty. Thus, even though Nixon was fifty thousand popular votes ahead, Humphrey would be elected President, by forty-three electors to forty. The fear that this might happen on a national scale is behind the present demand to eliminate the electoral college and select a President by direct nationwide popular vote. Such a change, which is superficially appealing as a call to democratic principle,

might have consequences for the practical operation of our democracy far beyond the intentions of its sponsors. There are some aspects of our present system, of course, that clearly threaten the legitimacy of the democratic process. Certainly electors should not be free to defy the electorate, nor should the House of Representatives under any circumstances be allowed to select a President, being a small group of men susceptible to deals and private pressures. Electors have sometimes acted independently, and the House has on occasion ignored both the popular and the electoral vote in selecting a President. Yet it would be relatively simple to eliminate these possibilities—by, for example, not having individuals as candidates for electors but automatically counting all of a state's electoral votes for the winner of its popular vote, and by providing that the candidate with the most electoral votes would win even if he did not have a majority. Or a runoff popular election could be held if the winning candidate received less than a certain fixed percentage of the electoral votes—say, thirty-five per cent or forty per cent.

However, eliminating the electoral college altogether is another matter. In so doing, we would exchange a clumsy mechanism, but one that has worked, for an ideal construction whose effects are conjectural. Only once in our history has the man who received the most popular votes failed to receive the highest number of electoral votes. That was in 1888, when Grover Cleveland lost the election although he ran a hundred thousand votes ahead of Benjamin Harrison. Andrew Jackson in 1824 and Samuel Tilden in 1876 were deprived of the Presidency despite a popular plurality, but Jackson's defeat came about by decision of the House (Jackson had a plurality of electoral votes as well), and Tilden lost because disputed electoral votes were taken from him by a hostile Congress. Thus, the electoral college has failed to conform to the popular will only once in almost two centuries, and that in a contest so close that it's almost a technical quibble to say that the people's choice was defeated.

Nor do considerations of abstract democratic theory dictate a change to direct popular vote. If democracy requires that those who govern the country be chosen by a national constituency in which all citizens have equal weight, then both the Supreme Court and the Senate fall the test. Yet, on the whole, they help maintain a necessary balance between minority or regional interests and the majority will; the Senate is often more conscious of national needs than the more representative House. Therefore, before changing a system that has worked remarkably well, the American people should be fairly certain that the results will be beneficial. As we see it, the consequences of eliminating the electoral college not only are highly speculative but might be unfortunate.

First, such a reform, as Professor Ernest Brown, of Harvard, has pointed out, could well transform the frequent charges of election irregularity and fraud into demands for a nationwide recount. Since voting is now by states, such charges are usually allowed to lapse, for even if the result in a particular state should be changed, the winner would rarely lose his electoral majority. But if the popular vote alone were decisive, and the election close, there would be every incentive to demand investigations and recounts, and these would inevitably precipitate counter-demands, while the country waited to see who its leaders would be. In addition, a direct popular vote would powerfully tempt the states to compete in lowering voting ages, liberalizing registration requirements, and so on, in order to increase their relative influence on the election.

Another and perhaps more serious, objection to abolishing the electoral college is the threat to the stability of the two-party sys-

tem, which has been a key element in the endurance of American democracy. Most third-party efforts either have never got off the ground or have proved transient, because, as Professor Alexander Bickel, of Yale, has noted, they have been unable to win electoral votes unless they operated from a regional base. In 1948, for example, Strom Thurmond and Henry Wallace received approximately the same popular vote, but Thurmond got thirty-nine electoral votes and Wallace none. Individuals with a common interest or conviction are restrained from forming an independent party by the knowledge that they cannot carry any states and therefore will not receive any electoral votes, while their activities will tend to subtract votes from the major-party candidate who is ideologically closest to them. With only the popular vote at issue, however, regional roots are irrelevant, and groups united by belief or need—from blacks and those opposed to the war in Vietnam to the John Birch Society—might fragment the electorate into new parties in search of maximum political power. They could, as the Liberal Party has done in New York, bargain with one of the major parties for concessions in return for its endorsement, or offer to withdraw in the midst of a campaign in return for concessions. Such a party might also run candidates in the hope of forcing a runoff election in which its support would be eagerly sought. Most of the election-reform proposals require at least forty per cent of the popular vote for election, with a runoff between the two top candidates if no one gets that much. And although only Harrison received a popular minority and an electoral majority, fifteen Presidents have been elected with less than a majority of the total popular vote. Therefore, almost half of our elections have been contests in which, theoretically, a third party could have held the balance of power. In two of our three last Presidential elections, the popular margin was less than a half-million votes, and in America it is possible—with money and energy—to organize a half-million people for almost anything.

Still another objection centers on the impact that eliminating the electoral college would have on the relative importance of large and small states. Both the advocates and the opponents of reform have assumed that direct popular vote would reduce the emphasis on the large states with the most electoral votes. Yet reform might well have the opposite effect. Usually, campaigns are directed at a swing vote of from ten to twenty per cent of the population, on the assumption that the rest of the voters are pretty firmly committed. Under the reformed system, any candidate in search of those votes would have to concentrate his energies and his strategy on the large states, for that is where the people are, and also where the most volatile vote can be found. For example, Richard Nixon, Southern strategy and all, received about the same number of popular votes in California alone that he received in all nine states of the once solid South. (roughly three and a half million). Even though Nixon ran well ahead of Vice President Humphrey in the South, a change of little more than two per cent of his vote in favor of Humphrey in the four largest states, or a change of less than one and a half per cent in the seven largest, would have cancelled out his entire Southern margin. In fact, about half the popular vote for the two major candidates came from only seven states. No political strategist, therefore, could wisely counsel a candidate to take the slightest risk in the big states in the hope of picking up a few more Southern or border states. (In fact, exactly this kind of risk-taking helped defeat Nixon in 1960.) It is just as likely, and far more economical in terms of energy and expense, that under the new system a candidate would assume a basic

minimum of Southern and border votes and shape his campaign to the demands of large-state politics. Why should a Presidential hopeful take positions calculated to win Southern states if those same positions might lose him the two or three per cent of the vote in California, New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania that would be enough to cancel out all his gains? All this, of course, reflects only the psychology of campaigns, since in fact the electoral vote has followed the popular vote. Yet once political strategists stopped thinking in terms of states and the intricate arithmetic of the electoral college, they would tend to focus on areas where the population is concentrated and on the large television "market areas." (After all, in the nine Southern states Nixon received forty-seven electoral votes and helped keep twenty-eight more from Humphrey, while California gave him only forty electoral votes. Thus, the Southerner who voted for Nixon actually had more influence on the electoral majority than did the Californian who went Republican.)

None of these are certain consequences of change. Yet they are all possibilities, as are other results, which we cannot now foresee. (Our history is strewn with discarded democratic reforms, such as the initiative and the referendum, that frequently defeated expectations and sometimes became the instruments of those special interests they were designed to protect the country from.) In return, we will be guarded against the possibility that the popular loser will be the electoral winner. Not only is this highly unlikely (in most close elections the electoral-vote majority has far exceeded the popular margin, thus strengthening the position of a President-elect) but even if it should happen it would be in a contest so close that one would be hard put to it to claim that a firm or decisively expressed popular desire had been thwarted. One of the sources of our national stability has been our unwillingness to change the Constitution except when abuses or malfunctions have already manifested themselves. It has never been amended simply because we feared that something might go wrong at some future date. Yet that is what is now being proposed. We will find, however, no system of choosing leaders that is guaranteed to work perfectly. Certainly a great deal of skepticism and prudent hesitation should attend any effort to "perfect" a system that has worked as well as ours.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY MARKED

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, free Lithuanians around the world observed the 51st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania. Sadly, because of Soviet occupation and russification of Lithuania since July, 1940, only those outside this Baltic States' borders were able to observe its memorable anniversary.

This occasion again reminds us that the Soviet's barbarous seizure of lands and peoples in eastern Europe is a great continuing tragedy of the 20th century, unsanctioned by any international law. It again presents the opportunity to condemn such acts of wanton aggression and the continued despotism which prevails in the captive nations.

I am pleased to join our Lithuanian friends in urging the restoration of freedom in these captive lands, and I wish to extend thanks to them for keeping alive their sturdy support for the decent principles of mankind.

A KEY "MONEY MAN" VIEWS THE NATION'S ECONOMY

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, a great deal of time is being spent on ways to achieve a reduction in Federal spending, while at the same time meeting our national commitments.

The crisis of confidence in the dollar, inflation, tax reform, budget deficits, unemployment—all are matters with which Congress must deal if we are to maintain a healthy economy and ease the inflationary pressure on the dollar.

These subjects are covered in an article which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on February 9, concerning an interview with David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Mr. Rockefeller's forthright and perceptive comments on the state of the economy will, I am sure, be of interest to us all.

The article follows:

INTERVIEW WITH DAVID ROCKEFELLER: A KEY "MONEY MAN" VIEWS THE NATION'S ECONOMY
(By Milt Freudenheim)

NEW YORK.—David Rockefeller, one of the world's most influential money men, favors a slowdown in Federal spending for the space program, highways and farm subsidies.

These are the priorities on his list to strengthen the U.S. economy, slow inflation and bolster the world position of the dollar.

Rockefeller, 53, could have had a Cabinet job in the Nixon Administration. But he made known his desire to stay in New York where he is moving up on March 1 from president to board chairman and head of the executive committee of Chase Manhattan Bank, the world's second largest in deposits.

Rockefeller also believes that unemployment has to rise, although the increase should be "moderate" and "temporary."

He sees an increase in the jobless total as part of the price that must be paid to curb inflation.

But he believes that government and business must step up their effort to train and hire "hard-core" unemployed—especially young Negroes in the cities.

WAR'S IMPACT

Furthermore, he doesn't expect serious trouble from the economy when the Vietnam war ends.

Rockefeller put his finger on these crucial sensitive spots in the economic outlook in an interview in his art-filled 17th floor office at the Chase bank.

This platform at Chase, plus the backing of the Rockefeller family's estimated \$4 billion fortune, makes him a leading candidate for the unofficial title of "Chairman of the Board of the American Establishment."

David Rockefeller's brothers are Nelson, governor of New York, Winthrop, governor of Arkansas; John D. 3d, builder of the Lincoln Center culture complex in New York, and Laurance, conservationist and new-venture specialist.

Against a muted background of traffic horns echoing outside on Chase Manhattan Plaza, Rockefeller, a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Chicago, folded his six feet of height onto a sofa and replied to questions.

Q. Do you think there is likely to be another dollar crisis this year?

A. Well, I must say I don't think you can rule it out as a possibility. But I think that the position of the dollar is a great deal stronger than it was six months ago. There's no question about that.

Whereas nine months ago there was a real crisis of confidence in the dollar around the world, I think the combination of our tax bill and the troubles in France served to change that very dramatically.

The result is that today the dollar is very much in demand, and of course there's a tremendous flow of long term investment into this country.

Q. But do you feel, sir, that we have our house in order, on our domestic economy?

A. No. I think we've taken the first steps. I think that the new team in the Treasury is absolutely first rate.

Q. Of course we have a Chicago man in Treasury Secretary David Kennedy.

A. He was a candidate of mine. But to answer your question: Have we put our house in order? We have not yet dealt with inflation. And although our balance of payments appears superficially to be much improved, we haven't yet dealt with the most fundamental aspect which is our trade balance, which has continued to decline.

So until we get our inflation down to a very minimum, manageable amount—which I would hope would be under 2 percent, and until we improve our trade balance (what is called the current account), I don't think we can feel comfortable about our situation.

TAX AND SURTAX

Q. Regarding the inflation, are you suggesting that the 10 percent surtax should go on for at least into the next fiscal year?

A. In effect, yes. It's very hard for me to see how the situation could change sufficiently between now and the middle of the year to justify removing the surtax.

Q. What about agitation in Congress to increase the tax burden on upper-bracket incomes?

A. Well, certainly from a political point of view, it is appealing. But the importance from a revenue point of view of the (federal) income that could be derived if you took 100 percent of the highest brackets would be minimal.

It really would be insignificant . . . it has political appeal, but from a purely tax point of view, I don't think it's that important.

Q. This might be an indiscreet question. Of course there are no indiscreet questions, only indiscreet answers. But what about the agitation regarding the oil depletion allowance and the tax setup for oil income?

A. Well, that's quite different. There, the tax that could be derived would perhaps be more significant, although I honestly don't know exactly what it would mean.

I think that there it is a question of what one thinks is good policy in terms of the developments of our petroleum resources.

If we don't think it's important to maintain our known reserves of oil, why, then, a very easy way to eliminate those reserves is to eliminate the depletion amount. If we do think it's important to maintain them, then depletion (allowance) is naturally the essential thing.

SPACE BUDGET

Q. Would you stretch out—that is, slow down—spending in the space budget, for example?

A. I would be inclined to look at that area pretty hard. And I think probably some of the highway programs—again they could be stretched out. They're certainly important, but probably less urgent than some others.

I'm sure a lot could be done in the field of agricultural price supports. Economically, this would certainly be desirable. Whether it's politically possible is another question.

Q. How do you weigh the priorities of full employment and inflation?

A. At the present time we have over-employment in many respects, particularly in the skilled trades. There's a real shortage of people—we feel that in the bank. We have hundreds of unfilled requisitions for people.

Q. What does that mean in bank terms—economists?

A. No, just typists, computer operators, and so forth.

I think that an easing up of the economy would take the pressure off the employment market, and I think we're going to see some increase in unemployment as we measure it.

My guess is that when the figure gets below 4 percent (it has ranged around 3.3 percent lately), that the pressures of inflation are apt to be very great.

But that is not to say that we shouldn't continue to work with that portion of the population which is unemployed and which, for all intents and purposes, now are unemployed.

JOB TURNOVER

Q. You are speaking of Negroes, hard-core . . . ?

A. Yes. Essentially the groups with the largest percentage of unemployment are people under 25, Negro, and in the large cities.

And I think we should do a lot of work with them and bring them into the labor force. But this is something entirely apart from monetary and fiscal policy.

Q. I'm trying to think concretely. Who are going to be the unemployed when you go up a couple of percentage points to over 4 percent? Who will they be if you're having success, hopefully, bringing these hard-core people in?

A. I suppose what it means is that there's a little bit more time between jobs, that kind of thing . . . that the turnover period is not quite as rapid as it is now.

Q. Are you saying that this is such a big economy that there is room for a few rough edges in that machinery?

A. Right. I'm afraid we had three years of considerable inflation, and I'm afraid that it's not possible to eliminate that, without some price.

And the price means the slowing down of the rate of growth of the economy, and some moderate increase on a temporary basis in the percentage of unemployment.

Q. Do you think Federal spending on problems of the cities and poverty must be increased, despite anti-inflation priorities to hold down the Federal budget?

A. I'm certainly very much in favor of carefully developed and selected programs in terms of job training, education and aid to construction of housing for the lower income groups.

These are the three areas that particularly need help. But I don't think we can afford unlimited expenditure.

Q. Would you include on that list tax relief for businesses that are doing a lot in a training way or are building special plants in the inner city locations?

A. I think there are instances where tax abatement can be a useful tool. Obviously one has to use it sparingly, or else you lose your source of revenue.

DEFENSE BUDGET

Q. How do you feel about the defense budget?

A. Of course, hopefully, the war in Vietnam will come to an end, and this should bring some significant relief.

But I'm afraid we can't look for drastic cutbacks in the general defense budget at the present time. I'm afraid that the action of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia and the Middle East and the Mediterranean and elsewhere

is an indication that we're not yet at the point where we can look for a major cutback.

Q. How do you see the problem of adjusting the economy, when the Vietnam war budget is phasing out?

A. I don't anticipate that being an acute problem, or one that would be of long duration. I think I have seen the figure that it would involve a readjustment of the labor force, something on the order of 2 percent.

This is hard on the 2 percent, but this isn't a sufficiently large number so as to cause general disruption in the economy. So I think this need not be a serious thing for us.

Indeed . . . it could be a little bit helpful in slowing up the pace of the economy and helping us cut back during the process of readjustment.

Q. Do you see the gross national product going up over \$1 trillion? (It was \$860 billion for 1968.)

A. Oh, I think it will, in a year or 18 months.

FURTHER IN RE U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, whether it represents a blunder or embarrassment—or something more or less serious—the incident of U.S.S. *Pueblo*, now under inquiry by the Navy, has troubled many citizens.

In a column of recent weeks in the New York Times, James Reston raised the question of how national blunders and embarrassments might be evaluated dispassionately for the record of history.

Without specific comment, I include the text of this column, as follows:

COMMANDER BUCHER: WHO WILL INVESTIGATE THE INVESTIGATORS?

(By James Reston)

The Navy Board of Inquiry in the *Pueblo* spy ship case raises some interesting questions about how we investigate official blunders in the United States.

Obviously, the Navy had to look into the ship's mission, its activities off the North Korean coast, its inability to destroy the enemy or itself, and the consequences of its capture, but was this inquiry conducted by the right people, at the right time and in the right manner?

Not only Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, the *Pueblo*'s skipper, is suspect in this tragic incident, but the Navy and the Defense Department are also under suspicion, and the latter are in effect sitting in judgment on themselves.

BUCHER'S ORDEAL

Commander Bucher and his crew clearly had to be questioned quickly and in private on the intelligence aspects of the case while their memories were still fresh, but why a public inquiry before Commander Bucher had regained his composure and under conditions which raise serious doubts about whether the spirit of due process was being followed?

The Navy's handling of the public in the open hearings is also very odd. It concedes the public's right to know what is going on in the open part of the board's hearings and it keeps a transcript of the proceedings, but it refuses to allow the public transcript to be published, or permit the reporters in the open hearings to take down their own transcript. Thus a news reporter who knows shorthand can record the Q and A while another reporter who does not know shorthand can not.

THE LARGE QUESTION

The main question here, however, is not about the transcript or even about the Navy. The Navy is at least following a tradition all too often ignored in other parts of the Government—that is to say, it does investigate error. The question is whether it can really be objective about its own errors, whether in this case it is being fair to Commander Bucher, and even more important, whether we have in this country an adequate system for reaching objective judgments on major policy blunders much more serious than the Pueblo case.

There is, of course, the right of investigative review in the Congress, which in many cases is highly effective, but in some cases is unavoidably political and subjective. The President has the power to set up investigating commissions, as President Kennedy did after the Cuban Bay of Pigs disaster, but again there is the problem of the accused passing judgment on himself.

The British have more effective instruments for dealing with this sort of thing. Being older and therefore knowing more about human weakness, political cunning, and the slippery slopes of truth, they have created the device of the Royal Commission, which can call upon men and women less subject to the usual frailties of ambition and suspicion to sit as a committee of inquiry on the really momentous blunders that trouble a nation.

The United States has recognized the need for some such committee of elders to help us through supreme crises. The Pueblo case is not in this category. It merely raises the questions of right and wrong procedures. But Pearl Harbor and the murder of President Kennedy did force us to experiment with something like the British Royal Commission—something that could minimize doubt in a doubting age, something beyond politics to investigate great political questions.

We did set up a kind of committee of elders to investigate Pearl Harbor and the Kennedy assassination, and, while the prestige of the elders did not avoid controversy, they probably minimized it and suggested a way to deal with such problems in the future.

TIME FOR REAPPRAISAL

Probably the militant young of the present day would reject the whole idea of an outside committee of elders, since presumably some of its members would be over thirty, but even so, something in the investigative procedure is missing, some group of our citizens who would command the maximum of respect, to find out what went wrong on the really spectacular mistakes of national policy.

Even now the nation does not know how we lost our way before the Bay of Pigs, and it is obviously too early to look into the blunders of Vietnam, which have cost us the lives of over 30,000 of our fellow countrymen. But there should be some better way than we have now of studying the past to learn for the future, and the tragic case of Commander Bucher merely reminds us that our procedures of investigation need to be re-examined.

A TRIBUTE TO EDUARDO
MONDLANE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of Africa's exceptional leaders, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, president of the Mozambique

Liberation Front, was assassinated February 2. Dr. Mondlane gave his life to the cause of freedom and self-determination for his people.

In a resolution adopted 2 days after Dr. Mondlane's death, the Board of World Ministries of the United Church of Christ passed the following resolution, a fitting tribute to the fallen leader:

The United Church Board for World Ministries expresses gratitude for the life of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane for his service to his country, for his example of steadfastness and courage, for his leadership and for his Christian witness to all mankind. This Board is proud to have had a small share in his training and to have been associated with him as a student, as a worthy staff member of the United Nations, as a member of the faculty of a great university and latterly as a far-seeing leader of his people in their struggle for freedom. He excelled and excited the admiration and love of many.

We sorrow over his tragic death and extend to his wife, Janet, and their children our deepest sympathy.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, there is much discussion about the failure of our institutions to provide students with skills that will equip them to take their place in the labor force once they have completed their formal education. Unemployment and the resultant social and economic problem it presents often can be traced directly to the lack of skilled training necessary to gain employment. With a vocation comes pride and dignity, and feeling of achievement, and the chance to direct one's life that a person who is unskilled and unemployed does not have.

In our technological society there is an increasing demand for skilled workers. This is a challenge that must be met by our cities and schools. I am proud to say that the city of San Jose Unified School District is doing just this. On January 30, 1969, I had the honor of attending the dedication ceremonies at the San Jose Regional Vocational Center and in a speech Mr. Henry T. Gunderson, a member of the board of education of the San Jose Unified School District, told the audience how San Jose is meeting the challenge through vocational education. I now include Mr. Gunderson's timely comments in the RECORD, as follows:

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

(By Henry T. Gunderson)

Today we hear a great deal about meeting the challenges that face our schools, and the changing times we are living in, and how we must adjust to keep abreast. This is true, but it is the tempo of change that has been thrust upon us by events over which we had no control that is responsible for the problems to which we now seek solutions. This tempo has greatly accelerated in recent years, due to man's new fund of knowledge and means to apply it, and whether our scientific and technical development was motivated by Sputnik or the arms race, the problems confronting us are no less real.

To fully appreciate this tempo of change, permit me to go back in history and trace a few events that have affected our lives. Please note the time lag ever decreasing, from the time an idea was advanced, to its development and ultimate use.

Hero of Alexandria built a boiler about 150 B.C., and used the steam generated to drive a crude turbine. However, it wasn't until 2000 years later that steam was used to usher in the Industrial Revolution that brought a great change in people's lives. The Industrial Age started a movement from the farms to the cities, and the need for industrial skills.

The first principle of electricity was discovered by Thales in 600 B.C. However, it wasn't until 1894, through the combined genius of Tesla-Edison, Steinmetz, and others, that the first commercial power generating plant was put into service.

In the 16th century Leonardo da Vinci drew plans for an aeroplane, which looked remarkably like contemporary planes, and 400 years later the world moved into the air age.

In 1895 the X-ray was discovered, and only 24 years later, Rutherford split the nitrogen atom by alpha rays. Then, 26 years later, the atomic bomb became an awesome reality.

In 1926 experiments were made with liquid fuel rockets, and in 1957, came Sputnik. Our national attention and energy focused on catching up in the missile race and we moved into the space age.

At present, plans for equipment, jets, and spaceships are becoming almost outmoded before they are built, due to the acceleration of man's fund of knowledge and his ability to store, retrieve, and analyze said knowledge at will, through the use of the computer.

Many of you present here tonight in your life have witnessed more technical and scientific development than in all the rest of the history of the world. We have seen great strides in the field of electronics, transportation, communication, and the conquering of outer space, just to name a few, and with even greater predictions for the future. Each of the events I mentioned has brought with it a constant demand for new skills and knowledge that must be acquired, not only to build and to construct what our engineers design, but to service and maintain them as well. The 20th century has brought with it fantastic developments, and in its wake has created many major problems for which solutions must be found.

The days are gone when man was permitted a slow gradual change, when simple basic skills were handed down from father to son for centuries on end. The problems of present day society permit us no such luxury. Like Alice in Wonderland, we must run twice as fast just to stand still. Vocational training has a greater role to play than ever before, if we are to fully meet our responsibilities to our youth. We must provide them with the skills which will enable them to organize their lives—develop positive goals—and provide for themselves and their families—a life of dignity, fulfillment, and achievement.

Those of you assembled here tonight, that received your first occupational skills at a Vocational school recognize its value. Yet today a large percent of our students are dropping out, or terminating their formal education upon graduating from high school, with no specific skills. Too often they become unemployed statistics, present many of our social problems, and endure needless years of frustration. The Federal government, in response to these problems, has authorized the expenditure of high sums of money for many programs that have one thing in common: to provide the necessary education and acquisition of skills to gain employment. Skills that might have been acquired at schools such as this and must be provided if such conditions are not to be perpetuated.

This new Regional Vocational Center is the response of the district to meet that challenge, to assist students to take that first step on the career ladder of occupational training, and to prepare them for gainful employment upon completion here, or to continue their education in college.

The environment, buildings, and equipment here are outstanding. Architect Allan Walter, working with the administration and staff, has designed an artistic, functional building, incorporating new concepts of space allocations, core center, flexibility and expansion for future growth. As a regional school, we have three other high school districts, Campbell, Santa Clara, and Eastside, sending their vocational students to enroll in an exciting new way to learn.

This joint participation is efficient and practical. It not only frees the districts from the costly duplication of building facilities and the purchase of expensive equipment that too often faces obsolescence, but permits a wider variety of occupational courses to be offered than would otherwise be possible. Team teaching has been introduced, and the faculty is to be commended on their fine cooperation and coordination and enthusiasm. With the full support of advisory committees from business, industry, labor and management, an entirely new curriculum has been developed and modern shops and laboratory equipment installed.

A new approach of training has been introduced, one that provides a good understanding in families of occupation, where basic fundamentals and related subjects are coordinated with shop and laboratory work. This approach will increase the student employment opportunities.

This center is fulfilling a broader community need by providing for adult education, refresher courses for journeymen, and related classes for apprentices, as well as participating in M.D.T.A. and the new WIN programs, which provides training for those who have had to seek public assistance, giving them another chance to acquire the necessary tools to enter the working world. A well trained person is seldom a recipient of public aid. In dedicating this San Jose Regional Vocational Center, let us not feel our task is finished. We must keep aware of new changes in occupations, as well as anticipating industrial trends. Our faculty, counseling and guidance service must not only keep apace, but be sensitive to the students' needs and their cultural background. We must improve the image of vocational training in the homes, schools, and the community if we are going to do an effective job.

We must develop a new respect for work and recognize the important role and valuable contribution that each worker makes to the total effort of society. Without those efforts, any engineering advances and inventive dreams would remain just dreams. We have a challenge to develop a campus environment which builds pride and dignity among the students and acceptance in the community. We can ill afford the price we have been paying for so-called "status" symbols of prestige and the stigma that, in some quarters, has been attached to honest labor.

As no child is born into this world with racial prejudice, no child is born with such intellectual snobbery. We must re-install a proper appreciation of true values, if we are going to be successful in recruiting large numbers of students whose inclinations, abilities, and interests lie in vocational fields.

We need surveys to follow our students as they enter the field of work to provide feedback information on how well we are meeting our objectives and make the necessary changes where indicated. And, above all, we need the continued support of the community to meet our expectations.

CVX—255—Part 3

HITTING WHERE IT HURTS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, today's press indicates that the embattled distinguished and genial Dr. Hayakawa of San Francisco State College has started to hit where it hurts in standing up against student and faculty insurrection. At long last he is shutting off the money and this, of course, is what was intended by my amendment among the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968, empowering universities that did not wish to expel willful disruptors of their administration to cut off any Federal scholarship money.

The principle should apply across the board, both with respect to Federal and State funds. No student who willfully disrupts the administration of a college should receive financial assistance from any public source.

It is all so ridiculous anyway because of course the answer is shown by the excerpt that follows, reflecting the declaration of policy at Notre Dame University. There is no nonsense there and there should be no nonsense anywhere at any self-respecting educational institution.

The long and short of all of this is very simple. If a student wishes to attend a particular school he conducts himself in accordance with the rules of that school or he is out. He agrees to this when he applies for admission. Once expelled he becomes a trespasser on the campus and can be dealt with as any trespasser. Sooner or later, I predict that out of one will be out of all by agreement amongst college administrators nationwide. It is about time.

The news items from the Washington Post of February 18, 1969, follows:

HAYAKAWA GETS COURT TO BAR REBELS' FUNDS
(By Rosa Gustaitis)

SAN FRANCISCO, February 17.—A Superior Court judge today placed student government funds at San Francisco State College in receivership, thus in effect silencing the two militant campus newspapers and cutting off funds from the Black Students Union as classes resumed for the spring semester.

Judge Edward O'Day, acting on a petition by the State Attorney General on behalf of the college administration, named the Bank of America's trust fund as receiver. He set a hearing for Wednesday on another part of the petition, for removal of the officers of the Associated Students organization on grounds they had misappropriated funds.

The San Francisco State acting president, S. I. Hayakawa, accused student body officers of "dishonest use of public money." He denied that the court action was taken because the group had supported the BSU-led student strike that has kept the campus in turmoil since Nov. 5. The action was, he said, "against gangsterism and common thievery going on in the background of the strike."

Dr. Hayakawa said he had evidence that an Associated Students check had been used to purchase a rifle. However, when pressed for details, he acknowledged that he did not know whether or not the check in question was an employee pay check.

The State Attorney General's petition charged that Associated Students' officers withdrew \$114,091 of \$225,000 in reserve funds. It alleged that the officers converted \$33,425 of the group's assets to their own and others' use.

The officers of the Associated Students declined to comment pending consultation with their attorney. However, a student source close to the operations of that body said it was not unusual to borrow money from savings at the end of the semester to meet current expenses. The Associated Students \$417,070 annual budget is financed mainly by \$10 fees paid by every student at registration.

The Daily Gater and Open Process, the two campus papers, are financed in part by Associated Student money. It is not expected that they will be allowed to continue publishing.

The campus was quiet today as students trudged to classes on the first day of a semester that promises to be as troubled as the one just ended. For the first time in weeks there were no pickets—but everyone was preparing for a continuation of the long siege.

NOTRE DAME ADOPTS HARD STAND ON REBELS

SOUTH BEND, IND., February 17.—The President of the University of Notre Dame, acting in the wake of an outbreak in which four persons were injured ten days ago, today laid down a no-nonsense policy of suspension, expulsion and arrest.

The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, in an open letter to students and faculty members, said disrupters "will be given 15 minutes of meditation to cease and desist" before they are punished.

"If they do not within that time cease and desist, they will be asked for their identity cards."

In other developments:

A student group calling itself the "Steering Committee to Reform the University" marched into the office of the President of Pennsylvania State University and laid down a list of demands it said were non-negotiable. The demands included equal rights for women, abolition of ROTC academic credits and a ban on military recruitment on campus.

In West Chester, Pa., the board of trustees of Cheyney State College made permanent the expulsion of six Negro militants for taking part in campus disorders last November.

Six students were suspended from Roosevelt University in Chicago for disrupting a psychology class. Dean of Students Lawrence Silverman had warned student rebels the school "would not permit interference with the right to teach." He said none of the six was enrolled in the class.

A special faculty committee appointed after last spring's student uprising at Columbia University proposed the creation of a University Senate with members from the student body, the faculty and the administration.

HUNGER IN AMERICA—PART III

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have previously noted the publication in the New York Times of a series of articles by Homer Bigart on "Hunger in America."

The third article in that series, entitled "Negroes in Mississippi Delta Poorly Fed Despite Federal Aid," describes the inad-

equacy of present Federal food programs in the Mississippi Delta area. I urge my colleagues to read Mr. Bigart's description of how the purpose of the food programs passed by the Congress is being frustrated.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 18, 1969]
HUNGER IN AMERICA: MISSISSIPPI DELTA
POORLY FED DESPITE FEDERAL AID

(By Homer Bigart)

YAZOO CITY, Miss.—“They aren't starving, really, but they are undernourished as hell.”

Dr. Aaron Shirley, a Jackson pediatrician and civil rights leader, made this diagnosis during a recent visit to Negro homes in the Delta.

The degree of hunger among Delta Negroes has been a political issue ever since April, 1967, when Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York and Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania toured the Delta and reported that many people were “slowly starving.”

Indignant denials came from the white establishment. The general response was “we treat our niggers fine,” Dr. Shirley recalled. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. reportedly described as “fat and shiny” every Magnolia State Negro that met his eye.

The issue flared up anew after a team of doctors headed by Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte, N.C., reported to the Southern Regional Council a widespread and “desperate” need for food and medical care.

The Federal food programs were not only inadequate, they said, but were run by local authorities with flagrant political or racial bias. The doctors' indictment was harsh: “It is unbelievable to us that a nation as rich as ours, with all its technological and scientific resources, has to permit thousands and thousands of children to go hungry, go sick, and die grim and premature deaths.”

Though many people may think first of Mississippi when the subject of hunger comes up, the state actually has a good record of participation in Federal food programs. Every one of its 82 counties is enrolled in either food stamps or direct commodity distribution, a better record than New York, where six counties (Sullivan, Rockland, Putnam, Chenango, Ontario and Otsego) do not participate and have no plans for joining the food programs.

Nor are the Delta counties the hungriest in the land. Stomachs of reservation Indians are probably emptier more often than stomachs of Delta blacks.

No one knows how many Americans are chronically hungry. The best educated guess comes from Dr. Thomas E. Bryant, assistant director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for Health Affairs.

According to Dr. Bryant, there are 12 to 15 million “hard-core poor.” The “hard core” are defined as those families with an annual income of less than \$2,000, based on a family of four. Since the Department of Agriculture estimates that a family of four must spend \$1,284 for an adequate diet, Dr. Bryant concludes that a family earning less than \$2,000 would find it impossible to buy enough food to meet minimum nutrition standards after meeting other essential human needs.

At present, the food programs of the Department of Agriculture reach about 6,333,000 persons, many of whom are better off than the “hard-core poor.” So, by some official estimates there are at least six to nine million Americans for whom hunger may be almost a daily fact of life.

NEWSPAPERS COVER WALLS

It was cold and rainy the day Dr. Shirley led a visitor into a back-street shack where a Negro couple and several children were huddling at a fireplace. Most of the windows were plugged with cardboard, which rattled

dismally against the wind and rain; old newspapers covered the walls.

Eight children were counted in the room and Dr. Shirley, poking carefully into a pile of ragged, musty quilts, found two more infants asleep in the bed. He said the woman had given birth to triplets four months before; one died at birth, and one of the survivors had nearly expired of diarrhea and was just back from a Jackson hospital. The infant was almost certain to get diarrhea very soon again under these living conditions, the doctor said.

The family was unable to get on the welfare rolls because the husband was considered able-bodied. He earned \$100 last month, but now, in midwinter, there was no farm work available. The family had nearly used up its food stamps, all that was left was sweet potatoes, condensed milk and grits, the mother said.

Dr. Shirley examined the babies, calling attention to the lack of subcutaneous tissue on their tiny arms and legs. “They need protein, calories and iron,” he said.

“Too many people sleeping in that bed,” the woman muttered from the fireplace.

“If I can run across a baby bed, I'll get it to you,” Dr. Shirley promised.

BUDGET IS DESCRIBED

In another shack, where daylight could be seen through a corner rathole, a mother with seven children, living on social security payments of \$95.40 a month, described her budget. She had to make a cash contribution of \$38 to obtain \$96 in food stamps and “I run out of food in the third week.” Her rent she said, was \$16 a month, plus \$5 or \$6 for gas, plus \$8 for lights and \$3 for water. That left about \$25 for all other essentials—clothes, soap and supplemental food to get eight people through the rest of the month.

Occasional housework for white families paid \$3.50 to \$5 a day, she said, then she had to hire a baby sitter. Baby sitters charge 50 cents a head, and with four children under six years that would come to \$2, leaving \$1.50 to \$3 for the day's work.

“If you could get a job would you work?” Dr. Shirley asked.

“I sure would,” said the mother emphatically. “I never want to be on welfare, period.”

“That's the tale you always hear in town: ‘They don't want to work,’” Dr. Shirley said.

Negroes who get sick in Yazoo City are sent to the Afro-American Hospital, a county-supported institution that cannot afford a pathologist nor even a laboratory technician.

There, Dr. Cyril A. Walwyn, the director, contended that hunger in the Delta was not decreasing, as most whites insisted; he had seen too many pot-bellied, worm-infested youngsters.

“I feel they are slowly starving,” he said. Dr. Walwyn was one of the six doctors who wrote the Delta hunger report.

“I have a quarrel with the welfare people,” he continued. “They just don't care. Often they show a patronizing attitude toward the poor. If I am not as suppliant and cringing as they think I should be, they won't give me help.”

Driving back to Jackson, Dr. Shirley said: “Black people have changed. A lot of the old fear is gone. But people are still dying unnecessarily of disease and poor nutrition has contributed to their dying.”

CHANCES ARE DIMINISHED

“A baby's chances of recovering from pneumonia or severe diarrhea are diminished considerably if he's undernourished. So this kid will die, and it's listed on the death certificate as diarrhea. Now, this kid didn't starve to death. But if he'd been in fairly good nutritive status he wouldn't have died.”

Dr. Shirley said he had seen people eat almost anything they could chew, includ-

ing tar from telephone poles—“they say its good for the gums”—and even clay. Pregnant women, especially, would pop a piece of earth in their mouths, explaining they “had a taste for it.”

“And they might get some essential minerals out of it,” he said.

Describing the plight of thousands of Delta families displaced by the mechanization of the cotton plantations, Dr. Shirley said he sometimes wondered if Negroes were not better off in slavery days.

“In open slavery times human life was of some value,” he mused. “If master paid \$100 for a man he'd see that his property was well taken care of, just like a prize bull. But now the black people are no longer on the plantations. There is no feeling of responsibility toward them, no need to help them.”

Dr. Shirley, as head of Mississippi Action For Progress, a Head Start program, recently received \$106,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide free food stamps for the desperately poor of three counties—LeFlore, Scott and Claiborne—where the situation was called “critical.”

But he accused the state Welfare department of trying to frustrate the effort by refusing to accept checks in payment for the stamps, even though the checks were backed by special cash deposits in the county banks. Meanwhile he had helped some families out of emergencies by giving them cash.

The main complaint about the Federal food programs in the Delta was that they simply were not reaching the most desperately poor.

MYSTERY FINALLY SOLVED

Even though the minimum cash investment for food stamps by the poorest families—those with an income of less than \$20 a month—had been reduced from \$2 to 50 cents, there were still hundreds of families that couldn't raise 50 cents.

It had taken former Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman several years to solve the mystery of why the number of participants in food programs always dropped sharply whenever a county switched from free distribution of Federal surplus commodities to food stamps. Finally, some of his aides went to Mississippi and brought back the startling news: “There are families existing with no discernible income.”

Today, families in the food stamp program complain that the amount of monthly food they obtain usually is exhausted after the third week. A board of inquiry headed by Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Field Foundation, and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College, and sponsored by the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, an organization with the backing of the United Auto Workers, reported a year ago that the money value of the stamps fell “consistently and deliberately below the amount necessary to secure a minimally adequate diet.”

This indictment was substantiated last month when a preliminary report of the National Nutrition Survey, the first scientific attempt by the Federal Government to measure malnutrition in the United States, called the food programs inadequate.

In Greenville, Mrs. Frances Young said she had to feed herself and nine children on \$118 worth of food a month purchased by stamps for which she paid \$33. Her monthly income was \$55 from Aid to Dependent Children, plus \$50 sent by her elderly daughter in Detroit. Total, \$105.

Rent took \$25 a month, she said, and bills were overdue for gas, electricity and water. She had doctor bills totaling \$233.

AGED LIVE IN CABINS

“I can't feed this family,” said Mrs. Young despairingly. “We have pinto beans and bread. That's all for supper.”

"And this here's what I'm sweeping with," she said, wrathfully snatching up a stringy broom worn down to a final clutch of straws.

But at least the Youngs were better off than some aged and lonely Negroes that remained in rural cabins after their youngsters had gone North to find work. The only nursing home for Negroes in the area burned down on Jan. 18, killing seven of the aged and destitute, including an old woman who had been restrained by chicken wire because she was senile.

The whole town was shocked, but no one, white or black, could find it in his heart to blame Carrie Weaver and her husband Wash, who ran the firetrap. After all, the victims had no other place to live.

Wash Weaver told of finding old Ann House, who must have been 80, he said, lying helplessly in her cabin, wasted down to 100 pounds because no one had brought food.

"She must have been layin' on the floor for days," Wash Weaver said. "I had to cut her clothes off with a knife."

Mrs. House was one of the fire victims.

Down in Isaquena County, one of the poorest counties in the Delta, Mrs. Unita Blackwell, a leader of the Freedom Democratic Party, said a few more commodities had become available under the direct distribution program but that people still weren't getting a balanced diet from the free surplus foods. (The Agriculture Department offers each county a choice between a free but very limited commodities distribution and the stamp program; no county can have both).

Mrs. Blackwell was worried about the children.

"Grown folks have been hungry a long, long time," she said, "but the kids just got here and we don't want them mixed up with blood disorders. If you can't get enough food, your brain won't work."

There are two developments in the Delta that promise better times.

A distinguished biracial group of Mississippians, including Dr. Temple Ainsworth, former president of the State Medical Association, and the Right Rev. John Allin, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi; Dr. Robert E. Carter, dean of the Mississippi School of Medicine, and Dr. Albert B. Britton, a leading Negro doctor in Jackson, have proposed Federal funding for a crash program to lower the infant, maternal and child mortality rates in five Delta counties.

Delta counties have a history of the highest infant mortality rate among Negroes in the country—72.7 per 1,000 live births in 1965. The maternal death rate among Negroes was 25.1 in the same year.

The biracial committee proposes as a "short-term objective" a 20 per cent cut in the excessively high infant, maternal and child mortality rates in the five counties—Sharkey, Issaquena, Holmes, Humphreys and Washington in the first year. Health services in the counties would be strengthened, scores of mid-wives and health aides trained and sanitation improved. The committee asked the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare for \$3,405,000.

Some Negro leaders, including Dr. Shirley, have criticized the project, saying it would be dominated by whites. The committee is composed of five whites and four Negroes.

PROJECT IS EXPANDED

The other development is the further expansion of the Tufts Delta Health Project, sponsored by Tufts University, in Bolivar County.

Convinced of the "enormous futility" of trying to tackle health problems without changing other aspects of Delta life, such as housing, employment and education, Jack Geiger, director of the project, and other leaders, are now helping Negroes operate a farm cooperative, rebuild houses and plan Negro enterprises.

With guidance from the Government of Israel—Zev Barash, representative of Histad-

ruth in New York City, has sent several Delta Negroes to Israel to study farm cooperatives there—the project has formed the Northern Bolivar Farm Cooperative, which last year grew over a million pounds of produce on rented land. Starting with 120 acres, the cooperative hopes to expand to 500 acres this year.

CANNERY FOR "SOUL FOOD"

There are tentative plans for a \$400,000 cannery that would process "soul food" for the ethnic market, such as collards, gumbos and mustard greens.

Meanwhile, Dr. Roy Brown, associate professor of pediatrics and preventive medicine at Tufts, and Dr. Florence Halpern, a psychologist from New York, are surveying the medical and social backgrounds of 400 Negro children up to age three.

Dr. Brown and Dr. Halpern are convinced that Negro children brought up in the Delta already suffer brain retardation because of crushing poverty before they are old enough—three—to enter the Head Start programs.

"One of the things that pulls them down is the lack of verbal stimulation at home," Dr. Brown said. "Perhaps we should bring them into Head Start programs at three months, instead of three years."

NANCY A. THOMPSON RETIRES: DEDICATED PUBLIC SERVANT

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Nancy A. Thompson, Assistant Chief of Legislation in the Department of Justice, is retiring after faithfully serving the United States for 31 years.

Miss Thompson embarked upon her dedication to public service in the Treasury Department. In her first 3 years she served in the Treasury, Interior, and War Departments, as well as the NLRB. Then, she began a 28-year career with the Department of Justice.

Miss Thompson is the proverbial "self-made woman." She obtained her college credits, a George Washington University Law School education, and 1½ years of accounting at night while holding down a full-time job.

Prior to assuming her present duties in the Office of the Deputy Attorney General, Miss Thompson served with distinction in the Department's Lands Division, Board of Immigration Appeals, and Office of Alien Property.

Endowed with a keen mind and an exuberant, friendly personality, Miss Thompson exemplifies the highest caliber public servant. The Department of Justice has recognized her outstanding qualities with a Sustained Superior Performance Award and a Special Commendation Award. The Committee on the Judiciary, of which I have the honor to be chairman, is indebted to Miss Thompson for her able, most cooperative assistance in the 10 years during which she has been serving the Congress through the Department of Justice. We will miss her, but she has earned the right to enjoy a long and healthy retirement.

I join with the friends Miss Thompson leaves behind in both the executive and legislative branches in wishing her health and happiness.

FCC REGULATIONS GOVERNING CATV

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the recent regulations of the Federal Communications Commission governing CATV have caused considerable chaos in the Philadelphia area. I am concerned more particularly because the Jerrold Electronics Corp. in Philadelphia is a major producer of equipment used in this new industry. A substantial number of Jerrold employees, some 2,100 workers, are residents of the Fourth District of Pennsylvania, which I have the pleasure to represent. I am convinced that the regulations are capricious and that a better approach would be for legislative action in the field involved. I implore the Federal Communications Commission to reconsider the action it has taken and at least suspend the effectiveness of its new regulations pending action by the 91st Congress.

The situation is truly stated in a statement by Louis L. Kaplan, international representative, United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers of America—UE—District No. 1, before the Federal Communications Commission on February 4, 1969. Having received permission, I make his statement a part of the RECORD as follows:

STATEMENT OF LOUIS L. KAPLAN

On December 12, 1968, the Federal Communications Commission gave notice of certain proposed rules and regulations governing CATV. At the same time, the Commission froze the processing of all CATV applications and all further developments of CATV stations not already in operation at the time of the notice. It is probable that this freeze will remain in effect for at least a year or more while the Commission deliberates.

The effect of this action has been disastrous to the industry, resulting in the loss of thousands of jobs which doomed not only the affected workers to poverty and hardship but their families as well. Moreover, in upstate New York where TACO is the major or only employer, the hardship is borne by the whole community and the economic well-being of approximately 50,000 people is at stake.

This union does not know the extent of the damage to other areas of the country but we would venture to state that it has been considerable and that the full effect of the Commission's freeze on CATV has not yet been felt.

The freeze on CATV operations has resulted in a suspension in manufacture of equipment for the use of CATV stations. That is the UE's immediate concern—protecting the jobs and working conditions of the workers who make that equipment.

However, we would be opposed to the FCC's freeze on CATV even if the jobs of our membership were not involved. The FCC action would deprive thousands of UE members and millions of Americans who live in fringe areas of full access to television broadcasts.

With those brief remarks, the UE desires to make the following points for the Commission's consideration:

1. In the enabling act of 1934, the Commission was created "for the purpose of regulating interstate and foreign commerce in communication by wire and radio so as to make available, so far as possible, to all people of the United States a rapid, effi-

cient, nationwide and worldwide wire and radio communication service with adequate facilities at reasonable charges. (emphasis added). This mandate still exists and has been expanded over the years as technological developments made it necessary.

2. In the past 35 years there has been a tremendous growth in the communication industry but, today, the airwaves are dominated by three major networks and will continue to so dominate the air in the foreseeable future. This has resulted in gigantic profits for the networks involved but has not resulted in bringing "to all people of the United States communication services with adequate facilities at reasonable charges." The profits of the networks are assured whatever may happen to UHF or CATV. Therefore, it is in the public interest for FCC to foster expansion of communication services in every way possible to meet the existing need and future needs of the Nation.

3. Our economy is based on competition. It is in the public policy to encourage competition as against the development of massive monopolistic enterprises. Yet the FCC action runs directly counter to public policy. It would discourage competition by small CATV companies and put the nation's air waves more firmly in the grip of the three major networks.

4. The Commission's proposed rules and regulations condemned to death the economic well-being of over 50,000 people who live in Sherburne, Norwich and New Berlin, N.Y. It has seriously crippled the economy of Pennsylvania. It will affect other communities from coast to coast. It will affect the national economy through loss of taxes. None of this is in the public interest.

5. In these days, when poverty is one of our country's greatest burdens, the FCC has paralyzed a new and expanding industry that has provided and can provide thousands of skilled jobs. The Commission's action was not in the public interest.

6. It is also a matter of public policy to actively provide job opportunities for Negroes, including their training for skilled jobs. UE has worked together with management to fully integrate the work force at Jerrold. As a result of our efforts, Negroes comprise approximately 40% of the total employment. Through on-the-job training programs, Negroes have acquired the skills to work at the most skilled jobs together with whites, in substantial numbers and at wages that are among the highest in the industry.

But the FCC action has already resulted in the loss of jobs of 20% of the Negroes among the employees at Jerrold. Many more would be scheduled for layoffs if the FCC policies are continued.

7. By the freeze on CATV development, the Commission has placed an additional strain on communications. Providing the people with adequate communication services is not being done. CATV can jump mountains, dip into valleys and city canyons and provide clear reception, local programs and special events that the networks, for profit reasons, will not or do not carry, or cannot provide. It is in the public interest to foster these additional services.

8. There is no need for this union to point out the obvious but it is well-known to all of us that the major networks are not now providing the diversified programming that can be made available through CATV systems. In fact, the networks would prefer to force upon both UHF and CATV stations the packaged goods produced in their own studios whether or not these systems want them—and, I might add, at prices that would prohibit expansion of the CATV system. CATV stations can also provide programs of local interest such as area sport events, political speeches, proceedings of citizens and educational groups which the networks simply will not provide. It is in the public interest to provide these additional services.

9. It is in the public interest for the Commission to foster "adequate facilities at reasonable charges" which cannot prevail if CATV subscribers must pay for the cable equipment, the receiving sets, the fees demanded by the networks, and meet the demands of performing artists for royalties over and above those already received. This financial burden which would unquestionably be passed on to the individual viewer, would limit subscriptions, restrict expansion of the industry, and overturn the Supreme Court's decision in *Fortnightly Corp. v. United Artists Television, Inc.* This would not be in accord with the public interest or FCC's mandate.

10. Freezing further development of CATV is contrary to public interest because it is inconsistent with past practices of the Commission when promulgating new rules and regulations. The UE protests this arbitrary action and respectively suggests that the Commission can best serve the public by making its rules and regulations effective on the date a final decision is issued.

11. The present freeze on CATV development will destroy many small manufacturing companies who cannot remain in business while the Commission makes up its collective mind. This restricts free enterprise and is contrary to the public interest. We do not believe that in the coming months while the Commission carries on its deliberations that any major damage will be inflicted on the networks, or even on UHF stations.

12. The FCC has asked why cable broadcasters should get, without charge, programs for which the major TV networks have to pay. The question might be better posed "Why should the major broadcasting companies receive additional subsidies over and above their immensely profitable control of a natural resource?"

13. In informal discussions with officials of the FCC, it has been suggested to representatives of this union that the layoffs that have occurred in the equipped manufacturing shops were not due to the Commission's actions. We reject that suggestion for two reasons: First, it is inconceivable that any company will release from its employment not just production workers but the highly skilled technicians, engineers, administrative and sales employees, which has happened in Jerrold and TACO. Secondly, it is even more incredible that a company would voluntarily endanger its financial standing and court bankruptcy.

14. In conclusion, I would like to say that this union firmly believes that a laborer is worthy of his hire and that we do not reject outright the demands of performing artists for additional royalties for shows carried over CATV. However, we believe it is in the public interest for these royalties to be as low as possible and that in making recommendations to Congress the Commission should lend its influence toward expanding a communication service, regardless of other factors, and that this is most consistent with the Commission's mandate.

Thank you. Do you have any questions?

ARTHUR F. BURNS: UNTOUCHABLES UNENDING

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, "Is there a dime's worth of difference?"

To help our colleagues appreciate what is going on in the internal affairs of our country infected by an unending parade of untouchables, I place Frank

Capell's Herald of Freedom for February 21, 1969, at this point in my comments:

ARTHUR F. BURNS

With the advent of Richard Nixon to the Presidency of the United States, the "invisible government" is becoming more and more visible. When the Democrats took over in 1961 it was ADA people who moved in in droves; with the Republicans now it is CFR people. The Council on Foreign Relations has been called the invisible government of the United States and the shape of things to come may be glimpsed by a look at its personnel, policies and plans.

We recommend that our readers secure "The Invisible Government" by Dan Smoot and "The CFR" by Phoebe Courtney and read them carefully if they have not already done so. For a brief summary we include here excerpts from the Dan Smoot Report of July 21, 1964 concerning the CFR.

"The people elected and appointed to manage the affairs of the United States Government have, in large measure, become puppets, controlled by powerful persons working in and through a network of tax-exempt organizations.

"At the center of this network is the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). * * *

"They are an elite who set policies of our federal government; and, through a vast, interlocking combine of educational and opinion-forming agencies, they influence or control propaganda which persuades Congress and the public to accept the policies.

"In short, the Council on Foreign Relations IS the invisible government of the United States. * * *

"The CFR itself is a small organization (1400 members); but it is the control center of a vast complex of multi-million-dollar foundations and myriad other tax-exempt organizations which work in unison toward one-world socialism. The CFR has no formal affiliation with most of the other organizations; but the interlock is shown by their common objective, by their common source of funds, and by the overlapping of officers and membership."

Funds come from the Rockefellers and their funds and foundations, the Carnegie Foundation and the Ford Foundation, among others. Among the interlocking organizations are the Foreign Policy Association, the World Affairs Councils, the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Atlantic Union Committee. This last organization advocated regional unions gradually working up to world government. When the United Nations was formed in San Francisco in 1945 at least forty members of the Council on Foreign Relations were in attendance to help with its birth. Among them were Alger Hiss, Edward R. Stettinius (then Secretary of State), Leo Pasvolsky, John Foster Dulles, Nelson Rockefeller, Adlai Stevenson and Ralph Bunche.

The Council on Foreign Relations was formed after World War I (with a sister organization in England) when the United States disappointed the One-Worlders by not joining the League of Nations. It was incorporated and the papers filed Aug. 5, 1921, with offices at 25 W. 43 Street, New York City. Among the original incorporators were Paul M. Warburg and Otto H. Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., financiers of the Communist take-over of Russia. Its present headquarters is the Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th St., New York.

The Council on Foreign Relations is represented in the Nixon Administration by Henry A. Kissinger, William P. Rogers, Charles W. Yost and a new appointment, Arthur H. Burns, among others. On Jan. 23, 1969 President Nixon announced the appointment of Dr. Burns to a post created by his executive order—Counselor to the President which carries with it Cabinet rank.

Arthur Frank Burns was born April 27, 1904 in Stanislau, Austria, the son of Nathan

Burns and the former Sarah Juran.* The family immigrated to the United States and settled in Bayonne, N.J. where Arthur attended Bayonne High School, graduating in 1921. He worked his way through Columbia and obtained both his B.A. and M.A. in 1925. While continuing to study for his Ph. D. at Columbia, Burns taught at Rutgers, beginning as an instructor in economics in 1927 and finally becoming a full professor in 1943. He obtained his Ph. D. from Columbia in 1934 and in 1941 returned there as a visiting professor and in 1944 became a full-time professor of economics there.

Beginning in 1930 Burns became associated with the National Bureau of Economic Research, an organization which had been established in 1920. He was a member of the research staff and in 1945 became director of research, succeeding Wesley C. Mitchell, by whom Burns believes himself to have been principally influenced. Mitchell, also a Columbia University professor, had a public record of affiliation with many Communist-fronts. As president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he signed a statement on behalf of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Mitchell and Burns coauthored the book, "Measuring Business Cycles," published in 1946. Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell taught at Columbia University from 1913 to 1944 and was Director of Research for the National Bureau of Economic Research from 1920 to 1945. He was a director of the New School for Social Research. The Lusk Committee shows he was connected with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and was a stockholder in the Liberator, a Communist magazine. Mitchell was a planner for the Roosevelt Administration, being a member of the National Planning Board. His political orientation is quite obvious from his background and his protege, Dr. Burns, is now ready to plan and direct the domestic policies of the new Nixon Administration. Old planners never die, they just pass the work along to their successors.

For a short period of time beginning in 1937 Arthur Burns was a research consultant to the U.S. Treasury Department. Soviet agent Harry Dexter White was assistant director of research for the Treasury Department at this time. The National Bureau of Economic Research worked in cooperation with the National Research Project of the U.S. Government, a division of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), established by President Roosevelt by executive order. Director of the National Research Project was David Weintraub who had been an employee of the National Bureau of Economic Research before leaving to enter government service. During his employment with the private agency he had been loaned to work with Sidney Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, David Weintraub and his assistant in the National Research Project, Irving Kaplan, have both been identified by Whittaker Chambers as Communists in sworn testimony. Weintraub, like Burns, was born in Austria and obtained his M.A. from Columbia University.

In 1941 Arthur Burns again joined the Roosevelt Administration, becoming chief economist for the President's Railway Emergency Board. Although he had previously been a Democrat, Burns supported Eisenhower in 1952 and in 1953 was the first member to be named to the Council of Economic Advisers by Eisenhower when he took over the reins of government. His nomination was announced March 6, 1953 and he was confirmed by the Senate March 18, 1953. In his new position with the Nixon Administration no confirmation is necessary. On August 8, 1953 Burns was appointed chairman of the

Council, succeeding Leon Keyserling. He remained in this position until 1956.

Burns' friendship with President Nixon dates back to his appointment in 1953. The N.Y. Times profile on Burns states:

"Mr. Burns got where he is not because of his background . . . but because fate happened to make him swim first into the ken, and then win the confidence and respect of Richard M. Nixon. A relationship that began in 1953 has lasted and flowered * * *

"The two men came together in the early days of the Eisenhower Administration. Mr. Burns, then chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, was impressed with the young Vice President, and Mr. Nixon appreciated the time Mr. Burns was willing to give him."

The Washington Post states: "Nixon is known to have great faith and trust in Burns, having been close to him, especially during the past eight years." This friendship and confidence has now paid off for Dr. Burns in the form of one of the most powerful positions in the U.S. Government. "He would appear to be almost a deputy President for domestic matters," says the Post.

As a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Burns is a member in good standing of the Establishment. He is also a member of the International Pilgrim Society of which Eisenhower was Honorary President. The Pilgrims were founded in London July 24, 1902 and the Pilgrims of the United States were founded in New York City on January 13, 1903. This is a secret society of international finance, dedicated to the establishment of "One World." The activities of this society, described as "the most powerful international society on earth," have been so wrapped in secrecy that few Americans are aware of its existence.

Arthur Burns has also been listed as a member of the Research Council for the Institute of World Affairs, Inc. This is another little known but influential organization working on the international scene. It was established originally by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander M. Hadden 45 years ago in Geneva, Switzerland. Its stated purpose is to prepare outstanding youth for leadership and participation in world affairs. An article in the N.Y. Times stated:

"Among the leaders of today's world who attended the institute when they were students are Walt W. Rostow . . . James A. Linen, president of Time, Inc., and Karl H. Knapstein, West German Ambassador to the United States. . . .

"But all is not cerebral. At night the students stage variety shows . . . or sit around swapping stories. And some of them fall in love, like Mr. Rostow, who, in the session of 1937, met the girl he later married."

Who's Who in World Jewry 1965 shows Arthur F. Burns as a trustee of the Twentieth Century Fund, established in 1919 by Edward A. Filene, a wealthy Boston merchant who had an early interest in Communist Russia. Filene was affiliated with the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce which later became the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia (a cited Communist front). He was affiliated with the American Association for Labor Legislation, the Foreign Policy Association and in 1927 went to the Soviet Union with Communist-fronter Jerome Davis to make an "impartial" investigation of conditions and came back with glowingly favorable reports.

The Twentieth Century Fund conducts studies using teams of specially selected experts, produces films, publishes books, pamphlets, charts, graphics, and a newsletter. The influence of its work is felt throughout the country and its findings and recommendations are guides for the Fabian Socialist Movement. The Fund for years used as an economic adviser Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, the associate of Dr. Burns who influenced him so strongly. Among the offi-

cers and directors of the Twentieth Century Fund have been J. Robert Oppenheimer, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Kenneth Galbraith and Evans Clark, a friend of the Soviet Communists since their "noble experiment" began. He worked under the direction of Ludwig C.A.K. Martens, head of the Soviet Bureau in the United States.

The Reece Committee investigating tax-exempt foundations had this to say concerning the Twentieth Century Fund, "That several such persons (pro-Communists) should be actively and importantly associated with a public trust, Tax Exempt Foundations, spending millions of dollars in public money is, in our considered opinion, highly improper and an utter lack of responsibility by foundation trustees and directors in the discharge of their duties."

The Twentieth Century Fund lost its tax exemption from 1935 to 1939 because of certain propaganda activities. To hold the position of trustee in such an organization one would certainly have to share its views. The Fund sent representatives to the Disarmament Symposium held at the University of Michigan where plans were worked out for the complete and general disarmament of the United States, including the setting up of U.N. Inspection Bases with U.N. "peace-keeping" forces stationed at the bases.

Poor's Register of corporations and directors shows Arthur Burns to be a director of Dividend Shares, Inc. of One Wall St., New York. Out of nine directors, five are members of the Council on Foreign Relations—Arthur F. Burns, Grayson Kirk (forced out of Columbia University by the student riots), Hugh Bullock (international banker), Frank Pace, Jr. of General Dynamics Corp., and Maxwell D. Taylor of the Mexican Light and Power Co. Three of these are members of the International Pilgrim Society. Dividend Shares, Inc. is in the investment business and is shown as having a volume of \$12 to \$15 million.

Arthur Burns has been a consultant to the Bullock Fund Limited, an investment firm of which Hugh Bullock is president. Frank Pace, Jr. and Maxwell D. Taylor are directors of this firm. Poor's Register shows Arthur Burns as a director of Nation-Wide Security Company, One Wall Street, New York, an investment firm with a volume of \$1 to \$3 million. Our Council on Foreign Relations and Pilgrim people are also directors of this firm: Arthur Burns, Hugh Bullock, Grayson Kirk, Frank Pace, Jr. and Maxwell D. Taylor.

Arthur Burns became president of the National Bureau of Economic Research in 1956 and has headed it ever since. In 1961 he was a member of President Kennedy's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy. His role during the Eisenhower Administration was assessed by Robert Welch in his book, "The Politician." He described Burns as an "Off-and-on Economic Adviser and Super-adviser to the President," and stated: "Typical of the kind of economic advice Burns hands out were his statements in 1955 that 'our system of free and competitive enterprise is on trial' and that government 'must be ready to take vigorous steps to help maintain a stable prosperity.' It is quite probable that the job of 'economic adviser' has been merely a coverup for Burns' liaison work between Eisenhower and some of his bosses in the Establishment."

Current biography 1953 states that in his book, "Economic Research and the Keynesian Thinking of our Times," Burns "acknowledged the important contributions Lord Keynes had made by calling attention to the need for maintaining high employment." There is much speculation as to what Burns' role in the Nixon Administration will be. The Washington Post stated: "Burns' role, clearly wide-ranging, is not fully spelled out . . . around the Executive Office Building next to the White House . . . one active rumor is that Burns will stay in the White House

*Who's Who in World Jewry and Who's Who in America list the mother's maiden name as Juran, while Current Biography lists it as "Joseph."

only until the Chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board, or some equally prestigious operating job, opens up."

Even before he was made an official part of the new Nixon government, Burns was busy with advice. The Washington, D.C. Evening Star of January 24, 1969 stated:

"The President's new counselor, Burns, submitted to Nixon on Tuesday a report, based on task force studies, the President's own thinking, the 1968 Republican platform and other sources, which recommend both an immediate and long-term executive and legislative action.

"The report was organized around 18 major issues, including electoral reform; government organization; federal expenditures, taxation, debt and credit programs; science and technology; education; business regulation; resources and environment; health care and welfare; manpower and civil rights and internal economic policies.

"This report is expected to form the basis of Nixon's domestic program during his first year in office. . . .

"In his new capacity, Burns said he would be engaged in enlarging the sphere for presidential action and carrying out Nixon's plans and policies, as well as maintaining a 'continuous inventory' of possible domestic action."

The Dallas News of Jan. 24, 1969 stated:

"President Nixon signaled Thursday a possible major push to get Congress to enact his own legislative program this year.

"This word came from Dr. Arthur Burns, named by Nixon to be counselor to the President with Cabinet rank and charged with developing domestic policies and programs for the new administration.

"Burns is the only member of the White House staff to be accorded Cabinet rank and, so far as could be recalled, is the first presidential aide to have the title of counselor.

"Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler was asked whether Burns would be considered the ranking member of the White House staff.

"I think you could draw that conclusion," he replied.

"Burns has been present at many of Nixon's major conferences with advisers since the election and was in charge of coordinating reports from task forces assigned by the new President to look into broad problem areas."

The N.Y. Times profile on Burns states:

"Mr. Burns has conceded that his job ranges all the way to helping the President in crisis situations, such as possible riots. How the extra-careful scholar will react in such a situation is one of the great unknowns of the new Administration.

"What no outsider can possibly know, at least not yet, is how much Mr. Burns' personal views will influence the President's decisions on the almost infinite variety of domestic questions. This issue—the role of the White House staff—is a puzzle in every Presidency."

Stating that "this 64-year-old economist has a mandate to superintend the President's entire domestic program," Newsweek magazine of February 17, 1969 states that Burns has already been responsible for 80 Presidential directives to the various agencies. The article indicates that he plans to maintain control over as many areas as possible. "When he heard about a plan last week to set up an interim committee to consider creation of a standing committee on transition to a peace-time economy, 'I blew my top,' he reports. 'It obviously belongs in the Council of Economic Advisers.'"

Arthur Burns was married on January 25, 1930 to Helen Bernstein, a student at the time of her marriage and a teacher for a few years after. They have two sons, David and Joseph. Current Biography 1953 states that Professor Burns' academic societies are the American Statistical Association, the Academy of Political Science, the American Eco-

nomics Association and that he is a member of the administrative board of the Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing Studies and of the editorial and advisory board of the American Palestine Institute. His N.Y. Times profile states: "Some former associates in New York are said to have found him 'difficult' to work with. Others who have worked with him frankly dislike him." The important thing is not whether his personality is pleasing but whether his political philosophy is acceptable to the American people who have had him thrust upon them as "Deputy President."

ROBERT P. PATTERSON MEMORIAL
AWARD GIVEN TO 1ST LT. JAMES
S. ZIEBA

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on February 12, 1969, one of my constituents, 1st Lt. James S. Zieba, of Adams, was given the Robert P. Patterson Memorial Award at Fort Benning, Ga. The Robert P. Patterson Memorial Award was established in commemoration of the late Secretary of War and judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. It is awarded annually to the outstanding infantry officer candidate graduate. Lieutenant Zieba is to be congratulated for his exceptional record as an officer candidate.

Mrs. Robert P. Patterson was the guest of honor at the presentation of the Robert P. Patterson Memorial Award. At that time Mrs. Patterson gave a memorable speech which deserves serious consideration. Therefore, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

GUEST SPEAKER, MRS. ROBERT P. PATTERSON,
ROBERT P. PATTERSON AWARD CEREMONY,
FEBRUARY 12, 1969

Secretary Brehm, General Connor, General Wright and Distinguished Friends of the Infantry Officers Candidate School of the United States Army.

It is a fine experience to participate in this impressive ceremony in honor of the winner of the Patterson Award and Lieutenant James S. Zieba for a prime example of a courageous, able, and fine GI—an enlisted man who has proved himself to be excellent officer material.

Judge Patterson kept very close to the officers during his entire career in the War Department. He expected more of them than competence and judgment. He looked also for the earnestness of the "soldier who knows what he fights for and loves what he knows." For the Judge thought that an officer's value to the nation depends on the deep respect he has for his country and what it upholds, and that the whole Army draws its strength from a feeling—through all ranks—of support for the national purpose which in spite of civil strife has bound us together since Pilgrim days. This unifying purpose was carried out by Judge Patterson through his unflinching respect for the rights of every soldier—officer and enlisted man—and by keeping his own faith and resolve that the great potential of our nation shall be fulfilled.

The Judge kept close to the enlisted man too. He always felt like one of them because as a GI he learned to bear the troubles, to accept the inevitable, go forward doggedly under strain and stress and share their relief when things eased up.

In 1918 the Judge saw the shortage of officers and like the Officer Candidates here, he determined to carry his full load and so he took officer training. I feel sure that he, when he was young, had other things in common with you men here today and that your training will be to you as it was to him—a main asset to the future.

Lieutenant Zieba has won his place among the patriotic officers who build our superb Army Infantry leadership. This achievement is important because such capable and high caliber leadership is the key—in every endeavor and at every level.

At the national level our congratulations go to President Nixon as he begins to lead as Commander-in-Chief. Here's to his great success and wisdom in dealing with the problems so vastly multiplied since our forefathers left the Old War to live in freedom according to their consciences. Today disaster for one country is disaster for all. To my mind, that's why angry isolation is a danger to everyone and why we must try for understanding. Give a chance to men who need fulfillment and offer friendly help and reassurance even to those who have opposed us at home and abroad. That is why America's duty now is to help make the world safe for mankind, and share the role of peacemaker with all who want peace. For this understanding the President asked the help of every nation and every man.

Judge Patterson, as a citizen and soldier, would have responded with all his heart for he believed that the fulfillment of our responsibilities here and in the world is what makes America great; and may America prove as faithful to this duty as the brave GIs in following their platoon leader. For not even the President can reach the objective unless men trust and follow him.

A man burdened with high position needs every bit of training and leadership that he can get and I hope that someday such training will be offered to all who have the courage to undertake a career of responsibility. One of these self-confident men will surely reach the very top, and the faith of a country depends on the capacity of each President in turn to lead the nation forward.

The responsibility the Judge undertook shortly before America entered World War II was to oversee the immense rearmament needed by the United States and her Allies for defense. Military planners estimated huge requirements so that our defenders of freedom would never be defenseless for want of their foresight.

Soon after our soldiers went overseas one distracted General said, "Although we looked ahead and provided for every possible need, war has made shortages and chaos overnight."

In this emergency the Judge begged for the funds to produce every important item recommended by top military experts. He never allowed cut-backs to hamper a new and strategic development—no matter what the cost.

But later it was said that the Judge saved every possible million out of the billions entrusted to him, for after the danger was past and over he worked to take the profit out of war and put back into the taxpayer's pocket every nickel that could be salvaged.

But no expense was spared to stop Hitler, unlike nowadays when a popular fallacy teaches that our armament should be equal but not superior to that of our opponents. This is called parity for peace. The Judge would have thought this idea a death trap for the defenders of freedom. He would be glad for all the strength America has—strength to make the United States respected, strength to enable the President to lead through compassion and magnanimity. He would have thought this approach far better than the dictatorial way that pushes people who want peace into aggressive acts.

Dictatorial pressures have driven Czecho-

slovakia to make her brave demands to be rid of foreign censorship, investigators, informers and troops within her borders. I wonder how many other Communist nations are tired of being herded in groups, only to find themselves betraying friends abroad and exploiting military supplies to be used against friendly peoples abroad.

Having borne continuous pressure for so long perhaps they're seeking humane and peaceable governments and maybe somehow find them.

By some miracle the Red planners may be taught that aggression does not pay. When the ruinous and fierce attacks cease, then the defenders of freedom will gratefully turn from the present necessity of battle destruction to the glorious job of building an era of prosperity, friendliness and peace.

One of today's brave defenders of freedom—a former GI, a Patterson Award Winner and now a Major, is trying to build peace and security in the midst of war. He writes from Vietnam with a rather wide perspective of his assignment:

"Our country's dynamic and powerful assistance to the Vietnam Republic is producing visible results.

"Public support for the central government grows each day.

"The American troop units are performing valiantly in their day-to-day task of defeating the main force of VC and North Vietnamese.

"They are providing a degree of security in which nation building can progress. Infantry platoon leaders are bearing the brunt of the burden as they provide the dedicated leadership that our troops so rightfully deserve."

These devoted platoon leaders remind me of Lieutenant Michael J. Hayes, a gallant and inspiring platoon leader who was in my husband's company in World War II. When Captain Patterson's morning patrol stumbled on the enemy (supposed to have slipped away into the night) he covered his men's escape, then fell as if dead. After a day flattened out under fire, he got back to the trench. Then he found that his dear friend Mike had led a search for him in no-man's land.

The first to volunteer to go out for his captain said, "I'll go, when do we start." That was big, brawny Pat Carroll. He got over his shrapnel wounds and the others weren't hurt, thank heavens. John Duffy, the salty wit; Peter Flinucane, soft-spoken and courageous; Dick Foy, the dare-devil. I am proud to thank them all five, now and always.

The best I could wish, for each of you here today, is that you will have such men to rely on.

These five soldiers risked death for my husband with absolute devotion. They were brave beyond the call of duty, and each one received Distinguished Service Crosses. They were real Combat Infantrymen—and to my husband there was nothing on earth better than that. His lifelong feeling for them was warmer than gratitude.

Lieutenant James S. Zieba, my husband would be glad you chose this wonderful Infantry Service. Through your training and accomplishments you have won Awards and Medals—The Combat Infantryman's Badge, the Vietnam Parachutist Badge and others.

Among the many fine qualities shown by your rigorous testing there is one which will always be needed whether you serve as a platoon leader or go onto high command. I mean—decision. You do not waver or stand paralyzed. You use your judgment, go forward, do your best, and always look to protect the men who follow.

I would not know what enables you to throw off doubts and go forward. Perhaps your secret, like my husband's, is to be sure of the main objective. Pick the most important thing in each situation and do it first.

Lieutenant Zieba, it's my honor to present to you from the friends who have made this award possible a service pistol, beautifully engraved, a formidable weapon.

And also from them, this very negotiable check.

Congratulations from all the Pattersons.

THE IMPORT-EXPORT CARTELS

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I am not surprised by the pledge of the Nixon administration to help the southern textile States by limiting the imports of cotton and manmade fibers. The southern votes in November were a response to that pledge. While campaigning, the President made a similar reference for the benefit of the steel industry, and I believe a like pledge will be forthcoming for that beleaguered industry.

Mr. Speaker, for the past 10 years I have done my best to warn the Congress and the Democratic Party of the impending crisis our Nation will face because of unfair competition from foreign producers. Before too long, practically every industry in the United States will be in a similar or worse position than steel and textiles. Some are at that point now, or have already stopped production or, worse yet, have moved their production to foreign countries while maintaining their American markets.

Mr. Speaker, I will support any action toward relief from imports for American industry when the impact is related to job losses. There is no substitute for jobs in our industrial economy. The President will learn this sooner or later and should know that talk of attacking inflation by creating "some" unemployment without making imports a major consideration in our planning, is courting disaster.

I cannot, however, support privileged relief for textiles, and allow steel, glass, ceramics, sporting goods, automobiles, motorcycles, shoes, and hundreds of other items to go down the drain of diplomatic stupidity and exorbitant profiteering by the import-export cartels.

We have followed the free trade theory of self-styled Government "experts" too long. The idea that this Nation can dissipate its high labor contract productions in favor of sophisticated products is the cause of our loss of job opportunities for the less educated, less skilled workers.

These are the problem children of our times. This Nation can lull itself to sleep in our industrial world if it convinces itself that if everybody graduates from college or learns a trade we can eradicate slums, stop our urban unrest, or truly become "the affluent society" of all time. No nation can become affluent without jobs; jobs for every grade of worker, from top to bottom. Any other kind of affluence will create a two-level society—the rich and the poor. In this type of society, the rich live apart from the poor and their needs, thereby ignoring and contributing to poor food, clothing, and housing. In our society, however, some

poor can climb out of the degradation of poverty and want because the middle strata of our society, the stepping stone between poverty and wealth, is the narcotic that keeps the rich and poor from each others throats.

In the kind of affluent society envisioned by free traders, our Nation would not dirty its hands with manual labor or the production of common goods like textiles, pottery, glass, and, in fact, most production goods. We would be a Nation of white collars and colored glasses. The poor would be put into housing projects with all the trimmings except jobs. The middle man between the rich and the poor will either move up with the elite or down to the "free slave quarters."

The trouble with this theory is that sooner or later the low-paid workers in other nations will revolt at being our providers and we will be unable to get our "free slaves" to return to work.

Mr. Speaker, today we watch the Japanese move from the "import junk items" to color televisions—600,000 sets in 1968; black-and-white television—1,400,000 sets; millions of quality motorcycles, cars, transistors, shoes, table china, stainless tableware, sporting equipment, tile, binoculars, and what have you, plus steel, glass, and ships. You name it and they will make it. So Mr. Nixon should prepare to add these industries to his list of those in need of relief from foreign imports.

If Hubert Humphrey could have departed from the outmoded, shopworn trade theories we have been bound to, and pushed the fight for the relief of American industry and jobs, he would have won the election. The textile promise was the real basis of Mr. Nixon's southern victory. Any talk to the contrary is not borne out by our President's actions to date. Some southerners claim they voted for Mr. Nixon because he would support local school autonomy and curtail the efforts of labor unions. Look at his appointments in labor and education to date, and read their public statements.

Mr. Speaker, it hurts me to say it but we Democrats are still living in the early thirties, blaming those trade policies for the great depression. What we will not admit is that our present trade policy is planting the seeds that will bring a harvest of depression and economic destruction such that the great depression will look like a Sunday School picnic. While we lost all we had in the thirties, we had little to lose. But take away our quality of food today, and our cars, televisions, homes, and all the other goodies of our illusory affluent society, and all the heavens will break loose.

So Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer free but, I truly believe, sound advice to our new President. Recognize that the real threat to domestic and world peace and tranquility and economic stability is the false and antiquated concept of free trade we practice today. No trade is free or fair unless both sides to the trade benefit. How can an American jobseeker benefit when we sell \$800 million worth of cotton and buy \$800 million worth of textiles. We got our money back, but lost over 200,000 textile jobs in the ex-

change. No nation can survive by buying retail and selling wholesale. Even volume will not help.

THE NATO ALLIANCE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of President Nixon's trip to Europe, it is obvious that his main effort must be to reconstruct the NATO Alliance.

One look at the Mediterranean, with the ever-growing Soviet presence, shows the strategic value of Greece to the Alliance. May I add the observation that among our allies, the Greek Government has consistently given the Alliance maximum cooperation.

Ray McHugh, the scholarly chief of the Copley News Service Washington Bureau, is a penetrating observer of the European scene having covered extensive developments in the area. His column in the Illinois State Journal on Saturday, February 15, commenting on President Nixon and the status of the Greek regime in NATO is especially timely.

The column referred to follows:

GREECE A PROBLEM FOR NATO MEET

(By Ray McHugh)

WASHINGTON.—At some point in President Nixon's discussions with NATO leaders in Brussels late this month, the subject of Greece will come up.

U.S. relations with the strategic Mediterranean country are under review in both the State Department and the Pentagon. Indications are strong that bottled-up NATO arms aid to the military-backed government in Athens will soon begin to flow.

Shipments of military goods have been held up since the bloodless April 1967 coup d'etat by Greek colonels who said they acted to thwart a Communist takeover of the country.

Pressure for the release of these supplies has been mounting, particularly in view of the unsettled Middle East situation and the steady buildup of Soviet naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Greece occupies a crucial geographic position in NATO defense plans and her base at Suda Bay on the Island of Crete is virtually the only staging area available for Sixth Fleet operations in the Eastern Mediterranean. U.S. naval units operated out of Suda Bay during the tense days of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Greece also offers the U.S. fleet hospitality that is unmatched almost anywhere in the Mediterranean.

Although a vociferous liberal bloc in Congress continues to demand a total embargo on aid to Greece, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird reportedly is convinced that supplies must be moving to Athens if the military backed regime is to have a chance to rebuild the nation's parliamentary structure.

The government headed by Premier George Papadopoulos has pledged a return to constitutional rule but has insisted that it first enact orderly reforms. It won overwhelming approval of a new constitution last September.

"It's hard to see how the Greeks can re-establish parliamentary government, if we don't help them," Laird is quoted as saying.

The Athens regime has expressed concern recently about renewed Communist propaganda attacks from nearby Romania and Bulgaria and by threats of new guerrilla activity inside Greece. Relations between

Greece and Communist Yugoslavia have been improving since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia posed a Russian threat to the Tito regime.

An official Greek Defense Ministry report says these weapons are due Greece under unfilled NATO assistance programs: 300 tanks, 272 armored personnel carriers, 15 helicopters, 115 armored motor carriers, 24 175mm self-propelled guns, 18 155mm self-propelled guns, 54 105mm self-propelled guns, 8 C-199 cargo planes, 18 RF5A reconnaissance planes.

Large numbers of tanks consigned to Greece are reported in storage in Italy. The Greeks also have asked permission to purchase from the United States ammunition, recoilless rifles and mortars.

The ban on shipment of NATO arms to Greece was actually lifted last November by the Johnson administration, but the order to resume deliveries has not been given.

While Greece has been the target of liberals in and out of Congress, the Athens government has strong endorsements from American military men serving in the Mediterranean and from many prominent Americans including former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Gen. James Van Fleet, USA (ret.), former head of the U.S. Military Aid Mission, who have vehemently attacked the complaint that the colonels killed democracy in Greece.

Rather than killing democracy, Acheson and others argue, the military coup saved Greece from political chaos that could have led to withdrawal from NATO, conflict with Turkey over Cyprus and possible Communist domination.

KARL MARX: APOSTLE OF COMMUNISM FEARED AND HATED RUSSIA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, among the ablest publicists that our country has produced since the Korean war of 1950-53 is Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, who from 1941 through 1951 was chief of intelligence for General MacArthur.

A student of history and strategy, General Willoughby since 1938 has published a Foreign Intelligence Digest that provides a reservoir of useful information reflecting a profound geopolitical insight on the part of its editor.

In the current mounting struggle for world domination there are a number of focal points of conflict: Southeast Asia, Southern Africa, the Near East, and the Caribbean, with the Panama Canal as the key Communist objective.

The crucial line for the defense of Western civilization, however, as emphasized by General Willoughby, is not any one of the areas mentioned but the Denmark-Alps line in Europe. Along this line since World War II the forces of Soviet and Western powers confront each other in undisguised hostility.

In view of the 1968 military occupation by the U.S.S.R. of Czechoslovakia and the present Soviet threats against West Germany in regard to Berlin, two of General Willoughby's 1961 analyses of the writings of Karl Marx should be of special interest to all officials of our Government charged with the formulation of policy in meeting Soviet imperialism.

I include the indicated intelligence digests as parts of my remarks:

[From Foreign Intelligence Digest, Apr. 21, 1961]

KARL MARX: APOSTLE OF COMMUNISM FEARED AND HATED RUSSIA

KARL MARX: CORRESPONDENT FOR A NEW YORK PAPER

Karl Marx, venerated apostle of Communism, feared and hated Czarist Russia and had no desire or concept that Russia should ever become the seat of global Communism. It was Berlin, Paris or London rather than the Kremlin which he envisaged as the citadel of the revolutionary proletariat. Karl Marx served as European correspondent of *The New York Daily Tribune* and wrote significant dispatches, in the period of 1853-1856, from exile in London. These brilliant reports have become a rarity in Western libraries. Naturally, they have been prudently omitted from all Soviet editions of Marx's writings. The "*Tribune*" might do well to reprint them. They represent a brilliant exposé of Czarist expansionism, and a devastating forecast of Communist-Bolshevik evolution and maneuvers in terms of Mongoloid-Pan-Slavism, then and today. A venturesome German publisher (Seewald Verlag) has released a reprint of Marx's dispatches under the suggestive title: "*The Russian Drive for Expansion and the Policy of the Western Powers*." The reports deal, of course, with an almost forgotten historical background, with the U.S. slowly moving toward civil war and Russia moving toward Constantinople and an outlet on the Mediterranean or the Persian Gulf.

The publication of this series is a political event of considerable significance for it thoroughly destroys the Kremlin legend of Karl Marx, as the champion of Russian claims to Communist universal leadership.

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY: A CONSTANT OF CSARS AND COMMISSARS

Karl Marx's reports are a complete exposé of Russia's messianic complex, an almost pathologic expansionist urge of all Russian rulers—from Ivan the Terrible to the Romanoffs—a calculable "constant" inherent in Russian foreign policy.

Said Marx: "What has changed? Nothing at all! Russia's policy is unchangeable. Russia's methods, tactics and maneuvers may change but the lodestar of Russian policy—world domination—is a fixed star. . . ."

It is all the same whether the "Czar" is called Alexander, Nicholas, Kerensky, Stalin or Khrushchev! The secular aim does not change, whether Russian annexation aids were embellished—as in Czarist days—with the slogan of "protection of Christianity, the Eastern Church or the Slav peoples," or whether they are currently camouflaged by the Soviet regime with social slogans of "the liberation of the world from the Capitalist yoke." Karl Marx defines Czarist-Bolshevik evolution in a terrifying "equation," viz:

Czarist Absolutism; Enslavement of the World.

Communist Absolutism; Enslavement of the World.

No art of interpretation, however skillful, can obliterate the sensational disclosure that in Marx's opinion the struggle between Russia and the West takes precedence over the dialectics between "Capital and Workers" and that, however critical his doctrinaire attitude, his personal sympathies are clearly with the West. It is precisely in assessing the "constants of Russian policy" that Karl Marx, long since endowed with an aura of infallibility by the Communist rulers, is in agreement with such outstanding political thinkers as the French Liberal Alexis de Tocqueville, the Royalist Marquis de Custine, the Spanish Conservative Donoso Cortes or the Ukrainian nationalist theoretician D. Donzov. The picture of Karl Marx which the Kremlin has, with a certain degree of success, pre-

mented to the world is thus a fake. In his reports, Karl Marx gives the modern reader a political lesson which is in every respect remarkable and still applicable today.

KARL MARX FORECASTS RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM

We have selected some of Marx's brilliant thoughts on this subject, viz:

"Panslavism is a form of Russian imperialism—it is not a movement that strives for national independence but a movement which, directed against Europe, would destroy all cultural values that history has created through thousands of years. This could not be achieved without eradicating Austria, Hungary, Turkey and a major part of Germany from the (political) map. . . .

"There is only one way of dealing with an absolute power like Russia and that is by absolute fearlessness. . . .

"A system of intimidation is less expensive than actual warfare. . . .

"Russia hands the Western Chancelleries diplomatic notes—like throwing bones to a dog—in order to give them some harmless pleasure whilst she herself uses this opportunity to gain more time (and space). . . .

"Inasmuch as Russia counts on the cowardice and fear of the Western powers, she intimidates Europe and pushes her demands as far as possible in order to pretend later that she is 'generous' since she will content herself with more immediate though lesser aims."

Karl Marx recognized the enormous dynamic force of the huge Russian Empire with regard to the Turkish question and, with prophetic vision, over a hundred years ago warned against the dangers which could arise for Europe in this connection. (The dissolution of the Near East)

MARX RECOGNIZES A RUSSIAN GAMBIT

However decisive the break of 1917 may have been in the social structure of Russia, the aims of conquest and annexation as key objectives of Russian foreign policy have remained the same, irrespective of the slogans Russia uses in order to camouflage her policy of eventual conquest. The fact that opinions on this subject, today more topical and applicable than ever, originate from Karl Marx, the prophet of Communism, makes them all the more interesting. Note the following:

"Czarist Russia fears the revolution which is bound to follow any general war on the Continent more than the Sultan fears an aggression on the part of the Czar. If the other powers remain firm, Russia will most certainly withdraw discretely."

It is a mistake to assume that political propaganda and psychological warfare are an invention of our day. Karl Marx proves convincingly that the methods which are practiced to perfection by the Communist regime today were by no means unknown to Czarist Russia.

Just as Khrushchev conjures up the specter of Stalinism or Mao's world-conquest in order to deceive the West, so the Czars in former days tried out the same methods. Marx has this to say:

"With all due respect to the so-called 'Old Russian Party,' I know from various well-informed Russians—themselves of the aristocracy with whom I frequently associated in Paris, that it has long since died out and is only occasionally resurrected to a sham existence when the Czar needs a bogey to force Western Europe into passive patience as regards Russia's arrogant claims (of the moment). Hence the resurrection of a Menshikov and his appearance in the fairy tale-like, 'old Russian' style."

CZARIST AND COMMUNIST DIALECTICS

The poor Czar is allegedly peace-loving, but Menshikov is the real warmonger! Just as today Khrushchev is allegedly the peace-maker, while the evil Molotov (a Stalinist symbol) appears on the scene from time to time as a warmonger in order to intimidate the West and force it to yield to peace-

loving Khrushchev so that "Stalinists" will not return to power!

Compare a Marx statement forecasting the analogous Russian policy of today:

"It must be stressed that Besika Bay is 150 miles away from Constantinople. The Czar claims the right to occupy Turkish territory, but forbids England and France to navigate in neutral waters without his special permission. He extols his own generous patience with which he allowed the Sublime Porte a completely free choice as to the form in which it will renounce its sovereignty."

"The Czar regrets that the West does not recognize the harmless character of Russia's religious protectorate in foreign countries."

Karl Marx's reports are an excellent survey of Russia's policy during fifty years before the Crimean War and of the traditional political maxims of the Russian Empire which go back a long way in history. It is a historical and political expose which does credit to his sharp, analytical powers and to his gift of interpretation. As nowadays, much time and energy were then wasted in futile international conferences. . . .

"After a first triumph (the removal from office of the Serbian Minister Garaschanin) Russia now insists that all anti-Russian officers shall be excluded from service. . . ."

Is not Communist Russia doing the same thing nowadays intermittently demanding the dismissal of anti-Russian elements in Western Cabinets?

After a short survey of the methods and principles of Russian policy, the validity of which is applicable in our day, Karl Marx gives an outline of the old Russian game of vacillating promises, political pledges, blackmail and intimidation. He exhorts the Western powers to be on their guard and gives a very apt description of the potential weakness inherent in the division and lack of unity of Europe.

CZARIST RUSSIAN POLICY OF INTIMIDATION AND BLACKMAIL

Marx affirms that the idea of the diplomatic superiority of the Russians owes its effectiveness only to the division and timidity of the Western nations and that it is an error to believe in or accept Russia's superior military strength. He writes:

"The Czar relied to the end on the intimidation of Turkey and the Powers that supported it, namely France and England, as an adequate means of making them accept the demands. . . ."

"Menshikov's appearance and behavior in Constantinople were simply those of a tyrant. The proclamations by Nesselrode were the threats of a tyrant. (Exactly like Khrushchev's recent behavior in the United Nations!) . . ."

"There is only one way of dealing with a power like Russia and that is by fearlessness. . . ."

"In this way, the Western powers have shown their fear of Russia with every step, a fear on which the Czar and his advisers have always relied. They have been intimidated and have done their best accordingly to create precisely the very evil of which they were so afraid. . . ."

"The prestige of Russian diplomacy and the renown of Russia's military strength can be maintained far more easily and securely in peace than in war. . . ."

"A system of intimidation is far less expensive than actual warfare. . . ."

"Russian incursions into Europe will probably be limited to diplomacy and political intrigues, carried out on the one hand by unscrupulous arrogance, and supported on the other hand by weakness and faintheartedness."

These facts recognized by Marx are reminiscent of Russian policy today and of the attitude of the West toward the U.S.S.R.

With reference to the historical Russo-Turkish power struggle, Marx was unable to foresee what central position Constantinople

would occupy in Russia's foreign policy—but without exaggerating the analogy, we should like to add that we have here a clear parallel in the position of Berlin in the present conflict between Russia and the West.

[From Foreign Intelligence Digest, Apr. 28, 1961]

KARL MARX: APOSTLE OF COMMUNISM FEARED AND HATED RUSSIA

MARX FORECAST COMMUNIST RUSSIA'S DIPLOMACY

The course of current events has shown how accurate Karl Marx was with his analysis of relations between Russia and Austria and/or Russia and Turkey and how justified his warnings to the West, unfortunately unheeded by the latter. Since the system of the balance of power in Central and East Europe has meanwhile been destroyed to the advantage of Russia, Marx's criticism of "Germans in Russian service who are hankering after war" assumes a new and highly topical significance in view of the Russian puppet Governors in the present Soviet Zone of Germany.

Karl Marx's sympathies in the dramatic conflict between Russia and the West, which has been smoldering for so long, are clearly with the West. In spite of this fact, or to be more exact, precisely because of this fact, he frequently criticizes the policy of the Western Powers. In his opinion, the Governments of the West are either too foolish or too trusting to see through the perfidious Russian game of intrigue, or they let themselves be overly impressed by a Russian power play, or else are so unscrupulous that they play one against the other and in this way ultimately aid Russia. Thus the West, whose victory Karl Marx sincerely and profoundly desired, finds in him a relentless but clear-sighted critic, who teaches us a historical lesson which is applicable today and should open our eyes to the hoax of "coexistence." Marx writes:

"The Russian bear will certainly be capable of anything as long as he knows that the other animals with which he is dealing are not capable of anything."

CZARIST POLICY VIS-A-VIS NEUTRALISM

In the terminology of our day, one might, in fact, describe Karl Marx as an "anti-anti-Communist activist." He heaps sarcastic reproaches on the West, particularly the British Government, to the effect that they passively accept Russia's violations of rights and even try to persuade their allies, and Turks, to offer Russia an armistice which is only likely to be of advantage to the latter country. He says:

"The only chance which now remains is that the war should at last cease to be a one-sided affair. . . ."

With regard to the Prussian and Austrian policy of neutrality (of that time) he strikes a modern note:

"The efforts of Russian policy are in the first place directed toward securing the neutrality of the German states and preventing them from forming an alliance with the Western powers" (a striking analogy to NATO of today).

In his reports Karl Marx uses language which one would expect of a General in the golden age of Militarism. One of his biographers, Leopold Schwarzschild, has, indeed, rather aptly called him "The red Prussian." Marx maintained:

"Europe may be rotten, but a war should have aroused the healthy elements. A war should have called forth some latent forces. Surely 250 million people should have sufficient courage to carry a decent fight."

CZARIST PAN SLAVISM—COMMUNIST PAN-COMMUNISM

Pan Slavism—a form of Russian expansionism—as a political force has lost none of its significance but is still an occasion util-

ized ideologically by Soviet Russia. Karl Marx has rightly assessed its dynamic power and has explicitly stressed the danger for Europe which may arise out of it.

Nicholas I and then Alexander II threatened Austria with it when expedient:

"Alexander II will set himself up at the head of the Pan Slavist movement and will change his title of Emperor of all Russians to that of Emperor of all Slavs.

"It is the first step toward transferring the war to the entire continent and openly giving it a European character.

"It is no longer a question of who rules in Constantinople but of who rules over all Europe.

"Pan Slavism has nowadays been transformed from an idea into a political program—or rather into a political threat, which is supported by 800,000 Russian bayonets."

Karl Marx on guerillas and conventional armies:

"Every form of insurgent and irregular warfare against a powerful professional army, nowadays needs the support of a regular army, if it is to be successful."

And as regards the fighting strength of the Russian Army (of the 70's), he writes:

"It cannot be denied that precisely at a time when Russian influence on European politics was stronger than ever, the actual efficiency of the Russian army by no means justified such a political position."

Karl Marx was undoubtedly an authority on Russia, but like so many Western politicians, scholars and statesmen, he was influenced by Russian historiographers, and he interpreted the founding of the Kiev principality quite falsely and described it as a "Russian state." The Kiev principality was an Ukrainian state and not Russian.

The Ukraine was closely connected with Greek and Byzantine cultures and Marx's view that Russia's culture was of Greek and Byzantine origin is incorrect, since the Russians for hundreds of years were more influenced by the Mongols. As the capital of the Ukrainian state, Kiev was the centre of Greek and Roman culture in the East; Moscow was fundamentally the opposite of the Ukrainian, i.e. the Occidental and Greek way of thinking, and constantly fought it.

U.S.S.R. MONGOLOID PAN SLAVISM

The fact that Pan Slavism was and is a form of Russian imperialism, has been correctly appraised by Marx. But he is wrong in believing that all the Slav peoples were enthusiastic about Pan Slavism. On the contrary, the Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Slovaks and Croats, all belonging to the Slav race, were nevertheless opposed to Pan Slavism since they were Russia's avowed enemies. If some of the intellectuals among the Czechs or Serbians were in favor of Pan Slavism, it was only because the Serbs or the Czechs erroneously hoped that the Russians would support them in their fight for independence. But they were deceived again and again by the Russians. *Incidentally, just as there is no Pan-Germanism, so too, there is no such thing as Pan Slavism, i.e. as an organic, racially binding idea.* For hundreds of years, Germanic England was the arch-enemy of Germanic Germany. Germanic Denmark and Norway were hostile to Germanic Germany. Wars were not conducted for racial reasons but for national imperialist reasons. That is why Russian imperialism resorts to all kinds of camouflage in order to have a sham reason for new conquests.

Various ideas which Marx formulates must be rectified, as for example the fact that he uses one term only to designate the entire southern territory of the Russian Imperium—from the Don to the Dniester and from the Don to the Njemen—namely *New Russia or West Russia*. It is perfectly obvious that what is meant here is the territory of the Ukrainian nation.

Marx also refused to recognize the Byelorussian nation—a curious error in his otherwise excellent reportage.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY OF FREDERICK COUNTY, MD.

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, a debt is owed to earlier generations for their care of the children of America, particularly children who are orphans, who are abandoned, or who are disabled or retarded. This debt is owed to the memory of millions who have dedicated a part of their lives to this work. It is a debt that can only be paid by keeping trust through adequate care for all of the children who are now in our charge.

No group in America has earned our gratitude more than the Children's Aid Societies which functioned vigorously throughout the first half of this century in many parts of America. One of the finest of these societies was the Children's Aid Society of Frederick County which not only brought help and happiness to such children but which discharged a great public duty and assisted in maintaining a sense of responsibility and discipline among young people in Frederick County. It is a matter of regret that the work of this society seems to be terminating.

It is true, of course, that times change and institutions must change with them. Various levels of government have taken over much of the work of private institutions. I believe that there is still a role, however, for the private voluntary agency to contribute significant value in the area of counseling and child care and I hope that some way will be found to continue the spirit of compassion and generous assistance that motivated the Children's Aid Society so well for so long.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial published in the January 20, 1969, issue of the Frederick, Md., News, commenting on the loss that a community suffers when an agency of this sort closes its doors, be printed in the RECORD.

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

PASSING OF CAS

We note with regret the decision of the Children's Aid Society to suspend its operations after 58 years of service to Frederick City and County.

The Children's Aid Society here was an outgrowth of a movement begun by Henry Watson, a New York City philanthropist who was interested in the welfare of homeless children. The movement spread to Baltimore and thence to Frederick.

While first dealing with homeless children here, the CAS later became the agency concerned with adoptions. Many of the functions of CAS have been taken over by the Department of Social Services (formerly Welfare Department) but one major function remaining has been with counseling of families.

Much of the counseling service offered by CAS is referred to the agency by local school counselors who find that certain problems with children relate to home environmental situations. CAS case workers have been successful in many cases in getting to the root of these home-centered problems, and no agency will be around next month to work in this area.

Although much of the load in foster care

has been taken over by the Department of Social Services, the CAS still has used foster homes, especially where strict supervision of youngsters has been needed.

Another area where CAS has been effective has been with families who do not want to go to public agencies but will work with private organizations such as CAS. Because of its nature, CAS is more flexible in its program and does not have the multitudinous rules and regulations necessary to operate governmental programs.

The reason for the demise of CAS here is due to lack of local governmental support. While the CAS is a Community Chest agency, about 75 per cent of the funds came from the county with an assist from Frederick City. Requests by the CAS for city and county funds have been cut until there is not sufficient money to keep the organization going.

Frederick County will suffer a loss when CAS ceases its operations in the next several weeks. It has served the county well, but can only function with the necessary support. Frederick County should give a vote of thanks to all those who served with the agency over the years.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, at long last, the American consumer has become an important focus of attention at all levels of government. Spurred by the efforts of people like Ralph Nader, Congress and the Executive have finally taken positive steps to restore safety and sanity to the marketplace.

One of the great dangers facing us at this time is that of complacency with the legislative achievements of the 89th and 90th Congresses, for important though they may be, they represent only a first step in the consumer protection movement.

An excellent perspective on the problem was given by Mr. Nader in the November 21, 1968, issue of New York Review. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and present it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

THE GREAT AMERICAN GYP

(By Ralph Nader)

Last January a confidential nationwide survey by the Opinion Research Corporation spread considerable alarm among its corporate subscribers. The poll concluded "that seven Americans in ten think present Federal legislation is inadequate to protect their health and safety. The majority also believe that more Federal laws are needed to give shoppers full value for their money." To many businessmen, this finding merely confirmed what speakers had been telling them at trade gatherings during the previous year—that consumers were beginning to fall prey to "consumerism."

"Consumerism" is a term given vogue recently by business spokesmen to describe what they believe is a concerted, disruptive ideology concocted by self-appointed bleeding hearts and politicians who find that it pays off to attack the corporations. "Consumerism," they say, undermines public confidence in the business system, deprives the consumer of freedom of choice, weakens state and local authority through Federal usurpation, bureaucratizes the marketplace, and stifles innovation. These complaints have all been made in speeches, in the trade press, and in Congressional testimony against such

Federal bills as truth-in-lending, truth-in-packaging, gas pipeline safety, radiation protection, auto, tire, drug, and fire safety legislation, and meat and fish inspection.

But what most troubles the corporations is the consumer movement's relentless documentation that consumers are being manipulated, defrauded, and injured not just by marginal businesses or fly-by-night hucksters, but by the US blue-chip business firms whose practices are unchecked by the older regulatory agencies. Since the consumer movement can cite statistics showing that these practices have reduced real income and raised the rates of mortality and disease, it is not difficult to understand the growing corporate concern.

That the systematic disclosure of such malpractice has been so long delayed can be explained by the strength of the myths that the business establishment has used to hide its activities. The first is the myth of the omniscient consumer who is so discerning that he will be a brutal taskmaster for any firm entering the market. This approach was used repeatedly to delay, then weaken, the truth-in-packaging bill. Scott Paper Co. ran an advertising campaign hailing the American housewife as "The Original Computer": "... a strange change comes over a woman in the store. The soft glow in the eye is replaced by a steely financial glint; the graceful walk becomes a panther's stride among the bargains. A woman in a store is a mechanism, a prowling computer. . . . Jungle-trained, her bargain-hunter senses razor-sharp for the sound of a dropping price. . . ." John Floberg, Firestone's General Counsel, has been even more complimentary, arguing that consumers can easily discriminate among 1,000 different brands of tires.

However, when companies plan their advertising, they fall to take advantage of the supposed genius of the consumer. Potential car buyers are urged to purchase Pontiacs to experience an unexplained phenomenon called "wide-tracking before you're too old to know what it is all about." Sizable fees are paid to "motivation" experts like Ernest Dichter for such analysis as this: Soup . . . is much more than a food. It is a potent magic that satisfies not only the hunger of the body but the yearnings of the soul. People speak of soup as a product of some mysterious alchemy, a symbol of love which satisfies mysterious gnawings. . . . The term "pea soup"—mystery and magic—seem to go together with fog. At the same time we can almost say soup is orgasmic. Eating soup is a fulfillment."

A second myth is that most American businesses perform honorably but are subjected to undeserved notoriety because of a few small, unscrupulous merchants and firms. This notion is peddled by so-called consumer protection agencies as well as by the business-dominated Better Business Bureaus. But the detailed Congressional hearings on drug hazards, unsafe vehicles, vicious credit practices, restraints on medically useful or dollar-saving innovations, auto insurance abuses, cigarette-induced diseases, and price-fixing throughout the economy have made it clear that this argument will not hold up.

Most misleading of all is the myth that irresponsible sellers are adequately policed by local, state, and Federal regulatory agencies. Years ago, corporations learned how to handle these agencies, and they have now become apologists for business instead of protectors of the public. First, the agencies are made to operate on a starvation budget. The combined annual budget of the Federal Trade Commission and the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department in 1968 is \$23 million, the highest amount yet appropriated. With this sum, they are supposed to collect data, initiate investigations, and enforce the laws dealing with deceptive and anticompetitive practices of an \$850 billion economy.

Secondly, political patronage has under-

mined local and state consumer protection agencies; it has, for example, helped to make the Federal Trade Commission as ineffectual as it is. Third, business lobbying—including campaign contributions, powerful law firms, trade associations, and public relations—works against vigorous enforcement. Finally, so many regulatory officials resign to go into high-paying jobs in the industries they were once supposed to regulate that these government posts are viewed as on-the-job training by cynical appointees.¹ The Federal Aviation Agency, Interstate Commerce Commission, and Federal Communications Commission all carry on a tradition that inhibits officials from action and attracts appointees who are temperamentally reluctant to act.

The increasing irrelevance of these older agencies was made apparent by the unprecedented consumer legislation enacted under the Johnson Administration. After the dismal spectacle of the cigarette labeling act of 1964—which foreclosed action by the states and the FTC in return for a paltry warning on the package that could serve as a company's defense in liability suits—Congress passed a string of important bills and has other legislation near passage. A shift of responsibilities for consumer protection to the Federal government now seems to be taking place: state and local governments have for years defaulted on these obligations to the consumer.

In no other period of history have the safety and prices of marketed products and services received remotely comparable legislative treatment. Sensing this climate, President Johnson has allowed his consumer adviser, Betty Furness, to speak openly to business groups. In 1964, her predecessor, Esther Peterson, could not get White House clearance even to make a public statement about rigged odometers which misled motorists about the accuracy of mileage traveled, enriched car rental companies to the amount of \$4 million a year, and encouraged automobile sales. In 1968 Miss Furness was urging appliance manufacturers to tell their customers how long they can expect their products to last. This spring, President Johnson established the post of Consumer Counsel in the Justice Department—a first small step toward the creation of a Federal office which would have powers to intervene in cases before the courts and regulatory agencies as the representative of consumer interests.² In July, Vice-President Humphrey said he favored enlarging the counsel's powers to include making complaints about dangers to public health. He also became the first government official to endorse public disclosure of information about consumer products now in the files of the General Services Administration and the Department of Defense. These agencies test hundreds of consumer products—from light bulbs and bed sheets to washing machines—in order to determine which have the best value. But they have refused thus far to release the data that would rank products by quality—a refusal naturally supported by the business community.

The business world, meanwhile, has become increasingly adept in dealing with the rising pressures for consumer legislation. Tutored by their well-connected Washington lawyers, the large corporations and their trade associations can sense the critical moment at which it is wise to stop opposing a bill and begin to cooperate with Congressional committees in order to shape legislation to their liking. For example, after op-

¹ The last two chairmen of the Interstate Commerce Commission are now President of the National Association of Motor Business Carriers and Vice-President of Penn-Central. Both industries are supposedly regulated by the ICC.

² The first appointee to this job was Mr. Merle McCurdy who died in May. His successor has not been appointed.

posing the passage of any auto safety bill whatever, the auto manufacturers relented in the spring of 1966 and hired Lloyd Cutler, an experienced Washington lawyer, who succeeded in weakening the disclosure provisions of the bill and in eliminating all criminal penalties for willful and knowing violations of the law.

Although consumer measures may be weakened in this way, they do at least commit the government to the idea of consumer protection and they lay the groundwork for the stronger legislation that may be feasible should the consumer movement gain more strength. The attack on corporate irresponsibility which produced the recent flurry of legislation in Congress has not, it must be said, been the work of a broad movement but rather of tiny ad hoc coalitions of determined people in and out of government armed with little more than a great many shocking facts. They have gotten important support from Senator Warren Magnuson, Chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, whose interest in consumer problems set in motion a little-noticed competition with the White House to promote legislation.

What has taken place during the last few years may be seen as an escalating series of disclosures. The charges made by independent Congressmen and people like myself almost always turn out to be understatements of the actual conditions in various industries when those industries are subsequently exposed in Congressional hearings and investigations. As these charges get attention, demands for new legislative action increase. This, at least, has been the case with the exposure of defects in vehicles, industrial and vehicle pollution, gas pipelines, overpriced or dangerous drugs, unfair credit, harmful pesticides, cigarettes, land frauds, electric power reliability, household improvement rackets, exploitation in slums, auto warranties, radiation, high-priced auto insurance, and boating hazards. How many people realized, for example, that faulty heating devices injure 125,000 Americans a year or that poorly designed stoves, power mowers and washing machines cause substantial injury to 300,000 people annually? Or that, as Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal recently revealed, the food rejected by Federal agencies as contaminated or rotting is often rerouted for sale in the market? These abuses are now starting to be discussed in the press and in Congress.

One result of the detailed Congressional hearings has been a broader definition of legitimate consumer rights and interests. It is becoming clear that consumers must not only be protected from the dangers of voluntary use of a product, such as flammable material, but also from involuntary consumption of industrial by-products such as air and water pollutant, excessive pesticide and nitrate residues in foods, and antibiotics in meat. A more concrete idea of a just economy is thus beginning to emerge, while, at the same time, the assortment of groups that comprise the "consumer's movement" is moving in directions that seem to me quite different from the ones that similar groups have followed in the past. Their demands are ethical rather than ideological. Their principles and proposals are being derived from solid documentation of common abuses whose origins are being traced directly to the policies of powerful corporations.

This inquiry is extending beyond the question of legal control of corporations into the failure of business, labor, and voluntary organizations to check one another's abuses through competition and other private pressures. It is becoming apparent that the reform of consumer abuses and the reform of corporate power itself are different sides of the same coin and that new approaches to the enforcement of the rights of consumers are necessary. There are, I would suggest, at least ten major forces or techniques that

now exist in some form but greatly need to be strengthened if we are to have a decent consumer society.

1. Rapid disclosure of the facts relating to the quantity, quality, and safety of a product is essential to a just market place. If companies know their products can quickly be compared with others, the laggard will be goaded to better performances and the innovator will know that buyers can promptly learn about his innovation. On the other hand, buyers must be able to compare products in order to reject the shoddy and reward the superior producer. This process is the great justification for a free market system. Manufacturers try to avoid giving out such information and instead rely on "packaging" or advertising. Auto companies refuse to tell the motorist the safety performances of his car's brakes and tires, and concentrate on brand-names—Cougar, Barracuda, Marauder—and vehicle "personality": "Mustang makes dull people interesting. . . ." From cosmetics to soaps and detergents, the differences emphasized are emotional and frivolous and have no relation to functions. This practice permits the producer with the largest advertising budget to make matters very difficult for a smaller competitor or potential entrant into the market who may have a superior product. The anti-competitive effects of such advertising led Donald F. Turner, the former head of the Anti-trust Division of the Justice Department, to suggest that the government subsidize independent sources of consumer information. Senator Philip Hart has gone a step further in proposing a National Consumer Service Foundation to provide product information to consumers at the place of purchase. Computers could help to assemble such information cheaply and quickly. One can, for instance, imagine machines dispensing data on individual products at shopping centers, a plan which Consumer's Union has begun to study.

2. The practices of refunding dollars to consumers who have been bilked and recalling defective products are finally becoming recognized as principles of deterrence and justice. More than six million automobiles have been recalled since September, 1966—the date of the auto safety law. The Food and Drug Administration now requires drug companies to issue "corrective letters" to all physicians if their original advertisements were found to be misleading. Nearly thirty such letters have been sent out by drug companies during the twenty months of FDA action. The threat of liability suits and the willingness of the press and television to mention brand and company names in reporting on defects are causing companies to recall products "voluntarily" even where no law or regulation exists. Earlier this year, for instance, Sears-Roebuck recalled some 6,000 gas heaters after public health officials warned of lethal carbon monoxide leakage. After similar warnings by U.S. Public Health officials and the threat of disclosure by a major newspaper, General Electric made changes in 150,000 color TV sets which had been found to be emitting excessive radiation. Some insurance companies are beginning to offer "defect recall" insurance.

The duty to refund remains even less well recognized than the duty to recall a product because of defects. Orders to "cease and desist," the usual decree of the Federal Trade Commission after it catches swindlers, at best stop the defrauder but do not require him to pay back the funds. Without this sanction, a major deterrent is lost. The mere order to "go and sin no more," which replaces it, is easily evaded.

The only enforcement action made by the FTC is pertinent here. For thirty years, the Holland Furnace Company used scare tactics and routinely deceived the public. Its salesmen were encouraged to pose as "safety inspectors" and were trained to be merci-

less: one elderly and ailing woman was sold nine new furnaces in six years, costing a total of \$18,000. Following up on complaints beginning in the Thirties, the FTC secured a stipulation from the company that it would stop its misleading advertising. This had little if any effect. A cease and desist order was entered in 1958 but it was not until January 1965, that the company was fined \$100,000 for violating the order and an ex-president was sent to jail. At that point, the Holland Furnace Co. decided to file a petition for bankruptcy. But as Senator Warren Magnuson said: "In the meantime Holland Furnace at the height of its business cost the American public \$30 million a year." The FTC's ponderous procedures and anemic enforcement powers (it has no power of preliminary injunction, no criminal penalties, and no power of its own to fine, assess, or award damages) encourage the unscrupulous businessman to continue his abuses; if he is caught later on, he will merely be told to stop.

Two developments in recent years have strengthened private actions against malpractices by established corporations with large assets. The first is the growing practice of filing treble damage suits against violators of antitrust laws. In the early Sixties corporate and government customers of G.E., Westinghouse, and other large companies collected about \$500 million in out-of-court settlements after these companies and their officers were convicted for carrying on a criminal antitrust price-fixing conspiracy. Although such punitive damage payments are tax-deductible as "ordinary and necessary business expenses," the deterrent is an effective one. Cases brought by both private and government procurement agencies have multiplied in many other industries recently—from drugs to children's books—and these will increase, especially with tougher antitrust action by the Justice Department and by the states.

The second development is in the use of "class actions" in which suits are filed on behalf of large numbers of people who have been mistreated in the same way. In modern mass merchandising, fraud naturally takes the form of cheating a great many customers out of a few pennies or dollars: the bigger the store or chain of stores, the greater the gain from gypping tiny amounts from individuals who would not find it worthwhile to take formal action against the seller. Class actions solve this problem by turning the advantage of large volume against the seller that made predatory use of it in the first place. Poverty lawyers, supported by the US Office of Economic Opportunity, are just beginning to use this important technique.

A case of great potential significance for developing broad civil deterrence has been brought in New York City against Coburn Corp., a sales finance company, by two customers who signed its retail installment contracts. They are being assisted by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. The plaintiffs charge that Coburn violated Section 402 of the New York Personal Property Law by not printing its contracts in large type as specified by law. They are asking recovery of the credit service charge paid under the contracts for themselves and all other consumers similarly involved. If the plaintiffs win, consumers in New York will be able to bring class actions against any violations of law contained in any standard form contracts.

3. Disputes in courts and other judicial forums must be conducted under fairer ground rules and with adequate representation for buyers. Here the recent appearance of neighborhood legal service attorneys is a hopeful sign. These poverty lawyers—now numbering about 2,000 and paid by the Office of Economic Opportunity—are representing the poor against finance companies, landlords, auto dealers, and other sellers of goods

and services. Because of their work, the law of debtors' remedies and defenses is catching up with the well-honed law of creditors' rights that generations of law students studied so rigorously. These lawyers are bringing test cases to court and winning them. They are gradually exposing the use by slum merchants of the courts as agents to collect from poor people who are uninformed or cannot leave their jobs to show up in court. For the first time, poverty lawyers are challenging the routine contract clauses that strip the buyers of their legal defenses in advance, as well as those involving illegal repossession, unreasonable garnishment, undisclosed credit, and financing terms, and a great many other victimizing practices.

But even many more poverty lawyers could handle only a few of the cases deserving their services. What is important is that recent cases are documenting a general pattern of abuses and injustices in the legal system itself. This is beginning to upset influential lawyers; it may prod law schools to more relevant teaching as well as guide legislatures and courts toward much-delayed reform of laws, court procedures, and remedies. At the same time, wholly new and more informed ways of resolving conflicts are being considered—such as neighborhood arbitration units which are open in the evenings when defendants need not be absent from their work. However, if such developments seem promising they must not obscure the persisting venality of the marketplace and the generally hopeless legal position of the consumer who is victimized by it.

4. The practice of setting government safety standards and periodically changing them to reflect new technology and uses is spreading, although it is still ineffective in many ways. Decades after banking and securities services were brought under regulation, products such as automobiles (53,000 dead and 4½ million injured annually), washing machines and power lawn mowers (200,000 injuries annually), many chemicals, and all pipeline systems did not have to adhere to any standards of safety performance other than those set by the companies or industries themselves. With the passage of the auto safety law in 1966, other major products have been brought under Federal safety regulation. To avoid continuing a piecemeal approach, Congress in 1967 passed an act establishing the National Commission on Product Safety to investigate many household and related hazards, from appliances to household chemicals. Moreover, the Commission must recommend by 1970 a more detailed Federal, state, and local policy toward reducing or preventing deaths and injuries from these products.

The Commission's recommendations will probably go beyond household products to the problem of a safer man-made environment. So far, most state and Federal efforts to set meaningful safety standards and enforce them have failed miserably. The only organized and effective pressures on the agencies responsible for setting standards have come from the same economic interests that are supposed to be regulated. Two illustrations of this failure have been the flammable fabrics act of 1953 and the oil pipeline safety act of 1965. In both cases, little has happened because the laws have not been administered. It took three-and-a-half years before the Federal government even proposed oil pipeline standards, and these were taken almost verbatim from the pipeline industry's own code. Similarly, when the General Accounting office recently reviewed the enforcement of the pesticide law by the Department of Agriculture it found that repeated mass violations of the laws between 1955 and 1965 were never reported to the Department for prosecution. This is a typical example of how consumers are deprived of legal protection in spite of a statute intended to protect them.

5. If the government is to impose effective standards, it must also be able to conduct or contract for its own research on both the safety of industrial products and possible methods of improving them. Without this power, the agencies will have to rely on what is revealed to them by industry, and their efforts will be crippled from the start. They will, for example, be unable to determine whether a better vehicle handling system is required or to detect promptly the hidden dangers in apparently harmless drugs. The government could also bring strong pressures on business by using its own great purchasing power and by developing its own prototypes of safer products. The existing safety laws, however, do not even permit the government to find out quickly and accurately whether industry is complying with the law. The National Highway Safety Bureau, for example, has little idea whether or not the 1968 automobiles meet all the safety standards since no government testing facilities yet exist.

But full enforcement of the law also depends on the existence of effective penalties, and in this respect the recent safety laws are feeble, to say the least. There are no criminal penalties for willful and knowing violation of the auto safety and gas pipeline laws; nor have criminal penalties been written into other bills about to be signed into law, such as the radiation control bill. The civil fines are small when considered against the possibility of violations by huge industries producing millions of the same product. Of course, the Washington corporation lawyers who lobby to water down the penalties in these safety laws have no interest in the argument that stronger sanctions would not only act as a deterrent to industry but make enforcement itself cheaper.

6. In the ideology of American business, free competition and corporate "responsibility" are supposed to protect the consumer; in practice both have long been ignored. Price-fixing, either by conspiracy or by mutually understood cues, is rampant throughout the economy. This is partly revealed by the growing number of government and private antitrust actions. Donald Turner, the former head of the Antitrust Division, has despaired of effectively enforcing the law against price-fixing with the existing manpower in the Justice Department. Price-fixing, of course, means higher prices for consumers. For example, the electrical price-fixing conspiracy, broken by the Justice Department in 1960, involved not only G.E., Westinghouse, Allis Chalmers, but several small companies as well; the overcharge to the direct purchasers of generators and other heavy duty equipment was estimated at more than a billion dollars during the ten-year life of the conspiracy that sent several executives to short jail terms.

Even greater dangers arise when the failure of large industry to compete prevents the development of new products that might save or improve the lives of consumers. When such restraint is due to conspiracy or other kinds of collusion, it should be the task of antitrust enforcement to stop the practice of "product-fixing." Traditional antitrust enforcement has been slow to grasp the fact that the restraint of innovation is becoming far more important to big business than the control of prices. New inventions—steam or electric engines, longer lasting light bulbs and paints, and cheaper construction materials—can shake an industry to its most stagnant foundations. For eighteen months the Justice Department presented to a Los Angeles grand jury its charges that the domestic auto companies conspired to restrain the development and marketing of vehicle exhaust control systems. When and if it files its complaint, a pioneering case of antitrust enforcement in a health and safety issue could reveal much about this as yet unused weapon for public protection.

Ideally, one of the most powerful forces for consumer justice would be the exercise of corporate responsibility or private "countervailing" and monitoring forces within the corporate world. Unfortunately for believers in a pluralist economic system, recent decades have shown that the economics of accommodation repeatedly overwhelms the economics of checks and balances.

The casualty insurance industry is a case in point. Logically it should have a strong interest in safer automobiles. In fact it has chosen to raise premiums instead of pressuring the auto industry to adopt safety measures that have been available for a long time. The casualty insurance industry has not demanded legislation to improve the design and inspection of motor vehicles; nor has it encouraged the rating of vehicles according to their safety. It has been equally indifferent to the need to reform methods of fire prevention (where the U.S. is far behind Japan and England) or standards of industrial safety and health. What the industry has done instead is to spend large sums on advertising assuring the public it is concerned about the consumer safety it has declined to pursue in practice.

7. Professional and technical societies may be sleeping giants where the protection of the consumer is concerned. Up to now, such groups as the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the American Chemical Society, and the American Society of Safety Engineers have been little more than trade associations for the industries that employ their members. It is shocking, for example, that none of these technical societies has done much to work out public policies to deal with the polluted environment and with such new technological hazards as atomic energy plants and radioactive waste disposal. Except in a few cases, the independent professions of law and medicine have done little to fulfill their professional obligations to protect the public from victimization. They have done less to encourage their colleagues in science and engineering to free themselves from subservience to corporate disciplines. Surely, for example, the supersonic transport program, with its huge government subsidies and intolerable sonic boom, should have been exposed to careful public scrutiny by engineers and scientists long before the government rather secretly allowed it to get under way.

The engineers and scientists, however, had no organization nor procedure for doing this. None of the professions will be able to meet its public responsibilities unless it is willing to undertake new roles and to create special independent organizations willing to gather facts and take action in the public interest. Such small but determined groups as the Committee for Environmental Information in St. Louis, headed by Professor Barry Commoner, and the Physicians for Automotive Safety in New Jersey have shown how people with tiny resources can accomplish much in public education and action. If such efforts are to be enlarged, however, the legal, medical, engineering, and scientific departments of universities must recognize the importance of preparing their graduates for full-time careers in organizations devoted to shaping public policy; for it is clear that professionals serving clients in private practice will not be adequate to this task. Had such organizations existed two or three decades ago, the hazards of the industrial age might have been foreseen, diagnosed, exposed, and to some extent prevented. During the recent controversy over auto safety I often speculated that the same kind of reform might have occurred thirty years ago had a handful of engineers and physicians made a dramatic effort to inform politicians about scandals that even then took more than 30,000 lives a year and caused several million injuries. Instead the doctors were busy treating broken bones and the

engineers were following corporate orders, while their technical journals ignored a major challenge to their profession. For all the talk about "preventive medicine" and "remedial engineering," this is what is happening now.

8. During the past two decades, the courts have been making important if little noticed rulings that give injured people fairer chances of recovering damages. These include the elimination of "privity" or the need to prove a contractual relation with the person sued; the expansion of the "implied warranty" accompanying items purchased to include not only the "reasonable" functioning of those items but also the claims made in deceptive advertising of them; and the imposition of "strict liability" which dispenses with the need to prove negligence if one has been injured through the use of a defective product. At the same time, the laws of evidence have been considerably liberalized.

This reform of the common law of "bodily rights"—far in advance of other common-law nations such as Great Britain and Canada—has been followed by some spectacular jury verdicts and court decisions in favor of the injured. There are routinely cited by insurance companies as a rationale for increasing premiums. The fact is, however, that these victories still are rare exceptions, and for obvious reasons. Winning such cases requires a huge investment in time and money; the plaintiff's lawyers must collect the evidence and survive the long and expensive delays available to the corporation defendant with its far superior resources. But now the rules give the plaintiff at least a decent chance to recover his rights in court or by settlement. It remains for the legal profession to find ways to cut drastically the costs of litigation, especially in cases where a single product, such as a car or drug, has injured many people.

However, the law of torts (personal injuries) still does not protect the consumer against the pollution of the environment which indiscriminately injures everyone exposed to it. Pollution in Los Angeles is a serious health hazard, but how may the citizens of that besmogged metropolis sue? A group of eighty-eight residents of Martinez, California, is suing Shell Oil's petroleum refinery for air pollution and its "roaring noises, recurring vibrations and frightening lights." In an increasingly typical defense, Shell claims that it meets the state's mild pollution-control regulation. But such standards are largely the result of political pressures from corporations whose profits are at stake. Thus, increasingly, justice in the courts must be paralleled by justice in the legislatures. However, there are some signs that the courts are beginning to take account of the right to a decent environment in cases against industrial pollutants. Last year, a lady in Pennsylvania recovered about \$70,000 for injuries sustained from living near a beryllium plant which emitted toxic fumes daily. (The case is being appealed.)

9. One of the more promising developments of the last two years is the growing belief that new institutions are needed within the government whose sole function would be to advocate consumer interests. As I have pointed out, the Johnson Administration has done no more than create earlier this year an Office of Consumer Counsel in the Justice Department—a post that has not yet begun to function. The Executive Branch is hostile to a proposal by Congressman Rosenthal and others for a new Department of Consumer Affairs on the Cabinet level. This proposal has been criticized by Federal officials on grounds that it would duplicate what government agencies are now doing. The fact is, however, that most of the government agencies that are supposed to be concerned with the health and safety of consumers are also

promoting the interests of the industries that cause the consumer harm. The U.S. Department of Agriculture represents the farmers and processors first and the consumers second—whether in controversies over the price of milk or over the wholesomeness of meat and poultry. The regulatory agencies themselves at best merely act as referees and at worst represent business interests in government.

Clearly it would be useful if a new bureau within the government itself could both expose these regulatory agencies and challenge them to take more vigorous action. Senator Lee Metcalf has introduced legislation to create an independent U.S. Office of Utility Consumer's Counsel to represent the public before regulatory agencies and courts. This approach is different from that of Congressman Rosenthal and it remains to be seen which scheme can best avoid the dangers of bureaucratization and atrophy. What is not generally appreciated however is that if they are to succeed, such new governmental units will badly need the vigorous support of organizations outside the government which would have similar concern for the consumer and would also be able to carry on their own research and planning.

10. I have already pointed out the need for independent organizations of professionals—engineers, lawyers, doctors, economists, scientists, and others—which could undertake work of this kind. But they do not as yet exist. Still, we can draw some idea of their potential from the example of people like Dr. Commoner and his associates who have managed to stir up strong public opposition to government and private interests while working in their spare time. Similarly, other small groups of professionals have saved natural resources from destruction or pollution; they have stopped unjust increases in auto-insurance rates; they have defeated a plan for an atomic explosion to create a natural gas storage area under public land, showing that excessive safety risks were involved.

Is there reason to hope that the high energy physicists who lobbied successfully for hundreds of millions of dollars in public funds might be emulated by other professionals seeking to improve the quality of life in America? Certainly there is a clear case for setting up professional firms to act in the public interest at Federal and local levels. While thousands of engineers work for private industry, a few hundred should be working out the technical plans for obtaining clean air and water, and demanding that these plans be followed. While many thousands of lawyers serve private clients, several hundred should be working in public interest firms which would pursue legal actions and reforms of the kind I have outlined here. Support for such firms could come from foundations, private gifts, dues paid by consumers and the professions, or from government subsidies. There is already a precedent for the latter in the financing of the Neighborhood Legal Services, not to mention the billions of dollars in subsidies now awarded to commerce and industry. In addition, groups that now make up the consumers' movement badly need the services of professional economists, lawyers, engineers, and others if they are to develop local consumer service institutions that could handle complaints, dispense information, and work out strategies for public action.

Notwithstanding the recent alarm of industry and the surge of publicity about auto safety and other scandals, the consumer movement is still a feeble force in American power politics. The interests of consumers are low on the list of election issues; the government's expenditures to protect those interests are negligible. Some would argue that this situation will inevitably prevail in view of the overwhelming power of American corporations in and out of government. But,

as I have tried to show, new approaches to judging and influencing corporate behavior have begun to emerge in the last few years. It seems possible that people may begin to react with greater anger to the enormity of their deprivation—each year consumers lose half a billion dollars in securities frauds and a billion dollars in home repair frauds, to name only two of thousands of ways in which their income is being milked. The current assault on the health and safety of the public from so many dangerous industrial products, by-products, and foods has resulted in violence that dwarfs the issue of crime in the streets. (During the last three years, about 260 people have died in riots in American cities; but every two days, 300 people are killed, and 20,000 injured, while driving on the highways.) What the consumer movement is beginning to say—and must say much more strongly if it is to grow—is that business crime and corporate intransigence are the really urgent menace to law and order in America.

NEW VISTAS IN TRANSPORTATION

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the remarks I made before the 13th Annual Southwest Transportation Seminar at the University of Arizona on February 14.

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

REMARKS OF SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, OF ARIZONA, AT THE 13TH ANNUAL SOUTHWEST TRANSPORTATION SEMINAR, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, FEBRUARY 14, 1969

Regent Burch, Vice President McMillan, distinguished guests: I am both honored and pleased to be here today in the role of keynote speaker at this extremely important and timely seminar on transportation. I note with considerable interest that the theme of your session is "The Image of American Transportation."

This is a fairly all-inclusive theme, and I should like to address myself to the overall features of that image as I see them today. I don't have to tell you, of course, that transportation is developing at an astronomical pace. It might interest you to know that a man in Los Angeles, whom I don't even recall having met, has reserved for me and several other persons a seat on Pan American Airways' first flight to the moon—if and when such a flight is actually made. I learned of this only recently from a magazine editor who wanted to know if I would make use of the reservation. I told him that I would first like to know whether the gentlemen in L.A. had applied for a round-trip ticket in my case.

Does this sound a little "way out"—to use a phrase popular with today's youngsters? Does it strike you as an exercise in fantasy? Does it surprise you that a perfectly normal human being would make such an application or that an American airline would accept it, even on a contingency basis?

This whole idea illustrates the point I make here today which is that to gauge the true image of American transportation and what lies ahead of it demands that we exercise our imaginations and that we actually credit what only a few years ago would have been regarded as science fiction.

The strides we have made in all branches of transportation have vastly outpaced our

efforts in the area of private planning and government policy. I am perhaps more acutely aware of these developments because of my great interest in and love for the United States Air Force and its relationship to flying in general. At the present time my Senate assignments include the Committees on Armed Services and on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. I am sure that I don't have to stress to this sophisticated audience the fact that transportation plays a vital role in virtually all considerations of these two committees.

I believe it is well known that I am greatly concerned about air transportation in the field of our national defense. I believe that under Secretary McNamara our defense planners in the Pentagon were almost criminally negligent in their failure to provide for carry-on bombers and other aircraft related to our national security. I further believe that the Defense Department has permitted us to fall far behind such nations as the Soviet Union in the area of naval vessels and water transport.

But today I should like to talk with you especially about our commercial transportation problems. They are many and varied and exceedingly complicated. They literally cry out for the development of a sound national policy at the federal level. While this nation should be proud of the surging growth of all segments of its civil aviation, it should also be aware that years of neglect at the highest levels of government have produced a grave crisis in air transportation. Fortunately, this state of affairs is well known to the new Republican administration, and President Nixon himself has pledged steps to bring national policy up to date. I am sure you realize what this means. One of the very first problems on the agenda will be to devise means to ease the congestion at our larger airports. Our force of air controllers needs strengthening. The men in it need better working conditions and better training. Better equipment is an immediate necessity.

Some of these problems will undoubtedly be handled at the Federal Government level by agencies such as the Federal Aviation Administration. However, I believe there is room also for a Congressional approach to these and related problems. Accordingly, I am at present studying a number of bills which would establish an independent commission to study problems such as airport congestion, safety and greater passenger convenience. Needless to say, such a commission would be made up of acknowledged experts in the field of civil aviation, including pilots, air traffic controllers, university experts and industry representatives.

I am confident that our private aviation industry with the help of a modernized government policy will be able to remedy our problems and clear the way for an amazing, hard-to-believe era of faster and easier travel in all areas of transportation. At the present time, the railroad industry is experimenting with high speed passenger service between Washington and New York. While this improved service still leaves much to be desired by passengers accustomed to speedy air travel, it holds promise for the future. In another area of land travel, great strides already have been made as a result of the national highway building program inaugurated in 1956 by the Eisenhower administration. I believe it is safe to assume that this program will be improved and developed further under President Nixon who played a prominent role in its inception 13 years ago. During his campaign for election, President Nixon repeatedly voiced his concern over cutbacks which the Johnson administration had made in the interstate highway program. He is determined that the interstate highway system envisioned by the Eisenhower administration be completed as early as possible.

An especially fascinating area of future transportation planning is the one aimed

at the mass movement of commuters in the "urban sprawl" sections which now dot the American landscape. All kinds of methods for short haul intercity passenger movement are being explored. Some involve the use of helicopter type planes which would take off from outlying residential areas and put down on tiny landing fields in the downtown areas.

Another mode of transportation being explored is the so-called "air-cushion" vehicles that would shoot through tubes at speeds up to 600 miles an hour, thus connecting all areas of the planned "megalopolises" of the future. Laboratory models of such tube vehicles have already been built at the University of Manchester in Britain and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in this country. And the Garrett Corporation, a Los Angeles subsidiary of Signal Oil Company, has a federal contract to study the feasibility of the air cushion system.

The system would operate on electromagnetic energy from a power source sunk into a concrete roadbed which would pull wheelless vehicles along at enormous speeds. When at rest, or when slowing down, the cars would settle onto the roadbed, but at other times they would travel inches above the surface. They would blast jets of air against the walls of the tube in order to keep centered above the roadbed and on course. And naturally the tube would muffle noise from the vehicles that otherwise might disturb residential areas along the right-of-way. While most planners believe the tube system is perhaps 20 years away, most agree that such a system would greatly ease the problems of our overcrowded cities.

But it is in the field of air transport that the most exciting possibilities exist for the near future. The supersonic transport (SST) is a much debated project which is receiving top consideration from the new administration and which undoubtedly will become a reality in the next few years. The SST, a transport jet designed to travel 1,400 to 1,800 miles an hour, can take to the air as early as 1972 if encouraged. Aircraft experts believe there is still a question as to whether the SST will ever be able to fly over land because of the grave problem created by the sonic boom. Some of them believe the supersonic transport, at least in its initial stages, will be used almost exclusively over water. Others, however, insist that the problem created by the boom resulting from a run through the sound barrier will eventually be reduced or solved, at least to the extent of making this a surmountable problem in populated areas. It is interesting that some of the pessimists among the aircraft engineers are intrigued with the fact that missiles going straight up through the sound barrier do not create a loud explosive sonic boom. This leads them to believe that some design of the SST may eventually have to be developed that would achieve a vertical take off until the sound barrier had been pierced. At the present time such models of the SST would seem to be some distance from even the drawing board stage but the way this industry is moving, anything is possible for the future.

Now let me really jerk you out of your complacency on the question of air travel. While the supersonic transport has yet to fly, the aerospace industry is already talking about a hypersonic transport. The HST (and I am not referring to my old friend, Harry Truman) could conceivably be put into operation in the 1990's. It would, according to some advanced planners, travel 4,000 to 6,000 miles an hour and carry 250 passengers. Such a transport, of course, could get you from New York to Paris in about one hour and it would be extremely convenient for long distance flights to the Orient, to Australia and other far-distant points on the globe. In fact, it could get you from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, or vice

versa, in the time it now takes to get from Dulles Airport into the Nation's Capital.

Of course, the HST is regarded as the ultimate in air travel in this century. But it would not replace other types of supersonic and even subsonic jets. The SST would perhaps be the most popular long distance conveyance within the continental limits of the country, while slower and cheaper subsonic jets would still have a place in the air transportation picture in future years. Mammoth versions of the subsonic jets which fly today will in the future probably hold a place equivalent to the motor bus in today's ground transport system. By this I mean the subsonic jets would be the cheapest means of air travel. They would operate by offering cut-rate international fares.

Some planners, for example, believe that by the late 1970's it may be possible to fly round-trip from New York to London for as little as \$150 per person. This would open up foreign travel to an entirely new segment of the traveling public. It would almost overnight strain to the breaking point all the air travel facilities which exist today.

Just think how far we have come in a few short years. It wasn't very long ago that new airports such as the National Airport in Washington, D.C. were being described as white elephants with runways that would never be fully utilized. Today the air traffic problem at Washington's National Airport, coupled with weather, keeps incoming planes stacked up sometimes for as long as two and three hours. Its congestion problem continues even though some of the jet traffic has been drawn away to Dulles International Airport. And today, strangely enough, Dulles Airport is being described as a white elephant which does not have sufficient business to keep it operating at a normal rate, and in my opinion all airports should be built along similar lines as Dulles. I have no doubt that within a very short time the facilities at Dulles will prove as inadequate as those at National Airport. But when that happens there will be plenty of room for expansion in all directions.

But there is in the development of new planes considerable reason for optimism on this score. The greater size and speed of tomorrow's planes should mean that the number of planes aloft will not grow as rapidly as the number of passengers and the volume of cargo. At a conservative estimate, the airlines' passenger business is expected to more than triple between now and 1980. Air cargo business may increase as much as ten times as capacity climbs and rates decline. But even with the larger and faster planes, the congestion in the skies over America will require elaborate new systems for electronic control of aircraft movements. Airports will have to be completely revamped, and this is the most important element in the whole problem of congestion. New arrangements will be needed for channeling passengers, handling baggage, etc.

In conclusion let me merely point out that if you are surprised at the developments which in two generations have brought us from the horse and buggy era to our first orbit of the moon, you haven't seen anything yet. There are even people in this nation today who are toying with the idea of using rockets to move mail and people at speeds in excess of 10,000 miles an hour. Of course, practical considerations at the present time rule out this possibility because of the limited demand for such flights. What's more, rocket experts in the aerospace industry claim that civilian passengers couldn't be expected to endure the discomfort of high acceleration and deceleration necessary for such trips.

It is safe to say, however, that we have reached a stage in our transportation development whereby the vehicles of the future will be so tremendous that they will be

beyond the financial competence of private companies to develop and manufacture. Government help will be an absolute necessity. Consequently, the development of an overall national policy on transportation becomes more imperative every day.

Thank you for this opportunity of meeting with you here today and sharing some of the problems and some of the miracles which lie ahead of Americans in the field of transportation.

IRAQ PROTEST URGED

HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter published in the Times Herald Record, of Middletown, N.Y., by a distinguished citizen and a longtime Member of the House of Representatives, Hamilton Fish, Jr. Mr. Fish has spoken out on the abominable hanging of the nine Jews in Iraq. Mr. Fish's protest speaks eloquently to the need of strong diplomatic action in behalf of the Jews of Iraq.

The editorial follows:

IRAQ PROTEST URGED

The statement made by Pope Paul that hanging nine Jews in Iraq raises a suspicion of racism and that the executions have "caused dismay and abomination in the world," raises a serious moral, humanitarian issue involving the rights of all free people.

The Pope's statement will be approved on humanitarian grounds by the free people of the world.

Twenty thousand Iraqi soldiers are located in Jordan facing Israel and have indulged in firing mortars, rockets, heavy artillery and machine guns into Israel villages, etc. Iraq has not been invaded by Israel. But racism does exist there as evidenced by the Iraq Army being in Jordan and by depriving Jews of their civil rights.

I urge President Nixon or Secretary of State Rogers, representing our traditional freedoms, to stress the right of all people in every nation to leave the country in which they live on their own free will.

Until the advent of communism, this has been the accepted doctrine throughout most of the world. In behalf of freedom and free people everywhere, the President or secretary of state should appeal to the Iraq government to show to the world that there is no racism there, by permitting 3,000 Jews in Iraq to leave for Israel, or wherever they want.

My grandfather, Hamilton Fish, as U.S. secretary of state, sent a firm protest in 1872 to the Czar's government against the shameful mistreatment of Jews in Rumania, and had copies mailed to all U.S. diplomats in Europe.

F.D.R. was strangely silent about the persecution of Jews in Germany under Hitler's regime and grievously silent later of Hitler's terrible extermination policy. The neutral nations of the world should have been aroused to make a world-wide protest by exposing the ghastly slaughter of millions of innocent women and children.

Abraham Lincoln said "to sin by silence when you should protest, makes cowards of men," and may I add, also of nations.

Unless the U.N. and the great nations of the world protest now, the extermination policy may begin all over again. It must not happen.

CAMP GARY JOB CORPS CENTER,
LOCATED IN SAN MARCOS, TEX.

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, at various times in the past, I have called to the attention of the House the fine work that is being done by the Camp Gary Job Corps Center, located in San Marcos, Tex.

Most recently, I spoke to you about the fact that the training cost per student at Gary is the lowest in the country for centers giving similar training.

In light of the recent indications that the administration of the Job Corps will be recommended for transfer to the Department of Labor, I feel it is urgent that we make an effort firmly to realize the importance of urban Job Corps centers like the one at San Marcos.

It is important, I feel, that we realize that the real mission of Gary is to give our young people from disadvantaged backgrounds the opportunity to pull themselves up and improve their potential. It is the job of instilling in them the confidence and the training necessary to get them started on the road to progress.

Camp Gary, with a relatively level enrollment of about 3,000, is rich in stories of the success of its alumni. Just over the past several weeks, I have seen two letters from former Gary corpsmen who have expressed ideas or accomplishments which are particularly noteworthy. Also, I received an especially good letter from a resident of San Marcos explaining his feelings about Gary, and at this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert these letters:

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.,
January 16, 1969.

DEAR MR. DOCKALL: If you take the time to think back to 1967, I believe you'll have very little trouble remembering me. For it was my pleasure to participate in the 1st Plymouth Trouble Shooting Contest for the Job Corps. My partner, Elbert Clark and I were very fortunate to have won. But with all the constant supervision and training it could have been no other way.

Presently, I'm in the Navy aboard the aircraft carrier Ticonderoga. Thanks to the training I received at Camp Gary I was able to obtain a fine job back in Pennsylvania. My former employer, Allentown Chrysler Plymouth, was very impressed with the training I had received in the Job Corps.

Now that I am enlisted in the Navy, I still hear from them. They have been keeping me informed of the latest developments in the Chrysler Products. Hopefully, to keep me up-to-date so that upon discharge from the service, I'll be able to take up where I left off.

Regretfully, though, I don't think I'll be going back to the automotive industry. I've realized that after all the training I had received in the Job Corps, it gave me more than a new insight on the future and the means to obtain a decent job. The Job Corps has given me something far more important. The will to learn, to set my goals higher, yet, to try to reach the unobtainable.

For although I've learned the trade of an auto mechanic, I am not as yet satisfied.

Thanks to the G.E.D. I received while at Gary I'll be able to enter college upon my

release from service, not to continue on in auto mechanics, but to enter the field of data processing and computer programming. Quite a switch, but one I believe I am capable of making.

I've found that the climb up the ladder of success is not obtained when you graduate from Gary—far from it; I may have reached the very top there, but training I received at Gary was just the first rung on the ladder—and the most important rung of all—for we have to start somewhere.

Because of my training at Gary, though, I've been able to obtain a responsible job in the Navy. Currently, I am working on jet powerplant maintenance. It's quite different from the four-stroke cycle but with the basics nothing is impossible.

The Herrings, now living in Fairmont, West Virginia, have written me often and have recently stated they had made a return trip to Texas and the Job Corps.

They informed me that the last Trouble Shooting Contest was held at Gary and we came through again. To the team that put into effect the effort of a team to win it, my congratulations. For as long as there are qualified instructors at Gary and there are young men willing to learn, there will always be a winning team for Camp Gary.

With Nixon taking office in the next few days, I sincerely hope he'll continue the funds for the Job Corps. For if given the opportunity, a lost individual can find the way to so many doors through which lies a better way of life.

When I left in November, 1967, I promised to write many of the instructors and friends that gave me help and encouragement. Sorry I failed to do this, but I'd appreciate it very much if you would give them my regards and deepest thanks for all they have done for me.

Guess I'd better close for now. It's been a pleasure being a part of Camp Gary and a representative of Job Corps. My constant prayer will be that there will always be a Job Corps or something similar to it, so that young men can find new hope for the future.

Sincerely,

GEORGE L. HEINER,

SANTA ANA, CALIF.,
February 1, 1969.

HON. J. J. PICKLE,
U.S. House of Representatives, Austin, Tex.

DEAR SIR: The first semester of college has now come and gone. As yet my final grades are not in but they were: Speech-A, Spanish-B, English-B and Geography-C at mid-semester.

During our debating this year several questions have arisen which our library has little information. Does Congress have an effective watchdog committee over the CIA, and has there been any serious violation of secrecy in Congress in recent years? Also, has a compilation of materials been issued on the topic yet by the Legislative Service?

That's what happens when Job Corpsmen go to college. All they have are questions. I'd really appreciate some answers though.

Thanks for everything.

Yours truly,

ERIC SAMUELSON.

SAN MARCOS, TEX.,
February 4, 1969.

HON. J. J. PICKLE,
U.S. Congressman, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PICKLE: Having finished my graduate work in Social Work in June, I am now up to my ears in practice in the public welfare field again. It's good to be back in it again but pretty frustrating at times—although I doubt if you are a newcomer to frustrations yourself.

My purpose in writing you is to share with you some of the thoughts and feelings that have occurred to me over the past several

months when "Welfare" has been the object of so much attention—and in some ways has been the scapegoat for some of the domestic headaches our land has experienced. I hope you will bear with me.

I keep hearing rumors that the Job Corps will be abolished. Six months ago I would have said, "Have at it." However, since October 1, 1968, I've lived and worked here in San Marcos where is located, as you know, the Gary Job Corps Center with around 3,000 young men enrolled. I have seen the marvelous accomplishments of this program and have recognized that for a surprising number of these young fellows, the Job Corps has been salvation. They have come from some of the most deprived homes in our country and without the training and self-respect afforded them by the Corps these young men would have married only to repeat their own family experiences and perpetuate public dependency, or respond to their sorry situations in some even more detrimental manner. It is contradictory, to me, for us to say we will fight crime and then take away one of the most vital weapons at our disposal.

I know Washington is concerned about dollars. But in the Job Corps we're not talking about dollars; we are talking about young Americans with feelings, hopes, desires, loves, and all things common to humans. We're talking about people whose country has permitted, even forced, them to grow up in unbelievable deprivation, attend schools which prepared them for an adulthood that would never come to them. They are people who would otherwise have no place in their own country.

I had hoped that Uncle Sam would give this program to non-government industry instead of doing away with it. Then, I hear on television and read in the paper of our fears of inflation . . . that the work-training programs in Detroit may have to cease, indeed their enrollments have fallen off because the industries are fearful. Nor do we need any reminders that anger and frustration do not sit idly by in Detroit.

So we are afraid of inflation, I do not question the wisdom of our fears. But does it follow that unemployment, deprivation, need must be initiated to curb this economic bogeyman? Surely greater thinkers than I must devise the plan, but when we have want and need in this great land of ours, in terms of our stated and historical affluence, we are missing something somewhere.

I guess perhaps I am more acquainted with these problems because I am in such close touch with them daily. How many families do I see in a week's time in which the father has gone simply because he had no way to support his wife and children. He leaves and the family deteriorates that much more. Had a job or training been available, the family might have stayed intact and independent. How many youngsters I see who become disenfranchised with school because they cannot identify with Anglo-American values and goals—and I must honestly ask, "Why should they identify with these goals?" when realistically they have not been and for years to come will not be truly integral members of the Anglo society. Really, while we brag about being a Melting Pot, we have never melted; we are all Americans, but more, each individual belongs to his own culture be it Latin middle class, Negro upper class, South Texas Latin-poor, East Texas Negro poor, New York Puerto Rican ghetto-ites.

What I think I am saying is that our leadership should recognize this fact and programs should be planned accordingly. Black-owned and operated businesses is just one step in that direction. Black studies in colleges is another. But the elimination of services in existence which meet some of the gaps is not an answer.

I've rambled and maybe have bored you for which I apologize; however, I warned you

earlier that this would be a sharing of thoughts. I am deeply concerned about what will happen in our streets and in homes if some of our marvelous resources get the ax.

In a lighter vein, I was amused at my brother's bumping into you and another Congressman in California last year when President Johnson visited Camp Pendleton. My amusement came from the fact that you had already been showered with correspondence from his Texas relatives and your escape from Beards seemed unlikely.

We do appreciate your efforts and are gratified by your always kind and thoughtful responses. Your re-election was a source of pleasure to us and we all wish you a very successful year.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID J. BEARD.

ALF M. LANDON SPEAKS AT INDEPENDENCE, KANS.

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an interesting address given by the Honorable Alfred M. Landon at Independence, Kans., on February 18, dealing with Communist China and other matters, and presenting views with which not everyone will agree, but which are extremely cogent and well reasoned.

Having just been a weekend guest of Governor Landon, I am happy to report that he is in excellent health, and presents, as always, evidence of keen thinking and extremely cogent and interesting thoughts on national and international problems.

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

EPOCHAL 4 YEARS AHEAD

(Address by Alf M. Landon at annual dinner meeting, Chamber of Commerce, Independence, Kans., Feb. 18, 1969)

Tonight I outline briefly the emotion-packed high-tension decisions in foreign affairs staring our President and the Congress and the governments of the world in the face that will shape the destiny of mankind for years to come. The big powers are all facing internal troubles. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has split world Communism.

There has been quite a flurry of activity in the last 30 days or so toward better political relations and workable accommodations between governments—rather than building stronger military positions.

1. The prelude was President Nixon's immediate acceptance of China's suggestion last November for a renewal of the Warsaw talks after a year or more had gone by without any meeting.
2. Then came Italy's announcement of negotiations with China, leading to establishing formal diplomatic relations between the two.
3. Then came the French proposal for a four power conference to work for a liveable solution of the perilous guerrilla wars in the Middle East.
4. Now Canada is exploring with China arrangements for establishment of formal diplomatic relations.

Early in 1968, there was the Chinese-Albanian treaty that gave China a military base for the first time in Europe.

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That was followed by the Soviet's brutal and barbaric rape of Czechoslovakia that leaves the biggest Russian army in Europe since World War Two.

Put together—these make an impressive list of forces in motion that call for fresh thinking and realistic, responsible decisions leading toward peaceful solutions of unresolved difficulties in foreign affairs.

Nothing will do as much to relieve this tension as the successful outcome of renewal of de facto discussions between China and the United States. Day after tomorrow—on February 20—the conversations start again in Warsaw at the ambassadorial level for the first time in over a year. Their effect may be nothing. Their consequences can be incalculable.

The attention of foreign offices all over the world will be focused on Warsaw next Thursday. China and Russia—the Orient and the Occident—are not natural allies.

As a matter of fact, the United States government gave China de facto recognition in 1955 under President Eisenhower, when we began these ambassadorial talks in Warsaw. Now President Nixon is looking forward to this Warsaw meeting as the opportunity to cover a wide range of Chinese-American affairs, in the light of substantive changes in the past several years in international relations.

The Middle East is linked with Vietnam in the mounting crisis of international relations.

In his presidential campaign, Mr. Nixon said:

"The next President must conduct a series of meetings at the presidential and other levels with the leaders of the Soviet Union. I would always talk with the Soviets. I think we have got to have negotiations with the Soviet Union. There are certain areas—the Mid-East is an example—where the U.S. and the Soviet Union simply have to sit down and talk; otherwise we are headed toward a confrontation that could explode into a nuclear war in the Mid-East."

I would add Vietnam as paralleling the Mid-East—as far as the possibility of a military confrontation with Russia is concerned.

Three weeks ago, the Soviet blamed the United States for increased fighting in Laos. England—co-chairman with Russia to protect the neutrality of Laos—in a formal reply to another Soviet lie—placed the blame for increased fighting in Laos right dab on the Communists.

It has been obvious from the start that the Soviet is the key to a realistic settlement of the Vietnam war—just as it is in the Middle East. The Soviets' ambivalent policy and customary duplicity with Czechoslovakia has heated up the cold war and generated old major questions that fading NATO has never answered. Dennis Healy—British Defense Minister—the other day—pointing to a potential drift of the world into two super-power spheres controlled by the United States and the Soviet Union—warned:

"If Europe is not prepared to maintain a common and unified position on the problems now being debated by America and Russia—then it can hardly expect to have the slightest influence on any such dialogues."

Once more, it has opened the question of whether it is a swing to the beastly barbarism of Stalin the Terrible of conquering the world by force—and how far the Soviet can be trusted in negotiations for a meaningful—actual—and sincere coexistence based on peace and national growth.

At the same time—inside Russia—freedom has been stifled within the past months by secret trials—censorship and secret police.

Despite all this double talk and the cold war tactics of the Soviet—as I said years ago—as long as we are talking, we are not shooting.

In the Middle East—our President is confronted with explosive events over which he

had no control that called for immediate crucial decisions.

Basically, they are of coexistence also. They are the open and continuing adjustment to the first Israeli government—since the Roman conquest. In all the Middle East, there were centuries of relative peace under the Roman Empire—under the Islamic Califs and the Ottoman Empire—when that area slept for centuries except for two Christian crusades. By the beginning of the 20th Century, peace was shattered by the rise of Arab nationalist governments at the time of the first World War and the Israeli government at the end of World War Two—and really has not been restored since then.

In a nutshell, it is the case of two new competing nationalisms that exist elsewhere today.

Another obvious potentially explosive case that will sooner or later dominate international relations is the new developing nationalism of China—a huge country with one-fourth of the world's population—virtually untapped immense natural resources and expanding nuclear power.

Despite our de facto recognition, the United States really refuses to face the fact of the existence of China—just as the Arabs refuse to face the fact of the existence of Israel. President Nixon now has the opportunity—in concert with other Asian allies—to correct our unrealistic China policy based on the premise that America occupied such a pre-eminent position in world affairs that its boycott of China would work.

With one stroke of his pen, President Nixon can make the biggest—the most constructive and substantive change in the world's international affairs—by taking the lead in coordinating normal relations with China—just as President Franklin Roosevelt did in 1933 by establishing diplomatic relations with Russia—after the United States and Soviet Russia had established de facto ties in a number of fields in President Coolidge's administration.

Professor James C. Thomson, Jr., of Harvard—Asian specialist in the State Department from 1961 to 1966—said recently: "There can be no viable peace and little stability in East Asia until deadlock gives way to mutual accommodations in Sino-American relations."

I supported Mr. Roosevelt in this Russian policy. Since 1948, I have urged recognition of the existence of China by the United States and its admission to the United Nations.

For really the first time since President Johnson rejected China's proposal in October, 1964, for a conference of world powers to abolish nuclear weapons—China is showing interest in renewing conversations that can lead to meaningful changes.

Then the Soviet—after two years of silence ignoring it—accepted President Johnson's invitation to discuss limitation of the arms race.

The China policy remains an open question for our new President—who is not tied to a previous fixation that the peace of the world depends on the United States cold war containment policy.

If China is changing its policy of isolation—and other great countries like Italy and Canada are once more establishing normal diplomatic relations—that will be a far better foundation for avoiding a nuclear war than the non-proliferation treaty that is now pending ratification in the U.S. Senate.

As I have said repeatedly in my strong support of President Johnson's building bridges with Russia and China—I did not want to sleep in the same room with Kosygin—with my pocketbook in my pants over the back of a chair. The same goes for Mao.

Diplomatic recognition and diplomatic relations do not involve trust between two governments.

Look at Indonesia. That incipient power kicked out the Chinese Communists' attempt to conquer it by subversive tactics and assassination; yet both countries still maintained their diplomatic relations. Look at India—that still maintains diplomatic relations with China—despite that country's crossing the Himalayas and taking Indian territory by force.

With the substantive changes in the last few years in world affairs—President Nixon has the opportunity to encourage and develop new and better contacts in our de facto relations with China.

China may be thinking that way, too.

Diplomatic relations does not necessarily mean friendly relations. It is the oldest way known to mankind to relieve tensions—by talking.

It can be a big factor in a satisfactory settlement of the Vietnam War—for that war is a part and parcel of entire international relations. It can open big new markets in China for American products—agricultural and manufactured. Oh, yes, I know that transistors, sewing machines, textiles and steel from Japan are selling in American markets. However, a government policy that prevents its citizens from trading with one-fourth of the world's population does not make sense.

The recognition that a Chinese government actually exists in much more than a shift in our foreign policy. Merely developing better diplomatic relations between the United States of America and China will be a change that will be felt around the world . . . a favorable one—except in the Kremlin. It will transform all international relations and shape immediately a new political world.

I am not talking about a treaty of any kind—or the complicated questions involved in China's admission to the United Nations. Nor does it involve any question of so-called hawks or doves—negotiating political problems from superior—or sufficient—military strength—or that political problems must be settled preceding any discussion of limitations on arms. It is just the first step that, in time, can well lead to other more complicated steps. It is simply a thaw that permits work to start in the seedbed of sounder international relations. This will not be accomplished over night or in one harvest.

The simple mutual exchange of embassies between governments enables each country to better understand the thinking of the other.

However, that is more than a procedural form. It provides face to face discussion of more difficult matters. There will be a long way to go to reach any workable settlement of new and viable peaceful international relations in Asia and elsewhere in the world.

Because Mr. Nixon made no fixed and definite prediction in his campaign on his foreign policies, he is now able to take a fresh look at international affairs. He is in a flexible position where he can follow a reasonable and realistic quid pro quo policy.

The London Times describes President Nixon's foreign policy position as an enigma. So far, this mystery has brought about some indications—slight as they may be—of more flexibility in China's and Russia's foreign policies. If President Nixon succeeds in building with China simple diplomatic relations—that means far-reaching changes of infinite importance in our own policy—which was based on the old balance of power theory of Russia and the United States supervising world affairs. President Nixon has already made it clear that his policy will be coordination and cooperation with other governments when and where that is possible.

In a nutshell, the conference to be held at Warsaw between America and China can have more significance than the peace conference now going on in Paris.

That will take some time to develop just what change the Soviet and Mao really in-

tend in their heretofore intransigent positions. It is somewhat obscure whether China really has a stable government. The upheaval in China may have put Mao in a position where he, too, wants to create a diversion. That can also be true of the Soviet.

For sure, one place it can manifest itself is in the Paris Conference with the Vietnamese. For both Russia and China are keys to the settlement that may be arrived at there.

So that change, if any, in Moscow's and Peking's foreign policy is not for the future. It is immediate—not only for the end of the Vietnam War—but also for our domestic problems—for the streets and alleys of America—as well as the jungles and rice swamps of Vietnam.

If we want to move toward a general relaxation of tension in the world, the quickest way is to move toward a basic change in our China policy.

We have been repeatedly admonished that—if we just had patience—we could win the Vietnam War. In a nutshell, I am arguing that we need that same patience to find a sound, peaceful political solution to foreign affairs.

Establishing normal diplomatic relations involves no concessions by either government. The impact of diplomatic relations between China and America will have the same effect on our defensive role in Asia and governments throughout the world as beginning the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam.

A reversal of a major policy is never easy for any government. Our President can well be confronted at any time with serious events over which he has no control that will call for immediate crucial decisions.

Mere establishing of diplomatic relations with China is only the beginning of a realistic change in the American concept that Communists are straight from hell and that the Chinese are double-damned. That has been drilled into us for a generation. And, of course, China has that same picture of us. They called our soldiers "foreign devils" and "devil devils." What is evil to the Chinese is not evil to Americans. Anyhow, you do not abolish evil by ignoring it.

These are truly fast changing times. Therefore, it is essential to have the first complete inventory of our world affairs. "The Cost of World Leadership," recently published by the American Bankers Association, is a realistic appraisal of our nation's involvements.

James W. Fulbright, as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, has just started the essential sweeping detailed review of our foreign policies—excepting Vietnam. "It is hoped," the powerful and courageous Senator said, "that this review will result in constructive recommendations concerning the involvement of the United States armed forces abroad—the impact of United States overseas commitments and the military capacity to honor them," such as—

1. By treaty, the United States may now be committed under varying circumstances to use its armed forces in defense of 42 countries.

2. Five major congressional resolutions delegate various degrees of authority to the President to involve the United States in military, economic or political action abroad in places such as Formosa, the Middle East, Berlin, Cuba and Southeast Asia.

3. Bilateral economic aid is provided to 73 countries and military aid to 48 countries.

4. The proposed 1971 budget estimates an expenditure of 81.5 billion dollars for national defense, plus 3.7 billion dollars for international affairs and finance.

As Senator Fulbright so correctly said, "These foreign commitments and other for-

eign involvements which may be short of commitments, obviously have a significant impact on United States diplomacy and vice versa."

Another dire necessity is an inventory that covers the state of our national defenses. Our President has wisely frozen the construction of the "thin" IBM system.

Our national security depends on the efficiency of our national defenses. Our political policies, domestic as well as foreign, depend on the state of our national defenses.

I do not believe the American people are aware of the extent of the lag that has occurred in the last five years in stretching out our military equipment beyond the safety factor because of the cost of the Vietnam War.

This calls for a complete reassessment and re-evaluation of what America needs to provide a margin of safety for its existence as the greatest and most powerful republic in the world. America seeks neither land—nor colonies—nor gold—nor domination of other peoples—as the Russian hierarchy and the Chinese hierarchy do. We do not need any of these for our existence—as the fearful men in Moscow and Peking believe they need for their existence. The growth and development of nuclear weapons and mass communication has not only eliminated the old balance of power policy. That is also restricting dreams of world conquest by any would be conquerors.

In the last five years or so, there has been a dangerous lag in our military hardware equipment inventory—particularly in the Air Force—both in obsolescence of the present equipment and in its numbers.

Senator Stuart Symington told the Senate last October that "The United States has not produced a single new fighter plane since 1955—despite spending billions of dollars on aircraft development. . . . The Soviet Union has flown 18 new fighter models, seven of which were first photographed at the July, 1967, Moscow Air Show."

Without going into details of the hearings before the Armed Forces Committee of the U.S. Senate—this highly dangerous status of our Air Force needs to be corrected forthwith—regardless of cost.

The same is true—to some extent—of the Navy. Building nuclear powered submarines and carriers has lagged—along with the modernization and improvement of our strategic missiles. I quote President Nixon as of last October: "America must come to grips with two critical facts: First, the Soviet Union is making a very impressive bid to become the world's No. 1 sea power. Second, the United States has not been doing what it should to keep them from overtaking us."

There is a drastic need for an overhauling of Defense Department planning and buying methods. I am not advocating a crash program. I am advocating an orderly program that will be based, say, on the next four years—each year fitting into the previous year in the essential and critical rebuilding of our national defenses. The Army, the Navy and the Air Force plan to supplement each other and do the specialized work they are best equipped to carry out efficiently.

Along with the political crisis in world affairs is the monetary maelstrom highlighted by the failure to find any long lasting solution to the world's currency problems.

I have always believed—and still do—that chronic deficit financing created economic and political instability that produces restlessness, turbulence, uncertainty, trouble, that make difficulties in the development of a sound, equitable policy by a government recognizing its responsibility in maintaining and expanding opportunities for the good life. By that, I mean the happy—healthy life. By and large—our American government has given the American people the greatest measure of happiness of any peoples in the world. That does not mean that we cannot do a still better job now.

National security—full employment—national growth—a rising standard of living and a stable currency are what any one—right or left—would be happy to achieve.

All these factors must be kept in focus—as they are all intermeshed with our foreign policies on trade—the price of gold—confidence in our national administration—ability to keep its agreements with other governments—creating new markets by political and financial assistance—opening up new markets in Africa, Asia and the Western Hemisphere—all with practically unscratched immense natural resources.

The left think that goal can be reached only by a planned and controlled inflation—and that talk of a balanced budget is for the birds. That is the Keynesian theory of the new school of economists—despite the fact that, in all history, there has been no example of a controlled inflation. Yet it is this very lack of balance that underlines that inflation is still a serious problem that handicaps effective organization of sound and workable domestic programs.

They even ignore current history of the United States, England and France—all with that same goal and the same road of mounting inflation, and that the West German mark is the strongest currency because it has followed the old time tested fiscal policies of a balanced budget.

The English pound and the French franc have gone through one crisis after another and have been steadily devalued. The pound sterling is no longer a reserve for banking and government funds in the world. Both the pound and the franc have been saved temporarily from further devaluation only by foreign aid from other countries.

Whether they can survive this year without disastrous devaluation is still a monetary question that directly affects the life of every Frenchman and Englishman and many, many other peoples, also. If the franc and the pound are devalued, the pressure on the American dollar is greatly increased.

Our dollar has been in an extremely precarious position for several years. It was saved two years ago by the courageous action of William Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank, in raising interest rates as a brake on inflation. They were lowered when it accomplished that purpose. They were raised again two months ago to prevent a new surge of inflation. Inflation, in simple terms, means a new surge in boosting the cost of living.

Another courageous and powerful leader in the Congress from Arkansas is Wilbur D. Mills, who—as Chairman of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee—actually controls the fiscal legislation of the Congress. Congressman Mills said recently that tax legislation required vigorous and strong leadership by a president.

It can also be said that the support of Chairman Mills and his House Committee is also essential to a president in persuading the Congress to enact his fiscal recommendations. Mounting inflation has changed more governments than wars. Therefore, accord between President Nixon and Chairman Mills on fiscal and trade legislation is of the utmost importance and necessity for our stable national economy, and sound national growth that are the base of our national leadership for world peace.

Last Thursday, Under-Secretary of State Richardson in Paris at the International Economic Forum, clarified another major Nixon policy—pledging the administration's support for "a more open system of world trade." Mr. Richardson—referring specifically to America's monetary policy—said:

"We intend to intensify our efforts to restore price stability and to go about it properly. It is a basic objective of the new administration to regain control of the price and wage situation in the United States. To this end, we shall hold to a sound budgetary position."

Thus, our President continues to waste no time laying the crucial decisions right on the line on foreign policy—national defense—banking and trade—in a strong way that dispels doubts and wins support from bi-partisan sources.

Basically—these vast and intricate issues are as old as the protests of the prophets on the hills of Judea against the leadership of their world; as new as mass communications—mass production—mass population—malnutrition—automation—super jets—spacecraft—and the shadow of mass death in a nuclear war. That is the time we live in.

America—still a young nation—and with the greatest economic resources in the world—the greatest popular government in this world in size—with blocks of voters still influenced in their thinking by older ethnic origins—with a great variety of interests—both domestic and foreign—the Atlantic coast historically more interested in Europe and the Pacific coast in Asia—with the greatest mass communications in the world—requires a national leadership with the backup ability to get over to American voters the soundness of his policies. A president who has that ability can mold the whole atmosphere and tone of American political—social and economic life.

In his hands is the fate of civilization. All over the world, countless millions of faces are turned toward him—watching for his fateful decisions.

That is the destiny of our President. Mr. Nixon is not shrinking from it.

TRANSPACIFIC ROUTE CASE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress are well aware of President Nixon's recent action in requesting the CAB to return to him for review and decision the international phase of the transpacific route case. The President now has a golden opportunity to bring order out of chaos. I call to the attention of Members of the House an article by Mr. Wayne W. Parrish, who is not only the most distinguished publisher in the field of aviation today but an expert whose opinion I commend to the administration. Mr. Parrish has written a no-nonsense article in the current edition of *American Aviation* which deserves the full attention of the White House and our foreign policy advisers.

The article follows:

PERSONAL VIEW: AN OPEN LETTER

(By Wayne W. Parrish)

Mr. ROBERT ELLSWORTH,
Assistant to the President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ELLSWORTH: According to the memorandum you issued Feb. 7 to all of the concerned parties, President Nixon has assigned to you the task of co-ordinating the complex and troubled transpacific route case.

You are a three-term congressman from Lawrence, Kan., so you have some knowledge, at least, of the workings of the capital city. At 43, you possess, presumably, a still-young mind. One deeply hopes that you are aware of the magnitude of the challenge before you.

One hopes, also, that you will lift this case out of the muck of ignorance, stupidity, self-serving private interests and the host of rancid pressures, and help to get it settled

in the interests of the United States of America, its people, and the traveling public of the world—to say nothing of a settlement that will result in an economically strong air transportation industry.

One hopes that you will start with a fresh and clear mind. Before you begin wrangling with partisan pleas and hired rainmakers, it is hoped that you will ponder these few basic and simple questions: Just what are the air transportation requirements for this vast area of the world? What are the specific and special interests of the United States? How much service is already being provided, and by whom? How much can it stand? Better yet, what is the potential? And will you take the time to consult those who have independent knowledge of the Pacific and its peoples and its trade routes?

It is quite clear that the decision by the Civil Aeronautics Board gives you little to work on. Those five members, frustrated by ignorance, pressures, distortions, commitments and cozy desires to please somebody and offend no one, never really looked at those basic questions and answered them first before divvying up some route plums in a grand neutralization of cross-interests. The end result was a hodge-podge of service that didn't even please their best friends, although no "winner" would ever show his displeasure out loud. Let's face it, Mr. Ellsworth, the decision was one helluva big bumble.

Now let's look at the Pacific very briefly. There are two distinct categories of air traffic to be considered. One is point-to-point transportation, the kind one envisions in a certificate of public convenience and necessity, to transport people in business or government and other walks of life who have to travel and want the service available on precise schedules. The other is pleasure, or tourist, or promotional travel, and if you know anything at all about the Pacific you would know that the opportunities for this type of travel are almost unlimited, as Hawaii has demonstrated as a starter. Some airlines are strong in the first category, others are strong in the second.

Let's look, too, at another important factor. The government, meaning both political parties over an extended period of years, seems to have determined that the United States should have, for reasons too numerous and obvious to delineate here, two American round-the-world airline systems. One system is and has been around the world. The second lacked the Hong Kong-mainland segment to complete the global circle. The fact that the CAB *did* decide to complete the circle for the second carrier would seem to indicate that this two-system policy has been unchanged, even though the CAB could hardly have chosen a more ridiculous manner in which to do it.

One of the big problems in the northern Pacific was American Airlines, which wanted very badly to fly to Tokyo via Hawaii. The CAB seemed to agree with this, although its method of requiring through flights and the use of second-rate mainland terminals was as nutty as a fruitcake. But let's ponder this problem. Is a single route to Japan via Hawaii, dead-ending either in Japan or Korea, a really economical and suitable route? We don't think so, not when other considerations need to be made, especially existing competition and the national policy of two round-the-world systems.

And yet here is American, one of the finest airlines in the world, cut off, as of now, from even going to Hawaii. It is incomprehensible how anyone can justify forbidding American to participate fully—inland and from coast cities—in the lush Hawaii tourist travel market. American should be in Hawaii without any per-adventure or doubt. But for its own good, and for other considerations, it should not, at this stage of Pacific development, try to bust into the Tokyo market with a dead-end route.

All right, then, Mr. Ellsworth, what about the second round-the-world system, which happens to be TWA? The logical route, and the only logical route, to close the global gap is via Japan. If not Tokyo, then Osaka. It seems very clear that in its fumbling and bumbling, the CAB picked a route across the Central Pacific via Guam simply as a way out of a pressure dilemma. But if common sense and the national interest are the criteria, then TWA should most certainly go from Hong Kong to Japan and then the U.S., via Honolulu, with no ridiculous restrictions.

So now, Mr. Ellsworth, we have removed TWA from the Central Pacific, so what should go there? Easy. This is a promotional route, an area that is susceptible to great development for tourism, an area of romantic islands waiting for hotels and resorts, waiting for an airline that has a will-to-do, a flair for promotion, an airline with a little risk and adventure in its blood. This entire Central Pacific would be a field day for Continental. Give it the area, not arbitrary lines; extend it through Guam to Okinawa and then to Taipei and then to Hong Kong. This is the route it wanted, this is the route it can do better with than any other airline we know about, and Continental would make the Pacific as popular and low-cost in its way as the Atlantic and Caribbean are today.

But what do you know, Mr. Ellsworth, the CAB decided to send Continental to New Zealand and Australia, and a more bumbling, cockeyed decision we can't imagine. In the first place, it shows that the CAB didn't do its homework at all, because any U.S. airline that flies to Australasia absolutely, without any question whatever, must be strong in the eastern part of the United States, namely New York City. The route to Australasia is essentially a business route. If an airline can't tap traffic coming across the Atlantic, and tap traffic from major industrial cities, and if it operates only in the western U.S., it is a pitiful sitting duck for the strongest airline combination in the world: the British Commonwealth Pool.

Does the CAB know how strong BOAC, Qantas and Air New Zealand really are? Yes, the current traffic figures on the Pacific may not seem too impressive, but the pool is strong and it controls a vast amount of feed-in traffic. And do you know something, Mr. Ellsworth? If you want to cure the meager traffic results and high fare levels in the Pacific, you don't listen to foreign airlines. You put a strong American carrier on the route and traffic will grow. There are three decades of experience to justify that statement. The CAB served a tough deal on Continental because it was compromising compromises without either guts or knowledge entering into the decision, for Continental is not a transcontinental carrier.

So who, then, should fly to Auckland and Sydney? We leave it up to you with this single premise: The only American carrier that can succeed on that route must be strong in the East, especially New York. Since TWA is presumably already in the Pacific and American showed no interest in Australasia, you have a choice of two airlines, United and Eastern. United is the stronger in terms of industrial and traffic-generating cities. Eastern proposed an imaginative and interesting route system that might well be a winning answer to the competitive situation already existing. In the hearing before Examiner Robert Park, Eastern certainly chalked up the highest marks for resourcefulness. But take your pick; here are two A-1 choices, and positively the only ones that can serve that market well.

Now, Mr. Ellsworth, you will be getting a lot of pressure from the State Department transmitting complaints and pressures from other governments. I say to hell with them. I say a lot of those pressures are being promoted within the U.S., anyway, for selfish

protective reasons. I say it is high time that we tell the Japanese that we are going to have a second round-the-world carrier serving their country and they can take it and like it or we will simply stop giving Japan Air Lines our birthright, a policy that we have been following. Mr. Ellsworth, do you think you could possibly get over a message to our Department of State that it works for the U.S.A.? Do you think you could convince them to tell other peoples, for once, what we want to do and what we are going to do? Up to now, the marshmallows over there have done nothing much but give everything of ours away with minimal benefits in return.

Now of course Australia and New Zealand will protest. They aren't so stupid as not to do so. But how valid are those protests? Are we simply to sit back and guarantee them monopolies to carry our American traffic, or can't we do some carrying ourselves? Mr. Ellsworth, you have a personal challenge. Need I say more?

Another thing, Mr. Ellsworth. The Pacific has been a football politically for two decades. It has been bottled up. No need to go into all that, but it's been a sort of private enclave. So was the rest of the world until that enclave was busted up and we got some competition, and who is there in heaven or hell who can say that the competition hasn't been healthy for everybody concerned. Let's open up the Pacific to American air transportation, but in the name of all that's holy, let's pick the right carriers for the right jobs.

Let's see how well you can do, Mr. Ellsworth. For if you botch this thing up as much as the CAB did, I, for one, will haunt you for years to come. For I'm a very proud American and I know the Pacific and I know the airlines and I want to see something done the right way for once. On with your job, Mr. Ellsworth.

RELIEF FROM "FORMS" FOR SMALL EMPLOYERS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, it is relatively easy today for the citizens to slip into the mistaken belief that the Federal Government is not only the source of new money, but that it is also the producer of new income. With this growing misconception, it is becoming easier for the administration to force more odious and costly chores upon those people who have created the employment so that a portion of the earned income can be collected and directed to the Federal Treasury.

With rapidly increasing Government spending, the Federal Treasury has experienced an ever-growing need for cash, and thus, by regulations, has required small employers to file income tax withholding statements monthly, if the withheld amount equaled at least \$100. This, while it may have helped the Government in its solvency problems, has also tripled the amount of bookwork that most small employers are forced to do for their country.

Therefore, I have introduced a bill, to make this filing voluntary, rather than mandatory for those with fewer than 10 employees, or having withheld taxes amounting to less than \$1,000 during a month. At the present level of pay, and

with the prospect of ever higher labor rates, the previous \$100 minimum could be reached with only one employee.

This measure will not only cut down on the number of forms required from 12 to four, if the employer so chooses, but it could also save a great many man-hours of nonproductive labor that the small businessman has previously been donating. It will allow more leeway in the scheduling of employee and employer vacations and activities.

CREATION OF A COUNCIL OF ECOLOGICAL ADVISERS

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, America has been blessed with abundant resources. Together, all of our resources comprise the basis of the environment of the wealthiest Nation on earth. Until this century, our Nation was primarily occupied with the development of most of those resources—with the mining and processing of mineral deposits, the planting and harvesting of the land, the cutting and milling of timber, the transport and industrial uses of water, and the mining, drilling, and processing and combustion of fossil fuels. In the early part of the 20th century, conservation of some of the overexploited resources of our country became a national interest. The Government began to take steps against the misuse of our most precious national wealth next to our people, the natural resources of America. Characteristically, conservation was first concerned with the most obvious blemishes resulting from earlier misuse—denuded timberland, eroded farmland, very inefficient and wasteful mining and processing operations, and eventually polluted and poisoned waterways.

In the past two decades the concern over the resources of our environment has grown immensely. Not only are we concerned with the impact and effect of that use and misuse of our resources, we are now concerned with the impact and effect of that use and misuse throughout our environment. Man and nature have altered our environment, and in doing so, have altered the ecology of our Nation—the interrelationship interaction of all parts of our environment. We are no longer concerned just with the misuse of mineral deposits and its impact on the land. We are also concerned with the poisoned waters resulting from poor mine drainage. We are no longer concerned just with the agricultural problems which result from the misuse that created the great midwestern dust bowl; we are also concerned with the effects of the dust in the atmosphere and the air breathed by millions of people in those agricultural States. We are no longer concerned just with the inefficiency and waste of poor smelting and metal processing; we are concerned with the impact of poisonous

air emissions on the lungs and lives of millions of urban and rural dwellers.

We have not yet dealt with these problems effectively. We have not even considered all of the problems besetting our environment and their effect on our ecology. We have a tendency to deal with problems in a piecemeal manner. We do not anticipate a problem in a so-called preventative fashion. Rather, we let problems reach a point where we must try to cope with them in order to keep them from getting even more out of hand. This certainly has been the case in the area of environmental quality control.

The Congress, State, and local governments, and industries have only recently begun to show their concern and awareness of the problems of air and water pollution in the face of the ever-increasing outcry of public dissatisfaction. We have, however, continued to act in our manner of responding to problems once they have become large enough to attract national attention. We have been caught ill-prepared to deal with these problems, and the indecisiveness of our legislation is indicative of our lack of foresight. While we are presently looking at the two giants in the area of environmental quality control, air and water pollution, we are not viewing them in a sophisticated enough manner, nor are we paying enough attention to their impact on each other and on the entire environment. We are not giving enough consideration to other problems which will increase with our national growth if they continue to go on unchecked.

We have a need to look after the entire environment and the ecology of that environment. We must know the relationship of air to water pollution, and of each to solid waste matter, and of all to each other. We must understand the effects of radiation on all forms of pollution, the effects of pollution on the weather, the relationship of topography to pollution, and the beneficial combinations of urban planning to topography and the relationship of that combination to pollution abatement. We must understand the impact of environmental change on human beings, and how the changes in the quality of the atmosphere and the appearance of the environment affect man both physiologically and psychologically.

We have a need to understand our physical surroundings and the ecology of that environment better, so that we may direct our efforts at beneficially altering our environment, and so that we may be able to foresee future problems that could be averted at an early stage. We must have an overview of our surroundings so that we can understand our strengths, weaknesses and needs, and act accordingly.

At present we are dealing with many of the problems of our environment in many areas of the Government. I do not question that each of these areas has a special and particular interest in its area of authority. The Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare certainly has appropriate interest in air pollution. For air pollution has direct effects on our health. However, the Department of Transportation also has

an interest in air pollution as it relates to automobiles and their ability to create air pollution, and as it relates to decreased atmospheric visibility which affects air transportation. Commerce has obvious interests when one of the great sources of air pollution is industry, and agriculture is keenly interested in the impact of polluted air on crops and vegetation. I do not deny that each of these departments has a specialized and necessary interest in air pollution.

The Department of the Interior has an important concern with water pollution, for it has jurisdiction over the billions of gallons of water which come from areas of Interior's jurisdiction. The Department of Housing and Urban Development also has an intense interest in water use, for it must concern itself with the water needs, and water and sewage systems of the great cities. Agricultural use of high quality water is a need that speaks for itself. Industrial use of water again involves commerce, and there are obvious health needs in water purification systems. Again, I maintain that these areas all have individual, legitimate, and necessary authority in these realms.

The Atomic Energy Commission has obvious authority in the area of radioactive materials. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has interests in the health aspects of these potentially harmful materials. The Department of Defense has needs for nuclear fuels, and every department involved with water which is interested in desalinization as a source of additional fresh water has considered atomic facilities for such processes. These interests each have certain special concerns, and I feel that they are rightfully exercising authority in their own particular areas.

I could go on and on, but certainly it is not necessary. There is nothing wrong with this departmental specialization in related fields; it is advantageous for the Government to look at problems from a variety of specialized points of view. There are, however, some major needs which are not being met.

First and foremost is the need to view the entire environment and its total ecological interaction. It is essential to relate all of these areas of interest to each other. The environment is certainly composed of many more elements than have been mentioned here. And the ecology of the environment—the interaction of all of those elements—is something that I could not entirely explain here for we do not yet entirely understand it. That is my point. The understanding of our ecology is essential if we hope to successfully deal with the many problems of our environment. The understanding of our ecology is essential if we hope to create programs that will alleviate our environmental problems, both now and in the future. The understanding of our ecology is essential if we are to make the various individual programs in our Government relate effectively to one another, and to advance our activities in the realm of improving the entire environment. An effective overall view of the environment and its ecology will enable us to evaluate the effectiveness of our present efforts throughout the Government.

It is for this reason that I introduced

the "Ecological Advisers Act of 1967." I have reintroduced the bill this year since I feel that the problems of environmental pollution are greater than ever and are threatening the very existence of mankind. Strong action is needed to meet this challenge.

The purposes of this Council are manifold. Primarily this branch of the Executive Office is to provide an overview of the problems of the ecology of the national environment, and to recommend and develop ideas and concepts for the implementation of programs designed to improve, protect, reclaim, restore, and conserve the various aspects of our environment. The Council is to establish devices for reviewing the effectiveness of, and the need for programs throughout the Federal Government, or sponsored or supported by the Federal Government, in related areas of environmental or ecological quality.

The most important of the Council's tasks will be the relating of the various areas of environmental interest to each other, and the development of creative concepts and plans for the continual improvement of the ecological and environmental conditions of the Nation.

The Council is also to direct the coordination of the efforts throughout the Government by its appraisal of programs. Through its staff and research facilities, it is to streamline and coordinate the research activities of the various areas of Federal interest and involvement in ecological questions. The Council will also advise the President on the allocation of funds for the various Federal areas involved with environmental questions.

The overview of the Council will be directed at the entire ecology of the environment—from the point of view of man and his needs. Ecology itself is not a concept which directs itself toward the effect of the interaction of the elements of the environment on one individual organism or element. However, in the case of the Council, we are interested in the environment and its ecology as it relates to man. The Council should not occupy itself with the narrow definition of each constituent element of the environment, but rather with the overall interaction of the constituent elements as they relate to man through their interaction with each other and with man. The Council must take a larger and not a smaller view of the picture of the environment. It must take a creative and comprehensive look at the ecology of our environment, concerning itself not only with the physical implications of the environment, but with the psychological and sociological implications of the conditions and interactions of the ecology of the environment of man. This will certainly include both the manmade as well as the natural elements of the environment.

The need for such a Council is clear. I have been in contact with representatives from industry, Federal departments, the Executive Offices, and scientific specialists, and they all express the idea that, in one form or another, some type of overseeing body is necessary to deal with the ever-increasing and continually proliferating questions and areas of authority concerned with our

environment. They all affirm that an ecological view is necessary. There is a need to develop a long range view of the problem, and corresponding long-range plans. There is a need to see that those areas of the Government dealing with various environmental problems are able to bring all resources to bear on those problems, are using all of the material available to the Federal Government, are not duplicating other efforts and programs, and are far reaching and creative in their efforts—with an understanding of the relationship of their projects and work to other related undertakings other places in the public and private realms.

It is only fair to ask questions concerning the placement of such a council at the level of the Executive Office of the President. Once the need for such a body was determined, careful consideration was given for the placement of such an overseeing policy body. During the course of deliberations, the places considered for such a governmental function varied from a new Cabinet-level department to an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It has become increasingly clear that a body created to deal with the entire environmental ecology must be in a commanding place in the Government if it is to be in any position to get an effective overview of national efforts and is to be a far-reaching policy determiner. If it is to be such an overseeing body, it cannot be placed in the structure of any one department involved in any one area of ecological or environmental quality control. It could never oversee or direct the efforts of activities in other departments equal in stature to the department in which it was a subdivision. Therefore, creating an Assistant Secretary, or some such similar position in an existing agency would essentially be impractical and make such a body or position impotent.

On the other hand, there is no desire to create a "superdepartment"—a department to collect all of the various environmental quality research and control functions rooted throughout the various agencies and departments. As stated earlier, there are certain specific areas which are best kept where they now are, and such a massive reorganization would only postpone further the needed advances in this field.

The logical place for this Council, therefore, is at the level of the Executive. There, as a result of its position and its composition, and through its contact with the President, it is in a position to direct and enhance the activities in the Federal interests in environmental quality control, and to exercise independent and creative judgment in a previously much neglected field.

The power of this Council is derived from a number of areas. First and foremost is the position of the Council in the Executive Offices of the President. The ecological advisers should be the executive equivalent of the Council of Economic Advisers, and through their function of reporting directly to the Executive on a regular and frequent basis, and recommending policy, programs and allocations, the advisers maintain a

prominent and powerful position in the Government.

The composition of the body also lends itself to authority both within and outside of the Federal structure. The prestige value of a membership composed of experts and outstanding figures from a number of areas of private service should enable the Council to wield a great deal of influence in areas of environmental concern. The arrangement within the Council which enables the advisers to serve on the Council without leaving their important positions in public and private life, enables each individual member of the Council to maintain and enhance his own individual position of status in his area of speciality and influence.

The composition of the Council should be designed to include representatives of science, industry, and areas that are major concerns of environmental quality. The advisers themselves should be individuals who are capable of taking an effective overview of the situation, and not become involved with the particulars of the various programs which come under the purview of the authority of the Council. For this reason I feel that the larger part of the Council membership be composed of social scientists, social and community planners, and public administrators. The great volume of the needed scientific expertise should come from the staff of the Council which will serve on a full time basis. As previously mentioned, the Council members will retain their positions in public or private organizations in order to maintain positions of authority, and to help the member to maintain his specialized expertise and thus contribute more to the Council.

There is one additional underlying question which must be answered. This question deals with the concept of creating a new structure within the Government each time a problem is newly recognized, or appears to have grown or be growing. Should we create some new part of the bureaucracy every time we discover or redefine a problem? Of course we should not in every case, or even in most cases. For we surely have the facilities within our gigantic Federal structure to handle most problems. This question can honestly be asked of any new proposal, and it certainly must be asked of a proposal of such far-reaching proportions.

In the case of this plan I have introduced, I believe wholeheartedly that the need for its creation is clear. Our environment is our most immediate need. It affects us every minute of every day, and the ecology of that environment can alter our lives. This is not a simple problem, and therefore cannot be met by a simple solution. This is a problem that has roots throughout our country, and is dealt with in almost every area of the Federal Government. It is an area which includes environmental elements which must be actively related to each other if any valuable headway is to be made in the field of environmental quality control.

The possibilities of such a plan are very encouraging. The purview of the Council will deal not only with the interrelation-

ship of the elements of the environment, but with the effects of those interrelationships on man himself. Only a council in such a commanding position could be capable of collecting related information, coordinating efforts and projects, streamlining Federal activities in this rapidly growing field of interest, and developing the long-range and creative plans involving all areas of the Government which are necessarily involved in this realm.

Only a council such as the one proposed could have the latitude to develop such new concepts as the psychological implications of life in an urban area in terms of total ecology, and only such a council could be in a position to promote now unknown projects and concepts which are certain to develop in areas of urban and rural social ecology, and total concepts of waste disposal and related pollution abatement projects.

The need for such action is obvious. The environmental problems of this country are increasing daily and we must stop dealing with them only as they appear as blemishes on the national countenance. We must be far reaching in our own efforts to establish a body with needed authority to view an immense problem from a comprehensive position and to develop effective solutions to complex and important problems.

MICHAEL MUNKÁCSY

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, tomorrow, February 20, marks the 125th anniversary of the birth of the great Hungarian painter, Michael Munkácsy. During his visit to America in the late 19th century, Munkácsy became friends with John Wanamaker and his family and stayed with them in Philadelphia. Two great Biblical paintings by the artist hang each year during the Lenten and Easter season in the John Wanamaker store in Philadelphia.

I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD an article on Michael Munkácsy prepared by Dr. Elmer Bako, of the Slavic and Central European Division of the Library of Congress.

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

MICHAEL MUNKÁCSY

On February 20, the 125th anniversary of the birth of the great Hungarian painter Michael Munkácsy (1844-1900) it is our privilege to revive the memories of the rich successful life of this important artist, humanitarian and fighter for human rights, especially in the view of the presence of more than 60 works by him in the public and private collections of art throughout the United States.

Munkácsy's early childhood was overshadowed by the oppression of Habsburg tyranny which followed the Hungarian struggle for liberty in 1848-49. The young boy lost his parents, suffered poverty and injustice while working for his livelihood as a carpenter's

apprentice. However, after having demonstrated his uncommon talents through some of his drawings, his countrymen bestowed scholarships upon him and enabled him to learn his craft as an artist in Budapest. Another generous prize won by him at an art exhibit enabled him to continue his studies at the then famous Düsseldorf School of Arts in Germany. Among Munkácsy's earliest friends in Düsseldorf was John R. Tait, an American artist, later residing in Baltimore, Maryland, who was attracted by the genius and the warm character of the young Hungarian, and through whom a wealthy American gentleman, Mr. J. Wilstach of Philadelphia gave Munkácsy a commission for a large picture. The resulting work entitled "The Last Day of a Man Condemned to Death" won a medal at the exhibition of the Paris Salon in 1870 and brought sudden fame to the artist all over the world. His great creativity and sublime handling of new, powerful colors met with astonishing success, enabling him to establish his home in Paris as one of the most outstanding meeting places of the prominent, the wealthy, and the famous from the whole of Europe and the United States.

However, his final rise to universal recognition came with his huge canvases, "Christ Before Pilate," painted in 1881, and its companion piece, "Christ on Calvary," which was completed in 1884. These two great works, especially the "Christ Before Pilate," attracted millions of admirers while on tour in Europe, before they were brought to this country following their acquisition by John Wanamaker. The reception of "Christ Before Pilate" (as well as that of the "Christ on Calvary" a few years later) was equally overwhelming in America; millions of people crowded churches and exhibit halls to view the magnificent works and other millions had to be turned away for lack of time or space while the tour lasted.

During his visit to this country in 1886, Munkácsy spent some time in Philadelphia where he enjoyed the hospitality of John Wanamaker and his family. One of the fruits of this meeting is a charming portrait of "Miss Wanamaker" which was completed by Munkácsy while still in New York.

John Wanamaker counted Munkácsy's great Biblical works and several others in his possession among his most treasured holdings. According to his will, and the time-honored custom of his firm, the two huge canvases are hung facing each other in the Grand Court of the John Wanamaker store in Philadelphia during the Lenten and Easter season, for these masterpieces are "as inseparable as cause and effect."

After his tour in the United States and other important stages in his artistic career, Munkácsy was elevated to the nobility by Emperor Francis Joseph I (in his capacity as King of Hungary), was decorated twice with the Legion of Honor in France, and was also awarded other expressions of highest recognition in Europe. However, he remained always the same warm-hearted, well-intentioned man toward others as he ever was; with his inquiring genius he turned toward the humble and the needy, and while creating with an unceasing urge and keeping abreast with the socially prominent in contemporary Paris, he did not forget to immortalize in his paintings the lonely, the poor, the underprivileged, whose millions became exposed for the first time in history to the global challenge of ideas demanding drastic changes in the social and economic structure. The painter listened to the inquiring mind of the self-made man and the understanding heart of the religious personality in Munkácsy, and his works on such subjects as "The Strike" (1895), as well as his earlier ones like the "Yawning Apprentice" (1868), "Nocturnal Tramps" (1873), "Pawn Shop" (1874), and others closely related to his own humble beginnings in his native Hungary point in the direction of general interest and

full understanding of the problems of the human being.

It gives a feeling of satisfaction that the present generation becomes increasingly aware of the immortal values of Michael Munkácsy, both as an artist and as a humanitarian; and this feeling of satisfaction is only intensified by recalling the memories of prominent philanthropists in the great city of Philadelphia and elsewhere in this country whose interest in Munkácsy's art was instrumental in promoting the universal recognition of the talents of the Hungarian artist as well as in enriching so many art collections in this country by the acquisition of his works.

DEATH OF WILLIAM F. SMILEY,
EDUCATION EDITOR OF SALT
LAKE TRIBUNE

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, Utah and the Nation lost a strong advocate of better education and a fine journalist in the recent death of William F. Smiley, long-time education editor of the Salt Lake Tribune.

Wherever education was making news in Utah, Bill Smiley was there to report it. Insight, integrity, and incisive writing were the hallmarks of this distinguished newspaperman. His constructive suggestions for the improvement of education for students of all ages will be sorely missed in our State.

One of the finest tributes to Bill was written by his arch news-competitor, Laver K. Chaffin, education editor of the other Salt Lake City daily newspaper, Desert News. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Chaffin's fine tribute, published on February 12, be printed in the RECORD.

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

A PERSONAL TRIBUTE TO A FINE COMPETITOR
(By Laver K. Chaffin)

This writer, Utah educators and both the schools and the people they serve lost a good friend this week with the death of William F. Smiley, Salt Lake Tribune Education Editor.

Bill, as his friends knew him, was a veteran newsmen with a high standard of integrity. During the last decade or so his assignment was to write about the schools. He was a friend of education, but he also was a critic with the courage to speak out when he thought criticism was necessary.

He was accepted and respected nationwide by the tough-minded professional reporters who cover the school beat. He served a term on the executive committee of the Education Writers Association, one of the few westerners to do so.

Bill and I were very strong competitors, but we also were very good friends. Because we often were assigned by our respective papers to cover the same events, we spent a lot of time together. We covered the same stories in almost every sizable city and town in Utah. We also covered events with Utah interests in Chicago, Detroit, Denver, Santa Fe, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles and other cities across the nation.

We often helped each other—in the manner that opposing basketball players help each other to rise from a fall. Because it often was impossible for one individual to

keep track of meetings and persons where Utah news was breaking, we checked signals to ensure that Utah readers were better served.

But never in our long association did we act in collusion or compare notes on what we were writing. We worked independently, writing our own stories as we saw them. We worked very hard to beat each other.

I don't know what Bill would have said on the matter, but I know, and I'd like readers to understand, that education stories in the Desert News were better than they might have been if a lesser reporter than Bill Smiley had been representing the opposition. I knew Bill would do a thorough and professional job for his paper and that if I wanted to stay in the game I'd have to do my best. I did a better job because my friend Bill Smiley literally was looking over my shoulder.

Early in our association an incident occurred which provides an insight into the kind of person Bill Smiley was, I was in Atlantic City, N.J., to receive an award for education reporting. As I returned to the convention press room there was a telegram waiting. It read: "Congratulations, honor well-deserved, Bill."

I'd like to suggest that Bill's friends pay him an honor well-deserved by writing a note of appreciation and sending it to Bill's widow, Mrs. Elda Smiley, 1142 E. 27th South, Salt Lake City 84106.

I'm sure, however that I can speak for them in saying we'll miss Bill and that we join his family in appreciation of his contributions.

DR. ALFONSO DELLAPIETRA

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, with sincere regret I report to my colleagues the death of Dr. Alfonso DellaPietra, an orthopedic surgeon of international repute, who made his home at Middlebury, Conn. He was a native and long-time resident of Waterbury, Conn., and I knew and admired him, not only as a surgeon and a constituent, but also as a friend. Dr. DellaPietra's devoted service to his patients will be his living memorial. In the words of the Waterbury, Conn., American "What Dr. DellaPietra did for his profession will live on in medical journals."

He was only 51 years old when death claimed him and his loss will acutely affect thousands of people throughout the world who quite properly placed their faith in his medical skill for their well-being. Dr. DellaPietra was also well known in Washington, D.C., having graduated from the Georgetown Medical School in 1941. He had visited frequently in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, the Waterbury, Conn., American commented editorially on the unfortunate death of Dr. DellaPietra and with your permission I include the editorial here:

DR. ALFONSO DELLAPIETRA

Thousands of people in many parts of the world who were aided by the medical skill of Dr. Alfonso DellaPietra are deeply affected by his sudden passing. Thousands of others who were exposed to his humanitarian nature, his unbounded energy and gentleness in aiding the sick or downtrodden, his over-abundant generosity, his selflessness as far as his ortho-

pedic practice was concerned share in the sadness that follows his untimely death.

Dr. DellaPietra was devoted to his family, to his church, to the hospital which he served so faithfully in various medical capacities. Virtually every patient he had became an admirer and a loyal friend. His personal good nature and sympathetic understanding supplanted his orthopedic skill and supplied added therapy for the patient who felt particular pain or depression. His pleasing personality and the special charm he had equalled his outstanding ability as a surgeon.

He taught the science and art of orthopedic surgery in Jordan and Brazil and to visiting physicians from many nations as well as at many universities. Yet he never accepted the full credit he deserved for the near miracles he performed in the operating room. "I didn't do it. It's Nature that did the healing," he would say when a patient thanked him for being able to walk, or bend, or work again.

Dr. DellaPietra always advocated thinking big. He promoted big projects for St. Mary's Hospital. He urged big planning for the community. He himself thought big as far as supplying the best medical equipment and care for his patients is concerned.

What Dr. DellaPietra did for his profession will live on in medical journals. He shared his knowledge of orthopedics, and the new techniques he developed, with anyone in the medical world who was interested. The medical knowledge and surgical skills he helped to bring to under-developed nations and other foreign lands will help thousands of people of many generations to come.

The Roman Catholic Church honored him for his humanitarian service. Many organizations made special awards to him. There is probably no greater tribute or one given with greater feeling, however, than that in the heart-felt "thank you" expressed by the countless patients whom he freed from pain and crippling afflictions.

NATIONAL FUTURE FARMERS OF
AMERICA WEEK

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, this week, February 15 to 22, is National Future Farmers of America Week. In my judgment, its theme—"FFA—An Opportunity for Youth"—is a most fitting one, for this organization does indeed provide excellent opportunities for high school students studying vocational agriculture.

An editorial published in the *Dorchester Eagle-Record*, St. George, S.C., on February 13, 1969, points out that the foundation upon which the organization is built "includes leadership, character development, sportsmanship, cooperation, community service, thrift, scholarship, improved agriculture, organized recreation, citizenship and patriotism." The FFA itself, the editorial says, "does not make its members outstanding, but, instead, provides the opportunity for them to excel, grow, and become outstanding."

The excellent editorial concludes that, as long as such organizations as the FFA exist, "We may rest assured that the violence and lawlessness of the dissenters, whose only aim is destruction, will represent the acts of a minority—and a small minority at that."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "A Week To Remember," be printed in the *Extensions of Remarks*.

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

A WEEK TO REMEMBER

The week of February 15 to 22 has been set aside as National Future Farmers of America Week. The theme of this observance is "FFA—An Opportunity For Youth." The Future Farmers of America is a national organization of high school students studying vocational agriculture in our public schools. It is an educational, no-profit, nonpolitical organization of, by and for these students. The foundation upon which it is built includes leadership, character development, sportsmanship, cooperation, community service, thrift, scholarship, improved agriculture, organized recreation, citizenship and patriotism. The FFA itself does not make its members outstanding, but, instead, provides the opportunity for them to excel, grow and become outstanding. Young people in FFA learn the meaning of local initiative. Local FFA chapters provide the strength of the organization. In the local chapters student officers and members develop into agricultural leaders.

As long as we have youth organizations such as the FFA, we may rest assured that the violence and lawlessness of the dissenters, whose only aim is destruction, will represent the acts of a minority—and a small minority at that.

ROGER KELLEY, MAN FOR A JOB

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, needless to say, I was extremely pleased with the election of Richard Nixon to the Presidency and my pleasure has been enhanced since his inauguration by the high quality and stature of the men the President has chosen for the top jobs in his administration.

An excellent example of the high caliber of these appointments was the President's nomination of my good friend and fellow resident of my hometown, Mr. Roger Kelley, for the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower.

Serving as a vice president of Caterpillar Tractor Co., Mr. Kelley provided a significant contribution to the continuing success and healthy growth of that company which is known the world over. In addition, and even more importantly, Mr. Kelley took an active part in civic affairs, helping immeasurably to improve the quality of life in our community. Certainly there is great truth in the assertion that Peoria's loss is the country's gain.

I am in complete agreement with an editorial appearing in the February 6, 1969, edition of the *Peoria Journal Star*, entitled "Roger Kelley, Man for a Job," and I insert the editorial in the *RECORD* at this point:

ROGER KELLEY, MAN FOR A JOB

President Nixon's nomination of Roger T. Kelley to be his assistant secretary of defense in charge of manpower is excellent news.

From the standpoint of attracting qualified men to perform the important administrative functions of government, the President's bagging of Kelley is an achievement.

There is no question of Kelley's qualifications. His work at Caterpillar in the civilian manpower field was of such a character that more than a few observers have felt he one day probably would be sitting in the president's chair at Caterpillar.

It is no easy task to get such a man to sever his company connection and accept a sub-cabinet post in any federal administration. Kelley may be one of the top 100 men in the Nixon administration, but his pay will be considerably less than Caterpillar offers, his future will be uncertain, and his job will be immeasurably more difficult.

It is good news that Roger Kelley is willing to put aside his career for the interest of the nation. This fact says something not only about Kelley and his family, which obviously goes along with him, but also about the Nixon administration itself.

FIGHTER AGAINST PREJUDICE

Until Kelley's nomination was made, few of us here in Peoria had much first-hand knowledge of the quality of the team President Nixon was putting together. We had only a feeling that the scarcity of recognizable "political" names meant that Nixon was serious about his pledge to get the best men available, and now the Kelley nomination serves to reinforce that feeling.

From the standpoint of assessing the action we may expect from the Nixon administration in the field of human rights, Kelley's selection is a strong contradiction of some of the stories we've seen out of Washington which predict a relaxation of federal effort on that score.

We must assume that Roger Kelley's reputation as a fighter against the prejudice which so bleeds our society was made known to the President. Kelley's efforts here not only brought great credit to Caterpillar, but more importantly his personal initiative has challenged other individuals and institutions in this area to face up to their opportunities to contribute to the solution of the racial problem. We expect Kelley's transfer to the Washington scene will not cause him to be less interested in this vital problem, and we can clearly see that he will be in a position to make particular improvements in the approach of the military establishment.

From the standpoint of the very basic military manpower problem which President Nixon gave voice to last week—finding a way to eliminate the draft—we believe that putting a man of Kelley's capabilities to work on the problem is heartening.

TO TAKE NEW APPROACH

As we move toward the fourth decade of continuous military conscription, only an older minority of our population knows how it was to grow up in a country where every healthy young man and his family did not have to "worry about the draft." We feel as President Nixon does that we ought to get back to some kind of normalcy on this score as soon as the commitment in Vietnam allows it.

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird said Kelley will be directed "to initiate an imaginative new look at our total use of manpower resources, military and civilian. The objective will be to eliminate any wasteful and inefficient practices and procedures and to devise and implement innovative programs to achieve increased efficiency in the use of our most precious resource, people."

That's a large order, but it is one which makes as much sense as any we have seen issued in Washington for a long time. Before he took the job, Kelley knew this is what would be expected of him. By accepting the job, he accepted a great challenge.

We think Roger Kelley is equal to it.

THE HUNGER PROBLEM AND HOW ONE TOWN IS BEATING IT; SAN DIEGO, TEX., AND SUPERINTENDENT TAYLOR

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, for some time now, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs has been investigating the tragedy of malnutrition and hunger in America. Along with a great many other Senators, I worked for the creation of this very important committee so that the Senate and the people of America might get some idea of the extent and the nature of the malnutrition that plagues our land. I have played an active role in the very productive hearings that have been held to date.

On January 22, 1969, Dr. Arnold Schaefer, of the Public Health Service, reported to the select committee some preliminary findings of the National Nutrition Survey that his agency is conducting in several States. On that day, we listened to a detailed medical analysis of the nutritional status of 12,000 American men, women, and children who had been surveyed. The results were startling—they compared with what some of us might remember from the dust bowl era in America. They found rickets, goiter, anemia, gum lesions, bowed legs, and other indications that the American people have a serious problem of malnutrition.

Obviously we are concerned. Obviously the committee must take a hard look at our efforts in the field of nutrition and make recommendations for improvement.

Mr. President, there was only one happy moment in the days of hearings that we conducted. That moment was the testimony of Mr. B. P. Taylor, superintendent of schools in San Diego, Tex. Mr. Taylor discussed with us his uniquely successful efforts to do battle against poverty and malnutrition in his school district. His is a remarkable story—it may well be a model from which we all can learn.

Mr. Taylor's philosophy—and the philosophy of the community of San Diego, Tex.—is that "only a healthy child can be taught." With this in mind, Mr. Taylor and his dedicated staff have made good health and good nutrition the first priority in education.

I think that all members of the Senate Select Committee are impressed with Mr. Taylor's testimony. In the February 10, 1969, edition of the U.S. News & World Report, there is an article about this remarkable superintendent and the remarkable town of San Diego, Tex. So that all Senators might have an opportunity to know of their efforts, I ask unanimous consent that the article, "The Hunger Problem and How One Town Is Beating It," appearing in the U.S. News & World Report, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks today.

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

THE HUNGER PROBLEM AND HOW ONE TOWN IS BEATING IT

SAN DIEGO, TEX.—Here in the desolate brush and range land of south Texas, a rural school district is waging a winning battle against poverty and malnutrition. The district's children—99 per cent of them Mexican Americans—are being educated, nourished with good food and kept in good health.

The success of the San Diego Independent School District has so impressed a committee of the U.S. Senate that the district's program may serve as a model for attacking the malnutrition that appears to be widespread in America.

San Diego, in Duval County, has been hit by the hard times that have come to much of the rural U.S. Both the town, with 4,795 population, and the county, with 13,000, are stagnant economically.

Many stores in San Diego have been closed so long that the wood used to board them up is rotting. The small frame homes, weathered by the elements, need paint and repair.

Some 60 per cent of the families live on less than \$3,000 a year. A total of 461 families with children in school are on welfare.

Job opportunities are practically nonexistent. The school district itself is the major employer. Many people work in nearby Alice or Kingsville, and some drive 50 miles to jobs in Corpus Christi. There is no industry and little hope of getting any.

Ranching is a tough proposition. There is so little rainfall that 20 acres of range land is required to support one cow and calf. There is a bit of oil produced in Duval County, but the total tax base comes to only 20 million dollars.

In an atmosphere that could well breed frustration and despair, the San Diego school district is bringing hope to its younger generation by providing the children with wholesome food and caring for their health—free, if a youngster's family cannot afford to pay.

Of the current school enrollment, in grades 1 through 12, 1,600 are Mexican Americans. Only six are "Anglos." Three of these are children of B. P. Taylor, the school superintendent who directs the battle against malnutrition.

FOOD FIRST, THEN BOOKS

"Our whole program," says Superintendent Taylor, "is based on the philosophy that only a healthy child can be taught. If children are to learn at the maximum rate, they cannot be hungry or undernourished."

To go back to the beginning of the San Diego story, in 1959—

Mr. Taylor and his staff knew that hunger was taking its toll especially in the primary grades. Absenteeism was high. Many children were having to repeat the first grade.

Some pupils brought a tortilla for lunch. Others would spend a dime for a bag of potato chips. Recalls one teacher: "There was just no color in their faces and you could see the drowsiness come long before noon."

Despite limited funds, the San Diego school board approved a modest beginning toward providing a better diet for its pupils. With the help of surplus commodities provided to schools by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, a subsidized school lunch was started.

In 1962, the school board took a bold step for a community with so little wealth. A bond issue of 1.6 million dollars was floated and the money used to build a 49-acre school campus, complete with air-conditioned buildings.

By 1964, the school district had expanded its lunch program to all students and was providing medical and dental checkups as well. Follow-up aid was made available for those needing eyeglasses, corrective shoes, hearing aids, even tonsillectomies.

BOOST FROM UNCLE SAM

The San Diego district got a big boost when Congress passed a bill providing federal aid to elementary and primary schools in 1965. Forty per cent of the federal money was—and still is—used for the food and health programs because school officials agree that these are more important than additional equipment or fancy teaching aids.

"All along, it has been a matter of putting first things first," says a school-board official.

In 1966, the district began its breakfast program, opening the school cafeteria early in the morning and sending buses out to bring in students who need a good, warm breakfast.

"It was slow going at first," Mr. Taylor recalls. "Some students didn't eat much because they weren't accustomed to getting breakfast. We had to educate the parents, too."

Teachers and counselors went into homes to explain what the school was trying to do. Mothers were invited to come to the school and talk to home-economics teachers about nutrition.

The program has gained wide acceptance in homes of Duval County. In 1968, 93 per cent of the students ate both breakfast and lunch at school.

Students are charged 15 cents for breakfast and 40 cents for lunch. The school gives free meals to those unable to pay. Their names are not made public. Many high-school students are able to earn money for their meals by working in vocational and work-study programs of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

BALANCED AND VARIED DIET

Menus, planned by the home-economics teacher, are varied from day to day. A typical day's fare goes like this: for breakfast, apple juice, sausage, biscuits and milk. For lunch, ham with pineapple, macaroni and cheese, buttered corn, green salad, gelatin, rolls and milk.

Before a child enters kindergarten in San Diego, he comes to school for 15 months as part of an expanded Head Start program. He is given a complete physical examination, including inoculations against common childhood diseases.

This spring, school officials plan to experiment by offering 250 students an evening meal. Between the end of regular classes and the evening meal, these students will spend an extra hour studying English and grammar.

"I know a lot of school people think I'm foolish to assume responsibility for the child from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening," says Superintendent Taylor, "but I think it is up to us if the parents can't afford to buy enough food and they are willing to trust us with their children."

Results of this combined program of food, health and education have been gratifying to the San Diego community. Attendance in school averages 95 per cent or better compared with around 80 per cent before the plan began. There were only 25 dropouts last year.

A MEDICAL APPRAISAL

The San Diego plan was brought to national attention on Jan. 23, 1969, in testimony by Mr. Taylor before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Related Human Needs. Dr. Arnold E. Schaefer, of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, visited this Texas community during a survey of hunger and malnutrition in low-income areas of 10 States. He told the Committee:

"They [San Diego students] had the best teeth we have seen in any place we have surveyed . . . the least number of decayed, unfilled teeth. The blood biochemistries are completely different than what I presented for the over-all picture of this survey. There were very few in the unacceptable level."

San Diego school officials say parents, too, are learning from this novel plan, showing more interest in the quality of food and the medical treatment their children get at home.

Students themselves take pride in their appearance. A visitor here notes that few of them have long, unkempt hair. Most are neat in their dress even though, says one teacher, some have only one set of clothes to wear to school.

How much does all this cost? The annual budget for the San Diego Independent School District is 1.3 million dollars. That covers everything, including teachers' salaries and debt retirement. About a third of this comes from State funds. Federal funds account for \$210,000. The balance is from local taxes.

MODEL FOR CITY SLUMS

Mr. Taylor believes the San Diego approach would work in slums of big cities. He says:

"It would take a little more time of the school staff, a little more dedication, and a lot more money. You can't just advertise you are serving free meals. You have to go and get the child, and sell his parents on the program."

The San Diego plan, say local officials, follows the prescription given in these words of Lyndon B. Johnson, reproduced on the wall of the school library:

"In a land of wealth, families must not live in poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children must not go hungry. In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and be unattended."

NUMBERS GAME

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post on February 11 published a thoughtful editorial supporting careful revision of the Bail Reform Act of 1966. The editorial noted widespread error in various published accounts of the recidivist rate for felonies in the District of Columbia.

When I introduced H.R. 6253, a bill permitting pretrial detention of accused felons who, in the opinion of the presiding judge, would be a threat to the safety of the community, I was not aware of this divergence and error in the reported statistics.

Whether the recidivist rate is approaching 40 percent as the District of Columbia crime rate escalates, or whether the rate is around 10 percent, as some new figures seem to indicate, is irrelevant.

In either case, the rate is unacceptable, and legislation must be enacted to permit the Federal courts some latitude in detaining accused felons who clearly are too dangerous to be permitted to roam the streets.

Because of the special need for reliable information on the extent and nature of the crime threat in Washington, I insert the Post editorial in the RECORD at this point:

NUMBERS GAME

There are several sets of statistics being used to buttress various arguments for amending the Bail Reform Act. Some of the figures, for example, show that as few as one person in ten who has been released on bail commits another crime. Another study,

prepared by the Metropolitan Police Department, showed that as many as one person in three commits a new crime while on bail. We cited the police study as evidence of a clear need to tighten existing bail regulations. Subsequently, the Department of Justice, in a critique of the Police Department's analysis, found "several errors" in the method by which the data were collected and said that the police study "should be considered carefully and with an understanding of its limitations." We agree. But we also do not feel that the errors noted by the Justice Department seriously undermine the basic argument for bail reform of a kind which would permit detention or encourage much closer supervision of defendants with criminal records when there are reasonable grounds for believing that their release on bail would endanger society.

The police study said that of 130 persons indicted for armed robbery (armed with a gun) during the 1967 fiscal year, 45 of them (34.6 percent) were indicted at least a second time for another felony, committed while on bail during the subsequent fiscal year. The Justice Department said that at least some of the new indictments were for crimes committed before the suspect was released and that some of the indictments were merely refinements of the original charge. The Justice Department also said that the police study's statistical sample was only for the crime of robbery committed with a gun, an act most often committed by hardened criminals.

That is the nub of the argument for tighter bail policies. Whatever measure is used, there is relationship between the gravity of the crime and the possibility of its repetition. It is that relationship that makes it imperative for a judge to evaluate a record of conviction for crimes of violence or for violation of probation when considering bail for an accused person. It is unfortunate that the Police Department study contained errors. But they do not alter the demonstrable need for a careful revision of the Bail Reform Act.

BARRY R. FLAMM RECEIVES FLEMING AWARD

HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the House the fact that Barry R. Flamm, son of William Flamm, of Cincinnati, was recently selected as one of the 10 outstanding men in Government service in 1968. The selections committee, whose chairman was Justice Marshall, nominated Mr. Flamm for the Arthur S. Fleming award.

As Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development's Forestry Division in Vietnam for the past 2 years, Mr. Flamm has been helping to reestablish war-torn villages and to teach modern agriculture techniques.

His father, William Flamm, one of Cincinnati, Ohio's retired assistant fire chiefs was present at the junior chamber of commerce ceremony in Washington on February 13, 1969, when the award was presented.

Young Flamm, like his father, turned firefighter near Saigon when several villages were set afire. He organized a group of helicopter crews that ferried large buckets of water and doused the flames from the air.

The citizens of the Greater Cincinnati area are very proud that Barry Flamm, a former Cincinnati, achieved so high an honor and award. His record was extremely meritorious, and I would like to extend my congratulations to him and to his family.

ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICIES AS VIEWED BY FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK PRESIDENT JOHN EXTER

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the senior vice president of the First National City Bank of New York is Mr. John Exter, who recently, in an interview distributed by the Chicago Tribune Press Service, expressed his views on the monetary and economic problems we face.

Mr. Exter believes that inflation is likely to get worse because of the "expansionary monetary policy" of the Federal Reserve, a policy which he believes has become "locked in" so that it cannot be halted until "market forces" bring about its discontinuance.

Because of the value of these views, and of Mr. Exter's interpretation of the monetary policies of France and Germany, I ask unanimous consent that the interview by Eliot Janeway, as published in the Chicago Tribune of December 5, 1968, be printed in the RECORD.

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

IN WORLD MONEY CRISIS SOMETHING HAS TO GIVE

(By Eliot Janeway)

NEW YORK, December 4.—The world may or may not be headed toward another 1929, but it does seem to be teetering on the brink of international currency convulsions that undid the prosperity of the 1920s. The prognosis for our international political economy hinges on the race between inflation and productivity, and the latest crisis in France has put every country on notice of what to expect when inflation outruns productivity. For a current reading of how the race is going in America and abroad, this column sought counsel from John Exter, senior vice president of the prestigious First National City bank.

JANEWAY. What do you think will result from the present international money crisis?

EXTER. The whole international monetary system is now subject to enormous strains. At some point something will have to give. I don't know exactly which link will snap first—perhaps the French franc, sterling, or the dollar—but I would still say the upvaluation of the Deutschmark is a possibility.

JANEWAY. What is the argument for Germany to upvalue the mark?

EXTER. There is really no good argument. Yet the market could force it. The upward pressure on the mark really reflects the weakness of the franc, sterling, and the dollar—mostly the dollar. As long as the German central bank buys our dollars by the billions—2 billion dollars in a single recent week—and does not use them to buy our gold, the market pressure will be stronger on the mark than on gold. If the mark should go up, gold will be cheaper in marks, and the market will then buy gold. Germany's

central bank could avoid all this by becoming expansionary, but it won't. Germany is exceptionally afraid of inflation—twice within the lives of many Germans the mark has been wiped out. The main goal of the central bank is therefore to maintain price stability and the gold parity of the Deutschmark. Buying gold rather than dollars would help achieve this by shifting market pressure from upvaluation of the mark in gold to devaluation of the dollar in gold. Also, the Germans would be holding something with real scarcity value. The dollars they hold are paper dollars, and they do not want more, because this involves risk—if the mark were upvalued or the dollar devalued, they would lose as holders of sterling did a year ago.

JANEWAY. Do you think that in the end the franc won't be devalued?

EXTER. The Bank of France, which is smaller than the largest of our 12 federal reserve banks, has engaged in what is probably the largest central bank credit expansion in history in a comparable period of time—and also suffered the largest reserve loss. Since May, they have expanded their own credit by about 6 billion dollars. Our 12 federal reserve banks together in the last year have expanded their credit by about 8 billions.

In my opinion, the French authorities overreacted to the shock of the events in May and have engaged in far more monetary expansion than they needed. Now, apparently, they think so too, because they are at last trying to stop. If they do, they can save the franc, but at higher cost in unemployment than with a devaluation. Only time will tell whether France will bear this cost. President [Charles] de Gaulle had the opportunity to devalue dropped in his lap and decided not to take it.

JANEWAY. Do you think there is any prospect of containing inflation in this country?

EXTER. I think inflation will get worse for a while, because I am afraid that the federal reserve is now locked into an expansionary monetary policy that it dares not stop. We take our eye off the ball when we try to judge monetary policy by interest rates. If interest rates go up we call it tight money. In fact, the federal reserve, despite the higher level of rates, is creating its own credit faster than ever. The treasury in the first half of next year might go into a cash surplus. And yet the federal reserve will be compelled to go on creating its credit faster than ever—but not to pay the government's bills. It is afraid of the consequences of decelerating, afraid of throwing the economy into a recession and getting blamed for it.

JANEWAY. How long will this continue?

EXTER. I don't think that it is practical politics to think that anyone will take the responsibility for discontinuing it, so I am inclined to think that events, market forces, will eventually discontinue it.

JANEWAY. Do you think there is a clear awareness of the difference between changes in interest rates and changes in the money supply?

EXTER. No. We worry too little about rising interest rates. Higher interest rates have to be paid out of rising productivity. Our productivity is not nearly that high, so interest can only be paid thru more inflationary financing. As monetary expansion continues domestic prices rise, and as prices rise this inflationary rise gets built into the structure of interest rates. This cannot go on indefinitely.

AWARD OF THE SILVER STAR

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the deliberations of Congress are a matter of

public record, I think it becoming and proper to have printed in the RECORD accomplishments of gallantry and bravery of our young people when they are called upon to serve their country.

The Silver Star was awarded to Alfred D. Fletcher in Vietnam, and the reason for the award is listed in the citation which follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
HEADQUARTERS, 25TH INFANTRY DIVISION,
San Francisco, October 9, 1968.

AWARD OF THE SILVER STAR

1. TC 320. The following award is announced.

Fletcher, Alfred D. [REDACTED] (SSAN: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]), first lieutenant, Infantry, U.S. Army, Company A, 3d Battalion, 22d Infantry, 25th Infantry Division.

Awarded: Silver Star.

Date action: 29 February 1968.

Theater: Republic of Vietnam.

Reason: For gallantry in action: First Lieutenant Fletcher distinguished himself by heroic actions on 29 February 1968, while serving as a platoon leader with Company A, 3d Battalion, 22d Infantry in the Republic of Vietnam. During a reconnaissance in force mission through an area of dense vegetation, Lieutenant Fletcher's leading element came under intense fire from well concealed enemy positions. Lieutenant Fletcher fearlessly moved through the devastating enemy fire and evacuated the wounded point man. With complete disregard for his personal safety, Lieutenant Fletcher moved forward and assaulted one of the enemy fortifications, single handedly killing all the enemy soldiers in their bunker. Although he was wounded, Lieutenant Fletcher assaulted another enemy position and succeeded in destroying the enemy fortification. His valorous actions contributed immeasurably to the successful completion of the mission and the defeat of the enemy force. Lieutenant Fletcher's personal bravery, aggressiveness, and devotion to duty are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit, the 25th Infantry Division, and the United States Army.

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

GORDON SUMNER, Jr.,
Colonel, GS, Chief of Staff.

For the Commander:
Official:

W. F. FAUGHT,
LTC, AGC, Adjutant General.

As long as we have young men like Alfred D. Fletcher serving our country in its highest tradition, we as Americans can hold our heads high and be certain of our Nation's image, stature, and security.

DAVID ROCKEFELLER VIEWS THE NATION'S ECONOMY

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on February 9, the Philadelphia Inquirer published an interview with David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, on the Nation's economy.

I felt that the views of Mr. Rockefeller would be of interest to Senators, so I ask unanimous consent that the article by Milt Freudenheim be printed in the RECORD.

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

A KEY MONEY MAN VIEWS THE NATION'S ECONOMY

(By Milt Freudenheim)

NEW YORK.—David Rockefeller, one of the world's most influential money men, favors a slowdown in Federal spending for the space program, highways and farm subsidies.

These are the priorities on his list to strengthen the U.S. economy, slow inflation and bolster the world position of the dollar.

Rockefeller, 53, could have had a Cabinet job in the Nixon Administration. But he made known his desire to stay in New York where he is moving to board chairman and head of the executive committee of Chase Manhattan Bank, the world's second largest in deposits.

Rockefeller also believes that unemployment has to rise, although the increase should be "moderate" and "temporary."

He sees an increase in the jobless total as part of the price that must be paid to curb inflation.

But he believes that government and business must step up their effort to train and hire "hard-core" unemployed—especially young Negroes in the cities.

WAR'S IMPACT

Furthermore, he doesn't expect serious trouble from the economy when the Vietnam war ends.

Rockefeller put his finger on these crucial, sensitive spots in the economic outlook in an interview in his art-filled 17th floor office at the Chase bank.

This platform at Chase, plus the backing of the Rockefeller family's estimated \$4 billion fortune, makes him a leading candidate for the unofficial title of "Chairman of the Board of the American Establishment."

David Rockefeller's brothers are Nelson, governor of New York, Winthrop, governor of Arkansas; John D. 3d, builder of the Lincoln Center culture complex in New York, and Laurance, conservationist and new-venture specialist.

Against a muted background of traffic horns echoing outside on Chase Manhattan Plaza, Rockefeller, a Ph. D. in economics from the University of Chicago, folded his six feet of height onto a sofa and replied to questions.

Q. Do you think there is likely to be another dollar crisis this year?

A. Well, I must say I don't think you can rule it out as a possibility. But I think that the position of the dollar is a great deal stronger than it was six months ago. There's no question about that.

Whereas nine months ago there was a real crisis of confidence in the dollar around the world, I think the combination of our tax bill and the troubles in France served to change that very dramatically.

The result is that today the dollar is very much in demand, and of course there's a tremendous flow of long term investment into this country.

Q. But do you feel, sir, that we have our house in order, on our domestic economy?

A. No. I think we've taken the first steps. I think that the new team in the Treasury is absolutely first rate.

Q. Of course we have a Chicago man in Treasury Secretary David Kennedy.

A. He was a candidate of mine. But to answer your question: Have we put our house in order? We have not yet dealt with inflation. And although our balance of payments appears superficially to be much improved, we haven't yet dealt with the most fundamental aspect which is our trade balance, which has continued to decline.

So until we get our inflation down to a very minimum, manageable amount—which I would hope would be under 2 percent, and until we improve our trade balance (what is called the current account), I don't think

we can feel comfortable about our situation.

TAX AND SURTAX

Q. Regarding the inflation, are you suggesting that the 10 percent surtax should go on for at least into the next fiscal year?

A. In effect, yes. It's very hard for me to see how the situation could change sufficiently between now and the middle of the year to justify removing the surtax.

Q. What about agitation in Congress to increase the tax burden on upper-bracket incomes?

A. Well, certainly from a political point of view, it is appealing. But the importance from a revenue point of view of the (federal) income that could be derived if you took 100 percent of the highest brackets would be minimal.

It really would be insignificant . . . it has political appeal, but from a purely tax point of view, I don't think it's that important.

Q. This might be an indiscreet question. Of course there are no indiscreet questions, only indiscreet answers. But what about the agitation regarding the oil depletion allowance and the tax setup for oil income?

A. Well, that's quite different. There, the tax that could be derived would perhaps be more significant, although I honestly don't know exactly what it would mean.

I think that there it is a question of what one thinks is good policy in terms of the developments of our petroleum resources.

If we don't think it's important to maintain our known reserves of oil, why, then, a very easy way to eliminate those reserves is to eliminate the depletion amount. If we do think it's important to maintain them, then depletion (allowance) is naturally the essential thing.

SPACE BUDGET

Q. Would you stretch out—that is, slow down—spending in the space budget, for example?

A. I would be inclined to look at that area pretty hard. And I think probably some of the highway programs—again they could be stretched out. They're certainly important, but probably less urgent than some others.

I'm sure a lot could be done in the field of agricultural price supports. Economically, this would certainly be desirable. Whether it's politically possible is another question.

Q. How do you weigh the priorities of full employment and inflation?

A. At the present time we have over-employment in many respects, particularly in the skilled trades. There's a real shortage of people—we feel that in the bank. We have hundreds of unfilled requisitions for people.

Q. What does that mean in bank terms—economists?

A. No, just typists, computer operators, and so forth.

I think that an easing up of the economy would take the pressure off the employment market, and I think we're going to see some increase in unemployment as we measure it.

My guess is that when the figure gets below 4 percent (it has ranged around 3.3 percent lately), that the pressures of inflation are apt to be very great.

But that is not to say that we shouldn't continue to work with that portion of the population which is unemployed and which, for all intents and purposes, now are unemployable.

JOB TURNOVER

Q. You are speaking of Negroes, hard-core . . . ?

A. Yes. Essentially the groups with the largest percentage of unemployment are people under 25, Negro, and in the large cities.

And I think we should do a lot of work with them and bring them into the labor force. But this is something entirely apart from monetary and fiscal policy.

Q. I'm trying to think concretely. Who are going to be the unemployed when you go up a couple of percentage points to over 4 percent? Who will they be if you're having

success, hopefully, bringing these hard-core people in?

A. I suppose what it means is that there's a little bit more time between jobs, that kind of thing . . . that the turnover period is not quite as rapid as it is now.

Q. Are you saying that this is such a big economy that there is room for a few rough edges in that machinery?

A. Right, I'm afraid we had three years of considerable inflation, and I'm afraid that it's not possible to eliminate that, without some price.

And the price means the slowing down of the rate of growth of the economy, and some moderate increase on a temporary basis in the percentage of unemployment.

Q. Do you think Federal spending on problems of the cities and poverty must be increased, despite anti-inflation priorities to hold down the Federal budget?

A. I'm certainly very much in favor of carefully developed and selected programs in terms of job training, education and aid to construction of housing for the lower income groups.

These are the three areas that particularly need help. But I don't think we can afford unlimited expenditure.

Q. Would you include on that list tax relief for businesses that are doing a lot in a training way or are building special plants in the inner city locations?

A. I think there are instances where tax abatement can be a useful tool. Obviously one has to use it sparingly, or else you lose your source of revenue.

DEFENSE BUDGET

Q. How do you feel about the defense budget?

A. Of course, hopefully, the war in Vietnam will come to an end, and this should bring some significant relief.

But I'm afraid we can't look for drastic cutbacks in the general defense budget at the present time. I'm afraid that the action of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia and the Middle East and the Mediterranean and elsewhere is an indication that we're not yet at the point where we can look for a major cutback.

Q. How do you see the problem of adjusting the economy, when the Vietnam war budget is phasing out?

A. I don't anticipate that being an acute problem, or one that would be of long duration. I think I have seen the figure that it would involve a readjustment of the labor force, something on the order of 2 percent.

This is hard on the 2 percent, but this isn't a sufficiently large number so as to cause general disruption in the economy. So I think this need not be a serious thing for us.

Indeed . . . it could be a little bit helpful in slowing up the pace of the economy and helping us cut back during the process of readjustment.

Q. Do you see the gross national product going up over \$1 trillion? (It was \$860 billion for 1968.)

A. Oh, I think it will, in a year or 18 months.

AGRICULTURE MUST BE TREATED LIKE BIGGEST INDUSTRY IT IS, SAYS CONGRESSMAN LANGEN

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, one of our best informed men in Congress about the farm program is my colleague from Minnesota (Mr. LANGEN). He has served as chairman of the Republican task force on agriculture and has had practical ex-

perience as a farmer and a member of the County Agricultural Stabilization Committee.

Mr. LANGEN is in great demand to address meetings of agricultural producers because of his grasp of the problem facing U.S. producers.

He most recently addressed the 16th annual farm forum at Spokane, Wash., and I am submitting a summary of his statements so that my colleagues can also gain from his keen observations:

SUMMARY STATEMENT

"Agriculture, this nation's largest industry, must be treated with the same respect and economic concern as the other great industries in the United States," said Congressman Odin Langen (7th Dist., Minn.) today before the Sixteenth Annual Pacific Northwest Farm Forum. "If agriculture is allowed to operate in its present economic climate for any continuing length of time," he said, "the very basis for America's strength will be in jeopardy."

Langen, who serves in Congress on the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, cited statistics that showed U.S. Agriculture leading the next eleven largest industries by a substantial margin. "Agriculture ranks first in the total number of workers employed, first in the amount of money expended each year for equipment, and first in total assets," he said. "Those assets, or investment, now total \$281-billion, which is more than any combination of six out of the next eleven largest industries. However, the alarming statistic is that gross sales in agriculture amount to only a little over 17% of its assets, compared to an average of the next eleven largest industries of 107% of their total assets."

THE REAL CAUSE OF AGRICULTURE'S DILEMMA

"We have heard many reasons for agriculture's problems," said Langen, "such as surpluses, government programs that haven't done what they ought to, exports, imports, inadequate markets, inflation, high costs of production, labor costs and the like. All are important, but the main cause of agriculture's current problems is simply a matter of an inadequate price to meet the continually growing costs of production. American agriculture is currently operating on a deficit basis, a technique attempted by the Federal Government, but hardly a workable plan for an individual farm."

Langen, serving his sixth consecutive term in Washington, noted the growth of farm indebtedness, or mortgages against the agricultural production unit, as evidence of operating the farm economy on a deficit basis. "Farm debt has increased from \$23½ billion in 1960 to \$50 billion today, or a rate of about 10 percent a year, while income has remained almost constant. Farmers now pay more than \$1½ billion extra in interest each year on that indebtedness than they did in 1960. Eight years ago interest paid by farmers was an amount equal to 11.6 percent of his net income; today it is almost 20 percent, and the average mortgage on a per farm basis has risen by more than \$6,000."

Representative Langen wondered out loud if any of the next largest U.S. industries could have survived under such conditions. "Take the automotive industry, or the textile industry," he said. "If their indebtedness had risen by 10 percent a year while income remained the same, we would have heard dire forecasts of a great economic recession. Frankly, the very same thing can well result if we continue to ignore the facts surrounding the direction of our largest industry, agriculture."

SITUATION CAN BE CORRECTED

"It certainly is not necessary to let agriculture drift down its present path," said Langen. "All of us interested in agriculture, our farmers, our people engaged in agribusiness, and especially the consumer, must

be alerted to these facts and realities if we are to continue to be the best fed nation at the lowest per income-dollar cost in the world."

WOULD CONSUMER PRICES, EXPORT MARKETS, BE THREATENED?

"There seems to be some fear that an attempt to strengthen farm income would result in undesirable prices of food at the grocery store, or that we would lose some of our foreign markets," noted Langren. "But neither fear is valid."

Langren used the sugar industry as an example of better farm prices without much effect on consumers. "Since 1960, the price to the sugarbeet farmer has gone up 23 percent, his gross income has almost doubled, and his net profit per acre has increased by 20 percent while production doubled. But the price of a pound of sugar on the grocery shelf increased by only about half a penny."

"Wheat prices, on the contrary, fell about 40 percent since 1962, down to just \$1.24 these days. But the low price failed to increase our foreign markets for wheat. In fact, our low prices had the reverse effect, forcing foreign nations to increase import fees to protect their own farmers."

"If wheat had increased by the same 23 percent in price that sugar beets experienced, a bushel of wheat today would be \$2.50," said Langren. "What a boon that would have been for rural America! It wouldn't have hurt our exports, and the effect on the consumer would have been very little since the wheat in a loaf of bread constitutes only about 10 percent of the cost."

AGRICULTURE HAS EARNED CONSIDERATION

Congressman Langren said that U.S. Agriculture and Rural America have earned our attention and consideration. "Our farmers have forged the best production story of any industry in this nation, increasing crop production per man hour by some 148 per cent in the past 20 years and livestock production by 149 percent. Every American has been the beneficiary of quality foods, ample supplies, better packaged foods, and at a cost of a little over 17½ cents out of every income dollar, the lowest percentage in the world. With 82½ cents left to the consumer to spend on other items, the farmer thus becomes the real impetus behind the expansion of our other great industries."

THE CONGRESS AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

"It is still too early to tell what suggestions or proposals will come from the new Administration," observed Langren. "There are encouraging signs, however, that more attention will be paid to farm prices, and all of us interested in Agriculture must pursue that pressing concern."

"The Congress, where farm laws and policies are formulated, remains much the same in composition as the preceding Congress," said Langren, "so the basic decisions on the direction agriculture will take in the future must come from people like you, at meetings like this. Your concerns and your decisions must be conveyed to the White House, the Congress and the American public. We who believe that American Agriculture should receive a fair return for the contribution it makes to the nation must have the unanimous support of every agricultural interest, whether farms, agri-business, farm organizations, small towns, or what have you."

"We either stand together, or witness each segment of America's largest industry fall in turn," concluded Mr. Langren. "If we expect Congress to face the challenge, we must first face it ourselves, as a united industry."

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS VOLUNTEER THEIR SERVICES

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, in this day of revolt and rebellion on the campuses across the country, it is refreshing and reassuring to read confirmation of a fact that we sometimes lose sight of: the overwhelming majority of today's college students are productive, contributing citizens. The letter below pays well-deserved tribute to the students at Kent State University in my district for their countless hours of volunteer activity in conjunction with community service programs in Kent, Ohio.

The letter follows:

[From the Record-Courier, Feb. 10, 1969]

RETIRING WELFARE DIRECTOR CITES KENT STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' SERVICE

DEAR SIR: Before I leave my office as executive director of The Kent Welfare and Visiting Nurse Association, I wish to publicly express my appreciation and praise to the students of Kent State University who have devoted hours of service to our agency through the years.

They have come as individuals, in groups, from sororities, fraternities, residence halls, and other organized groups on campus, requesting service projects.

We found them to be enthusiastic, with a keen interest, not only in underprivileged children, but with the aged, the blind, families on low income and shut-ins. They have worked well under supervision and have given countless hours of joy to the very young, the very old and those in between.

They have furnished transportation for children to and from parties which they held for children of all ages at Christmas time, for Valentine's Day, and at Easter.

They have taken children on nature hikes, picnics, to ball games and to movies. Even held a story hour at the Public Library. They have tutored children and in many instances have collected clothing and even purchased new clothing. They have shown a great interest in the deaf children.

They have entertained children and sometimes families in their sorority and fraternity houses.

They have visited the blind, read to them, taken them for walks and, in many instances, these visits have been the blind persons' only contact with the outside world.

They have visited the shut-ins, taken them magazines, plants, cookies and scented soap. They have done household chores for them, such as mowing the lawn, shoveling snow, washing windows, turning rugs, putting up curtain rods, and small repair jobs around the house, even to spring housecleaning.

They have adopted families, remembering them on birthdays, often baby-sitting while another group took the mother out for an evening's entertainment. They have collected canned food on many occasions, hundreds of cans, helped in sorting, packing and delivering food baskets.

It is from this source that much of our volunteer help has come, from these young men and women, who are concerned with those less fortunate, who take time out of their busy schedules to give to others. I am sure their lives are enriched from these experiences and the recipients of their good deeds are indeed grateful.

It has been heartwarming to work with these young, thoughtful, students who have such a keen concern for others and who use their time and effort in such a meaningful way. They have helped to make our organization more humane and far reaching. They have given a personal touch that we could not accomplish because of time and limited staff.

So I salute the students of Kent State University who do care about others and who do something about it.

My hope is that you will continue to work with my successor in the same way.

Mrs. ELIZABETH FOUST,

Executive Director, The Kent Welfare and Visiting Nurse Association, Inc.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, February 20, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.—Psalm 33: 12.

Our fathers' God, to Thee, author of liberty, to Thee we pray; long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light; protect us by Thy might, great God, our King.

In this temple of freedom we give Thee thanks for the spirit and the service of our first President whom we affectionately call the Father of Our Country. We remember his courage in times of crisis, his fidelity during periods of adversity, and his faith which made him bend his knees on frozen ground that he might find strength and confidence to continue the struggle for independence.

Grant that the remembrance of this great life may strengthen us and our people to live and to labor for the freedom of all mankind. Thus may we ever be one nation, under Thee, with liberty and justice for all.

We pray in the spirit of the Lord of Life. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of February 17, 1969, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from

Virginia (Mr. WAMPLER) to read George Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. WAMPLER read the Farewell Address as follows:

To the people of the United States.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.