

operation Treaty and authorize an appropriation therefor.

On December 26, 1969:

S. 59. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to adjust the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Army National Guard Facility, Ethan Allen, and the U.S. Army Materiel Command Firing Range, Underhill, Vt.

On December 30, 1969:

S. 65. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to Emogene Tilmon of Logan County, Ark.;

S. 80. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to Enoch A. Lowder of Logan County, Ark.;

S. 81. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to J. B. Smith and Sula E. Smith, of Magazine, Ark.;

S. 82. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to Wayne Tilmon and Emogene Tilmon of Logan County, Ark.;

S. 740. An act to establish the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking People, and for other purposes;

S. 2325. An act to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for additional positions in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18;

S. 2917. An act to provide for the protection of the health and safety of persons working in the coal mining industry of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 3016. An act to provide for the continuation of programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and for other purposes;

S.J. Res. 117. Joint resolution to authorize appropriations for expenses of the Office of Intergovernmental Relations, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 154. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to proclaim the month of January 1970 as "National Blood Donor Month."

On January 1, 1970:

S. 1075. An act to establish a national policy for the environment, to provide for the establishment of a Council on Environmental Quality, and for other purposes.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate December 23, 1969:

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

Lyle S. Garlock, of Virginia, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term of 3 years from October 22, 1969, vice Leonard v. B. Sutton, term expired.

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States to the grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3307:

To be major general

Maj. Gen. George Edward Pickett, **xxx-xx-x...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Roger Merrill Lilly, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Woodrow Wilson Vaughan, **xxx-xx-xx...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Gilbert Hume Woodward, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Glenn David Walker, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. Melvin Zals, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. William Charles Gribble, Junior, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Edward Leon Rowny, **xxx-xx-x...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. John Norton, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Walter James Woolwine, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. James William Sutherland, Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Elmer Hugo Almquist, Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Leo Bond Jones, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. William Albert Becker, **xxx-xx-x...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. Frederick Carlton Weyand, **xxx-xx-xx...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. George Irvin Forsythe, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Orwin Clark Talbott, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Walter Philip Leber, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. John Hancock Hay, Jr., **xxx-xx-x...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Richard Joe Seitz, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Clarence Joseph Lang, **xxx-xx-x...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Ellis Warner Williamson, **xxx-xx-x...**

xxx-x... Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. William Eugene DePuy, **xxx-xx-xx...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Richard Thomas Knowles, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. John Russell Deane, Jr., **xxx-xx-x...** Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 23, 1969:

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States to the grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3442 and 3447:

To be brigadier general

Chaplain (Colonel) Gerhardt Wilfred Hyatt, **xxx-xx-xxxx** Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

IN THE NAVY

Vice Adm. Allen M. Shinn, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral, when retired, in accordance with the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5233.

Rear Adm. Frederic A. Bardshar, U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

IN THE ARMY

The nominations beginning William J. Nelson, to be lieutenant colonel and ending Thomas F. Zurla, to be first lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 12, 1969.

IN THE NAVY

The nominations beginning David G. Adams, to be ensign, and ending Charles T. Walter, Jr., to be a permanent lieutenant (j.g.) and a temporary lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 12, 1969.

The nominations beginning Kenneth Dean Anerud, to be lieutenant, and ending Charles K. Kicker, to be lieutenant commander, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 16, 1969.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The nominations beginning Michael R. Antonelli, to be second lieutenant, and ending George E. Zakielarz, to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 12, 1969.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE 91ST CONGRESS—ITS RECORD OF INITIATIVE AND INNOVATION

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives during the first session of the 91st Congress has seized the initiative and been innovative in every significant area of legislation.

Its record in this respect stands out in sharp contrast to that of the executive branch.

Early this year I urged the chairmen of the several committees of the House to promptly review the various legislative areas falling within their jurisdiction and to move ahead as expeditiously as possible on the major bills that Congress would have to deal with during this session. I am most gratified with the response given my request. In every major field the committee chairmen moved promptly to fill the vacuum created by

the lack of Presidential recommendations. In all too many cases, unfortunately, their efforts were severely hampered by lack of recommendations and cooperation from the executive branch.

For example, Chairman Celler on January 6 introduced House Joint Resolution 179 to provide for the direct election of the President and Vice President. This was in response to the near constitutional crisis resulting from last year's presidential election. He commenced public hearings on February 5. President Nixon did not transmit his

message on electoral college reform until February 24. I am informed that Attorney General Mitchell on at least three occasions requested a delay in appearing before the Judiciary Committee on the grounds that he was as yet not prepared to set forth the administration's proposals. He finally appeared before the Judiciary Committee on March 13, over 5 weeks after the commencement of hearings and almost 3 weeks after the submission of President Nixon's message. Only after the House had passed the direct election amendment did President Nixon see fit to give it his endorsement.

House Joint Resolution 681 would amend the Constitution to abolish the electoral college system for electing the President and Vice President. There would be substituted a direct popular election with the requirement that 40 percent of the popular vote must be secured for election. If no candidate receives such a number, a runoff election would be held between the candidates receiving the highest number of votes. The times and places and manner of holding elections and inclusion on the ballot are to be prescribed by each State legislature, but Congress may at any time by law alter such regulations. It would also provide for a uniform election day, to be determined by Congress, throughout the United States. Finally it would give Congress authority to provide by law for the case of the death or withdrawal of any candidate for President or Vice President before the election, and for the case of the death of a President-elect or Vice President-elect.

The Congress in 1969 enacted the most comprehensive tax reform bill in existence. The measure would provide tax relief by increasing the personal exemption and the standard deduction and by providing a special tax-free allowance for low-income individuals, and by taxing single persons at new rates lower than the present ones. The personal exemption, now \$600, would rise to \$650 on July 1, 1970, remain at that level through 1971, and then increase to \$700 for 1972 and \$750 for 1973. The present \$1,000 standard deduction would be increased in stages to \$2,000 by 1973. It includes a whole new concept in the tax law, a "minimum tax" aimed at preventing wealthy individuals or corporations from completely escaping the Federal income tax. The oil depletion allowance is reduced from 27½ percent to 22 percent.

The tax reform measure is an outstanding product of congressional initiative. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means announced on January 29 that he would begin extensive hearings on tax reform, and began those hearings on February 18. It was over 2 months later on April 21, before President Nixon sent a message on the subject. At that time, President Nixon said that "comprehensive" tax reform legislation would be submitted no later than November 20, very evidently indicating that even the President did not consider the April 21 message "comprehensive." An administration draft bill never was submitted.

Nevertheless, on April 22, hearings were held on the Nixon proposal. But the administration sent Under Secretary of

the Treasury Charles Walker and Assistant Secretary Edwin Cohen to testify for Treasury, not Treasury Secretary Kennedy. Hearings on the administration proposal were completed April 24. Subsequently, the Ways and Means Committee went into executive session and drafted its own tax reform proposal. It passed the House 394 to 30 on August 6. Even the House Republican leader hailed the bill as "the most sweeping tax revision and tax relief bill in the 56 years since the Federal income tax was first adopted." The administration, however, double-talked, seeking credit for originating tax reform, but telling special interest groups what they wanted to hear. Treasury Secretary Kennedy recommended amendments to the Senate Finance Committee which would have transferred much of the tax relief from the low and moderate income groups to the wealthy and the large corporations. These regressive proposals were rejected by the Senate and the progressive character of the House bill preserved through every legislative step to final disposition.

Congressional leadership was also demonstrated in the vitally important area of education. Legislation to extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was introduced by Chairman PERKINS on January 3, and hearings commenced on January 15. Secretary Finch was not prepared to testify before March 10, the last day of the hearings. H.R. 514 cleared the committee on March 18 and passed the House on April 23 by a rollcall vote of 400 to 17. The Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969 would extend the 1965 act for 2 years, consolidate into a single package two ESEA programs and two programs contained in the National Defense Education Act and extend the impacted area aid program to children living in federally aided public housing. It maintained for the next 2 fiscal years the current authorization level of \$4,368,500,000 for all ESEA programs, and \$702 million for grant impact aid programs; \$235 million was provided for the new public housing impact aid program. This measure is now pending in the Senate.

Likewise, in the actual appropriation of funds for education, it was the Congress rather than the administration which proved to be progressive. President Nixon's budget had provided a request of \$370 million below that of the Johnson administration. Congress by way of contrast acted to increase the Nixon request by over \$1 billion for education. Regrettably, the President has criticized the Congress for its proeducation stance and not only ordered the increased funds withheld from spending, but has actually ordered education expenditures to be reduced below those of last year.

In the field of education, the 91st Congress also enacted the Insured Student Loan Emergency Amendments of 1969. This measure in effect increases the effective interest rate on guaranteed student loans to 10 percent. Regrettably, this action was necessitated by the administration's tight money policy. Loans were simply not available at 7 percent. It also increases authorizations for the national defense student loan, work study, and educational opportunity grant pro-

grams by \$100 million in fiscal 1970 and \$140 million in fiscal 1971. It requires the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct a study by March 1, 1970, on bank practices which might be interfering with the guaranteed loan program. If he finds that such practices are obstructing the program he could take action to make financial assistance available to students in that area and adopt new regulations for the loan program within 60 days.

No facet of education has been neglected by the Congress during the past session. For example, the House has passed a Gifted and Talented Children Educational Assistance Act (H.R. 13304) amending title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to include State departments of education services for gifted and talented children and to amend title V of the Higher Education Act to include fellowships for teachers pursuing or planning to pursue careers in the special education of gifted and talented children. The Commissioner of Education is directed to determine the usefulness of such special educational programs to show which existing Federal programs contribute to meeting these needs in this field.

The House has also passed H.R. 13310 to amend title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide special programs—research, training and model centers for children with specific learning disabilities. There is authorized \$6 million for fiscal year 1971, \$12 million for 1972, and \$18 million for 1973. The measure also amends certain sections of various existing legislation including the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, the Handicapped Children's Education Assistance Act, title I of the Secondary and Elementary Education Act, and the Vocational Education Act to include children with specific learning disabilities.

The House also passed by unanimous vote of 290 to 0, a long-needed Drug Abuse Education Act of 1969, H.R. 14252, which authorizes \$29 million over 3 years for Federal grants for drug abuse education. The Secretary of House, Education, and Welfare is authorized to make grants to both educational institutions and private and public organizations for drug abuse education, training for teachers and law enforcement officers, and community drug education programs. There would be established an interagency coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education made up of representatives from agencies with a substantial interest in drug abuse education. It would be chaired by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Its purpose would be to coordinate Federal drug abuse activities. While the administration talked at great length about the drug problem, the Congress acted.

Public Law 91-86, approved October 14, 1969, will permit employer contributions under the National Labor Relations Act for trust funds to provide employees, their families and their dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or for the establishment of child care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees.

Public Law 91-61 amends the Captioned Films for the Deaf Act to provide for the establishment and operation in the National Capital Area of a National Center on Education Media and Materials for the Handicapped to provide a comprehensive program of activities to facilitate the use of new educational technology in educational programs for handicapped persons including designing and developing, and adopting instructional materials. The Congress also enacted a measure authorizing appropriations of \$15 million annually for fiscal years 1971, 1972, and 1973 for construction of educational radio and television stations and \$20 million for 1970 for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

During the past year, the House, reflecting widespread national concern over the nutritional levels enjoyed by our schoolchildren, passed three important measures designed to improve their diets. On March 20 we passed H.R. 515 amending the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act. This bill would amend these acts to establish eligibility standards by which children would be selected for the free or reduced price lunch and require the States to provide at least 4 percent of the matching requirement from State tax revenues. This figure would be eventually raised to 10 percent. The new standards would be based on criteria which will include level of family income, number of members, number of children attending school. Local officials would be prohibited from identifying children receiving free meals. Up to 1 percent of the appropriations under the National School Act and the Child Nutrition Act could be used for grants to States in providing for studies of food services requirements and for nutritional training and education for program participants and employees.

The House by a rollcall vote of 384 to 2 on May 6 also passed H.R. 5554 which will expand and make permanent the milk program authorized by the Child Nutrition Act. There would be authorized \$125 million annually to encourage consumption of milk by children in non-profit schools of high school grade and under, and in nonprofit nursery schools, child care centers, settlement houses, summer camps, and similar nonprofit institutions devoted to the care and training of children. Unfortunately, the Nixon budget includes no funds to implement H.R. 5554.

Temporary emergency food assistance for children would be made available by H.R. 11651 which would provide \$1 million in customs receipts, previously designated for agriculture programs, for the purpose of providing free or reduced-price meals to needy children not now being reached.

All three of the above measures are now pending in the other body and hopefully will become law early in 1970.

The 91st Congress also raised the fiscal year 1970 authorization for the food stamp program from \$340 million to \$610 million. The Agriculture Department appropriation bill appropriated the full \$610 million provided for in the authorizing legislation.

In the field of consumer affairs, the Congress enacted the Toy Safety Act which amends the Federal Hazardous

Substances Act to protect children from toys and other articles intended for their use which are hazardous for electrical, mechanical, or thermo reasons.

The 91st Congress has enacted an across-the-board increase in social security benefits of 15 percent effective January 1, 1970, for the 25 million elderly people, disabled people and their dependents, and widows and orphans who now get monthly social security benefits. In addition, the increase would apply to those people who will come on the benefit rolls in the future. Minimum benefits for retired workers would be increased from \$55 to \$64, the maximum worker's benefit ultimately from \$218 to \$250. The social security increase was included in the final version of the tax reform law.

This legislation once again reflects congressional rather than executive imprimatur. The President did not see fit to send a social security message to the Congress until September 25 and a draft bill did not arrive until September 30. Hearings were announced immediately by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee to begin on October 15. The President had first publicly suggested a 7-percent increase, then in his message recommended a 10-percent social security increase. The House Ways and Means Committee moved to raise that to 15 percent. Because of Democratic action, Republicans in the Congress joined in. Once again the administration has followed congressional leadership.

We also passed Public Law 91-69, the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1969, which amends the Older Americans Act of 1965 to extend its duration, authorize assistance for projects for foster grandparents and senior companions, and to strengthen State agencies on aging.

Regional development legislation was yet another area where congressional initiative was demonstrated. The initial bill providing for an extension of the Appalachian Regional Commission was introduced by the chairman of the House Public Works Committee, Mr. FALLON, on January 17, 1969. Because the Nixon administration was not prepared to present its views, it was not possible to start hearings until March 25. The Assistant Secretary for Economic Development in the Commerce Department, Mr. Robert Podesta, did not appear until near the conclusion of the hearings on April 17. The House Public Works Committee in executive sessions then fashioned a measure which extended the Appalachian Regional Commission as well as the other regional commissions established pursuant to title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act.

The bill drafted by the Public Works Committee was a well thought out balanced measure and passed the House by an overwhelming vote of 273 to 103 on July 15, 1969. Public Law 91-123 authorizes an additional \$1,219,000,000 for regional economic development programs in fiscal years 1970-71. It extends the programs under the Appalachia Regional Development Act together with those five other multi-State regional commissions provided for in title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act. The Appalachia highway program is extended

through fiscal year 1973 and there is authorized an additional \$150 million for this program. The Appalachia highway program henceforth will be operating under a contract authority which will allow highway funds to be obligated in advance of appropriations. Nonhighway Appalachia programs were authorized additional moneys amounting to \$268.5 million, the five other regional commissions were given an authorization of \$275 million. In addition, the Secretary of Commerce was directed to apportion at least 10 percent but not more than 25 percent to any one Commission. An additional \$500 million authorization for public works grants under title I of the 1965 Public Works and Economic Development Act, as well as \$25 million for demonstration grants and technical assistance under title III of that law were likewise provided.

The history of the Appalachian regional development bills in this body since 1965 is, I feel, an excellent case study of what happens to progressive legislative proposals. In 1965 when Appalachian legislation was first considered by the House, the RECORD shows that a motion to recommit the bill on March 3 witnessed the Republican membership voting 92 to 44 in favor of recommitment and then 109 to 25 against final passage. In 1967 when the question of extension was before the House on September 14, Republicans voted 143 to 17 in favor of recommitment and 123 to 35 against passage. This year, I am gratified to report that when the House acted on this matter on July 15, Republicans voted 90 to 77 in favor—this time they did not even choose to offer a recommitment motion. While the Republican record of support did not approach that of the Democrats who voted 183 to 26 in favor, it shows reluctant Republican acceptance, that these regional programs must be succeeding and must be popular. Regional redevelopment thus follows in the path of so many other Democratic pieces of progressive legislation, social security, unemployment compensation, minimum wage, and so forth. At first they are violently and vociferously opposed by our Republican friends then reluctantly tolerated and finally embraced.

The passage of the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969 represents another example of congressional initiative. Water pollution control legislation was introduced by Chairman FALLON on January 23, 1969. Hearings commenced on February 26 but Secretary Hickel did not appear until March 5. This measure was reported on March 21 and passed the House on April 15. It subsequently passed the Senate in October and is now in conference. It amends the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to improve the means available to control the pollution of the offshore water and the rivers of the United States. It also provides for control of oil and other sea-carried pollutants, sewage from vessels; acid and other pollutants from mines; and pollution from any federally operated sources. It provides for research grants and a scholarship program for students for programs instituted by the Secretary of the Interior. It directs the Secretary of the Interior to make a study of any and all methods of financing the cost of pre-

venting, controlling and abating water pollution.

Finally, it provides for a Great Lakes water control demonstration. There is authorized a total of \$348 million for fiscal years 1970, 1971 and 1972, including \$20 million for a water pollution cleanup fund, \$15 million for acid mine drainage, \$62 million for training grants and contracts, \$121 million for project research and \$130 million for general research, investigations and training.

In the public works appropriation bill, we provided an appropriation of \$800 million for waste treatment plants. The Nixon administration had requested only \$214 million. This near fourfold increase was unprecedented. We approved it because we feel very strongly that this country has to move more strongly and rapidly in pollution control. Congress, once again over the reluctance of the administration to recognize the necessity, demonstrated concern with a national problem of high priority. The administration abdicated leadership, but Congress acted.

We also have passed several other measures dealing with our environment and natural resources. Congress in 1969 acted to amend the Clean Air Act to extend the program of research relating to fuel and vehicles. An authorization of \$45 million is provided for the current fiscal year. In Public Law 91-118 we extended the Great Plains conservation program for 10 years beyond its present expiration date of December 31, 1971. This measure also authorizes an appropriation of \$250 million with not more than \$25 million in any one year. A bill authorizing \$27 million for the saline water conservation program for fiscal 1970 was likewise enacted into law. Public Law 91-15 amends the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 to continue the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development for a period of 1 year until June 30, 1970, and authorizes funds not to exceed \$1,200,000 for this period. House Joint Resolution 589 passed by the House on November 12 expresses the support of Congress and urges the support of the Federal departments as well as other persons and organizations for the international biological program. The Congress has enacted legislation amending and strengthening laws limiting the importation and sale of fish and wildlife which are in danger of becoming extinct. It also bars the importation of fish or wildlife and forbids the interstate shipment of amphibians, reptiles, mollusks, and crustaceans if they were obtained in violation of any Federal, State, or foreign law. It also requires the Federal Government to seek an international conference for the purpose of drawing up an international convention on the conservation of endangered species. Finally, S. 1075, awaiting the President's signature, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to conduct investigations, studies, surveys and research relating to the Nation's ecological system, natural resources, environmental quality, and to establish a Council on Environmental Quality.

We have acted to extend for 2 additional years the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. There is an authorization

for fiscal year 1970 of \$2,195,500,000 and for fiscal year 1971 of \$2,295,500,000. This legislation also contains provisions strengthening Headstart, Follow Through, the manpower training program, Mainstream, and New Careers, and the emergency food and health service program. The successful 2-year extension of the war on poverty without crippling amendments is due exclusively to congressional efforts. Chairman PERKINS introduced legislation extending the antipoverty program for 5 years on January 3. He initiated 29 days of hearings before his full committee on March 24 taking testimony from witnesses representing all areas of the country. The administration's proposed 2-year extension was not transmitted and introduced in the House until June 3. Subsequently, however, Chairman PERKINS received no assurances that the Republican votes would be forthcoming to support the administration's own requested legislation against crippling floor amendments. He was forced to report out a 2-year bill without these assurances on November 6. When the bill was brought up on the floor on December 12 a substitute proposal, giving the States complete control over the program and which was strongly opposed by the Administrator of OEO, received the all-out support of the House Republican leadership and the senior Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee. The crippling substitute was defeated by a vote of 231 to 163. Republicans voted 103 to 63 to emasculate the antipoverty program while Democrats voted 168 to 60 to sustain a continuation of the war on poverty.

In the field of banking, the major legislation considered by the 91st Congress was undoubtedly H.R. 6778, amending the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. As passed by the House, H.R. 6778 places single bank holding companies under the regulating authority of the Federal Reserve Board, by extending the Bank Holding Act of 1956 to apply to such institutions. They had been specifically exempted in the 1956 law. The bill also authorizes the Federal Reserve Board to rule on the types of nonbanking business interests that bank holding companies may acquire. It prohibits bank holding companies from engaging in certain businesses such as insurance, travel agencies, accounting, data processing, and equipment leasing. It requires the single bank holding company formed after the enactment of the 1956 law to divest itself of all nonbanking interests. Finally the legislation changes the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 by defining a bank holding company as one which actually controls a bank rather than one which owns 25 percent of the voting stock.

House passage of H.R. 6778, probably the most important banking legislation we have approved in a generation, was clearly the product of congressional rather than administration initiative. Chairman PATMAN, of the Banking and Currency Committee, introduced H.R. 6778 on February 17, 1969. Reports were immediately requested of all the relevant executive agencies. They were extremely tardy in responding, the report from the Treasury Department not arriving until April 16, the day after public hearings

had commenced. The administration submitted a draft bill only after Chairman PATMAN announced the public hearings would commence on April 1 with or without administration recommendations. At administration request, they were further delayed until April 15. When Secretary Kennedy testified on the bill on April 17, he refused to endorse many of the key features of the Patman bill. The strong measure which ultimately passed the House was due entirely to the efforts of Chairman PATMAN, the administration throughout playing a negative and indecisive role. In pushing through H.R. 6778, the House majority has taken a decisive step to preserve the free enterprise system by protecting small businessmen from the monopolistic encroachment of bank holding companies.

The House also took the initiative in passing H.R. 2 establishing a separate Federal credit union agency. This measure was introduced by the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee on January 3, 1969. Over the opposition of the Treasury Department, it was reported from committee on June 27 and on July 28 passed the House by a vote of 356 to 10. It has been approved by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and is now pending on the Senate Calendar. H.R. 2 would create a National Credit Union Administration to be headed by an Administrator who will be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Administrator will be under the direct control of a Board of Governors representing membership from each Federal credit union region, plus a Chairman to be appointed at large. Members of the Board will be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The members of the Board will serve for a 6-year period, while the Administrator, in order to insure continuity with the President, shall serve at the pleasure of the President.

The National Credit Union Administration will be responsible for the regulation, supervision, and examination of Federal credit unions, and will perform all of the functions presently carried on by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions.

The 91st Congress also enacted into law H.R. 7491 which will provide by 1972 identical tax treatment to all commercial banks either federally or State chartered. Prior to 1972, States could tax in-State national banks to the same degree as State banks except for intangible personal property. Branches of out-of-State national banks could be taxed for specified levies. Beginning in 1972, in-State banks could be treated as State banks and branches of out-of-State banks could have nondiscriminatory taxes levied on them.

We passed S. 2577 which extended the so-called regulation Q authority to March 22, 1971, under which the Federal financial regulatory authorities can impose maximum interest rates paid on time and savings deposits. In addition the legislation provides authority to the Federal Reserve Board to impose reserve requirements and interest ceilings on commercial paper and Eurodollar borrowing by banks.

Further and very important the leg-

isolation provides for an increase in FDIC and FSLIC deposit insurance from the now existing limit of \$15,000 to \$20,000.

In addition, the legislation directs the Administrator to make available \$70 million for direct lending by the Small Business Administration to small business investment companies.

In an effort to curb any severe inflationary pressures the legislation provides the President with discretionary authority to impose selective and/or voluntary credit controls.

Finally, the legislation provides an additional \$3 billion to be made available to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board by the Secretary of the Treasury when alternative means cannot be found for the savings and loan industry to supply reasonable amounts of funds for mortgage lending during periods of monetary stringency and rising interest rates. This legislation was passed over bitter Republican opposition. Republicans voted unanimously to recommit the measure.

Charges have emanated of late from certain quarters in the executive branch that the Congress has been responsible for delaying postal reform. The facts emphatically repudiate this allegation.

Chairman DULSKI on the first day of the 91st Congress introduced a comprehensive postal reform bill, H.R. 4, and announced it would be the first order of committee business.

He planned to begin public hearings on postal reform on the third Tuesday of March 1969. But, when the Postmaster General learned of this he asked, and Chairman DULSKI granted, a reasonable delay for preparation of the administration's postal reform recommendation.

Several other proposed hearing dates also were postponed at the request of the Postmaster General.

Finally, when the administration's postal rate increase proposal was sent to the Congress before postal reform, Chairman DULSKI announced that there should be no rate increase until after postal reform and that his committee would start hearings April 22, 1969.

The committee then proceeded with public hearings for more than a month, until finally the administration's official recommendation was submitted on May 28.

The Post Office and Civil Service Committee is now at work marking up Chairman DULSKI's proposal. A postal reform measure will be reported and passed by the House early next year.

The first session of the 91st Congress has acted to meet its responsibilities to our Federal employees. We enacted Public Law 91-93, the Civil Service Retirement Amendments of 1969. This measure amends the financing provision of the civil service retirement program so that the employees and employing agency will pay the full normal cost of the program, while the cost of the unfunded liability would be paid out of general revenues. Contribution rates are increased to 7 percent each for employees and their employing agencies and to 8 percent for Members of Congress. The Federal Government would be required to pay into

the civil service retirement fund each year the interest due on the current unfunded liability of the program and to amortize over a period of 30 years unfunded liabilities created in the future by future improvements in the program. In the future annuities would be computed on a high 3-year average salary rather than on a high 5-year average. Service credit would be provided for unused sick leave in computing annuities. Future raises in annuities to cover future cost-of-living increases are provided.

The civil service retirement measure was exclusively a congressional product. Representative DOMINICK V. DANIELS introduced legislation on the first day of the 91st Congress. Official reports on the bill were requested promptly.

Public hearings were announced and were conducted promptly, after which the committee reported the bill on April 22, 1969. This bill was written entirely in the committee. No executive communication on the subject was ever received. It passed the House July 23, 1969, was amended and passed by the Senate August 1, 1969, and the House agreed to the Senate amendment by unanimous consent October 7, 1969.

The House also passed H.R. 14789 to grant Foreign Service personnel the same retirement benefits now provided civil service personnel.

Although postal and other Federal employees have long been promised pay equal to pay rates in private enterprise for positions of equal responsibilities, and have never gained current comparability, the administration has submitted no executive communication recommending any salary adjustments.

The Subcommittee on Compensation conducted public hearings during July 1969, and wrote its own salary bill, H.R. 13000. It passed the House on October 14 by a vote of 311 to 51. This measure establishes a Federal Salary Service Commission to make studies and set up salary schedules with the principles of pay comparability. It also establishes a Federal Salary Board of Arbitration for the purpose of reviewing any pay proposals when any member of the Commission requests such action. It also provides pay increases for postal employees in grades 1 through 11 by advancing them two in-grade pay levels effective October 1, 1969. H.R. 13000 is now pending in conference.

Last January we enacted Public Law 91-1 raising the salary of the President from \$100,000 to \$200,000. Increased salaries for Federal executives, judges, and Members of Congress became effective February 14, 1969, one House of the Congress having failed to disapprove them within 30 days after the submission of the budget by President Johnson. Public Law 91-67 providing comparable increases for leaders of the House and Senate was likewise enacted.

We acted to discharge our responsibilities to the Nation's urban areas. This year's omnibus housing measure, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 is another major legislative product fashioned by the first session of the 91st Congress. Unfortunately, disposal of the housing bill has been prolonged this year because of the tardiness of the administration in presenting its recommen-

dations. The draft bill transmitted from the executive branch on July 17, 1969, proved to be an emaciated skeleton which did little more than provide simple extensions for those housing laws expiring this year. The conversion of the administration's inadequate proposal to a far-reaching balanced measure providing increased funding for all our housing and urban development programs and containing many amendments to improve existing housing legislation was the work of Chairman PATMAN, Housing Subcommittee Chairman BARRETT, and other members of the House Banking and Currency Committee. The provision for \$1.5 billion in additional mortgage money if not frozen by the President, should help reverse the precipitous drop in housing starts we have witnessed since the beginning of the year.

The estimated cost of the final product sent to the President is \$4.8 billion. The major provisions of this measure are as follows:

First. The Government National Mortgage Association's authority to purchase mortgages on low-cost FHA and VA housing is increased by an additional \$1.5 billion. In addition, this provision would raise the maximum mortgage amount on mortgages eligible for purchase by \$2,500.

Second. Extends the life of FHA's mortgage insurance authority for 1 year to October 1, 1970. Mortgage ceilings are raised for both FHA sales and FHA rental housing. FHA insurance is provided for mobile homes.

Third. Authorizes \$1.7 billion for the urban renewal program for fiscal year 1971 and earmarks 35 percent for the neighborhood development program. The legislation requires that where housing for low- and moderate-income people is demolished in an urban renewal area, it must be replaced by an equal amount of housing in the city or county under the jurisdiction of the urban renewal agency; however, if such housing cannot be provided, the Secretary is permitted to take into account housing provided outside the city or county.

Fourth. Provides a higher level of annual contributions under the public housing program by permitting HUD to use the full formula provided in the 1937 act in place of the present limitations to debt service. Also provides an additional subsidy for public housing tenants—HUD will pay the difference between 25 percent of a tenant's income and rent attributable to a unit.

Fifth. Increase the total amount to be appropriated for direct loans for housing for the elderly and the handicapped by \$150 million.

Sixth. Increase by \$4 million the aggregate amount of contracts which may be entered into to make annual debt service grants to help college housing facilities.

Seventh. Provides \$600 million additional authorization for the model cities program.

Eighth. Extends for 1 year the present authorization for a number of programs including comprehensive planning, open space, and water and sewer grants. There is also provided an additional \$100 million for water and sewer grants for fiscal year 1971.

Ninth. Provides \$300 million advance funding for fiscal year 1971 for mass transit.

Tenth. Extends various rural housing programs administered by the Farmers Home Administration for 4 years.

Eleventh. Contains a provision to make flood insurance available for 2-year period during which local actuarial studies will be conducted to provide a basis for the permanent flood insurance program.

Twelfth. Extends to October 1, 1970, the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to waive the statutory interest rate ceiling on FHA-insured loans and authorizes the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration to waive the statutory interest rate ceiling, on VA-guaranteed mortgages.

The 91st Congress also acted with initiative in the field of health.

During the early hours of November 20, 1968, an explosion rocked Consolidation Coal Co.'s No. 9 mine near Farmington, W. Va. When the mine was sealed several days later, it became the tomb for 78 miners working that tragic midnight shift who could not escape and for whom no rescue operation could succeed. Since Farmington, over 170 additional miners have lost their lives in the much less publicized—yet equally outrageous—accidents that continue to make coal mining the most hazardous occupation in the United States. Moreover, countless thousands have suffered and died or presently suffer from the ravages of coal workers' pneumoconiosis—the dread miners disease caused by the inhalation of excessive amounts of coal dust.

The past session saw the enactment into law of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act of 1969 (S. 2917) to protect the health and safety of coal miners and to combat the steady toll of life, limb, and lung which terrorizes so many unfortunate families. Here again, it was Congress that moved first and moved farther than the recommendations of the President. The initial bills in this area were introduced early in January by Chairman PERKINS, of the Education and Labor Committee, and Chairman DENT, of the General Subcommittee on Labor. The administration's proposals were not transmitted until March. The measure which evolved through subcommittee and full committee states, on the floor of the House and ultimately in conference, represented at every stage imaginative and dynamic legislative workmanship on the part of the Members of the Congress. The role of the executive branch throughout proved to be minimal.

S. 2917 can quite properly be deemed a milestone piece of health legislation. It is also, I might add, a milestone piece of labor legislation. It is the strongest Federal law ever enacted to protect miners at work. It will protect their health by setting limits on the amount of coal dust permitted in a mine. This dust is the cause of black lung disease which can prove fatal. The previous distinction between gaseous and nongaseous mines is ended and all mines will be required, according to an orderly schedule, to install nonspark electrical equipment to prevent explosions. In the future, it will be possible to further raise health and safety standards by administrative

action without coming back to the Congress for additional legislation. A dust ceiling of 4.5 milligrams per cubic meter of air is imposed by the measure immediately and further reductions will be required within a year. Disability compensation is provided for miners suffering from black lung disease. A minimum of four unannounced inspections of each mine annually by the Bureau of Mines must be made in the future. A provision is included requiring the closing of mines and the withdrawal of all persons, except those needed to correct deficiencies where conditions of immediate danger exist. Fines and jail sentences are provided for violations of the legislation.

Congressional activity in the health field was by no means limited to passage of the Coal Mine Safety Act. The House on June 4 by a rollcall vote of 351 to 0 passed H.R. 11102 extending the Hill-Burton Act for hospital construction and modernization. This measure was solely the product of the labors of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Legislation to extend and liberalize the Hill-Burton Act had been introduced early in February. Proposed hearings were delayed several times on request of the administration. When the administration finally did appear to present its views late in March it was able to offer only a few exceedingly broad and general suggestions as to proposed changes in the existing law. No draft bill or specific amendments were given the committee. In executive session, the administration's proposals were rejected in toto and H.R. 11102, a clean bill, was reported on May 20 embodying modifications in the hospital construction legislation developed by members of the committee and perfected in the give and take of the committee's deliberations.

The major provisions of H.R. 11102 include an extension for 3 years of the Hill-Burton program of matching Federal grants to States either for the construction or modernization of hospitals and other medical facilities. In addition, H.R. 11102 established a new program of guaranteed loans for hospital construction and modernization. Total authorization for appropriation over the 3-year period provided was \$937 million. This includes \$405 million for hospital construction, \$165 million for modernization, and \$300 million for the construction of facilities for long-term case diagnosis and treatment and rehabilitation. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was authorized to guarantee payment of principal on loans for construction and modernization of hospitals and health facilities. Such guaranteed loans are limited to \$300 million in 1971, \$600 million in 1972, and \$900 million in 1973. The guaranteed loans would have an annual interest rate of 3 percent and the bill also authorized appropriation for interest subsidy payments of \$37 million. The existing requirement in law that a State must give special consideration to projects for hospitals serving rural areas would be eliminated. A new grant program for the modernization of emergency rooms in hospitals was also added.

The House has passed a measure amending the Medical Library Assistance

Act of 1965 by extending the authorizations for the program in the act for 3 additional years through fiscal year 1973. It also provides for the continuation of financial assistance for the construction of medical library facilities; training of librarians and information specialists; expansion of health library resources; projects for research and development and demonstrations in medical library science and health communications; special scientific projects; development of regional medical library programs; and biomedical scientific publications projects.

The House approved H.R. 14790 which would provide for a 3-year extension of authority under the Public Health Service Act for making formula grants to public health schools. The bill would authorize \$7 million for fiscal 1971, \$9 million for fiscal 1972 and \$12 million for fiscal 1973.

It also passed H.R. 14733 to provide a 3-year extension of the Public Health Service Act's program of assistance for domestic migrant agricultural workers health services, due to expire on June 30, 1970. The bill authorizes \$20 million for 1971, \$25 million for 1972 and \$30 million for 1973. The bill would also amend the act by broadening the definition of beneficiaries of the program, as well as by authorizing the use of grant funds for training.

We likewise approved a bill to provide a 3-year extension of authority for matching grants for construction and initial staffing costs of community mental health centers and for specialized services for alcoholism and narcotic addiction as provided by the Community Mental Health Centers Act. The bill authorizes the appropriation of \$133 million for fiscal 1971, \$150 million for fiscal 1972, and \$168 million for 1973.

The House acted favorably on H.R. 6543 to strengthen the warning label which must appear on cigarette packages.

The 91st Congress has likewise acted to meet its responsibilities to our veterans. Its actions have been in marked contrast to the position of the executive branch. The Nixon administration has opposed all congressionally initiated veterans bills, rejecting a proposal to use veteran-owned insurance funds for veterans home loans for returning Vietnam veterans killed or who died of service-connected causes, rejecting housing payment increases for paralyzed and other seriously disabled veterans, and asked that action to increase insurance for servicemen in Vietnam be deferred.

The House Veterans' Affairs Committee began hearings on June 25 on an increase in educational benefits for Vietnam-era veterans. A bill was reported from committee on July 10 and passed the House over the objections of the administration on August 4. H.R. 11959 would increase vocational rehabilitation assistance payments to disabled veterans by 15 percent. A full-time trainee would receive \$127 per month rather than the present \$100. A veteran with one dependent would receive \$173 monthly instead of \$150. The measure would also increase educational assistance payments

by 27 percent, it would also increase educational assistance payments to children, widows, and wives of veterans to a like amount. Finally it would standardize the definition of a full time high school course of study.

During the past year over the objections of the Nixon administration we also acted to provide increased compensation for veterans' survivors. Public Law 91-96 changes the formula for computing the dependency and indemnity compensation payable to widows of veterans who die from service-connected causes with a table fixing the amounts of such payments in a range from \$167 per month for the widow of a recruit to \$457 for the widow of a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; it also provides for additional dependency and indemnity compensation payments to eligible widows with minor children at a monthly rate of \$20 per child and increases by \$50 a month the dependency and indemnity compensation or death compensation payable to a widow in a nursing home or otherwise in need of other aid and assistance.

The House in H.R. 372, pension eligibility, acted to restore eligibility for Veterans' Administration benefits to widows upon the termination of a subsequent marriage; to eliminate for veterans who have attained 72 years of age and have received a pension for 2 years the requirement of an annual report of income and assets; to establish additional income exemptions for the determination of eligibility for pensions and for dependency and indemnity compensation; and to provide eligibility for pension and for certain other benefits to veterans of the Mexican border period.

The House in passing House Resolution 661, voted to commend the American serviceman and veteran of Vietnam for his efforts and sacrifices and let him know that Members of the House, regardless of their opinions about the national policy concerning the conflict, take note of the bravery and dedication in the service of his country that the American serviceman has exhibited.

Although almost a million Vietnam-era veterans each year are being returned to civilian life, Mr. Nixon's budget director cut \$41 million in VA hospital modernization funds, including \$17 million which would have air-conditioned VA hospitals. Also cut was \$4 million for States to modernize soldiers' homes. One of the most glaring examples of action contrary to words was the Nixon administration cut of \$11 million for medical education and research and a reduction of 4,000 medical personnel below that recommended in January—although the administration decried the "massive health crisis" at a Presidential press conference July 10. This "massive health crisis" did not deter the administration from broad and sweeping cuts in practically every area of medical and health research just at a time when they are becoming most productive, nor disapproving personnel to man over \$16 million of modern life-saving equipment standing idle in Federal hospitals.

The 91st Congress acted to meet its responsibility in the field of transporta-

tion. As previously stated, the housing bill authorized \$300 million in advance funding for 1971 for mass transit. We have also provided aid for aviation.

The House on November 6 by a rollcall vote of 236 to 7 passed a 10-year \$5 billion program of expansion and improvement of our airports and airway system to be financed by new taxes on airway users. Among other things, H.R. 14465 provides that the amount available for improvement of the airway system should be no less than \$250 million annually between January 1, 1970, and June 30, 1979, and declares that the total amount available for airport assistance during the same period should be \$2.5 billion. It requires the Secretary of Transportation to formally recommend to the Congress a national transportation policy and requires him thereafter to make annual reports to Congress on its implementation. It requires the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a 2-year study of an appropriate method for allocating cost among users of the airport and airway system. It provides \$10 million a year during the next 5 years for grants for planning, location, and development of airports. The Secretary of Transportation also would be authorized to make grants of \$24 million each during fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972 to develop reliever airports. Tax provisions of the bill would impose a levy of 7 cents a gallon on all general aviation fuel and increase the passenger ticket tax on domestic flights from 5 to 8 percent and would impose a new tax of 5 percent on air freight waybills. All revenue from the fuel, freight and flight taxes would be placed in an airport and airway trust fund for use only to defray costs incurred in this program.

We also passed the Highway Act of 1969 (H.R. 14741). This measure extends to April 15, 1970, the deadline for a new cost estimate for the Interstate Highway System. It extends to January 1, 1971, the date on which the 10-percent penalty on highway apportionments would be invoked for States failing to effectively control billboards and junkyards. It directs the Secretary of Transportation to work with State highway departments in preparing a report to Congress by April 15, 1970, on highway beautification. H.R. 14741 further sets highway safety fund apportionment for fiscal year 1970 and subsequent years at 50 percent on population and 50 percent on public road mileage. It also authorizes the President to negotiate an agreement with Canada for rebuilding and paving the 1,137 miles of Alaska Highway between Dawson Creek and the Alaska border.

H.R. 10105 passed the House on September 3, 1969; it would amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicles Safety Act of 1966 to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1970, 1971 and 1972.

In the field of labor, the House has passed H.R. 14705 to extend the coverage of the Federal unemployment tax to employers who employ one or more people in each of 20 weeks or who have quarterly payrolls over \$800, to certain agricultural process workers, to certain agent-salesmen who are not employees under common law, and to certain nonprofessional employees of institutions of higher

education and nonprofit organizations. It would also establish a new Federal-State program for paying unemployment compensation during periods of extensive unemployment. The taxable wage base would be increased to \$4,200 on January 1, 1972, and the Federal part of the tax would be 1 percent. H.R. 14705 is now pending before the Senate Finance Committee.

Public Law 91-54 approved August 9, 1969, will promote health and safety in the construction industry at all federally assisted construction projects. It requires that no construction contractor or subcontractor may require an employee to work under any conditions that are unsanitary, hazardous, or dangerous to his health or safety.

The House also approved a measure limiting the number of consecutive hours a railroad operating employee may be on duty to 14 hours, and after 2 years, to 12 hours. This bill, H.R. 8449, would also establish additional regulations requiring certain off-duty hours between periods of service.

The House on September 30, 1969 passed H.R. 13300. This bill provides the financing necessary to continue payment of supplemental annuities under the Railroad Retirement Act and to extend the payment of supplemental annuities beyond October 31, 1971, with current rates to be preserved until June 30, 1975. It also provides for the mandatory retirement of all railroad employees initially at age 70 and by January 1, 1976, at age 65; except that an employer may retain at his own option an employee beyond the mandatory requirement age.

In the field of foreign affairs the 91st Congress has cooperated with the President to meet our Nation's obligations and to protect its interests in the international sphere. We have enacted Public Law 91-14 authorizing the U.S. Governor of the International Development Association to vote for an increase in the resources of the Association to authorize \$480 million for payment of the U.S. share of this income. The House has passed the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969. The authorization is for fiscal years 1970 and 1971.

H.R. 14580 also revises existing foreign aid legislation in the following manner: First, establishes an overseas private investment corporation; second, puts renewed emphasis on technical assistance; third, gives greater priority in the field of population policy; and, fourth, authorizes the President to use funds provided by the act for famine and disaster relief. There is authorized to be appropriated \$1.973 billion each for 1970 and 1971. We also acted to extend the life of the Peace Corps for an additional year.

Public Law 91-128 extends the Interest Equalization Act to March 31, 1971. The President is given the authority to remove the tax on new foreign securities without reducing the tax on outstanding securities. An exemption is granted from the tax on financing transactions in connection with certain U.S. exports, and there are exempted certain leases having substantially the same effect as sales in connection with U.S. exports.

The equalization tax, which was first enacted in 1964, applies to acquisitions

of foreign securities by Americans. Its purpose was to reduce the outflow of dollars by increasing the cost to foreigners of raising capital in the United States and reducing the desirability of foreign securities to Americans. It does not apply to direct investment in foreign businesses.

We enacted the Export Administration Act to replace the Export Control Act. The Export Control Act which expires December 31, 1969, essentially provided the President with the complete discretionary authority to assist the United States in increasing its export of goods and services to all nations thereby enabling us to better our now existing deficit balance-of-payments situation. The new legislation preserves all these features. In addition, H.R. 4293 seeks to liberalize trade in those areas where there can be no question of such goods and services being used to the detriment of the United States in any situation. As a result therefore we hopefully can look forward to a further expansion of the sale of U.S. goods and services to foreign countries. In no respect does it direct the President to allow the export of any goods and services which would in any way be detrimental to our country's foreign policy question, our national security, or our domestic situation. The Export Administration Act will expire June 30, 1973.

Of greatest importance, however, the House by rollcall vote of 333 to 55, passed House Resolution 613 affirming support for the President in his efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam, to express the earnest hope of the people of the United States for such a peace, to call attention to the numerous peace overtures which the United States has made in good faith toward the Government of North Vietnam to approve and support the principles announced by the President, and also former President Lyndon B. Johnson, that the people of South Vietnam are entitled to choose their own government by means of free elections open to all South Vietnamese and supervised by an impartial international body, and that the United States is willing to abide by the results of such elections. We also passed House Concurrent Resolution 454 calling for the humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war held by North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front.

The 91st Congress has met its responsibilities in the area of national defense.

We have provided a \$69.6 billion defense appropriation for fiscal year 1970 to keep our Nation secure at home and abroad.

In addition, we provided an appropriation of \$1,560,000,000 for military construction.

We acted to authorize and fund the Sentinel—Safeguard—ABM System.

We enacted Public Law 91-124 repealing the existing prohibition against changing the then existing method of selecting inductees. This has enabled the President to institute a random selection—lottery—system drafting 19-year-olds.

Under the new plan, the period of prime draft eligibility would be reduced

from 7 years to 1 year. A registrant's period of maximum eligibility would begin on his 19th birthday and end on his 20th. Those not drafted during those 12 months would be assigned a lower priority and would be called up only in the case of an emergency.

Prior to each calendar year, all the dates of that year would be scrambled and drawn at random. The order of drafting the 19-year-olds would be established by matching their birthdays with this list of days.

Once a registrant's place in the sequence was determined, it would not change. Each month, his local draft board would induct registrants in the order of call established by the lottery.

If a young man were granted a deferment at age 19 or 20, he would reenter the prime eligibility pool when the deferment expired, taking the same place in the order of sequence as he originally was assigned.

This then has been the record of our successes. Unfortunately, that record likewise includes failure in one vital area; namely, civil rights.

Because the Republican Party chose to turn its back on Abraham Lincoln, we were unsuccessful in our efforts to extend the Voting Rights of 1965. Under that act, the use of any literacy test as a prerequisite to registering to vote in any election is suspended in any State or political subdivision which, on November 1, 1964, maintained a test or device, and in which less than 50 percent of the residents of voting age were registered on that date or voted in the 1964 presidential election. The act authorizes the Attorney General to provide for the appointment of Federal examiners and Federal election observers in those "covered" jurisdictions wherein literacy tests or similar voting qualifications or procedures different from those in force on November 1, 1964, unless and until the "covered" jurisdiction obtains judicial approval from the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia that the change does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color or the Attorney General has failed to interpose an objection within 60 days of the submission of the change to him.

Negro registration in the five States where Federal examiners have been appointed has risen from approximately 29 percent to approximately 52 percent of the Negro voting-age population. This rise in nonwhite registration has been accompanied by an increase in Negro voting participation and in the number of Negro officeholders and legislators. Although registration progress has been dramatic under the act, especially when compared to registration gains achieved under earlier voting rights legislation, significant disparities continue between white and nonwhite registration in areas covered by the act. In addition, there remain many counties where Negro registration remains extremely low.

It therefore has acted to preserve the gains already made and to further expand Negro voting that Chairman CELLER

introduced H.R. 4269 providing for a 5-year extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on January 23. The views of the Department of Justice were requested shortly thereafter. They were not forthcoming. On April 30, Attorney General Mitchell was invited to testify on May 14. On May 14 at the Attorney General's request his appearance was canceled and rescheduled for May 21. This appearance in turn was canceled at his request and so were appearances scheduled for May 28, June 5, and June 18. He finally appeared on June 26. The administration's voting rights proposal, H.R. 12695, which no senior Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee was willing to introduce, and which was opposed by every pro-civil rights groups, was finally introduced by the minority leader, Mr. Ford, on July 9. The Ford bill was substituted on the House floor for the 5-year extension which had been reported by the House Judiciary Committee. On the key vote, Republicans voted 129 to 49 against a continuation of the Voting Rights Act. Democrats voted 154 to 79 in favor of a continuation of the Voting Rights Act.

This then has been the record of the first session of the 91st Congress. Its hallmark, I believe, has been innovation and initiative. To an extent unprecedented for at least a generation, the year 1969 has witnessed the legislative branch of our Federal Government replacing the executive branch in moving forward decisively in all major areas of legislative activity. Such has been the case in electoral college reform, tax reform, postal reform, elementary and secondary education legislation, legislation to combat air and water pollution, veterans legislation, and many others. It was in hearings before the legislative committees of the Congress that new ideas were developed and then in the give-and-take of executive drafting sessions hammered out into specific legislative proposals. The leadership supplied by the administration in practically every major domestic area bordered on the nonexistent. Their contribution in almost every case to the final legislative product evolved whether it be in health, housing, education, taxes or antipollution, has been minimal. My congratulations, therefore, to the chairman of the legislative committees of the House, as well as to the membership of those committees which have labored so long and so effectively in producing a body of legislation which is extremely noteworthy as to the level of its quality.

A MATTER OF TOLERANCE

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, last week radio and television stations WMAL here in Washington broadcast a timely editorial commenting on some of the recent activities of the American Civil Liberties Union which, in view of the holiday sea-

son and the events of the recent past in this country, offers a sad commentary of our times. I include the editorial for insertion in the RECORD at this point:

A MATTER OF TOLERANCE

This may be the last year that the nativity scene will be displayed on the Ellipse for the traditional Christmas pageant. The American Civil Liberties Union has gone to court, arguing that display of the manger scene on public property amounts to an unconstitutional establishment of religion. It is important to stress that the pageant is staged by a non-profit private corporation which obtains a permit from the Interior Department. Many private groups, such as the anti-Vietnam War protest groups with their Viet Cong flags, have obtained similar permits.

While the ACLU is challenging display of the manger scene on public property, the New Jersey ACLU is attacking the right of military authorities to ban anti-Vietnam demonstrators from handing out leaflets on the Ft. Dix, New Jersey, military reservation.

The Oregon ACLU has succeeded in having a cross taken out of a public park in Eugene, Oregon. The Iowa ACLU is defending eight Grinnell College students who undressed at a public meeting, on grounds that not allowing them to disrobe violates free speech.

The Pittsburgh ACLU is charging that a Pennsylvania School District violated the Supreme Court ban on prayer in public schools. The national ACLU is opposing Administration efforts to curb obscene mail.

The national ACLU wants church property taxed even if used for religious purposes. The national organization is, however, defending private foundations that indulge in political activity on grounds that foundations have made "an enormous contribution to our national well-being"—a compliment the ACLU apparently feels does not extend to churches.

Experience indicates that ACLU lawyers will argue fine points of law in each of these cases with admirable skill.

We believe, however, that some matters are better decided by commonsense tempered with tolerance.

It would not have been fair to argue that the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King could not speak at the Lincoln Memorial because he was an ordained minister and his appearance constituted establishment of religion. The granting of march permits to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference certainly did not violate the Constitution.

Tolerance in America should be measured by how great a freedom we give all our pluralistic institutions—not by how we relentlessly suppress the majority.

RESOLUTION COMMENDING PRESIDENT NIXON

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a resolution commending President Richard Nixon for his accomplishments in the short time he has been in office.

This resolution was passed at the annual convention of the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs on December 8, 1969. More than 400 delegates, representing 5,000 women,

were in attendance and in accord with the resolution.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION COMMENDING PRESIDENT NIXON

Whereas, Richard M. Nixon has been in the office of President of the United States less than one year, and although individuals of us may not always completely agree with all he proposes, nevertheless,

Whereas, his cautious and studied approach to the nation's problems and his sincere efforts to be fair to all segments of our population has led to a period of considerable domestic calm and peace in spite of massive attempts at disruption, and

Whereas, his administrative officials are working almost unanimously to restore the Constitutional, American concept of government and its relationship to the citizen in spite of a sometimes obstreperous Congress, and

Whereas, his personal conduct and that of his family is developing a respect for the office of President of the United States and confidence in his judgment, sincerity and abilities, at home and abroad,

Therefore be it resolved that the San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs thank and commend the President for his endeavors to strengthen and protect our country's institutions, and

Be it further resolved that copies of this Resolution be forwarded to President Nixon and to Congressman Utt with the request that it be inserted in the Congressional Record.

THE RETIREMENT OF JUSTICE SAMUEL S. LEIBOWITZ: GREAT JUDGE, GOOD FRIEND, AND PROUD BROOKLYNITE

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, last week marked the retirement of one of the Nation's finest judges and one of New York's most distinguished citizens. Justice Samuel Leibowitz handed down a decision about his own future: he would be stepping from the New York State Supreme Court where he has sat for almost 30 years. He has received much praise and many tributes, and I would like to add mine to that long list.

The Leibowitz mark was an unmistakable one. As a strong personality and conscientious judge, he was known and respected by the people with whom he had contact.

His home in the Brooklyn, with its bust of Byron in the front yard, has become a Brooklyn landmark. Young and old alike pass by and say, "This is the house of Judge Leibowitz." Indeed, I am proud to say that he is one of my constituents.

The judge's career was not lacking in landmarks of its own. The Scottsboro case, in which he served as an unpaid defense attorney, remains a cornerstone in the fight for civil and individual rights. De facto exclusion of Negroes from Southern juries, fraudulent jury roles, and the right to effective counsel were just a few of the important issues involved in the case. It was a head-on assault against decades of discrimination and the denial of due process, and

Justice Leibowitz was in the forefront of the fight.

He continued in the forefront as justice on the New York State Supreme Court. The tribute bestowed upon him by colleagues and friends is but one indication of the influence he has had and the esteem in which he is held.

I cannot think of Justice Leibowitz as "fading away." He has many more years of productive work within him. He is a storehouse of knowledge and insight which can continue to serve his fellow man. I want to wish him all the best as he joins the faculty of the Practising Lawyer's Institute and begins as counsel to a New York law firm.

We will watch for him in the years ahead. After all, life is only supposed to begin at 80.

THE HAMLET EVALUATION SYSTEM

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, in December 1968, I submitted a report on the Hamlet Evaluation System to the House Foreign Affairs Committee following a trip to Vietnam. It was quite critical in a number of different respects.

Ambassador Robert Komer, a man whose ability and integrity I respect, has written to me stating that some of the conclusions I drew were unwarranted.

Although I stand behind everything I said in that report, in fairness to Mr. Komer, I would like to make his letter known to the Members of Congress:

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.,
October 28, 1969.

Hon. JOHN V. TUNNEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: Having been abroad on public service, I have only recently caught up with your 23 December 1968 report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Measuring Hamlet Security in Vietnam. Most bureaucrats hardly dare take on members of Congress. But I'm now a private citizen and (as many colleagues and I told you in Vietnam) the one-sided criticisms in your report give a distorted and superficial picture of an honest attempt to do something which much needed doing in Vietnam. Let me take up a few of the more egregious errors:

(1) The implication in your Letter of Transmittal and Introduction that there had been no "public study" of the Hamlet Evaluation System and that you "learned" about it only when you got to Vietnam is quite unfair. We had briefed the press extensively on it in detail for over a year, the basic data and techniques were unclassified, and many articles had been written on it. That all our disclaimers and qualifiers received far less public mention than the barebones summary figures you deride is more symptomatic of the oversimplified press and public reporting on Vietnam than anything else.

(2) On p. 1 you talk of briefings which "usually carried to one or two decimal places" the percentage of South Vietnamese living in "relatively secure areas." I've never heard a briefing carried to two decimal places, but one decimal place covers over 17,000 people—hardly the attempt at "precise evaluation" you decry.

(3) Nor was HES an "evaluation of the political sympathies of [Vietnam's] rural people," as you misstate on p. 1. Again on p. 8 you say "it is made to serve the grandiose objective of presuming to measure Saigon's political support in the countryside. . . ." You know this is incorrect; you say so yourself at the bottom of p. 2 and in your Conclusion on p. 9. So why flog HES?

(4) Page 1 is also wrong in saying the HES was instituted by me, and "nearly three years" prior to December 1968. The attempt to measure physical security and development factors in the countryside was initially requested (and rightly so) by Secretary McNamara. When I became Presidential Assistant for the "other war," I heartily joined in. HES began in January 1967.

(5) True the GVN did have its own assessment of control in the countryside (bottom of p. 1), but we instituted the American HES precisely because the subjective GVN assessments seemed far too optimistic and unsystematic. They were consistently more bullish than HES. Judging from your own report, you should have applauded our intent.

(6) You lay great stress (p. 1) on how the 1968 Tet Offensive shook your confidence in official estimates of "government control." Yet as you know the HES was the only measurement system which faithfully reflected a sharp drop in post-Tet rural security. Moreover, the Tet Offensive was aimed at the towns—not the countryside—and the decline in rural security reflected a pullback of troops to defend the towns.

(7) Since you single me out in your Report, let me respond that my final Saigon press conference statements quoted on p. 2 proved quite conservative—as indicated by subsequent pacification results during December 1968 and 1969.

(8) Many of your comments on methodology (pp. 3-4) are also baffling. When measuring security, it is far better to use the hamlet as the basis than the village. The hamlet exists as a physical unit, as does the hamlet school, water supply, etc. But to say that we didn't try to "rebuild the cohesion of the village" (through reviving village councils, administrative autonomy, tax powers, etc.) is simply wrong.

(9) One place I agree vigorously with you is that weighing all 18 HES indicators equally could give a false impression. I think I told you that I objected to this too and was outvoted. In any case, a virtue of the HES was that one could easily extract and analyze the "security" indicators separately to avoid this distortion. We did so, and almost invariably the *nine security averages ran ahead of the nine development averages*. Thus if anything the bias was mostly the opposite of what you claim.

(10) It is misleading to claim that only "232 American officers" had to rate 8,650 hamlets. About a thousand of these hamlets were abandoned, consolidated, etc. over the years. Of the remainder many were urban areas. In any case the district advisory team (4-8) usually did the rating, not just the senior adviser. True, a very few hamlets were not visited for twelve months (we found this out during a study to improve HES). But most were visited far more frequently, and rating changes were not usually made without visiting. Indeed, to minimize adviser burden the HES was designed so that only changes were reported—not a whole new worksheet done on each hamlet each month.

(11) Short tours and language weakness of US advisers were a serious problem, but why not note that we started a special two-year tour for senior military pacification advisers (civilians already served two years), tried hard to get good advisers to extend or return (with some success), and set up our own Vietnam Training Center under the FSI in Washington to train advisers (13 weeks

Vietnamese mandatory, and the best linguists kept for a full school year of intensive training).

(12) You grossly overdo (p. 9) the superficially impressive point that HES requires the adviser "to assess his own work." For better or for worse pacification was a GVN program. We didn't presume to say that Americans could do the job. In my time some 5,000 US advisers (mostly with RF/PF) were helping over 500,000 Vietnamese. It was GVN performance we were evaluating, and if you had investigated how many times our ratings marked them down or showed hamlet regression I think you'd have a higher opinion of the "objectivity" of our advisers. They were certainly objective in showing the widespread 1968 Tet setback. During my time in Vietnam, we stressed how we wanted to know what was going badly even more than what went well. HES is full of it—not just full of the apparent statistical progress which is all you cite.

The above are just some of the inaccuracies which lead me to write you more in sorrow than in anger. We held back nothing from you in Vietnam, and explained fully how the HES did not even attempt the difficult task of evaluating rural attitudes or commitment. It only sought to measure crudely (on a consistent countryside hamlet-by-hamlet basis unavailable up till then) certain key physical security and development factors that studies indicated could reasonably be measured by Americans. HES has many candidly admitted weaknesses, but it is still more useful than your one-sided barrage of criticisms implies. Indeed you failed to say a single constructive word about this major innovative effort.

It seems to me, John, that what you're really complaining about is over-simplified official and press inferences from HES data. But instead of saying this you set up a straw man and then proceed to demolish it. Since in the process you also single me out as the evil genius, I'm entitled to ask whether my rebuttal can be put in the official record too.

Sincerely,

R. W. KOMER.

FARMERS DO NOT HAVE TO APOLOGIZE

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, there is a lot of publicity these days about high prices of food, yet the consumers' expenditure for food has dropped to a new low of 16.4 percent of his disposable income, and of that amount, only a small part goes to the producer.

Despite a rapidly escalating cost of living, the farmers' share of the market basket of farm food products is at the same low level it has been for the past 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial by Roe C. Black which appeared in the Top-Op Farm Journal in October and which deals with food problems from a farmer's point of view:

FARMERS DO NOT HAVE TO APOLOGIZE

(By Roe C. Black)

If you've ever fought a grass fire in a high wind, you'll understand the criticism being aimed at agriculture this fall. Just when you think the flames are easing up in front of you, the fire pops up in back, on the side and all around you.

The winds fanning these flames of criticism are being generated by tax reformers, consumer spokesmen and economic manipulators. And the worst of it is, many people in government whom we count as friends are sitting out the fire when they should be fighting it.

You've heard the "explanations" all too often: the cost of government support of agriculture is too high; consumer interests have to come first; farmers will just have to take their lumps in foreign trade patiently, even if no one else in the world is willing to do so.

You can see many signs on this indifference on the part of "our friends."

When the House passed a tax "reform" bill to close so-called loopholes and give a break to lower and middle income taxpayers, farmers (the original lower and middle income kids) were right in the target area along with big business, oil men and housing investors.

So in the first round at least, you lost your 7% investment credit on farm equipment, accelerated depreciation on old farm buildings, and had the screws tightened on your capital gains treatment of livestock.

Meanwhile, on the foreign scene, some more of our friends shattered the International Grains Agreement which they had halled with such fanfare. With subsidized prices, they cut our throat in the export grain market.

Then up popped a plan with a land retirement label that would in effect let Uncle Sam subsidize cattle production on millions of retired acres to supposedly assure low beef prices for consumers in the mid-70's.

What will happen if farm groups battle to a standstill over new farm program legislation is anyone's guess. But you can be sure the reformers and consumer spokesmen will take advantage of it to agriculture's—and ultimately everyone's—disadvantage. And that's the point we have to make. There is absolutely no reason for agriculture to be apologetic.

At the very time that cattle prices peaked out and the screaming about high food was loudest last summer, consumers' expenditure for food had dropped to a new low of 16.4% of disposable income, compared to 16.8% last year. At the same time, farmers' share of the USDA's market basket of farm food products held almost steady with what it's been for 10 years.

And we don't have to be apologetic about our foreign trade either. Not only are we the single most dependable source of agricultural products in the world, but we also maintain the world's most consistent free trade policy, with open access to our domestic markets to virtually all comers. No major farm group today is asking for tariffs that will wall out competing imports. They are only asking for reasonable protection from foreign countries who wall us out and also want to flood our markets.

American farmers have done a fantastic job of cutting costs for consumers, battling inflation, and supporting foreign policy. Don't forget it, and don't let your people in Washington forget it, when the going gets rough.

HE PLANNED IT THAT WAY

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, De Kalb County, Ga., is the State's second most populous county and the wealthiest in the Southeast. It is virtually a city unto itself situated next to the capital

city, Atlanta. In every respect, it is a growing and booming area.

The Atlanta Journal of December 19 contains an excellent article in tribute to "Mr. De Kalb County" and "the master architect of De Kalb's industrial growth," Mr. Scott Candler, Sr.

Scott Candler, for 16 years commissioner of De Kalb, more than any other man, is credited with laying the foundations for the growth and prosperity that the county and its almost 400,000 people now enjoy. This is a well-deserved salute to a great man and a great citizen.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

CANDLER: DE KALB ALREADY A CITY
(By Morris Shelton)

The elderly gentleman sitting behind the paper-stacked desk in the Decatur office building had more than a remote interest in the proposal to transform DeKalb County into a city.

Since such a bill stood a good chance of being introduced in the upcoming session of the Georgia General Assembly, which convenes Jan. 12, it seemed appropriate to get a reaction from the man who holds the uniquely distinct title of "Mr. DeKalb County."

If the proposal were enacted, the 82-year-old Scott Candler Sr. who would have the unusual distinction of witnessing the creation of a city of nearly 400,000 residents from a county whose growth is credited to him.

"I'm in favor of it," said Candler. "I've always advocated it. We're a city now, except in name."

He is correct.

Water and sewage, garbage collection, libraries, police and fire protection and other services paralleling those normally provided only by municipalities are furnished on a countrywide basis in DeKalb.

And the man urging the county to take the final step was one singularly credited with establishing the municipal-like county of DeKalb.

For he was THE government in DeKalb during that 16-year period of staggering growth between 1939 and 1955—an era which saw the rural dairying county blossom into Georgia's second most-populated county and the wealthiest in the Southeast.

Like many other counties in Georgia and the nation, DeKalb then vested all of its governing powers in the hands of a single commissioner of roads and revenues rather than the multiman commission form of government typical of today's heavily populated counties.

But unlike most counties, DeKalb, under the first leadership of Candler, aggressively undertook a futuristic course that penetrated a fourth demision in county government.

During Candler's reign, DeKalb inaugurated on a countywide basis most services which even today are expected only of cities or municipalities.

Under Candler, a countywide water and sewer system was inaugurated, and police and fire protection, library services, parks and recreation programs, and garbage collection were extended throughout the county.

Hundreds of miles of roads were constructed and paved, and a county airport which later became the busy DeKalb-Peachtree Airport was built.

During Candler's reign, DeKalb's population almost doubled. Subdivisions, schools and shopping centers sprang up throughout the county.

Big-name industries, lured to the metro-

politan area by DeKalb's nearness to Atlanta and the availability of necessary services, moved in.

By 1969, the county's population mark was approaching 400,000.

Much of the money for county improvements inaugurated during Candler's administration came from the federal government.

While some folks denounced the WPA and other governmental agencies, Candler rushed in to match funds on the short end of a 75-25 basis.

Other programs were carried out on a self-liquidating basis by which receipts paid for investments.

Of all his accomplishments, Candler is most highly praised for having the foresight to establish what later was to become recognized as DeKalb's economic jugular vein—a county water system.

Later, after he left office in political defeat, he was hailed as the "master architect of DeKalb's industrial growth." In 1963, some 1,000 civic and government leaders turned out to honor him at an appreciation banquet during which he was dubbed "Mr. DeKalb County."

Many of his former constituents in Decatur, where he served as mayor for 17 years prior to assuming the top post in DeKalb County government, recall the day he fined a railroad engineer \$100 for allowing a parked train to block traffic too long at a city crossing.

After he was elected DeKalb's sole commissioner, his administrative talents blossomed into full color.

Besides laying the groundwork for a "twin city" next door to Atlanta, he is credited with attracting 69 industries to his county to provide the broad tax base necessary for stable growth.

At the peak of his reign, the population of his 274-square-mile county surpassed the 250,000 mark. In addition, DeKalb boasted the highest purchasing power per family in the Southeast.

But like the political leaders who today are advocating the creation of a city-oriented government in DeKalb, Candler is aware of the problems of rapid growth in an area lying in the spillover path of a giant metropolis on the make.

Not only would the conversion of DeKalb into a city expand the availability of revenue-producing measures, it would enhance assistance from a federal government concerned with the problems of the cities—a federal government which Candler so heavily relied upon when he laid the groundwork for a unique county many years ago.

And Candler favors creation of a modern urban government equipped with a professional staff capable of dealing with the complexities of urban life in a metropolitan sprawl of office parks, high rises and homes in time to avoid the fragmented, disorderly growth experienced by the cities which realized their problems too late.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE VIETNAM SITUATION

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we near the beginning of a new year, I am still quite at sea as to the course the President is taking in the Vietnam situation.

On two occasions in recent weeks the President has addressed the American public on Vietnam. He has spoken in

patriotic tones. There have been platitudes and promises. But has there been any indication that he is heading toward an early peace that will recognize the rights and honor of all involved. I think not.

In fact, there is every indication that he is preparing us for a longer war, which all students of history know is not usual for the Far East. He has promised there will be fewer American men and boys involved as time progresses under a timetable he has set for himself.

It has been predicted that when the President's timetable of troop withdrawals reaches its conclusion there still will be 200,000 troops in Vietnam. That is a very sizable commitment, and if my mail is an indication the youth of America is rising up in protest against the prospect.

Greater and more visible effort must be made by our Government to bring about a cease-fire on the part of all involved so that negotiations directed at settlement of the problems in Vietnam can be discussed in a nonshooting, non-killing atmosphere.

Perhaps, the President is directing his efforts along those lines, but we do not know. He has chosen not to tell the public or Congress precisely what he is doing. The failure can bring in the upcoming weeks and months greater division in public thinking over what is taking place in Vietnam.

Right now the administration may have lulled many Americans into supportive silence, but it will not last if there is not a clear-cut indication that complete peace can be achieved and is being actively sought for an early date. Reducing our commitment in Vietnam to 200,000 men and boys at a time is not going to placate American fathers, mothers, wives and the young men who must offer their lives in an unwanted, unneeded, and unpopular war.

The 200,000 commitment can be most deceiving. That is what it would be for 1 year. If the war is prolonged for 5 years it would be a commitment of 1,000,000 men and boys and if for 10 years it would be a commitment of 2,000,000. Does the American government have the right to ask this of its young men? I think not.

Mr. Speaker, I have read and reread the text of the President's address of November 3, and had intended making detailed comment on it, and in the course of my deliberation I received a copy of George McTurnan Kahin's response to the President's speech.

Mr. Kahin is professor of government at Cornell University and director of Cornell's Southeast Asia program, and because I am in substantial agreement with his comments on the November 3 speech, I hereby place them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in lieu of a detailed response of my own:

A RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

(By George McTurnan Kahin)

On November 3 the President undertook to tell us in which direction he would move in Vietnam. This was a speech addressed primarily to securing public support in this country and not to a solution in Vietnam. He began by telling us that one of the

reasons for the deep division in this nation about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their government has told them about our policy. They cannot and should not, he said, be asked to support a policy involving war and peace unless they know the truth about that policy. If this was his major concern, his speech was clearly a failure, for it served to increase rather than decrease the misunderstanding. Indeed, he has embraced the same historical myths that served to rationalize his predecessor's policies and has in fact added a number of his own.

Let us then turn to his speech: beginning with what he describes as the fundamental issue: why and how did the U.S. become involved in Vietnam in the first place? He immediately answers his question with the statement: "Fifteen years ago North Vietnam, with the logistical support of Communist China and the Soviet Union, launched a campaign to impose a Communist government on South Vietnam by instigating and supporting a revolution." Fifteen years ago Ho Chi Minh's government was in fact in the process of withdrawing its troops from the South in accordance with Geneva and not instigating a revolution there. Ho Chi Minh's government confidently expected to win the elections two years later promised under Geneva and had no reason to intervene. What it did not expect was that as soon as it had withdrawn its troops, we would, contrary to the Geneva agreements, begin direct intervention in the southern half of the Vietnamese nation.

In fact, fifteen years ago in 1954, American intervention was not new. We had already been intervening heavily by four years of unstinting support to the French. Then, after failing in this effort and acquiescing in a Geneva settlement which we did not sign but promised not to overturn, we prepared to intervene more directly by building up a separate state in the South. Even so, Hanoi did not in fact begin to intervene in the South until five years later when heavy repression by this American supported southern regime drove thousands of Vietnamese—noncommunist as well as procommunist—into rebellion.

A precipitate withdrawal now by the United States, President Nixon continues, would inevitably allow the communists to repeat the massacres which he charges followed their takeover in the North fifteen years ago—when, he alleges, they "murdered more than 50,000 people and hundreds of thousands more died in slave labor camps." This is an unconscionable misrepresentation likely to deter Americans from moving towards a compromise settlement. If President Nixon had taken the trouble to look at the records of the International Control Commission he would know that during the entire three-year period following the armistice, they indicate allegations of only 55 incidents of political reprisal—whether murder, arrest, or confiscation of property—made by the French and Diem against Ho Chi Minh's regime. During the same period, the International Control Commission cited allegations involving a total of 1,404 incidents of political reprisal in the South involving murder, arrest, confiscation of property and in some cases massacres of several families or whole villages.

The significant violence that did occur in the North more than two years after the Geneva armistice did not involve reprisals against Vietnamese who had previously supported the French against the Vietminh. It had nothing to do with the civil war that had ended two years before. This violence in the North in which the pro-Diem historian Joseph Buttinger estimates that 10-15 thousand were killed, was the consequence of a clumsy and unrealistic attempt to impose a Chinese communist model of agrarian

reorganization. Peasant resentment against the government's program in at least one province ended in a rebellion that troops suppressed. As a consequence, these agrarian policies were discredited and dropped and Hanoi's minister of agriculture sacked.

President Nixon then turns to reports of atrocities during the Tet offensive at Hue. During the terribly intense fighting at Hue there certainly were atrocities—perpetrated by both sides—though the number quoted by the President is much higher than any previous estimate. It is disturbing to see him equate the situation of battlefield reprisals against civilians that existed at Hue with a post-armistice situation which would obtain after a settlement between us and our adversaries. In heat-of-battle conditions both sides have in the past, and probably will in the future, carry out reprisals against those who have been identified as working for the enemy, particularly if they occupy positions in intelligence, the police, or are believed to be informers. So long as the battle in question is simply one episode in a series which is destined to go on, both sides are likely to take punitive measures that will ensure that in the next round of battle they will not be disadvantaged by the work of such enemy civilians. This kind of reprisal will probably continue in conjunction with the fighting until an armistice is achieved, and must be distinguished from the central question as to prospects of political reprisal after such an armistice, which is what we will be concerned with in working for a negotiated settlement.

Now what of the President's view of the present? This is, I am afraid, as unbalanced and inaccurate as his view of the past. It is an amazing example of double-think to find that nowhere, not once in his speech, does he make mention of the major adversary which both we and Saigon face in Vietnam, the National Liberation Front. By reading his speech one would assume that there are only three parties to the conflict: ourselves, Saigon and Hanoi. He is so rigorous in his insistence upon avoiding any reference to the NLF that in reading from his own letter of July 15 to Ho Chi Minh he even excises his own mention of the NLF and its 10 points. Why? I certainly don't understand the President's reasoning, but the consequence is to lay before the American public a picture of a situation in Vietnam which is grotesquely artificial.

Thus, as with President Johnson in 1965, there is presented for Americans a simplistic diagram of a battle between two states, North and South Vietnam. He avoids the central fact that the problem confronting us is a revolution in the South wherein Saigon has a local adversary which commands wide popular support and is militarily capable of defeating Saigon's armies on its own if American and North Vietnamese troops were withdrawn. Hanoi at least knows that it cannot negotiate over the NLF's head, and as we know from the past, no amount of American bombing could induce it to do so. If our President is serious about negotiations, it is unrealistic to bypass the NLF and pretend it does not exist.

The President then asks who is at fault for the lack of progress in negotiations, answering categorically that it is not the President of the United States and not the South Vietnamese government. The obstacle, he says, is "the other side's absolute refusal to show the least willingness to join us in seeking a just peace."

Let me first observe that it is difficult to read the exchange of letters between President Nixon and Ho Chi Minh and conclude with Nixon that Ho "flatly rejected" his initiative. Ho's letter constitutes no such rejection, and in emphasizing the NLF's 10 point program, which Nixon in his own letter had stated the U.S. was prepared to discuss, Ho was referring to matters which it is very

much to our interest to discuss if we are serious and realistic about teaching a negotiated settlement.

If the enemy has refused to show the least willingness to join us in seeking a just peace, it is incomprehensible why the President later on in his speech in referring to what he describes as "significant developments which have occurred since this administration took office" points out that enemy infiltration during the last three months is less than 20% of what it was over the similar period last year," and that American casualties "have declined during the last two months to the lowest point in three years." If the President acknowledges this, but is unwilling to interpret these actions as showing "the least willingness" of the enemy "to join us in seeking a just peace", an enemy decision to step up military activity following the President's speech would not seem illogical. This is particularly serious in view of his statement that one of the factors which will govern the rate of withdrawal of American forces will be "the level of enemy activity."

Let me turn to another condition which the President says will determine our schedule of troop withdrawal—namely, the rate of Vietnamization—the rate at which Saigon's forces take over the burden of fighting from our troops. If we really intend to shift responsibility from American to Saigon forces, we are certain to discover what our own army officers have known for a long time, that modern military equipment is no substitute for the will to fight and a Vietnamese regime worth fighting for. With the desertion rate of Saigon's military forces still running between 20 and 25% per year it is senseless to assume that somehow miraculously the attitude of its reluctant soldiers is going to change. And here I am in full agreement with Senator McGovern that to turn "the war over to the South Vietnamese army only if we are certain that it is able to carry the load ... is the same as proposing that we stay in Vietnam indefinitely."

And that, I am afraid, is apparently what this Administration proposes to do—assuming somehow that it can manage to have it both ways—withdrawing enough American troops to placate public opinion in this country, but leaving enough behind (presumably some 200,000) to provide the necessary shield to protect at least Saigon and its immediate hinterland until our Presidential campaign of 1972.

Thereby, the Administration apparently hopes to follow what it believes is a middle course which will cut the ground from beneath both the opponents of the war and from the Wallacites and potential Wallacites who would be quick to accuse it of surrendering Asian territory to communist control if the NLF came to power.

In the position he has now taken, President Nixon has really lost the power of initiative. By tying himself so closely to Saigon and so uncritically embracing General Thieu's position, he has robbed himself of almost all possibility of finding any common ground with our enemy—and without some common ground you simply cannot have a negotiated settlement. He has in fact made himself and the lives of Americans a prisoner of decision made in Saigon and Hanoi. In addition to being conditional upon the growing strength and self-sufficiency of Saigon's army, our willingness to withdraw is made dependent upon the utopian expectation that the NLF and Hanoi will meekly resign themselves to a major reduction in military activity—a reduction sufficient not only to keep American casualties low but also sufficient to sustain the myth that the Saigon military forces are increasingly effective, and that Nixon's policy of Vietnamization is really working. In effect, then, we will not withdraw, until our enemy cooperates with us to save our face by maintaining the credibility

of Saigon's military forces and permitting the Thieu government to remain.

There is nothing, then, in the President's speech which eases the way for negotiations at Paris. His plan is not addressed to the NLF or Hanoi, but to the American public, and it centers about the major objective of strengthening and sustaining General Thieu's government. He has altered President Johnson's tactics, but he has embraced both his premises and his objectives. To buy himself a little time in managing the American public, he has been as glib as his predecessor in denying the truth.

The greatest part of the tragedy, I think, is that in order to head off the pressure of anti-war sentiment he has resorted to seizing the national flag and waving it defiantly at those who oppose him. He has taken the tragic decision to shift the debate from consideration of the actual factual conditions that govern the present and future in Vietnam to a justification in terms of patriotism and what he alleges is our national honor. Once he tells Americans that their national honor is dependent upon maintaining a position which excludes the compromise ultimately necessary to end the fighting—then movement towards peace cannot be made without appearing to repudiate the very patriotism which he has called upon to justify his bankrupt policy. Once a President resorts to flag-waving in order to silence reasoned argument he reduces his own ability to move back to the course of reason.

SHOULD CBW TRAINING FOR FOREIGN PERSONNEL CONTINUE?

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I have finally received a detailed response to my inquiry on the training in this country of foreign military personnel in chemical and biological warfare—CBW. I am disturbed over some of the more specific implications of the facts provided me by the Army, and I question the overall utility of continuing to disseminate offensive expertise in these forms of warfare so widely.

The relatively large number of Thai personnel, 24, who have received training suggests that the introduction of tear gases and defoliants into Thailand at some future date is being considered seriously. It may be seen from the information provided me that similar training was given to a number of South Vietnamese personnel prior to the commencement of the use of powerful tear gases in Vietnam in 1965. Parenthetically, I would like to cite the recent 58-to-3 vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations interpreting the Geneva protocol banning gas and germ warfare, as to including a prohibition of the use of tear gas and herbicides.

It is also apparent that this training for the use of chemical agents in Thailand is only part of a more generalized and dangerous involvement in Southeast Asia at a time when we are purportedly trying to disengage ourselves from the tragic mistake of Vietnam. I regard this

as another indication that we have not learned the larger lessons of our involvement in Vietnam and have failed to appreciate the depth of the sentiment of most of our allies against the use of tear gas and herbicides.

Another specific cause for concern is the fact that some 35 Arab military officers have received CBW instruction here. This includes a dozen from Saudi Arabia since 1966. Nationals from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon also have received training. By contrast, a single Israeli lieutenant took one course, in 1963. It should be noted that the United Arab Republic used poison gas in Yemen in 1965 and that it was reported that Israeli forces advancing into Sinai during the June 1967 war uncovered chemical warfare equipment.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that by continuing to offer these courses we are further undercutting the positive impact of the President's announcement on U.S. chemical and biological warfare policies. Already there has been severe slippage due to the administration's position with regard to tear gas and herbicides and, most recently, toxins. The acknowledgment by the Army of specific percentages of offensive content in many of the courses offered would seem to weaken existing deterrents against the use of CBW. Already we have provided training to some 550 foreign officers representing 36 countries, in the United States and an unknown number abroad. I think that it would be prudent to reconsider the wisdom of continuing to offer this instruction so indiscriminately.

The reply I have received from the Army will be printed below including the attachments giving details on the type of CBW training provided, and the numbers, ranks, and nationalities of the recipients:

DECEMBER 12, 1969.

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. KASTENMEIER: The Secretary of the Army has asked me to respond to your letter concerning training of foreign nationals in The Chemical Warfare Program and Biological Research Program.

The U.S. Army Chemical School at Fort McClellan, Alabama, has provided instruction to military personnel from 36 foreign countries. Approval procedures and final budgetary approval for training are based on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. All training conducted by the U.S. Army for foreign countries under the Military Assistance Program is approved by the United States Ambassador and the chief United States military representative in the country requesting the training. In addition, the training request must be approved by:

- The U.S. Unified Commander responsible for the geographical area in which the country is located.
- The Department of the Army for U.S. Army conducted training.
- The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, in coordination with the Department of State.

Final approval by the Assistant Secretary of Defense and the Department of State is designed to insure that training is conducted within the overall foreign policy objectives of the United States.

We do not solicit participation in these training courses. Training is conducted if a

country desires the training, if approval is granted in the manner outlined above, and if the U.S. Army has the capability to provide spaces in the course desired. I have attached a list of U.S. Army Chemical School courses attended by foreign nationals with the information that you requested. The number of foreign students now at the school is also attached. As you will note from the course descriptions, the emphasis is on defensive aspects. However, it is not possible to separate offensive tactics from defense since some knowledge of the offense is necessary to prepare an adequate defense. In addition, there can be no absolute guarantee that defensive tactics will not have some utility in framing offensive tactics.

Funds used to provide this training have been primarily Military Assistance funds, although many spaces have been purchased under Foreign Military sales procedures by the NATO countries. The tuition costs of the various training courses vary from \$50 to \$550 per space. Overall costs for Military Assistance Program training consists of transportation, cost of living allowance, course tuition and information program funds. Under military sales, the country pays all costs involved.

Some training is provided foreign nationals overseas. An example is that provided our allies in joint exercises or within the NATO Department of VILSECK Germany school. Our present records do not indicate mobile training teams have been furnished. Any materials provided would have been under the military sales program.

There is no plan at present to discontinue any of the current courses. However, no requirement exists to operate courses only for foreign students.

I trust that this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

RAYMOND T. REID,
Colonel, GS Office,
Chief of Legislative Liaison.

PRESENT TRAINING

Country	Number of students	Rank	
Australia.....	1	Captain.....	Now undergoing training.
Korea.....	2	Captains.....	Do.
Thailand.....	1	1st lieutenant.....	Do.
Germany.....	1	Captain.....	Training to start Nov. 17.
Saudi Arabia....	1	do.....	Do.
United Kingdom..	1	Major.....	Not yet arrived for training.

CHEMICAL OFFICER CAREER COURSE (3-A-C22) (5-3-C22)

Scope: Army personnel and administrative procedures. Military justice. Conference techniques, briefings, and effective writing. Army and other service organization and missions. Capabilities and employment of the Combat Arms. Map reading. Military instruction. Intelligence organization and foreign Armies orientation. Field fortifications, camouflage, mine warfare, weapons familiarization, counterinsurgency, survival, escape and evasion. Smoke operations. Principles of leadership. Staff procedures. Conducting CBR training. CB weapons employment. Personnel, supply, maintenance, and financial management. Technical aspects of Biological warfare, agents, and munitions. Technical aspects of chemical agents and munitions. Meteorology. Nuclear warfare and radiological defense. CBR materiel. Decontamination, protection, smoke and flame equipment. Medical support

in the Army. Self and First Aid. Management of casualties. Four percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Australia	1	Captain	1968
Belgium	1	do	1968
China (Taiwan)	1	Major	1968
Japan	1	do	1967
Korea	1	Captain	1958
	1	1st lieutenant	1959
	1	Major	1959
	1	Captain	1967
	1	Major	1967
Thailand	1	Captain	1968

Inclosure

CHEMICAL OFFICER CAREER ASSOCIATE (3AC23)

Scope: This course was an abridged version of the 3-A-C22 (5-3-C22) Course. All categories of training were included, however, more emphasis and time were devoted to branch material instruction rather than to general military education. Four percent of the instructional material was offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Argentina	1	Lt. colonel	1953
	1	Major	1962
	1	do	1964
	1	do	1965
Australia	1	Captain	1963
	1	Major	1966
	1	Captain	1969
Austria	1	1st lieutenant	1964
Belgium	1	do	1966
Brazil	1	Major	1954
China (Taiwan)	1	Lt. colonel	1954
	3	Majors	1960
	2	Lt. colonel	1960
	3	Colonels	1960
	1	Major	1961
	3	Lt. colonel	1961
	2	Colonels	1961
	1	2d lieutenant	1962
	1	1st lieutenant	1962
	2	Captains	1962
	1	Major	1962
	1	Lt. commander	1962
	1	1st lieutenant	1963
	1	Colonel	1963
	1	Lt. colonel	1963
	1	do	1964
	1	Major	1967
Denmark	1	1st lieutenant	1952
	1	Captain	1961
	1	Major	1962
	1	Captain	1964
Denmark	1	do	1964
Egypt	1	do	1954
Germany	1	do	1961
	1	Major	1961
Greece	2	1st lieutenants	1962
	1	Captain	1962
	1	do	1964
Iraq	1	2d lieutenant	1961
	1	1st lieutenant	1963
	2	do	1963
	1	Major	1963
	1	Lt. colonel	1966
Japan	1	Captain	1960
	1	Lt. colonel	1960
	1	Major	1962
	1	Captain	1963
	1	do	1964
	1	Major	1965
	1	do	1967
	1	do	1965
Jordan	1	do	1965
Korea	2	1st lieutenants	1953
	1	Captain	1953
	1	Colonel	1953
	4	Captains	1961
	1	1st lieutenant	1962
	3	Majors	1962
	1	Lt. colonel	1962
	1	Major	1963
	1	Lt. colonel	1963
	1	Captain	1964
	1	Lt. colonel	1964
	1	Major	1965
	1	Captain	1966
	1	Major	1966
	2	Captains	1969
Norway	1	do	1960
	1	do	1961
	1	do	1962
	1	do	1963

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Pakistan	1	Captain	1960
	1	Major	1961
	1	do	1962
	1	do	1964
Philippines	1	do	1961
	1	Lt. colonel	1961
	1	2d lieutenant	1962
	2	Captain	1962
	1	do	1965
	1	do	1966
Switzerland	1	do	1965
Thailand	1	Major	1953
	1	1st lieutenant	1962
	1	Lt. colonel	1962
	1	Colonel	1963
	1	Major	1966
	1	1st lieutenant	1969
Turkey	1	Captain	1960
	4	do	1961
	1	Major	1961
	2	do	1962
	1	do	1964
Venezuela	1	Captain	1960
Yugoslavia	1	do	1961

CHEMICAL COMPANY OFFICER (3-A-C2) *

Scope: Army organization. Fundamentals of military leadership and military justice. Personnel, supply, financial and maintenance management. Military intelligence, map reading, methods of instruction. Effective writing and listening, conference techniques. Individual weapons firing. Mine warfare and field fortifications. Physical training. Smoke operations. Organization, capabilities and employment of Combat Arms and sister services. Conduct of CBR training. Employment of chemical and biological weapons. Army logistics systems, logistical support in Theater of Operations. Technical aspects of biological operations to include characteristics of agents and weapons systems. Defensive biological operations. Technical aspects of chemical operations to include properties, use, detection and identification of chemical agents. Meteorology. Nuclear warfare and radiological defense. CBR material, offensive and defensive. Flame equipment. Medical training. Four percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Argentina	1	Lt. colonel	1956
Iran	1	Major	1956
Japan	1	1st lieutenant	1956
	1	Captain	1956
Korea	1	do	1957
	1	Lt. colonel	1958
Norway	1	Captain	1958
Thailand	1	Major	1956
Turkey	1	Captain	1957

CHEMICAL FIELD GRADE OFFICERS COURSE (3-A-C8) (5-3-C8)

Scope: New developments in administration, the Army command management system and basic principles of effective writing. Objectives and importance of intelligence. Foreign Armies orientation. Operations of chemical corps units. Review of chemical, biological, and radiological employment. Civil defense and disaster relief. Area damage control. Review of basic procedures in logistics. Orientation on future logistical concepts. Review of toxic chemical agents, field behavior, detection and identification. Review of chemical munitions requirements. Review of radiac instruments and fallout prediction. Review of CBR materiel and defensive equipment. Review of Combat Arms organizations and missions. Eight percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

*Course was phased out in 1959; no longer taught.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Spain	2	Captain	1955

CHEMICAL OFFICER REFRESHER (3-A-C9) *

Scope: A review and up-dating of the instruction presented in the Chemical Field Grade Officer Course (see prior sheet).

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Vietnam	5	Lieutenant	1960

CHEMICAL OFFICER ORIENTATION (3-A-C20) (5-3-C12)

Scope: Fundamentals of personnel and administration. Map reading. Intelligence organization and operations. Weapons familiarization firing. Mine warfare. Field fortifications and camouflage. Physical training. Survival, evasion and escape. Unconventional warfare. Fundamentals of leadership. Organization of Army and other services. Smoke operations. Principles of CBR weapons employment. Conducting CBR training. Fundamentals of supply and maintenance operation. Fundamentals of military biology. Defense against biological attack. Fundamentals of military chemistry. Chemical agents and weapons systems. Calculation of chemical munition requirements. Fundamentals of nuclear weapons effects. Fallout prediction. CBR protective devices and equipment. Decontamination. Chemical equipment and munitions. Flame and smoke weapons. Combat Arms organization and capabilities. Communications equipment. Fundamentals of medical support in CBR operations. Seven percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Austria	1	2d lieutenant	1960
Germany	2	do	1956
	1	do	1958
	2	Captain	1957
Iraq	1	1st lieutenant	1957
	1	do	1958
	1	do	1961
	2	Lieutenant	1962
	2	2d lieutenant	1963
	2	1st lieutenant	1963
	2	2d lieutenant	1964
	1	Lieutenant	1966
	1	2d lieutenant	1967
Italy	1	Lt. colonel	1955
Japan	2	do	1955
	1	Major	1956
	1	Captain	1956
	1	Lt. colonel	1956
	1	Major	1957
Korea	4	1st lieutenants	1954
	1	Lt. colonel	1954
	7	1st lieutenants	1955
	3	Captains	1955
	1	Major	1955
	1	Lt. colonel	1955
	3	1st lieutenants	1956
	1	Captain	1956
	1	Lt. colonel	1956
	2	do	1958
	4	Captains	1959
	4	1st lieutenants	1960
	6	Captains	1960
	2	do	1963
	1	1st lieutenant	1964
	1	Captain	1964
Lebanon	1	Lieutenant	1967
	1	Captain	1967
Norway	1	Lieutenant	1956
Philippines	1	1st lieutenant	1956
	2	Captains	1961
	1	2d lieutenant	1962

*Course was phased out in 1965; no longer taught.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Thailand.....	1	Major.....	1954
	1	do.....	1956
	1	2d lieutenant.....	1959
	1	do.....	1960
	1	do.....	1961
	2	1st lieutenants.....	1960
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1965
	1	do.....	1966
Turkey.....	1	Captain.....	1955
	2	1st lieutenants.....	1956
	1	Major.....	1956
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1957
	2	1st lieutenants.....	1958
	1	Captain.....	1958
	1	do.....	1959
	1	Major.....	1959
	1	Captain.....	1960
	2	Captains.....	1963
	1	Major.....	1965
Vietnam.....	10	1st lieutenants.....	1958
	5	do.....	1961
	1	2d lieutenant.....	1963
	2	1st lieutenants.....	1963
	1	2d lieutenant.....	1965
	1	Captain.....	1965
	2	Captains.....	1966
	1	Warrant officer.....	1967
	8	1st lieutenants.....	1967
	1	Lieutenant.....	1967
	2	2d lieutenants.....	1968
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1968

**CHEMICAL OFFICER ALLIED BASIC COURSE
(3-A-C20X) ***

Scope: Mission, organization, functions of U.S. Army. Fundamentals of leadership. DA publications. Map reading. Intelligence organization and operations. Mine warfare. Unconventional warfare and civil disturbance. Organization of Army and other services. Smoke operations. Principles of CBR weapons employment conducting CBR training. Fundamentals of logistics. Technical aspects of biological warfare and defense against biological attack. Technical aspects of chemical agents. Meteorology. Calculation of chemical munitions requirements. Fundamentals of nuclear weapons effects. Fallout prediction. Principles and techniques of CBR protection. Decontamination, chemical equipment and munitions. Flame and smoke equipment. Combat Arms organizations and capabilities. Medical aspects of CBR warfare. First Aid. Handling mass casualties. Four percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Argentina.....	1	Major.....	1964
Chile.....	1	Lt. colonel.....	1955
China.....	3	1st lieutenants.....	1969
	1	Captain.....	1959
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1960
	1	Captain.....	1960
	7	Captains.....	1961
	2	do.....	1962
	2	Majors.....	1962
Denmark.....	2	1st lieutenants.....	1957
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1957
	1	Major.....	1959
France.....	1	1st lieutenant.....	1956
Germany.....	1	2d lieutenant.....	1956
Greece.....	1	Lt. colonel.....	1957
Iran.....	1	Captain.....	1956
Korea.....	1	Lt. colonel.....	1956
Yugoslavia.....	1	Captain.....	1961

CRB OFFICER COURSE (3-A-F1) (2-E-F5)

Scope: Information necessary to perform command, staff, or instructor duties requiring knowledge of CBR warfare operations and training techniques. Impact of CBR on logistical planning, supply and maintenance. Fundamentals of biological warfare necessary to teach and apply BW training and defense in his unit. Fundamentals of chemical agents and their effects. Self and First Aid for chem-

*Course was phased out in 1964; no longer taught.

ical agents. Effects of weather. Detection and identification of chemical agents. Fundamentals of nuclear warfare and radiological defense. CBR equipment and materiel. Decontamination, flame and smoke equipment. Medical aspects of CBR warfare. Five percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Argentina.....	1	Major.....	1956
Canada.....	1	2d lieutenant.....	1953
	1	Lieutenant.....	1953
	1	Captain.....	1960
	2	Captains.....	1962
	1	Major.....	1963
	1	Captain.....	1963
	2	Captains.....	1964
	1	Captain.....	1965
	1	Lieutenant.....	1966
	1	do.....	1968
China.....	1	Civilian.....	1954
	3	1st lieutenants.....	1959
	2	Captains.....	1959
	2	Majors.....	1959
France.....	1	Lt. colonel.....	1955
	1	Major.....	1956
Germany.....	2	1st lieutenants.....	1957
	1	Captain.....	1957
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1958
	4	Captains.....	1958
	4	Majors.....	1958
	5	do.....	1959
	2	do.....	1960
	3	do.....	1961
	1	Captain.....	1962
	3	Majors.....	1962
	1	Major.....	1963
	1	Colonel.....	1963
	2	Captain.....	1964
	4	Majors.....	1965
	1	Major.....	1966
	1	Captain.....	1968
	3	Lt. colonels.....	1957
	2	do.....	1958
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1961
	1	do.....	1962
	1	do.....	1966
	2	Lt. colonels.....	1967
	1	Colonel.....	1959
	1	Captain.....	1969
Great Britain.....	1	Major.....	1963
	3	Majors.....	1964
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1965
	1	Flight Lt.....	1966
	1	Major.....	1966
	1	do.....	1967
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1967
	1	Major.....	1968
	1	Sq. leader.....	1968
	1	Major.....	1969
Greece.....	2	Lt. colonels.....	1955
	3	Captains.....	1964
	1	Captain.....	1965
	1	Major.....	1965
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1966
	1	Captain.....	1966
	4	Captains.....	1967
	2	do.....	1968
	1	Major.....	1968
Iran.....	3	1st lieutenants.....	1955
	1	Captain.....	1955
	1	Major.....	1955
	1	Lt. Colonel.....	1955
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1959
Italy.....	1	do.....	1952
	1	Lieutenant.....	1953
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1954
	1	Captain.....	1957
	1	Major.....	1958
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1962
Japan.....	1	Captain.....	1958
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1960
Korea.....	4	Captain.....	1959
	3	do.....	1962
	2	Major.....	1962
Lebanon.....	1	Lieutenant.....	1968
	1	Captain.....	1968
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1962
	1	Captain.....	1956
Mexico.....	1	Major.....	1958
Norway.....	2	Lt. colonel.....	1958
Pakistan.....	1	do.....	1959
Philippines.....	1	Captain.....	1959
	2	Major.....	1959
	1	Captain.....	1960
	2	Major.....	1960
	1	Lt. colonel.....	1960
	4	Captain.....	1966
	5	do.....	1967
	1	do.....	1968
	1	Colonel.....	1968
	1	Captain.....	1969
	1	Major.....	1956
Spain.....	1	do.....	1956
Sweden.....	1	do.....	1956
Thailand.....	1	Captain.....	1966
Turkey.....	1	do.....	1957

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Vietnam.....	1	1st lieutenant.....	1961
	1	Captain.....	1961
	6	1st lieutenant.....	1962
	4	Captain.....	1966
	1	Major.....	1962
	1	2d lieutenant.....	1965
	1	Captain.....	1965
	1	Warrant officer.....	1967
	3	Lieutenant.....	1967
	3	1st lieutenant.....	1967
	1	2d lieutenant.....	1968
	3	1st lieutenant.....	1968
Yugoslavia.....	1	Lieutenant.....	1956

RADIOLOGICAL SPECIALIST COURSE (3-I-F5) *

Scope: This course trains commissioned officers, warrant officers, and selected civilian personnel in radiological safety techniques necessary for storing and handling radioactive material other than nuclear weapons.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Australia.....	1	Major.....	1964
Canada.....	1	Lieutenant.....	1966
Mexico.....	1	Major.....	1966

**RADIOLOGICAL SPECIALIST COURSE
(3-I-F5) ***

Scope: Provides training in fundamentals of nuclear weapons effects and radiological defense.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Australia.....	1	Captain.....	1963

NUCLEAR WEAPONS EMPLOYMENT AND RADIOLOGICAL DEFENSE (3-G-F3) *

Scope: Provides training in the employment of nuclear weapons; defense against radio activity; and conduct of radiological surveys.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Belgium.....	1	Captain.....	1954
Canada.....	2	2d lieutenant.....	1951
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1953
	2	do.....	1954
	2	2d lieutenant.....	1953
	5	do.....	1952
	4	do.....	1954
	2	do.....	1956
	10	Flight officer.....	1954
	2	Captain.....	1951
	1	do.....	1952
	6	do.....	1954
	3	do.....	1956
	9	Major.....	1954
	1	do.....	1956
	4	Lt. commander.....	1954
Denmark.....	1	Major.....	1953
France.....	1	Commander.....	1954
Italy.....	1	Captain.....	1953
	1	Colonel.....	1953
Netherlands.....	1	Commander.....	1952
	1	Major.....	1952
	1	1st lieutenant.....	1953
	1	Major.....	1961

**CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL AND RADIOLOGICAL
ENLISTED**

(3-R-F2) (494-F1)

Scope: This course trains enlisted personnel of all arms and services in CBR operations and applicable training techniques. Five percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

*Course was phased out in 1964; no longer taught.

CHEMICAL STAFF SPECIALIST (3-R-534.1)

Scope: Personnel and administrative procedures. Army organization, map reading, mine warfare, communications, weapons familiarization. Intelligence operations. Military instruction. Smoke operations. Counterinsurgency, operational and training aspects of CBR defense and weapons employment. Fundamental of supply and maintenance operations. Fundamentals of biological agents. Defensive measures and decontamination. Detection and identification of chemical agents, meteorology, types of chemical agents. Fundamentals of nuclear weapons effects and radiological defense. Fallout prediction. CBR equipment and materiel. Decontamination. Smoke and flame equipment. Principles of first aid and self aid. Medical aspects of CBR operations.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Greece	2	Lieutenants	1960
	1	Captain	1964
Iran	1	Warrant officer	1960
	2	1st lieutenants	1960
Korea	1	1st lieutenant	1961
Philippines	1	T sergeant	1957
	2	Sergeants	1962
	2	Corporals	1963
	1	T sergeant	1963
Vietnam	1	do	1962

CHEMICAL ENTRY COURSE (30R-530) (030-54A10)

Scope and length: This trains personnel to assist in technical and tactical operations of units, including chemical decontamination, smoke generator, and direct support units.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Greece	1	Captain	1961
	1	S sergeant	1963
	5	T sergeants	1963
	3	M sergeants	1963
Thailand	1	Sergeant	1965
	1	Sergeant FC	1967
	1	T sergeant	1960
	1	S sergeant	1961
	1	1st lieutenant	1961
Vietnam	1	Sergeant	1962
	1	Corporal	1963
	2	Sergeants	1964
	1	S sergeant	1964
Yugoslavia	2	Sergeant 1st class	1956

CHEMICAL SMOKE GENERATOR SPECIALIST (3-R-523.6)*

Scope: Provide training in techniques of employment and operations of smoke generators and munitions.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Netherlands	1	Sergeant 1st class	1955

SPECIAL SMOKE COURSE (3-R-532.7)*

Scope: Employment of smoke, map reading, communications. Principles of leadership, organization of combat arms. Supply and maintenance procedures. Review of meteorology and chemical agent detection, identification, and decontamination. Smoke generating materiel.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Korea	1	Captain	1954

CHEMICAL EQUIPMENT REPAIR COURSE (690-533.1) (690-54D20)

Scope: Army organization. Decontamination methods, procedures, and individual protection. Supply and maintenance publications. Distribution of chemical supplies, equipment, and materiel. Use of hand and power tools and testing equipment. Maintenance and repair of major types of chemical corps equipment; smoke, flame, decontamination, and protective.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Canada	2	Staff sergeant	1965
Thailand	1	Sergeant 1st class	1967

*Course was phased out in 1961; no longer taught.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Canada	1	Sergeant	1952
Korea	1	1st lieutenant	1960
	1	do	1961
	3	Lieutenant	1962
	2	Captain	1962
Netherlands	1	Sergeant	1953
Philippines	1	do	1952
Israel	1	Lieutenant	1963

CHEMICAL LABORATORY PROCEDURES (491-02D20)

Scope: Fundamentals of military correspondence, personnel management, and effective wiring, map reading. Military intelligence. Mine warfare and field fortifications. Communications, military instruction. CBR training. Employment of CB agents. Supply and maintenance operations. Technical aspects of biological agents and munitions. Technical aspects of chemical agents and munitions. Meteorology, detection and identification. Nuclear warfare and radiological defense. CBR equipment and munitions. Smoke, flame, decontamination and detection operations. Combat arms organization and capabilities.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Philippines	1	Corporal	1961
Korea	1	1st lieutenant	1961
Thailand	1	Corporal	1960

CHEMICAL LABORATORY PROCEDURES (491-02D20)

Scope: Techniques of handling and justifying bacteriological cultures. Use of microscope. Knowledge of chemical agents identification. Routine analytical techniques, principles of general and organic chemistry and lab procedures. Micro and semimicro analytical techniques. Radiological physics, mathematics, and radiological lab procedures. Use of protective mask and associated equipment. Three percent of the instructional material is offensive in nature.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Korea	2	Captain	1969

EXPLOSIVE ORDNANCE DISPOSAL COURSE (4E-F3) (431-55D20)

Scope: This course qualifies commissioned officers and enlisted personnel of the Armed Forces in detection, sampling, first aid, decontamination, and handling and disposal for chemical and biological agents found in unexploded ordnance.

Country	Number of students	Rank	Year
Australia	2	Captain	1968
Great Britain	1	Chief petty officer	1966
	1	Captain	1966

CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an outstanding speech of the Honorable John W. Gardner which he delivered at the National Press Club on December 9, 1969.

Mr. Gardner served with great distinction as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and is presently the chairman of the Urban Coalition Action Council.

Mr. Gardner's remarks are particularly timely because of his perceptive analyses of the crises of leadership our country faces. I commend his remarks to the Members of the House:

REMARKS BY JOHN W. GARDNER, CHAIRMAN, URBAN COALITION ACTION COUNCIL

As we enter the 1970's there are many curious aspects of our situation, but none more strange than our state of mind. We are anxious but immobilized. We know what our problems are, but seem incapable of summoning our will and resources to act.

We see the brooding threat of nuclear warfare. We know our lakes are dying, our rivers growing filthier daily, our atmosphere increasingly polluted. We are aware of racial tensions that could tear the nation apart. We understand that oppressive poverty in the midst of affluence is intolerable. We see that our cities are sliding toward disaster.

And these are not problems that stop at our borders. The problems of nuclear warfare, of population, of the environment are impending planetary disasters. We are in trouble as a species.

But we are seized by a kind of paralysis of the will. It is like a waking nightmare.

I propose that as we enter the new decade we make a heroic effort to alter both our mood and our state of inactivity. Let 1970 be a year of renewal, and during that year let us give our institutions and ourselves a jolting reappraisal and overhaul.

The place to begin is with our national leadership in both the Executive branch and the Congress. With a few notable exceptions, there has been a failure of leadership. More than any other factor, it is the missing ingredient in our situation today.

We have had failures of leadership before. But rarely before have we had the widespread distrust of our own institutions that we see today. And that distrust is not limited to radicals. Ask shopkeepers, housewives, young executives or insurance salesmen what concerns them. If you travel around the country as I do more or less continuously, you will find that there is a deep and pervasive feeling among all segments of the populace that "things aren't working"—and Washington is given a major share of the blame. When the great majority of Americans share that uneasiness, when a growing number are losing all confidence in our society, when the prob-

lems themselves are terrifyingly real, then it is immoral for our national leaders—in the Congress and the Executive branch—to temporize. It is indecent for them to let us imagine that we can solve our problems without money or that we cannot afford to tackle them. It is criminal for either Republicans or Democrats to put politics before the nation's future.

Now let me speak specifically of the President. Any judgment on the President's leadership must take into account that he came into office at a difficult time, must deal with a Congress of the opposing party, and finds his options limited by inflation and the war.

But given all that, he must do more to set a tone of urgency to which we can all respond, and more to exemplify in his own actions a determination to solve our pressing problems.

We are not—and should not become—blind followers of the leader. But only the President's clearly expressed concern and clearly stated priorities can mobilize the federal apparatus, encourage Congress to shake off its lethargy, and enable leaders in other sectors of American life to move decisively.

His greatest test is on the international front. His first task—and one cannot exaggerate its urgency—is to end the war. Even more important in the long run will be steps that must be taken to cope with the threat of nuclear warfare. His recent action with respect to biological warfare was encouraging.

On the domestic front the President must say more explicitly—and with greater urgency—what he conceives to be an appropriate strategy for dealing with the dilemmas of the cities, with equality of opportunity, with the environment and with other problems that are wracking the nation.

Not only must he propose social programs adequate to our need, but when the legislation goes to Congress he must fight as hard for it as he fought for the ABM and Judge Haynsworth.

Now let's talk about the Congress. This Congress, which has acquired a reputation for lethargy, could dispel that reputation not only by passing needed legislation but by enacting genuinely meaningful Congressional reform. Few institutions in our national life are as gravely in need of renewal as is the Congress of the United States. Renewal requires first of all measures to abolish the seniority system and to curb the abuse of power by entrenched committee chairmen.

In 1958, Congress enacted a law requiring the chief judges of federal circuit and district courts to give up their administrative duties when they reach age 70. I propose Congress impose the same rule on its own members. The Speaker of the House is 78. Thirteen Senate and House committee chairmen are over 70, six of them over 75, two over 80. They are full of years and honors. They can serve their country best by stepping aside. That would be patriotism at its highest.

Congress must also put an end to the hypocrisy of tolerating grave conflicts of interest among its own members while attacking the same fault in others. It should pass a conflict of interest statute with teeth in it.

These flaws in Congress have been debated for years. What is new is not the weakness in the institution but the mood of questioning in the nation. If there were ever a time when it is essential that our institutions merit our respect, this is it.

And what about industry? I would propose that as we enter the 1970s industry address itself to three central issues.

First, it should make an unqualified commitment to equality of opportunity for minority groups. Some firms have performed nobly in this respect. But the majority are

still dabbling with the problem and many are engaged in outright fakery—giving lip service, preserving a public image and doing as little as possible.

Second, industry should commit itself to end pollution. Again, some farsighted business leaders have already done so, but the record of industry as a whole has been deplorable. It has lied to the public and to itself about the seriousness of the problem. We are just beginning to grasp the immense complexity—and danger—of environmental pollution. It is not wholly an industrial problem, but industry has a crucial role in it and could contribute enormously to its solution—if only by foreswearing its practice of emasculating pollution control legislation as it moves through Congress. Public anger over pollution is rising, and the time for effective action has come.

Third, industry should meet the rising tide of consumerism with constructive measures. Leaders in each industry should set standards of regard for the consumer and should be tough in demanding that the rest of their industry follow suit. If they don't they will be brought under increasingly savage criticism by a bilked and frustrated public.

Labor unions too have their tasks to accomplish—and the one that overshadows all others at the moment is to root out racial discrimination, to eliminate restrictive membership practices that deny the opportunity to work or to advance beyond menial work. I know all the arguments pro and con. I know the difficulties. But it must be done. For more than thirty years the unions have benefited enormously from the fact that America's conscience has been basically on their side. In many of the battles that had to be settled in the public forum, that fact was decisive. Today that advantage is leaking away very rapidly.

The possibilities of constructive change by the professions are enormous. Shaw said that every profession is a conspiracy against the public. Certainly every profession is deeply implicated in the institutional rigidities of the society.

The health professions must act at once to redesign the system of health services in this country. It is outworn, expensive and outrageously inefficient. Health professionals could modernize it. If they don't, pressures from outside, particularly from governmental initiatives, will increase enormously. Our best hope here is the ferment among young health professionals. They are eager to move.

Professionals in education must answer to much the same indictment. They preside all too complacently over a system that isn't working. They could change it, but often—as in the case of health professionals—they are obstacles to change rather than promoters of it. As for the colleges and universities, they have been jolted out of their complacency and are in an excellent position to accomplish the long-delayed overhaul of their institutions.

Let me say a word about private non-profit activities in general—cultural, civic, social service, religious, scientific and charitable organizations. Some of the worst known examples of organizational decay are in this category. And one of the gravest agents of decay is the sense of moral superiority that afflicts such institutions. Sad to say, people who believe that they are doing a noble thing are rarely good critics of their own efforts.

As we enter the 1970s, all such high-minded organizations should re-examine their performance with unsparring honesty (not excluding the Urban Coalition). Let them ask whether they have spent too much time congratulating themselves. Let them ask what possible difference it would make if their organization went out of existence. Let them ask whether they are dabbling with a problem that calls for a massive assault. Let this be the year in which they ask tough-minded outside critics to work with them in

a no-holds-barred reappraisal of what they are doing.

Government agencies should not be exempted from such self-appraisal. They too are hampered in constructive change by the narcotic of self-congratulation. Somehow it is believed that one doesn't have to apply toughminded criticism to noble and dedicated effort. Let each government agency honestly appraise the extent to which it has built an empire rather than served the public. And let it ask how much risk it has taken in fighting for good causes. The natural state of the bureaucracy is to be unbloody but bowed. It would look better with some honorable scars.

Now let's have a look at the person whom practically no one ever attacks, the person who holds the highest title a free society can award: citizen. What has he done to give one confidence in self-government? Not as much as one would like. Too many take a free ride as far as any distinctive effort to serve the common good. Too many are apathetic, self-absorbed and self-serving.

In a vital society the citizen has a role that goes far beyond duties at the ballot box. He must man the party machinery, support social and civic reform, provide adequate funds, criticize, demand, expose corruption and honor leaders who lead.

One thing the citizen can do—must do—is to reject fiercely and consistently all politicians who exploit fear and anger and hatred for their own purposes. He cannot rid himself entirely of those emotions. But he can rid himself of politicians who live by manipulating them. Such leaders will not move him toward a better future.

For example, pitting white ethnic minorities against black and brown minorities can only bring sorrow to both; and the politician who pursues that strategy should be rejected by both.

Polls have repeatedly shown that when all is said and done, most Americans do want to see our problems solved, including the problems of poverty, race and the quality of life. They do want to see justice done.

Another thing the citizen can do is to throw the weight of public opinion against those in the private sector who are unwilling to work toward the solution of our common problems. They should find out what major firms in their area are equal opportunity employers. Which firms are shirking on that front? Let those firms know that their failure is recognized. What firms are contributing most to pollution? Let them feel the weight of public disapproval.

Now let me say a word about the nature of the urban crisis. Too many Americans have come to equate the crisis in the cities with racial tensions—and they are tired of the race problem and wish it would go away.

It won't go away, but if it did, the urban crisis would remain. Discrimination, in some measure, touches most urban issues in this country. But such critically important issues as housing, manpower and income for poor deeply involve white as well as black. Most of the poor are white. And one cannot blame racial tensions for our monumental traffic jams, for the inexorable advance of air and water pollution, for the breakdown in administration of the courts, for the shocking inefficiency and often corruption of municipal government.

It is true that when urban systems malfunction, minorities and the poor are hit first and hardest, but the problem is deeper and broader and ultimately affects us all.

Make no mistake about it, the urban problem is a deep-running crisis in the management of complexity and change.

In closing, let me remind you of an important thing to understand about any institution or social system, whether it is a nation or a city, a corporation or a federal agency: it doesn't move unless you give it

a solid push. Not a mild push—a solid jolt. If the push is not administered by vigorous and purposeful leaders, it will be administered eventually by an aroused citizenry or by a crisis. Systemic inertia is characteristic of every human institution, but overwhelmingly true of this nation as a whole. Our system of checks and balances dilutes the thrust of positive action. The competition of interests inherent in our pluralism acts as a brake on concerted action. The system grinds to a halt between crises. Madison designed it in such a way that it simply won't move without vigorous leadership. I've often wondered why he didn't say so. Perhaps, having in mind his brilliant contemporaries, it just never occurred to him that the day might come when leadership would be lacking.

One final word—I said earlier that we perceive the dangers confronting us but are seized with a paralyzing passivity. I believe that passivity is curable. I believe that we can recover our power to act decisively—as individual citizens and as a nation. All it takes is money, guts and leadership.

THE PRESS FAILS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, a lot of people, in high places and in low, have been taking a critical look at our news media, radio, television, newspapers, and magazines.

They are wondering if the media are measuring up to their responsibility, if they are worthy of the freedom guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

When the criticism is levied on the media, we tend to take it with a grain of salt, but when a newspaper speaks out and says, "The Press Fails," we come to the conclusion that there may be a base for that charge.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial written by Earle LeMasurier of the Paynesville Press in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District.

I am sure my colleagues, especially those who have looked askance at criticism of the media, can profit by reading Mr. LeMasurier's editorial:

THE PRESS FAILS

The press, and to a greater extent television, is failing the republic at a crucial time in the nation's history. Seeking action and sensationalism, and rating even staged incidents as news, television and much of the press has become a publicity outlet for militants.

Examples on television are too numerous to mention. Every disgraceful scene of violence, every staged militant demonstration or provocation, every ill-mannered extremist yelling outrages or lies is televised to millions throughout the nation. Such sucker "news" creates discord and division among Americans and encourages other irresponsibles to get into the spotlight as "leaders"—often enables them to build a following of gullible, misled citizens. It does great damage to the image and reputation of our nation abroad.

The press is almost as bad. For many years the wire services have literally jumped on every provocative or inflammatory utterance by dissidents and militants. Pictures of weirdies and extremists are wire-photoed all

over the country and every phony, staged incident or confrontation is given blue-ribbon coverage. One page 1 of one of the nation's leading newspapers recently were three photographs: a picture of Massachusetts police charging a group of demonstrators, a professor weeping the cut-line saying he was breaking down as police rushed the students, and one of Black Panther Bobby Seale!

Many good things happened on the same day. Few made front-page news-patriotic deeds and actions, Americans who spoke or acted for democracy, for the American process of change through legal and constitutional means, for law and order.

Americans speaking for orderly progress don't make the news but represent the majority. Television and the press are guilty, at a critical time in the nation's history, of being "used" to give the nation and the world a distorted image.

A SONG POEM OF REMEMBRANCE

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks I include a beautiful and expressive poem written by Anthony Cama of Lynn, Mass., entitled "Joseph P. Kennedy," and also "A Song Poem of Remembrance," written by Mr. Cama, both of which appeared in the Lynn Sunday Post, Lynn, Mass., in its edition of November 30, 1969:

JOSEPH P. KENNEDY

(By Anthony Cama)

(Distinguished patriarch of one of the nation's most famous families, patriot, devoted father, grandfather, and pious member of the Catholic Church, father of a President and two U.S. Senators, friend of Richard Cardinal Cushing, and benefactor of mentally retarded children.)

How many tears from a father's heart
can fill an ocean with their storms of pain?
God blessed you, Joseph, in life's every part
and made you martyr to life's mournful rain.
A splendid man of work and liberty,
You made the nation honor Kennedy.
In you, the father, shone the strongest love,
and proud and bright you made each sibling's
birth.

In you, God's faith, shone brightly from
above,
you labored well this democratic Earth!
Your father-love was as a giant tree
Its fulgent fruit was borne by Kennedy!
At last the peaceful sleep; the end of strife;
you leave this land a most enduring flame.
The Lord had blessed you with wondrous life;
And history shall shine upon your name!
For you eternal rest . . . God bless you,
Kennedy!

A SONG POEM OF REMEMBRANCE

(By Anthony Cama)

(A haunting lyric of Cape Cod's shimmering sands and singing seas, a sentimental memento of the late President's family life at the cape.)

White whisper softly swirl the waves of sand
in silent silk-weave webs of surging sea.
Here he walked, the leader of our land,
a sand-dune flower, bright-abloom and free!
O, limpid, lancing laughter, Ireland spun
on Irish green and Erin's magic isle.
Were you, of Tara's Hall, an Irish sun
that warmed the earth-veins of life's weary
mile?

Where shall we meet again, O soul, so brave?
This Nation's spirit searches sea and sky
O, incarnation, winging from the grave,
so young the fulgent flame; so young to die!
To you, the Grecian wreath, the Roman art,
The saints and martyrs of your Christian
cross.

To you, the song eternal of this Nation's
heart
for us the lamentations of your anguished
loss.

It shall be so this sad November day
a fevered recollection in our sleep,
when all the world shall grieve and humbly
pray
at holy altars where the angels weep.
O, liquefaction of a dream divine,
a sacred garden, blessed with wit and mirth.
Eternal rest, eternal bloom your vine,
You shall forever bless this mortal earth!

U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the "eagle bonds" of U.S. savings are unquestionably a bond between good citizenship and good government. Both involve the rule of sound financing in establishing a stable foothold in the future.

By action of the Congress and signing by the President, the interest on all U.S. savings bonds is now at the improved rate of 5 percent, when held to maturity, and retroactive to June 1, 1969.

All bonds bought before and after that date now earn interest at the new and more compatible rate, starting with the first semiannual interest period, beginning on or after June 1, 1969.

The employed person may purchase bonds through the payroll savings plan, where he works, in industry or in government. The self-employed may buy them through the bond-a-month plan, where he banks.

Both plans have served materially to register the total outstanding figure of \$52 billion, a substantial sum of real, hard-core saving, accounting for 24 percent of the privately held portion of the national debt.

Gordon M. Metcalf, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Sears, Roebuck & Co., is 1970 Chairman of the U.S. Industrial Payroll Savings Committee, appointed by Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy. He puts it this way, and I agree:

The Payroll Savings Plan is the best self-defense against inflation. It is invaluable in helping the employee to develop a systematic saving program. With the new rate increase, Savings Bonds are a better-than-ever purchase for the employee who wants to improve his stake in the future.

I encourage this exercise in good citizenship that the practical, patriotic savings bonds program provides the people of my State and throughout the Nation. It enables them to further their own aims for financial security in the future.

At the same time, they will be helping the Treasury and other fiscal agencies and, of course, Members of the Congress in generating good government, through

legislation and policies meant to assure added stamina for the economy through sound financing.

Members of Mr. Metcalf's committee are the chief executives of leading corporations throughout the Nation. It was first organized in late 1962 by then Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, as a means of increasing sales of savings bonds to aid the management of the national debt.

The mission of the committee is to stimulate the regular purchase of savings bonds by the industrial employees of America, using the guaranteed method of the payroll savings plan; also to increase the number of employees who utilize the program to gain greater personal and family security.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Hon. Robert H. Finch, is Chairman of a similar activity in government, the Interdepartmental Savings Bonds Committee, ex-officio members of which are the heads of Federal departments and agencies appointed by the President.

Setting something aside for the needs of tomorrow is a good old American custom. And, for my money, there is no better personal or family security than U.S. savings bonds, which are, in effect, guaranteed loans to the country.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRES

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice during my tenure in the House of Representatives to seek the opinion and advice of my constituents in the 15th Congressional District of Ohio on the major issues with which we must concern ourselves on a daily basis.

One way of obtaining constituent opinion and advice is through the use of questionnaires. In November, I mailed out 181,000 questionnaires; 34,000 answers came back. A tabulation of them has revealed the following results, in percentages, which I commend to my colleagues:

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. With regard to Vietnam, the United States should:

a. Unilaterally withdraw all U.S. troops by a specified date? Yes, 24.1; no, 58; undecided, 17.9.

b. Continue withdrawal as quickly as South Vietnam troops can take over the military responsibility—Nixon Plan? Yes, 76.7; no, 8.9; undecided, 14.4.

c. Increase military pressure on North Vietnam in an effort to bring about concessions from that nation and the Vietcong? Yes, 41.1; no, 24.8; undecided, 34.1.

d. Resume bombing in an effort to win military victory? Yes, 35.8; no, 35.9; undecided, 28.3.

2. Concerning the October 15 Vietnam Moratorium:

a. Did it have a desirable effect? Yes, 17.6; no, 64.8; undecided, 17.6.

b. Did it lessen our chance for effective negotiation of an honorable settlement with

North Vietnam? Yes, 57.1; no, 25; undecided, 17.9.

c. Do you favor the monthly escalation plan for moratorium demonstrations? Yes, 9.9; no, 71.6; undecided, 18.5.

3. Inflation:

a. Do you believe President Nixon's program to combat inflation is effective? Yes, 62.2; no, 17.2; undecided, 20.6.

b. Would you favor additional reductions in federal spending? Yes, 73.7; no, 11.1; undecided, 15.2.

c. Should we first allow the effect of reductions in federal spending to date and proposed reductions take effect? Yes, 42.6; no, 24.6; undecided, 32.8.

4. Gun Registration and Penalty:

a. Do you now favor a federal gun registration law? Yes, 41.1; no, 58.2; undecided, .7.

b. Do you favor a mandatory increase in sentence on persons who use a gun in the commission of a crime? Yes, 86.7; no, 5.8; undecided, 7.5.

5. Concerning social security benefits, we should:

a. Enact a provision for automatic cost-of-living increases? Yes, 69.6; no, 14.7; undecided, 15.7.

b. Enact a 15 per cent benefit increase even though this might require additional payroll taxes? Yes, 21.3; no, 43.9; undecided, 34.8.

c. Enact a 10 per cent increase in benefits with a cost-of-living escalator? Yes, 40.9; no, 25.3; undecided, 33.8.

6. Would you support a complete overhaul of the welfare system which included these features:

a. Uniform national standard of payments to provide minimum necessary income for the aged, disabled, and children without parents? Yes, 71.1; no, 12; undecided, 16.9.

b. An annual minimum income for an able-bodied man with a family, if he enrolls in a prescribed training program to learn an acceptable skill to become self-sustaining? Yes, 60.9; no, 22.6; undecided, 16.5.

7. Do you favor the President's proposal that first-time possession of all narcotic and dangerous drugs be a misdemeanor rather than a felony? Yes, 50.9; no, 38.7; undecided, 10.4.

8. With the completion of the successful Apollo 11 Moon landing, do you believe that the United States should now:

a. Continue its space budget with a new goal of landing a man on Mars and/or other planets by the end of this century? Yes, 28.1; no, 50.4; undecided, 21.5.

b. Scale down our space budget and transfer more funds to domestic needs? Yes, 59.6; no, 24.2; undecided, 16.1.

AMERICAN STRATEGY

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, on March 4 of this year, Dr. George Wald, professor of biology at Harvard University, spoke to a group of students and faculty members at MIT about our national problems. His words, his concern, his commitment have made him a living symbol of much in which the young men and women of this country believe. As Dr. Wald himself said, since March 4 the question of national priorities has taken over his whole life.

On December 11, Dr. Wald received the Berg Award in New York City. His brief speech on that occasion outlines what he

calls, an "American Strategy," a positive "package of issues" that he believes a liberal coalition must bring before the country. And he hopes that that liberal coalition will be in the Congress.

Dr. Wald's concerns are mine too, and I especially share his feeling that "America is our home, not a business." As we depart Washington to spend the holidays with our families, I hope that we will reflect upon the urgent goals that Dr. Wald sets for this country, and as we enter a new year and a new decade, I hope and pray that all the Members of this House will join Dr. Wald in his efforts to satisfy human needs and build a better world for our children.

I insert Dr. Wald's speech in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT BY DR. GEORGE WALD ON RECEIVING THE BERG AWARD, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 11, 1969

Since I first spoke about our national problems to a group of students and faculty members at M.I.T. on March 4, that has taken over my whole life. That and teaching. I am teaching now about 350 Harvard Freshmen and Sophomores. They and students everywhere I go feel helpless and hopeless in the present state of things, and insist almost desperately that it has to change. They concentrate on the Vietnam War, but they know that that's only the beginning of it.

So what can we do?

I think that the hope of the country—and of the world—rests now with a newly formed coalition of concerned Republicans and Democrats in the Congress. We have had for a long time now a well-oiled coalition of conservative Republicans with still more reactionary Southern Democrats. The liberal coalition is a new thing.

American politics is man-oriented rather than issue-oriented. There is right now no single figure who symbolizes all that we want and need. But there is a package of issues. If that liberal coalition would be willing to bring out that package of issues, the whole country could gather around them. All the young people of this country would know that there was a new deal, that we had taken a fresh turn, that there was something to work for. They would feel—as they do not now—that they have a future. And they would work for it, with new hope. You could forget about campus unrest and a lot of other troubles. All our young people, all our minorities, all the dispossessed and disenfranchised could take heart.

I've heard of Mr. Nixon's—or is it Mr. Mitchell's—so-called Southern Strategy. It calls upon all the worst things in American life. I want something to compete with it that calls upon the best things in American life. It is a strategy for America: the American Strategy.

What is it? It comes as a group of don'ts and dos—things to stop doing and things to do.

Let's start with the don'ts:

1. Get out of the Vietnam War—fast and completely.

2. Repeal the draft. A peacetime draft has no place in American life. We never should have started it. It's incompatible with everything America means. We have to get rid of it.

3. Cut back the size of the armed forces. They are now at 3.5 million. If there is an argument for having more than one million men in uniform, I would like to hear it.

4. Cut back the military budget. How far? Robert McNamara said it could be cut to about \$60 billion with no loss in our defense posture. When it was about \$45 billion, ex-President Eisenhower warned the country of the military-industrial complex. So cutting it

to about \$50 billions would be a beginning, and we could go on from there.

That would give us some money with which to begin to satisfy human needs—and so now for the do's:

1. Housing—we're way behind on it. So lots of housing, and better, and lower-cost.

2. Schools—lots of them, and better; and much larger support for education.

3. Food—more of it, and better. All the classic nutritional diseases that we got rid of twenty to thirty years ago are back again. There is hunger in America—some ten to 15 million persons—including children—live hungry lives.

4. Decent water to drink. The water most of us drink isn't fit for people, or even fish. You can hardly get it down.

5. Decent air to breathe. Not smoke, not smog, not a suspension of dirt. Air.

6. Public transportation. Cars are most responsible for air pollution. You need a car nowadays to get to work, often even to get to school. Our public transportation has gone down the drain. A few years ago Americans were willing to buy Mussolini because he had made the trains run on time. American trains stopped running on time long ago. So more trains, better and faster; and many more buses; and many fewer cars on the roads.

7. Open beaches. In Great Britain all beaches belong to the Crown, and all are open to the public. You can't shut off access to a beach in Britain. That's the way it should be here.

8. No unwanted children. The population explosion threatens the quality of all our lives. It must be brought under control. This is the first step. It's no favor to be born unwanted. We need cheap—preferably free—legal and universally accessible contraception and abortion.

9. To help get all those things: lower the voting age. One talks as though if it weren't 21 it would have to be 18. There are two ages in between. How about starting at 20? When we've tried that, go to 19? Or go to 19 right off. But go.

So that's it.

A program for America. Hope for the young. A new life for all of us. And Congress can do all of it. And we'll pay for it. We'd rather pay for that than what we're paying for now.

A program needs slogans. I'd like to suggest some.

A better world for children. That's what it's all about. A better world for fewer children.

America is our home, not a business. Not a business to exploit, but a home to live in. We've never treated it as our home. It's high time we began.

THE ENGINEER—HIS COUNTRY AND PROFESSION

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in a recent edition of the *Indiana Professional Engineer*. It is entitled, "The Engineer—His Country and Profession" and is written by one of the most distinguished citizens of Indiana, Dean *Andrey A. Potter*.

Dean *Potter* began a distinguished career in engineering while a student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, graduating from there in 1903.

After a short tour in business, he went to Kansas State College and rose to dean of engineering. He came to Purdue University, in Lafayette, Ind., in 1920, as dean of engineering and Purdue Research Foundation president, remaining until 1953. He continues to maintain a campus office and a busy schedule.

Dean *Potter* has written numerous books, more than 300 papers, and served as editorial and technical consultant for several publications. He has visited many campuses as visiting professor, been consultant for governments, industry, and educational institutions, and in 1948 was named the Indiana Society's first "Engineer of the Year."

His interesting and provocative article appears following my remarks and should be read by every Member of Congress.

THE ENGINEER—HIS COUNTRY AND PROFESSION

(By *Andrey A. Potter, P.E.*, dean emeritus of engineering, Purdue University)

Engineers the world over share in common the responsibilities and opportunities for the advancement of civilization. They are more and more concerned, not only with wealth creating products and services which result from improved technologies, but also with the solution of social and economic problems brought into being by such advances. Human comforts and happiness must be the major objectives of engineers if they are to be recognized as vital factors in the lives of nations.

It is gratifying that engineers are now active in problems affecting human environment in such areas as air pollution, water pollution, safety in the home, factory, farm, office and road, effective waste disposal and utilization, better housing and improved urban conditions, as well as in matters relating to better and more economical construction and manufacturing, new forms of energy for power production and improved communication and transportation. There is need for greater cooperation between engineers and the medical professions in developing new tools and better techniques for the benefit of the crippled, in dentistry, in surgery and in other areas of the health field.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor estimates that this country has now one million engineers as compared with 43,000 in 1900, 218,000 in 1930 and 520,000 in 1950. The ratio of civilian labor force to engineers has decreased from 673 in 1900 to 218 in 1930 and to 75 in 1960.

Engineers in the U.S.A. have provided organizations for forwarding their profession by improving technologies and practices and by having forums for the discussion of the economic, social, scientific and technological aspects of their calling. Engineers in the U.S.A. are now being served by 171 national societies and by a larger number of state and local engineering groups; most of the national engineering societies are concerned with the scientific and technical advances in their specialized fields. These include the ASCE, founded in 1852, with present membership of 61,108; the AIME, founded in 1871 with present membership of 44,494; the ASME, founded in 1880, with present membership of 54,608; the IEEE, organized in 1884 as the AIEE, with present membership of 160,000; and the AIChE, organized in 1908 with its present membership of 31,784. About 270,000 engineers are registered to practice in one or more states; their interests are the concern of the National Society for Professional Engineers, organized in 1934, with a membership of 67,000.

The American Society for Engineering Education, organized in 1893 as the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education,

has a membership of 12,559 individual members, 195 engineering college institutional members, 34 technical institute members, 99 affiliate members, 20 associate members and 223 industry members. Its objective is to insure well prepared engineers who understand their environment.

U.S.A. engineers, in addition to their national, state, and local societies, have set up functional instrumentalities to bring about united action. Examples of these are: The Engineers' Council for Professional Development, formed in 1932, to improve the professional competence and status of the engineer; the Engineering Foundation, founded in 1914, for the furtherance of research; the American Standards Association, organized in 1918, to bring about cooperation in standardization; and the Engineers' Joint Council, organized in 1941, to deal with problems of public importance.

Engineers, as members of a profession, are differentiated from those in other callings by certain attributes, which ordinarily involve more education, specialized knowledge, and intellectual operations. Those in professions ordinarily guide, minister, supervise, instruct, heal, or practice a fine art, and are guided by ethical codes. The professional person has conscious group feeling, pride in his calling, public interest, special concern for the younger members of his profession, and high individual responsibility. He is constantly improving his competence by reading, advanced study, writing, and active participation in professional societies.

Irrespective of our calling, our success, happiness, and opportunities to contribute to general welfare depend upon the government under which we live and work. Creative genius does not flourish under governmental regulation and control. Individual freedom and private initiative do best under a type of government, like that of the U.S.A., which is the agent and not the master of the people and which exists to encourage and to serve, and not to dictate to the citizen.

It is to be regretted that too few of our most capable and best educated people take an interest in government and public affairs, not realizing that if we are unwilling to lose our rights to a totalitarian dictatorship we must demand and help create good government. We shall lose our liberty to a dictatorship if we fail in our duties and responsibilities as citizens.

The discharge of our duties as citizens is just as important, and probably more important, than our contributions to industry and to our profession.

How can we discharge our responsibilities as citizens?

(1) We must affiliate with the political party of our choice, as our two-party system is the basis for the strength of our government.

(2) We must know who in our ward, precinct, county, and state exerts political influence.

(3) We must study politics and politicians.

(4) Some will do well to take an active part in practical politics by running for local or state offices.

(5) We must work to insure that those who are elected to public office are competent and reliable.

(6) We must welcome service to our community, state, and country. This includes service on school boards, city councils, and other boards dealing with problems on the local, state, and national level.

(7) The least a citizen should do is to vote and pay taxes. Only half of eligible citizens vote in the U.S.A., as compared with 75 to 90% in Free Europe.

Neither professional competence nor education, no matter how liberal or scientific or advanced, make for the best and noblest in human conduct, unless people cultivate good will toward others and a full appreciation of human values. Our only defense

against the new tools of destruction are decent people who have the good of their fellow men at heart, and who have the vision and wisdom to utilize their knowledge and skills for general human betterment. The future of civilization depends upon those who are not only competent and creative in their callings, but who are also civilized, broad, and cultured—citizens who work for excellence in their field of specialization, who stand for good government, and who feel most and act noblest toward their fellow human beings.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1969

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this is my 21st annual report to my constituents in New York State, describing the work of this session of Congress as well as my own activities during the past year. This has been the year in which our own Nation has placed men on the moon with almost unbelievable grace and ease. But it was also the year in which we continued our inadequate struggle to cope with such domestic challenges as the crisis of the cities, hunger among our urban and rural poor, and the pollution of our environment. The year ended on a note of gloom in the continuing unsuccessful search for peace in Vietnam and in the dangerous stalemate being perpetuated by the radical Arab States in the Middle East. But there was also a note of hope in the reports of progress at the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks—SALT—with the Soviet Union in Helsinki.

While the President and the Congress sought to meet these domestic and international problems, we were handicapped all the while with continuing inflation and the related threat of a recession due to tight money. The Congress did finally enact a tax-reform bill, but a measure I opposed because I felt its relief provisions would provide the Federal Government with insufficient revenues for a budgetary surplus to help meet the inflation danger.

In the past year, I have urged that our Nation's first priority be a reordering of priorities away from the building of boundless military power and toward the restoration of domestic tranquility. It is with increasing alarm that I viewed the alienation of the poor, of nonwhites, and of our college youth toward our established representative government—and the resulting polarization of our society. Some progress was made in this regard when the administration decided to cut back on the next fiscal year's defense budget by \$5 billion—the very figure that I proposed earlier in the year—but at the same time I regret that a greater portion of this \$5 billion did not make its way into much-needed domestic programs. Thus, while the administration has committed itself to put an "end to hunger in America—for all time," and has also committed itself to replacing our inequitable and unfeeling welfare system with a family-assistance program that provides a minimum annual income, insufficient funds have been made avail-

able thus far properly to implement these two historic social breakthroughs.

In the past year my seniority in the Senate allowed me to become a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, as well as to become the senior Republican member of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. I also serve as the ranking minority member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the Joint Economic Committee, and the Select Committee on Small Business. I am second ranking Republican on the Government Operations Committee. These important assignments permitted me to play a greater role in the basic policy debates of the Senate and in the efforts to transform these words into action. Of particular significance, I feel, were the debates on the antiballistic-missile system, on the national commitments resolution, and on the war in Vietnam. The influential role played by the Foreign Relations Committee in reasserting the Senate's long-dormant power to offer its advice and give its consent to the President on foreign policy matters was perhaps the landmark development for this past session and for many sessions to come—and it was with great satisfaction that I joined in this historic endeavor.

While I continued to deal with the major issues in Congress, my offices in Washington, New York City, and Buffalo maintained their excellent record of handling constituent problems at home. My New York City office also continued to represent my office in many worthwhile community action and antipoverty projects.

VIETNAM AND ARMS CONTROL

Vietnam continued to be the Nation's top priority issue throughout 1969. In my judgment, the overwhelming mandate given to President-elect Nixon in the 1968 election was to disengage the United States from the combat role in Vietnam. I have welcomed and supported the steps taken in this direction by the Nixon administration, urging at the same time that the President, by establishing a timetable for the withdrawal of all U.S. combat troops from Vietnam, independent of any veto by Saigon or Hanoi, give a clear commitment to the Nation.

I met several times during the year with Ambassador Lodge when he was our peace negotiator in Paris for the purposes of learning first hand the situation with respect to the Paris negotiations, to convey to him my views concerning priorities and to convey through him to the North Vietnamese authorities my strong condemnation of the refusal of Hanoi and the NLF to observe the principles of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War.

On October 14, I introduced the Javits-Pell resolution in the Senate which calls for the withdrawal from Vietnam of all U.S. combat troops by December 31, 1970, the concurrent termination of the Tonkin Gulf resolution on that date, and a moral commitment by the United States to help arrange political sanctuary for any South Vietnamese whose lives might be endangered by our disengagement. The resolution has been referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which will

hold hearings on it, as well as on other similar pending resolutions early in 1970.

Also, I participated in the October 15 moratorium activities. In a telegram to the moratorium leaders of the November 13-15 march on Washington, I pledged my support of their constitutional right lawfully to protest and subsequently publicly commended the participants for the peaceful and dignified nature of their protest.

As one of the 27 original sponsors with Senator COOPER, of Kentucky, of an amendment to defer the deployment of the Sentinel and Safeguard ABM systems, I played a role in the great Senate debate over U.S. strategic policy in the nuclear arms field. Although our effort was defeated by the narrowest of margins—50-50 and 49-50—in the historic votes of August 6, strong efforts will continue in the Senate to curb the nuclear arms race and to reduce defense spending.

The passage of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons, by a vote of 83 to 15, and passage of the national commitments resolution, by a vote of 70 to 16, requiring congressional approval before U.S. troops can be put into combat, were additional landmark developments in the foreign affairs field in which I played a role during my first year as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

EUROPE AND NATO

As chairman of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly—NATO's parliamentary assembly—I made official visits to Europe in May and October. In addition to chairing the spring and fall meetings of the Political Committee in Brussels, I used the occasion to visit the major European capitals to confer with 100 government leaders and leading private citizens. These occasions provided me with an opportunity to learn first hand the trend of opinion and developments in Europe affecting vital U.S. interests in the political, security, and economic fields.

The three major objectives of U.S. policy in Europe, in my judgment, must be: First, to encourage a resumption of the movement toward European unity and especially the expansion of the Common Market to include Great Britain and other applicants. Second, to combat protectionist trends in trade, investment and monetary policies on both sides of the Atlantic. Third, to encourage our European NATO allies to assume a greater share of the collective defense burden so that U.S. troop levels in Europe can be reduced under arrangements which will maintain NATO's deterrent strength. With respect to defense, I proposed that Britain and France pool their nuclear weapons as part of an integrated Western European defense force.

MIDDLE EAST

In the past year, hopes have faded for an early peace breakthrough in the Middle East as Arab extremists aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, have resorted to guerrilla, commando, and terrorist tactics in an effort to defeat Israel in a war of attrition, including brutal attacks on her commercial air-

line—her lifeline to the outside world. Also, by seeking to create panic over the threat of world war commencing in the Middle East, Arab extremists and their Soviet supporters attempted to win U.S. support for an imposed peace dictated by the big powers—a peace which would benefit the Arabs without committing them to peace.

In May, I again visited Israel to meet with her leaders and to acquaint myself firsthand with the situation with respect to the Arab guerrilla war and the diminishing prospects for early face-to-face peace negotiations. Throughout the year, I have remained in close contact with the Nixon administration at the highest levels concerning Middle East policy. I continued to denounce persecution of Jews and other minorities by the U.S.S.R. and Arab countries.

I expressed detailed criticism of Secretary of State Rogers' speech of December 9 in which a high-minded but misguided effort was made to strike a balanced and even-handed Mideast policy in the hopes that Arab moderates might be won over. The danger in this approach was of undermining Israel's security without achieving a just and lasting peace. This was confirmed by the totally intransigent response of the U.S.S.R. speaking on behalf of its radical Arab clients.

In my judgment, there are three important principles for U.S. policy to follow over the next year in the Middle East. First, while the Arab terrorist war-of-attrition runs its course, we should not be stampeded into supporting efforts to impose a peace on Israel from the outside. Second, Israel must be assured a source of supply for the sophisticated weaponry, particularly advanced aircraft, needed to ward off the Arab assaults. Third, the United States must make it clear to the U.S.S.R. that the world's two nuclear superpowers must themselves keep out of Mideast hostilities.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Near the session's end, the Senate approved by a 53 to 34 vote, my amendment to the foreign aid bill for establishing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—OPIC. Since the House had previously incorporated language toward this end in the House-passed bill, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—a project I have been working on for many years—became a reality.

The OPIC will complement U.S. foreign-development objectives by concentrating its assistance on projects that will yield greater benefits to the host countries, while yielding adequate returns for American private capital. The basic concept is simple: To involve American business more deeply in the economic developmental process of the developing countries—putting to work not only an expanding flow of American private capital, but more important over the long-run, putting to work the know-how, modern management methods, up-to-date science and technology, and individual entrepreneurial initiatives which helped develop and build our own powerful economy.

In September 1969, a Presidential

Task Force on International Development was appointed as required by my amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968.

I was disappointed that the Congress again slashed the President's foreign aid request, which was the lowest request since the inception of the program. Unfortunately, too few Americans realize that developmental assistance has been effective and that we have committed a smaller percentage of our goods and services to developmental assistance than have other industrialized nations.

The Senate liberalized the Export Control Act regulating our trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—a step which I supported. Movement toward the establishment of a generalized, nondiscriminatory system of trade preferences for the developing world was given impetus by President Nixon's Latin American speech of October 31. I offered a similar proposal in my earlier speech on Latin America. Once again, I strenuously opposed protectionist pressures for import quotas. At the same time I urged the United States to take decisive action against countries which compete unfairly against U.S. exports or in selling to the United States.

Despite my disappointment over the lack of progress toward the restoration of parliamentary democracy in Greece, I continued my support of the Greek-Turkish project. I initiated this project in 1965 to promote cooperation toward social and economic betterment for the people of these two nations, as well as to insure peace in this volatile southeastern area of NATO. In 1969, the project saw greater cooperation between Turkey and Greece in the area of tourism and in the mutual development of the Meric-Evros River basin.

TAX REFORM AND THE ECONOMY

In the closing days of the session, the first major revision of the Internal Revenue Code was enacted since 1954. The tax-reform bill contained a number of worthwhile reform provisions, but in the main it was tax-cutting in a time of war and inflation, which was simply improvident. Tax reform, not tax relief, was the demand of the American people and I felt that tax cutting at this time would work to the detriment of consumers by keeping the cost of living and interest rates at record-high levels. The international competitive position of American industry would also be weakened and thereby would tend to increase unemployment at the very time when foreign imports have been on the upswing.

I supported those provisions of the tax-reform bill that provided a minimum tax for high-income individuals, the low-income allowance, the cut in the oil-depletion allowance, and some of the provisions regarding philanthropy. I sponsored or cosponsored amendments to provide tax relief for the handicapped, benefits affecting low- and moderate-income housing and a Presidential Commission on Philanthropy. I also supported the provision for increasing security benefits by 15 percent since this would be self-financing, and, therefore, fiscally responsible.

The measure was likely to become law at this printing, and I can only hope that its dangers are minimized by time and events.

Inflation is the biggest and most insidious tax of all, robbing everyone, but especially the poor and those with fixed incomes of their spending power. The "tax" of inflation is currently costing taxpayers approximately \$36 billion a year, an amount many times that involved through tax deductions and social security increases.

One of the first responsibilities of Congress in this regard was to bring Federal spending under control. I introduced a bill which would have cut such spending by as much as \$4 billion. I also supported the spending ceiling which was written into law last July, and which will reduce Federal outlays for fiscal 1970 by \$2.4 billion below the amount originally budgeted.

The Joint Economic Committee, on which I serve as the ranking Republican, spotlighted the military budget as the prime area for cost cutting in 1969. This year also marked the first time that the military appropriation was given the critical examination it deserves.

I felt constrained to support continuation of the income tax surcharge for 1970. Its repeal would have guaranteed a budget deficit and a further build up of already serious inflationary effects.

I joined other members of a Joint Economic Committee Subcommittee to urge an easing of interest rates and a holding down of government expenditures. I spoke out on the danger of a recession which the severely restrictive monetary policy was bringing about, and made specific recommendations for easing the disproportionate burden which housing and employment were bearing in the fight against inflation.

I cosponsored a bill to establish a Council of Social Advisers, and an amendment to create an Office of Priorities and Goals Analysis within the Congress. I reintroduced my bill to establish a National Tourism Resource Review Commission and to strengthen and streamline efforts to bolster the economy by attracting foreign tourists to the United States, and I am hopeful for favorable action in 1970.

CRISIS OF THE CITIES

The increasing rate of violent crime is a major cause of the exodus from the cities to the suburbs. Recognizing the direct relationship between easily available firearms and violent crime, I continued to fight for the national registration of all guns and the licensing of owners, cosponsoring several bills that would accomplish those ends. I also opposed the amendment attached as an unrelated rider to a tax bill which would water down the 1968 Gun Control Act by removing rifle and shotgun ammunition from the sales-recording provisions of that law. Seeking to break the logjam that blocks effective firearms legislation, I introduced a bill aimed at stimulating states to establish comprehensive firearms information systems. The bill would condition 50 percent of the States grant allocations under the law-enforcement assistance program upon such action.

The high rate of urban crime is di-

rectly related to narcotics addiction and the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs. As the ranking Republican on the Special Subcommittee on Narcotics and Alcoholism, I took an active part in its important investigations including a hearing in New York City. I cosponsored two comprehensive drug abuse bills this year.

The 1969 housing amendments, as passed by the Senate, contained two provisions I cosponsored—the first would raise the statutory cost limitations for the construction in high-cost areas, such as New York State, of federally subsidized homes for ownership by low- and moderate-income families; the second would remove the limitations on the incomes of persons eligible for Federal loans to rehabilitate their homes.

When the HUD appropriations bill was before the Senate, I cosponsored the amendment to add over \$500,000,000 to the urban renewal program.

Recognizing that various local taxing, building code, and zoning powers have inhibited the construction of housing sufficient to meet our national goals of 26,000,000 units in 10 years, I introduced two bills which would help overcome these barriers. The first would establish a National Institute of Building Sciences; the second would establish Federal incentive grants for State and local governments to reform their zoning and tax laws to promote low-cost housing and thereby maximize housing opportunity for those now locked into decaying inner-city areas.

I have strongly supported efforts to develop mass transportation facilities for urban areas and have urged the President to adopt a position that will commit the Federal Government to a program of long-range assistance to States and cities.

I authored the Air Traffic Congestion Relief Act of 1969, which would establish an airport development trust fund raised by new user taxes to enable the development of new major airports as well as satellite airports to accommodate the increasing flow of general aviation traffic.

I have continually worked in the Senate for legislation to control the threat of all forms of pollution to our resources and health. I introduced a resolution to form an interstate air pollution control commission to investigate the causes of air pollution on a regional basis and to devise a means of attacking this problem. I also cosponsored two bills allowing tax incentives for the construction and installation of facilities to abate both air and water pollution, and similar provisions were included in the tax-reform bill.

I supported the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969, which was passed by the Senate, authorizing among other things funds to combat and prevent Great Lakes pollution. I introduced an amendment to this bill which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reimburse States and communities that have advanced funds for water pollution control facilities in lieu of Federal funds, and I cosponsored an amendment calling for a study of the effects and control of such pesticides as DDT. I supported the \$1 billion appropriation—\$800,000,000

was finally appropriated—for construction grants for waste treatment works. New York State will receive approximately \$70,000,000 from that appropriation, and because of my amendment, could receive as much as an additional \$70,000,000.

I have cosponsored a measure designed to stimulate environmental education programs and have joined in a resolution, passed by the Senate, urging U.S. participation in the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment. To help combat the problems of excessive noise, I offered appropriate provisions to bills dealing with airport construction and occupational health and safety.

CAMPUS UNREST

The rising tide of unrest on the Nation's campuses is symptomatic of a society increasingly uncertain and polarized over such vital issues as Vietnam, the draft, poverty, hunger, and pollution of our environment. The reaction of many has been a rising demand for punitive legislation at the Federal and State levels. Convinced that American universities have the means to deal with student disorder, I repeatedly stated my firm opposition to such punitive measures. Such action could well force the majority of students who are moderates into the arms of the extremists.

Accordingly, I was particularly gratified that the Senate adopted my amendment to kill a provision in the 1970 HEW appropriations bill which would have permitted the cutting off of Federal assistance to any college or university deemed by the Federal Government not to be dealing properly with student unrest.

The universities and colleges should have the opportunity, without threat of Federal punitive action, to undertake long overdue reform, to improve communications and to display firmness where required, especially when it comes to not tolerating the presence of weapons on campus. I approve the increased use of court injunctions by educational institutions as a balanced and reasonable way to control disorders. I am convinced that where these guidelines are followed, the majority of the faculties and student bodies can be mobilized to support peaceful and nonviolent change.

DRAFT REFORM

Congress took the first step toward comprehensive draft reform by removing the ban on the President's ability to institute a lottery system. I supported this measure and the followup action by the President which provides for the drafting of 19-year-olds first and thereby reduces the period of uncertainty for our young men from 7 years to only 1 year. But further reforms are necessary to eliminate the manifest inequities remaining in the system, and I have introduced a bill which would provide uniform standards for occupational and student deferments, conscientious objectors and judicial review of draft board decisions. I have long been a critic of the inequitable and inefficient operation of the Selective Service System, and I am confident that the President's decision to name a youthful

and contemporary Director—a decision which I strongly urged the President to make—will result in some marked improvements in the coming year.

CIVIL RIGHTS

As far as Senate action is concerned, this has been a quiet year in the civil rights field. When the 91st Congress convened in January, I and other civil rights supporters once again attempted unsuccessfully to change Senate rule XXII, the so-called filibuster provision which has for so long stymied some fine efforts at progressive legislation in this field.

Attempts also were made this year to amend two vital civil rights statutes—the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the equal employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Liberals and moderates, including myself, favored a simple extension of the Voting Rights Act, which has been so successful in aiding registration in the South and is due to expire in 1970. The administration proposed a sweeping revision which would apply the act to all States and dilute its impact in the South where it is needed the most. The House passed the administration version and the Senate will consider both bills next year.

Proposed changes in the equal employment law center around much-needed increased powers of enforcement, expanded coverage and consolidation of all Federal efforts in this field. But no bill was passed by either house during this session.

SUPREME COURT

President Nixon sent to the Congress two nominees—Judge Warren Burger to be Chief Justice and Judge Clement Haynsworth to be an Associate Justice. Both nominees represented a conservative judicial philosophy. I supported the Burger nomination, as I was confident that his thinking was within the framework of modern construction of the Constitution. The unanimous decisions of the Supreme Court calling for immediate school desegregation in southern districts justified that conclusion. However, I voted with a majority of Senators against confirmation of the Haynsworth nomination because I believed that Judge Haynsworth's constitutional philosophy—particularly in civil rights cases—would take us back to the pre-1954 days of "separate but equal" treatment of blacks—a doctrine outside the framework of contemporary thought and a threat to all the progress that has been made toward desegregation of schools and public accommodations.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

I am preparing universal health insurance legislation which would not only provide all Americans with the means to obtain adequate health care, but would also seek to bring about significant improvement in the delivery of health services by providing a rational, effective, and systematic delivery system for the benefit of all Americans regardless of economic status or geographical location.

I also have authored legislation to help modernize the one-third of our hospital facilities that are outmoded and obsolete and I have introduced measures to give priority to development of innova-

tive health facilities for the disadvantaged and which for the first time in more than 20 years gives New York a fair share of hospital construction funds.

I introduced legislation to provide \$100,000,000 in "disaster relief" to our medical and dental schools, which face a grave fiscal crisis due to a sharp cutback in Federal research and scholarship grants. I also have authored legislation to assist medical corpsmen discharged from the Armed Forces and other qualified young men and women to receive the necessary training to establish careers in the allied health professions. And I introduced legislation to expand the recruitment of student nurses and thereby to relieve the critical national shortage of nurses.

I have taken a very active part in the fight against alcoholism—the Nation's fourth most serious health problem afflicting 6,000,000 Americans—by introducing, with Senator HUGHES, of Iowa, and with the bipartisan support of more than 40 Senators, a bill which includes Federal support for research, treatment, rehabilitation, and prevention of this "disease."

I introduced legislation—with the support of half the Senate—to establish a Federal commitment to combat kidney disease. Other measures which I introduced or cosponsored, and which have passed the Senate, are the Community Mental Health Centers amendments; the Communicable Disease and Vaccination Assistance Act, and the migrant health bill. Other health legislation I have introduced or cosponsored and which I anticipate Congress will act upon next year, include a bill to provide services to the mentally retarded and those with other developmental disabilities; a Humane Laboratories Animal Treatment Act; a bill to authorize loans to American medical students studying abroad, and a measure to establish a Federal Council on Health.

Noting that some 200,000 young Americans might be obliged to discontinue their college education because high interest rates and the tight money market made guaranteed student loans unobtainable, I introduced an administration bill authorizing the Federal Government to pay an incentive interest allowance on these loans and thus to forestall the crisis. The Congress acted quickly and it was enacted as the Emergency Insured Student Loan Act. To expedite the granting of these loans just before the commencement of the new semester, I also urged that banks immediately extend these loans even before final passage of the act. This plea resulted in a very encouraging and favorable response.

I have assumed a leadership role for adequate funding of Federal education programs. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, of which I am the ranking Republican member, approved a comprehensive education bill. Senate action is expected early next year. In addition to extending existing elementary and secondary Federal-aid-to-education laws, the measure also contains several major programs of which I am the author, including: the Gifted and Talented Children Educational Assistance Act to

focus Federal resources on the improvement of educational opportunities for gifted and talented children; strengthening of local education agencies on innovation; a new Adult Education Act to provide an opportunity to "catch up" for the 56 million adult Americans who have not had the opportunity to obtain a high school education; inclusion of children residing in low-rent public housing in impacted areas education aid; inclusion of Puerto Rico as eligible for assistance for neglected and delinquent children, and strengthening of enforcement of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

I introduced legislation to extend the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

HUNGER, POVERTY

As the ranking Republican member of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs—the so-called Hunger Committee—I have been extensively engaged in the effort to end hunger in America, a role I have played since I was among the members of an earlier committee who journeyed to Mississippi to make the first congressional hunger investigation in June 1967.

In 1969, the first major stride to pass meaningful antihunger legislation took place when the Senate rejected an inadequate food stamp bill offered by the Senate Agriculture Committee. It passed instead a substitute bill that I joined in with Senator MCGOVERN, chairman of the select committee, to provide much-needed reform of the Federal food stamp program. Among its provisions were authority for issuance of free food stamps for the first time to families with incomes of less than \$60 per month. I will do everything in my power to get acceptance of the main aspect of the Senate-passed bill in the House of Representatives and in the Senate-House conference.

I sought Federal grants to correct the inadequate teaching of, and research into, the problems of malnutrition in our Nation's medical schools. I brought about the formation of a committee of all medical school deans in New York State to survey and report back to me on any conditions of malnutrition in their respective areas, and I introduced bills designed to improve both the preschool and in-school feeding programs. I also recommended to the President that he organize leading food company representatives into a task force on hunger—a recommendation that saw fulfillment in the participation of these executives in the historic White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health.

I introduced the administration's bill with 26 of my colleagues to extend the antipoverty programs under the Economic Opportunity Act for another 2 years. The Senate approved a 2-year extension of the programs at the level requested for fiscal 1970, and an authorization of \$2.048 billion, an amount in excess of last year's appropriation. With Senator NELSON, chairman of the Poverty Subcommittee, I led a successful fight to add more than \$350,000,000 to the \$1.6 billion appropriation for fiscal 1970 recommended by the Appropriations Committee.

I also introduced the administration's

Manpower Training Act of 1969, which incorporated a number of my proposals and would seek to improve the delivery of manpower services through a system giving States and localities greater local responsibility. The bill included a national computerized program to match unemployed persons with available jobs.

When it became evident last June that the administration's plans for summer job opportunities for disadvantaged youth would once again fall substantially short of the need, I urged a supplemental appropriation of \$55,000,000 for the Neighborhood Youth Corps and related programs. The supplemental appropriation finally accepted by both Houses and by the President was for \$7,500,000. I have already sought \$26,400,000 in additional funds for the 1970 summer jobs program.

LABOR

In response to the tragic explosion which took the lives of 78 coal miners in Farmington, W. Va., last year, and to the high incidence of coal workers pneumoconiosis—also known as black lung—the Labor Subcommittee, of which I am ranking Republican member, shaped a truly effective coal mine health and safety bill. This year Congress also enacted into law, with my support, legislation to improve health and safety conditions for construction workers on federally assisted construction projects.

The Subcommittee on Labor also commenced hearings on general occupational health and safety legislation, including the administration's bill which I sponsored. The bill would establish minimum health and safety standards for all workers as well as provide a mechanism for enforcing such standards. During the course of hearings on this legislation I proposed the establishment of an autonomous institute, patterned after the National Science Foundation, to engage in research and development of occupational health and safety standards.

During the past several years, I have been seriously concerned with the inadequacy of workmen's compensation laws in this country. I have proposed that a broadly based commission be established to study existing laws and to make recommendations to Congress on the best method of securing the needed improvements. The present administration, as well as the previous one, has endorsed this proposal.

I have also received assurances that next year the Labor Subcommittee will commence hearings on my bill to establish comprehensive minimum standards for private pension plans. At present, most of the 25,000,000 American workers who depend on private pension plans have little or no protection against forfeiture of benefits because of unreasonable service requirements or premature termination of plans prior to their having been fully funded. My bill would provide minimum protection in these areas and encourage the growth of true pension portability so that when a worker leaves a job he can carry his accumulated private pension benefits with him just as he now carries his accumulated social security benefits with him.

SMALL BUSINESS

Seeking to achieve a balanced budget, the administration has severely restricted funds available to the Small Business Administration—SBA. I have worked to alleviate this critical shortage of funds by turning to the private sector and seeking the cooperation of the major banking institutions of New York State. The results so far have been encouraging, and I believe these banks will be making approximately \$100,000,000 available to the small businesses of New York through the new SBA quick-approval, 90-percent loan-guarantee program, which is expected to be instituted in New York shortly after the first of the year.

I have been disturbed by how costs of crime frequently mean the difference between a profit and a loss to small business. The committee has determined that crime costs small business 300 percent more than it does large business, and I am helping to develop proposals which would improve the small businessman's ability to protect himself against the effects of crime.

NEW YORK STATE

To insure that New York receives a proportionate share of the Federal tax dollar, I supported numerous federally assisted new and ongoing programs sponsored by New York State communities this year including more than 38 urban renewal programs; the Niagara Frontier Transportation Authority's application for urban mass transportation funds to conduct a feasibility study for a rapid transit system; the United Housing Foundation's application for the Nation's first pneumatic waste disposal demonstration program to be installed in a public housing project.

When the public works appropriations were before the Senate, I was successful in obtaining funds for various New York State ongoing programs including Long Island's South Shore beach-erosion, hurricane-protection program, the research and demonstration program to abate pollution of the Great Lakes, the deepening of New York Harbor's anchorages, and the completion of the Lake Erie-Lake Ontario Waterway study.

While I am an ardent supporter of cutbacks in excessive military spending, I have questioned whether New York State has suffered an inordinate share of the military base closings compared with other States. I have requested the Secretary of Defense to report to me and the entire New York congressional delegation whether—within the limits of national security considerations—these base closings could be spread more equitably among the States with no State being compelled to bear an inequitable share of these personnel cutbacks. My office also has been working with the Defense Office of Economic Adjustment to insure the revitalization of the local areas affected.

I continued to maintain a deep concern for protecting the interests of consumers, and introduced a bill to provide Federal matching grants to States for the establishment of consumer protection agencies on the Federal level.

VETERANS, CIVIL SERVICE

The Senate passed a comprehensive veterans education bill this year, which I cosponsored, including special programs designed for educationally disadvantaged veterans and a 46-percent increase in GI education benefits. The House passed a smaller increase, and the bill must now go to a House-Senate conference. The veterans employment and relocation assistance bill, which I introduced last year, was also included in the Senate passed comprehensive veterans bill. Under this provision, the Veterans' Administration would assist veterans in finding employment, would pay travel expenses for job interviews, and would pay moving expenses for the veteran and his family if he accepts a job which requires relocation. In addition, I introduced a bill which would increase the availability of GI loans.

I generally support the President's postal reform proposal, although I am not completely satisfied as to those aspects which deal with the settlement of labor disputes and a possible dispute between the proposed Postal Corporation and the Congress over rate increases. I supported the recently passed retirement benefit and financing bill, as well as other progressive legislation dealing with Federal and postal worker programs.

As a Senator and also as a parent, I have been deeply concerned with the advertising and sale of obscene literature through the mails and I am confident that appropriate legislation can be framed to help meet the problem which would not compromise our cherished freedoms of speech and the press or the privacy of the mails.

RURAL LIFE

Consistent with my concern for the hungry and my dissatisfaction with the Department of Agriculture's practice of paying huge sums to relatively few farmers to keep land out of production, I supported the unsuccessful attempt to have the support payments limited to \$20,000 to any one farmer.

In view of the importance of New York's dairy industry, I gave considerable attention to anti-inflation measures aimed at insuring that the support prices for milk products come as close to 90 percent of parity as possible. In addition, I cosponsored legislation which would provide indemnity payments to manufacturers of dairy products who have to withhold from commercial markets milk products containing chemical residues.

To meet the problems unique to the rural communities of our State, I cosponsored a measure to provide incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job-producing industrial and commercial establishments in rural areas; another measure to allow Federal financial assistance to States and communities for establishing a system of rural fire prevention, and another to authorize the Department of Housing and Urban Development to guarantee loans for development of recreational facilities.

In addition, I authored legislation which would provide Federal funds to help construct multipurpose water quality management projects for our smaller cities and towns.

AN EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, it is with a grateful heart that I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Honorable CARL D. PERKINS, chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the Honorable JOHN H. DENT of Pennsylvania, chairman of the General Subcommittee on Labor, the Honorable DOMINICK V. DANIELS of New Jersey, chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor, and the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON of California for their joint efforts in writing and securing passage of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

During these long months of deliberation, under the unsurpassed leadership of Chairman CARL D. PERKINS, I am intimately aware of the full and complete dedication of these superb legislators who successfully included title IV in this historic legislation that passed the House of Representatives by such an overlapping majority.

Mr. Speaker, Chairman DENT is a Representative with honor and distinction from a coal-producing district of Pennsylvania, and he, too, has an intimate firsthand knowledge of the necessity for including benefits for those coal miners who are victims of lung disease due to the inhalation of dust while working in the coal mines and their dependents. His effective work will never be forgotten.

On Saturday, December 20, 1969, I paid tribute to the Honorable DOMINICK V. DANIELS of New Jersey for his effective foresight as evidenced by his hearings and followthrough of the subject of compensation for "black lung" disease.

While Chairman PERKINS was the leader in this forward step in the House of Representatives I feel an obligation for all the world to know that the very distinguished Congressman from California, the Honorable PHILIP BURTON, gave every ounce of his energy in both writing and passing the Federal coal mine health and safety legislation. On numerous occasions, because Mr. BURTON is from a non-coal-producing district, he gave me every opportunity to put forth factual reasons why compensation payments were justified. In fact, Mr. Speaker, I would be derelict in my duty if I did not call to the attention of the entire membership of the House, as well as all those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the fact that Mr. BURTON gave every ounce of energy that he had in a most energetic manner, both in the consideration of this measure in the Committee on Education and Labor, but equally important his persuasion carried essential weight during the sessions of the conferees.

Because my most able colleague cares about those in need he went far beyond the call of duty in order to write a conference report that would benefit coal miners in a most substantial way who

suffered from pneumoconiosis, as well as their dependents and equally Congressman BURTON made clear for all to see his interest in the dependents of those coal miners suffering from pneumoconiosis who have gone to an early grave.

Mr. Speaker, every individual in the United States who mines coal, and their dependents, as well as all who are dependent upon the production of coal for their livelihood, are deeply indebted to Mr. BURTON because he so actively fought the battle to bring success to this measure in the House of Representatives.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I do have a heart filled with gratitude to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. BURTON).

A TIME TO SPEAK

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, over the years our responsibility to provide an intelligent road toward an orderly balanced environment which will permit both the development of our resources and the protection of our environment has become an increasing challenge.

The State of California, under the excellent leadership of Mr. William R. Gianelli, director, department of water resources, has developed a very progressive resource program. California's State water plan has brought more immediate and long-range benefits to our people than any other single type of resources development in the history of the State or Nation.

As Mr. Gianelli has pointed out:

The day of letting our deeds speak for us is gone. We now will have to speak for ourselves, and we will have to spell out the intrinsic and incomparable environmental benefits of water projects in this state.

Because of Mr. Gianelli's insight into the importance of maintaining a balanced water program which would allow for the development of our water resources and insure environmental protection, I thought it appropriate to share his speech before the general session of the Irrigation Districts Association winter convention, December 4, 1969, Los Angeles, Calif., with my colleagues. Accordingly, I include his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

A TIME TO SPEAK

(By William R. Gianelli)

I appreciate the opportunity to address the general session of your 1969 winter convention today. I always look forward to this particular invitation because it gives me a chance to present you with the general picture of accomplishments and plans in the field of water resources development.

Today, I want to discuss a particular area with respect to California's water resources—the area of our environment, the way we use that environment, and the way we protect it.

For many, many years this particular area has received major attention from those of

us whose business it is to care for our natural resources and to recommend wise use of them. But, that attention of ours, that careful husbanding, has not received much attention of its own. It has played step-sister to the public's demand for progress, for more people, more houses, more roads, more comforts, more leisure.

If we are to believe what we have been told, it would seem that builders of water projects have spent their lives ravaging a virgin countryside and leaving nothing but waste in their wake. This is simply not true. Water projects have never been built without a prior demand from the people, and without a demonstration of need. The results, in the main, have produced tremendous good for mankind and for his environment. In the new excitement of right now, however, people are pushing that embarrassing accomplishment to the back of the parade because it is a truth that belies a new concept of thinking about ourselves.

As though it were a new toy on Christmas morning, "environment" has been discovered—and it's about time somebody discovered it besides the men who bear the responsibility for developing our resources.

California is beset on all sides by danger to our environment in smog-laden air, garbage-cluttered beaches, burned-out forests, and the chemical filth which is discharged hourly into our rivers and our bays. We have been beset by these problems for a long, long time—but the general public has ignored them until very recently. There is not one man in this room, one person in this State, who doesn't want to be rid of this filth, and who doesn't want to solve these problems. In our impatience and our disgust, we must take great, great care that we don't destroy the orderly and the balanced development of our resources. We have created one disaster. Let us not create another by swinging the pendulum of our demands too far in the opposite direction.

I have no wish to be redundant, but I will say again that water projects in this State have brought more immediate and long-range benefits to our people than any other single type of resources development. This is a simple fact—without a kicker in it—but we are not getting this basic fact across to our people. If we don't start coming through, pretty clear and pretty fast, we stand the chance of being tarred with a brush we don't deserve.

The Bible tells us: "There is a time to every purpose under the heavens." Well, the time to speak is now. If we don't speak out as we should, we stand to put the environment of this State into a danger area that will be suffered by our grandchildren, and their children, far more than it will be by you and me. We cannot abrogate our responsibilities to the future by refusing to open our mouths and use our brains to see that the public gets all the facts and not just some that are distorted in transmittal.

We know that opponents of the State Water Project are trying to fabricate and promote the idea that the Project is bad for the environment. Most of the present manufactured charges are being used to support self-centered opposition to construction of the Peripheral Canal.

One of the charges is that construction of the Peripheral Canal in the Delta would create pollution in San Francisco Bay. This is a blatant attempt to connect two separate problems which have no direct relationship at all. It is lying to the public by trading on public emotions for selfish profit.

The Peripheral Canal would improve water quality in the Delta by repelling and reducing salt water intrusion into the Delta from the Pacific Ocean. The Canal would have almost no effect on the Bay. All the fresh water in California couldn't make a freshwater lake out of San Francisco Bay.

The problem of water pollution in San Francisco Bay is created by the waste dis-

charges from municipal and industrial complexes which line the shores of the Bay itself. This, more than any other factor, is what endangers the life of the Bay system. The solution, here, is to clean up the wastes as much as possible and to create a regional system which would collect and transport these waste discharges and waste waters.

Very valuable contributions to the enhancement of environment in this area are being made by the State Water Resources Control Board. The Board has been given a "big stick" in the Porter-Cologne Water Quality Control Act enacted during the last session of the Legislature, and they are well prepared to use it.

After January 2, 1970, waste dischargers in California must pay a fee of not more than \$1,000 when filing a notice of discharge with the appropriate regional water quality control board. They will also be liable to tough civil fines of up to \$6,000 a day for violation of cease and desist orders relative to waste discharges. This has been called the "toughest water protection law in the nation", but tough is exactly what we need to be if we are going to save that Bay from what is truly creating the pollution.

The development of California's water resources is facing problems today because new days bring new problems. New generations and swelling populations bring new and swelling needs. It is up to us to meet each one of them as rapidly and as thoroughly as we can.

As we meet these new needs, we are going to have to face our detractors and destroy them with the logic of truth. We are going to have to enumerate the increasing environmental achievements of water development projects, and we are going to have to make ourselves heard. We must speak out loudly and clearly, and we can do this because we have, at hand, the facts and figures and measurable results of project accomplishments.

We have been silent much too long. In an age of rapid communication, we have not been communicating with any rapidity at all. We excuse ourselves by saying that we have been so busy doing the things which were given us to do, and which were necessary to do, that we have not taken the time to let the general public know of the benefits our projects have accomplished. Well, the day of letting our deeds speak for us is long gone. We now will have to speak for ourselves, and we will have to spell out the intrinsic and incomparable environmental benefits of water projects in this State.

Not every water project has resulted in the perfection for which we all strive. I would be the last person in this State to try that one on for size. Some of them have been blunders when considered in the light of an environmental concept. But, for every one which has created a problem, one hundred more have created a good which has never existed before.

One very good example is the San Luis Reservoir. Before San Luis Dam was built, there was no reservoir in that desolate area. Nobody had bothered with any enhancement. There was no water. As a matter of fact, San Luis Dam and Reservoir is one of the few water projects in this State that was built without a natural source of water. The water input is from the California Aqueduct, and the project provides a recreational and fishing source that never existed there before. The people of that area no longer have to drive for miles to enjoy water sports. Water recreation has been brought to them, in a federal-state effort that enhanced a former environment of heat and dust.

Water is one of the most precious commodities man has. He's very protective about it, and I don't blame him. I am protective about it, too. The major part of my job is to see to it that our water resources receive constant protection. Yet, I constantly face the charge that the Department of Water

Resources and the water leaders of the State are threatening to endanger the environment of all Californians.

Two hundred years ago, the Franciscan friars and the Indians fought blisters and hardpan to dig out a 6-mile canal near the San Diego River because they needed water. Today, a larger group of Californians need a larger amount of water, and they are having to fight the hardpan of communications and the blisters of misinformation.

The proponents of environmental enhancement have become increasingly vociferous in their demands that environment become a purpose of all water projects. They want it identified just as flood control, water supply, recreation, and fish and wildlife enhancement and mitigation are identified as specific purposes of water projects. Those of us working in the field of water development have been so close to the problems, and working so hard on the solutions, that we have been lax in noticing the growth of this trend. Our laxness was not because we were not interested in the enhancement of our environment, but because enhancement of the environment was so much an automatic result of the construction of a water project that we never considered it had to be identified as a purpose.

In Oroville we built the highest dam in the United States and provided a reservoir that, in one short year, has become one of the most popular water recreation spots in the State. Two of the purposes of this project were the control of floods and the year-round storage of a water supply. The result of both purposes, and of all the other purposes involved, was the enhancement of the environment in the area.

No flood in the world ever enhanced an environment. What is enhancing about ruined crops, damaged buildings, obliterated towns, and dead people? But, being able to control a flood through engineering technology automatically protects and improves an environment.

Oroville has done other things to enhance the environment of our State. It has created a vast lake where no lake ever existed before. It has brought water-skiing and boat riding and swimming and a whole new recreation area to one of the most beautiful spots in California. For water supply, it has provided a firm commitment of good quality floodflow catches that can be stored in the winter and used downstream in the summer and fall months when waterflow in the rivers has historically been at low ebb.

Can anyone possibly believe that the environment of this area has been endangered by creation of this water project? If so, then they must be people who remember the Feather River with nostalgia—as a muddy stream winding slowly down a canyon through most of the year, and as a rampaging, roaring, destructive wall of water the rest of the year.

Environment, basically, means that which surrounds organisms: people, animals, fish, birds. Ecology is the branch of science that deals with the relationship of these organisms to their surroundings. Whose environment are we talking about? Who, or what, is being endangered by water conservation?

If we are going to bring up environment in relation to fish, for example, let's bring up the new habitat that water projects have created in the Sacramento River for steelhead. Before Shasta Dam was constructed and releasing enough cold water into the Sacramento River to enhance the environment for California's primary inland game fish, steelhead were not readily available in that river. Since 1944, however, the Shasta project has been providing this ecological balance and Oroville is contributing a further enhancement to this new fishery.

Isn't it about time to speak of this achievement, to record this enhancement that has been going on for 25 years and that is im-

proving every day? Water projects get the blame but do they also get the credit? No, they do not.

Are we talking about environment in relation to people? Let's take a fast rundown on the State Water Project and the environmental enhancements it has provided for people within its 10-year history.

Begin in the north, in the Upper Feather region. Frenchman Dam and Lake—Antelope Dam and Lake—Grizzly Valley Dam and Lake Davis: every one of them constructed and operating to provide people with water-oriented recreation that they can't get on the city streets.

The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta: where the Peripheral Canal is being designed to deliver Sacramento River water to the Delta in an orderly manner so this valuable resource of ours isn't destroyed or tampered with in a way which will affect this wonderful area. In this area, too, water quality is of paramount importance and the Delta must not be allowed to revert to its historic environment of saline ocean water intrusion—not if we are going to have a Delta that is going to last for future generations.

The San Joaquin Valley: where the natural environment was supporting jackrabbits and sagebrush in some areas, until project water came along and allowed people to irrigate and grow crops and live a little better because their livelihood had been enhanced by a water project. Fishing along the Aqueduct will allow people to enjoy this sport without having to travel many miles.

Riverside County: where, in 1973, Perris Dam will create a lake in a populated area that has always been totally devoid of any recreational attributes. There isn't even a stream in that location. Lake Perris will be the eastern terminus of the California Aqueduct and will provide an enhancement of the present environment so that people can have fishing, and water sports, and just the chance to have someplace to go and enjoy the outdoor life. In return for all this, the water project will be flooding out some barley fields that have never been of any particular note as far as enhancement of the environment is concerned.

I could go on indefinitely about the benefits that have been, and are being, accrued from the water projects in this State. But, I think I have made my point in bringing them to the forefront of your attention. This is the message I hope you will take back to your homes and pass on to the people who are as interested in a balanced environment as you and I are.

Governor Reagan has given the Department of Water Resources a mandate that the State Water Project will be completed, and that the 31 water service contractors who are repaying the construction costs of the Project will have their contracts honored by the State. That means water deliveries when and where the State of California has contracted to make those deliveries.

He has also given us a clear chart for the future and told us what he expects of us. He has told the water leaders, and the people of this State, that water development in California will take place in (and I quote) "a responsible, efficient, economical and balanced manner." And, that's exactly the way it will be done.

To accomplish this, we are going to have to apply a conservation plan of wise use to all the water supply areas of this State, and increase our technological development of all other water sources—waste water reclamation, desalination, ground water recharge and even weather modification.

For water supply after 1980, we will be looking to the North Coast, the home of California's greatest untapped resource for surplus water. This is our future waterbank, where the rivers and the snows and the rains provide such an abundance of water that most of it wastes into the sea each year. In

flood years, a balanced system of conservation and conveyance of that surplus water would be more than an enhancement to most of the people in that area. It would be a blessing that, in turn, would benefit and enhance other Californians.

A flood on the North Coast is no enhancement to anyone. Just ask someone who lives there year after year. In 1964, the "Killer Eel", in just five days, devastated thousands of square miles, created an appraised damage in excess of \$54 million, and murdered 19 men, women, and children—some of them attempting to rescue others. Two hundred homes and farmsteads were obliterated; three entire communities annihilated; and, four others terribly hurt. The entire Humboldt-Del Norte region was paralyzed economically for many months. Other losses extended into the Klamath and Trinity River areas.

This was one year—one example—one flood. Is this protection of our resources? Is this service to our people, our animals, our fish, our birds? Is this enhancement of the environment?

The truth of the matter is that this is pure destruction. Yet, every time mention is made of using surplus floodwaters in the North Coast region for any other portion of this State, somebody calls a press conference and the hue and cry goes up about the "rape of the North."

I have yet to hear a hue and cry about the "rape of Long Beach" when a Northern Californian sends his child to schools that are being financed by tideland oil funds. Nor do I see any Northern Californian refusing to eat the citrus fruits and fresh vegetables of the Imperial and the San Joaquin Valleys.

I am a Northern Californian myself. I was born and raised in Stockton. I have spent the majority of my adult life, and raised my own family, north of San Francisco Bay. The older I get, the more irritating this ridiculous "battle" between Northern California and Southern California becomes to me.

This is one State. We are one people—all Californians. We live together, and we work together, and we help each other because we need each other. Each community uses its own resources and, when that is not enough, it looks to its neighbors for help. Have we become so sophisticated that we have forgotten what the word neighbor really means? If so, then we had better draw a line across the State right now and let Northern California flood itself out of economic existence every year rather than offer a drop of water to Southern California. And, at the same time, we can let Southern California get fat on the revenues from its agriculture and oil resources and start charging the north export prices for food and fuel.

The quality of life which will sustain a dozen generations of Californians yet to come is being decided by those of us who are alive today. Cognizance of this responsibility has left the ivory towers of the universities and the research laboratories. Cudgels in defense of our environment are now being brandished by the people. And so they should be. For it is when the people assume responsibility that progress is truly progressive.

Now that the people have discovered "environment" and "ecology"—and I do not mean to sound facetious—let us welcome their interest in maintaining a program which will allow us to conserve, to use, and still to protect all of our valuable resources. But, let us not fall into the quagmire trap of Chicken Little emotionalists who tell us we have to bring development to a full stop in this State because we're desecrating our environment. There is no necessity to believe such ignorance. Reasonable thought, and a broad scope investigation of the actual facts, will give a much truer picture. Our real responsibility is to take the intelligent road toward a balanced environment which will permit both the development of our re-

sources and the protection of our environment.

There is no choice in that, and it's up to you to do the job. You can start by seeing to it that all the people get all the facts, and you can start today. It is your time to speak—and to speak now. Our tomorrows begin today.

STATE OF THE UNION?

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, Clement Clarke Moore penned the classic Christmas poem entitled "A Visit From St. Nicholas," opening with the well-known words, "'Twas the night before Christmas, when all through the house not a creature was stirring—not even a mouse."

Mr. Bear Wertz of Spruce Creek, Pa., has written a takeoff on Mr. Moore's work, using observations on current events for the poem's substance. Because of its unique structure and interesting commentary, I insert Mr. Wertz' poem into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and recommend a thoughtful reading of this piece.

STATE OF THE UNION?

'Twas the night before Christmas and all through the nation
Some Communists were planning their next infiltration.

The children were nestled all snug in their bed

While a left-wing clergyman said that God is now dead.

This plot is not new, over 30 years it's been kept,
And instilled in our leaders, while America slept.

Now out on our streets there is such a clatter,
The majority wonders just what is the matter?

A Molotov cocktail explodes with a flash,
As SDS students turn over a Nash.
The moon on the breast of the new-fallen snow,
Is dimmed by the draft cards that are burning below.

When what to my wondering eyes should appear?

A firetruck to the rescue with a cop on the rear.

The snipers all shot at the fire-fighting rig,
As the rioters called the policeman, "a fascist pig".

More rapid than cancer their philosophy shames
And chides our leaders by calling them names:

Trigger-happy was Goldwater, a bigot was Wallace,

Reagan's a showman what else will they call us?

To topple our system, watch it crumble and fall

Their aim is to destroy and bury us all.
As dry leaves that before the wild hurricane fly,
Hemlines go up and mount to the sky!

Teach raw sex in our schools, dress codes are taboo

The Bible is out let's smoke pot or sniff glue.

And then in a twinkling, I heard on the news

The prattling and preaching of militant views.

Civil rights was the issue, a political plum!
Keep bussing our children 'til we're "overcome."

A Black Panther leader, in "gay" clothes so handsome

Broke into our churches and demanded a ransom.

His eyes how they twinkled! But not in jest though.

As he delivered what he called, "The Black Manifesto".

Civil wrongs in America, take prayer from our schools,

Were the first two effective communist tools.

What else do we look for? What's next on their list?

How can apathetic America become communist?

Let's start some dissent and campus disorder

From the coast of Maine to the Mexican border!

Everyone hates war, let's be a public defender,

Let's have peace not through victory but through surrender.

We will split the nation through our "hate emporium"

And conceal it beneath a "Peace Moratorium".

In the name of peace, their heritage we'll refute

They will join our ranks with a clenched fist salute!

If America keeps sleeping, she'll fade out of sight-ski!

So Merry Christmas to all and to all a goodnight-ski!

BEAR WERTZ.

SHELTERED WORKSHOP ON A FARM

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, following years of hard work and dedicated service, the Lake Region Sheltered Workshop near Fergus Falls, Minn., has acquired a farm on which to expand its present program. It is the only vocational rehabilitation facility of its kind in the Nation. I am proud of the Lake Region Sheltered Workshop and the people working to make Rehab Acres a successful venture.

The sheltered workshop acquired the farmland last summer from the State hospital. The staff and directors of the workshop were joined by members of welfare departments from surrounding counties, the State division for vocational rehabilitation, the Minnesota Society for Crippled Children and Adults, and several experienced professional and lay people from the community. The workshop plans to train workers with physical, emotional, and mental handicaps. Participants will learn the discipline and routine of gainful employment and will be paid for the work they do at the workshop at Rehab Acres.

The program will involve about 30 clients at a time and spokesmen for the program say about that number will be placed in jobs in agriculture and related

industries each year. Citing figures drawn up earlier in the program, it can be shown that a rehabilitated handicapped person can pay in taxes on earnings from gainful employment more than the cost of his training in such a workshop. That means a good investment by society. Plus the fact that the untrained handicapped person might remain on welfare rolls for life but for this organized program.

Important, too, is the fact that the sheltered workshop operation at Rehab Acres actually trains people for jobs that exist and for jobs where hard workers are hard to find. In the Fergus Falls area, farm labor is much in demand.

These handicapped people now have great hope for a life on a payroll instead of a welfare roll. They learn valuable skills according to their ability. Some are operating heavy farm planting, cultivating, and harvesting equipment. Some are learning to preserve and store food. Some are learning to produce good gardens including fruit and vegetables.

Also on the farm at Rehab Acres is a large livestock program. Cattle and hogs are major sources of income in Minnesota, and the handicapped workers are learning many areas of livestock raising firsthand. Meat cutting is included.

Responsibility and reliability are stressed in the program.

While the Lake Region Sheltered Workshop is an established program in Fergus Falls and has served the surrounding communities for many years, this is perhaps the most ambitious project ever undertaken. I am grateful for the opportunity to congratulate the individuals responsible for Rehab Acres and wish them continued success in the years ahead.

LABOR AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, it behooves us in these days of the "gimme society" to recall the words of the Apostle Paul, who preached the doctrine of work and basic to it the doctrine of love.

The doctrine of work is one of the great doctrines of our glorious Christian heritage. It is a philosophy that did much to make this Nation great.

But, sadly, too many today exhibit disdain for the rewards of honest toil and are content to coast along on the labors of others.

I recently had the high privilege of hearing an inspiring and thought-provoking sermon on this topic. It offers the kind of inspiration which should cause all of us to think through again and again a fundamental principle of life.

The sermon was preached by the Reverend Robert E. Burns III, minister of the Howard Memorial Presbyterian Church, Taboro, N.C., on August 31, 1969. I commend its reading to my colleagues in the House—in fact to all who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The sermon follows:

LABOR AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

(By Robert E. Burns III)

Text: "But we exhort you, brethren, to love more and more, to aspire to live quietly, to mind your own affairs, and to work with your hands, as we charged you; so that you may command the respect of outsiders, and be dependent on nobody."

Once upon a time there was a Little Red Hen who scratched about and uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her barnyard neighbors and said, "If we work together and plant this wheat, we will have some fine bread to eat. Who will help me to plant the wheat?"

"Not I," said the Cow. "Not I," said the Duck. "Not we," said the Goose and Pig. "Then I will," said the Little Red Hen—and she did.

After the wheat started growing, the ground turned dry and there was no rain in sight. "Who will help me water the wheat?" said the Little Red Hen.

"Not I," said the Cow. "Not I," said the Duck. "Not I," said the Pig. "Equal rights," said the Goose. "Then I will," said the Little Red Hen—and she did.

The wheat grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap the wheat?" asked the Little Red Hen.

"Not I," said the Cow. "Not I," said the Duck. "Out of my classification," said the Pig. "I'd lose my food stamps," said the Goose.

"Then I will," said the Little Red Hen—and she did.

When it came time to grind the flour, "Not I," said the Cow. "I'd lose my unemployment compensation," said the Duck.

When it came time to bake the bread, "That's overtime for me," said the Cow. "I'm a dropout and never learned how," said the Duck. "I'd lose my welfare benefits," said the Pig. "If I'm the only one helping, that's discrimination," said the Goose.

"Then I will," said the Little Red Hen—and she did.

She baked five loaves of fine bread and held them up for her neighbors to see.

"I want some," said the Cow. "I want some," said the Duck. "I want some," said the Pig. "I demand my share," said the Goose.

"No," said the Little Red Hen. "I can rest for awhile and eat the five loaves myself."

II

"Excess profits," cried the Cow. "Capitalistic leech!" screamed the Duck. "Company ink," screamed the Goose. "Equal rights," grunted the Pig.

And they hurriedly painted picket signs and marched around the Little Red Hen singing, "We shall overcome." And they did.

For when the farmer came to investigate the commotion, he said, "You must not be greedy, Little Red Hen. Look at the oppressed Cow. Look at the disadvantaged Duck. Look at the underprivileged Pig. Look at the less fortunate Goose. You are guilty of making second-class citizens of them!"

"But—but—but I earned the bread," said the Little Red Hen.

"Exactly," the wise farmer said. "You should be happy to have this freedom. In other barnyards, you would have to give all five loaves to me. Here you give four loaves to your suffering neighbors."

And they all lived happily ever after. Including the Little Red Hen, who smiled and smiled and clucked, "I am grateful. I am grateful."

But her neighbors wondered why she never baked any more bread." (Source Unknown)

This contemporary parable sharply illumines one of the serious social and economic problems of our nation. It is also a parable that could be equally applied to a similar problem in Thessalonica in the time of Paul.

It is a parable which brings into focus the conflict between labor and the Christian faith. Today there is apparent lack of relationship between labor and the Christian faith. There is little, if any, communication between the two. The result is that the laborer looks upon work as the curse of the middle and lower classes rather than as a noble gift of God, that the church fails to speak out when the high principle of justice and fairness are violated by labor or by the refusal to work, that the world of labor rests comfortably unchallenged by the Christian faith.

But this problem does not belong to the twentieth century alone. Even in the church at Thessalonica, a problem had arisen concerning the necessity of a day's work. In the first century there was a conflict between faith and labor. The preaching of the Second Coming of Christ had produced an odd and awkward situation. The Christians were so strongly convinced that the return of Christ was imminent that they had given up their jobs and were living off the support which the church furnished for the poor and the needy. They stood about in excited groups, upsetting themselves and everyone else by criticizing those who did not share their views. Yet they looked to the church for support. One commentator has observed: "Ordinary life had been disrupted; the problem of making a living had been abandoned; and the people waited excitedly for Christ to come." (Wm. Barclay) Because of the Christian's eager anticipation of Christ, the economy of the city was suffering, the treasury of the church was being rapidly depleted, the believers were weakening their evangelistic cause by forsaking their work. There was a conflict between faith and labor.

III

Today we experience problems of the same nature. The problem is that man's faith is often in conflict with his calling, his work, his labors; and if not in conflict, certainly not relational. The line of demarcation between "right" and "wrong" occupations is thinly drawn and the Christian laborer is hard put to reconcile his work with his faith. Competition, fewer hours, depersonalization, mechanizations, and higher salaries are increasingly becoming barriers separating labor and faith. One's calling as a Christian and one's calling as a worker obviously put him in contradictory positions. So we must confront questions such as these: How do you carry your faith into your work? Are your vocational or occupational decisions governed by your faith or by the exercise of power or exploitation that may be yours? How do you bridge the ravine between belief and practice? How do you make your work Christian? Can the conflict between faith and labor be resolved? To this dilemma Paul addresses some very practical advice.

In his words to the Thessalonian believers perhaps Paul can aid us in understanding our crisis. Paul addressed the Thessalonians directly: "You have been taught by God to love one another; and indeed you do love all brethren . . . But we exhort you, brethren to love more and more, to aspire to live quietly, to mind your own affairs, and to work with your hands, as we charged you." Paul told the anxious Thessalonians the "best way in which Jesus Christ could come upon them was that He should find them quietly, efficiently, and diligently doing their daily job." The expectation of the coming of Christ was no reason to stop working! Indeed such thoughts were all the more reason for working harder and more faithfully. To stand idly engaging in useless chatter, to allow their Christianity and future prospects to turn them into useless citizens, was simply to bring Christianity into discredit and to bring themselves into disdain.

Now, basic to his doctrine of work was

Paul's doctrine of love. Paul suggests that the power of love initiated by God and accepted by mankind leads one to honest work with his hands. ". . . love more and more and at the same time work with your hands, as we charged you." One commentator, Dr. E. T. Thompson, notes that it seems a little strange that Paul exhorted the Thessalonians to work with their hands rather than to work with brain power. Perhaps Paul realized that there is a therapeutic value in doing things with our hands. More likely, there were those in Thessalonica who held the prevalent view that it demeaned a man to work with his hands; that was the lot of the slaves. They would rather accept welfare and charity than get dirt under their fingernails. Now doesn't that critique of Thessalonian life sound familiar? Paul's motivation for labor was his understanding of God's love and his concept of the nobility and dignity of work. He earned his living by weaving tents, you remember. He always upheld by his work and his life the Christian doctrine of work. The Thessalonians, however, were prone to idleness and meddlesome living. They paid no attention to his first advice, so Paul wrote a second time. In his second letter Paul again exhorted them concerning the necessity of work (II Thes. 3: 6-13):

"Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you keep away from any brother who is living in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us. For you yourselves know how you ought to imitate us; we were not idle when we were with you, we did not eat any one's bread without paying, but with toil and labor we worked night and day, that we might not burden any of you. It was not because we have not that right, but to give you in our conduct an example to imitate. For even when we were with you, we gave you this command: If any one will not work, let him not eat. For we hear that some of you are living in idleness, mere busybodies, not doing any work. Now such persons we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ to do their work in quietness and to earn their own living. Brethren, do not be weary in well-doing."

IV

Paul's words remind us that true Christian love should motivate one to labor.

Thus Paul's words apply to all laboring Christians at all times. Yet they speak more strongly to the man who waits idly for assistance. "Be motivated," Paul is saying, "in your labors by your Christian love." In that familiar masterpiece, *The Prophet*, Khalil Gibran has a section entitled "On Work". He agrees with Paul in principle when he says, "Work is love made visible." When Christian laborers learn that in their work they are about God's business expressing His love, then labor and the Christian faith can engage in meaningful dialogue. When work becomes love made visible, then laborers will know a new satisfaction and happiness that has not been theirs. One's faith is directly related to his work. One's faith can be and is manifested in and through his work. Not until the Christian faith is translated into terms meaningful for the teacher in the classroom or the farmer in the field, the mechanic in the garage or the florist in her shop, the doctor at the bedside of the housewife at her sink, not until this faith is expressed in the Christian's work can the love of God be manifest in the world of labor. And not until the love of God finds a place in the work-a-day world can we expect labor and the Christian faith to join hands in significant advances.

Is your love of God manifest in your work? Do you put your beliefs to practice in your vocation?

Do you rejoice as you accept your responsibility to work?

In your work, is love made visible?

Finally having shown love as the motive for work Paul sets forth two results of labor. "... work with your own hands, as we charged you; so that you may command the respect of outsiders, and be dependent on nobody." First, Paul says that your work must command the respect of others. We have already seen that the believers in Thessalonica created a very unfavorable impression upon the outsiders which affected the standing of the entire church in the community. It was important for the Thessalonian disciples to work and to live in such a way that their lives were exemplary. They should be known as industrious, hard-working, sober laborers.

What impression do you give others as you go about your work?

Does your example of faith in your work command the respect of others?

Do you seek to make your work a respectable labor?

Secondly, Paul concludes that one must work in order that he is dependent on nobody. These words suggest that because of their unemployment, these early believers had become dependent on others for daily bread. It is a Christian responsibility for each believer to maintain his independence as he labors. Paul advises us to be dependent on nobody. However, we cannot fail to note that it is our Christian responsibility to help others, who through no fault of their own, cannot attain their independence. A wise Scotsman has observed: "There will be in the Christian a lovely charity which delights to give and a proud independence which scorns to take, so long as his own two hands can supply his needs." The task before us as individuals and as citizens of this great nation is to delight in support that we can give and at the same time seek to develop a proud independence among others which scorns to take.

"But we exhort you, brethren, to love more and more, to aspire to live quietly, to mind your affairs, and to work with your hands, as we charged you; so that you may command the respect of outsiders, and be dependent on nobody." Paul's exhortation is a very practical injunction having to do with labor and the Christian faith. You are enjoined to correct your own faults, attitudes or misunderstandings and seek through your interest, activity, and exemplary labor to bridge the gap between labor and faith that exists in our land today.

Come, labor on! Who dares stand idle on the harvest plain while all around him waves the golden grain? And to each servant does the Master say, "Go work today."

Come, labor on! Away with gloomy doubts and faithless fear! No arm so weak but may do service here: By feeblest agents may our God fulfill His righteous will.

Come, labor on! No time for rest, till glows the western sky, Till the long shadows o'er our pathway lie, And a glad sound comes with the setting sun, "Well done, well done."

A LITTLE SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, it is good that the shoulders of parents and grandparents of today are quite broad,

because these representatives of two generations have had a lot of abuse heaped upon them by the younger generation of today.

Just recently Dr. Eric A. Walker, president of Pennsylvania State University, addressed a class of graduates at an outdoor ceremony in Beaver Stadium at University Park. His remarks brought into focus the need for recognition of an almost forgotten element of today's society, parents and grandparents who, over a span of five decades, have accomplished near miracles, have kept quiet in the process, and have earned deep respect rather than scorn.

Dr. Walker brings us a meaningful message, and because of its important application to today's situation, I insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and heartily commend it to the attention of my colleagues. Dr. Walker's remarks follow:

[From the York (Pa.) Dispatch, Dec. 6, 1969]

A LITTLE SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

This ceremony marks the completion of an important phase of your life. It is an occasion in which all who know you can share in your sense of pride and accomplishment. But no one has more pride in your accomplishment than the next group I'd like to introduce to you.

If you of the graduating class will look over into the bleachers to your left or right, I would like to introduce you to representatives of some of the most remarkable people ever to walk on earth. These are people you already know—your parents and grandparents. And remarkable people they are indeed.

Not long ago an educator from Northwestern University by the name of Bergen Evans got together some facts about these two generations—your parents and grandparents. I'd like to share some of these facts with you.

These are the people who within just five decades have increased life expectancy by approximately 50 percent—who while cutting the working day by a third, have more than doubled per capita output.

These are the people who have given you a healthier world than they found. And because of this you no longer have to fear epidemics of flu, typhus, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever, measles or mumps. And the dreaded polio is no longer a medical factor, while TB is almost unheard of.

Let me remind you that these remarkable people lived through history's greatest depression. Many of these people know what it is to be poor, what it is to be hungry and cold. And because of this, they determined that it would not happen to you, that you would have a better life, you would have food to eat, milk to drink, vitamins to nourish you, a warm home, better schools and greater opportunities to succeed.

Because they gave you the best, you are the tallest, healthiest, brightest, and probably the best looking generation to inhabit the land.

Because they were materialistic, you will work fewer hours, learn more, have more leisure time, travel to more distant places, and have more of a chance to follow your life's ambition.

These are also the people who fought man's grisliest war. They are the people who defeated the tyranny of Hitler, and who when it was all over, had the compassion to spend billions of dollars to help their former enemies rebuild their homelands. And these are the people who had the sense to begin the United Nations.

It was representatives of these two generations who, through the highest court of

the land, fought racial discrimination at every turn to begin a new era in civil rights. They built thousands of high schools, trained and hired tens of thousands of better teachers, and at the same time made higher education a real possibility for millions of youngsters—where once it was only the dream of a wealthy few.

And they made a start—although a late one—in healing the scars of the earth and in fighting pollution and the destruction of our natural environment. They set into motion new laws giving conservation new meaning, and setting aside land for you and your children to enjoy for generations to come.

They also hold the dubious record for paying taxes—although you will probably exceed them in this.

While they have done all these things, they have had some failures. They have not yet found an alternative for war, nor for racial hatred. Perhaps you, the members of this graduating class, will perfect the social mechanisms by which all men may follow their ambitions without the threat of force—so that the earth will no longer need police to enforce the laws, nor armies to prevent some men from trespassing against others.

They made more progress by the sweat of their brows than in any previous era... and don't forget it. And if your generation can make as much progress in as many areas as these two generations have you should be able to solve a good many of the earth's remaining ills.

It is my hope and I know the hope of these two generations that you find the answers to many of these problems that plague mankind.

But it won't be easy. And you won't do it by negative thoughts, nor by tearing down or belittling. You may and can do it by hard work, humility, hope and faith in mankind. Try it.

DR. EDWARD J. BOLING

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, being president of a large university is one of the toughest and most demanding jobs. When a new president is named all eyes are on him and people say, "I hope he can do the job."

The University of Tennessee has selected a new president and he can do the job. Dr. Edward J. Boling is a hard worker and is known for his honesty and straightforwardness in all dealings.

This young man—just now 47 years old—was named to head the mighty University of Tennessee system last Friday by Gov. Buford Ellington. He succeeds Dr. Andrew Holt who is known around the world for his accomplishments as head of the university.

Dr. Boling has worked with President Holt for the past 9 years as University of Tennessee's vice president for development and administration. They have made a great team, and the university has grown so rapidly that there are constant building starts, jumps in student enrollment, and advancements and additions to the areas of study.

Being president of the University of Tennessee is a huge job. It encompasses the entire State, with campuses from east to west. The main campus with such colleges as business administration, law,

liberal arts, agriculture, home economics, and education is located in Knoxville, largest urban area in my district and Dr. Boling's hometown.

Going from east to west other major campuses are located in Chattanooga, Nashville, Memphis—medical units—and Martin.

Dr. Ed Boling is well prepared to deal with the university, its faculty, its students, its administrative staff, and its growth problems. He has been a student at University of Tennessee—bachelor of science degree in accounting in 1948 and master of science in statistics in 1950; he has taught at the university; and he has been an administrator. Even when he was not directly a part of the university, Dr. Boling spent much time working on university matters for he was Tennessee's commissioner of finance and administration in 1958-61 and before that State budget director. As a member of the Governor's cabinet, he attended all university board meetings. In fact, he has a perfect attendance record from 1954.

Thus, University of Tennessee's new president knows the university from all sides. He is enthusiastic about its future, and he is outspoken and tough enough to carry this big job. Recently, he made this comment:

The main thing in selecting a new university president in this age is to get a man callous enough to bear the brunt of what college presidents must bear today, and who can still maintain his cool.

Ed Boling is that kind of guy, and we are proud to have him as our next president of the University of Tennessee.

HALF A MILLION TONS OF JUNK MAIL EACH YEAR

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, December 17, I introduced a bill designed to take several effective steps to eliminate the growing sense of citizen powerlessness to stop mail regarded as offensive from appearing in the family mailbox. That bill, H.R. 15309, has four basic provisions:

First. Register mailing list brokers with the Postmaster General.

Second. Provide means for the individual to avoid receiving any unsolicited mass mailings or to receive only those which relate to charitable, nonprofit purposes.

Third. Require every piece of unsolicited mail to contain identifying information clearly specifying where the sender obtained the name of the recipient.

Fourth. Provide an enforceable provision stipulating that the individual may direct his name to be removed from that particular list.

In this way, Mr. Speaker, we can let the individual decide for himself whether he wishes to receive unsolicited mail and give him the ability to take personal action to stop it. While I do not regard

these new legislative concepts as being directed solely against the mounting problem of pornography through the mails, I was happy to learn that the American Civil Liberties Union has stated that my approach may well meet the constitutional objections to other legislation.

An indication of the dimensions of the direct mail problem is contained in an editorial from the Newark Evening News of Tuesday, December 9, 1969. "Weighing the Junk" discloses not only a real problem for the individual citizen, it also reveals the incredible burden now placed on our admittedly overburdened Post Office.

I believe that my new legislative concepts will help stop what is so often totally wasteful, what is occasionally disgustingly obscene, and yet continue the many valuable services which direct mail provides Americans.

Mr. Speaker, it must be realized that some citizens regard junk mail as an invasion of personal privacy, others see it as just another of the irritations of modern life, and a large number of people openly welcome it. I do not offer H.R. 15309 as the total answer to this problem, but I do believe it is a balanced approach which will be helpful to the Post Office Department, to the continuing debate over an effective way to control the mailing of pornographic solicitations, and most important, to provide legislation which clearly recognizes the primacy of personal privacy.

The article follows:

WEIGHING THE JUNK

An exasperated woman in Tacoma saved all her junk mail for a year, just to see how much she received. It weighed in at 33 pounds.

The only surprise is how easily she appears to have come off. Thirty-three pounds is less than two ounces a day, a calculation which suggests the lady in Tacoma is on fewer mailing lists than many of her fellow Americans seem to be.

In any event, her experience dramatizes a principal reason behind the postal deficit. If only half the households in the United States get 33 pounds of unsolicited mail a year, that's half a million tons. And, since the senders still aren't expected to pay their own way, their targets, the taxpayers, pick up the tab for about 125,000 of these tons.

THE "QUEEN MARY" IS ALIVE AND WELL AND IN LONG BEACH

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a little over 2 years ago, the city of Long Beach invested \$3,450,000 in the purchase of the beloved Cunard liner, the R.M.S. *Queen Mary*.

The city had previously been searching for a major water-oriented recreational facility as the feature attraction of its massive Pier J development in the Long Beach harbor.

The city fathers felt that the *Queen Mary* would be ideal. Not only would it be a major attraction in its own right,

but the ship would serve as a spur for other development of the harbor and downtown areas.

Today, 2 years after the purchase of this great ship, staff writer Don Brackenbury of the Long Beach Independent, Press-Telegram has taken an in-depth look at the city's decision to purchase the ship and develop Pier J around it.

His conclusion is that the economic benefit to the taxpayers of the city is even more fantastic than originally estimated. In the intervening 2 years, the magnitude of the development of the *Queen* and the investment also have jumped sharply.

Because of the worldwide interest in this great ship, which is so loved by millions of Americans, I am including the article in the RECORD to show clearly that the *Queen Mary* is alive and well in Long Beach:

EXPENSIVE LADY, BUT WORTH IT—"QUEEN MARY" INVESTMENT TO REACH \$52 MILLION

(By Don Brackenbury)

As the *Queen Mary* nears her second anniversary Tuesday in Long Beach, everything about her—extent of development, costs and revenue to the city—has jumped in magnitude.

When she is opened for public tours next July or August, visitors will see things no passenger ever saw before, or few crew members, either. The commercial areas are expected to be ready in the same period and the Museum of the Sea will open next December.

Originally, it was estimated that 590,000 square feet of the *Queen Mary's* total of 960,000 square feet would be used for the Museum of the Sea, commercial and tour areas. The current estimate is 930,000 square feet, of which 400,000 square feet will be devoted to the museum.

Total expected investment of public and private capital is about \$52 million.

The city's investment, from tideland oil revenues, will total about \$32 million. The California Museum Foundation and private sponsors will put about \$10 million into the Museum of the Sea, and Diners/*Queen Mary* Corp. and its sublessees are expected to invest at least \$10 million.

In return, on the basis of leases already awarded and other revenues expected to develop, the city will receive between \$2.5 and \$3 million a year on its investment. In addition the city, county and state will get more than \$1 million in taxes from the ship's operations.

Economic studies indicate that visitors to the *Queen Mary* will spend \$19 million annually at the ship, according to City Manager John R. Mansell. The studies also predict that visitors drawn to Long Beach by the *Queen Mary* will spend an additional \$14 million in this area.

"The size, scope and importance of the *Queen Mary* project is far greater than originally envisioned," Mansell said, "and the degree of private investment in the program has increased four-fold."

"The *Queen Mary* is a great lady," Fred Rosenberg, president of Diners/*Queen Mary*, told a Chamber of Commerce dinner in September. "She doesn't give up her favors easily or cheaply. She's expensive—but she's worth it."

Acquisition of the *Queen Mary* by Long Beach actually was the outgrowth of a development study, made to determine the best uses for the east side of Pier J. The survey was made by Real Estate Research Corp. for the city and port of Long Beach, and was completed in April, 1966.

The survey found that there is a market for a water-oriented recreation development along the east side of Pier J, overlooking the

city's shoreline and downtown convention center on Pacific Terrace. It suggested development of a marina of 3,000 to 4,000 berths, with hotel-motel accommodations, various marine sale outlets, yacht clubs, sport fishing landings and restaurants.

As a key to the success of such a development, Real Estate Research Corp. recommended that the city try to establish "a major international tourist attraction" within the area.

The project was to be a combined city-port effort, and H. E. (Bud) Ridings, then president of the Board of Harbor Commissioners, and Harry Fulton, special assistant to the city manager, were named to spearhead a campaign for potential developers.

Although they found considerable interest in the Pier J project, Ridings and Fulton reported they also found that the need for the "major international attraction" was a real one. About this time—in May, 1966—news stories reported that Cunard Lines was considering the possibility of retiring its two veteran luxury liners, the Queen Mary and the Queen Elizabeth, probably in October, 1968.

"Why don't we try to get the Queen Mary as our tourist attraction?" Ridings proposed to Fulton.

The two men then began contacting various American corporations about the possibility of the firms purchasing the Queen Mary and bringing her to Long Beach as a hotel-convention center. In the following year, at least six firms indicated an interest in the project.

Through Roger Courtin, chief executive of the British-American Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles, Ridings learned that Cunard also had shown an interest in the Long Beach idea. On March 7, 1967, Ridings wrote to Lord Mancroft, vice chairman of the board of Cunard Steamship Co., requesting an appointment to discuss the idea.

Suddenly, the timetable was speeded up. On May 9, 1967, the New York Times' news service carried a story from London that Cunard did plan to sell the two Queens—but in October of 1967, not 1968.

Lord Mancroft told the Long Beach representatives that Cunard would accept bids for the Queen Mary in London on July 24, 1967.

Up to this point, Ridings and Fulton had been proceeding on the idea that private enterprise would purchase the ship and bring it to Long Beach. The accelerated deadline, however, changed the picture. Several of the firms that Ridings and Fulton had contacted said they still were interested in the project, but could not meet the July 24 bidding deadline.

It was at this point that the California Museum Foundation came into the picture and, in fact, made the ship's acquisition possible.

The foundation, a nonprofit state organization dedicated to the development of museum facilities, had been negotiating with the city since 1958 with a goal of building a museum in Long Beach. Under agreements which had been reached, the city would build the museum, and the foundation would provide exhibits financed by private enterprise and would operate the museum. State legislation in 1964 had authorized Long Beach to spend tideland oil money for construction and operation of such a museum.

With the possibility that the Queen Mary might be brought to Long Beach, the idea was put forth that establishment of a Museum of the Sea aboard the ship would be a much bigger attraction than a land-based museum, because the luxury liner itself was an historical attraction.

Proponents of this plan—primarily Ridings, Fulton and Samuel C. Cameron, a member of the board of the California Museum Foundation—suggested that the city acquire the Queen Mary, develop a museum

aboard ship and lease out areas not needed for the museum to private commercial interests for operation as a hotel-convention facility.

Acquisition of the ship would be financed by the city from tideland oil money, but private commercial interests would pay for the development of all commercial activities aboard.

During the months of June and July, 1967, this concept was submitted to, and approved by, the Long Beach City Council, the California Museum Foundation, State Lands commissioners. Gov. Ronald Reagan and various state legislative leaders.

The city had anticipated that the cost of the land-based museum would have been \$8,750,000, not including the cost of the land itself.

For this amount, it was decided, the city could acquire the Queen Mary, return it to Long Beach, and convert it into a museum. In addition, the California Museum Foundation was expected to provide about \$2.5 million worth of exhibits, and private enterprise would contribute an equal amount for the development of commercial spaces. At this point, the city was contemplating developing about 150,000 square feet aboard the ship for museum use.

With these plans in mind, a seven-man delegation went to London in late July to submit a bid for the purchase of the liner. This group included Ridings; Fulton; Cameron, representing the museum foundation; Llewellyn Bixby Jr., the newly elected president of the harbor board; Vice Mayor Robert F. Crow, representing the City Council; City Attorney Leonard Putnam, and special legal counsel Clark Heggeness.

Under authorization of the City Council, the delegation submitted a bid of \$3,450,000. This bid would buy the ship and all its furnishings and equipment, except that which was only on lease to Cunard, or which was personally owned by the British Royal Family.

The bid carried a condition that the city be permitted to sponsor a last cruise of the Queen Mary from Southampton to Long Beach. The cruise would help defray costs of bringing the ship to Long Beach, but the delegation also pointed out that it would be "inconceivable" not to carry passengers on what came to be named "The Last Great Cruise" of the luxury liner.

The Long Beach bid was one of 18 submitted on July 24. Two days later, Cunard announced that Long Beach was the successful bidder. Cunard never made public the list of bidders, but it was learned through newspaper reports and subsequent statements by Cunard officials that the Long Beach bid was \$50,000 higher than the second-best offer, which came from a group of Philadelphia businessmen.

The extent of international interest in the ship and her new future was evidenced almost instantly, as thousands of letters began pouring into Long Beach City Hall. They ranged from requests for leases of commercial space aboard ship to inquiries about accommodations in the proposed hotel, and they included many sentimental letters reminiscing about experiences aboard the Queen, or offering memorabilia of the ship.

While paper work of the purchase was worked out, plans were started for future development of the ship. The original space allocations were 140,000 square feet for the museum, 260,000 square feet for tour and collateral areas, and 190,000 square feet for commercial activities.

These original estimates contemplated only minor equipment removal and structural work below R Deck. They also presumed that most of the alterations and refurbishing work would be accomplished by local shipyards, whose prevailing union rates and job charges are substantially below those of land-based union wages and construction

job rates. The city, however, was to be ordered by the state to specify that the contracts use the higher wages of land-based unions—a factor which made a sharp rise in costs.

The original economics of the project called for an \$8,750,000 investment by the city, with \$2.5 million in museum exhibits from private sponsors and another \$2.5 million from private commercial investment.

It was anticipated that the city's income would be between \$1 million and \$2 million annually, plus state and local tax revenue of \$700,000.

During the summer, arrangements were completed for the final delivery voyage. The 81,237-ton ship was too large to take through the Panama Canal, so she had to be routed around Cape Horn. This presented major problems, because the Queen Mary had been designed for cross-Atlantic trips of four or five days, not extended cruises with up to eight days between ports.

Travel arrangements were made, on behalf of the city, by the Fugazy Travel Bureau, and the "Last Great Cruise" started from Southampton on Oct. 31, 1967.

The ship made stops at Lisbon, Portugal; Las Palmas, Canary Islands; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Valparaiso, Chile; Callao, Peru; Balboa, Panama, and Acapulco, Mexico. She travelled on two engines—not to save money, as some reports said, but because her fuel tanks were not large enough for such long distances between ports if all four engines were used.

There was no air conditioning in the cabins—such service was not needed on the North Atlantic run—so the heat during her two crossings through tropical waters was uncomfortable. There were some complaints, but most passengers indicated they were having "the experience of a lifetime."

There also were reports of rats and cockroaches aboard, but these stories were grossly exaggerated. No rats were found aboard the ship, and the presence of cockroaches was "far less" than normal incidence aboard a ship at sea, health officials said.

It would have cost the city between \$680,000 and \$800,000 to bring the Queen Mary from Southampton to Long Beach. By carrying 1,200 passengers on the "Last Great Cruise," the city wound up with a profit of \$150,000 above the cost.

Her arrival in Long Beach on Dec. 9, 1967, was greeted by an estimated 10,000 small craft and hundreds of thousands of people on boats and along the shore. The Queen Mary's skipper, Capt. J. Treasure Jones, said he had never received such a warm welcome.

While the Queen Mary was making her 39-day, 14,500-mile final trip, activity was being stepped up in Long Beach to make plans for the arrival and berthing of the ship, and then for the conversion to her new way of life. City Manager Mansell and Assistant City Manager Robert C. Creighton also began the search for commercial lessees to finance and create the proposed hotel-convention center.

Trustees of the California Museum Foundation, spearheaded by President Don M. Muchmore, board chairman J. Howard Edgerton and Cameron, began their planning for the Museum of the Sea. Subsequently, a Museum of the Sea committee was organized, with Cameron as chairman and Les H. Cohen as director.

On Sept. 1, 1967, the City Council hired consulting firms in naval architecture, museum design and hotel-restaurant management to study the ship and make recommendations for its conversion. This report was made Oct. 24, and it was enthusiastic.

The recommendations dealt principally with the assignment of space, and the council approved the following allocations: Museum of the Sea, 282,000 square feet below R Deck; tour and collateral areas, 155,000

square feet; commercial areas, 265,000 square feet.

This represented an increase of more than 110,000 square feet over all, with the Museum of the Sea being given twice the area originally proposed.

The consultants recommended to the city that it develop as much as possible of the Queen Mary's space, and asserted that the ship could become an attraction of "international significance."

They also warned that there could be a problem in keeping visitors to the museum and to the hotel separated, and they recommended a complete physical separation of the museum and commercial activities.

It was for this reason that spaces below R Deck were to be assigned to the museum. This, however, brought an added problem and cost—clearing out machinery and equipment in the engine and boiler rooms. This is an area roughly equivalent to a five-story building, with 40,000 square feet on each floor.

In November, 1967, following a study and report by Linesch and Reynolds, environmental planners, the City Council selected a site near the northeast corner of Pier J as the permanent berth of the Queen Mary.

The agreement between the city and the California Museum Foundation was executed on Dec. 12, 1967, and the museum pledge to acquire a minimum of \$2.5 million worth of exhibits, and to operate and maintain the museum. It also agreed to conduct public tours, on behalf of the city. The contract was for 40 years.

At about this period, the city obtained the services of Rear Adm. John J. Fee, who was retiring after 36½ years with the U.S. Navy, to direct the Queen Mary project. Admiral Fee was no stranger to Long Beach. He was commander of Long Beach Naval Shipyard from 1961 to 1963. Just prior to retirement, he had commanded the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, and he previously had spent four years in Washington, D.C., in several capacities with the Navy's Bureau of Ships.

The first major job for Admiral Fee and his staff was to render the Queen Mary fully dependent upon shore facilities. This was the first time this ever had happened to the Queen Mary. She was not equipped to take power from shore, and never before had her boilers been totally cold since she started her first voyage. She became fully dependent on shoreside services on Dec. 11, 1967—the day Long Beach assumed control.

The "takeover" ceremony was held aboard the Queen Mary, tied alongside Pier E, and it was attended by city, county, state and federal officials, representatives of Cunard Steamship Co. and the British government. The document officially transferring the vessel was signed by Capt. J. Treasure Jones, skipper of the Queen Mary; Gerald Dalton, representing Cunard; Mayor Edwin W. Wade and City Manager Mansell.

A trans-Atlantic and transcontinental telephone hookup had been arranged by General Telephone Co. to coordinate legal activities aboard ship with Cunard offices in London. At 11:05 a.m., dignitaries and spectators aboard the ship heard the voice of an attorney in London say:

"The Queen Mary now belongs to Long Beach."

One of the first jobs after the transfer was to remove about 700 tons of residual fuel aboard the vessel, and to clean out the tanks. All flammable material, and miscellaneous items which might present a hazard or which were not needed for the conversion work, also had to be removed.

With this preliminary work completed, the next major undertaking was to put the Queen Mary into drydock to sandblast the hull, close the underwater outlets, and repaint the bottom.

The only drydock in the area which could

handle a ship of this size was the one at Long Beach Naval Shipyard, but it developed that getting the ship into drydock was a lot more difficult than just the problem of maneuvering such a leviathan.

In early February, 1968, seven maritime unions began picketing the ship at Pier E, contending they should have jurisdiction over the conversion work. This was the period of the "Is it a ship or a building?" dispute. The city was treating the vessel as a building inasmuch as it never again would operate as a vessel, and the 11th Coast Guard District concurred in this position. The maritime unions, however, argued that the Queen Mary was still a ship and, therefore, they were entitled to any jobs aboard.

The Queen Mary had been scheduled to go into the Naval Shipyard drydock on Feb. 22, but the picketing halted the move. The city went to the courts, called on the AFL-CIO's top officers to intervene, and even fought it out in the Navy Department. The Navy became involved because of charges that putting the vessel into the shipyard drydock would violate Navy regulations by being in competition with private industry. The Secretary of the Navy ruled the charge invalid, however, and the drydock work finally started—45 days late.

While in drydock, three of the ship's giant propellers and all four fin stabilizers were removed. About 90 hull openings were sealed, and the hull was sandblasted and painted. Although Cunard had sandblasted and painted the underwater portions of the hull from time to time, the company had not removed the paint above the water line since the ship originally was built.

The city decided to remove this topside paint as well, not only to reduce future maintenance problems, but to protect the ship from a potential fire hazard. This work actually was done after the ship came out of drydock.

Considering that the Queen Mary is longer than three football fields, is 113 feet wide, and is comparable in height to a 14-story building, it can be seen that removing paint that had been accumulating for 31 years would be a formidable task. The sandblasting contractors estimated they removed approximately 320 tons of paint, and the elimination of this weight actually made the ship float an inch and a half higher.

The paint removal was almost like an archeological expedition. On some sections, the paint was a quarter inch thick. Looking at it in cross-section, an observer could see the original red lead put on the steel when the ship was built in the mid-30s. On top of this was layer after layer of white paint, with one grey streak that marked the Queen's wartime service, followed by additional layers of white.

While the ship still was in drydock, however, one other major job was accomplished. A huge metal box was built around the one remaining propeller. Access to the box was provided from the interior of the ship, so visitors to the Museum of the Sea will be able to view the 35-ton, 18-foot-diameter propeller slowly revolving.

Another personnel problem which had arisen, whether the maritime wage rates or those of the building trades should be used on the Queen Mary conversion work, finally was resolved as a result of lengthy hearings by the State Labor Commission.

In most instances, the state ruled in favor of the building trades' rates. This meant a sharp increase in costs, because building trades union wages generally are higher than those of similar jobs in the maritime unions. The city estimated the cost would be raised at least 20 per cent as a result of the ruling.

After the Queen Mary arrived in Long Beach, the city began accepting proposals for a master lease on all commercial space to be made available. On March 26, 1968, the City Council approved in principle the selec-

tion of Diners Club, Inc., as master lessee, and authorized negotiations on a contract.

The 25-year lease, which gives the corporation options to extend for seven successive periods of five years each, also provides that diners/Queen Mary will pay the city an annual minimum rent of \$300,000 from the first through the 17th year of the contract, increasing to \$500,000 annual minimum for subsequent years.

The corporation, in addition, will pay certain percentages of gross receipts, ranging from 30 per cent on the gross up to \$1.5 million to 50 per cent on gross receipts over \$2 million annually.

The work of changing the one-time Cunard luxury liner to a hotel-convention center and Museum of the Sea is now well under way. The conversion contract calls for it to be completed by June 15, 1970. That is the same date planned for completion of the supporting shore facilities at the permanent Pier J berth. The museum expects, on present schedules, to open in December, 1970.

City Manager Mansell has predicted that the commercial areas aboard ship will be opened to the public by Aug. 15, 1970, however.

When completed, the Queen Mary will offer 402 staterooms, all of which have been completely rebuilt or remodeled.

The ballroom will accommodate about 1,000 persons for meetings or banquets with an adjacent room providing seating for an additional 500. There also will be numerous other rooms for receptions, cocktail parties, weddings or special get-togethers. The main kitchen-gallery encompasses more than 15,000 square feet, and a second galley on the Promenade Deck will serve the six public restaurants.

The Museum of the Sea, which is being planned and designed in consultation with the internationally known oceanographer, Capt. Jacques-Yves Cousteau, will be the world's largest public attraction of its type, according to the California Museum Foundation.

Capt. Cousteau has reported that the exhibits will be in seven major sections: (1) the Queen Mary history and technology tour exhibits, (2) physical marine environment, (3) biological marine environment, (4) the six undersea senses, (5) basic functions of marine creatures, (6) behavior of marine animals and (7) miscellaneous exhibits.

Related to the museum, but operated as a separate attraction, will be guided tours for the public. Plans are being made to handle 2 million persons a year on the tours, which are expected to begin between July 1 and Aug. 15, 1970. The California Museum Foundation will conduct the tours on behalf of the city.

Included in the tours will be a loading demonstration and display of cargo formerly carried by the liner, an "abandon ship" lifeboat drill, visits to the bridge, an authentic first-class suite and, by comparison, typical quarters for the American servicemen who rode her to the fighting fronts in World War II.

One of the newest developments for the Queen Mary area is the proposed aerial tramway, which will run a distance of nearly a mile from the Queen Mary site, across the water to a terminal just west of Pacific Terrace Center. Diners/Queen Mary Corp. proposes to finance and build the \$2 million project, and will pay the city 10 per cent of gross revenues up to \$750,000 annually, and 15 per cent above that figure. The ride will be capable of carrying between 1,000 and 1,200 passengers an hour in each direction.

Understandably, the size of the Queen Mary project has made it a target for some criticism, particularly on the \$31 million investment of tidelands oil funds. City Manager Mansell maintains however, that the expenditure is an investment—one that will bring direct returns of about 10 per cent.

"I consider that a good investment," Mansell said.

In addition, acquisition of the Queen Mary already has stimulated the local economy. Mansell gives the ship credit for influencing the decision of Boise Cascade Corp. to sign agreements with the city to invest \$40 million in the West Beach redevelopment, for example. The Long Beach Convention and Visitors Bureau had reported a sharp upsurge in convention reservations and inquiries since the advent of the Queen.

At a recent Chamber of Commerce dinner honoring Queen Mary lessees, Jack Wrather, president and chairman of the board of the Wrather Corp., predicted the Queen Mary will be "the next primary tourist attraction in the state."

THE 1969 SEAL BEACH BEAUTIFUL AWARDS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Junior Woman's Club of Seal Beach, Calif., has successfully concluded its first Seal Beach Beautiful campaign.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Lee Risner, president of the Junior Woman's Club, and Mrs. Mike Knapp, chairman of the Seal Beach Beautiful campaign, the women presented awards to 41 organizations and individuals, and 14 recognition certificates.

The objective of their campaign was to encourage the residents and businesses of the area to be more aware of the beauty of the community and work for its improvement.

I am pleased to pay tribute to the women of Seal Beach for this outstanding endeavor and offer my hope that their efforts will continue and flourish in future years.

I am including in the RECORD an article about the awards presentation banquet from the Seal Beach Journal:

BEAUTIFICATION AWARDS PRESENTED

In an impressive ceremony held at the Old Ranch Country Club, attended by most of the dignitaries and leaders of the community, the Seal Beach Junior Woman's Club presented awards to forty-one organizations and residents, and fourteen Recognition Certificates to others participating in the 1969 Seal Beach Beautiful Campaign.

Mrs. Lee Risner, president of the Junior Woman's Club, called attention to the awards presented for the many remodeling projects and new buildings that had been constructed prior to this year, but which deserved recognition for their improvement to the community. These projects were included in this first year of the program.

"I want to thank the City of Seal Beach Administrative Staff, friends of the club and organizations who helped to ensure the success of Seal Beach Beautiful," stated Mrs. Risner.

Mrs. Mike Knapp, Chairman of Seal Beach Beautiful, presented awards to the following:

In the Structures and Buildings Category, the winners in each of the seven divisions were: Institutions: Seal Beach City Hall, 211 Eighth Street; Commercial—New: Beverly Manor Convalescent Hospital, 3000 Beverly Manor Road; Marina Veterinary Clinic, 233 Seal Beach Blvd.; Old Ranch Country Club, 3901 Lampton; Union Federal Savings, 12501

Seal Beach Blvd.; and Atlantic Richfield Station, 12800 Seal Beach Blvd. Commercial—Remodeled: Bank of America, 208 Main Street. Industrial: North American Rockwell Corp., Space Division—Seal Beach, 2201 Seal Beach Blvd. Residential—Single Family: James Prentice, 202 6th Street; A. N. Kemp, 1405 Catalina; and George Falk, 246 16th St. Residential—Multi-Family: Herbert Benedict, 1421 Seal Way; Scheiblauber and Holeman D'Orleans, 124 1st Street; Henry A. Ericksen, 130 5th Street; and C. A. Steinman, 211 12th Street. Housing Developments: Shapell Industries, College Park East; and Suburbia, Inc., Bridgeport.

In the Advertising and Display Category: Ches-Men Shop and Antiques, 211 Main St. (sign and window); The General Store, 137½ Main Street (window display); The Wool Merchant, 129½ Main Street (sign); and La Scarpa, 133 Main Street (window display).

In the Beautification Projects Category, awards went to: The Leisure World Garden Club; The Golden Rain Foundation; Surfside Colony, Ltd.; Leisure World Mutual No. 4; City of Seal Beach; Shapell Industries; and Suburbia, Inc.

In the Special Awards Category, awards went to: John Nescher (John's Food King, 148 Main St.); Rita Herron (Herron's of Seal Beach, 214 Main St.); Rossmoor Business Center (North Seal Beach Community Center); Suburbia, Inc. (Schooner Park); Shapell Industries (Park Dedication); City of Long Beach; and City of Seal Beach.

1969 Recognition Certificates went to: Leisure World Garden Club; Woman's Club of Seal Beach; Suburbia, Inc.; U.S. Naval Weapons Station; P.T.A. of Seal Beach; Seal Beach School District; Seal Beach Sport Fishing; Teepees Garden Center; Tomco Marina; Girl Scout Troop #387; Brownie Troop #996; Girl Scout Juniors Troop #482; Brownie #1051; and Brownie Troop #840. Tree Fund Donors who were recognized for their contributions were: Mr. and Mrs. Gine Stegman; Mr. and Mrs. Stan Anderson; Lioness Club of Seal Beach; and Marina Democratic Club.

According to Mrs. Risner, 137 were present at the awards dinner, and viewed the display of future plans for the City of Seal Beach in the lobby of the Country Club. On display were drawings and models of the Old Ranch Tennis Club; the new Marina Community Center; the proposed Rossmoor Park Apts.; and the Belmont Savings and Loan building, now under construction. Also on display were the preliminary renderings of the old City Hall drawn in 1929, and the plans for the existing North Seal Beach Community Center.

To help in promoting interest in the Campaign, four posters made by students from McCaugh School, were displayed by local merchants.

Guest speaker for the evening was Mr. David Johnson, Project Architect for William L. Periera and Associates, who presented a discussion with diagrams and charts of the projected growth of Orange County, and former planning.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS—DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, today the House Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population, of which I am chairman, released its reports and

recommendations on Federal family planning programs—domestic and international. For the benefit of all my colleagues I will have this report published in the RECORD:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS—DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL

(Report and recommendations of the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population, House Republican Research Committee, Dec. 22, 1969)

HOUSE REPUBLICAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Robert Taft, Jr., Ohio, Chairman.

TASK FORCE ON EARTH RESOURCES AND POPULATION

George Bush, Tex., Chairman; Tim Lee Carter, Kentucky; Louis Frey Jr., Florida; James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Charles S. Gubser, California; Frank Horton, New York; Hastings Keith, Massachusetts; Donald E. Lukens, Ohio; Paul N. McCloskey, California; Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; Jerry L. Pettis, California; Howard W. Pollock, Alaska; Ogden R. Reid, New York; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; John Wold, Wyoming.

INTRODUCTION

This report of the House Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population is based upon extensive hearings and study during the 91st Congress, 1st Session. The report and the recommendations it contains are directed toward (1) achieving the national goal of providing family planning services¹ to the 5.3 million American women who wish and need such services, but who cannot afford or are unable to obtain these services, and (2) demonstrating America's concern over and commitment to meet the critical problems posed by the world population explosion.

POPULATION

Modern medicine and advances in nutrition have cut the death rates throughout the world, producing a fantastic population growth rate.

It took all of history, until about 1830, for the world's population to reach 1 billion.

In 1930, 100 years later, world population reached 2 billion.

In 1960, 30 years later, world population reached 3 billion.

By 1975, it is anticipated that the world population will be 4 billion. (Current world population is 3.5 billion.)

The current rate of population growth is 2% per year or 70 million per year. If this rate of growth continues, we will reach a world population of 7 billion by the turn of the century.

The most frightening aspect of this growth rate is that if it continues, we will have 14 billion people or four times our present population by 2015. The National Academy of Sciences has said: "Either the birth rate must come down or the death rate must go back up."

Rates of growth are significantly higher in the less-developed countries

Latin America—3% per year.

Africa—2.3% per year with a high death rate.

India—2.5% per year.

Pakistan—2.7% per year.

Both India and Pakistan have large family planning programs which can suppress their growth rates if the programs are successful.

The United States has a growth rate of 1%. At the present rate, our population will increase from its present 205 million to 300 million by the year 2000.

¹ Family planning programs are designed to provide the education, materials, and services that are necessary in planning pregnancies when they are desired as well as to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

Population growth: Its relationship to GNP and the standard of living

The rate at which a country can increase its Gross National Product is limited by availability of labor, capital, and land, and how efficiently it can use all three. The GNP rises with population growth, but per capita GNP decreases. For a country to just maintain the standard of living for its people, it must be able to double its GNP in the period in which it doubles its population. To improve its standard of living of its people, it must more than double its GNP in that time.

Age distribution with a population: Its effect on population growth

In the developed countries such as the U.S. or Sweden, there are more people in the labor force age (18-65) than there are children. But in the underdeveloped countries, there are more people under 15 years of age than in the labor force age group. The larger number of dependent children relative to the number of persons in the labor force, the greater the economic burden of dependency. A high percentage of dependent children produces more spending for immediate consumption, restricts both private and public savings, and inhibits productive investment. It also means more persons entering the age of fertility than leaving the age of fertility each year, further driving up the population growth rate.

The earth has limited resources

The problem of population growth is more an economic and political one than it is a food and nutrition problem. We are physically limited to the amount of land to produce our food, water to nourish the land and minerals to produce our energy. However, our resources are ample to provide for the next 3 or 4 additional billion people. It is the cultivation, production, storage, and distribution of these resources that presents an enormous challenge to our technological abilities. We will have to get the resources to the people or the people to the resources. But then what about beyond the next 3 or 4 billion people?

THE DOMESTIC PROBLEM

The need for family planning services

At the present time there are about 5.3 million American women aged 18-44 who wish and need family planning services, but who cannot afford such services.² They represent one out of five of all U.S. women of reproductive age who need protection against unwanted pregnancy. The estimate of 5.3 million is arrived at by subtracting from the total number of women aged 18-44 now living in poverty or near poverty and estimated 10% who are infertile and 15% who are having or want a pregnancy at any given time. This calculation assumes that poor parents will want and have the average of three children that they, like other Americans, say they prefer and will be potential contraceptive patients only when they are not having these desired pregnancies.

Available data indicates a maximum of only 700,000 women in these income groups are currently receiving effective family planning help from all public and private agencies combined. This includes 250,000 low-income patients served by Planned Parenthood affiliates and an estimated 450,000 served by hospitals, public health clinics, and other services.

Thus, seven out of eight of the 5.3 million women who want and need family planning assistance are denied effective services.

These statistics are well accepted by the family planning experts both inside and outside of government. They are a result of a special survey by the U.S. Bureau of Census

² Planned Parenthood Federation of America, *Five Million Women*, New York, N.Y., 1967.

in March of 1966. An analysis of these statistics by the Planned Parenthood-World Population Research Department also shows that of these 5.3 million women:

Most live in cities—only 395,000, or 7.5 percent, of the 5.3 million women live on farms. About 1,580,000, or 30 percent, live in small towns in rural areas. (Estimate on basis of population patterns prevalent at time of the 1960 census) The rest, over 3.3 million of them, live in the Nation's cities. More than half, 2,663,000 are concentrated in the country's 110 largest Standard Metropolitan Areas with populations of 250,000 persons or more.

Most live in or near poverty areas—nearly half of the target group live within the "poverty areas" officially designated in most U.S. communities for concentrated attention by the War on Poverty. The Office of Economic Opportunity estimates that approximately another 20 percent live in neighborhoods adjacent to official "poverty areas."

Most who need help are white—seven out of 10 women in the target group, or 3,695,000 are white. Only three out of ten, or 1,585,000, are non-white. Because non-whites are disproportionately poor, however, more than half of the 3.1 million fertile non-white women not seeking pregnancy need family planning help, compared to one out of six of the 23 million white women. In the Census Bureau's Northeast, North Central and Western regions, there are approximately four whites in the target group to each non-white; even in the 16 states of the Census Bureau's Southern region, there are three whites to every two non-whites. (In the South, however, two-thirds of all fertile non-white women not currently seeking pregnancy need family planning help, as against approximately one-third in the rest of the nation.)

Most are self-supporting—more than 4,500,000 or 86% of the women in the target population live in families which support themselves. Only 14%, or about 750,000, live in families whose major source of support is public welfare assistance.

Many work, but most must stay home—nearly half of the women in the target group—over 2.3 million—work at some gainful occupation at least part of the year. Almost one in five or 940,000 are employed full time.

Most stay put—Seven out of eight women in the target group—or 4.6 million—lived in the same county over at least the preceding 12 month period. Two out of three or 3.4 million did not move at all.

Most are married—nearly five out of six women in the target group—or 4.4 million—are, or have been, married. Three out of five or 3.1 million, are married and currently living with their husbands. One out of four—1.2 million—is separated, widowed, or divorced. One in six is single.

Most have gone to high school—three out of four of the women in the target group—nearly four million of them—have had some high school. The median number of grades completed is 11. More than four out of 10—or 2.2 million of them—are high school graduates. One out of 10 has had some college education. Only one of four members of target group—less than 1.4 million—has had only a grade school education.

Most are young, but children come fast—their median age is 30, and seven out of 10 currently have 3 children or less. More than half of the women at age 27 already have three children or more, with 17 childbearing years ahead of them. One out of five of the 570,000 women in the target group aged 18-19 already has at least one child, compared to one out of 12 non-poor women of this age. Similarly almost one-fifth of the 2.6 million poor women under age 30 have 4 or more children, compared to one out of 28 non-poor women.

Studies also demonstrate clearly that the larger the family size, the higher the risk of economic instability or of poverty.

With the enactment of Titles IV, V, and XIX of the Social Security Act, it has been government policy to share federal funds in the form of grants to health departments, hospitals, and any public or non-profit voluntary organizations to provide inexpensive or free family planning services for low income and poverty families or individuals. Under titles IV and V, up to 75% of the cost of family planning services is authorized. Title XIX provides for federal sharing from 50% to 83% of costs provided by a state. The percentage increase in appropriated funds for family planning programs under Title V has been significant in the past two years. However, the base was low and the current appropriation of about \$30 million is far from the \$150 to \$170 million needed in federal funds for these grants and contracts.

Inadequate delivery system for family planning services

The Task Force and the Nixon Administration recognize that the major problem in providing family planning services to the needy lies in the area of inefficient delivery systems of medical services. It was also apparent to the Task Force that even if large amounts of money were immediately available to provide family planning services, the money could not be effectively utilized because of the lack of organized delivery systems.

To correct this inadequacy, Secretary Robert Finch made a reorganization within HEW and established the Center for Family Planning Services within the Health Services and Mental Health Administration. In his testimony before the Task Force, Dr. Roger Egeberg, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, stated his desire to create a self standing Family Planning Institute within three years.

Another concern of the Task Force was the destiny of the successful OEO community family planning demonstration projects. The OEO family planning projects are the most successful community projects that the agency has developed.

There is a need for better coordination of government family planning programs. President Nixon recognized this fact and stressed the need for intergovernment coordination of these programs with those of HEW's in his Population Message. This responsibility for coordination he assigned, at the highest level, to his Special Assistant for Urban Affairs demonstrating the priority which his Administration gives to the problem.

Basic research

Increased basic research to develop a more convenient contraceptive (such as a once a month pill or an injection) as well as a male contraceptive was stressed by every witness that testified before the Task Force on population matters.

Currently, approximately \$30 million is being spent annually on this type of research of which about \$13 million came from the Federal treasury in FY '69. The remainder has been provided by independent non-profit organizations and the pharmaceutical manufacturers. The majority of witnesses felt that this should be increased to \$150 million over the next five years with at least \$100 million coming from Federal funds. This level of funding, it was felt, would almost certainly assure success in developing acceptable contraceptives.

A major criteria of a successful contraceptive is low cost. For this reason it is unrealistic to believe that the pharmaceutical manufacturers would willingly on their own spend the money necessary for such development in the short time period that is critically needed for this development. However, with a big research assist from the Federal government, it is hoped that the pharmaceutical manufacturers will be able to produce

and market inexpensive contraceptive drugs successfully by the mid 1970's.

THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

To understand the enormity of the population explosion in the under-developed countries, one must realize the fantastic success that modern sanitation and medicine has achieved in reducing death rates in these countries. Up until the conclusion of World War II, birth rates and death rates were at about the same levels. In the past 25 years death rates have dropped so rapidly in these less developed countries, while birth rates have remained almost constant that the population growth rates are between 2.3% and 3%.

At these rates of growth, populations treble in a 30 to 35 year period. If these rates were to continue, the populations would treble again in only a 15 to 20 year period. The average age levels of these populations will continue to decline thus creating a child dependency level that the productive age groups could not possibly support. Currently, the percentage of dependent children (under 15 years old) in the less developed countries runs between 40 and 50 percent of the population. In the U.S. this figure is around 30%.

As A.I.D. Administrator, Dr. John Hannah has pointed out: "Overpopulation and underdevelopment go hand in hand. The nation with population growth equal to or in excess of economic growth is in real trouble. Unless poor countries with too high birth rates do something about reducing them, it will be impossible to solve the problem of development."

The leadership of these countries has full cognizance of their problem. The United Nations Development Program is giving population control programs a high priority. Secretary-General U Thant has pledged expanded support for population activities and established a new trust fund with which to accomplish these activities. President Nixon, in his Population Message, emphasized the need for supporting these activities.

Lacking a national policy on population creates the most difficult problem facing the United States in providing direct support to the under-developed countries in population control programs. The United States becomes suspect in her motives for promoting these population programs without one of her own. Also, in several of the Latin American countries a direct support approach is entirely unacceptable to the recipients because of religious barriers. However, we have learned that indirect support through independent and international organizations in these cases has proven to be successful and is generally desired, though not officially, by the recipient countries.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S POPULATION MESSAGE

In his Population Message, President Nixon established a national goal: "The provision of adequate family planning services within the next five years to all those who want them but cannot afford them."

The President emphasized the following areas of government support and action:

1. Increased research
2. More trained people to work in population and family planning programs, both in this country and abroad.
3. Expanded and better domestic family planning services supported by the federal government.
4. Full cooperation from the United States with the leadership of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international bodies in responding to the problems of world population growth.

The President charged his Assistant for Urban Affairs with the responsibility to coordinate the project of attracting people to work in family planning programs. This project will have the participation of the Secretaries of State, Interior, HEW, and

Labor, along with the Administrator of the AID and the Director of OEO.

The President charged the Secretary of HEW with the responsibility for reorganizing the major family planning services of his agency, and a separate unit to deal with family planning services within the Health Services and Mental Health Administration has now been established. The President directed the Director of the OEO to extend the family planning activities of the agency-supported community action demonstration projects to help achieve the national goal.

The President stressed the need for coordination of domestic family planning programs between HEW and OEO and that this coordination include the private sector as well as state and local governments. The President said: "It would be unrealistic for the Federal government alone to shoulder the entire burden, but this Administration does accept a clear responsibility to provide essential leadership."

AGENCY ACTIVITY

During fiscal year 1969, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare approved 79 project grants extending family planning services to the poor in 41 states. The grants, administered by the Children's Bureau, are authorized under the 1967 amendments to Title V of the Social Security Act. In addition, the Children's Bureau administers grants to the states for maternal and child health services, of which family planning is a part. The FY '69 family planning project grants were awarded to:

Alabama—\$267,500 to Jefferson County Department of Health, Dr. Mary J. Tiller, for services in Birmingham.

Arizona—\$186,300 to Maricopa County Health Department, Dr. Pearl M. Tang, for services in Phoenix; \$25,792 to Arizona Department of Health, Dr. Putnam, for services in Yuma.

Arkansas—\$115,000 to Arkansas State Board of Health, Dr. B. J. Reaves, for services in East Arkansas; \$151,542 to Arkansas State Health Department, Dr. Reginald Ramsay, for services in Little Rock.

California—\$43,500 to Sacramento County Health Department, Dr. Nemat O. Horhani, for services in Sacramento; \$76,000 to Orange County Health Department, Dr. Emma B. Wharton, for services in Orange County; \$18,000 to Planned Parenthood Association of San Diego County, Willard Johnson, for services in San Diego; \$110,156 to San Bernardino County Health Department, Dr. Sue Anne Servoss, for services in San Bernardino; \$124,834 to Contra-Costa County Health Department, Dr. Glen Kent, for services in Contra-Costa County; \$26,500 to Solano County Department of Public Health, Dr. Henry G. Mello, for services in Solano County; \$68,400 to Berkeley Department of Public Health, Dr. Alan Foord, for services in Berkeley; \$81,500 to Alameda County Department of Health, Dr. Stewart B. Gross, for services in Alameda County; \$69,884 to San Mateo County Department of Health, Dr. Jane Selzer, for services in San Mateo County.

Colorado—\$112,500 to Department of Health and Hospitals, Dr. Horace E. Thompson, for services in Denver.

Connecticut—\$40,300 to New Haven Health Department, Dr. Dorothy Brockway, for services in New Haven; \$19,600 to Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut, Dr. Virginia M. Stuermer, for services in Waterbury; \$20,000 to Bridgeport Chapter of Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut, Francis H. McCoy, for services in Bridgeport.

Delaware—\$122,250 to Delaware State Board of Health, Dr. Catherine B. Middleton, for services in Dover.

Florida—\$322,157 to Florida State Board of Health, Dr. Betty J. Vaughn, for services in Miami; \$108,300 to Florida State Board of Health, Dr. John S. Neill, for services in

Tampa; \$90,000 to Florida State Board of Health, Paul W. Hughes, for services in Fort Lauderdale; \$96,101 to Florida State Board of Health, Dr. C. L. Brumback, for services in Palm Beach.

Georgia—\$110,000 To Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, Dr. Robert A. Hatcher, for services in Atlanta; \$48,882 to Hall County Department of Health, Dr. H. H. Lancaster, for services in Gainesville.

Hawaii—\$87,300 to Hawaii Planned Parenthood, Inc., Dr. Robert W. Noyes, for services in Honolulu.

Idaho—\$85,000 to Idaho Department of Health, Dr. J. R. Marks, for services in Boise.

Illinois—\$341,700 to City of Chicago Board of Health, Dr. Donaldson F. Rawlings, for services in Chicago; \$67,300 to Peoria City Health Department, Dr. Fred Long, for services in Peoria.

Indiana—\$244,000 to Indiana University Foundation, Dr. Joseph F. Thompson, for services in Indianapolis.

Iowa—\$40,052 to Iowa State Department of Health, Robert L. Webber, for services in Des Moines.

Kansas—\$184,000 to Kansas State Department of Health, Dr. Patricia T. Schloesser, for services in Topeka.

Kentucky—\$89,000 to Kentucky State Department of Health, Dr. Jo Anne Sexton, for services in Covington.

Louisiana—\$596,539 to Louisiana Family Planning Program, Dr. Joseph D. Beasley, for services in New Orleans.

Maine—\$30,000 to State Department of Health and Welfare, Dr. Helen C. Provost, for services in Portland.

Maryland—\$91,300 to Sinai Hospital of Baltimore, Dr. Leon Gordis, for services in Baltimore-Sinai Hospital; \$419,800 to Baltimore City Department of Health, Dr. Kathleen A. Swallow, for services in Baltimore City; \$165,287 to Maryland Department of Health, Dr. J. King B. E. Seegar, Jr., for services in Prince Georges County.

Michigan—\$175,000 to Planned Parenthood League, Inc., Frances Levine, for services in Detroit; \$48,000 to Michigan State Department of Public Health, Dr. R. Gerald Rice, for services in Flint; \$50,000 to Michigan State Department of Public Health, Dr. R. Gerald Rice, for services in Grand Rapids; \$87,000 to Michigan State Department of Public Health, Dr. R. Gerald Rice, for services in Saginaw; \$25,000 to Berrien County Health Department, Dr. Robert P. Lacey, for services in St. Joseph.

Minnesota—\$65,000 to Minneapolis Health Department, Dr. Evelyn E. Hartman, for services in Minneapolis; \$55,800 to St. Paul Bureau of Health, Dr. Erick Y. Hakanson, for services in St. Paul; \$50,110 to Duluth Department of Health, Dr. A. J. Houghlum, for services in Duluth.

Mississippi—\$100,000 to University Mississippi Medical Center, Dr. George Huggins, for services in Mississippi-Delta Counties; \$66,000 to Mississippi State Board of Health, Dr. William E. Riecken, for services in Jackson.

Missouri—\$112,000 to City of St. Louis Department of Health and Hospitals, Dr. William Smiley, for services in St. Louis; \$169,058 to Kansas City Department of Health, Dr. Edwin O. Wicks, for services in Kansas City; \$55,000 to St. Louis County Department of Health, Dr. Lawrence E. Maze, for services in St. Louis County.

Nebraska—\$150,800 to Omaha-Douglas County Board of Health, Dr. Matilda S. McIntire, for services in Omaha.

Nevada—\$26,641 to Reno-Washoe District Health Department, Dr. W. E. Winikow, for services in Reno.

New Hampshire—\$10,400 to Planned Parenthood Association of the Upper Valley, Linda L. Van Wyk, for services in Lebanon; \$45,000 to State Department of Health and Welfare, Dr. Selma R. Deitch, for services in Concord.

New Jersey—\$270,400 to New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, Dr. Harold A. Kamnietzky, for services in Newark.

New York—\$1,583,000 to New York City Health Department, Dr. David Harris, for services in New York City; \$92,800 to Onondaga County Health Department, Dr. Virginia Harris, for services in Syracuse.

North Carolina—\$141,700 to State Board of Health, Dr. John T. King, for services in Nash-Edgecomb; \$93,143 to Mecklenburg County Department of Health, Betty Keziah, for services in Charlotte.

Ohio—\$116,000 to Board of Health—Toledo District, Dr. Effie O. Ellis, for services in Toledo; \$94,000 to Dayton Division of Health, Dr. Albert Hirschelmer, for services in Dayton; \$152,700 to Ohio State Department of Health, Dr. Effie O. Ellis, for services in Columbus; \$202,074 to Cincinnati College of Medicine, Dr. Richard Stander, for services in Cincinnati.

Oklahoma—\$139,693 to Tulsa City-County Health Department, Dr. George W. Prothro, for services in Tulsa; \$51,300 to Oklahoma State Department of Health, Dr. Charles E. Green, for services in Lawton.

Oregon—\$133,000 to Oregon State Board of Health, Dr. Carl G. Ashley, for services in Portland.

Pennsylvania—\$316,667 to Better Family Planning, Inc., Herbert J. Hutton, for services in Philadelphia.

Puerto Rico—\$225,702 to University of Puerto Rico Medical School, Dr. Antonio S. Medina, for services in San Juan; \$260,000 to Puerto Rico Department of Health, Juan J. Hernandez-Cibes, for services in North East District.

Rhode Island—\$60,000 to State Department of Health, Dr. John F. Hogan, for services in Providence.

South Carolina—\$57,000 to South Carolina State Board of Health, Dr. J. C. Hedden, for services in Spartansburg.

Tennessee—\$481,000 to State Department of Public Health, Dr. R. H. Hutcheson, Jr., for services in Memphis.

Texas—\$248,500 to City of Houston Health Department, Dr. C. A. Calhoun, for services in Houston; \$236,000 to University of Texas Southwestern Medical School at Dallas, Dr. Jack A. Pritchard, for services in Dallas; \$115,000 to Texas State Health Department, Dr. John R. Copenhaver, for services in Starr-Hidalgo and Cameron Counties.

Virginia—\$260,000 to Virginia State Health Department, Dr. James J. Dunne, for services in Richmond.

Washington—\$171,000 to Washington State Department of Health, Dr. Jess B. Spielholz, for services in Seattle.

West Virginia—\$100,000 to West Virginia Department of Health, Dr. Frederick H. Dobbs, for services in Ohio County.

The Secretary of HEW has executed a reorganization within his Department. The reorganization:

(a) Moved the Children's Bureau from the Social and Rehabilitation Service to the Office of the Secretary.

(b) Transferred the health programs administered by the Children's Bureau to the Health Services and Mental Health Administration where they will comprise a new organizational unit.

(c) Established a separate unit for family planning within HSHMA.

The coordination of HEW and OEO family planning programs will require testing several approaches before a final arrangement is effected.

The Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs and the Department of Labor have mounted a study of manpower needs and training programs for domestic and international population activities. This report is expected to be completed very soon.

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development awarded 66 new contracts this year in contraceptive development.

The contracts are with universities, non-profit organizations, and pharmaceutical companies in 24 states and Canada. Approximately \$2.75 million in fiscal year 1969 funds have been allocated to these contracts.

The new contraceptive development contracts deal with research in four basic areas:

1. *Maturation and fertilizing capacity of spermatozoa.*—The goal is the development of modern contraceptives administered to men or women which alter normal sperm development in the reproductive tract of the male or female.

2. *Oviduct function and gamete transport.*—These studies could result in development of a means through which interference with the normal functions of the ductal musculature, cilia, or secretory cells would prevent fertilization.

3. *Corpus luteum function.*—If the corpus luteum is found to be essential to the continuation of the reproductive process following ovulation in humans, interruption of its function by means of normally occurring luteolytic or anti-progestational agents should produce temporary sterility.

4. *The biology of the pre-implantation ovum.*—The goal is the development of new contraceptives which would prevent ovulation or interfere with the development or implantation of the fertilized ovum.

As a vital adjunct to the development of new contraceptive methods, the Center is also launching a contract program in the behavioral sciences to enable action programs in family planning to be based on sound research, to access the effects of population trends on the future, and to investigate the factors influencing the use of contraceptive methods.

Nine new contracts in the social sciences totalling approximately \$250,000 have been let in the following areas:

1. *Antecedents, processes, and consequences of population structure, distribution, and change.*—Special importance is attached to the interrelationships between economic factors and population growth, structure, and distribution for this and other nations and for national subgroups.

2. *Trends in fertility and related variables.*—Major concern focuses on such variables as marriage rates, age at marriage, the incidence of abortion, trends in divorce, and changes in attitudes toward childbearing, family size, and methods of fertility control. Emphasis is on developing a broader data base for more rapid determination of trends and the factors affecting them.

3. *Family structure, sexual behavior, and the relationship between childbearing patterns and child development.*—Ultimately the factors affecting trends in fertility will express themselves mainly within the framework of the family. Changes in family structure, sexual behavior in and outside of marriage, and the process of socialization for marriage and parenthood will all be investigated as potential influences on fertility.

4. *Population policies.*—Concern with problems of population growth leads ultimately to questions of public policy. Research is needed on the ways by which population growth or movement are influenced by public policy and the effects upon population of policies already adopted regarding family planning programs, welfare payments, parity payments, tax exemptions and allowances, to name a few.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

In recent years, a number of agencies—private, governmental, international—have committed their resources to deal with the "population problem". It may suffice here to mention only a few of the private organizations which have pioneered in this field and which have accumulated, over the years, wide experience and expertise.

Planned Parenthood-World Population, established to ensure that individuals and families can freely determine the number

and spacing of their children, was founded in 1914 by Margaret Sanger.

Another organization long active in the field of population is the Population Reference Bureau. For the past 40 years, the Bureau has concentrated its efforts in bringing the dangers of rapidly accelerating population growth to the forefront of public awareness. It continues to conduct a calm, reasoned public education program which examines the effects of population growth in all their social, economic, and environmental contexts.

The Population Council has pioneered in the area of population research. It was established in 1952 in order to "stimulate, encourage, promote, conduct and support significant activities in the broad field of population."

The Population Crisis Committee founded in 1965 was organized to stimulate public awareness and action in the face of the world population explosion.

The work of these organizations, and numerous other activities in the population field have been consistently supported by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, by the Scaife Foundation, the Pathfinder Fund, the Hugh Moore Fund and others. Even at this date, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Population Council combined investment in population research still exceeds that of all federal agencies combined.

Universities respected for their activities in the population field include:

University of North Carolina, Princeton University, University of Pittsburgh, Columbia University, University of Chicago, Harvard University, Tulane University, Cornell University, University of Michigan, University of Notre Dame, University of California at Berkeley.

TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS

The overriding concern of the Task Force is for realization that the time for action is now and that the need is urgent. Few problems have been so over studied as this one. Few problems have received the attention of so many national and international leaders as this one. The splintered responsibility for administering grants for family planning services in the Federal government and in the State governments have crippled the financing and the logistics to provide these needed services.

There is a great need for leadership in encouraging the involvement of independent action in providing family planning services. Facilities for services, as well as materials and personnel, are grossly inadequate at present to meet the need.

Achievement of the objective articulated by President Nixon of providing family planning services, in the next five years, to all low-income families who want and need them will depend upon the extent to which our health resources, in both private and public sectors, participate in the national program. To serve the population in need will require a very flexible delivery system which utilizes and enhances the diverse health resources present in the community: voluntary hospitals, public health agencies, Community Action Agencies, and private physicians. A uniform delivery pattern applicable throughout the country, even if it were feasible, would not be desirable. It is clear that major responsibility for delivery of services and for encouragement of community programs will need to be borne by private sector agencies. The major Federal support programs, therefore, should be administered in such a way that they can stimulate the participation of a broad variety of local health institutions in this program.

At the same time, it is clear that the planned diffusion of these services to the population in need presents a challenge of a kind which our health system has rarely faced. A comprehensive research/planning/

development/evaluation program will be needed to assist Federal, state and local service agencies in carrying out their programs in an efficient and effective way. Major Federal support should be available to enable universities and other centers to establish the capacity to assist the national effort in such areas as program planning, operational research, technical assistance, systems development, and training.

These organizations listed in our report have performed admirably in carrying the ball, but much more is needed in the way of dollars and people.

The average cost of \$50 to \$60 per patient per year should not be totally funded by Federal, State, and local governments alone. Nor can the requirements of needed paramedical personnel be met without the support of the private sector of our society. Many organizations, foundations, and trust funds are constantly searching for worthwhile social programs to support. Family planning activities must be recognized as one of the most important of these social functions in need of this support. More public sensitivity for family planning programs is needed. The Federal government cannot provide that sensitivity. Only through better and more public information on the subject will the independent sector of our society understand how to help, relying less and less on the Federal government to solve the problem.

We need to make population and family planning household words. We need to take the sensationalism out of this topic. If family planning is anything, it is a public health matter. Birth control, often misunderstood, is also an answer to our increasingly important poverty problem.

When the Task Force began its study of population growth and family planning, it was aware that the issue of the government providing family planning assistance to those who desire such services on a completely voluntary basis has stirred both religious and racial anxieties. We also recognized that some persons in developing nations mistakenly view United States support of family planning programs as a means of preventing the development of these nations.

Our hearings and research confirm, however, the conclusion of N. B. Ryder and C. F. Westoff who found that "clearly the norm of fertility control has become universal in contemporary America."³ At the same time, our study has shown that developing countries are also receptive to family planning programs, especially if these programs are under such international auspices as the United Nations.

Therefore, the Task Force recommends:

(1) A national goal to provide adequate family planning services within the next five years to all those who want them, but cannot afford them, as recommended by President Nixon.

(2) Increased appropriations for family planning grants and contracts administered by the Center for Family Planning Services within HEW in the amounts of \$35 million for FY'71, \$70 million for FY'72, \$100 million for FY'73, \$130 million for FY'74, and \$150 million for FY'75. These grants and contracts should include projects for training a professionals and para-professionals in family planning services, projects for operational and demonstration research as well as the primary need to provide services through public and non-profit agencies, institutions, and organizations.

(3) Amendment of Title V of the Social Security Act to postpone from 1972 to 1976 the conversion of federal family planning

project to state formula grants thus allowing the States more time to develop adequate delivery systems of services with the assistance of independent organizations.

(4) Increased appropriations for family planning services through the OEO community action demonstration projects to the amount of \$35 million for FY'71. Future appropriations should be reviewed with respect to coordinating OEO and HEW family planning activities.

(5) Increased appropriations for contraceptive research grants through the Center for Population Research to the amounts of \$30 million for FY'71, \$60 million for FY'72, \$90 million for FY'73, \$100 million for both FY'74 and '75.

(6) Establishment of a free standing Family Planning Institute within the next three years that would encompass both HEW and OEO projects to achieve the national goal as stated in recommendation No. 1.

(7) Support of the United Nations Trust Fund for Population Activities by an amount not less than 5% of the total AID appropriations for family planning programs.

(8) Support of earmarking AID appropriations for family planning programs at not less than \$100 million per year in the immediate future and provision that at least 5% of the total economic dollar grant and loan funds allocated to any county be available only for population programs in that country. If a country could not utilize that 5%, whatever portion remains would be diverted to the United Nations Trust Fund for Population Activities.

(9) Encouragement of massive action on the part of the independent sector of society—(foundations, trust funds, associations, fraternities and community action organizations)—to participate and contribute money and people to improving family planning health centers and services.

(10) Oversight (through volunteer participation from Task Force Members and available staff) of family planning programs in various locations in order to determine the effectiveness of these programs and to ensure that Federal government programs are being coordinated to the best advantage of our citizens in need and to learn how volunteer services could be better encouraged and utilized in the area of family planning programs.

TESTIMONY

The Task Force heard testimony from the following persons relative to family planning programs:

6/5 Dr. Philander P. Claxton—Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Population Matters. Dr. John Keppel—Director of Population Activities, United Nations Development Programs.

6/12 Dr. Gary London—Director of Health Services, Office of Economic Opportunity.

6/17 Dr. R. T. Ravenholt—Director, Population Service, Agency for International Development.

6/24 Dr. James Cavanaugh—Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, HEW. Dr. Carl Shultz—Acting Director, Office of Population and Family Planning, HEW.

7/8 Mr. Arthur A. Cambell—Deputy Director, Center for Population Research, NIH. Dr. Norman A. Hilmar—Chief, Program Liaison Branch, Center for Population Research, NIH.

7/15 General William H. Draper, Jr.—National Chairman, Population Crisis Committee.

7/24 Dr. William Moran—President, Population Reference Bureau.

7/29 Mr. Oscar Harkavy—Program Officer in Charge, Population Activities, Ford Foundation.

7/31 Dr. William McElroy—Director, National Science Foundation and Past Chairman of National Academy of Science Population Committee.

10/9 Dr. Roger O. Egeberg—Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, HEW.

11/6 Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan—Counsellor to the President.

11/13 Hon. Donald Rumsfeld—Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.

11/25 Hon. Shirley Chisholm—Member of Congress.

PATIENCE! AN EDITORIAL

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the December 1969 issue of the Reader's Digest contained two articles which I found most thought-provoking: "Patience! An Editorial" and "The Vietcong Is Losing Its Grip" by Joseph Alsop.

Because I feel these articles sum up so clearly the situation regarding Vietnam I am calling them to the attention of my colleagues and all those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I feel sure you will agree with me that the articles that follow are certainly well worth reading.

The articles follow:

[From the Reader's Digest, December 1969]

PATIENCE! AN EDITORIAL

(As the article by Joseph Alsop points out, time is running against the enemy. The need now is for courage, unity and, above all, patience on the part of the American people.)

For nearly five years our nation has been immersed in a bloody, baffling and undeclared war 12,000 miles from our shores. The immediate aim of the United States in this effort is to prevent the enforced communist domination of a people who ask only to be allowed to live in freedom. Seldom if ever in our history have we endured a more frustrating and traumatic experience.

Into the deltas and jungles of South Vietnam we have poured some 95 billions of dollars of our treasure. We have seen nearly 40,000 of our young men go to their graves. The American objective in this war has been clear and carefully limited. We seek no territory. We seek only to give the people of South Vietnam an opportunity to determine their own destiny. Our immutable, bedrock position is that the communist enslavement of the nations of Southeast Asia must stop at the 17th parallel.

Four American Presidents have committed our nation to this position—in the belief that the defense of South Vietnam is a defense not only of one country but of all of Asia.

Despite the dimensions of the threat, the United States has conducted the most restrained war that any nation has ever fought. Now, at last, we begin to see the successful end to our efforts. The American and South Vietnamese troops, as well as the troops of other nations who have fought, bled and died in this cause, have brought the war to a point where it is impossible for the enemy to win it by force of arms.

As the following article by Joseph Alsop points out, the enemy is in serious trouble. The Vietcong guerrillas control less and less of the countryside, and the North Vietnamese armies are feeling the heavy drain on their manpower. That the United States is able to order the withdrawal of 60,000 troops from Vietnam—with more to come—shows that our position is increasingly strong. The leaders of the communist world know that time is no longer on their side.

Why, then, do they continue to hold out? Where do they look for hope of victory? As they survey the scene of battle, the North

³ C. F. Westoff and N. B. Ryder, "Recent Trends in Attitudes Toward Fertility Control and in the Practice of Contraception in the U.S.," in S. J. Behrman, et al, *Fertility and Family Planning* (Michigan, 1969), p. 394.

Vietnamese leaders and their Soviet and Chinese allies do not yet despair, for they know there still remains one resource that can tip the scale in their favor.

The enemy's greatest hope lies in the division that he has created in public opinion in the United States. This is why the enemy fights on. This is why the Soviet Union has continued to support him in Vietnam. This is why Hanoi holds out in Paris. This is why the enemy refuses concession after concession offered him at the conference table. He clings to the belief that the American patience will run out, that sooner or later the American people will persuade their President to run up the white flag of ignominious surrender.

This is the hope that keeps the enemy going. Were it not for this, the war would have ended before this. No one will ever know how many American boys have gone to their death because the enemy holds on, watching for signs that American resolve is weakening.

To the enemy the constant outcries in the United States must sound like so many bombs being dropped against our troops in South Vietnam. The anti-war speeches in Congress, the campus protests from students and faculty, the barrage of defeatist editorials in some of the most powerful newspapers, these are worth regiments and whole divisions to the enemy. He reads his newspaper, hears the broadcasts, rubs his hands and once more refuses to talk in Paris, refuses to call his invaders back from South Vietnam.

Were it not for his belief that the American patience will crack, the enemy would lose his reason to keep on fighting. It is a monstrous irony that the louder the protest is raised against the war, the longer the war will continue.

Most of those who oppose the war sincerely believe that they are somehow helping to save the United States from error. But against that minority belief must be weighed the cost to the nation. For these are the voices that are listened to in Hanoi—and these are the voices that prolong the months of battle. In the interests of peace, they should now be lowered.

The President of the United States has said that he will not be shaken from his resolve to honor our nation's commitment—and our dead—in Vietnam. In this resolve, he is neither blind nor willful. No matter how loud the clamor from critics in Congress becomes, he will hold his course. He knows the nature of the enemy, the nature of the enemy's designs in Asia and the world. Most of all, he knows the consequences of a craven act of surrender on our part in South Vietnam. The results would haunt us for years to come.

The first consequence would be a blood bath for our friends—the certain slaughter of tens of thousands of South Vietnamese whose only mistake was to have trusted the word and will of the United States. The communists would deal swiftly and unmercifully with these as they butchered their way to power. Lest there be any doubt about this, we have only to look at what happened in Hue, where several thousand South Vietnamese were shot or buried alive during the brief communist occupation of the city during the 1968 Tet offensive.

The next to suffer from our betrayal would be the nearby countries of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Malaysia. They could not hope to remain free once the South Vietnamese roadblock to communism had been removed. The communist domination of Southeast Asia would shake countries ever farther away—such as Indonesia, India, Japan.

Vietnam has come to be a crisis point. If America and its allies in South Vietnam were to fail, the cause of freedom would fail and the area of freedom would be diminished. The lesson would be clear for all to read. Defeat lies in store for those who put their

trust in the United States. Freedom is a dead dream; the future belongs to the enslaver.

If the world were to witness such a defeat, the United States, leader of the free world, overnight would lose the respect of the world and would lose its self-respect. In a test of will, the United States would have been found wanting. In a test of conscience, the United States would have been found to have no conscience. In a test of strength, the United States would have been found to have not strength enough.

Did 39,000 American boys die for this? Has America forgotten the stuff it is made of, its purpose in the world?

If one listened only to the cries of those who urge peace at any price, one would have cause to question—as Hanoi must question—the essential fiber of this nation. But the cries for a dishonorable end to the war do not reflect the will of anything like the majority of the American people. Nor do many of those who urge withdrawal really mean that they would accept peace on the enemy's terms. They simply want—as who does not?—an end to the war.

It is easy for the enemy to underestimate this country. In waiting for us to surrender, he hears the shrill protests and misses the true, patient heartbeat of America. This country has never lost a war; it has never surrendered to an enemy. And it is not about to do so now.

The need today, when an honorable end to the war is within sight, is for courage and patience, in the best American tradition. When their country is in trouble the American people close ranks and stand together. Together, we have brought our country through many storms.

We are now in the midst of a storm, and we will see it through. If the enemy is counting on this nation to falter, he is wrong. The heart of America is as strong as ever, and its patience will endure. Our enemy need not question it. Our allies need not doubt it. Our President need not wonder.

THE VIETCONG IS LOSING ITS GRIP

(The Vietcong is in deep trouble and time is running against the communist guerrillas. The enemy's chief hope of winning his objective in South Vietnam now lies in persuading America to withdraw its support.)

(Since World War II, when he served under Gen. Claire Chennault in the 14th Air Force in China, Joseph Alsop has covered every war of serious interest to the United States and its allies, ranging from Korea and Malaya to the Middle East. He has visited Vietnam, always for extended periods, no fewer than 18 times, so that he knows the provinces and the people, both Americans and South Vietnamese, with real intimacy. Very few reporters have the background to make the kind of before-and-after comparison that Alsop has equipped himself to make.)

(By Joseph Alsop)

Before many months pass, there should be mighty few communist guerrillas, as well as mighty few people under Vietcong control, in the war against the Vietcong in South Vietnam. The unreported process that is producing this dramatic and unforeseen result is the chief discovery that I made in Vietnam this September. It is an important discovery. For the progressive erosion of the whole Vietcong structure in South Vietnam—which is really what is happening—is bound to aid President Nixon greatly in his patient quest for an honorable peace.

It is simplest to begin with the way I made this discovery, vastly to my own surprise. This was my 18th visit to Vietnam since 1953. I spent most of my long trip going from district to district, quite literally from the DMZ to the Point of Ca Mau, always trying to find out what was happening in the crucial rice-roots war.

I specify the rice-roots war because two quite different, though related, wars are in

fact being fought simultaneously in South Vietnam.

There is the big-unit war, in which the ARVN (South Vietnamese) and American and other allied troops fight mostly against North Vietnamese (NVA) battalions and regiments. And there is the rice-roots war, in which the true VC—the native communist South Vietnamese who serve as hamlet or village guerrillas, or as soldiers in the local-force companies—are the enemy. In this war the main burden is carried by the South Vietnamese "territorial" forces: the little Regional Force companies and Popular Force platoons, and the thousands upon thousands of villagers who have now joined the People's Self Defense Force.

Populated districts, rather than remote and empty base areas, are the scene of the rice-roots war, and district chiefs are in effect the frontline commanders. Since they are fighting the VC around the clock (and hardest of all, at night), the district chiefs and their American advisers know their enemy rather intimately.

THE RICE-ROOTS WAR

To start getting a feel of the countryside I first visited Cu Chi district, in Hau Nghia province. For many years Cu Chi had been celebrated as a VC mini-fortress. The able and courageous South Vietnamese district chief, Maj. Nguyen Xuan Sanh, had administered this little patch of rural Vietnam, with its tens of thousands of hardworking people, for more than a year and a half. I asked him for a before-and-after comparison.

"When I came here," Major Sanh answered, "it was very different. In this one district, the VC had at its command the Cu Chi local-force battalion, plus four local-force companies, plus over-strength guerrilla platoons in every village, plus guerrilla squads in almost every hamlet—well above 800 fighting men, altogether. They fought hard, too. And although officially it was my district, the VC party secretary for the district controlled most of Cu Chi."

And now? The answer was eye-opening. First, Major Sanh ticked off the units he no longer had to fight, beginning with the Cu Chi battalion. Since 1963 this had been a famously tough VC outfit, but in only seven weeks of 1968, it had lost four successive battalion commanders! The same hard fighting had also transformed the battalion's basic character; for there were no more recruits from the district to fill the terrible gaps in the ranks, and North Vietnamese infiltrators had to be used as replacements. Meanwhile, the North Vietnamese big units in the province were in just as much trouble. In the end, this battered VC battalion, so long deep-rooted in the soil of Cu Chi, was called out of the district to strengthen the 268th NVA Regiment.

For the same harsh reasons—heavy losses and near-zero recruitment—Cu Chi's four local-force companies had also dwindled, until only two were left. "And those two companies, with a combined strength of about 40 men, are more like platoons," said Major Sanh's American adviser, with marked satisfaction. Next, to my astonishment, the major and his adviser all but began counting the remaining VC in Cu Chi on their fingers. After knowingly reviewing the different situations in their villages and hamlets, they put the number of surviving guerrillas at about two dozen. In sum, this district—where only 18 months earlier the VC had some 800 fighting men—no longer contained more than a hunted remnant of around 60 armed VC. Most important of all, and in consequence, effective control of Cu Chi had naturally passed from the VC party secretary to Major Sanh.

The lesson I learned in Cu Chi suggested that the whole VC structure in Vietnam must be in deep trouble. This is a complex struc-

ture, exactly comparable to a clandestine government, with all the usual departments that any government must have. Yet its real strength in any district or province can always be measured with considerable accuracy by the numbers of armed VC. A VC village chief in refuge in deep jungle cannot function if he has no guerrillas to enforce his orders in his former village; and a province secretary hiding in the mountains, if he has no armed men to impose his will in the province's populated areas, is finished. All over South Vietnam, therefore, I asked the people in the districts, "How many armed VC do you still have to fight?" And what I learned in this manner is bad news for Hanoi—good news for our side.

NEW-FOUND PEACE

Our side should know, for example, that there are now whole districts, even whole provinces, where the VC structure has been entirely uprooted. These are still exceptional, but they are profoundly exciting. For in huge areas of this beautiful country, the industrious, long-enduring people are enjoying real peace for the first time in many years. The fertile coastal strip, which supports the entire population of Thua Thien and Quang Tri provinces, is a good example.

Except in two fringe districts still directly threatened by North Vietnamese troops, there are virtually no ARVN or U.S. forces in the long, rich strip. The regular troops are not there any longer because there is no enemy there any longer. The "territorial" self-defense troops stand guard, of course, against any attempted infiltration by the few hundred surviving VC, who have taken refuge in the mountains over toward the Laotian border.

Three of the less exposed districts of Thua Thien province are even being given a civilian administration—another first in Vietnam since the war started! And everywhere along the coastal strip, the people are tilling fields long fallow, heaping up new dikes to keep the salty sea tides from the land, rebuilding schoolhouses and roads and markets, and generally resuming the busy, cheerful, normal life of rural Vietnam in peacetime.

For the present, to be sure, this wonderful new-found peace of the million people in this area squarely depends on the continuing presence of U.S. and ARVN troops, to the west and north. From base areas in Laos, and from above the DMZ, no fewer than ten North Vietnamese regiments keep trying to press into the two provinces. If they ever manage to break through the protective screen of U.S. and ARVN troops, these Northern regiments will carry fire and sword all up and down the coastal strip. This is therefore something that President Nixon has to think about, when he ponders thinning the protective screen by further U.S. troop withdrawals. But what Hanoi has to think about is the effective elimination of just about the whole VC structure in Thua Thien and Quang Tri.

Hanoi has other unpleasant things to think about. Take Hau Nghia province, where my district-hopping began. In 1965, this was the province with the largest number of armed VC in the whole of Vietnam—more than 10,000 of them. But in the last year and a half, the same things that happened in Cu Chi have also happened in the other districts of Hau Nghia, so the total of armed VC in the whole province has dropped to no more than 400. You cannot say that the VC structure has been absolutely uprooted; this wretched, always dwindling remnant still hangs on precariously in the province's populated areas. There is no peace in Hau Nghia, either, because North Vietnamese big units, like the 268th Regiment, are also hanging on precariously. But, as their captured documents tell us, the condition of the VC structure in Hau Nghia is now dreadful to contemplate. And there are a good many other provinces, such as Binh Duong, also in III Corps, or Go Cong, in the Delta,

where the VC structure is in the same grave plight.

THE DAYS ARE NUMBERED

Finally, there is a third kind of situation, which I found in the provinces of lower I Corps in big Binh Dinh province in II Corps, and in the VC's stronghold provinces in the Delta. In the places the VC's rice-roots strength, though still considerable, is visibly and rather rapidly declining. Everywhere the VC guerrillas and local-force soldiers are being killed or captured, most often by the government's territorial forces. In increasing numbers they are also defecting to the government, or fading into the landscape. And, everywhere, the VC recruiters are getting at best only one replacement—most often a woman or a little boy—for every three guerrillas they lose. Any structure suffering heavy and continuous losses, and unable to replace more than one loss in three, is obviously in trouble.

When I got back to Saigon from a trip to lower I Corps, I also got a crude numerical measurement of the erosion of the VC in the areas where they are strongest. Lower I Corps is one of these areas. The numbers of armed VC are still formidable but dropping conspicuously. I told what I had found to one of the most intelligent—and pessimistic—Americans in Vietnam.

"I've looked into all the facts," said my friend, glumly. (And no one had a better opportunity to know the rice-roots facts!) "You have to be careful not to exaggerate. After all, the VC in those provinces have lost only 14 percent of their strength since the end of May, although I admit that this rate of loss is likely to continue, and may even rise."

I answered, reasonably I think, that if I had lost 14 percent of all my worldly goods in three months, and were told I would go on losing indefinitely at the same rate, I should have to prepare for near bankruptcy before very long. That, so far as I can see, is what now lies ahead for the VC structure throughout South Vietnam. Even in those provinces where the VC as yet retain real strength, their days are numbered, unless President Nixon is finally driven to throw in the sponge.

In the big-unit war, one must always bear in mind, Hanoi has long been using North Vietnamese rather than VC as cannon fodder. Yet the new erosion of the VC structure, with its far-reaching and inevitable effects on the rice-roots war, has enormous significance; and it is important to know how it began to happen, and why.

The real turning point was the Tet offensive of 1968. Shockingly misreported in this country, Tet was in fact a disaster for Hanoi and a double disaster for the VC. The ablest Southern leaders of the VC, and the most seasoned of their soldiers, fell in vast numbers. And the ruthless brutality of the Tet attacks caused the fence-sitting masses in the cities and the countryside to turn bitterly against the VC.

After Tet, new, much more effective methods of government control of the countryside were adopted—which deserve a whole separate report. This control has now been enormously extended, and is still extending. It is crowding the VC out of more and more hamlets and villages, radically reducing the old VC recruiting base, and each month causing thousands of the more faint-hearted VC to go over the hill as defectors.

THE BIG-UNIT WAR

If the tide is turning in the rice-roots war, what of the big-unit war—the war fought with North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam?

First, let's take a look at the massive numbers of troops that Hanoi has in fact sent to South Vietnam. This movement has not been infiltration so much as continuous invasion—

and on a scale that most people will find hard to credit.

Imagine the United States sending off to a foreign war, in a single year and with little hope of return, all the able-bodied young Americans who reached draft age in 1965, 1966 and 1967. It is not easy to imagine, thank God, because we have never done anything like that. Yet that is closely comparable to what Hanoi did in 1968. To provide manpower for the Tet offensive and its two sequels, Hanoi in truth sent southward in that one year just under 350,000 men—despite the fact that in North Vietnam only about 125,000 able-bodied youths annually reach military age.

And this was merely the climax of a long process. At least 400,000 had already been sent off to the war in the South before the year of Tet began. Hence, when the Hanoi war planners studied their balance sheets after the dire failure of the third of the 1968 "victory" offensives, the first item on the debit side was the sacrifice of six entire "year classes" of North Vietnamese young men!

Any government not completely irrational would be inclined to stop, look and listen, after throwing so many of its young men down the drain to no good military purpose. And this is just what Hanoi did. The numbers being sent off to the South were sharply cut back, from an average of 29,000 a month in 1968, to 10,000 a month in the first six months of 1969, and to only about 3500 a month since July. The cutback was not a "signal" but a practical response to the cruel pressure of hard facts; and one may be sure that the cutback was a belated victory for those in the Hanoi Politbureau who have always advocated "protracted war," against the advocates of the much more costly "big-unit" war.

THE STRATEGY PARALLEL

Protracted war is the Hanoi theorists' phrase for classical guerrilla war, fought with small units and with minimal losses. After Hanoi's frightful and fruitless manpower losses in the 1968 offensives, it was only natural for its advocates to get their innings at last. No doubt they were aided, too, by the argument that American public opinion would not stand for a war indefinitely protracted. And their new policy could perhaps work, if the people President Nixon calls the "bug-outs" finally prevail in this country.

But if the President means what he has rather grimly said, about refusing to become "the first President of the United States to lose a war," he can take comfort from the fact that reversion to protracted war, which might have worked well in 1965, is working horribly badly in 1969. Four years ago, the Saigon government and army had had no time to recover from the near-total disintegration of the whole political-administrative apparatus that followed the death of President Ngo Dinh Diem. Meanwhile, the VC firmly controlled vast areas of the countryside; they had large reserves of manpower, and everywhere possessed the high morale that the South Vietnamese army then lacked.

By the beginning of this year, in contrast, the Saigon government and army had been strengthened in many ways; the huge fence-sitting element of the masses had been decisively turned against the VC; the VC structure and manpower reserves had also been severely strained. Furthermore, the whole VC structure had come to depend heavily on big-unit support. From 1966 onward, in fact, there was a kind of rough division of responsibilities: while the VC structure controlled as much of the countryside as possible, the North Vietnamese in the big units bore the main brunt of the fighting. In these greatly changed circumstances, Hanoi then began to starve the big units of replacements. The support for the VC structure was therefore drastically weakened; and the ero-

sion of that structure thereupon became serious.

This is terribly bad news for Hanoi, because the protracted war that Hanoi is now trying to fight is, basically, guerrilla war; and you cannot indefinitely protract a guerrilla war if the number of guerrillas is continuously shrinking at a heavy rate. The rate of loss is such that, unless premature American troop withdrawals change the whole picture, the VC structure can be in ruins in most of South Vietnam by next spring. This constitutes a time problem for Hanoi, every bit as grave as the time problem President Nixon confronts because of American impatience to get the war over with.

Indeed, if you think about it, Hanoi's way of dealing with the war in South Vietnam has always oddly paralleled Washington's way of dealing with it. Both governments began in a small way, Hanoi aiding the VC, Washington aiding Saigon. Before U.S. intervention, Hanoi had in fact sent only two North Vietnamese divisions to the South, and the Hanoi Politbureau—which also controls the VC, of course—was counting on winning all of South Vietnam for this small investment of Northern manpower. Both governments then put in more and more troops, although, proportionately, the American effort was trifling.

For remember that the North Vietnamese sent off to the war in the South numbered close to 750,000 men by the end of 1968. Proportionately, because Vietnam is a small country, this figure is actually equivalent to about ten million Americans! Yet few of these poor North Vietnamese conscripts will ever come home again; and none at all have been sent home as yet, except for tragic thousands of hopeless cripples.

Both governments also responded in parallel to the bloody climax of the year of Tet. President Nixon's graduated withdrawal program is comparable to the Hanoi Politbureau's somewhat earlier decision to reduce greatly the flow of North Vietnamese troops to the South, and thus to transfer much more of the burden to the VC. To complete the parallel, picture what would have happened to the American effort in Vietnam if the Saigon government and army had fulfilled Hanoi's best hopes by collapsing under the impact of the 1968 offensives. You then get a rough idea of how unmanageable Hanoi's problems will be, if the erosion of the VC structure continues to the point of final breakdown all over South Vietnam.

IN SEARCH OF AN END

So we come back to the question: What can Hanoi do about it? I believe (or perhaps I should say, I hope with good reason) that we can rule out any prolonged return to the former dreadful level of expenditure of North Vietnamese manpower. If Ho Chi Minh were still alive, this would be less easy to rule out. But a viciously divided Politbureau, including at least four rivals for supreme power, and without the final arbiter of all decisions, is surely unlikely to be able to agree on resuming the appalling yearly sacrifice of three whole year classes of men of fighting age.

For the same reasons, however, it seems almost equally unlikely that this divided Politbureau will be able to agree on open admission of defeat. Seriously negotiating in Paris, on the basis of President Nixon's minimum condition of self-determination for the South Vietnamese, would really amount to that kind of open admission.

All the same, one must be careful to remember the difference between the two kinds of wars, the Vietcong rice-roots war and the North Vietnamese big-unit war, that are now going on in Vietnam.

Unless—and it is an important unless—

President Nixon withdraws too many U.S. troops too soon, it is hard to see anything Hanoi can do to avoid effective defeat for the Vietcong in the rice-roots war in the next six to ten months. What is happening at the rice-roots cannot even be much slowed down, in fact, except by the kind of North Vietnamese big-unit effort that would require Hanoi to invest manpower as ruthlessly as in 1968.

On the other hand, the Hanoi leaders are remarkably wily, obstinate and resilient. They can still use all sorts of tactics of delay to keep the big-unit war going at a low level, in order to wear out American patience. They can also assault American public opinion politically, by proposing the kind of fake cease-fire that would permit massive North Vietnamese re-invasion of the South after American withdrawal. Or they can assault our public opinion even more directly, by mounting one or more spasm offensives—relatively low in cost, not really aimed to achieve solid military results, but sure, nonetheless, to increase casualty rates.

In sum, victory in the rice-roots war against the VC, which can now be hoped for, should in the end (but only in the end) be decisive, because, in the long run, it will create unmanageable problems for Hanoi. Yet most of the real fighting in Vietnam, above the rice-roots level, has long been done by Hanoi's North Vietnamese troops; and Hanoi still has various ways to drag out this other war, or even to change its character. At the moment, for instance, two of the North Vietnamese divisions that formerly threatened III Corps from Cambodian bases are apparently moving into the Delta, where there are no longer any U.S. troops.

Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, the brilliant U.S. commander in Vietnam, is reportedly confident that the resulting test between South Vietnamese and North Vietnamese big units will turn out very well indeed. Pray God he is as correct this time as he has been in the past; but the fortunes of war are never exactly predictable.

In any case, however, the real key to the problem in Hanoi is nothing more nor less than the degree of resolution that will be shown by the President and the people who chose him as their leader. For the first time, it can be said with some assurance that if we want an honorable peace, we can get it by being resolute, and without over-long delays. But shall we? Who can tell?

ILLINOIS CHARTS A NEW APPROACH TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a copy of the new Illinois State plan for the administration of vocational and technical education has just been called to my attention.

This plan is handsomely packaged in a bulletin that is being made available to those concerned with the development of vocational education in Illinois.

The plan is the creative work of Sherwood Dees, Illinois State director of vocational and technical education, and members of his staff. It was designed for implementation of the vocational education amendments of 1968, and is considered one of the most innovative state plans in the Nation.

Mr. Dees deserves the highest commendation for his initiative and innovation. This is a plan clearly designed to meet contemporary needs and will help make all of education more meaningful.

A reorganization of the State staff for vocational education provides for the following units: a new unit in program approval and evaluation; an occupational consultant unit with specialists in the substantive areas of vocational education; a special programs unit to include programs for guidance, handicapped and disadvantaged, cooperative education and workstudy, consumer and homemaking education, and residential and area center planning; a professional and curriculum development unit; research and development unit; a post-secondary coordination unit; and a manpower development and training unit.

The State of Illinois Advisory Council for Vocational Education played an important role in developing plans for this organization and plans for developing and carrying out the programs of vocational education in Illinois.

In developing long-range plans for vocational education in Illinois, analyses were made of manpower needs, job opportunities, the availability of vocational education programs in the State, and the State's population relating to vocational education needs. In view of the findings, vocational education program needs were identified as follows:

I would like to call particular attention to the dramatic increases foreseen in this plan in disadvantaged communities. When I wrote the 1968 amendments my bill insisted a mandatory set-aside for disadvantaged. This plan gives that mandate meaning.

Target population: Priority attention will be given "disadvantaged," defined as "persons who have academic, socioeconomic, cultural, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in regular vocational education programs designed for persons without such handicaps, and who for that reason require specially designed educational programs or related services, or both, in order for them to benefit from a vocational education or consumer and homemaking education program. The term includes persons whose needs for such programs or services result from poverty, neglect, delinquency, or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large."

Persons identified as handicapped "will also receive priority attention as programs are developed." "Handicapped persons" means mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech-impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, crippled, or other health impaired persons who by reason of their handicapping condition cannot succeed in a regular vocational or consumer and homemaking education program without special educational assistance or who require a modified vocational or consumer and homemaking education program.

Target areas: Priority attention to

program planning and allocation of funds will be given geographic areas designated as depressed and areas of high rates of youth unemployment and dropouts.

Program emphases: Long-range emphasis will be given:

First. Professional and curriculum development at all levels.

Second. Occupational programs designed to alleviate critical manpower shortages.

Third. New and emerging occupations. The new Illinois state plan presents quantified objectives for the state vocational education program in Illinois in terms of the objectives of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 and in terms of expected outcomes for: current status, 1970, and 1974.

A few highlights follow:

	Expected outcome		
	Current status	1970	1974
Percentage of secondary school students enrolled in vocational education:			
Urban.....	9.9	11	30
Rural.....	19.1	21	45
Percentage of secondary vocational students entering postsecondary vocational programs.....	13.0	15	25
Percentage of population age 15-24 enrolled in postsecondary vocational education:			
Urban.....	1.52	1.84	3.88
Rural.....	1.30	1.58	3.30
Percentage of population age 16-64 enrolled in adult vocational education.....	.65	.7	1.0
Percentage of disadvantaged population (by level) enrolled vocational education:			
Secondary.....	2	15	40
Postsecondary.....	0	5	10
Adult.....	2	10	30
Number of instructional programs (for disadvantaged).....	18	65	140
Percentage of handicapped population (by level) enrolled in vocational education:			
Secondary.....	3	10	40
Postsecondary.....	2	5	20
Adult.....	2	5	30
Number of instructional programs (for handicapped).....	15	40	100
Exemplary programs—number of projects.....	8	20	60
Number of residential vocational schools.....	0	0	1
Number of students to be served in residential school.....	0	0	2,500
Number of consumer and home-making education programs serving youth in economically depressed areas.....	150	200	300
Number of consumer and home-making education programs serving adults in economically depressed areas.....	50	60	75
Number of cooperative vocational education programs.....	772	992	1,310
Number of secondary schools offering work-study program.....	80	140	300

The work of the Illinois Research Coordinating Unit is recognized as outstanding in the Nation. Illinois' commitment to research in vocational education undergirds the plans for the kind of innovation that will make the State truly responsive to the challenges inherent in the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. The State's priorities in vocational education research are:

First. Innovation of new programs emphasizing contemporary occupational needs.

Second. Research activities designed to expedite total planning at local, regional, and State levels.

Third. Improvement of competencies of personnel in research and developmental activities.

Fourth. Implementation of a statewide system of research activities in vocational education.

A close liaison between the Illinois RCU and the Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Education of the National Center for Educational Research and Development, U.S. Office of Education, has been a positive aspect of the very viable vocational education research and development program in Illinois.

Sherwood Dees and members of his staff are to be congratulated on the achievement of an outstanding plan for the development of vocational education in Illinois.

A LITTLE THREAT THAT CAN GROW

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the the year, this Chamber indulged itself in the dangerous luxury of reacting with its glands. In this mood an unfortunate and potentially disastrous amendment was attached to the education and labor appropriation.

The amendment ominously stripped local control from local educators. Over zealous legislators managed a slight of hand that imposed the long arm of Federal control over the basic and fundamental decisionmaking processes of local college campuses. The amendment dictates that Federal funds will be withheld from any campus which does not comply with the 1968 measure which required funds be cut off for 2 years from any student found guilty of disruption.

No guidelines or standards were established. The Federal Government can withhold for any reason—or worse, directly demand any actions from the campus before funds are released.

Is it any wonder there is growing distress among so many citizens about the ability and purpose of Government. This amendment is another indication that many in Washington have little faith in the people although cynical lip service is given the principle.

The House now has the opportunity to demonstrate responsibility. The conference committee on H.R. 13111 has reported back a modified recommendation on this issue, and the House should support its conferees.

Attached to these remarks is an editorial that recently appeared in the Los Angeles Times. It deals directly with this issue and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Dec. 12, 1969]

A LITTLE THREAT THAT CAN GROW

(By D. J. R. Bruckner)

Congress seems a little less interested now than it was last spring in passing punitive

measures against unruly students. But there are a number of such proposals in various committees; one has worked its way into law and another stands an even chance of becoming law.

The appropriation bill for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, which is now before the Senate Appropriations Committee, carries a rider added in the House requiring a cutoff of federal funds from any student or teacher who disrupts a university or college; and it prohibits any of the vast funds under the bill from going to an institution which is not in "full compliance" with the 1968 riot amendments to the Higher Education Act. Welfare Secretary Robert Finch has denounced the new proposal as dangerous, and an administrative nightmare.

The 1968 amendments require that funds be cut off for two years from any student found guilty of disruption. There are cases under this law rising through the bureaucracy up to an adjudication by HEW, and HEW faces some crucial decisions. For instance, if a student was found by Harvard University to have disrupted that institution, and he has now transferred to, say, Stanford, is Stanford responsible for cutting him off from federal funds? If his guilt travels with him, is the institution that receives him liable to a penalty?

Such questions become very serious in light of the language of the rider on the Labor-HEW appropriations bill. It could turn the universities into investigative and judicial bodies in such a way as to cause serious student discontent; and, incidentally, it would turn HEW itself into both policeman and judge.

But most educators consider the implications of the appropriations bill for the State, Commerce and Justice departments, which has now been signed into law by the President, as much more dangerous. The bill prohibits giving any funds provided by it to any student or teacher who has disrupted a university; and it requires periodic certification by the universities that they are in compliance with the law. The funds involved are not great, but the precedent is taken seriously by university administrators.

The universities already face a most difficult crisis over the issue of governing themselves and maintaining individual academic freedom in the face of serious internal radical pressures. Many university teachers feel that any appearance of government repression would draw students and faculty together into radical positions, and this would pretty well destroy academic freedom.

Many teachers agree with Prof. William F. Baxter of the Stanford Law School, that one of the most important ways to prevent this kind of radicalizing is to protect the university's right to find its members guilty of breaking rules without imposing maximum penalties, such as cutting off federal funds.

Presumably, if a university were to apply the law strictly, it could create more disruption. What is more likely is that universities will simply choose to find no one, or very few, guilty, thus not only undermining the law but surrendering their own internal discipline. Some HEW officials would like to ease the impact by carefully redefining disruption, but they also fear that such an effort might arouse congressional anger and provoke harsher laws.

A recent study by the American Council on Education of the 1968-69 school year shows that more than 22% of all colleges and universities in the nation experienced either violent or non-violent disruption; among universities alone, 70% of the private, and 42% of the public, institutions were disrupted by protests at least once during the year. So, a small amendment to a

routine appropriations bill becomes possibly a very extensive law.

Many educators fear it is a dangerous one, for, up to now, despite all the turmoil, the universities have been able to maintain their own internal order. That is precisely what the new laws and proposals tend to destroy.

REMARKS BY HON. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN BEFORE THE PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY YOUNG REPUBLICANS

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, once again a great public servant, former Governor of Maryland Theodore R. McKeldin, has expressed some thoughts concerning the Vietnam struggle which we might well study and consider. Here a former State chief executive brings his own experience and empathy to bear on the problem of ultimate responsibility which lies with President Nixon. It is not only an eloquent plea for understanding but an incisive analysis of the war and its relationship to the Presidency.

Here for the RECORD which I urge my colleagues to read is Governor McKeldin's remarks:

REMARKS OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1951-59; MAYOR OF BALTIMORE, 1943-47 AND 1963-67, PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY YOUNG REPUBLICANS, HAMPSHIRE MOTOR INN, LANGLEY PARK, THURSDAY, NOV. 20, 1969, 8:30 P.M.

"War is hell," said General Sherman. No better way has ever been found to describe the horror of war. War is hell, and all other phrases, sentences, paragraphs and books about war are simply commentary to what General Sherman said.

General Sherman's statement has of course become famous. What many seem to overlook though is that Sherman was a General when he said it. The author of one of the most devastating acts of war—the Sherman march through the South of our country—Sherman had the firsthand schooling to educate him to what war could do to a countryside and to a human inside.

Today, we are engaged once again in a war. No one disputes its horror, its drain, its awfulness. No one speaks anymore of making a desperate, all-out lunge for military victory. We may have at one time been divided on the initiation of that war, but we are all in common accord on our present goal of ending the war. The difference now lies simply in time.

President Nixon was elected on a platform of peace. He repeatedly announced during the campaign—and has echoed as President—his desire to become the Peacemaking President. As commander-in-chief of our armies, President Nixon could make that desperate lunge at military victory, but instead he has committed himself to bringing the war in Vietnam to a peaceful conclusion. Like General Sherman, he has seen and he has comprehended the horror of war and he has decided that he will make no bed-fellow of the hell of war.

But to see the face of war and know its devilishness is one thing; to extricate oneself from it is another. We are in a war. The

debate over whether to become engaged in Vietnam is a moot question of five years and 40,000 deaths. A President, especially a new President, must face reality, and the reality is that we are tied to a war where a hundred deaths a week is considered low. To end such a war cannot be done easily or quickly, any more than to stop a street fight can be done by asking one of the fighters to stop. I was in Vietnam during that country's first democratic elections more than two years ago, and I know how deep are the currents of this war.

President Nixon's proposal for timed withdrawal is therefore eminently sound, and his desire to keep such a timetable discretionary is profoundly sensible. President Nixon has clearly put us on the path to peace.

Since it is far easier to start a war than it is to end one (let us not forget that even victors have difficulty ending wars), this country should give President Nixon, not yet a year in office, sufficient time to work out the conclusion to one of the longest wars in American history. Such support is simply the reasonable action of a reasonable people. To criticize the President's actions not for being proper, but for being slow, is childish and unrealistic. This country has been founded on that delightful cry of the underdog: "Give a man a chance." I suggest we give President Nixon a chance.

This is why it is so important for Republicans especially to band together behind the President—to give him that solid support he needs to wage a war for peace. As the titular head of the Republican Party, President Nixon should not be exposed to embarrassment or to any action by his own Party which would weaken his quest for an end to the Vietnam war. The earnest support of our President is the freest expression we have to show that we join President Nixon in ending—as quickly as rationally possible—the hell of the Vietnam war.

In conclusion may I say that we as party members should be slow to reject his appointees or question his policies, not because we should allow ourselves to be stifled, but because Richard Nixon has come to the Presidency at one of the most difficult periods in American history and he is making decisions to shape and to mold a better America.

NO PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST WHILE ARABS EXPECT ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. There can be no peace in the Middle East so long as the Arabs, with the cunning approval of the Russians, expect Israel to withdraw from occupied territories as a precondition to negotiations for peace.

It is therefore inconceivable to me that the United States should even remotely suggest withdrawal by Israel. Secretary Rogers, in his December 9 statement, suggests that the intercession of the United States and Russia, and the abandonment of occupied territories, will hasten peace. Israel does not accept this position. I do not accept this as a sound position. The United States should not accept this position.

The lesson of 1957 is clear. Israel was amenable to accommodation with the Arabs after U.S. assurance and the Arabs used the presence of a weak-kneed United Nations force as a cover for building a war machine to smash Israel.

When that clash came in 1967, 10 years later, Israel responded heroically to her own survival and secured the homeland. Arab territory was taken. It would be foolish to abandon that territory now in the hope of inducing the Arabs to again participate in negotiations while it is clear that the Arabs are bent on nothing less than the total destruction of Israel and the annihilation of the Jews.

Israel must hold the occupied territory and negotiate its return to the Arabs only as part of genuine, substantive talks aimed at bringing a secure and lasting peace to the Middle East. You do not bargain with anyone by throwing in your best cards at the beginning of the game.

The United Nations also errs when it attempts to deal with the Russians to have them intercede with the Arabs. Russia is in absolute harmony with the intentions of the Arabs, and Israel is opposed to bilateral talks with Russia and the four-power talks with Britain and France. We should actually be pushing for face-to-face negotiations between Arabs and Israelis.

Nations not directly involved cannot hope to bring peace to the Middle East when one of those nations is the instigator and supporter of Arab aggression and hostility.

The security and integrity of the State of Israel cannot be compromised. Israel's best hope for long-range peace is strength. I have therefore recently urged the President to supply an additional 250 Phantom jets to Israel to insure her defensive power in the shadow of increasing Russian military assistance to the Arab States.

While Israel is strong she will survive. Her strength alone will finally compel the Arabs to recognize the reality of the existence of Israel and sit down to achieve a lasting and durable peace.

Vital to Israel's strength is the unswerving support of her position by the United States. The Secretary of State can do grave injustice to Israel should he attempt to compromise Israel's position in opposition to Israel's wishes.

There has been war in the Middle East three times in the last 20 years.

Let us learn from that history and not make the same mistakes again.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BOLLING) has done our country a great service by continuing to focus national attention on the pressing need for congressional reform.

His compelling article from the November issue of *Playboy* magazine speaks for itself and I would urge all Americans to read it.

This article follows:

THE HOUSE: "HOW THE LOWER CHAMBER BESET BY REACTIONARY COALITIONS, STALEMATED BY AN ARCHAIC AND CORRUPTIBLE COMMITTEE SYSTEM, FAILS IN FULFILLING THE NATION'S MOST PRESSING LEGISLATIVE NEEDS"

(By Representative RICHARD BOLLING)

It is my conviction, a heresy in my trade, that the primary failures of political leadership at the Federal level are found in the United States Congress. Particularly, these failures are found in the House of Representatives, where I serve—the legislative area of civil rights excepted. The House has failed to organize itself in such a way as to exercise effectively and responsibly its share of the political leadership that the American people may fairly expect from their Federal Government. A drastic change in the House power structure and major reforms of the House as an institution are needed. The House as now constituted is ineffective. It is negative in its approach to national tasks and usually unresponsive except to parochial economic interests. Its creaky procedures are outmoded. Its organization camouflages anonymous centers of irresponsible power. It often passes legislation that is a travesty of what is really needed.

The fundamental reforms I suggest are directed at the way Democrats in the House organize themselves. In the majority during 34 of the past 38 years, the Democrats are largely responsible for the present condition of the House. The inflammations in our cities and the unresponsiveness in our schools and the effluence of our polluted environment would be much less aggravated if the Democrats had faithfully put the House in order. If the House were properly organized, such reactionaries as Howard Smith of Virginia, longtime chairman of the House Rules Committee and a Democrat in name only, could not have arbitrarily throttled school aid, housing programs and civil rights legislation in the Forties, Fifties and early Sixties. If the House were properly organized, Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, would not have been able to pigeon-hole Medicare for the elderly until 1965. Congress would be a more respected body today if it, rather than the Supreme Court, had outlawed malapportioned Congressional districts and segregated public school districts. A majority of the Democratic Party in the House has permitted its minority Tories to misuse seniority in order to obstruct, damage and deflate the party's national programs. The House must assume part of the blame for ghetto fires and rioting, Birmingham bombings and the Little Rock school confrontation.

Is the Congress, especially the House, to continue as the least responsible organ of Government, responding, if at all, often 10, 20 or 30 years after social problems arise? Is the essential well-being of the nation dependent on an occasional political landslide, such as occurred in 1964 because of the Goldwater Presidential candidacy? Will the nation learn to improve itself by means of other institutions and thereby push the Congress to the outskirts of American society?

The naysaying 90th Congress of 1967-1968 is a good illustration of how a legislative body should not work. The House during those years gave one of its worst performances. The Congressional trail was dotted with the sump holes of legislative ineptitudes and misadventures. The House mangled elementary-secondary school aid, Model

Cities, the promising Teacher Corps, rent-supplement and other anti-poverty programs. It amounted to a virtual war against America's poor.

The first mishap was the handling of that flamboyant Harlem grandee, Adam Clayton Powell. At the time, Powell was in deep trouble of his own making. He had abused his trust as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. It distressed the country. It distressed many House members. But the Speaker of the House, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, did not see it that way. He felt that there was no problem. Just newspaper talk, the Speaker said. Yet mail demanding Powell's head was being delivered by the truckloads to House members from irate constituents. A few of the senior bulls shared McCormack's view. Disturb Powell, they reasoned, and who knows which of us committee chairmen may someday be dislodged from our seniority shelter?

So what happened? Powell was quite properly stripped of his chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee by a caucus of his Democratic colleagues. This action then snowballed into a successful but unconstitutional move to deprive Powell of the seat to which his Harlem constituents had elected him. Incompetent leadership was to blame for not blocking the exclusion effort. As a result, Harlem, festering with dire poverty, was not represented in the House for the two-year life of the 90th Congress.

The Powell affair was only the first in a series of bumbblings. The Democratic House leadership agreed to accept an apportionment of seats among Republicans and Democrats on the key Ways and Means and Appropriations committees that doomed at the outset the liberal domestic legislative program of the President. While urban ghettos blazed during the midsummer of 1967, the House gutted remedial legislation for urban areas in mindless fashion. It refused even to discuss a bill to authorize a rat-eradication program for cities—yet a few days later, it became known that a contract had been let to eradicate rats in the office buildings occupied by House members. A bill to renew and extend the anti-poverty program—a real hope for millions of Americans, both black and white—was so incompetently scheduled that it barely survived debate on the House floor.

Finally, in late 1968, the 90th Congress ended on perhaps the most outrageous note of all. The core of parliamentary government is the vote. When it is abused or besmirched, our democracy is gravely wounded. Yet last fall, it appeared that House assistant clerks were registering as present many members who were not present—indeed, one member was in California at the time he was recorded. This scandalous ghost voting caused no great outcry among House members, although it was referred for inquiry to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. That committee has recommended a preliminary course of action that can lead to effective reform in this vital area.

Amid this bedlam, the conservative and reactionary committee chairmen prospered. One was Mills, the chairman of Ways and Means. Under the rules of the House, legislation involving tax reform, Social Security, Medicare, welfare programs and a vast array of other domestic problems are referred to this grand committee. Mills is a legislator of considerable ability and strong conservatism. At some time or other, he has voted against Medicare, minimum wage, foreign aid, Model Cities, anti-poverty funds and civil rights. He bottled up the surcharge until he forced the President into agreement on a ceiling on domestic spending, a deceptive-sounding objective that disguised its true purpose; rather than curtailing or stretching out such expenditures as postponable military con-

struction, civil public works and highway construction, Mills assured slashes in the newer, innovative programs designed to solve the problems of our cities.

As chairman of the Committee on Committees, composed of the 15 Democrats on Ways and Means, Mills also occupies a powerful Democratic Party position in the House. Until this year, when a small halter was placed on it, this committee had, without restraint, assigned all other Democrats to seats on the other permanent committees of the House. Southern Democrats—actually, "Republicans with Southern accents"—have, until recently, been a majority on this key Committee on Committees. Over the years, this custom has enabled Southerners—many of whom are able men of great integrity, but virtually all of whom are stuck to the segregationist flypaper—to rise to head the major legislative committees and key subcommittees within these full committees. Even this year, nine of the 21 committees have Southern Democrats as chairmen and only one of the nine chairmen is what I would call a "national Democrat."

How in the devil did this regressive state of affairs develop? And why has it been permitted to continue? The story begins in 1910, when insurgent Republicans, joined by Democrats, successfully rebelled against a tyrannical and deeply conservative G.O.P. Speaker, Joseph "Uncle Joe" Cannon of Illinois. The bipartisan rebels forged a voting majority to strip the Speakership of its major powers, among them the unilateral power to appoint all members, Democrats as well as Republicans, to committees. Subsequently, House Democrats and Republicans each devised separate machinery to name their respective members to the committees. It soon became the firm practice to re-elect returning members to the committees on which they had served in the previous Congress. The Democratic committee members came to be listed in order of the length of time they had served on a particular committee. The one with the greatest service was chairman, if his party was the majority party in the House. In a broad sense, this custom was acceptable. After all, it takes time to learn to be a competent national legislator. But seniority became the overriding factor in determining appointments to committees—a custom no other state or national assembly in the world follows. Custom became Congressional "common law." Violating seniority became as unthinkable as soliciting for one's sister. Senior Congressmen, of course, enjoy the seniority system. Most of those far less senior tolerate it, in the hope they too, someday will enjoy the trappings of chairmanships. The few who recognize its evils are outgunned in any attempt to change matters.

The present state of affairs, then, is this: For a Democrat to become a chairman, he need only live long enough and get re-elected often enough to outdistance his colleagues. Eventually, he'll make it, although he may have the morals of a Mafia capo or the mind of a moron—or both. And who among Democrats is most likely to achieve the cherished goal of chairman? The answer is easy: He is a member from a one-party Congressional district, usually in the rural South—insular, suspicious and racist. His rise on the seniority ladder is aided by the competitive nature of many Northern districts, where Democrats fare less well. Consequently, Southern Democrats generally hostile to the moderately liberal cast of their national party came to dominate the House power structure. It is as if we named George Wallace to head the United States Civil Rights Commission, a Democrat to head the Republican National Committee or someone who believes the world is flat to head the Federal space agency. (Along their

way to power, it should be noted, the Southerners have the assistance of the "dough-faces"—Northern men with political appetites rather than convictions—elected from rotten districts in New York, Chicago and other large cities. Both types come to the House to feast on the spoils. They don't give a damn about issues.)

Occasionally, an aspiring Southern Democrat lets slip his masks in this farce. Both Albert Watson of South Carolina and John Bell Williams of Mississippi, for example supported the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, in 1964. Their actions were so blatant that a thin majority of House Democrats, in caucus, was able to strip them of their accumulated seniority. Watson then showed his true colors. He resigned his seat in the House returned to South Carolina, ran as a Republican for the seat he had just vacated and was elected. He still sits as a Republican in the House. Williams, a much more senior member of the House, would now be the chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce had his seniority on that committee not been taken away. Deprived of this opportunity for great national power, he chose to seek the much less important position of governor of Mississippi. He succeeded, and now the people of that sad state are the exclusive beneficiaries of his reactionary tendencies. This year, Representative John Rarick of Louisiana, who had supported George Wallace, was likewise stripped of his seniority at a Democratic caucus—an action energetically fought by the House Democratic leadership, including Speaker McCormack.

But these are only dents in the iron system of seniority, a system with very real rewards. From his cockpit as committee chairman, a member may and does thumb his nose at the President, the Speaker and a majority of his own party. A chairman usually decides which bills will be granted hearings. He controls the timing of the hearings and the selection of witnesses. By absenting himself or refusing to call committee meetings, he often can deny a bill passage through his committee. It's that simple—and that arbitrary.

Among the most right-wing chairmen is Mendel Rivers of Charleston, South Carolina, a Snopes who whispered support for Hubert Humphrey in the 1968 Presidential election while winking at the supporters of George Wallace. During a TV interview, he once said, "I don't put myself on a parity with a Government employee. The people, in the Constitution, put me above them." He supported his party's national program only 37 percent of the time during 1965-1966, and hasn't changed since. He chairs the Armed Services Committee, which seldom gives searching thought to the major military matters within its jurisdiction but acts, instead, primarily as a committee on military real estate, parceling out military installations to districts of "deserving members." John McMillan of South Carolina heads the District of Columbia committee, which has made our national seat of Government a national disgrace. William Colmer of Mississippi heads the powerful Rules Committee, through which most legislation reported favorably by committees must pass before reaching the House floor for final action. And this is only a partial list.

The result has been a grand deception of the American people. For 34 of the past 38 years, as I noted earlier, the Democrats have been the "majority party" in the House. In the present 91st Congress, for example, there are 243 "Democrats" and 192 "Republicans" in the House. However, at least 60 of the 243 Democrats are opposed to the Democratic National Party platform. These 60 are Southerners almost without exception. And there are perhaps ten John Lindsay types

among the 192 Republicans. Therefore, the true equation on major domestic remedial legislation is not 243 Democrats to 192 Republicans. In fact, 243 Democrats to 192 Republicans. In fact, 193 members are generally in favor of progress and 242 are usually opposed. Consequently, the Southerners still maintain a balance of power in those dozen or so hotly contested domestic legislative rows that erupt during each session of Congress. Their pivotal position is being eroded, but it still often thwarts the national, as opposed to the regional, interest.

This ratio is reflected within the key committees as well. Usually, the gutting of bills to aid the poor and mistreated takes place beyond the glare of publicity, behind the closed doors of the committee room. The truncated bill then comes to the floor—where it is very difficult to restore the lost features.

The condition of committee appointments has two faces, actually. One aspect is packing a committee, so that humane legislation does not get a fair chance to be considered. The second aspect is equally disastrous to fairness and justice. Certain House committees, as in the Senate, have become zealous watchdogs of special, high-powered economic interests. When a committee is dominated by special interests, "tunnel vision" develops in respect to the national interests. Our farm-subsidy program, for example, which is dominated by the House Agriculture Committee, benefits a few special crop interests at the expense of the national interest. As the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has noted, our policy favors tobacco, cotton, corn and peanuts over the rural and urban poor. Instead of worrying about the hungry, the Committee engages in chronic, fierce sectarian fights among, for example, partisans of three varieties of peanuts—Spanish, Virginia and runner. Its Democratic members are almost always Southerners, almost always representative of crop interests—the Virginia peanut, the Georgia peach, the Texas cotton. The consumer aspect is ignored. Powerful outside farm groups work their will. Democratic Representative Joseph Resnick of New York discovered this in 1967. As chairman of the larger committee's Rural Development Subcommittee, he expressed the view that the right-wing American Farm Bureau Federation is, in fact, "not a farm organization but a large group of insurance companies without primary interest in the welfare of the Agriculture Department . . . using [the farmer] to build one of the largest insurance and financial empires in the United States, an empire bringing great profit to a select handful of men." The Farm Bureau struck back. Its long arm reached into the compliant Agriculture Committee and produced a resolution, with only one courageous dissent, that rebuked Resnick. House members, instead of being collectively outraged at this bold violation of Congressional sanctuary, sat silent when the Agriculture Committee danced a jig to the Farm Bureau's call. Resnick had erred: He had attacked an entrenched economic power. If he had attacked the defenseless poor, there would have been no retaliation.

Study the unpardonable problem of malnutrition and even starvation in this country and you'll encounter Representative Jamie Whitten of Mississippi, chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on agriculture and lord of certain operations of the Agriculture Department. No Secretary of Agriculture, whether Democratic or Republican, can hope to administer his department without coming to terms with Jamie Whitten. Why the difficulty with obtaining an adequately funded and adequately administered food-stamp program? Why are there virtually no Negro county extension agents in supervisory

positions? Why is it difficult for the Negro farmer in the Mississippi delta to obtain the same array of useful services, including valuable crop advice, as the white farmer? Why do nearly one out of four counties in the nation have no food program for the needy? Why do only 6,000,000 of an estimated 27,000,000 poor receive Federal food benefits? Why does the national school-lunch program serve free lunches to only one out of three needy pupils? Why did the Congress last fall kill the diversion of agriculture subsidies to feed the hungry? Why did it eliminate an open-end authorization for food stamps? Why did it kill a school-lunch-program amendment? And why is the Agriculture Department so staffed that it seems to have become one of the Confederate states—with social attitudes to match? One could do worse than to study the actions of Whitten's subcommittee of Appropriations and the Committee on Agriculture for answers to all of these questions.

Of course, the abuses are not limited to agriculture affairs. Until this summer, Congress tolerated a grossly unfair hodge-podge tax structure that permitted 21 persons, each with incomes of more than \$1,000,000 in 1967, to escape paying a penny of Federal income taxes. So did more than 130 Americans who made more than \$200,000 that year. These happy Americans lived in tax shelters while 27,000,000 Americans lived in poverty. It's a demonstrable case of socialism for the rich and free enterprise for the poor. The tax-writing communities of the Congress—Ways and Means in the House and Finance in the Senate—are too often manned by members pledged to protect such major economic advantages as lucrative tax benefits for oil and gas companies. In the face of a nationwide revulsion against tax injustices, the House did pass a major tax-reform bill last August; this article went to press before action was taken on the reform in the Senate. By Congressional custom, tax bills cannot be amended in the House. They can be amended in the Senate, however, and it is there that the special-interest groups threatened by the reform will launch their campaign to water down the bill.

The problems within the Congress cannot be attributed only to men of narrow vision and blurred ethics. There are also the timeservers who wave Old Glory and vote for appropriations for their districts; the fence straddlers who rhetorically favor brotherly love, Government solvency and pensions for all; the intellectuals who dream of "systems so perfect no one needs to be good"; and, finally, the smooth dealers for whom politics is largely a matter of exchanging favors. These members butter up the senior bulls and eventually will be asked to help staff the back door through which the House is robbed—the hidden channels by which special favors are dispensed to special interests. All these types make the backbreaking job of Congressional reform more difficult.

Too few members are willing to stand up to the oligarchs of the committees. The seniors tend to regard new members as fraternity brothers regard pledges. A junior member is quickly made aware—by a chance remark, a gesture or a Dutch-uncle talk—that his rewards will come if he goes along like a good boy. The obverse implication is that a brash junior member can expect to be treated as a pariah at any political harvest.

The mortar that binds the system consists largely of what members in private inelegantly call "boodle." Boodle includes a military installation being assigned to one's Congressional district. This means a construction payroll, followed by a steady payroll for the military and civilian employees who will live and spend in a member's district. It also includes a variety of public works—dams, river and harbor projects, rec-

lamation projects, conservation projects, Federal office buildings.

These projects, in most cases, are legitimate. The hitch, of course, comes in the manner in which they are distributed. There are just not enough Federal dollars each year to finance such projects in each of the 435 Congressional districts simultaneously. So 435 hungry House members jostle for projects adequate for, perhaps, 200 districts. The conservative, ruling committee chairmen and other leaders maintain their power by determining in large measure which members will get the projects. Generally, of course, the stay-in-line member, not the rebel with a cause, profits. I know about this from personal experience. A great multimillion-dollar flood-control program plays a large part in my re-election over the years. So does a \$32,000,000 Federal office building. My political reputation in my district is probably more identified with these two projects than with my strong stands on behalf of civil rights, open housing and Congressional reform. Both of these projects were needed. Neither was a boon-dog. Yet I know that my district received these projects primarily because—although relatively junior in those days—I was an insider when Sam Rayburn of Texas was Speaker of the House.

In addition to autonomous seniors and their junior accomplices, hidden power centers bedevil the House. There is one man who is more influential than all but a few House members—and who is not even a member himself. He is the House parliamentarian, Lewis Deschler. The title itself generates a vision of dried parchment paper and a blinkered figure who looks at the House through the prism of its rules and precedents. Deschler, parliamentarian for more than 40 years, doesn't fit the image. He is a large-sized man with large-sized influence growing out of his encyclopedic knowledge. He cultivates anonymity, never speaking to the press for quotation. There is little written about him. One article that purported to describe his functions included the incredible inaccuracy that the parliamentarian presides from the Speaker's chair at certain times. Actually, this is just about the only thing that Deschler does not do for a Speaker. His knowledge is that a ship's engineer boss who knows the capacities of the boilers in all sorts of weather. The rules and older precedents of the House fill 11 large volumes, but the precedents of the past 30 years have not even been published. Thus, Deschler has a virtual monopoly on current precedents. Precedents are the 10,000 dos and don'ts of the House. Deschler, and Deschler alone, is a master of these. He may choose to be as helpful as a deaf-mute to a member who comes seeking advice on how to pursue a matter toward which the Speaker—or Deschler himself—is hostile. Deschler, not the Speaker, decides in practice to which committee a bill should be sent. I once cautiously raised this whole problem when I was a lieutenant of Speaker Rayburn. His reply was accurate but not helpful—"Deschler is loyal to me."

There is much breast beating in Congress about the loss of its power and influence to the Executive branch. The *Congressional Record* at least once a week carries a baleful lament to this effect by a House or Senate member, usually a Southern Democrat or equally conservative Midwestern Republican. Yet these same members, for some reason, have never insisted that Congress acquire computers for the storage and quick retrieval of information. There are 3000 computers within the departments, agencies and bureaus of the Executive branch. Thus, the Congress permits itself to be outgunned—like firemen equipped with water pistols or infantrymen equipped with peashooters.

The case for reform is obviously compelling. And a reformist mood is, in fact,

growing. As a result of deaths, retirements and election defeats, 243 new members have entered the House since 1961, a turnover of 56 percent of the House membership. This postulates a membership far less willing to feed on the cake of custom. At the opening of the present Congress last January, the first effort to unseat a Speaker in nearly 50 years was launched. The candidacy of Representative Morris Udall of Arizona was not successful against 77-year-old Speaker McCormack but it is a harbinger of contests to come. In addition, there were minor rebellions this year against hoary committee rules and practices in the Judiciary and the District of Columbia committees. Banking and Currency Committee members are restive. The 30-year-long reactionary strangle hold on the Rules Committee was completely broken in 1967.

Another small step with a large potential was achieved this year. The Democratic leadership agreed to have regular monthly meetings—caucuses—with Democratic members. That agreement was forced by pressure from the Democratic Study Group, House members who are national Democrats. These caucuses, if employed wisely, can give the country the opportunity to see the difference between the appearance of Congress and the reality. In them, national Democrats may be able to propose and obtain majorities for progressive legislation. When such a majority emerges in caucus, it may begin to work effectively of a complete overhaul of the whole committee system.

For years, I have proposed simple reforms of the Democratic Party within the House that would accomplish this purpose by modifying but not junking the seniority system. The reforms are:

1. The member selected in caucus for Speaker (or Minority Leader when the Democrats are not a majority) would have the sole power to nominate the following: A. All the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means and its chairman (or ranking minority member). B. All the Democratic members of the Rules Committee and its chairman (or ranking minority member).

2. After these nominations are made in caucus, a vote will be taken to confirm such nominees by majority vote. No nomination may be made from the floor. In the event that a majority rejects one or more of the nominees, the party leader will submit as many nominations as are necessary to fill the assignments.

3. The members approved for appointment to Ways and Means will continue to act as the Committee on Committees. But, at a subsequent caucus, they must submit their nominations for seats on the other committees of the House. Approval will be by majority vote. If one or more nominations are rejected in the caucus, the Committee on Committees will submit fresh nominees until all vacancies are filled.

4. The top leader, be he the Speaker or the Minority Leader, will now nominate the chairman or ranking minority member for each standing committee. If one or more are rejected, as in the other proceedings, he will continue to make nominations until all necessary appointments are approved.

These changes should lead to great improvement. But not automatically. Rearranging the political furniture is no guarantee of fair play. An open and aboveboard system of nomination does, of course, offer a greater promise of a better House of Representatives.

If the approximately 180 national Democrats in the House were all really what they seemed to be on the basis of votes cast and speeches made, the Democratic caucus would not now be accepting reactionaries and tyrants in powerful leadership positions. But of these 180, perhaps as many as half of

those who vote right and talk right "sell out" at critical moments to the system for a good committee assignment or a favor, in the form of an empty honor or an important project, from the establishment. In the present circumstances, it pays to go along. Noble words can hide cheap deals. Liberal public voting records camouflage reactionary votes behind closed committee doors. In an open Democratic caucus, however, roll-call votes could be forced and members required to take public positions on leadership elections and committee-assignment selections. Under these circumstances and with public understanding of the significance of the votes on such matters, it is unthinkable that the majority would elect a reactionary or a tyrant.

There's no need for a blue-ribbon commission or a think-tank study by academicians. My reform program will work. It will provide the American people with a more effective national legislature. Currently, Congress resembles a crowded airport terminal where travelers have no planes to board because the runways are all torn up. Many members favor my reforms. Others disagree while informing me the reforms are feasible and practical. If enacted, competent seniors will continue to exercise their abilities. Other seniors, now as out of date in their comprehension of our national problems as dinosaurs, may not be so fortunate, but more junior members will be thrust into positions of responsibility without waiting until they pass retirement age.

Only then, when the power structure has been altered and the iron rule of seniority modified, will it be possible to institute a real modernization of House procedures, to strengthen the rules of ethical conduct for its members and to pass meaningful new laws controlling the threat of big money to free elections. Only then, when the power of the racists and reactionaries has been broken, will the poor and the blacks be treated as full members of American society by the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS AT 25TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE ILLINOIS DIVISION, POL-
ISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN ROMAN C. PUCINSKI DELIVERED AT THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ILLINOIS DIVISION OF THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, SHERMAN HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 26, 1969

Your Excellency, Bishop Abramowicz, Mr. President Mazewski, Madame President Lagodzinska, Mr. President Pranica, Mr. President Janicki, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the 25th anniversary of the Illinois division, Polish American Congress, affords us an excellent opportunity to rekindle our faith in the enormous contribution that the Polish American Congress has made and continues to make toward realizing the day when the people of Poland will again join the family of free nations.

It is quite obvious as we view the situation behind the Iron Curtain today that on this 25th anniversary of the founding of the Polish American Congress, the basic mission of its high ideals has not as yet been completed. But as we honor this anniversary, we

look at the men and women who have taken up the torch of the Polish American Congress and we like what we see.

President Al Mazewski, as national president of the Polish American Congress, and president of the Polish National Alliance, has brought to his task a new dimension of understanding and leadership, and because we know of his high dedication and devotion to the cause of human dignity, we know that under his leadership the Congress, indeed, shall flourish.

Ed Rozanski, as president of the Illinois division, constantly on the alert on how to make the State division a more effective instrument of the national organization, is imbued with the same lofty ideals and high dedication toward the cause of Poland as were his three predecessors, Judge Adesko, Judge Pluzdrak, and myself. We have every reason to view Ed Rozanski's contribution with the highest degree of confidence and admiration.

Mitchell Kobelinski, vice president of the Illinois division and chairman of this evening's anniversary banquet, is the architect of new and bold programs for the Polish American Congress, and has brought to Polonia an inspiring dimension of hope for our future.

The same could be said of all the other officers of the PAC, both at the national and State level, and as we honor the 25th anniversary of the Congress here this evening, we honor them and rededicate our loyalty and our support to help assure them success in their difficult assignment.

The Polish American Congress was born of necessity when it became apparent 25 years ago that Poland—the first victim of Nazi aggression and a nation that had made such an enormous contribution on the altar of freedom—was not going to be able to speak in her own behalf at the international post-war conference on the future of Europe.

Twenty-five years ago when this Congress was founded it was clear that Poland was not going to be able to enjoy the freedom for which she had so gallantly fought in World War II.

The founders of the PAC laid down the basic purpose of this organization and this purpose is as much valid today as it was 25 years ago, for by any standards one wishes to apply, Poland continues to be under the domination of an ideology totally foreign to her 1,000-year history as a champion of freedom and human dignity.

I say to you tonight that our work is not yet done, and we must never abandon the basic principles of the Polish American Congress until the glorious day comes when the people of Poland are again masters of their own destiny without the interference of Moscow or any other foreign ideology.

But times and conditions change, and just as the Polish American Congress has as its basic mission the continued struggle for the ultimate liberation of Poland from Communist domination, so must its leadership today look at the new problems of Polonia and add to its functions a new dimension of activity on behalf of those things which will raise the prestige and the reputation and the respect of Americans of Polish descent in Chicago and the Nation.

I am pleased with the work of the Illinois division in this direction.

In a number of major moves, the Illinois division has undertaken an impressive program of denouncing those who would bring ridicule and contempt on the Poles and Americans of Polish descent.

The Illinois division has wisely reached into a glorious 1,000 years of Polish history to demonstrate that in the veins of Americans of Polish descent flows the blood of a gallant people whose contributions to the cultural, scientific, philosophical, educational, and religious development of the world are literally beyond measure.

The Congress has wisely decided that its activities must include a greater concern for the immediate interest of Polonia as well as the long range effort for Poland's ultimate liberation.

I wish to congratulate the officers of the Congress for this decision for, indeed, we Americans live in a dynamic, multi-ethnic society, surrounded by the wealth of cultural legacies brought to this Nation by our forefathers. Fortunately, they have left us many treasures from all parts of the globe in the vivid beauty of their music, drama, dance, and art; the distinctive flavor of their folklore, language, and literature; the dignity of their values and beliefs.

Today, these priceless heirlooms continue to nourish and grace the American heritage.

This Nation thrives on a deep sense of ethnic community. It flourishes on the pride of origin shared by its people, both as committed Americans and as devoted individuals with strong ties to their own indigenous neighborhoods and groups.

In the past century, our society has begun to deny the existence of these origins. We have been challenging the concept of ethnicity, eroding the delicate tendrils that link us with our past. Indeed, we have oversold the value of homogenization, sacrificing the diversity of our pluralistic society for the sake of uniformity.

Consequently, many of our ethnic groups have developed a profound sense of cultural inferiority—a feeling that they are second best Americans because they have carefully preserved their original language, their customs and traditions, and their unique styles of life. Some have even totally forsaken their ethnic bonds.

This problem pervades every city and State, every corner of our Nation. It affects the lives of millions of Americans who are foreign born or second-generation American citizens. The most serious casualties of this quasi-cultural obliteration have been our youth.

Today, our Nation's youth is plagued by a sense of ruthlessness. Many of them are caught up in a maze of alien notions and are channeling their energies to a search for identity.

In a very real sense, these are the "forgotten young Americans," with no feeling of belonging in our heterogeneous society.

Society's transmitters of cultural values, its primary and secondary schools, have taught these young people nothing of their own ethnic backgrounds, and this omission has led them to conclude that their heritage has no status in the value system of our society. Therefore, it is scarcely surprising that so many young people have failed to develop a positive self-image, a feeling of not belonging that forces them to take to the streets to find expression.

Typically, their school history lessons teach about only one of two countries and remain indifferent to the rest of the world. Their art, music, literature, and language classes are equally narrow and exclusive, thus reinforcing a distorted picture of their environment and ancestry.

Such a pernicious educational deficiency warrants our utmost attention and offers the Polish American Congress its greatest challenge for the future.

One of our projects ought to be make certain that the inspiring history of Poland and her great struggle for human dignity, coupled with the enormous contributions of Poles in America, are properly reflected in the history books of this country.

Only by recognizing and respecting our own basis as a people can we give living meaning to the fact that there is no conflict between being a loyal, patriotic American and still being proud of your Polish ethnic heritage.

Too long have we tried to conceal our ethnicity and too long has the rest of our Nation been denied an opportunity to know

full well the strengths of our own background.

We will restore tranquility to America when we restore self-respect in young Americans. One way to do this is to give them the identity they seek and impress upon them that in that identity there is a proud heritage which can give them strength and courage.

On this 25th anniversary of the Polish American Congress, let us all rededicate ourselves to the proposition that those of us who have a history—and the Poles indeed do have an inspiring history—Yes, those of us who have a history, cannot leave destiny to chance.

In our own history, we can find the strength and the understanding for the glorious growth of America.

The Poles have survived 1,000 years of heroic struggle for identity because each generation has helped the succeeding generation nurture and sustain its spirit. This spirit has been our mortar; our strength for survival.

On this 25th anniversary of the Polish American Congress, as I look at the new leadership—the young men whom we honor here tonight—I am extremely confident that this generation, as its predecessor, will reach—new heights of achievement in bringing forth the best in our fellow man.

Thank you.

LETTER FROM VIETNAM GI

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the Liberty County, Ga., Herald of December 18, 1969, printed a letter written by Pvt. Reed Dent to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Basil C. Dent, of Hinesville. I feel this letter is interesting reading and deserving of my colleagues' attention, not only because it comes from a serviceman stationed in South Vietnam, but because it is especially poignant at Christmas-time.

Private Dent's remarks show clearly the "other" side to war—the concern of a young man wearing his country's uniform, stationed many miles from home in an unfamiliar land—but caring deeply about the plight of the citizens of that faraway country.

There is no doubt in my mind that as long as we have young people like Private Dent in our armed services, we will never have to worry about the possibility of anything approaching "American imperialism" or aggressiveness.

We are a proud and fortunate people, rearing our sons with a true dedication of belief and purpose and a real sense of honor.

Private Dent's letter follows:

LETTER FROM VIETNAM GI

The following letter was received by Mr. Basil C. Dent, Hinesville, from his son, Pvt. Reed Dent, who is stationed with the U.S. Army in South Vietnam:

"Dear Mom & Dad,

"Just a few lines to let you know I'm fine. I haven't had time to call you yet, the MARS station opens at 12:00 at night and closes at sun rise to the G.I. I have been working a lot lately, but it's worth it, I think.

"These people over here need all the help we can give them. I have made friends with some of the people and some of them can speak English good.

"When we stop at the little stores on the way to the cities, the kids run up to us and beg for candy and gum. Some of the older ones want cigarettes. Most of the people around here live in houses built from cardboard and bushes. It's not as good over here as some people think.

"If only the people of the U.S. could see the way they live and what they eat. When these people get C rations or dry food from the mess hall they act like they were given bars of gold. When our mess hall gets left over chow or they draw too much rations, they take them to the school for children that don't have mothers or fathers. The children want us to bring them back to camp and let them stay with us.

"Mom and Dad, I'm thinking of staying over here 'til I get out of the Army. I want to help these people as much as I can.

"If only the teenagers in the U.S. could see what these people go through every day and how they live, they wouldn't do the things they do at the colleges and think how lucky they are.

"When a person comes to a place like this he can see how lucky he is and it makes him thank God for the good life he has had.

"I don't know how to say this, but if I had a choice, I think I would like to stay here and help these people, but I have so much to come home to, I don't know now what I want to do. This country needs all the help it can get, but some of the people don't care how they live over here. They didn't know what money was until the Army came here and now the more they get, the more they want. We pay the women \$1.00 a day to fill sand bags. It used to be they would work all day for a bar of soap.

"Well I guess I had better try to get some sleep. It's late again. So take care.

"Love always, your son Reed."

SDS PLANS FOR AMERICA'S HIGH SCHOOLS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years various national organizations have stressed the need for education in the schools concerning the strategy, tactics, and philosophy of the international Communist movement as compared with the concept of human freedom and the American way of life. Organizations such as the American Bar Association, the National Education Association, and the American Legion have emphasized the value of responsible training of youth regarding the foremost worldwide threat to eventual peace with justice and freedom. In addition, the Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge has for a number of years conducted summer and winter seminars for teachers to prepare them for such courses in the Nation's high schools. Young Americans for Freedom recently issued its "Freedom versus Communism" packet of information and action materials to encourage residents in various States to initiate courses about communism through legislation at the State level. The YAF recommendations are based on the courses now being taught in the high schools of Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida.

The value of the foresight of these

organizations and State legislatures in seeking to acquaint our young people with the merits of our way of life as opposed to the evils of the Communist system is now more evident than ever with the publication of a report of the House Committee on Internal Security, entitled "SDS Plans for America's High Schools." While most people are by now familiar with the disruptive tactics on college campuses instigated by the SDS, their program for the high schools is not as well known. For those who even at this late state might have some doubts about SDS goals, the June 18, 1969, issue of the SDS publication "New Left Notes," should clarify the issue. The SDS position paper was quite blunt about SDS objectives:

The goal is the destruction of US imperialism and the achievement of a classless world: world communism.

With specific reference to the high schools, the SDS paper states:

What does it mean to organize around racism and imperialism in specific struggles? In the high schools (and colleges) at this time, it means putting forth a mass line to close down the schools, rather than to reform them so that they can serve the people. . . .

The SDS program is quite clear about their intention to close down the schools:

And even where high school kids are not yet engaged in such sharp struggle, it is crucial not to build consciousness only around specific issues such as tracking or ROTC or racist teachers, but to use these issues to build toward the general consciousness that the schools should be shut down. . . .

In view of the stated objectives of the SDS, the recent report by the Committee on Internal Security should prove useful to all citizens, and especially educators, in alerting them to the current destructive plans of the SDS to foment strife and dissension among high school students.

The report can be obtained free of charge from the committee while the supply lasts, or can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

S. SGT. RICHARD HILL KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. Hill, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

STAFF SGT. RICHARD HILL, KILLED IN COMBAT; VOLUNTEERED FOR THREE TOURS IN VIETNAM

Army Staff Sgt. Richard G. Hill, a career soldier from Essex who volunteered for three tours of duty in Vietnam, was killed in combat December 9, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Sergeant Hill, who was 24, had earlier been reported missing in action. He was a squad

leader with the 1st Cavalry Division (Air-mobile) at the time of his death.

He was born in Keene, N.H., and moved to Essex as a child. A slightly built youth, he attended Kenwood High School before joining the Army in May, 1963.

His mother, Mrs. Beulah Danesie, who remarried when Sergeant Hill was a child, said that "ever since he was a little boy he wanted to be in the Army. The Army was his life."

From August, 1965, to May 1966, he served his first tour in Vietnam with the 1st Cavalry Division, a unit that received a Presidential Unit Citation for extraordinary heroism in Vietnam in late 1965.

At his mother's request, he left the Army in 1966 and returned to Essex, where he attended computer school.

RE-ENTERED IN 1967

His mother said yesterday that her son's love of Army life was so great that he re-entered the service in August, 1967. He immediately volunteered to go back to Vietnam to serve with the 1st Cavalry Division, but the Army reassigned him to the 1st Infantry Division.

In December, 1967, he was wounded in the foot by a mine explosion that was accidentally tripped while he was defending a position. He was then transferred to the Army Hospital at Fort Meade for recuperation.

After serving for a short period in Panama, he volunteered again for an assignment with the 1st Cavalry Division. He went there in August, 1968. On a combat mission January 3, he was struck again by shrapnel from a mine that exploded as he was wading through water. He was hospitalized in Vietnam for injuries to his feet and legs.

MONTH'S LEAVE AT HOME

In August, he returned to his Essex home for a one-month leave. At that time, the sergeant informed his parents that he had extended his duty in Vietnam for another six months.

According to Sergeant Hill's mother, her son explained to a friend why he was returning to Vietnam: "I was a squad leader. I want to go back to my men."

His mother and stepfather live at 418 Stemmers Run road, Essex.

Surviving, besides his mother, are his stepfather, Carmine Danesie, Jr.; a half-sister, Miss Toni Danesie; four half-brothers, David, Michael, Gordon, and Allan Danesie; a foster brother, Robert Fultz, and his grandmother, Mrs. Carmine Danesie, all of Essex. His father, George Hill, lives in Reading, Vermont.

A VIEW OF THE ALLEGED SONGMY INCIDENT

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I feel that there are two sides to a question. In the passion of initial shock and indignation sometimes we tend to forget this fact. Now that the matter lies in the hands of due process, I think that we can entertain a calmer view of the alleged incident and probe more deeply into reasons other than those already advanced in the heat of condemnation. Here is a letter which gives us another side of the story. What is more important, it gives us a penetrating insight into what our soldiers must face in these villages. I request that my colleagues read the let-

ter and an article from the Washington Evening Star which substantiates the letterwriter's point of view. The letter and article follow:

MT. PLEASANT, S.C.,
December 1, 1969

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOGAN: I received a letter with enclosure dated 23 Oct. from you in reply to one I had written in September. I am most appreciative of your courtesy to me and the effort you have made to become informed on Vietnam.

I imagine I am only one of many "Vietnam Hands" greatly concerned about Lt. Calley who ran into a situation at Song My and dealt with it according to his judgment and orders. I was no closer than six miles from Song My and I don't know Lt. Calley probably because he was army but I do know that area 18 months ago was a very hostile place. The women and kids as young as 10 years old were often VC and good riflemen. I cannot imagine an officer wiping out a joint line Song My or his men obeying his orders unless it was clearly indicated as a matter of self preservation and a military necessity.

I suspect we have now a few cases of reaction on the part of a few sensitive, UN-oriental, men formerly in his platoon who are just now getting Americanized again plus the feeling of some sincere citizens who have never walked into gunfire from 360 points of the compass plus some politics trying to score political gain plus groups more dedicated to Hanoi's ambitions than those of the U.S.

Unless Lt. Calley can be shown to be a rank berserker, he must be given the benefit of doubt.

If he is like all troop officers I have known he is hurting inside right now. I guess I identify with him very much. I am a scrupulous debt payer. I observe traffic laws with a passion. I have never been accused of a crime. I respect policemen. I live frugally to keep my kids in college. I don't cheat on my income tax. I think Lt. Calley must be much the same sort.

It is probable you learned enough about the oriental mind to find nothing incongruous about a Viet Cong woman advancing with a submachine gun on U.S. troops with her baby in her arms. These people are not stupid. They have our number very well. They know us better than we do. They know our reverence for soft women and helpless children and know how to capitalize on this strictly Judea-Christian hangup. Caucasians simply can't fight these people according to western precepts and the grunts in the field learn this often after they have been half wiped out.

Regardless of the law or UCMJ (in dire need of revision) it is up to concerned congressmen to see to it that morale and faith in Washington among field troopers is not further eroded.

It has been 25 years since we have been allowed to win a war or even most of the battles. There is merit in the contention that we really lost the war in Korea and will have lost in Vietnam. This sort of thing can play havoc with a man's morale and his belief in the value of fighting for limited objectives.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM H. WOOD,
(HMCM, USNFR.)

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star,
Dec. 5, 1969]

EVEN VIETNAMESE CHILDREN COULD TERRORIZE
THE GI'S

(By John T. Wheeler)

To understand the alleged massacre by GIs of civilians at My Lai it is necessary also to understand the atmosphere of a war which

has led many U.S. fighting men to feel they are as much at war against Vietnam as for it.

While the communiques speak of battles involving companies and battalions, each GI carries with him the certain knowledge that in any village there may be men, women, and even children who are also the enemy, waiting for the time and place to attack him.

Brutality, and indifference to human life, are commonplace in Vietnam. The disfigurement of dead GIs is common.

In Vietnam the killing of civilians was a practice established by the Viet Cong as a major part of the war long before the first U.S. ground troops were committed in March 1965.

By official count, more than 20,000 civilians had been murdered by that time in enemy executions aimed at so thoroughly terrorizing the countryside that no one would resist.

The total now is more than 40,000 including more than 3,000 killed by the enemy in Hue when they held part of that city for 2½ weeks.

At Hue, the victims were predominantly civilians of all ages. Many were killed simply by tying their hands behind their backs, shoving them into a trench and burying them alive.

It was into this conflict that the American troops were plunged. They had been told to kill the Viet Cong who were bad and woe the peasant who only aided the enemy because he had no choice. Given a chance, the official line went, Vietnam wanted to be free and democratic like America.

But the GIs found a war of sundered families, and divided allegiances to any regime, either Viet Cong or Saigon.

The infantry came to know that the farmer, who might be a friend by day, could become a guerrilla by night who killed just as surely and just as ruthlessly as the enemy's professional troops living in the jungle.

There is no front in Vietnam, no rear, no safety. To the GI of a rifle company everyone can be suspected of plotting to kill him.

Item: An elderly woman noted for her ready smile and broken betel nut-stained teeth, was caught smuggling out a detailed map of the defenses of an American base where she worked as a laundrywoman.

Item: U.S. Marines found begging children to whom they had been giving food were stealing grenades that were tossed back at the Leathernecks during the night.

Item: One Green Beret commander found his desk boobytrapped by one of the Vietnamese working for him. The Green Berets began using lie detectors because their mercenary forces in some camps were running as high as 30 percent Viet Cong.

Item: After one night attack by a large enemy force, Americans sweeping the perimeter found the body of the camp's barber, still clutching a rifle. He had been leading the enemy's assault.

Item: A U.S. truck was blown up, killing all aboard, on highway 13, called "bloody Route 13" because of the frequency of minings. GIs from another truck quickly traced out the electrical wires to the detonator and found a young girl still holding the handle. They shot her.

The Pentagon says that today's soldiers are the most sophisticated in history.

But more than being able to operate intricate electronic equipment and the like, the GIs in Vietnam also could see first hand the corruption, the indifference of Vietnamese soldiers to winning the war, the contrast between the poverty in the countryside and the comparative wealth of the cities and the way Vietnamese merchants, bar girls and even children selling black market American soft drinks gouged them.

Added to this were the deaths and maim-

ings of friends. Many U.S. soldiers died by torturous means.

Cynicism mixed with anger rapidly replaced the early idealism among combat troops. Vietnamese were called "gooks" and "slopes" in a way that sometimes translated as subhuman.

No spark sets off a fire unless it falls into combustible material. The sparks that ignite American GIs are snipers, mines and booby traps. The major cause of casualties in Vietnam are mines and booby traps. Snipers also are a major factor. The three are all the more hated because each is hidden and after the damage is done, there usually is no chance for the American infantrymen to even the score because no enemy can be found.

Often intelligence will pinpoint a village as the source of the mine and booby trap makers and snipers. Repeated sweeps through the hamlet turn up little or nothing except more casualties. And hatred builds up against the villagers who know the snipers and know where the hidden traps are but don't tell.

Then one day something snaps in one or more men. The frustration and fear drives them across that line of civilized conduct that in combat zones is a hazy mark at best.

There are indications that these things might have been at work on the men who are accused of massacre in My Lai last year.

They certainly were at work on a group of American Marines I accompanied into a village south of Da Nang in 1965. A half squad, out of a regimental size force, went on a brief rampage, killing a group hiding in a civilian air raid shelter. One Marine called out, "Woosh, I'm a killer today. I got me two." Another said, "Kill them, I don't want anyone moving. We've got only a few more days of legal killing left."

The battalion was due to rotate home in four weeks. In the previous month, 15 percent of the battalion had been killed or wounded by snipers and boobytraps. None of the Marines had seen a Viet Cong soldier during the time.

The U.S. Command's position has been from the beginning that civilians are not to be harmed.

But the case for the sanctity of civilian life is weakened by the knowledge that there are South Vietnamese assassination teams—sometimes led by Americans—operating in the countryside killing enemy officials, as opposed to soldiers, often in their beds at home, Viet Cong style. And GIs who have searched out a village after American bombers have done their work cannot help but be a bit cynical about orders not to molest civilians.

A senior officer in the legal field was asked after a series of murder trials earlier this year what he thought had motivated the Americans involved, all found guilty.

He said nearly all the cases he had handled involved villagers in Viet Cong-held areas. When the pressure of fear or hate or some combination of these factors hit the men hard enough, they broke down with a sort of combat fatigue that ended with slayings.

"If these men never had come to Vietnam, they probably would have lived out their lives as useful citizens and with a police record no more serious than a speeding ticket or two," the officer said.

In some cases the same men who have had to stand trial for killing civilians have helped support Vietnamese orphanages or become involved in unofficial relief operations for families made refugees by the war.

"In war, everything is realer than real. The capacity for great violence rises to the surface, but so does a capacity for great compassion," an Army doctor said. "Remember, part of the brutalizing men undergo is necessary to their psychological survival. You can't look war in the face with the kind of emotional responses we use in the states. You would go mad."

IMPERATIVES FOR ACTION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Galaxy Conference on Adult Education met in Washington, D.C., the first week of December to discuss some of the critical issues in life-long learning, which is so vital to all of us.

The planning committee for the Wing-spread Conference, headed by Arthur Flemming, proposed the "Imperatives for Action," which were unanimously adopted by 23 national organizations in adult education.

It is my sincere desire that the House will lend its full support to the achievement of the following "Imperatives for Action":

IMPERATIVES FOR ACTION

I. TO ELIMINATE EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES OF AMERICAN ADULTS

More than eight million Americans over the age of twenty-five have less than five years of formal schooling, and millions more lack a high school education or its equivalent. Through adult and continuing education, these millions can be raised to new educational levels that will provide them with new and improved economic, political, and social opportunities.

Illiteracy. We support the concept advanced by Commissioner of Education James Allen in his pronouncement on "The Right to Read," and urge a total commitment on the part of all adult and continuing education agencies to raising each American to a level of literacy.

High School Education for Adults. We consider the completion of high school or its equivalent by every adult to be the minimum level of educational attainment acceptable in today's complex society and urge fullest efforts to achieve this goal.

To secure these ends we urge Congress to enact legislation that will provide state and local educational agencies with annual support of \$500 million.

At the same time a concerted effort must be made to secure increased funds from private industry, trade unions, private foundations, and other non-public agencies. State and local educational agencies should not only continue their present levels of funding but also increase their financial efforts.

We further urge the present administration in Washington to undertake studies to reassess on-going programs for the under-educated and make recommendations to the Congress concerning the most effective means of distributing Federal funds to community educational agencies.

II. TO STRENGTHEN ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE EFFORTS OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES, COLLEGES, AND UNIVERSITIES

The nation's need for well-informed citizens, coupled with the personal needs of its people for an understanding of the world in which they live and the skills with which to earn their living, gives emphasis to the need for increased levels of post high school education.

We endorse the national objective set forth by the Congress, that two years of post high school education, adapted where necessary to the occupational needs of adults, be made available to all who are capable of benefiting from it.

The clear need to support adult and continuing education in community colleges, colleges, and universities was recognized by the Congress with the enactment of Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Designed to support established programs of extension, to provide community services, and to assist in the establishment of such programs in institutions of higher education, Title I has proved an effective instrument. Unfortunately appropriations have lagged far behind authorizations. In the present fiscal year, Title I is funded at \$9½ million rather than the \$50 million that was authorized.

We urge minimum annual funding of Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, at \$100 million a year, with priorities to be spelled out anew each year, to meet the changing needs.

III. TO PROVIDE ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION IN THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, AND IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Opportunities for life-long learning in the arts and humanities, and in public affairs, are essential to the preservation of our freedoms. To solve problems rationally and peacefully, we must continually acquire new social and political competencies, and the powerful and privileged must learn equally with the powerless and deprived.

There is an over-riding urgency for people to be informed and to be equipped to make informed judgments in matters that strike to the heart of our democratic society. To this end we urge major funding of programs of adult and continuing education in public affairs and in the democratic process.

Of equal importance is the need for each person to experience the fullest flowering of the human spirit. To achieve this goal we urge greatly expanded funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

IV. TO IMPROVE FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

Much of adult and continuing education is dependent on income from tuition and fees. As a result, many adults forgo instruction because they cannot afford the tuition and, in turn, agencies tend to conduct only those courses which will produce sufficient revenue. Many essential needs thus go unmet. A comprehensive program of adult and continuing education will be provided only when adult and continuing education receives financial support comparable to that presently provided to elementary, secondary and higher education.

We urge vigorous efforts to secure full funding on the part of the Congress for authorized programs serving adult and continuing education, and the development of new and imaginative programs to further meet these needs. At the same time we urge equally vigorous efforts on the part of the private sector to provide vastly expanded support and leadership.

V. TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE AND APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITIES IN ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR PERSONS IN LOW INCOME GROUPS

Most adult and continuing education programs fall to reach low income and under-educated groups. Instead, programs draw largely from well-educated middle class groups. The reasons are numerous and sometimes difficult to ascertain. One factor is financial. Courses and workshops that must be self-supporting will draw only those students who are able to pay. Consequently they will meet only the educational needs of the more affluent. Further, most promotional materials are printed and, therefore, appeal essentially to a more literate clientele. Both the programs and the communications relating to them are aimed at the middle and upper economic groups.

New and aggressive programs must be instituted with a view to increasing the percentage of enrollments of low income and under-educated students.

Educational programs must be taken into the neighborhoods where people live rather than being conducted mainly in central facilities such as schools, colleges and universities.

Existing programs of adult and continuing education must be examined to insure that they are relevant to the needs of the 80 percent of the adult population that does not presently participate in such programs.

New and effective multi-media programs must be undertaken.

VI. TO STRENGTHEN WITHIN OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

Adult and continuing education is too often thought of as being apart from the traditional educational process. It is seldom integrated with the elementary and secondary establishment and its status in higher education is ill defined. Adult and continuing education must become a recognized responsibility of the educational establishment, must achieve its full commitment and support, and must attain fuller public understanding of its vital importance to society.

VII. TO URGE NATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR ROLE

We recognize the importance of national non-governmental voluntary organizations in providing adult and continuing education, and urge these groups to strengthen their role and expand their efforts so that society may receive increased benefits from the full utilization of these unique resources.

VIII. TO INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS

A national campaign should be launched to acquaint Americans with the importance of life-long learning, and to gain their greater support for adult and continuing education.

IX. TO ACHIEVE HIGHER LEVELS OF FEDERAL SUPPORT AND COOPERATION

The United States Government should establish appropriate instrumentalities to provide leadership in adult and continuing education and to develop cooperation among the many non-Governmental organizations operating in this field.

CONGRESS AND THE COST OF LIVING

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in today's edition of the Chicago Sun-Times discusses the effect of our activities here in the Congress on the cost of living and since the House has just voted on the tax reform bill, the editorial is quite appropriate it seems to me.

Under unanimous consent, I place it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times, Dec. 22, 1969]

CONGRESS AND THE COST OF LIVING

What with it being the Christmas season and the New Year being an election year, Congress simply couldn't resist playing the Santa Claus bit last week. And both parties already are arguing who should get the credit.

The Christmas package of tax cuts agreed on by Senate-House conferees Friday would not be delivered until a few weeks before

next November's election, when there would be a small decrease in withholding rates.

By that time the increasing cost of living might have gobbled up a lot more of workers' paychecks than the tax break Congress is cooking up.

On Friday, the cost of living was disclosed as having gone up another five-tenths of one percent nationally. It now costs \$13.05 for goods and services that cost \$10 in the 1957-59 base period. Prices are 5.8 percent higher than one year ago.

That means a family earning \$8,000 has suffered a cut of \$454 in buying power in 1969. By comparison, the increase to a \$650 individual tax exemption next July would benefit such a family of four by less than \$20. The increase to \$750 in 1972 would cut less than \$120 in taxes at present rates. The rise in the minimum standard deduction next year would cut another \$20.

There are other tax breaks in the agreed-on bill, particularly for single persons and for high-bracket families after next year. Mr. Nixon's proposed 10 percent increase in Social Security payments was raised to 15 percent.

President Nixon has pledged to bring rising prices under control. This means a tight rein on government spending. It means a continuation of government tax collections sufficient to balance the federal budget and even to provide a substantial surplus. Congress can't play the benevolent Santa Claus and still be an inflation fighter.

Mr. Nixon's message that he would veto any tax bill with big reductions in revenue got through to the conferees. They trimmed the generosity of the Senate version and eliminated the House's minimum 5 percent tax cut for all. They provided a budget surplus of \$6 billion for 1970 and \$288,000,000 for 1971, the years in which Mr. Nixon sees his biggest period of crisis for getting inflation under control. So some of the intensity of Mr. Nixon's opposition to the tax cuts may have been lessened.

Still, Congress would have been far more realistic and even politically wise to put its emphasis on fighting inflation rather than on playing Santa Claus. Mr. Nixon does more for the average worker when he tries to keep the buck's buying power up than Congress does with its tax schemes.

ST. PAUL TRADES PRAISED AS LEAP MOVES INTO HIGH

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, one of the main concerns of the Federal manpower training and redevelopment programs has been the recruitment of minority youth in the building trades apprenticeship programs. I am pleased to point out that one of the country's most successful projects is being operated in St. Paul, Minn.

All of those people from the Urban League, the St. Paul Building Trades Council, the St. Paul unions which are participating, the St. Paul public schools, and the U.S. Department of Labor deserve special credit for this achievement.

I include, as part of my remarks, the following article from the St. Paul Union Advocate of December 18, 1969, which describes the St. Paul LEAP program:

ST. PAUL TRADES PRAISED AS LEAP MOVES INTO HIGH

St. Paul's Building Trades Council (BTC) and its affiliated unions were given good marks this week as Project Director Donald Johnson of the Urban League's Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP) described progress of the project which has already prepared 23 minority youth for entry into apprentice programs of the construction industry here.

The St. Paul program is one of 22 in as many cities sponsored by the Urban League with the cooperation of AFL-CIO building trades councils.

These make up the largest group of 55 Apprenticeship Outreach programs funded by the U.S. Department of Labor with the express goal of using a "tutor & cram" technique to assist minority youth—Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Indian candidates—to start up the ladder to careers in the construction industry.

Co-director and right-hand man to Director Johnson is Jerry Lantry, a member of Bricklayers Local 1, chosen by the BTC to work full time with LEAP.

"He's terrific," reports Johnson. "Jerry puts in long, long hours, working selflessly at the job of building the kind of bridges that make for confidence among building trades leaders in LEAP's program, and among minority youth in the good will of the unions and employers in the industry."

With the help of four other staff members—a project recruiter, a tutorial consultant, a clerical aide and a secretary—an "excellent" cooperation from a number of contractors and building trades leaders, Johnson believes "the St. Paul LEAP program is second to none in the country."

A key role in the LEAP operation is played by the project recruiter, Talmer Curry, whose main responsibility lies in seeking out likely candidates for apprentice training and encouraging them to apply for the opportunity. He does this by going into the neighborhoods where minority youth live and explaining the program to youngsters wherever he finds them.

As of this week, LEAP has placed 27 youth in apprenticeship programs, 23 of them in the building trades, which is LEAP's main arena of action, and four others—two cooks, a meat cutter and a printing industry trainee.

The 23 building industry entrants are in these trades: carpenter, operating engineers, sheet metal, floor covering, sheet rock taping, painters and cement finisher.

Of these 23, seven have dropped out. Three have quit to enter college, one had to give up the program because of ill health, a fifth decided he had tackled the wrong apprenticeship program and only two lost interest in the plan.

Thus, 16 youngsters remain in the program, and the momentum is such that Director Johnson sees no difficulty in reaching LEAP's current goal of 30 successful placements by April 30.

"In fact," he reports, "we feel, from our experience to date, and that includes not only the reception we've had from the building trades unions and the industry, but from school counsellors and TVI and, most importantly, from the young men of the minority community, that we'll exceed our goal by April 30 and have no problems about continuing the work next year."

His optimism rests in part on LEAP's success with counsellors at four high schools—Washington, Mechanic Arts, Central and Humboldt—where most of the city's minority youngsters are enrolled.

At each the LEAP staff has worked closely with the counselling office in clarifying apprenticeship program entry requirements so that juniors and seniors may be encouraged

to take those courses most likely to help them prepare for the tests awaiting prospective entrants into the trades.

One evidence of the value of this relationship to the project is to be found in the fact that 22 seniors from these four schools have been tested for apprentice entry at TVI.

Essentially, the project consists of the following:

1. Meeting with joint apprenticeship committees in the building industry, made up of craftsmen and contractors representatives, to learn the requirements for entry into the various apprentice programs.

2. Explaining to these committees the purposes of the LEAP plan, and establishing effective working relationships.

3. Working with high school counsellors and with St. Paul's Technical Vocational Institute to encourage promising youngsters to give serious consideration to careers in the construction crafts.

4. Recruiting young men to seek such careers.

5. Assisting those who choose this route to prepare for the required tests.

6. Working with all concerned, counsellors, TVI, unions and employers to help the budding craftsman to make the grade.

An important part of LEAP's work, according to Johnson and Lantry, has proved to be establishing a good working relationship with the joint apprenticeship committees, and they have high praise for the reception they've received when they meet with the committees to learn about the selection process and the reasoning behind the crafts' various entry requirements.

"The trades have been far more cooperative than I had expected," Johnson reports. "We've learned that the union leaders in St. Paul are willing to sit down and discuss problems as they arise, without a lot of fuss and fanfare of publicity."

He expressed particular thanks to Secretary Richard Radman of the BTC for "consistent support and cooperation," and cited a number of apprenticeship leaders for their active interest in LEAP's efforts, including Carl Christoffersen, Plumbers Local 34; Bill Gillespie, Operating Engineers Local 49; Leroy Shosten, Carpenters Twin Cities District Council and Roy Fishbeck, Painters Local 61.

Among many building contractors who have shown particular cooperation, Johnson mentioned the McGough, Poppenberger, Shelgren and Hurley organizations.

LEAP's Johnson reports that Grant Suiter, of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship & Training, a well-known figure among Twin Cities building tradesmen, has been of special help since the project's beginning in offering guidance to the staff and in working with the joint apprenticeship committees in support of the project.

MAKING A "TRIP" MORE DIFFICULT

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as the senior minority member on the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Treasury Department, I have over the years become very familiar with the operation of the Customs Bureau in that Department.

Therefore, I know not only the great job our customs employees are doing, but also the many problems facing the

bureau itself. That is why I was very favorably impressed with an article in the December edition of Government Executive magazine entitled "The Customs Bureau: Making 'A Trip' More Difficult."

The article deals with the bureau's recent Operation Intercept which was designed to stop the smuggling of drugs across our border with Mexico. Recently I had an opportunity to witness this operation in person and my estimation of the job of our customs personnel is now higher than ever.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I include this article in the RECORD:

THE CUSTOMS BUREAU: MAKING "A TRIP"
MORE DIFFICULT
HIGHLIGHTS

1—Operation Intercept proved that drug traffic can be interdicted; its lasting effects are fleeting but this does not disturb the Nixon team.

2—Mailed marijuana from Vietnam, in ever increasing amounts, will be the next crack-down.

3—Customs, one of the few moneymaking Federal agencies, faces tough days unless action is taken.

4—A dollar spent on customs reaps \$25 in revenues.

You are immediately belted with the one-two punch of his nasal New York accent and his awesome physical dimensions. Myles Ambrose, the young and recently appointed Commissioner of Customs, dominates physically and orally any meeting he attends.

Steeled to the rough and tumble world of the New York waterfront and Mafia investigations, Ambrose was a natural to head up the operational end of Operation Intercept—with one exception: He is uncharacteristic of the Nixon Republican image. He is no humble man, he does not speak in a lowered voice; he tells it like it is and, as a matter of fact, he comes on like a Democrat—and an Irish one at that!

When talking of cutting the flow of marijuana from Mexico, Ambrose is quick to emphasize the fact that he's a law enforcement officer. He does not want to get into a philosophical debate concerning the rights or wrongs of the marijuana laws.

"The program commenced on Sunday, afternoon, September 21. The object was to interdict the flow of narcotic drugs as feasibly as possible from south of the border. Eighty-five percent of the marijuana used in this country comes from Mexico. It is also estimated that about 20 percent of the heroin that comes into the U.S. comes from south of the border.

"During the program, officials from all the agencies involved kept a constant eye on the availability of drugs across the country. We wanted to see what amounts of marijuana were available, and if we were actually able to interdict the flow.

"Many pointed out that the big-timers will merely sit it out, figuring *Intercept* was only a temporary phenomenon.

"On the other hand, when you have a lot of marijuana sitting in warehouses in Mexico, you have to get rid of it or it won't be any good. A lot of dealers tried to get it through and we made substantial seizures.

"We made over 600 arrests. We made a couple major seizures. We closed two airplanes cases. We made the largest hashish catch in history.

"More importantly we proved for the first time we could effectively interdict the flow of marijuana into the U.S. We can show conclusively that today (late October) Mexican marijuana is largely unavailable.

"Mexican marijuana is scarce to very scarce in Kansas City, San Antonio, San Ysidro,

Brownsville, Dallas, Fort Worth, San Francisco, Phoenix and Philadelphia.

"It is reported unavailable in Miami and almost unavailable in New York. None of the new Mexican crops has been reported available in Chicago, and short supplies in Los Angeles are of extremely poor quality containing roots, sticks and assorted weeds.

"Some of the larger seizures included 1,000 pounds of marijuana, 250,000 barbiturate pills, 1,000 LSD capsules. They were found in cars, boats off the coast of California and in airplanes."

"The Mexicans are moving to resolve the problem. We have cooperated with them at the working level. We know who the dealers are, where the stuff is grown and how it is transported into the U.S.

"An exchange of information has led to the destruction of nearly a score of poppy fields in Mexico by Mexican authorities. Nearly 900,000 marijuana plants have been destroyed.

"One of the stumbling blocks in our cooperation with Mexico has been the lack of state laws in Mexico. The Mexican government is apparently taking steps to draft legislation in this area.

"We have a supplemental appropriation request in to Congress now, asking for a substantial increase in personnel. We want to increase our inspection facilities on the border. If we get the manpower authorization we can say unequivocally that the level of enforcement along the Mexican border will never reach the nadir that existed prior to September 21.

COOPERATION FROM ALL

"From the point of view of Federal-state relationships we can point to *Intercept* with pride. We got marvelous assistance from each and every state and local branch of government.

"Moreover, we had a cohesive inter-departmental effort among ourselves, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the FAA, the Coast Guard, the Navy and the U.S. Marine units which manned radars for us. It was unbelievable. It was the first time the Federal Government ever mounted a multi-agency assault on a problem like this, and it augers well for the future.

"Another related problem that a recent survey disclosed is that there is a tremendous amount of marijuana and hashish arriving in the country by mail from Vietnam. GIs are sending it home in everything imaginable. We're working on this problem."

ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY INVOLVED

In its 180 years of life, the U.S. Customs Service has been deeply tangled in the economic and political life of the country.

Congress in 1789 assigned the responsibility of taxes to itself and establishing uniform duties through the country.

That same year, Congress provided for customs officers and methods to be employed in the collection of tariffs and duties.

At the Boston custom house Nathaniel Hawthorne served as a measurer at an annual salary of \$1,500. Herman Melville, author of *Moby Dick*, spent his last years as an inspector at the New York custom house. Chester A. Arthur also was affiliated with the customs service prior to becoming President in 1881.

It was not until 1875, when the Treasury Department was reorganized, that a Division of Customs was created. Up to 1910 the peacetime expenditures by the Government amounted to less than \$1 billion, and the customs duties collected constituted about 60 percent of Federal income.

In 1927 the Bureau of Customs and the Office of the Commissioner were established. In the first half of the Twentieth Century

the customs service was renowned for the pork barrel role it played in party politics. At one point there were 60 customs districts in the country and each district collector was a political appointee. Efficiency was not the trademark of the service, and morale among the career employees was poor.

This system came to a halt, however, in 1965 when the Customs Bureau was reorganized into nine regions, headed up by career customs officers not political appointees.

Today in the nine regions there are approximately 300 customs ports in the U.S. Its 9,000 employees—just 200 more than were employed in 1939—collect more than \$3 billion annually in revenue.

One of the unique characteristics of the Bureau is the fact that increased appropriations produce far more than the equivalent return in revenue collections. On an overall basis, more than \$25 is produced for every \$1 spent.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CUSTOMS OFFICIALS

The Customs Bureau today has a variety of responsibilities including assessing and collecting customs duties on imports; processing persons, baggage, cargo and mail; detecting and preventing smuggling and fraud; protecting U.S. business and labor by enforcing the Antidumping Act, copyright, patent and trademark laws; compiling import-export data for trade statistics; and participating in the drive on organized crime.

The Bureau must provide fair and uniform treatment to the public and at the same time enforce laws for over 40 different U.S. Government agencies as divergent as the Atomic Energy Commission, the Patents Office, HEW and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Moreover, it has international working agreements with about 10 organizations such as Interpol, the OAS and the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT).

At 43, Ambrose has had an interesting assortment of experiences—not the least of which was helping to draw up Vince Lombardi's contract when he first went to the Green Bay Packers (which, by the way netted him two season tickets to the Redskins games on his arrival in Washington this Fall).

For three years during the Eisenhower Administration, Ambrose was an Assistant to the Secretary of Treasury. He was the American delegate to the U.N.'s Commission on Narcotic Drugs in Geneva, chairman of the 1960 U.S.-Mexico conference on the suppression of illicit narcotics traffic and Chief of the U.S. delegation to the London and Paris meetings of Interpol.

LAW ENFORCEMENT EXPERIENCE

When he left the Treasury in 1960, Ambrose became executive director of the Waterfront Commission of New York harbor to break the grip of organized crime and racketeering on the waterfront there.

He entered private law practice in 1963, but during the 1968 elections was tapped by the Nixon team to serve as an advisor on law enforcement.

"The paperwork here is frightening," Ambrose said, pointing to two piles of documents that were at least 10 inches high.

"That's going to change though. I have insisted that every level of supervision start making its own decisions, and only providing me with the meat of a problem.

"We're facing monumental problems. Law enforcement is only one of them. The fantastic growth in air traffic is another.

"Customs likes to facilitate the speedy movement of air, sea and land traffic, but that's not really our prime responsibility.

"We have to protect the revenues of the U.S. and we have to protect the people of the U.S. from dangerous merchandise and smug-

gling. We have had very limited increases in personnel over the past two decades to keep up with the increased traffic.

"We hope to be able to put in one or two customs forms to handle processing rather than the multiple forms now required.

"We want to establish a single numbering system that will satisfy all parties . . . shippers, insurance companies, title holders, trucking firms, bills of lading and, of course, our own requirements at Customs.

"One of the great problems in this area is that we are dealing with legal systems of from 70 to 100 nations.

"By far the most difficult portion of our work is the classification of goods for duty. This is tremendously complicated.

"HOW DO WE CLASSIFY IT?"

"It involves such items as mixed chemical products. Do we classify it in its raw form or do we consider to what use it will be put? Manufactured goods pose different problems. Parts of a finished product may come from different places, but they are shipped as one product. How do we classify it?"

"A major area of concern for American business is our fraud investigations. Under-evaluation and misinvoicing are common in the import-export business. If such practices are permitted to continue on any sizable scale, they will be detrimental to the competitive position of American manufactured goods.

"We have an unbelievably competent staff. Most have been with customs many years. The number of lawyers, for example, working in this field is quite high.

"We have many types of training programs. The uniformed personnel who meet the passengers get an intensive inspectors course which covers all the sins of this trade.

"We also have an import specialists course. They are the ones who sit in the custom house and go through the invoices. They have to be on their toes for fraud and misinvoicing.

"We recently established a 20-week training program at Hofstra University to train systems analysts for us. These men will play a crucial role in the future of customs.

"In our intelligence setup, for example, we need to go to automated data processing simply to handle the volume of information we have to scan.

"We have to build up a file on all pilots who have previous association with narcotics traffic, for example. We also want to keep tabs on the whereabouts of planes associated in the past with this kind of activity.

"We train our investigative agents first at the Treasury Law Enforcement Officers Training School. After that they get additional training in fraud investigations, smuggling methods and the legal ramifications of all our work."

"WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?"

Pausing, Ambrose reflected a moment. "Its been five years since the Bureau was reorganized and a lot of changes have taken place. There is a noticeable *esprit de corps* now and the people think of themselves as professionals . . . which they truly are.

"Our next major task—or rather, my next major task—is where do we go from here? I honestly don't know. I've listed the many problems that we face. Maybe it's time to just sit back and think for awhile. Maybe we should define our objectives more precisely . . . maybe we should establish a list of priorities."

Snapping out of this trend of thought he remarked: "But the demands of the present don't allow us too much luxury. I'm trying not to get bogged down in this office in the day-to-day paper flow. I'm getting paid to think about these things, and that's exactly what I hope to do."

He paused again. He bolted up in his chair and jabbing at the air with his finger said:

"We've the widest variety of skills in the Customs Bureau you'd ever want to meet. Their jobs are quite diverse and interesting. We've one man in New York who is recognized as one of the world's leading authorities on antique appraisal. We've another man who is an internationally respected cheese sniffer. And, finally, we've a man, who has to be the envy of my Irish relatives, a world renowned whisky taster."

SECOND THOUGHTS ON VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues are aware that Mr. Fred W. Friendly has over the years made substantial contributions to the communications field. First as an executive at CBS and now as a distinguished professor at the Columbia School of Journalism, he has developed an unsurpassed expertise in the problems and possibilities of electronic journalism. His recent article in the Saturday Review illustrates well Mr. Friendly's understanding of broadcasting and, especially, of news reporting.

Notable in Mr. Friendly's article on Vice President AGNEW's views about television journalism is a recognition of both the strengths and weaknesses of the Vice President's position. While agreeing with Mr. AGNEW that televised newscasts could be improved, Mr. Friendly properly rejects the belief that the media should be a vehicle for expressing merely the views of the Government or the majority. He also argues persuasively for the value of more news analysis—not less.

The article, which appears in the December 13, 1969, Saturday Review, follows:

SOME SOBER SECOND THOUGHTS ON VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

(By Fred W. Friendly)

In defending Vice President Spiro Agnew, one of the most fair-minded men in the United States Senate said, "It is the pig that is caught under the fence that squeals." The analogy may be partly accurate, but the question is who is stuck under the fence—the broadcast journalist or the administration? Long ago, when broadcasting was fighting for its right to be responsible, Edward R. Murrow, then under attack, spoke words that might be paraphrased today: When the record is finally written it will answer the question, who helped the American people better understand the dilemma of Vietnam—the administration or the American journalist? History, of course, will decide that question. But I would suspect that in the struggle between the news media and the last two administrations, the record has been with the journalists.

The American people are worried about Vietnam, race, and youth, the three crucial stories of our time. What the Vice President of the United States is attempting to do is create doubts in the minds of the American public about the motivation and background of those charged with the responsibility of trying to understand and explain these complicated and sensitive controversies.

When Mr. Agnew asks, "Are we demanding enough of our television news presentations?" he is certainly asking a question that others, including many inside the profession,

have asked for a generation. For some, the Vice President's question seemed to be about raised eyebrows, caustic remarks, and too much news analysis. For me, his speech was really about too little analysis. In fact, the Vice President may have provided a most valuable service in his Des Moines speech. He sharpened an issue that has been diffuse for too long, inviting us all to consider once again the state of broadcast journalism.

Agnew and I share the view that television journalism leaves something to be desired. We both fear the concentration of great power in a few individuals in the broadcasting industry. But we are apparently in profound disagreement on not only the nature of the networks' coverage of President Nixon's Vietnam address, but even more importantly, on our crying need for more, not less, interpretive reporting. We require bolder, not blander illumination of the issues that divide men of reason.

Where Agnew went astray, in my view, was in his suggestion that the media ought somehow to be a conduit for the views of the government, or merely a reflector of public opinion. He was not the first nor the last high official to equate fairness and the possession of great power with the obligation of conformity.

The Vice President has forgotten history when he criticizes ABC's journalistic enterprise in arranging for Ambassador Averell Harriman to participate in the broadcast that followed Mr. Nixon's speech of November 3. I don't think President Kennedy rejoiced in having the Republican Senator from Indiana, Homer Capehart, critique his Berlin crisis speech of 1961 nor in having Ladd Plumley, president of the National Chamber of Commerce, pursue him after his controversial 1962 speech on the state of the economy. How many times after a major address did President Johnson have to listen to the cutting remarks of Minority Leaders Everett Dirksen and Gerald Ford? It was all part of the democratic process. After all, the President had had prime time on all three networks, and a small measure of counter-fire from the loyal opposition was hardly stacking the deck. In the end of the day, perhaps ABC might not be faulted for having invited Ambassador Harriman, an experienced negotiator with the Hanoi government, but rather for not having asked him enough hard questions.

The Vice President doubts that President Kennedy, during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, had his words "chewed over by a round table of critics" immediately following his address to the nation. Would the Vice President believe Sander Vanocur, Ray Scherer, Frank McGee, David Schoenbrun, Roger Mudd, George Herman, Richard C. Hottelet, and Douglas Edwards? The date on that was October 22, 1962. The Vice President did not mention the Bay of Pigs, but certainly he must remember the news analyses and the GOP counter-briefings that followed. President Kennedy, who earlier had called upon broadcasters for self-censorship of the story in the national interest, later told the managing editor of *The New York Times* that revelation of the Bay of Pigs plan might have saved the nation "a colossal mistake."

A generation ago the most savage denunciations against news analysis involved Senator Joseph McCarthy. In an inflammatory speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1950 he declared there were 205 Communists in the State Department. Good news, analysis, in fact, good reporting, would have required that the journalist not just hold up his mirror to that startling event, but that he report that the Senator had not one scrap of evidence to substantiate so extravagant a claim. It took broadcasting several years during the McCarthy period to learn that merely holding up a mirror could be deceptive, as in fact holding up a mirror to a riot or a peace march today can be deceptive. It took the shame of the McCarthy period and the cour-

age of an Ed Murrow to elevate broadcast journalism to a point where it could give responsible insights to issues such as those raised by the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

For generations, editors and students of journalism have tried to define news analysis and interpretive reporting. The late Ed Klauber, one of the architects of broadcast news standards, offered the most durable description. I have always kept it in my wallet, and I provide copies to all my students at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism:

"What news analysts are entitled to do and should do is to elucidate and illuminate the news out of common knowledge, or special knowledge possessed by them or made available to them by this organization through its sources. They should point out the facts on both sides, show contradictions with the known record, and so on. They should bear in mind that in a democracy it is important that people not only should know but should understand, and it is the analysts' function to help the listener to understand, to weigh, and to judge, but not to do the judging for him."

If the Vice President would test the brief analyses of November 3 against Mr. Klauber's criteria, I think he might agree that the correspondents did not cross the line in any attempt to make up the viewer's mind on a course of action. Agnew felt that the response to the President on November 3 was instant analysis. But it seems fair to remind the Vice President that the administration had provided correspondents with advance copies of the speech for study earlier that evening, and there had been a persuasive White House briefing on the content. While the comments of the correspondents were clearly appropriate, my own personal opinion is that only those of Eric Sevareid and Marvin Kalb were probing and thoughtful. Kalb conceivably erred in not quoting pertinent paragraphs from the Ho Chi Minh letter that he believed were subject to different interpretation from that of the President.

Part of our Vietnam dilemma is that during the fateful August of 1964, when the Tonkin Gulf Resolution escalated the war, there was little senatorial debate worthy of the name, and there was a dramatic shortage of news analysis. If I am inclined to give the networks an A for effort and a B for performance the night of November 3, 1969, let me tell you that I give CBS News and myself a D for effort and performance on the night of August 4, 1964, when President Johnson, in his Tonkin Gulf speech, asked for a blank check on Vietnam. In spite of the pleas of our Washington bureau, I made the decision to leave the air two minutes after the President had concluded his remarks. I shall always believe that, if journalism had done its job properly that night and in the days following, America might have been spared some of the agony that followed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. I am not saying that we should have, in any way opposed the President's recommendations. But, to quote Klauber's doctrine of news analysis, if we had "out of common knowledge or special knowledge . . . [pointed] out the facts on both sides, [shown] contradictions with the known record," we might have explained that after bombers would come bases, and after bases, troops to protect those bases, and after that hundreds of thousands of more troops. Perhaps it is part of the record to note that Murrow, who understood the value of interpretive journalism from his years as a practitioner, and from his experience as director of the U.S. Information Agency, called minutes after the Johnson speech to castigate me and CBS for not having provided essential analysis of the meaning of the event.

One key aspect of the Vice President's

speech did strike me as relating to the public interest as distinguished from the administration's political interest. This was his concern over the geographic and corporate concentration of power in broadcasting. Here he had the right target, but a misdirected aim. His criticism of broadcasters for centralization and conformity better describes the commercial system and its single-minded interest in maximum ratings and profits.

To some extent, it may be true that geography and working out of New York and Washington affect the views of Dan Rather of Wharton, Texas, Howard K. Smith of Ferriday, Louisiana, Chet Huntley of Cardwell, Montana, David Brinkley of Wilmington, North Carolina, Bill Lawrence of Lincoln, Nebraska, and Eric Sevareid of Velva, North Dakota. But I, for one, simply do not buy the Vice President's opinion that these responsible decision makers in news broadcasting and the professionals who work with them are single-minded in their views or unchecked in their performance. There is an independent, sometimes awkward complex of network executives, station managers, producers, and reporters whose joint production is the news we see. They represent a geographic, ethnic, and political profile nearly as far ranging as American society itself, with the tragic exception of blacks. The heads of the three major network news bureaus find their constituencies and their critics among the station managers they serve, the correspondents they employ, sponsors they lose, and in the wider public they please and occasionally disappoint. The news program emerges from a complicated system of argument, conflict, and compromise.

Beyond that, the record suggests that the best professionals recognize and acknowledge their limitations. Walter Cronkite was the first to admit that he erred in some of his reporting at the 1968 Democratic convention. It was David Brinkley, admitting that no reporter could always be objective but could only strive for fairness, who gave the Vice President a high visibility target. In his commentary of November 3, Eric Sevareid clearly noted that his views were "only the horseback opinion of one man and I could be wrong." Yet, if the Vice President's aim was wild, his target of concentrated power is valid and endures. The "truth" of commercial broadcasting is that it maximizes audiences by maximizing profits. This system minimizes the presentation of hard news and analysis leading the broadcast journalists into occasional oversimplification in the interest of time, overdramatization in the interest of impact.

If such distorting tendencies do exist, and I believe they sometimes do, the proper measure is not to subject the performance of professional journalists to governmental direction nor to majority approval. Rather, the task for government is to apply its leadership and authority to expand and diversify the broadcasting system and environment in which professional journalists work.

I do not see these public actions as inconsistent with or disruptive of the protections of the First Amendment. When Congress passed the Communications Act enabling the FCC to restrict a limited number of frequencies and channels to a limited amount of license-holders, everyone's freedom was slightly qualified because everyone cannot simultaneously broadcast over the same television channel. The Communications Act insisted that license-holders operate their franchise "in the public interest, convenience, and necessity." By every definition I have ever heard, that includes responsible news coverage. Selling cancer-giving cigarettes and not providing enough news and public affairs programming is certainly ample reason to reconsider a station's license,

and doing so has nothing to do with the First Amendment. The FCC would be fulfilling long-standing national policy by demanding more, not less, public service broadcasting from the commercial systems, as well as by accelerating development of a publicly supported noncommercial alternative.

The Vice President quotes Walter Lippmann to make a case that the networks have hidden behind the First Amendment. He does not add that Mr. Lippmann's point was that this demonstrated the necessity for just such a competitive, alternative system that most commercial broadcasters today support. Lippmann has also said that "the theory of a free press is that the truth will emerge from free reporting and free discussion, not that it will be presented perfectly and instantly in any one account." Public television, with national interconnection due in part to a new ruling by the FCC, now has a chance to make that "free reporting and free discussion" 25 percent more widespread and more effective.

In the days since the Vice President's speech, I have been jarred by the strange coalition of Americans who find an assortment of reasons for identifying with parts of the Vice President's remarks. The mobilizers for peace don't like the way the peace march was covered or, as they put it, left uncovered. My Democrat friends point to the Humphrey defeat, which they say happened at the hands of the television cameras in Chicago. My journalism students at Columbia feel that time after time broadcasters of my generation misjudge the youth movement and the black movement. In the end, I have had to plead with these students to believe in the integrity of a Cronkite, a Smith, a Brinkley, and in the professionalism of their producers—men such as Les Midgley of CBS, Av Westin of ABC, and Wally Westfeldt of NBC. My defense has been only partly successful, and this has been with an audience generally quite hostile to the main thrust of the Agnew attack. With sadness, I have painfully learned that the reservoir of good will that broadcast journalists could once rely on in time of crisis has now been partially dissipated.

Perhaps if the public knew that the broadcast newsman is fighting for longer news programs, fewer commercials, more investigative reporting, there might be a broader sense of identity.

The broadcast journalist knows how little news analysis appears on the air. Five or eight minutes after a major presidential address is not interpretive journalism as much as it is time to be filled to the nearest half-hour, or to the nearest commercial. He also knows that a half hour minus six commercials is just enough air time to present and analyze the news properly. Perhaps the broadcast newsman of today can no longer afford the luxury of abdicating his role in a decision-making process that now so clearly affects his profession and his standards. He is a far better newsman than the public ever sees and he has far more power to change the system than he and the public imagine.

For a long time the broadcasting companies have relied on the prestige of their news organizations to enhance their own corporate prestige, in fact, their very survival. The reputation of these newsmen is now at stake. They need to do their best, not their worst. They need to be seen at their most courageous, not to slip into timidity. This is not a time for public relations experts, although there will be a frantic search for a corporate line that will once again salvage the good name of broadcasting.

Television's battles will not be fought or won with the polemics of corporate hand-outs, First Amendment platitudes, or full-page ads. They will be won by what is on the air, and they will be lost by what is not on the air. It is later than many people

think, and we all have Agnew to thank for reminding us.

Here we stand, with the image orthicon tube, the wired city, and the satellite the greatest tools of communication that civilization has ever known, while the second highest officeholder in the land implies that we use them less. Here we are in 1969, Mr. Vice President, with one leg on the moon and the other on earth, knee-deep in garbage. That's going to require some news analysis.

What the Vice President says is that he wants editorials (which network news divisions don't use) labeled for what they are. Certainly it is general custom to label news analysis and comment when it is taking place, and omission of that, even under the pressure of time, is a mistake.

But Agnew ought to have labeled his speech for what it was. Did he want to encourage responsible journalism, or did he wish to silence it?

The second salvo from the Agnew shotgun contained more buckshot and had even less precise aim. His facts were wobbly and subject to immediate rebuttal. He might have checked to see whether it was only the early out-of-town edition of *The New York Times* that missed the story of the 359 members of Congress who signed a letter endorsing the President's Vietnam policy. Making charges against the power of the *Times* and *The Washington Post* is the kind of anti-conglomerate philology usually identified with liberals. The Vice President jarred his own aim by being self-serving. His targets were only those organizations which he considered to be critical. The mighty complex that controls two of the largest newspapers in the nation—the *New York Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune*, plus television and radio stations in those two cities and a lot more in other cities—was left unscathed, together with other media conglomerates that control huge circulations. Could the fact that hawks rather than doves fluttered atop those mastheads and transmitters have given them immunity?

Perhaps the journalist and the party in power are always destined to be on the outs. President Eisenhower was pretty sore with television news until he left office and became a big fan. President Kennedy was reading and watching more, and enjoying it less. President Johnson watched three sets and knew how to talk back to three talking heads at once, and the Nixon administration has let us know where it stands. It is my theory that, when the message from Des Moines or from the White House itself is always a valentine or a garland of flowers, television and radio will have failed their purpose.

WHERE DOES THE CHURCH STAND ON POPULATION?

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the reluctance of the Catholic Church to permit the use of artificial birth control devices among its members has often been interpreted by its critics as a blanket condemnation of population stabilization as a goal. This is not the case. Representative of a large segment of Catholic opinion is the Rev. John A. O'Brien, a noted theologian at Notre Dame, who is one of the strongest and most persuasive voices in America for population stabilization. Two short and timely articles by Father O'Brien follow:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) New Star,
Dec. 7, 1969]

MAN'S BEST HOPE FOR SURVIVAL (By Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph. D.)

One of the most exhaustive studies of the problem of the world's soaring population was made a few years ago at the University of Notre Dame. With a generous grant from the Ford Foundation, Dr. George Shuster, director of the Center for the Study of Man in Contemporary Society, brought noted demographers, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, medical scientists and theologians to the campus to discuss this problem from every aspect.

The seminars lasting three days were held about three times a year for several years. I was privileged to participate in these conferences, and I felt it a duty to share their fruits with the general public. Accordingly I edited last year a symposium, "Family Planning in an Exploding Population" (Hawthorn Books, Inc. New York), which has gone through three printings and has won the commendation of scientists and theologians throughout the world.

The conclusion reached by all these scholars, as detailed in the book, is that the survival of human civilization is dependent upon man's ability to regulate the growth of the world's population. Unless that is done all other efforts will fail. One-half of the world's population suffers from outright hunger. Two-thirds suffers from undernourishment.

Each day 150,000 people are added to the World's population and each year the total is increased by more than 50 million. The population is skyrocketing at a rate unprecedented in history. Every two decades we add to the world's population as many people as accumulated between 4000 B. C. and A. D. 1830. The most tragic part of the whole picture is that the population upsurge is the greatest in the underdeveloped countries least able to provide for such growth.

The view quite frequently advanced by ill-informed writers that the population crisis can be averted by migration, industrialization and especially by the newly developed "miracle" wheat and rice is illusory. It is true that these latter yield larger crops and thereby provide a little more breathing time for man to find effective ways of regulating population growth. But since the habitable space on the earth's surface is limited, we must recognize that the population must be likewise limited or widespread famine and disaster will inevitably result.

In traveling through Africa I saw families of eight and nine members living in mud huts with dirt floors and scarcely a piece of furniture. The bellies of the children were greatly distended, indicating the starvation they were undergoing. The parents in many of these African countries stand in desperate need of simple effective methods of regulating birth.

Lacking them, they merely add more children to undergo the pain and misery of outright hunger from birth to death. Rarely free from pain, their entire life is a struggle simply to stay alive.

Much the same conditions exist in India. Describing those conditions to me, Mrs. John Kubish, wife of an American AID official, related: "We never really knew how many millions of people constantly suffer the pangs of hunger until we went to India and Ceylon. So undernourished are many of the people that they resemble walking skeletons.

"While in Ceylon we visited a school for the blind and deaf conducted by Belgian sisters near Colombo. Imagine our surprise and horror when the sister superior told us that in every case the blindness of the child was due to semistarvation. Misery, sickness, and disease from undernourishment stalk the visitor everywhere."

Such is a picture of the living conditions of millions of families in the underdeveloped countries. In the last forty years the population of Latin America doubled and is expected to reach the staggering total of 650 million by the year 2000. The annual per capita income averages but \$289, and the ratio of increased income against population growth is among the worst in the world—worse even than Africa. The annual increase of approximately 3 per cent in the population more than nullifies the mere 1 per cent increase of the economy.

All of this adds up to what? To the conclusion that we must do everything within our power to head off a catastrophe of world proportions by supporting the efforts of our government to assist married couples in regulating births by means which are in conformity with their religious conviction and conscience. The time has come for Catholics particularly to drop their stones and clasp the hands of their fellow citizens in a nationwide effort to regulate the world's exploding population before famine, pestilence and disaster do it for us.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Christian Century,
Dec. 10, 1969]

THE VATICAN SPEAKS OUT (By John A. O'Brien)

Shortly before the synod of 144 Roman Catholic bishops representing the church in all countries convened at Rome in October there appeared in newspapers in many of the larger American cities a series of eight articles, "The Vatican Speaks Out." The series was based chiefly on the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, which treats of birth control. Each newspaper ran the following introduction to every article:

"In an unprecedented series of articles, through his distinguished vatican emissaries, Pope Paul VI speaks out on the moral issues of today: the pill and population, the breakup of the family, love, sex and marriage. These exclusive articles were prepared at the request of this newspaper to answer the questions arising from the Pope's encyclical on regulation of birth."

This introduction would lead the reader to believe that the series had been prepared at the request of the particular newspaper he was reading. Investigation disclosed, however, that the series was sent out by the New York-based Publishers-Hall Syndicate to approximately 40 U.S. newspapers.

Many readers wondered why articles dealing with an encyclical issued more than a year previously were being run at this time. Certainly most editors consider an event thoroughly covered some 14 months before no longer newsworthy. How then did the Publishers-Hall Syndicate come to run a series on a subject so outdated? An inquiry addressed to the firm brought the information that the series was conceived by Mr. Hall, who went to Rome and arranged for it in conjunction with Bishop Carlo Colombo and Monsignor Giovanni Guzzetti, each of whom write one of the articles.

"The series seemed to me," remarked one reader, "to be an ill-concealed journalistic attempt to foist through great fanfare the conservative views of the Roman Curia upon the general public." Indeed the series raises a nice question: Wouldn't fairness and the ethics of journalism oblige the syndicate to give equal space to presentation of the opposing viewpoint, one held by that great majority of the general public which believes strongly in the necessity of effective medically approved methods of controlling the world's exploding population?

I

The contributors to the series were three cardinals—Wojtyla of Poland, Wright of the U.S. and Felici of Italy—plus a French Jesuit, a British layman, an Italian bishop and an

Italian monsignor. All are known for their conservative views on birth control and their wholehearted support of *Humanae Vitae*.

In the issue carrying the eighth article the *Chicago Sun-Times* printed four comments on the series by the Rev. James Tunstead Burtchaell, C.S.C., chairman of the University of Notre Dame's department of theology; by two other theologians—the Rev. Joseph T. Mangan, S.J., of Loyola University in Chicago and the Rev. John F. Dedek of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Mundelein, Illinois (chosen by the chancery of the church's Chicago archdiocese)—and by the newspaper's own religion writer.

The comments of Fr. Mangan and Fr. Dedek were alike brief, restrained and to the point. After commending the positive aspects of *Humanae Vitae* and of the value of the eight articles in upholding the dignity of life, love, marriage and the human person, Fr. Mangan cited two disappointing omissions. First, although both encyclical and articles declared that the faithful should accept the teaching not so much because of the reasons presented as because of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, "in not one of the articles did the author attempt to explain more deeply the reasons adduced." Second, the articles failed to come to grips explicitly with the practical question which has become so acute since the promulgation of the encyclical: "... whether dissent from the encyclical's teaching by the faithful is valid in practice or not."

In similar vein Fr. Dedek pointed out that the encyclical cannot be dismissed offhand simply as an obscurantist document written by an aging celibate. He acknowledged, however, that none of the articles adds anything new, and he agreed with Fr. Mangan that they do nothing to change the present condition of the individual Catholic. "There is nothing," he wrote, "that denies him his basic freedom of conscience. This freedom, of course, is not the freedom to do whatever he pleases. It is the freedom and duty to do always and only what he himself thinks is right."

Continuing, Fr. Dedek said that many Catholics who have been unable to appropriate personally all the values affirmed in the papal document are not likely to change as long as confusion on this question persists in the minds of so many theologians and confessors. And "there is no reason to expect that this confusion will subside until the difficulties that theologians have raised against the Church's doctrine are met more squarely and are better resolved than they are in any of the articles in 'The Vatican Speaks Out.'"

II

The comment by the Notre Dame theologian, titled "Curious Interpretation of Nature," was considerably more extensive. Fr. Burtchaell began by pointing out that Pope Paul VI must be greatly alarmed indeed about disregard for his authority to have approved the plan for eight churchmen to defend his *Humanae Vitae*. He recalled the resentment evoked by the pope's assertion that contraception inevitably tends to make woman "a mere instrument of selfish enjoyment." Even members of the papal commission protested such an assertion as both unfounded and insulting.

But the chief point to which Fr. Burtchaell addressed himself was the articles' curiously fatalistic interpretation of nature. Thus he cited Bishop Colombo's claim that there is an extra-ordinary divine inviolability about the cycle of female ovulation: "If in the 'nature' of the generative processes there are inscribed periods and rhythms of fecundity and infecundity, that means that God does not want each single act and each single moment of married life to be fertile." The bishop contended that contraception is offensive but abstinence is not, "for in the latter

case, man holds himself in readiness to discharge his duty, which will be determined by God the Creator through man's organic make-up, whereas in the other cases, man puts his own will and his own designs in place of God's."

Fr. Burtchaell commented that detecting the all-purposeful hand of God in such natural events as ovulation would lead to the conclusion that women who are barren have been struck sterile by the Lord. Theologians generally, he observed, hesitate to declare that there is a particular rational and divine purpose behind natural phenomena, for such a view would lead to incredible, even shocking, conclusions.

Fr. Burtchaell's point here is of crucial importance, for it brings out clearly the curious and untenable interpretation of nature which runs through the encyclical as well as through practically all the articles in the eight-part series. Hence I shall undertake to illustrate this point with some simple examples.

If female infertility reflects a divine plan, what of such natural phenomena as earthquakes and hurricanes which bring about great destruction of property and take the lives of innocent victims? Are they to be regarded as expressions of divine anger? Take for example the great earthquake that occurred in Lisbon, Portugal at 9:40 in the morning on November 1, 1755. This tremendous upheaval demolished all large public buildings and about 12,000 dwellings, and in Lisbon alone it killed at least 60,000 persons. A singular bit of irony was the fact that the disaster struck on All Saints' Day when a large portion of the population was in the churches, most of which were destroyed with great loss of life. Do Bishop Colombo and his associates in this series want us to believe that this great catastrophe of "nature" reflected the divine plan? On that supposition, how embarrassing to explain that it occurred precisely at the time when so many thousands of devout Catholics were engaged in worshipping God!

Another example: At about 5:15 A.M., on April 18, 1906, an earthquake struck San Francisco, causing property loss amounting to \$400 million and killing some 700 people. Here was another bit of irony: a large church was destroyed while a nearby brewery was spared. How impossible to explain these phenomena of nature as reflecting the thought and will of almighty God!

One other case, more recent and closer at hand: In the last week of August 1969 hurricane Camille coiled up in fury over the Gulf of Mexico and tore across the Louisiana and Mississippi coastlines with awesome destructiveness, killing hundreds, leaving thousands homeless, causing property damage that may exceed \$1 billion. It threw its murderous punches at innocent children with the same mindlessness as at their parents. Must we say with Bishop Colombo that this savage phenomenon of "nature" reflected the express mind and will of God? That is what we would have to acknowledge if we insist that whatever "nature" does it does by decree of the Almighty. And then would we not also have to say that the effort to abort hurricanes by sowing them with dry-ice crystals frustrates the plan of God?

No, we must agree with Fr. Burtchaell's conclusion: "If the ovulation cycle is part of a rational plan as described by these writers, then surely sterility and stillbirth must also be features of some perverse divine scheme of planned parenthood." Which would lead to the further shocking conclusion that a God whose decree and will are identified with all the catastrophes that bring death and destruction to mankind is not the Deity of compassion and love whom we worship but a demon of cruel and mindless fury.

However, like Frs. Mangan and Dedek, Fr.

Burtchaell commented the positive elements of the encyclical—its stress on the dignity of man and the sanctity of human love in the divine institution of marriage.

III

The final comment on the series of articles was that of Roy Larson, a former United Methodist pastor who is now the *Chicago Sun-Times* religion writer. Pointing out that along with the encyclical each bishop was sent a letter expressing the hope that the document would be received with "joyful docility" by faithful Catholics, Larson remarked that the hope has evidently not been fulfilled. For *Humanae Vitae* has stirred up worldwide dissent which has precipitated today's crisis in papal authority.

He referred to the scathing denunciation the encyclical encountered from scientists struggling to find ways to regulate the world's rampaging population. But the most damaging critiques of the encyclical, he noted, came not from Protestant or secular circles but from persons within the Roman Catholic Church—among them the 650 theologians who voiced dissent and the various national hierarchies which, while managing to praise the document's positive elements, indicated concern for the right of Catholic couples to follow the dictates of a conscience enlightened by respectful study and rendered sensitive by fervent prayer.

As an example Larson cited the moving testimony by Bishop James P. Shannon, who resigned his post as auxiliary bishop of Minneapolis-St. Paul when he could not conscientiously square his own convictions on the encyclical with the Vatican's. "In my own pastoral experience," Bishop Shannon said, "I have found that this rigid teaching is simply impossible of observance by many faithful and generous spouses, and I cannot believe that God binds men to impossible standards." Larson also cited the blunt comment by John Cogley on the bishops' plight: "The bishops are in one hell of a spot. On the one hand they are hung up on their loyalty to the Pope and the traditional teachings about authority . . . on the other, they have a dissident laity and rebellious clergy on their hands—too numerous to purge, too independent to cow, too convinced to persuade."

Again, the *Sun-Times* writer drew attention to the statement issued by the Belgian bishops, urging their people to "receive with respect and the spirit of docility the teaching authority" of the church. He noted, however, that this statement also made it clear that Belgian Catholics "are not bound to an unconditional and absolute adherence" to the demands of the encyclical, because it does not claim infallibility.

Further, Larson cites the statement issued by the bishops of Canada, affirming their oneness "with the pope" and "with the People of God" and speaking of the "agonizing problem of conscience" created by the encyclical. The church's unity, those bishops said:

"... does not consist in bland conformity in all ideas, but rather in a union of faith and heart, in submission to God's will and a humble but honest and ongoing search for the truth. We stand in union with the Bishop of Rome . . . but this very union postulates such a love of the Church that we can do no less than to place all of our love and all of our intelligence at its service."

Finally, Larson quoted Louis Cassels, United Press International religion writer, who saw "portents of tragedy" in the bishops' synod at Rome in October 1969. He wrote:

"Pope Paul VI must decide soon whether he will permit a little more democracy in the Roman Catholic Church or try to crush a rising demand for forcefully reasserting papal authority. If he chooses the latter course, as seems likely, the Church may be torn by the

greatest schism since the Protestant Reformation."

In the light of these comments on the series of articles, let me now sum up the reaction to it. Its weaknesses were pointed out by Frs. Mangan, Dedek and Burtchael and by Mr. Larson. In addition, readers have remarked, it failed to make sufficiently clear that *Humanae Vitae* made no claim to infallibility. That it made no such claim was explicitly stated by Monsignor Ferdinando Lambruschini in giving the text to the press. "The rule against artificial birth control," he said, "is not unreformable. It is up to theologians to debate and expand all moral aspects involved and if, for instance, some principle should become overwhelmingly accepted in the Church, contraception may even be launched."

Another defect of the series was its failure to acknowledge with candor and honesty the grave need for effective regulation of births. With the world's population soaring at a rate unprecedented in history, mankind faces a threat second only to that of global nuclear warfare. This is the conclusion of virtually all demographers, who tell us that the zero hour is closing in on us and that vigorous and prompt action must be taken on a worldwide scale.

The informed reader of the articles looked in vain for echoes of this view. The contributors showed no sensitivity to the warnings by the United Nations, by the heads of the underdeveloped nations, by the Nobel scientists, by the religious leaders of many faiths. They wrote as if they were living in an ivory tower, aloof from the problems and pains of a world in agony. That is why many readers would like to see the Publishers-Hall Syndicate launch a new series that would come to grips with the urgent problem of controlling the world's exploding population.

What was the total impact of the series? Most readers agree that it was slight. Written, as a newspaperman remarked, "in Vaticanese instead of journalese," it was found by others "repetitious, dull and boring." One experienced journalist said: "I doubt if one in a hundred read the series." That is probably a conservative estimate. How different would be the response if Publishers-Hall were to put out a series prepared by trained, well informed journalists on the burning question of how man can regulate the world's ram-paging population before the time arrives when he will find standing room only on our little planet.

THE BOEING 747

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, when the Boeing 747 flew its preview flight from Seattle to New York the other day, praise began to flow from the pens of the pressmen aboard and many intriguing statistics on this fabulous craft were given exposure. Of course, we in Seattle have known all along, in watching the beautiful airplane develop, hardly anything you can say about it could be too exuberant or overstated.

It impresses some people to know that on the 747 there is an "upstairs" and a "downstairs" which are connected by a handsome spiral staircase. Others are fascinated by the idea that 10,298 pieces of silverware, dishes, trays, and so forth are brought along to accessorize the

meals that will be dispensed from six galleys.

Rather than feeling crowded among the 362 passengers that this aircraft was configured to carry, however, those on board delighted in the roominess, plush, theater effect, wider aisles, and wider seats they found in this craft created for comfort.

The 747 has so many fans eager to be on the first 747 commercial flight anywhere that Pan American Airways, who will be first to put it in service, has received over 5,000 requests for its waitlist. Obviously, not all 5,000 can be accommodated on Pan Am's first 747 flight, due to take off from New York to Frankfurt via London in February. Those missing the first flight can take comfort, however. By sitting in the first three rows of the first-class section they will get to their destination before the pilot does.

The explanation of how this can be done is to be found in an article written by Charles Yarborough and published by the Washington Star. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Dec. 7, 1969]

THEY ARE ALREADY WAITING FOR BOEING'S BIG BIRD

(By Charles Yarborough)

The late winter traveler is, in a manner of speaking, already in the queue for a seat on the first scheduled flight of the Boeing 747—no matter its direction.

He is a composite of the tourist who wants to be first, is unawed that it is the world's largest airliner, likes crowds and is undaunted by what happens after the Place unloads.

But he's already in trouble—even if he is Passenger No. 363. Capacity is 362.

Unfortunately there'll be no second section on standby when (according to current planning) Pan American World Airways' first 747 takes off from Kennedy International airport for Frankfurt via London.

The still-nebulous date is somewhere between Feb. 15 and Mar. 15 and there is already a long waiting list of still-unconfirmed reservations. (Pan Am and other transporters of note also have a similar-status list of those who say they want the first flight to the moon, but the 747 occasion is a bit more realistic.)

IT IS LIKE THIS

Let's assume he is Passenger No. 362 and gets the last seat.

Pliable as fare structures are wont to be and as fluctuating as they might, his ticket won't have cost any more than Boeing 707 fare—or the going rate on other jets.

All-year, round-trip economy would be \$504; first class, \$834, New York-Frankfurt. London-only economy, \$420; first class, \$750.

Fourteen-to-21-day excursion (travel during the week) is \$300 round trip to London; \$360 to Frankfurt.

Still pardonably smug after the first public demonstration flight of the Seven Four-Seven from Seattle to New York last Tuesday (2,422 statute miles in four hours and five minutes) may I offer a few observations? In chronological order?

Unless there is a "tiny" 707 or DC-8 nearby for comparison, the 747 is another instance of when you've seen one you've seen 'em all.

The immensity of it all begins to dawn on climbing the temporary boarding stair to one

of 10 available doors wide enough to take a hand-holding couple.

LET US BE SEATED

On board, it is something like walking into a plush theater 20 feet wide; wider-than-normal aisles separating seats (also wider) in clusters of two, four and three. To eliminate the traditional "aluminum tube" airliner concept they've built the galleys into six "room dividers."

There are about 120 window seats for 362 customers, but the four-abreast center section allows a better view of the movies.

After buckling up and putting out the cigarettes in any of 400 ashtrays, the engine start will come through as something slightly under the decibels of a conventional jet. In the aft "zone", the noise is higher.

In the case of the Seattle takeoff, the vibration was enough to produce rattles—a disconcerting moment Boeing blamed on a rough runway. It was less noticeable on the landing roll at JFK.

The takeoff, four engines pouring out over 43,000 pounds of thrust each (twice that of a 707) gave the aisles a San Francisco hill look.

QUICK SHRINKAGE

The first surprise, which can come even before a leveling off at 33,000 (in 31 minutes) is how the feeling of immensity in the cabin begins to diminish. It will return in reverse the first time you board anything less than a 747—like walking into a crowded elevator.

Then, because the roominess invites it, there'll begin the mass movement in rapid transit. (There were 192 of us aboard the Seattle-New York flight and passing the aisles was some impediment to trying out the established fact that 12 times around the cabin equals a mile.)

Although the old Stratocruiser had a "downstairs lounge" and Lockheed built a two-off double-decker for the Navy one time, the 747's handsome, spiral stair to the upper lounge still is a bit startling.

Plush is the word for the lounge. In the fattest configuration, it likely will have standard airline seats to help carry up to 490 passengers. This one was strictly Lounge!

So it's meal time. From the six galleys will come up to 14 stewardesses, some of whom you will have met earlier laden with potables.

If the occasion warrants, it might be a meal buffet style, filling past the galleys a la cocktail party.

And if the dinner hour becomes audible, please remember there are 10,298 pieces of silverware, dishes, trays and glassware in use. (The 707 uses 3,981).

In flight, there can be clear air turbulence. On the Seattle inaugural, it was enough to make waves in the waterglasses.

By the time for Napoleon brandy, you might be well over 700 miles an hour.

It is a great ride!

In order to answer it, Pan Am asks the question:

"Won't this be more like a cattleboat than a luxury liner in the sky?"

A. "On the contrary, Boeing 747s will enable the airlines (28 have ordered 185 of them) to get away from what critics call 'steerage' seating.

"The cabin, nearly 20 feet wide and 186 feet long, with thick wall-to-wall carpeting will give the traveler the feeling of being in an airborne salon.

"First class passengers will find swivel chairs, tables and a plush lounge on the upper level. Economy passengers will find their thick foam-rubber seats are roomier—10 percent wider than seats in the 707."

And now, if the composite passenger really wants to be first:

Get in one of the first three rows of first class section near the nose.

You'll get there before the pilot does.

U.S. FLAG IS UNIQUE BAR MITZVAH
GIFT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, during the year now drawing to a close there were not too many events to warm the heart and provide a bright ray of hope for the future of our Nation. But one event, quite small in its own way, did nevertheless have a great deal of meaning.

We are painfully aware of how many teenagers and young people are shirking their heritage and even burning our flag. It is, therefore, a source of tremendous reassurance to know that one young teenager, only 13, quite recently came to the very steps of the U.S. Capitol not to burn the American flag but to receive a flag as a cherished gift.

It was not just an ordinary flag but a very unique and special one. It had been flown over the Capitol Building to denote the day of the teenager's Bar Mitzvah, his 13th birthday.

The young man is Steven Smith, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Smith, a respected local family. The imaginative donors of the flag are Mr. and Mrs. I. Lee Potter, of Arlington.

It happens that Steven's Bar Mitzvah, held in a Washington synagogue, was the first they had ever attended. They were deeply moved.

Mr. and Mrs. Potter, in a beautiful letter to Steven, said that "experiencing a Bar Mitzvah at a time when many young people are seemingly evading responsibility by 'copping out' from their commitments," they saw great wisdom and strength of character in the ancient Jewish ceremony of Bar Mitzvah. They correctly observed that "this sense of involvement" made Judaism a vital component of Americanism.

In this season of Christmas, when we reflect upon the brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God, I wish to share this event with all my colleagues. I am pleased to know that a U.S. flag has flown from this Capitol Building to denote a Bar Mitzvah for the first time in the history of the Nation.

Americans like the Potters and the Smiths, especially young Steven, give me great hope for the new year and the future.

I am inserting in the RECORD the letter sent by the Potters to Steven Smith and a news report from the Jewish Week pertaining to the event:

ARLINGTON, VA.,
November 13, 1969.

Mr. STEVEN SMITH,
Bethesda, Md.

DEAR STEVEN: Mrs. Potter and I enjoyed attending your Bar Mitzvah at Adas Israel Synagogue and were deeply moved by the experience. It so happened, Steven, that it was our first participation in the beautiful Jewish ritual of Bar Mitzvah. We were affected not only by the relevance of the religious services, but by your own very meaningful and dignified prayers.

It was our conviction that your manliness

in conducting the services underscored what I understand to be the real theme of the Bar Mitzvah—the coming of age of a young man and the assumption of responsibilities toward God and fellow man.

Experiencing a Bar Mitzvah at a time when many young people are seemingly evading responsibility by "copping out" from their commitments, Mrs. Potter and I saw great wisdom and strength of character in the ancient Jewish ceremony. It is this fortitude that has built the great Jewish heritage that dates back over 5,000 years. It is this sense of involvement that has made Judaism such a vital component of Americanism.

Mrs. Potter and I decided that we wanted to take notice of your Bar Mitzvah in some special way. It occurred to us that it was a truly historic day in your life and that of your family. To commemorate your Bar Mitzvah, November 1, 1969, we obtained a flag that was flown over the United States Capitol building on the day when you were reading from the Holy Torah at the Synagogue.

We felt it would be highly fitting for you and your family to have this flag as a symbol of a special moment of a special day. This particular flag symbolizes more than the colors of the United States Government. It denotes the cooperation and contributions of many States and peoples and the commitment of each one to privileges and responsibilities.

We were very proud to be asked to take part in your Bar Mitzvah, Steven. It is our wish that this historic flag will communicate to you the extent of our feeling and the conviction of how important a young man like yourself is to the future of our Nation.

With sincerity,

Mr. and Mrs. I. LEE POTTER.

U.S. FLAG IS UNIQUE BAR MITZVAH GIFT

A flag that was flown over the United States Capitol on Nov. 1 is in the proud hands of Steven Smith, providing a lifetime remembrance of the day of his bar mitzvah.

Friends of the Smith family, Mr. and Mrs. I. Lee Potter, wanted to "take notice of your bar mitzvah in some special way," and arranged for the gift "communicating to you the extent of our feeling and the conviction of how important a young man like yourself is to the future of our Nation."

According to the Potters, who were deeply moved by the experience of attending their first bar mitzvah, "we were affected not only by the relevance of the religious services, but by your own very meaningful and dignified prayers. It was our conviction that your manliness in conducting the services underscored what I understand to be the real theme of the bar mitzvah—the coming of age of a young man and the assumption of responsibilities toward God and fellow man."

"Experiencing a bar mitzvah at a time when many young people are seemingly evading responsibility by 'copping out' from their commitments, Mrs. Potter and I saw great wisdom and strength of character in the ancient Jewish ceremony. It is this fortitude that has built the great Jewish heritage that dates back over 5,000 years. It is this sense of involvement that has made Judaism such a vital component of Americanism."

In stating their reason for obtaining the flag in a letter to Steven, the Potters said they felt "it would be highly fitting for you and your family to have this flag as a symbol of a special moment of a special day. This particular flag symbolizes more than the colors of the U.S. Government. It denotes the cooperation and contributions of many states and peoples and the commitment of each one to privileges and responsibilities." Potter is chairman of the board of Jelleff's.

According to Robert H. Smith, Steven's father, "it was the most unusual bar mitzvah

gift anyone ever received." Aside from Steven's surprise and delight with the gift, he was "interested in the significance of it." Steven, grandson of Charles E. Smith, lives in Bethesda with his parents, a sister, Michelle, 16, and a brother, David, 11. The bar mitzvah was held at Adas Israel Synagogue.

FORMER REPRESENTATIVE PORTER
HARDY, JR., NAMED ADVISER
TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES FOR INVESTI-
GATION OF THE ALLEGED MAS-
SACRE AT MYLAI

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, former Representative Porter Hardy, Jr., of the Second District of Virginia, has been named an adviser to the House Armed Services Committee in its investigation of the alleged massacre at My Lai.

This is a wise decision on the part of the committee. Mr. Hardy served on the committee for more than 20 years and earned a reputation as its outstanding investigator. He will bring great ability and vast experience to the current investigation.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Mr. Hardy: An Astute Choice," published in the Norfolk Ledger-Star on Monday, December 22, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks. The editor of the Ledger-Star is Mr. William H. Fitzpatrick.

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

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Star,
Dec. 22, 1969]

MR. HARDY: AN ASTUTE CHOICE

So far the Washington approach to the charges of a massacre at the Vietnamese village of My Lai has been diffuse and muddled. There is an Army inquiry in progress, linked to charges already made against specific individuals, and the impending trial of these and any other soldiers who may be charged later has created legal problems—turning on the right of these men to a fair trial—when it comes to giving the public the facts about the event itself.

In Congress, where there have been demands for a major probe, there have been tentative moves to grasp the nettle, but the outlook for investigation and disclosure has remained uncertain.

But there is no uncertainty about the need to get to the bottom of the ugly mass of allegations and reports, to find a way around the problems and out of the confusion. For this reason there is reason for encouragement in the direction now being taken by the House Armed Services Committee—and most especially Chairman Rivers' somewhat unusual, but promising choice of one non-Congressional advisor.

This was in his designation of former Representative Porter Hardy Jr., of our own Tidewater, to serve as an advisor in that committee's inquiry into the affair.

This selection of the retired Congressman will be recognized both here and elsewhere in the nation as most appropriate. Mr. Hardy is a veteran of the investigative wars, and his doggedness as well as a procession of objective findings in looking into military

problems and areas of suspicion have earned him the highest reputation. Moreover, he can operate from an unbiased posture. He has always been an earnest advocate of well-run military activity, but his friendly stance has gone along with some of the sharpest of raps when he has uncovered malperformance.

Both this stature and his talents are a good portent for at least this phase of the urgently needed national effort to ascertain the truth of My Lai, and for helping to insure that what is made public will be fair and authentic.

TRAGIC CHAPTER IN POLISH HISTORY

HON. RALPH T. SMITH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. Mr. President, we recognize the truism that "history repeats itself" which is effectively portrayed in an article by the well-known columnist of the Copley Press, Mr. Dumitru Danielopol, writing in the Joliet, Ill., Herald-News on Monday, November 24.

One of the tragedies of modern history is the fact that the brave people of Poland who were the first to stand up and fight Hitler were denied restoration of freedom as a result of diabolic Communist activities.

Mr. Danielopol's timely article contains penetrating remarks on this tragic chapter in Polish history.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Joliet Herald-News, Nov. 24, 1969]
THE RAPE OF POLAND
(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—Communist perfidy never ceases to amaze. Today it even surpasses old standards—and that's not easy.

Here's a case in point:

Aug. 1 marked the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising in which the Polish Home Army took up arms against the Nazis and was annihilated, thanks to the inaction of Stalin.

A factual account of the events was recently published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. It shows that on July 26, 1944, when Soviet armies were rapidly advancing toward Warsaw, Polish patriots called for a revolt against the Nazis. The Soviet-controlled Kosciuszko radio said: "Poles, the time of liberation is at hand. Poles, to arms . . . there is not one moment to lose."

The underground Polish Home Army under Gen. Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, some 35,000 strong, was ill equipped. Only 20,000 were armed with rifles and light machine guns. Nonetheless, they attacked the Nazis on Aug. 1 with such élan that in five days they cleared two-thirds of Warsaw.

They expected support from the Russians, but this was denied them. Instead the Russians stopped. Furthermore, Stalin refused to allow American and British planes—that were flying supplies into Warsaw—to land and refuel on Soviet-held airfields. This reduced or blocked the possibility of massive help from the West. The battle for Warsaw lasted 63 days. The city was burned to rubble by the Germans. The Poles suffered 250,000 casualties and the Russians looked on.

Stalin didn't trust the patriotic Poles. He knew that they were both anti-Nazi and anti-Communist. He let them be massacred by the army of his former ally Hitler.

As Churchill put it, Stalin wanted to see the anti-Communist Poles killed to the fullest.

The Polish people showed their contempt to the Polish Communists who were installed in power on the wake of the Soviet army's arrival and treated them as "accomplices to the crime committed by Red Army when it refused to help Warsaw."

But as if the betrayal and the destruction was not enough, the Reds have tried for years to kill the Polish Home Army for a second time, by discrediting and denouncing them and destroying their reputation.

No lie is too great.

On Aug. 1, 1953, the Warsaw Radio charged that the leaders of the Home Army were in cahoots with the Nazis and that "the Hitlerites promised to abstain from attacking the units of the Home Army on condition that the uprising be directed against the Red Army and the Polish Army (Communist units attached to the Soviet army)."

The Polish Communists, however, in total disregard to the truth—failed to mention that the Polish Home Army attacked not the Red army but the Nazis and was decimated by them.

The Polish government in exile which was operating out of London is also accused of all sorts of crimes by the Reds:

" . . . the tragedy of the Warsaw uprising," said Poland's Red President Ladislaw Gomułka in 1968, "was born out of the pretentious claims to govern Poland, out of the disastrous concept of the reactionaries."

The Communist version, might have credibility to the gullible if the Russians hadn't done exactly the same with the Slovak uprising which took place on Aug. 29, 1944. In that action the Soviets also withheld their help and blocked aid from the western allies until the Germans smashed and destroyed the entire Slovak insurgency.

"The heroism of the Polish Home Army was rewarded by one of the craziest betrayals in history" said S. Thomas J. Dodd, D-Conn., chairman of the Senate subcommittee.

Sen. Dodd understands the situation.

JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep concern that I view the plight of Jews residing in the Soviet Union. Not only are they prohibited from engaging in the full expression of their religious beliefs, but they are also denied the opportunity to emigrate at will, to join their relatives in other countries.

The Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford, concerned with this deprivation of rights, recently passed a resolution appealing to the Soviet Government to end such practices. Today, I commend this resolution to the attention of my colleagues:

RESOLUTION OF THE CITY OF HARTFORD,
CONN.

Whereas, Chanukah, the Festival of Lights, is being celebrated by Jews throughout the world from December 4, 1969 through December 12, 1969; and

Whereas, this year the world-wide commemoration of the adoption of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights—a contemporary proclamation against tyranny—coincides with Chanukah, an ancient victory over oppression; and

Whereas, it is fitting that as we commemorate Human Rights Day, we give thought to the situation of more than three million Jews in the Soviet Union, the largest Jewish community in the world outside the United States, who are denied the fullest means of religious and cultural self-expression based on the rights guaranteed them by Soviet Law; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Court of Common Council hereby appeals to the Government of the Soviet Union to restore to Soviet Jews their full rights and to grant to those who wish to leave the right to be reunited with war-torn families and to join their brethren in other countries, whether in Israel or in other countries.

Attest:

ROBERT J. GALLIVAN,
City Clerk.

TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE DOMINICK DANIELS

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, as one who was raised in the coal mining area of eastern Pennsylvania, I know firsthand the barbarous and brutal conditions under which miners often have been compelled to work. I was immensely pleased, therefore, when Congress last week cleared for the President's signature the strongest coal mine safety measure in our Nation's history. The bill represents a turning point in this country's heretofore shameful treatment of workers in that most dangerous of all occupations—coal mining.

One of the most significant features of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 is the benefit program for miners who are disabled by pneumoconiosis or "black lung" disease. Under title IV, the Federal Government will pay totally disabled victims of this dreaded disease up to \$136 a month for single miners or widows of miners, and up to \$272 a month for disabled miners with three dependents. Such a Federal compensation program was deemed necessary because the States have sorely neglected to provide a meaningful benefit program for the tragic victims of black lung.

My distinguished colleague and good friend, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, served as the chief architect and guiding light of this farsighted provision. Although not himself a representative of a mining area, Congressman DANIELS demonstrated a keen knowledge of the problems of miners and a real compassion for their health and safety. As chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the House Education and Labor Committee, Congressman DANIELS devoted long months of hearings and study to the plight of miners who have contracted black lung disease. The fruit of his labor is now before the President in the form of a program which, for the first time, will provide benefits for disabled miners and their families so they may live out

their lives in dignity. I congratulate Representative DANIELS on a job well done.

EDDIE RICKENBACKER'S MESSAGE ABOUT AMERICA AND CHRISTMAS

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, a great American, a living legend in his time, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, has written a personal Christmas letter every year to his good friend, Jim Stuart, of Indianapolis, who is now editor emeritus of the Indianapolis Star. Following is his letter for 1969, which appeared in the Star on December 22. It reflects that which is best in our country—our hopes, our fears, our faith—and our magnificent heritage.

EDDIE RICKENBACKER'S MESSAGE ABOUT AMERICA AND CHRISTMAS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Every year since he was operator of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway, Rickenbacker has written a Christmas letter to James A. Stuart, now editor emeritus of The Star.)

To the EDITOR OF THE STAR:

DEAR JIM: Almost a year has passed since our new President and his Cabinet began the administration of the laws of our land, and what a relief it is to have confidence re-established in our form of government and to realize that our fiscal and economic problems are in trustworthy hands again.

Frankly, it is almost too late to correct the many false steps taken by previous Presidents and administrations, as there never has been a period when so many problems have faced us as a nation.

I am certain, however, that our President and members of his Cabinet will take care of them to the best of their ability, so that when, as and if there is another change, we will not have to look back and see the closets filled with skeletons, such as those accumulated during several of the past administrations.

Let us hope that our new President and members of his Cabinet will take advantage of the opportunity to do a little housecleaning, and get rid of the bad philosophies and expensive and deadly programs in so far as the future of our country is concerned.

Let us not assume that we have all the money in the world and try to spread it in every direction. Let us complete the tasks started by previous administrations in many parts of the world as soon as possible, and bring our boys back to their homeland and families.

Let us realize that we have gone down the wrong highway far too long, and it is going to be a difficult task for the leadership of this country to detour and get us back on the straight and narrow highway that we should have always followed.

With the rapid approach of our Holiday Season, let us try to guide America back to the path of freedoms and peaceful philosophies that Christ brought to Mother Earth, because without His coming there never would have been an America as we have known it.

So let us remember during this period of joyful holidays to repeat again and again that wonderful phrase—"God Bless America"—that means each and every one of us who enjoys the heritage with which we have been blessed.

EDDIE RICKENBACKER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

POSTAL REFORM GETS ACCENT IN 1969 WORK OF POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, reform of our postal system is a vital necessity. Our Post Office and Civil Service Committee has devoted many days this year to hearings and executive sessions aimed at producing the best possible reorganization of our mail system.

I have attended every hearing and every executive session on this subject, and I know full well the depth of the studies and actions which our committee is taking.

This is the most comprehensive effort ever made toward improving the workings of our postal system. The mail volume is growing every year, and our attempts have been inadequate in the past to keep abreast with the modernization and mechanization which are absolutely necessary.

LACK OF MANAGEMENT CONTROL

The principal problem is lack of control at the top. The Postmaster General and his staff are restricted by archaic procedures, particularly in the field of finance. They have practically no control of their funds and minimal control over buildings and equipment.

On the opening day of the 91st Congress last January, I introduced a comprehensive postal reform bill, H.R. 4. This was developed as a result of my experience on the committee and my own study of the recommendations of the 1968 Presidential study commission headed by Frederick R. Kappel.

H.R. 4 is not perfect and could not be expected to be at the outset. But it has served as a solid base for developing reform legislation in our committee.

FOUR MONTHS OF HEARINGS

After 4 months of full committee hearings, during which we gave every interest an opportunity to be heard, the committee began executive sessions in September. Those sessions have continued into mid-December and will be resumed when the second session convenes.

At our final executive session of the full committee on Thursday, December 18, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. UDALL), original sponsor of the corporation plan, orally presented to the committee the outlines of a proposed new compromise on postal reform.

The details of the compromise were not available to the members in any form for the meeting, so the discussion was limited to the verbal summary by Mr. UDALL.

A complete draft of the new Udall bill is being made available to all members of the committee for their consideration during the period until the first executive session of our committee in January.

NO COMMITMENTS MADE

Because of the lack of specific details of the new proposal and the obvious im-

practicality of trying to obtain either committee or House action in the remaining days of the session, there were no final commitments made by the committee or its members. None were asked.

I view the proposal as another step in our effort to enact comprehensive postal reform. It is encouraging in that it contains many of the features which I support, including actions taken by our committee during executive sessions in the past 3 months.

Most importantly, it recognizes some of the glaring shortcomings of the corporation plan which was endorsed by the administration.

With regard to our executive sessions on postal reform beginning back in September, the first issue to be determined was whether to proceed to reorganize the present Department, as proposed in H.R. 4, or to convert the Department into a public corporation, as proposed in H.R. 11750 and similar bills with administration backing.

VOTE TO MARK UP H.R. 4

The committee decided on a 13-to-13 vote to mark up H.R. 4, and our progress has been steady in the weeks since. I had hoped that we might finish the markup before adjournment of the first session of the 91st Congress. But we have missed our mark—not because we did not try, but rather because the issue covers so much ground.

I am proud, however, of the outstanding reform legislation which we have developed to date. It is a good bill so far, with significant improvements over the original version.

We are now in the midst of the finance section, title IV of the bill. Two major titles remain: rates and labor-management. Much preliminary work has been done on both these subjects by the appropriate subcommittees, and I expect this background effort to be most helpful in our markup.

PROGRESS H.R. 4 TO DATE

Let me review briefly what we have done on H.R. 4 to date:

Title I sets out the congressional findings with respect to postal reform, pointing to the severe limitations on the present management system and listing the areas where corrective procedures are needed.

Title II completely changes the system for appointment of the Postmaster General, his deputy and assistant Postmasters General, all postmasters, and rural carriers.

The President will continue to appoint the Postmaster General, his deputy and Assistant Postmasters General, but only the Postmaster General will require confirmation by the Senate.

The Postmaster General will not be a member of the President's Cabinet, and his term will be 9 years. His deputy and assistants will have 6-year terms. The General Counsel will be named by and serve at the pleasure of the Postmaster General.

SELECTION OF POSTMASTERS

Local postmasters will be appointed by the Postmaster General—Senate confirmation is omitted—with priority given to qualified career employees. The Post-

master General also will choose rural carriers under a specified system of precedence.

A special section of the title removes politics from the postal service by prohibiting political influence in connection with appointments, promotions, assignment, transfers, and designations in the postal field service. The residence requirement for postmasters is eased somewhat to take in adjacent areas, as well as the delivery zone of the office involved.

Title III is one of the most important areas of operational reform. It deals with transportation. The present Department is hamstrung with a passenger railroad-oriented system when passenger trains generally are a thing of the past.

TRANSPORTATION FLEXIBILITY

Under the transportation system approved by the committee in markup, the Postmaster General is given the flexibility he needs to select the mode of transportation that will provide the most efficient and economical service in specific cases.

Providing this transportation latitude to the Department—to use surface, air, or water as he sees fit—is one of the most important needs at the present time, next to greater control over finances.

Title IV deals with financing. It sets up a body corporate within the postal service known as the Postal Modernization Authority. This Authority will have responsibility for all facilities, including buildings and major equipment, as well as for all research and engineering.

The Authority will have the right to issue bonds to finance construction and modernization of buildings, acquisition of major equipment, and financing of research and engineering.

TRUE REVOLVING FUND

A subsequent title will provide for a true revolving fund, long needed for efficient and practical operation of the Department. Instead of all postal revenues going into the U.S. Treasury, they will stay with the postal service to be used to operate the service on a day-to-day basis.

When the House reconvenes in January, we again will schedule executive sessions aimed at completing action as soon as possible on this postal reform bill.

By anyone's measure, the decisions which our committee has made to date are most significant, and I am more confident than ever that our committee is going to produce a meaningful postal reform bill that will give the Department the authority it has lacked for years in trying to meet its mounting responsibilities.

In developing our reform legislation I would like to comment briefly upon the role of the incumbent Postmaster General and his staff.

DELAYED START OF HEARINGS

When they came into office last January, they asked me to delay consideration of postal reform until they got their feet on the ground. This was a reasonable

request, and I deferred the start of hearings until after the Easter recess.

This is a massive subject and I decided after Easter that we had waited long enough to get started on hearings—the Department witnesses could come in when they were ready.

I scheduled the first hearing for April 22, and in order to get the ball rolling, I took the unprecedented step of being the first public witness.

When the General and his team informed me they were ready, we set the hearing for their convenience. They appeared in a blaze of Madison Avenue publicity on behalf of legislation to convert the Department into a public corporation.

CORPORATION BACKERS TESTIFY

Our committee gave them the center stage for several days and heard from many of their supporters—many of whom, it turned out under questioning, really did not understand the corporation proposal they were espousing.

We let the Postmaster General have the last say in our hearings. By his own words, he told the committee and others that his treatment by the committee had been completely fair.

He made strong personal representations to individual committee members on behalf of his plan. But when the committee voted in September, it decided not to take up his corporation plan.

Since that time the Postmaster General and his staff have provided little help to our committee in our executive deliberations, even though our decisions reflect our conclusions in important areas. That is his privilege. We would welcome his cooperation. We are using some of his ideas and language, and we are proceeding with our work as our progress to date makes clear.

POSTAL REFORM NEED IS CLEAR

I have no quarrel with his efforts to sell his idea. However, I do not see the corporation plan as a panacea. We need postal reform, but I am convinced that we can accomplish it in a much more orderly manner without going the final step of conversion to a corporation.

Mr. Speaker, while postal reform has occupied a large part of the committee's attention during the first session, we also have dealt with other matters within our jurisdiction. Our subcommittees have been very busy with their independent investigative and preparatory work.

The most significant measure to emerge from our committee—it now is law—is the Daniels-McGee bill to strengthen the financial condition and improve the benefits structure of the civil service retirement system.

It is properly labeled the most significant bill on this subject in the 49-year history of the system.

REFINANCING RETIREMENT SYSTEM

Simply stated, the bill insures that the retirement system—which was headed for bankruptcy—now will be able to fulfill its future obligations, thus contributing importantly to the financial security of both the active and retired Federal work force.

There was a flurry of interest and con-

cern early in the year about the details of the questionnaire for the 1970 decennial population census. There was considerable misinformation and misunderstanding about the purpose of the census and its handling.

Following field hearings and extensive studies, the Census and Statistics Subcommittee recommended legislation aimed at insuring the confidentiality of census data. This bill passed the House in September, but has not been acted upon by the Senate.

The House also approved legislation from our committee to provide additional free letter mail service and air transportation for mail for our servicemen in overseas assignments. This bill has not been considered by the Senate.

SALARY BOOST FOR PRESIDENT

At the beginning of the session, the committee and Congress were asked by the outgoing Chief Executive, President Johnson, to increase the salary of the Presidency effective with his successor's term.

To meet this request, expedited attention by the Congress was necessary, under the law, in order to complete action before Inauguration Day. The deadline was met through bipartisan cooperation of our committee and the House leadership.

President Johnson's modified recommendations for increases in congressional and executive salaries became effective early in the session. Our committee then acted to make appropriate increases in pay scales for the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, the Senate President pro tempore, and the majority and minority leaders of the House and the Senate. These were approved promptly by the House and later by the Senate.

FULL COMMITTEE ACTS ON REFORM

Because postal reform crosses the jurisdiction of several of our seven subcommittees, we decided to centralize related issues in the full committee hearings and executive sessions.

However, several of the subcommittees have had their own hearings and investigations on subjects within the reform bill—for example, labor relations, rates, and so forth—and this background is being utilized as we proceed to mark up the reform bill.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to highlight briefly the activities of our subcommittees, including those aforementioned matters which have proceeded through the full committee.

MANPOWER AND CIVIL SERVICE SUBCOMMITTEE

This subcommittee, chaired by our full committee vice chairman, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HENDERSON), has a broad investigative as well as legislative responsibility.

This is the subcommittee which rides herd on personnel policies of all departments and agencies of the Federal Government. When complaints and apparent inequities are brought to its attention, the subcommittee initiates inquiries and necessary followup as the cases require.

Staff investigations are made on the spot from time to time and reports made to the subcommittee.

One measure which originated in the

subcommittee and was approved by the Congress in the closing days of the session was H.R. 9233 which promotes efficient and effective use of the Civil Service Commission revolving fund.

Also approved in the closing days was a compromise on expansion of the Civil Service Commission pool of supergrade positions. The important factor here is to concentrate control and responsibility with the Commission, rather than earmarking positions for specific agencies.

Other issues before the subcommittee included Wage Board rates and leave for Federal employees in certain cases such as serving as witnesses at official proceedings.

POSTAL RATES SUBCOMMITTEE

Immediately after organization of the subcommittee, chaired by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. OLSEN), extensive hearings were held on the need for an improved cost ascertainment system for the Post Office Department.

After years of defense of its 1926 system, the Department finally backed off from its outmoded and anachronistic system. Later, the Department announced installation of a new cost accumulation data system on which the subcommittee is awaiting formal reports.

Extensive staff investigation was made on mail standardization. Unfortunately, the Department does not expect to have recommendations ready until early in the second session. Mechanization decisions only now are reaching the point where size minimums and maximums can be specified.

The subcommittee held hearings on free letter mail and air transportation mailing privileges for members of the Armed Forces serving abroad. The bill, H.R. 8434, was approved by the House and awaits Senate action.

The Department submitted a formal request for postal rate changes, and the subcommittee completed hearings on H.R. 10877. This matter is an integral ingredient of postal reform, but the subcommittee expects to schedule executive sessions early in the next session.

COMPENSATION SUBCOMMITTEE

Pay rates for classified and postal employees have been a most controversial issue. They combine the requests of the various employee groups—particularly the postal unions—plus the desires of the Congress and the administration to keep scales abreast of the cost of living, and the general effort to avoid actions which could add to the country's inflationary spiral.

The subcommittee, chaired by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. UDALL), recommended a comprehensive measure to the full committee, H.R. 13000, which was sent to the floor and passed by the House by the overwhelming vote of 311 yeas to 51 nays.

The Senate approved only a token version, which was unacceptable to our committee, and we formally asked the House to send the measure to conference. There will be no further action until the next session.

RETIREMENT, INSURANCE, AND HEALTH BENEFITS SUBCOMMITTEE

As aforementioned in the full committee report, the subcommittee, chaired

by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. DANIELS), pioneered vital legislation to restore the financial stability of the retirement system for Federal employees.

The legislation, now Public Law 91-93, is the most significant legislative effort in the system's 49-year history. It assures that the program will have the ability to fulfill its future obligations and contributes importantly toward the financial security of both the active and retired Federal work force.

Staff studies were focused on both the life insurance and health benefits programs. As for health benefits, the subcommittee is concerned about the relation to spiraling medical costs and expects to make this matter its initial legislative concern in the new session.

POSTAL OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

This subcommittee chaired by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. NIX), has done considerable spadework for the postal reform bill.

There were hearings on removal of postmaster appointments from politics, now a part of title II of H.R. 4.

There were hearings on labor-management relations, which is in a subsequent title of the postal reform bill.

Hearings were completed on antiobscenity legislation, and the subcommittee expects to mark up a bill early in the next session.

Hearings were also held on the widespread complaints about the mailing of unsolicited credit cards. Remedial legislation appears in order.

POSITION CLASSIFICATION SUBCOMMITTEE

The subcommittee, chaired by the gentleman from New York (Mr. HANLEY), picked up the previous year's intensive special study of job classification throughout the Federal service.

The long overdue study, initiated but not completed by the subcommittee in the 90th Congress, comprised the first major investigation of the administration of classification systems conducted by the Congress since passage of the original Classification Act in 1923. The last major change in the Classification Act was made in 1949, as a result of studies initiated by the executive branch.

As a result of the new study, the subcommittee published its "Report on Job Evaluation and Ranking in the Federal Government" which provided the basis for H.R. 13008. This bill, which is in final stages of subcommittee executive consideration, would establish broad guidelines for creation of a new classification system for the entire executive branch.

It would establish a special unit within the Civil Service Commission to develop details of the new plan to be presented in the form of proposed legislation within 2 years after enactment of H.R. 13008.

CENSUS AND STATISTICS SUBCOMMITTEE

As aforementioned in the full committee summary, considerable focus was placed on the controversy raging over the scope of the 1970 decennial population census. The subcommittee, chaired by the gentleman from California (Mr. WILSON), made extensive studies, including hearings both in Washington and in the field. The resulting bill, H.R. 12884,

was approved by the House, but awaits Senate action.

The subcommittee is considering renewed proposals for authorizing a mid-decade population census which would be limited in scope and would not be a basis for congressional reapportionment.

The subcommittee staff is now preparing the 1969 report of statistical activities of the Federal Government, which is expected to be completed in January.

Subcommittee members attended the International Statistical Institute in London and toured several European statistical centers. A full report was made on the subcommittee findings.

The logistics of a decennial population census were given special attention, including a tour of the facility which is assembling the 1970 census packets.

DAM THE RIVER

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, recently the well-known and respected editor of the Garden City Telegram, Mr. Bill Brown, wrote a succinct editorial that not only sums up a most pressing problem we have in southwest Kansas, but is illustrative of the kind of grassroots journalism we enjoy and depend on in the "Big First" District of Kansas.

Interested citizens of Garden City do not have to wade through detailed paragraphs of grey editorial matter to alert them to the needs and issues concerning their community. To borrow a well-used phrase, Bill Brown "tells it like it is." In this editorial, he has summed up the feelings of many citizens in southwest Kansas who have been waiting over 50 years for adequate flood protection.

The editorial follows:

DAM THE RIVER

Recently the Arkansas Basin Development Assn. met in Dodge City, and among other recommendations recommended that the U.S. Corps of Engineers include \$174,000 in its budget for "continued study of the development of the upper Arkansas River basin from Great Bend to John Martin Dam."

This was about the closest to any positive flood control measures in this area that the association got during its discussions.

I have the feeling that "study" has become a synonym for "delay." This river basin through western Kansas probably will be studied to death before any action is taken to prevent another 1965, or 1951.

Meanwhile, we sit out here and watch reservoir after reservoir, and dam after dam being built in the eastern part of the state. As one avid booster of the once-proposed Hartland Dam on the Arkansas near Lakin stated:

"Enough water has run into the Gulf of Mexico during the last 50 years to have watered Western Kansas for a good part of eternity."

It doesn't require a study to determine the need for flood-control measures along the Arkansas River west of here. The damage in Garden City and Dodge City alone, during the 1965 spillover, would pay for the Hartland Dam.

But if we eliminated the studies, some

bureaucrats would no longer have reason for existence in their jobs. There would be no reason to publish long reports or meaningless lists of statistics—such as how many acre feet of water passed Charleston in the Arkansas River channel during February of 1961.

Let's damn the studies, and dam the river.

THE SOUTHERN RAILWAY

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Southern Railway is playing a major role in the dynamic progress and development of the South.

Southern, under its great President W. Graham Claytor, is confident this progress will continue. We are proud of Southern and its able leadership.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues and the people of our country a splendid article which appeared in the Washington Post yesterday morning:

THE SOUTHERN RAILWAY

(By William H. Jones)

Dec. 25, 1830, was both Christmas and an historic day for railroading on the North American continent.

In Charleston, S.C., the South Carolina Canal & Railroad company inaugurated the first scheduled train service pulled by a steam locomotive on the continent. Moreover, the engine, dubbed the Best Friend of Charleston, was the first locomotive built in the United States for regular railroad service.

Recognizing the importance of the event, officials placed a U.S. Army gun on a flat car behind the engine, and the gun was fired in salute "at proper intervals," drowning out the cheers of the passengers.

The regular service started that day was also the beginning of the family tree of what today is regarded by shippers, passengers, competing railroad executives and investors alike as one of the most efficient railroads in the world—the Southern Railway System.

Armed with their proud history and surrounded by paintings of former presidents in the paneled halls and rooms of the railroad's headquarters here in the Southern building, at 15th and K Streets NW—the engineer-designer of the *Best Friend*, Horatio Allen, is the only non-chief executive officer honored with a gilt-framed painting—railroad officials have something of a problem explaining just why Southern this year is celebrating its 75th anniversary.

Legally, they explain, the present corporation dates to an act of the Virginia Assembly in 1894 authorizing purchasers of the Richmond and Danville Railroad to organize a new company, with the goal of consolidating an extensive system of small and longer lines put together in the years following the Civil War.

SUCCESSFUL, OPTIMISTIC

Southern was successful where other companies had failed. In the years since, Southern had never defaulted on a financial obligation, and it has grown to become the nation's seventh largest rail-oriented transportation company. In 1968, Southern had operating revenues of \$517.6 million and assets of \$1.4 billion.

Moreover, at a time when many captains of the American railroad industry are calling for crying towels—and in some cases practically throwing in the towel—Southern president W. Graham Claytor Jr., is optimistic both about his own system's future and railroads in general.

For the first nine months of this year, Southern net income was up 17 per cent to \$33.45 million (\$4.59 a share) from \$28.6 million (\$3.95 a share) in 1968. And, for the second December in a row, Southern declared an extra dividend of 20 cents a share this month, on top of the regular quarterly 70-cent dividend. The 1968 dividend was the first such extra payment since February, 1956. (Southern contrasts sharply with the Penn Central and Northwest Industries, holding company of the Chicago & North Western, both of which omitted dividends for the fourth quarter.)

SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENT

"All major roads in the South are doing well," Claytor noted in an interview here, and he sees nothing but growth in the next decade. A key to this growth is the general economic boom in the Southern states, in turn helped by the generally modern rail transportation network.

Paper manufacturing, textiles, furniture and iron and steel are cited as major growth industries in future years, and new plants are being developed adjacent to the rail lines of Southern, the Seaboard Coast Line, the Frisco and the Louisville and Nashville railroads.

Claytor insists, however, that future railroad success is not confined to the Southern and its main competitors. A few rail systems with major difficulties—particularly in the Northeast—have convinced many people (Claytor calls them "prophets of gloom") that the industry is in serious trouble. Claytor thinks the railroads' problems have been exaggerated as he made clear in a speech last month:

"In spite of our admitted problems," he told the Richmond Traffic Club, "in spite of strong competition from other modes, and in spite of all the pot shots being taken at us from various governmental and financial quarters, the railroads of this country are on the move, are working together as they never have before, to solve their common problems and not merely complain about them, and that as a result the railroads are going to be a greater not a lesser factor in transportation in the great decade of the 1970's."

Claytor also points out that 9 per cent of the nation's Gross National Product is now represented by the cost of moving freight and says the rail share should increase. Analysts predict that in 1969 the railways held their own at 43 to 44 per cent of the nation's transportation dollar, down from 65 per cent in 1947 but up slightly from the modern-day low of 42.5 per cent in 1967.

At the same time, the railroads are near the bottom of industrial profitability scales. In 1969, experts believe the U.S. rails' rate of return—the ratio of net income to the investments in property used in transportation services—will fall below 2.5 per cent.

A major exception is the Southern, with a rate of return more than twice the national average. In 1968, when the national average was 2.6 per cent, Southern's was 5.6 per cent, and it may be slightly higher this year.

Such figures are not very satisfactory, Claytor noted, when compared to other regulated industries. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., with a virtual monopoly situation in telephone service, was recently permitted by the Federal Communications Commission to exceed the agency's limit of a 7.5 per cent rate of return.

RAILS OVERREGULATED

"But the railroads are in the sad position of having prices controlled by competitors (trucking, barges) and fixed by regulators," Claytor said. "We are substantially overregulated," he continued.

The only way to solve the problem, according to the Southern executive, is to change "ridiculous" national policy prohibiting establishment of transportation companies that could offer varied services.

"Largely as the result of historical accident," he said in the Richmond speech, "present law forbids common ownership of railroads and any other mode of transportation. This in turn builds in unnecessary inefficiency and needless costs for all modes. Railroads are performing transportation services today," Claytor said more recently. "People want a service—transportation—and they don't care how you do it."

"It doesn't make economic sense that could more cheaply and efficiently be performed by trucks, and vice versa . . ."

As a first step, he advocates permission for mergers among all surface transportation industries regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission—trucking, buses, railroads and barge shipping. Later policy changes could permit entry into air transportation and ocean shipping, he said.

"If a transportation company could sell just that—transportation—and then perform it by whatever mode or combination of modes produced the required service at the cheapest cost, everyone would be ahead," Claytor stated. "Competition would remain, but it would be more effective competition between true transportation companies."

On other subjects in the interview, Claytor had these comments:

Rail passenger service is necessary in high density corridors and must be maintained. Elsewhere, unprofitable trains should either be discontinued or subsidized at a "fair" compensation.

The Southern has made "great strides" in racial integration, and is engaged in local programs to train hard-core unemployed.

The railroad safety measure passed by the Senate late Friday night is "perfectly terrible," because it doesn't provide uniform national controls but instead permits the states to set stiffer regulation and to enforce the federal standards.

Economic activity should level off for the first half of 1970 but increase in the last six months, with business on the whole "about the same" as 1969, and with the rate of growth in Southern's freight traffic slowed somewhat.

Railroads have to spend enormous amounts of capital, despite record interest rates, "just to stay even, and I don't propose to fall behind."

The president of the Southern Railway System is a railroad buff and model railroader who made it to the board room by way of a prestigious Washington law firm.

W. Graham Claytor Jr. is best known in Georgetown for the large-scale model railroad (40 feet of track) in his backyard at 2912 N St., N.W. His office, in the Southern Building is filled with models and drawings and he eagerly joins steam passenger expeditions. Claytor helped clear the tracks in the U.S. for the Flying Scotsman-British trade train.

He is a native of Roanoke, a graduate of the University of Virginia and Harvard Law School (where he was president of the Harvard Law Review in 1935-36). He served as law clerk to Judge Learned Hand and Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, and in 1938 joined one of the capital's leading firms, Covington & Burling.

In the Navy during World War II he served as commanding officer of a submarine chaser and two destroyer escorts and achieved the rank of lieutenant commander prior to his departure from active duty in 1946.

He became interested in Southern during the railroad's battle to achieve lower rates for its pioneering "Big John" hopper cars in 1962 and joined Southern as its vice president for law the next year. A short time later—Oct. 1, 1967—he was the new president.

He married the former Frances Hammond in 1948 and has two children—a daughter, Murray, and son, Graham III.

SOUTHERN A PIONEER

Southern and its predecessors have been pioneers since the early days of American railroading. Among more recent innovations of the 10,400-mile Southern system:

It bought the first rail-freight diesel locomotive built in the U.S.

It was the first U.S. line 100 per cent dieselized.

It first applied the shuttle-train concept to coal.

It was the first American industry of any type to utilize a large-scale data processing computer. Southern spent \$10 million in 1969 on new third generation computers for its Atlanta communications and traffic center.

Southern has invested \$156 million, or \$1.5 million a week, over the past two years in new equipment, bringing its fleet to nearly 72,000 freight units.

BIG TRUCK BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the News American, in the State of Maryland. The editorial follows:

THE HIGHWAY MONSTERS

Few things on the nation's open highways are as terrifying as those huge trucks which come barreling at you like trackless runaway locomotives, thundering like the hammers of hell and spewing diesel fumes from smokestacks which belong in the same place. As they miraculously pass you at an apparent 3,000 miles per hour, you and your car are rocked by wind blasts which are literally physical blows.

Pretty rough and pretty dangerous, right? Wrong, according to the American Trucking Associations, Inc., whose 17,000 member companies again are seeking federal permission to make their monsters bigger and more intimidating than ever. The only really important consideration, according to the ATA, is that broader and longer and taller trailer trucks would permit more economic hauling of freight and thus help the national economy.

At the behest of the powerful ATA lobby in Washington, legislation to this end has been introduced in Congress—for the second year in a row. Now awaiting early action by a House public works subcommittee, the bill would authorize jumbo trucks up to 70 feet long, extend their permissible breadth from 85 to 102 inches, and allow their maximum weight to jump from the present 73,280 pounds to 108,500 pounds.

That latter limit, if permitted would mean that private drivers would be challenged for road space by speeding behemoths weighing an incredible 54-plus tons. The same private drivers, as taxpayers, would have to pay the bills for inevitably increased road repair costs; as motorists, their safety obviously would be even more in jeopardy than at present.

Opponents of the pending bill, including the American Automobile Association, succeeded in killing the measure last year. We join them in urging that the bill be shelved once again—and kept in the pigeonhole indefinitely. Those tremendous rigs now thundering over our interstate highway system already are far too big, far too dangerous and far too harrowing to the millions and millions of America's ordinary drivers.

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I insert the following three items at this point in the RECORD:

First. A letter addressed to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon.

Second. A letter to Dr. Charles Moser, chairman of the Freedom Rally Committee.

Third. A letter to the editor mailed to the Alexandria Gazette and other Washington metropolitan newspapers.

All these items were written by Mr. Volodymyr W. Mayewsky, chairman of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., who made them available to me to let me know, as I should like our colleagues to know, that his members support policies of our President in Vietnam; participated in the Freedom Rally at the Washington Monument on Veterans' Day, and totally disagree with the defeatist, war-providing objectives of the moratorium.

The letters follow:

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC.,

Washington, D.C., November 15, 1969.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,

President of the United States of America, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Members of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., Washington, D.C., Branch 17, fully support and respect your present policies in Vietnam.

In your address on Vietnam you correctly stated the importance of your obligation and the effect of your decision on the next generation and the future of peace and freedom in America and the world. We firmly believe in your effort to win America's peace.

Your keen awareness of your obligation to all American people, not merely a small vocal minority, is very heartening to the silent majority and their trust in the constitutional democracy of the United States of America.

Sincerely,

VOLODYMYR Y. MAYEWSKY,

Chairman.

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC.,

Washington, D.C., November 9, 1969.

Dr. CHARLES MOSER,

Chairman, Freedom Rally Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOSER: Members of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. support and proudly join other patriotic Americans in the Freedom Rally at the Washington Monument on Veterans' Day, November 11, 1969.

In joining the Freedom Rally, we re-affirm our faith in America; we express our pride to be Americans of Ukrainian descent; and we show that we are proud of our Ukrainian and American heritage.

By participating in the Freedom Rally we demonstrate both our support and respect for the President of the United States and his policy decisions.

We express our support for the principle of due process under law; peace with freedom and justice for all; and manifest our solidarity with the whole of the country during "the Week of National Unity".

It is because of the historic experience of Ukrainians with Russian Communist totalitarian persecution, cultural and physical genocide, and abridgement of human rights that the Ukrainian-Americans strongly uphold and support constitutional democracy in the United States of America.

Sincerely yours,

VOLODYMYR Y. MAYEWSKY,

Chairman.

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC.,

Washington, D.C., November 11, 1969.

Mrs. SARAH CARLIN,

Editor, The Alexandria Gazette, Alexandria, Va.

DEAR MRS. CARLIN: History has come round a complete cycle, and the "chickens" have come home to roost. The supreme irony and moral atrocity of communists, their sympathizers, and their dupes openly holding a rally in a city dedicated to one of the greatest architects of human freedom can be appropriately compared with a Church of Satan in Augustine's "City of God". A corollary to this irony is the particular form this protest is taking . . . imperialism in its grossest sense (Russian and Chinese) has been able to mobilize considerable public opinion in protest of alleged "American imperialism".

At the same time that America has been sacrificing billions of dollars and precious blood in a valorous effort to stem the tide of communist imperial aggression in South East Asia, and preserve some hope of a better future for the people of Viet Nam, Russia has been forging heavier shackles for the citizens of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. Every day brings us fresh evidence of Russian imperio-colonial policies toward the republics of the USSR: imprisonment of hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals for suggesting rights of self-determination for the enslaved people; forced resettlement of the citizens of the Baltic Republics in furtherance of Russian colonial ventures on the Chinese border; the denial of religious rights for Soviet Jews.

Surely the great American Silent Majority has not grown so complacent and apathetic as to permit the "Big Lie" of the radical left to shape our foreign policy. To withdraw from Viet Nam under pressure of communist arms will be interpreted as nothing less than capitulation. And if the N.L.F. succeeds in bringing America to her knees, will we be able to maintain the network of credibility and commitment that has kept a precarious peace in the world?

Those, like myself, who have lived under communist tyranny fully support the "Freedom Rally" in Washington of November 11, and condemn, in totality, the defeatist, war-provoking objectives of the Moratorium.

Cordially yours,

VOLODYMYR Y. MAYEWSKY,

Chairman.

IT IS TIME TO BLOW THE WHISTLE ON DDT

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, Americans are becoming increasingly aware of the potential hazards of the use of the

chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides. They know that the residues of these persistent poisons endanger wildlife—and possibly man.

In recognition of this fact, the Federal Government recently took action to forbid nearly all use of DDT in this country by 1971.

Prior to this action, it occurred to me that many home gardeners were using chlorinated hydrocarbons not because they particularly wanted to, but because they knew of no alternative nonpersistent poisons.

Early last month, I wrote a letter to the Department of Agriculture. My letter contained two specific recommendations:

First, that the Department stop recommending the use of DDT and other persistent pesticides in the agriculture information bulletins which it makes available for purchase by home gardeners.

Second, that the Department publish a bulletin devoted to informing home gardeners of alternative nonpersistent poisons that could be used in place of the chlorinated hydrocarbons.

Last week, I received a reply from the Department of Agriculture. Most of the five paragraphs were concerned with what the Department has done to halt the use of DDT—a laudable action.

Only one short paragraph really addressed itself to the essence of my letter. Said the USDA:

Our information bulletins are routinely updated, and future issues will recommend non-persistent pesticides when they are available.

I had, of course, hoped for a response appropriate to the urgency I feel about this issue. If there are alternatives available, we should be encouraging their use now, not waiting for the routine updating of a USDA bulletin.

About the time I dispatched my initial letter to the USDA, I happened across an article in *Sunset* magazine. This magazine, not widely known east of the Rockies, is the Bible of Pacific coast gardeners.

The article, appearing in the August 1969 issue of *Sunset* was entitled "It's Time To Blow the Whistle on DDT."

Sunset had conducted a survey and, not surprisingly, found widespread use of DDT and its chlorinated hydrocarbon cousins in pesticides commonly used by home gardeners.

Acknowledging that there was a difference of opinion over whether DDT was dangerous, *Sunset* came down on the side of the biologists who say it is killing bird-life. It said:

Sunset believes that we cannot afford to debate this question while using DDT any longer. The evidence against DDT as the cause of bird failure is such that we must agree with the biologists.

It added:

Other chemicals on the store shelves will do the same jobs as DDT.

Therefore, we urge our readers to cease buying DDT right now.

We also urge *Sunset* readers to cease buying most of DDT's close relatives.

The article cited four other chlorinated hydrocarbons: Aldrin, Dieldrin, Endrin, and Heptachlor. *Sunset* also announced that henceforth it would reject advertis-

ing for products containing these five chlorinated hydrocarbons, stop recommending them in *Sunset*'s many garden books, and stop using them in its test gardens.

Accompanying the article was a chart of acceptable insecticide ingredients and the insects which they destroy.

I will include the article "It Is Time To Blow the Whistle on DDT" and its accompanying chart in the *RECORD*.

I hope that the Department of Agriculture will follow *Sunset*'s lead, and publish an information bulletin on alternatives to chlorinated hydrocarbons which will be available to those of us who live east of the Rockies and do not have easy access to *Sunset* magazine.

The material follows:

IT'S TIME TO BLOW THE WHISTLE ON DDT

Here is why. And here is what to use instead of DDT and several related chlorinated hydrocarbons:

The DDT furor prompted us to make a *Sunset* survey early this summer. We tallied active ingredients in insect poisons sold for home gardens in the West.

The most frequently packaged ingredient turned out to be pyrethrum (or pyrethrins). An organic poison taken from flowers of a chrysanthemum, it has been widely used for generations. Aside from causing a skin allergy to a few people, it has never backfired upon or surprised mankind. We found it in 36 products.

The second most-packaged ingredient was DDT, active ingredient in 35 products.

You've probably read and heard a great deal about widely used DDT lately. These are the basic points:

DDT became a chemical hero of the mid-twentieth century when it combated malaria carrying mosquitoes and typhus-carrying lice.

DDT also became a hero to Western gardeners. It is safer for the user than many old and new insecticides because there is no danger of directly poisoning yourself with it. It is especially useful on insects where its lie-in-wait persistence counts.

But we also know now that good old persistent DDT has, in the 27 years since its introduction, spread around our earth—being found now in infinitesimal-to-significant quantities in soil, water, air, and organisms almost everywhere.

It has been discovered that many forms of wildlife—brown pelicans, peregrine falcons, and bald eagles, to name a few—(1) have large quantities of DDT in their systems and in their eggs, and (2) are, in some areas, no longer capable of reproducing. Biologists are convinced that fact 1 plus fact 2 is enough to indict DDT.

On the other hand, some manufacturers and packagers of DDT and related chemicals, and some scientists and government workers claim that the evidence is inconclusive, that other persistent chemicals could have caused the damage, and that the biologists are merely making allegations instead of supplying proof.

DDT is known to be accumulating in man's tissues, too, but there is no proof (yet) that this accumulation is doing biological damage.

How does it all add up?

Is it DDT in the birds and their eggs that causes the eggs or the embryos to fail—or could it be other chemicals or some unknown manifestation of civilization?

Sunset believes that we cannot afford to debate this question while using DDT any longer. The evidence against DDT as the cause of bird failure is such that we must agree with the biologists.

Other chemicals on the store shelves will do the same garden jobs as DDT.

Therefore, we urge our readers to cease buying DDT right now.

We also urge *Sunset* readers to cease buying most of DDT's close relatives.

DDT and 11 other garden insecticide ingredients are chlorinated hydrocarbons.

All share in varying degrees the troublesome characteristic that scientists call *non-degradability*. Many kinds of insecticide break down or change into harmless substances within hours or days after application. The chlorinated hydrocarbons—with the possible exception of methoxychlor—break down slowly, frequently into chemicals of equal hazard. They retain their chemical potency, wherever nature may take them, for years.

We have put together a dossier on the chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticide ingredients sold to Western gardeners. Wherever we found in scientific literature a documented statement that some chemical had polluted an environment, had been found in non-target organisms, or had caused biological damage to a non-target organism, we noted it on that chemical's dossier card.

All the dozen chlorinated hydrocarbons except methoxychlor have marks against them. They vary in the number of bad marks, and their records relate rather directly to how much they've been used.

Five chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticide ingredients are as bad or almost as bad as DDT in the degree to which they have spread about the world and to which they are suspected of causing death and failure of wildlife. They are: Aldrin (in 1 product); DDD (in 2 products); Dieldrin (in 10 products); Endrin (in 1 product); Heptachlor (in 3 products).

You should stop using these for anything except under-the-house termite control (the chemicals are likely to stay put there). *Sunset* will no longer recommend garden use of DDT or any of these five; will no longer accept advertising for products containing them; will remove them from future printings of its garden books; and has stopped using them in its demonstration and test gardens.

Three other chlorinated hydrocarbons should be put into the category of "use only when absolutely necessary—use a substitute if possible." Evidence of their damage to wildlife is not as complete as for the six already named, and two of them have uses for which they are unsurpassed. They are: Chlordane (in 27 products); Lindane (in 28 products); Toxaphene (in 14 products).

Two more appear in our records to be safe enough, perhaps because they are not used as extensively as the others: Kelthane (in 13 products, Tediion (in 3 products).

The 12th chlorinated hydrocarbon has no marks against it at all—for polluting, killing wildlife, or being banned anywhere: Methoxychlor (in 11 products).

What should you do with your present supplies of bottles, cans, and boxes of chlorinated hydrocarbons?

The things you should *not* do are obvious and numerous. Do not put containers in the garbage, turn them in to public agencies that aren't ready to handle them, dump undiluted contents out on the ground or pour down the drain. By all of those means the contents could simply add to existing pollution.

Attempts to isolate the materials from the world's vapors and juices by burying the containers, putting them in a box under the house, or by any similar method might be wise for the time but would leave to chance the ultimate release of all the concentrated contents.

Government collection has been proposed but not implemented as yet.

Until a better plan is developed and announced, the best available method is one that may seem strange:

Leave the material on your shelf and use it if there's need for it—at label-recommended dilutions. Then, throw the dry, empty container away.

Regular garden usage puts these chemicals where their slow breakdown becomes has-

tened—as caused by light, soil adsorption, microbial activity, and other factors. True, your routine spraying of the remainders will contribute one more iota to worldwide pollution, but it will also bring about the fastest kind of chemical deterioration that's at your disposal.

The chart below shows how you can control the common garden pests without using the most condemned chlorinated hydrocarbons. Insecticides recommended are listed under "active ingredients" on the labels, often in very small type. You have to be willing to squint a little.

Most of these recommended insecticides, being degradable, have a short effective period and must be applied more frequently than DDT and its relatives.

Insecticides on this list have their own built-in hazards. Read labels carefully. Use home and garden formulations only.

SUNSET'S 1969 CHART OF ACCEPTABLE INSECTICIDE INGREDIENTS

Pests	Nicotine sulfate ¹	Pyrethrum	Rotenone (cube)	Di-syston granules ¹	Meta-systox-R ¹	Cygon (dimethoate)	Savin (carbaryl)	Malathion	Guthion ¹	Dibrom	DDVP (dichlorvos) ¹	Diazinon ¹	Mataldehyde	Petroleum oils ²	Sodium fluosulfate	Ethylene dichloride	Dichloroethyl ether	Methoxychlor	Kelthane	Tedion (tetradifon)	Lindane	Chlordane	
Leaf chewers:																							
Beetles.....			X				X	X			X							X					
Weevils.....			X				X	X			X							X					
Caterpillars.....		X	X				X	X	X	X	X							X					
Earwigs.....							X	X	X	X	X				X			X					
Grasshoppers.....							X	X	X	X	X							X					
Oak moths.....							X	X	X	X	X							X					
Snails and slugs:													X										
Sucking insects:																							
Aphids.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Leafhoppers.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Mealybugs.....	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Scale.....	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Spider mites.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X	X			
Spittlebugs.....	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Thrips.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X					
Whiteflies.....	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Soil pests:																							
Cutworms.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Grubs.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Lawn moths.....		X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Soil mealybugs.....					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Symphylids.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Wireworms.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Burrowers:																							
Codling moths.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X				
Leaf miners.....			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Corn earworms.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Borers.....							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Nuisance insects:																							
Ants.....								X	X	X	X	X	X										X
Houseflies.....		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Mosquitoes.....		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Termites.....																							X
Yellow Jackets.....																							X

¹ These are highly toxic. Use extreme care.

² Can be used alone or combined with nicotine sulfate, pyrethrum, rotenone, malathion, or diazinon.

JIM DUFF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great sense of loss that I advise the Members of the House of the passing of former Pennsylvania attorney general, Governor, and U.S. Senator James H. Duff. We in Pennsylvania all knew Jim Duff as just plain "Jim" or "Big Red." He was a congenial friend and of determined progressive spirit, and he did much for Pennsylvania and the Nation. His fine wife, Jean, a member of an old Pennsylvania family, added much to Jim's ability to accomplish, as her loyal assistance was always helpful as we, her friends, can attest.

Jim Duff was born in Mansfield, Pa.—a borough which later changed its name to Carnegie. He attended the University of Pennsylvania Law School and transferred to the University of Pittsburgh Law School from which he was graduated in 1907. He became active in Allegheny County Republican activities and in 1943 was chosen by Gov. Edward Martin to be attorney general of Pennsylvania. In 1946 Jim Duff was elected Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and is remembered especially for

his work in conservation and clean water programs. In 1951 Jim came to the U.S. Senate where he served with distinction.

We in Pennsylvania will remember Jim Duff with affection, and my sincere sympathy goes to his wife, Jean, and his family.

A CHRISTIAN CREDO: IN THE WORDS OF RICHARD M. NIXON

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the December 21, 1969, issue of the Sunday Star. This is an article, based entirely on President Nixon's own speeches and writings, compiled by Roland Gammon. I believe you will find it significant for this period. It follows:

A CHRISTIAN CREDO: IN THE WORDS OF RICHARD M. NIXON
(By Richard M. Nixon)

More than a hundred years ago our greatest American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, wrote:

"I say the real and permanent grandeur of these United States must be their religion.

Otherwise there is no real and permanent grandeur."

As a life-long Quaker and church-going Christian, I deeply believe those Emersonian sentiments are truer today than in his own time. The principal challenge for us all is: Have we the moral drive and the spiritual resources to take charge of our destiny once again to regain the momentum and the international leadership that was ours after our victories in World War I? I believe we have.

Both as a believing Quaker and as America's 37th President, I am determined to prove that we have such God-given resources as individuals and as a people. My Quaker upbringing and my religious experience in the Society of Friends strengthen me today as they have in the past. My Christian creed includes the noble insight of Quaker founder George Fox: "There is that of God in every man," and therefore every man the world around—regardless of his race or religion or color or culture—merits my respect.

The gradual abolition of slavery in the English-speaking world and the global spread of the peace movement have been concrete results of Quaker preaching and practice, and I am pledged to pursue these perfect ends with all my might. Above all, in my personal prayer life as in my public day, I believe in God's "inner light" (as we Quakers call it), and today as President of the United States I pray for the divine guidance in my every decision, word and daily need.

For we Americans are embarked upon a great adventure, a demanding voyage from which there can be no turning back. For

better or worse, the future of mankind depends on how we as a nation manage the trusteeship of power which has been placed in our hands. From the beginning, implicit in the whole American adventure has been the sense that we were building a nation, not for ourselves alone, but as a beacon to mankind, a land that held the hope and promise of the rainbow.

More than ever before the nations of the free world need such a beacon and such a hope. But they no longer look to the United States as the unquestioned champion of freedom and progress. The American right to leadership is in question and this is a challenge we must meet.

To meet it we must take new courage; courage to grow, courage to change, courage to lead once again. There are hazards in such a course and there are hardships. But we must embrace them. For a nation's energies do not thrive in a vacuum. Nations and individuals need challenge; they need to have their strength tested in order to discover their reach and staying power.

The world is undergoing a storm of change that affects all peoples and all societies and we in this country are in the eye of this social hurricane. How we direct our lives and our national fortunes to the months and years just ahead will determine our country's future for the rest of this century.

We have the manpower and the material resources to enter now on the greatest period of growth any nation has even known. The question is whether we have the will and the moral drive to take charge of our destiny once again. We have lost some of our vigor and some of our confidence. Only if these are restored can we meet our moment in history; only true religion can help each one of us restore them.

For generations, America was a new nation in an old world. Suddenly we have become an old nation in a new world. We are a battle-scarred veteran, and the young countries are looking us over. They want to know if we still have those qualities that have made us great. I say we have, and this is the time to prove it. This is a testing time for Americans.

We face enormous tasks, both at home and abroad. In a sense, these are extensions of one another. Abroad, we must bring peace to a warring world, at home, we must bring peace to a warring society. Abroad, we must bridge the gulfs between the have and have-not nations; at home, we must bridge the gulfs between the have and have-not parts of our own population. Both at home and abroad we must break down the racial barriers that set man against man. These challenges, foreign and domestic, must be met at the same time. For unless we win peace abroad, whatever progress we make at home could go up in the smoke of a disaster enveloping the entire planet. Unless we win peace at home, we will lose the respect of the world and our rightful place in it.

Our message to the people of the world is and must be one of hope and assurance. We must declare that there is a way to cast off the shackles that have crippled mankind; we must insist that the conditions of life in most of the world today can be changed. And we must carry this message even more with deeds than with words.

Our government represents the people of the United States, but it must also speak to the people of the world—just as our whole society must. But unless we can speak confidently and proudly, unless we can speak from a platform of social order and social progress at home, we cannot expect our words to get a hearing abroad.

There are great tasks ahead—and great goals to reach. Fortunately, we have the tools to work with. Man's resource of will is the greatest natural resource the world possesses.

No energy source tapped by science will ever be a substitute for human will power. When driven by a sense of necessity, a sense of survival, men and nations can perform monumental tasks, and they can overcome seemingly impossible obstacles.

If America is to be true to its destiny, true to its future, true to its promise, we must restore the sense of a driving dream. The American dream has been one of extraordinary power—precisely because it is rooted in the innermost strivings of man's spirit. It was Ralph Waldo Emerson who said, "I sing the infinitude of the private man. To release these energies and develop these infinite potentials is the continuing challenge of America."

Without God's help, we will surely fail; but with God's help, we shall surely succeed. To all people everywhere, the long dark night for America is about to end. The time has come for us to leave the valley of despair and climb the mountain so that we may see the glory of the dawn—a new day for America, and a new dawn for peace and freedom in the world.

FIRST SESSION, 91ST CONGRESS FORWARD LOOKING

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 91st Congress ranks as one of the most unique and productive legislative sessions in the history of the Congress. An incoming President faced a Congress controlled by the other party. Only three other Presidents since the Civil War have been elected with the opposition party in control of the House of Representatives. More importantly, the resulting creative tension between the White House and the Congress led to congressional initiation and reform in the absence of Presidential leadership in several crucial public policy areas.

At a time when the American people have been seeking determined leadership to help resolve domestic tensions and international quandaries the Congress acted decisively on tax reform, education, pollution control, social security, and electoral reform. Congressional innovation in these important areas led the *Los Angeles Times* to editorialize:

There is more genuine wave-making, precedent-shattering, forward-looking law-making going on than any time in recent legislative history with the possible exception of the 89th Congress.

The *Wall Street Journal* echoed these sentiments.

Whatever delay occurred in the legislative pace may be explained largely by the fact that President Nixon did not submit his budget to the Congress until April, almost 3 months after the Congress convened, that the President did not send up the bulk of his legislative proposals to the Congress until well after the session began, and that the Congress did not rush pell-mell into enacting the \$69 billion Defense budget before cutting \$5.6 billion from the bill, the largest single budget item in national spending. In retrospect, the first session of the 91st

Congress signaled the breakthrough for far-reaching reforms in important policy areas as a result of congressional initiative.

Tax reform by far must rate as the greatest legislative victory for the American people. Seizing the initiative in January the House of Representatives led the way to substantial tax breaks for the average taxpayer who has borne far too much of the load. When 21 millionaires and another 134 extremely wealthy individuals with incomes exceeding \$200,000 paid no income taxes whatsoever in 1967, the notion of a taxpayer's revolt cannot be viewed an idle threat, and congressional leadership paved the way for enactment of the largest tax-reform measure ever passed. The reform bill increases the personal exemption, provides tax relief for single individuals and lowers tax rates for low- and middle-income taxpayers.

An additional \$1 billion was voted to fund otherwise crippled or depleted education programs crucial to the operation of the American educational system. Despite administration opposition to providing these funds, the Congress felt a moral obligation for providing our schools the wherewithal to operate essential education programs. Without these increased funds, schools face curtailing operations or asking for increases in local taxes to fund them. Congress provided these funds and at the same time made reductions elsewhere to keep appropriations below the President's budget.

Social security benefits were hiked by 15 percent effective January 1 as a result of congressional initiative. Instead of accepting the President's recommendation of only a 10-percent increase effective mid-1970, the Congress noting the 9.1 percent increase in the cost of living since the last benefit hike voted overwhelmingly to help individuals living on fixed incomes. The 15-percent increase contained in legislation I co-sponsored is being financed through existing surplus in the social security trust fund, with no increase in social security taxes or the tax base. I look forward to the Congress enacting into law next session a broad social security reform bill.

Pollution control received a big boost as a result of congressional determination. Overcoming the administration recommendation of only \$214 million for clean water, the Congress voted \$800 million to close the funding gap between the cited need and the actual amount available for continuing the national effort to protect our water. A number of communities in the 24th District are either awaiting construction grants from the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration or are expected to submit applications shortly.

Other important congressional actions included implementation of the draft lottery system, enactment of job, railroad, and mine safety legislation, approval of housing legislation aimed at providing more low-income and mobile housing opportunities, increased veterans educational benefits, improvement of the stu-

dent loan program, and House passage of drug abuse educational assistance legislation and House approval of a resolution providing for direct election of the President, both of which I cosponsored.

Congress appropriated over \$13 million for area flood control and navigation projects. Eleven million was allocated for the mammoth Kaskaskia River navigation project, \$229,000 for the multi-million-dollar Madison-St. Clair County interior flood control project, \$500,000 to start planning on new navigation locks for Alton Lock 26, \$1.5 million for maintenance of the Mississippi River Channel, \$31,000 for completion of planning of the Wood River interior flood control project and \$10,000 to study the Silver Creek reservoir proposal.

Unfinished business remains. Vietnam still faces us. Certainly a national tragedy in terms of lives lost and dollars spent, Vietnam has pushed back the efforts to work on the national agenda of unfinished tasks. With disillusionment over Vietnam, the American people are demanding a reordering of national priorities. High on the list is further efforts to protect the environment. Air and water pollution and inundation from solid waste disposal are problems growing ever larger and unless an unswerving commitment is made to effectively control and reduce their impact we surely face the frightening prospect of being the effluent society.

Vietnam has also disrupted the American economy. The cost of living has soared. Home interest rates are at a 100-year high, the cost of essential foods has skyrocketed by 13 percent since January and medical costs have risen by over 8 percent since then. The Government has a moral obligation to the American people to halt this inflation, but not through cutbacks in education, environmental protection, medical research, and other socially important programs.

Vietnam has brought about demands for draft reform. I am hopeful the House Armed Services Committee will hold hearings next session on broad-scale reform. The registrant's right to legal counsel during classification procedures and uniform national standards for local boards are two points which should be considered.

The lack of a national urban policy continues to take its toll. The urban condition looms ever larger and the present piecemeal approach toward urban education, crime, transportation, housing, welfare, employment, pollution, economic development, and planning encourages sprawl and the disturbing prospects of a widespread urban wasteland. First of all there must be a national commitment toward doing something about the problems of urban America whose roots are in the rural environs. In other words, rural America must be helped. Second, that commitment must reflect a recognition that the problems are interrelated and that systematic, coordinated efforts at all levels of government in concert with the private sector must be undertaken. If we do not make this commitment and implement a national urban policy the 1970's will not be the

promised decade as so many Americans hope.

Foreign policy and national security issues aside from Vietnam still confront us. Peace in the Middle East, the development of sound relations with Latin America and Africa, a solution to the whole question of the Far East, and the role of Red China, the Atlantic Community, United States-Soviet relations and arms control and disarmament are policy issues that will carry well into the 1970's and will shape the landscape of the world community for generations to come.

In sum, the 1970's can promise hope and peace. But it is up to us to take the first step toward those goals. The Congress, the most representative legislative body in the world, reflects the American people's concern for achieving these objectives and the first session may well be the start of a long journey toward realizing them.

A TRIBUTE TO SESAME STREET

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a column by Jack Gould, television critic of the New York Times paying tribute to the new Sesame Street television program for preschool children. The article which also appeared in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle follows:

THEY JUNKED THE NORM FOR A PIONEERING COURSE

(By Jack Gould)

NEW YORK.—The new program called "Sesame Street" understandably and deservedly has prompted cheers from the parents of preschool children. With high professional skill in using the techniques of television to woo youngsters into an awareness of the alphabet, numbers, healthy social relationships, lessons in logic and thoughtful behavior, the Children's Television Workshop has embarked on a six-month experiment that quite conceivably could have a larger influence on the home screen.

With the initial support of Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, the lively and attractive Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, executive director of the workshop, quietly junked all the accepted norms of video and embarked on a pioneering course.

Now financed to the tune of \$8 million over two years, with \$1 million sensibly set aside to evaluate the end results, the workshop set out to discover what was a public TV need from the social and educational standpoint, rather than surrender to the typed TV that just drifts along with the mob in hopes of garnering high ratings and income.

"Sesame Street," daily at 4 p.m. on Channel 9, KQED, has the inherent excitement of a bold and constructive venture aimed at ascertaining some facts about the wants and interests of preschoolers, but it is with a feeling of helplessness that an adult tries to assess the potential impact of the children's television workshop. When dealing with 12 million prekindergarten youngsters, generalizations simply don't work.

The children of highly educated and affluent parents may have quite a different reaction from under-privileged youngsters whose mothers and fathers may have difficulty in reading. And each child, thank heaven, is a precious individual whose tastes and preferences may vary from those of his peers.

When the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, N.J. completes its analysis in the months to come, "Sesame Street" may prove to be far more than an unusual television program. On a large scale, the country's reward may be a social document of infinite value in education. Were the goals of "Sesame Street" to be duplicated on a classroom basis the cost would run upward of \$3 billion, the project would take years and there would never be enough trained teachers.

What Mrs. Cooney has done is take the mobile appeal of television and adapt it to techniques that have been used for generations in books for preschoolers. And, since a whole generation of viewers has grown up on commercials, she is using what are, in effect, spot announcements to "sell" numbers, letters of the alphabet and civilized deportment in much the same manner as advertisers employ the element of repetition to drive home their sales messages.

Interlarded with these segments are short film sequences illustrating the beginning of all kinds of life, from a wobbly calf to a new baby; how milk reaches the supermarket; the difference between big, bigger and biggest; the distinction of going around, through, under or over an object, and catchy tunes of pertinency.

The program is rather clearly intended for the under-privileged child whose family cannot afford private nurseries, though it is also being shown in publicly operated daycare centers. The use of a cast of blacks and whites is one of its most attractive features. Children are the true mobility of interracial tolerance: theirs is the rapport of honest individualism—and "Sesame Street" will warm the hearts of all those who believe such an accord should be started at the earliest moment.

Whatever the long-range ramifications of "Sesame Street"—and its usefulness will be seriously impaired if kindergartens and early grade schools do not follow through on its lead—Mrs. Cooney and her associates, along with the funding organizations (the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation and the United States Office of Education) may yet do commercial broadcasting a formidable favor.

It is disgraceful that the commercial networks have callously neglected the wants of the young, that their standards have been dictated by what would attract advertising support, and that no top policy-making executive is expressly charged with the design of programs for the young. And what goes for young people is also applicable to adults.

The tedious cliché of "giving the people what they want" is ill-suited to the 1970s. The amorphous public does not and cannot initiate; it can only respond. It is to the dedicated craftsman that the public looks for fresh ideas, innovations and awareness of unfulfilled pleasures. To suggest that leadership belongs to the populace is folly; leadership belongs to those eager for and trained in its attainment. John Doe is not a playwright, a producer, an actor or a visionary impresario; he wants to be shown what he may have missed, not be asked what is missing. In politics, perhaps, one can poll voters on what they want; in theater, you don't make a survey in advance of the season.

The term "mass medium" is a misnomer. Any mass is composed of infinitely diverse groups a pool of different interests, and it is only to the broadcaster that one can look for recognition of its complex composition. Try-

ing to please 20 million persons all the time is ludicrous.

"Sesame Street" happens to be directed at pre-schoolers and they deserve every hour that comes their way. But what is true of them is also true of another group where substantive entertainment is concerned, post-schoolers.

TRADE WITH RED CHINA AND A
CHRISTIAN CREDO

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement that the President and his State Department unilaterally sanctioned trade with Communist China can only be interpreted as a national "trade with the enemy" foreign policy.

Grain and goods, produced by Chinese slave labor, will underprice all U.S. goods in foreign trade.

This new "soft on communism" policy by the administration may deliver huge profits to the international industrialists and capitalists, but must be considered a disgrace to every American who cherishes his liberty and the perpetration of his country.

Many Americans think we are fighting communism. At least our fighting men and their loved ones are led to believe we are in South Vietnam in the interest of national security.

It is ironic that our national security is threatened in Asia but is not endangered by a Communist dictator in Cuba 90 miles off our coast.

Red China is an enemy. The United States fought Red China in a United Nations organization war in Korea. That war continues. There is no peace, nor even a formal cessation of hostilities. Only a shaky cease-fire exists, and that at the pleasure of the Communists. The United States continues to suffer casualties in that Red war.

How can we be fighting communism abroad, when Communists in the United States of America enjoy full "constitutional rights"? The Red American works in defense plants, teaches our children, occupies our pulpits, and captures our institutions of higher learning as sanctuaries.

How can our people be told we fight communism while Communist dictatorships are diplomatically recognized, and maintain embassies here in Washington, D.C.?

Some compromise with communism, just as they compromise on Christianity.

The Second Epistle of John, 10th and 11th verses read:

If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.

Mr. Speaker, I insert recent news articles taken from the Washington Star, and the Post following my remarks:

A CHRISTIAN CREDO: IN THE WORDS OF
RICHARD M. NIXON

(By Richard M. Nixon)

(NOTE.—Most all United States Presidents have been deeply religious men, and their faith has invariably grown on assuming the burdens of the highest office. This is an article, based entirely on President Nixon's own speeches and writings, compiled by Roland Gammon. It appears in his new book, "All Believers Are Brothers" (Doubleday).)

More than a hundred years ago our greatest American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, wrote:

"I say the real and permanent grandeur of these United States must be their religion. Otherwise there is no real and permanent grandeur."

As a life-long Quaker and church-going Christian, I deeply believe those Emersonian sentiments are truer today than in his own time. The principal challenge for us all is: Have we the moral drive and the spiritual resources to take charge of our destiny once again, to regain the momentum and the international leadership that was ours after our victories in World War I? I believe we have.

Both as a believing Quaker and as America's 37th President, I am determined to prove that we have such God-given resources as individuals and as a people. My Quaker upbringing and my religious experience in the Society of Friends strengthen me today as they have in the past. My Christian creed includes the noble insight of Quaker founder George Fox: "There is that of God in every man," and therefore every man the world around—regardless of his race or religion or color or culture—merits my respect.

The gradual abolition of slavery in the English-speaking world and the global spread of the peace movement have been concrete results of Quaker preaching and practice, and I am pledged to pursue these perfect ends with all my might. Above all, in my personal prayer life as in my public day, I believe in God's "inner light" (as we Quakers call it), and today as President of the United States I pray for the divine guidance in my every decision, word and daily need.

For we Americans are embarked upon a great adventure, a demanding voyage from which there can be no turning back. For better or worse, the future of mankind depends on how we as a nation manage the trusteeship of power which has been placed in our hands. From the beginning, implicit in the whole American adventure has been the sense that we were building a nation, not for ourselves alone, but as a beacon to mankind, a land that held the hope and promise of the rainbow.

More than ever before the nations of the free world need such a beacon and such a hope. But they no longer look to the United States as the unquestioned champion of freedom and progress. The American right to leadership is in question and this is a challenge we must meet.

To meet it we must take new courage: courage to grow, courage to change, courage to lead once again. There are hazards in such a course and there are hardships. But we must embrace them. For a nation's energies do not thrive in a vacuum. Nations and individuals need challenge; they need to have their strength tested in order to discover their reach and staying power.

The world is undergoing a storm of change that affects all peoples and all societies and we in this country are in the eye of this social hurricane. How we direct our lives and our national fortunes to the months and years just ahead will determine our country's future for the rest of this century.

We have the manpower and the material resources to enter now on the greatest period

of growth any nation has ever known. The question is whether we have the will and the moral drive to take charge of our destiny once again. We have lost some of our vigor and some of our confidence. Only if these are restored can we meet our moment in history; only true religion can help each one of us restore them.

For generations, America was a new nation in an old world. Suddenly we have become an old nation in a new world. We are a battle-scarred veteran, and the young countries are looking us over. They want to know if we still have those qualities that have made us great. I say we have, and this is the time to prove it. This is a testing time for Americans.

We face enormous tasks, both at home and abroad. In a sense, these are extensions of one another. Abroad, we must bring peace to a warring world, at home, we must bring peace to warring society. Abroad, we must bridge the gulfs between the have and have-not nations; at home, we must bridge the gulfs between the have and have-not parts of our own population. Both at home and abroad we must break down the racial barriers that set man against man. These challenges, foreign and domestic, must be met at the same time. For unless we win peace abroad, whatever progress we make at home could go up in the smoke of a disaster enveloping the entire planet. Unless we win peace at home, we will lose the respect of the world and our rightful place in it.

Our message to the people of the world is and must be one of hope and assurance. We must declare that there is a way to cast off the shackles that have crippled mankind; we must insist that the conditions of life in most of the world today can be changed. And we must carry this message even more with deeds than with words.

Our government represents the people of the United States, but it must also speak to the people of the world—just as our whole society must. But unless we can speak confidently and proudly, unless we can speak from a platform of social order and social progress at home, we cannot expect our words to get a hearing abroad.

There are great tasks ahead—and great goals to reach. Fortunately, we have the tools to work with. Man's resource of will is the greatest natural resource the world possesses. No energy source tapped by science will ever be a substitute for human will power. When driven by a sense of necessity, a sense of survival, men and nations can perform monumental tasks, and they can overcome seemingly impossible obstacles.

If America is to be true to its destiny, true to its future, true to its promise, we must restore the sense of a driving dream. The American dream has been one of extraordinary power—precisely because it is rooted in the innermost strivings of man's spirit. It was Ralph Waldo Emerson who said, "I sing the infinitude of the private man." To release these energies and develop these infinite potentials is the continuing challenge of America.

Without God's help, we will surely fail; but with God's help, we shall surely succeed. To all people everywhere, the long dark night for America is about to end. The time has come for us to leave the valley of despair and climb the mountain so that we may see the glory of the dawn—a new day for America, and a new dawn for peace and freedom in the world.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 20, 1969]

UNITED STATES RELAXES BAN ON CHINA TRADE

(By Murrey Marder)

The United States took its largest "small step" in 19 years yesterday to relax its em-

bargo on trade with Communist China that was imposed to try to "isolate" that nation. President Nixon approved, and the State Department announced, the first easing of the trade ban that goes beyond token relaxations. The core of the embargo is retained, however, forbidding direct U.S. trade with China.

The changes, effective Monday, are:

Foreign subsidiaries of American-owned firms will now be permitted to engage in trade with China on non-strategic items.

A U.S. firm's subsidiary in Canada, or Europe, for example, can sell trucks or radios or razor blades to China, and buy from it soybeans or tungsten or spices.

Restrictions are eliminated that now require U.S. firms or banks engaged in "third-country trade" to obtain certificates of origin where goods or commodities are of "presumptive Chinese origin" (to distinguish, say, between goods produced mainland in China and Hong Kong). Such goods produced in mainland require origin certificates to be shipped to the United States. This change is to improve the competitive position of American firms in foreign trade.

The \$100 limit is removed on purchases of Chinese goods by Americans for non-commercial use, and the requirement is ended to limit such imports to "accompanied baggage." This makes it far easier for American tourists, museums or art collectors to import Chinese products for their own use, but not for resale.

State Department press officer Robert J. McCloskey described the triple actions as "a small step—not a great leap forward." These changes, he said, bear out the expressed desire of Secretary of State William P. Rogers to take actions that "we hope would improve relations with Communist China."

TWO POINTS STRESSED

For delicate diplomatic reasons, McCloskey stressed two explanatory points:

The new trade relaxations are "strictly unilateral and are not related to recent Warsaw contacts with Communist Chinese representatives," he said.

Also, "This should not in any way be construed to relate to Sino-Soviet problems."

The reference to Warsaw was designed to show that the trade decisions were not inspired by, or tied to, the new prospect of resuming a pattern of U.S.-Chinese diplomatic talks.

On Dec. 11, Walter J. Stoessel Jr., U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw, and China's Charge d'Affaires, Lei Yang, held the first of these talks in nearly two years, after China broke off a series of 134 meetings in Geneva and Warsaw that helped to compensate for the absence of normal diplomatic relations. Formal relations were broken, and the U.S. trade embargo imposed, after the Communists, in 1949, gained power.

The ambiguous disclaimer that the U.S. trade decision has any relationship to "Sino-Soviet problems" was intended to reassure the Soviet Union. The Kremlin has been openly suspicious that the United States may attempt to exploit Soviet-Chinese border tensions by acting with China against Soviet interests. China, in turn, regularly accuses the United States of engaging in "collusion" with the Soviet Union.

While seeking to disassociate the U.S. action from direct relationship to the American-Chinese talks in Warsaw, McCloskey said, "It does fit into the political desire to improve relations with Communist China and we hope this will prove to be true."

Secretary Rogers for months has taken the lead inside the Nixon administration to get approval of the trade relaxation measures. The relaxation encountered some opposition from the most conservative elements inside the administration, but the President and his national security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger, concurred.

REACTION IN TAIPEI

Unsurprisingly, the Nationalist Chinese government on Taiwan, informed in advance, did not support the decision. Its ambassador here, Chow Shu-kai, said after a call at the State Department yesterday that his nation has serious misgivings about the new U.S. policy.

In Taiwan's capital, Taipei, a government spokesman, when asked yesterday for comment about the U.S.-Chinese contact at Warsaw, said "to believe that the holding of talks with the Chinese Communists could ease world tensions is sheer wishful thinking." He cautioned non-Communist nations "not (to) play into the hands of the Chinese Communists."

For years many of the leading Chinese specialists in the United States have urged total abandonment of the U.S. trade embargo and yesterday's announcement stops far short of that. U.S. officials said yesterday that they have no way of estimating what the trade consequences will be of the new decision, partly because there is no assurance of China's reaction to it.

TRAVEL CURBS EASED

However China reacts, U.S. officials said privately, the new action, even though limited, marks an important move away from the concept of trying to "isolate" China. Until now, the U.S. policy shift was almost wholly symbolic. In July, the United States permitted Americans to bring home up to \$100 worth of goods produced in mainland China, and eased restrictions on professionals to travel there. But China made no move to ease its admission of Americans.

One immediate enthusiast for yesterday's announcement was Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), a collector of oriental art.

"485 DAYS IN MAJDANEK," BY JERZY KWIATKOWSKI

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of the Congress and American society to the recently published book in the Polish language about German death camps during the Second World War.

This is a diary of an American of Polish descent, Dr. Jerzy Kwiatkowski, entitled "485 Days in Majdanek."

In the unanimous opinion of the critics, this book by Jerzy Kwiatkowski constitutes the most accurately documented and objective source of basic facts about concentration camps. Presenting without prejudice one of history's most depressing periods, this work by Kwiatkowski is, at the same time, a serious warning against inhuman devastation, caused by exuberant totalitarian chauvinism.

The author, a doctor of law, reserve officer before the war, and a member of the Polish underground—Armja Krajowa—during the occupation, having a knowledge of the German language, is an unusually bright, intelligent and objective observer. Though he himself was a prisoner, he describes the incidents as would an observer rather than a participant. He does not make any efforts to dramatize his experiences, writing with

the sincere objectivism of a chronicler. On a few hundred pages, only a few times does he allow his personal feelings and emotions to show. However, he describes in a very detailed manner many common moments of life, which normally would not be worth mentioning, but which grew to matters of life and death in camp conditions.

The author attains a high level of objectivism in his characterization, not only of his fellow prisoners, but also the SS men and other minor camp officials, many of whom were often especially "imported" Nazi criminals. Because of the author's complete lack of dramatization, and thanks to his total of objectivism, the concentration camp appears in all its Dantesque terror.

In this book, more than in others concerned with the same topic, it is evident that in the camps the Nazis wanted not only to destroy the prisoner physically, but also to strip him of all his human feelings and reactions, to change him into a thoughtless animal. The author points out this cruel treachery of the Nazis, who put the execution of these goals to a large extent in the hands of the prisoners. And, in fact, many concentration camp prisoners were faced with the alternatives of either being beaten, or perhaps killed, or to beat and torture another creature as miserable as himself who never did anyone any harm at all.

Here is an example of the tone of this camp drama:

After 15 minutes comes the command, "Arbeitskommando formieren" ("form a work detail"), and then to our great shock, we notice that near the bell on the pole hangs that Jew in uniform. Those standing the closest were told that he had been hung for attempting to escape, while actually he had fallen asleep in some corner while working at building barracks inside Postenkate and had not returned to the field for dinner.—p. 167.

And further:

"Researchers of Holy Scripture, so called Bifo, are martyrs of their own Faith. They are imprisoned only because their interpretation of Holy Scripture does not agree with the basic concepts of the national-socialist structure. Every six months they are called to the camp administration office where they are presented with a declaration to sign, in which they deny their Faith. From the accounts of Hessel and some Kapos, I know, that in no concentration camp did any Bifo sign this declaration, thanks to which, supposedly, he would have gained his freedom . . . Because of this steadfastness the Bifo are held in high regard even by the SS.—p. 339.

Finally, an interesting observation by Kwiatkowski referring to his unprejudiced description of instances of really human SS-men and good Kapos:

From my thoughts I absolutely do not draw the conclusion that the SS are angels and the fellow prisoners scoundrels. But the hate and the hypocrisy of the camp system depended on the fact, how often the SS left the chicanery of everyday baiting and poisoning of life to some of the characters among the prisoners.—p. 464.

The author spent 485 days in Majdanek, after which he was transferred to Oswiecim—Auschwitz—and later to

Sachsenhausen; he was finally freed by the Americans on May 3, 1945, after spending 2 years in concentration camps. He was often beaten, suffered prolonged starvation, and suffered typhoid fever. In spite of this, he not only did not break down but—as is evident in every sentence of the diary—retained a perfect psychic and mental balance and did not lose faith in man or the ability to correctly judge human ethics.

The book by Kwiatkowski is definitely an invaluable document, which will be a source of excellent information to historians.

Though others have related to the same subject, Kwiatkowski's work describes in the most thorough detail to date the murder at Majdanek of 18,000 Jews on November 3, 1943. For this reason, this book has evoked interest among world Jewish organizations.

I strongly recommend this book as one of the most thorough accounts of man's inhumanity to his fellow man.

TOWARD PEACE WITH JUSTICE IN VIETNAM

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, December 2, the House approved House Resolution 613, entitled "Toward Peace with Justice in Vietnam." As a cosponsor of the resolution, I voted to approve it. I did so for several reasons, including the following:

Because I believe that the President, as the constitutional officer with primary responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations and direction of the Armed Forces, deserves maximum understanding and support from the Congress so long as his policies are designed to end the destructive and costly war in Vietnam;

Because I believe that the President is genuinely committed to peace in Vietnam;

Because I believe that the President's efforts in this direction have already produced significant results, especially in terms of troop withdrawals, the continued halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, greater restraint in the conduct of offensive operations in South Vietnam, the speedup in equipping South Vietnamese forces to defend themselves, and his resistance of pressures to escalate the war;

And because the resolution itself is a positive expression of goals which I believe most of our people share for Vietnam: Peace and self-determination.

With regard to the rule under which we considered this resolution, Mr. Speaker, I should state that I voted for an open rule, rather than the closed rule, because of my conviction that on legislation of this importance the House should be encouraged to consider every aspect of the subject and permitted to vote on proposed amendments. Indeed, had an open rule prevailed and had the

House considered amendments, the final action on the resolution would have carried substantially greater conviction and meaning.

It has been noted by many of our colleagues that House Resolution 613 is a simple, straightforward, to-the-point expression of the will of the House. I believe this is true. But the very fact of its brevity and simplicity necessarily introduces an element of ambiguity which, in the light of future events, could lend to possible misinterpretations of what the House or its individual Members really intended to accomplish with the resolution.

Consequently, Mr. Speaker, in addition to my statement of the reasons which led me to cosponsor and vote for House Resolution 613, I believe it would be useful to state the qualifications which accompany my support of the resolution.

First, approval of the resolution does not imply—to me—any kind of constitutional sanction to the undeclared war in Vietnam; the resolution is intended to help end the war, not to endow it with a legal status it does not and should not have.

Second, approval of the resolution must not be interpreted—so far as my vote is concerned—as providing advance approval of any step which would tend to escalate, widen, or prolong the war in Vietnam; again, the purpose of the resolution is to encourage U.S. efforts to end the war.

Third, approval of the resolution does not mean that I necessarily approve of every aspect of present U.S. policy in Vietnam; I have, for instance, long been urging that the United States take a strong initiative, either directly or through the Paris negotiations, to bring about a cease fire, mutually observed and enforced under international supervision—a move the United States has not yet made in any convincing way.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, my vote for the resolution is intended exclusively as a means of encouraging President Nixon to continue his efforts to end the war in Vietnam, to stop the killing and destruction there, and to resolve the issues by other than military means.

EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF U.S. GIFT OF SCHOLARSHIPS TO THE HAILE SELASSIE I UNIVERSITY

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to observe that this week marks the eighth anniversary of an important day in the relationship between the United States and Ethiopia in the field of education.

On December 18, 1961, on the grounds of Guenet Leul Palace His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I donated his ancestral home to the Haile Selassie I University.

At the convocation ceremonies, the Honorable J. Wayne Fredericks, then

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, read a message from President John F. Kennedy, which expressed best wishes on behalf of the American people and himself on the occasion of this great "Founder's Day." Mr. Fredericks also made the announcement of the U.S. offer of US\$100,000 in scholarships to the new university.

The gift of up to US\$100,000 will make possible 4-year scholarships for about 25 Ethiopian students in teacher education and about 25 students from other African countries in such fields as teacher education, agriculture, and health.

Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy's message to His Imperial Majesty on this occasion follows:

Nothing evidences more clearly the faith of a nation in its own future and in the future of freedom everywhere than its creation of a great university. For a great university can stimulate those ideas and insights and inventions that service not only its own nation but all mankind. In the establishment of your first national university, to which you have given your honored name and ancestral palace and grounds, your nation has given new evidence of this faith.

Through Haile Selassie I University, Ethiopia will have a greater place in the international common market of educational, scientific and cultural affairs. This world-wide common market offers, I believe, man's best hope of international understanding and peace.

The University will also be the capstone of your nation's educational system, from the early grades to the level of graduate studies. Such an institution can exert great force for progress throughout all levels of an educational system. In this way it will help develop the human resources on which every nation must ultimately depend for its fullest economic and social development.

On the occasion of "Founder's Day," and your presentation of the palace and grounds to the people of Ethiopia for the university, I have the privilege of expressing warm friendship and cordial best wishes on behalf of my country and for myself. In marking a new commitment to the power of education to assist not only national development but the wider diffusion of knowledge and understanding in all Africa and throughout the world, this day may well be historic even in Ethiopia's ancient traditions. We view the event with satisfaction for having a share of participation, through agencies of our government and through private universities and foundations, as well as through the role Dr. Bentley will play in helping to bring the institution into being. We hold great hope for long and fruitful service by Haile Selassie I University.

Mr. Speaker, the following is the full text of the inaugural speech delivered by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I.

[From the Voice of Ethiopia, Dec. 18, 1961]
HAILE SELASSIE UNIVERSITY INAUGURATED BY
EMPEROR

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I inaugurated here this morning the Haile Selassie I University at an impressive ceremony attended by cabinet ministers, high ranking civil and military officials, hundreds of educationists and a large crowd of students. The ceremony took place on the lawns of the Guennete Leul Palace which His Majesty the Emperor has graciously donated to the newly-founded University.

The inauguration ceremony began with invocation prayers by ecclesiastical dignitaries led by His Holiness Abuna Basillos, Patriarch of Ethiopia. In a short address from the throne His Imperial Majesty, dressed in gab-

ardine uniform bedecked with medals, formally announced the handing over of the Guennet Leul Palace to the University. H.E. Ato Yilma Deressa, Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the University, thanked the Emperor "for the magnificent gift of Your Home Palace to the people of Ethiopia" and said "this splendid gift is an excellent example of Your Imperial Majesty's lasting faith and valiant struggle in the cause of education for more than three decades. It is a crowning gesture for the long record of achievement and the vision with which Your Imperial Majesty sponsored and advanced modern education in Ethiopia—a lasting symbol of benevolence and enlightened leadership."

H.E. Ato Yilma Deressa assured His Imperial Majesty that "this historic place will be preserved, at the same time serving as a reminder of Your Imperial Majesty's generosity, and serving the needs of the University."

His Imperial Majesty, who is the Chancellor of the University, then put on academic costume and delivered a moving speech formally inaugurating the University.

Associate Professor Alemayehu Haile heartily thanked the Emperor on behalf of the faculties of the University while Ato Mulu Bezzabeh expressed the gratitude on behalf of the students of the University for the magnificent gift the Emperor had made of his own Palace.

Ato Wubi-het Dilnesahu then presented guests representing foreign governments, universities, and other institutions. The guests included Prof. Rene David, (University of Paris), Sir Dennis Wright (University of Oxford), Prof. Kuhn Reeter (University of Vienna), Prof. Schnanbert (Technical Faculty of Giessen), Prof. Helstrom (Swedish Universities), Dr. William Hitzing (Columbia University), Prof. Ullrich (University of Bonn), Dr. Blagejovic (University of Belgrade), President Olpin (University of Utah), Prof. Miner (University of Michigan), Prof. Yanl Wilson (University of Ghana), and Mr. Wayne Fredericks (representing President Kennedy and the United States).

All the visiting educationists made short speeches assuring full support for the development of the University. Mr. Wayne Fredericks read a special message from President Kennedy and announced that the United States was willing to provide Eth. \$250,000 to assist in financing scholarships to Haile Selassie I University.

The Acting President of the University Dr. Harold W. Bentley, outlining the objectives and working plans of the University, said amidst applause "what kind of university is this aimed to be. First and always it is to be an Ethiopian University, designed, built, and operated to meet the present and future needs of Ethiopia. It is not to be a European, an English or an American University." (Full text of Dr. Bentley's speech will be published tomorrow).

Enthusiastic students then marched past His Imperial Majesty in a well turned-out procession carrying placards reading: "Haile Selassie I University, Agent of Unity, Symbol of Hard Work"; "Donation of Palace, an Expression of Genuine Dedication"; "Day to be Remembered—Beginning of a new era in education"; "Greatest Land-mark in Education and Symbol of Hopes of Ethiopia's Future"; and so on.

His Imperial Majesty then signed the Golden Book which was followed by a benediction ceremony conducted by His Holiness Abuna Basilio.

The inaugural ceremony which lasted about three and a half hours came to a close with the playing of the National Anthem by the Imperial Bodyguard Band.

Following is the full text of the inaugural speech delivered by His Imperial Majesty:

"This is a most historic occasion for Us, and for the entire Ethiopian people. Today,

the first convocation of this University, affords Us Our first opportunity, as Chancellor, to address the Governors, the Faculty, and the students as a single group.

"We welcome and greet you all on this occasion. You who have in the past, either as teachers or students, been united in spirit although members of diverse educational institutions, are now truly united in this University. We welcome the members of the Board of Governors, who will direct the policy of the University. We welcome the administrators, who will provide the framework within which teacher and student alike will work. We welcome you, the professors, the instructors, the lecturers, to whom has been confided the task of leading our youth to higher levels of knowledge and learning. We welcome the students, our own and those from other lands, who will study here and from among whom will come future leaders.

"We may pause briefly now to enquire why this University is being established, what goals it is seeking to achieve, what results we may expect of it and what contributions it can reasonably be expected to make.

"A fundamental objective of the University must be the safeguarding and the developing of the culture of the people which it serves. This University is a product of that culture; it is the grouping together of those capable of understanding and using the accumulated heritage of the Ethiopian people. In this University men and women will, working in association with one another, study the well-springs of our culture, trace its development, and mould its future. That which enables Us today to open a university of such a standard is the wealth of literature and learning now extinct elsewhere in the world which through hard work and perseverance our forefathers have preserved for us. On this occasion We would like to remember with gratitude these fathers of great learning among whom We quote a few names such as Yared, Abba Giorgis of Gaseha, Absadi of Insaro, Wolde-Ab Wolde Mikael, Arat Ayina Goshu, Memehir Akala Wold and Aleka Gabre Medihin.

"Music, drama and other forms of art are rooted in the ancient history of our Empire, and their development to an even higher peak of perfection will be possible in the atmosphere of a University. Ethiopia is possessed of an ancient literature, and its study can be fostered here so that the Ethiopian youth, inspired by this national example, may raise it to yet higher levels of excellence. The study of the heroic history of Our Empire will stimulate the imagination of budding authors and teachers. The understanding of that philosophy of life which is the basis of our traditional customs will lead us all to a better understanding of our nation and of our nation's expression through the arts.

"The immediate and practical aim of this institution obviously is to educate the Ethiopian youth and to prepare them to serve their country. Although such education may be technical, it must nonetheless be founded in Ethiopia's cultural heritage if it is to bear fruit and if the student is to be well adapted to his environment and the effective use of his skills facilitated.

"Time was when strength and endurance, courage and faith, were sufficient to make leadership equal to the task. But times have changed and these spiritual qualities are no longer enough. Today, knowledge and training, as provided largely in the universities of the world, have become essential, and today leadership and advancement, both national, rely heavily upon the products of universities. Even as Mr. Tubman, Mr. U-Nu, and Madame Bandaranaike were each educated in their own land, We trust that this University will produce leaders of comparable stature. In all countries of the modern world, special competence is required to deal with the advancement of agriculture, industry,

commerce, and the civil service. That competence can be secured only through facilities which are provided in modern universities. We have often pointed out that the future of Ethiopia is largely conditioned upon accelerated agricultural development, upon mineral exploitation and upon industrial expansion. Her survival depends on these, but they, in turn, depend upon the competence of those who have received and who will receive the essential education and training. It is Our confident hope that this institution, which has been planned for many years, will provide here, in our own land, for our own youth, higher education and the specialised training required for such development.

"That which man dreams of and to which he aspires, unless fulfilled in his own lifetime, can produce no actual satisfaction to him. As for Us thanks be unto God that in the founding of this University We have realised a lifelong aspiration.

"Considering the role of universities in a broader sense, We are persuaded that these institutions stand today as the most promising hope for constructive solutions to the problems which prevent the peaceful co-operation of nations, problems which threaten the world and humanity with death and disaster. From the universities must come men, ideas, knowledge, experience, technical skills, and the deep humane understanding vital to fruitful relations among nations. Without these, world order, for which we have so long strived, cannot be established. From the universities, too, must come that ability which is the most valuable attribute of civility men everywhere, the ability to transcend narrow passions and to engage in honest conversation; for civilization is by nature "the victory of persuasion over force". Unity is strength. No nation can divide within itself and remain powerful. It is this strong conviction that underlies the decision to plan for the well-organised and coordinated system of education, training, and research which a university represents. A university is the fountain of learning; seek knowledge, and there you shall find it.

"Nor can we ignore the importance of the spiritual in this academic life. Learning and technical training must be nurtured by faith in God, reverence for the human soul, and respect for the reasoning mind. There is no safer anchorage for our learning, our lives, and our public actions than that provided by Divine teachings coupled with the best in human understanding. Leadership developed here should be guided by the fundamental values and the moral power which have for centuries constituted the essence of our religious teachings. These are crucial times when nations rise against nations. Tensions increase, and disaster is possible at any moment. Distances are shrinking; peace and life are threatened by misunderstanding and conflict. Now is the time when the sincere belief man's kinship to God must be the foundation for all of Man's efforts enlightenment and learning—the basis for the understanding, co-operation and peace. We charge all of you, the members of this University, that these special values remain foremost as a foundation for your knowledge and thought, so that the fundamental moral truths will buttress and support the whole structure of university life.

"Discipline of the mind is a basic ingredient of genuine morality and therefore of spiritual strength. Indeed, a university taken in all its aspects is essentially a spiritual enterprise which, along with the knowledge and training it imparts, leads students into more wise living and a greater sensitivity to life's true values and rewards. Because of this essential spirituality of the university experience, religious institutions can play an important role, particularly by inspiring the students to seek knowledge and training with great eagerness and to exert themselves to their utmost capacity in their studies.

"Education is costly, and higher education is the most costly of all. But it is also an investment, a very profitable investment, and the money spent in coordinating, strengthening, and expanding higher education in Ethiopia is well invested. We are proud of Our people's recognition of the value of education. Their concerted effort in the building of schools and other social activities is most gratifying. Educational institutions, unlike business enterprise, do not exist and operate for profits in dollars and cents. They exist to perform public services, and they are judged by the effectiveness and economy with which they perform services.

"To the Board of Governors, to the administrators, We recommend economy so that the benefits of the University can be enjoyed by as many of our young men and women as possible. Not a dollar should be wasted of the money so hardily earned and so generously contributed by our own Government and by the Governments of other nations. Plan thoughtfully, supervise closely, and manage economically, to the end that the greatest possible returns may be realized in the preparation of competent manpower, in useful research and in training both technical and moral leadership. An immediate gain of the consolidation and coordination, the centralisation of resources and operation, should be a saving in costs, and We urge all to co-operate fully in the attempt to realise this objective. Diligence is demanded in developing the University as rapidly as possible to meet the compelling needs of Our Empire.

"We would ask that extraordinary emphasis be placed on the training of teachers for our primary and secondary schools. The educational process cannot be a narrow column; it must be in the shape of a pyramid and broadly based. To provide this broad base, large numbers of teachers are required, and we have a duty to provide Ethiopian teachers for these schools. This is why We have established teachers training centres in Harar and other places.

"The study of the humanities must not be neglected, and the College of Arts and Sciences must be strengthened and encouraged to develop its studies. These are the subjects which contribute most to the understanding and growth of our cultural heritage, and so assist in fulfilling one of the University's primary aims. These studies, which are concerned with human cultural achievements, human rights and duties, human freedoms, will enable youth to develop the understanding and judgment necessary to the formulation of a sound philosophy of life, to the making of wise choices, and to understanding what is involved in these choices. These young people face a world beset with the most effectively organized programme of deceptive propaganda and of thinly-screened operations ever known, they deserve the best that can be taught by their parents, by religious institutions and by the University, to prepare them for a wise choice among contending ideals.

"We would ask for the immediate founding of a graduate Faculty of Law, where our own graduates may be trained to enter the legal profession. Our Empire has need, in its courts, its government, its commerce, for well-educated lawyers, and particularly for those who have been trained in their own university, in their own codes and customs. We would also ask for the organization of a Faculty of Medicine in the near future. The training of doctors is a long and arduous process, and this very fact makes it all the more urgent that our own Faculty be inaugurated as soon as possible.

"Up to the present, technical training has been achieved through the College of Engineering and in the Ethio-Swedish Build-

ing College. These institutions, we trust which are now merged into the University, will be expanded and developed so that the number of competent Ethiopian technicians will continue to increase.

"While laying great stress on education for our younger citizens, we should not forget the obligation and the opportunity which the University will have with respect to the older citizens. As we study the plans and projects of this University, We realise that much attention is being given to the extension of its usefulness to the entire population, in the form of extension courses and lectures. This is according to Our wish. Haile Selassie I University should attempt, either at this main site or at a branch, to serve every qualified citizen who wishes and is able to avail himself of the resources of the University if he is willing to do the required work.

"We do not suggest that the list of needs which We have mentioned is complete, but they represent needs to which this University is seeking to respond. The heaviest responsibility will, naturally, fall on the Faculty. Their is the job of training the minds and hands of the youth of Ethiopia in the knowledge and in the special skills. We may all be proud of the Ethiopian members of the Faculty who have adopted this highest of callings and who have in the past and will continue in the future to render great service to their nation. The teachers who, in the past, coming from many different countries, have discharged the duty of educating Ethiopia's young men and women have earned Our appreciation and gratitude and the appreciation and gratitude of all of us. Their example should spur on those who staff the Faculty of the University to pursue their tasks with diligence and to spare no effort to ensure that their teaching inspires those who study in their classrooms.

"We sincerely thank Dr. Lucien Matte who assisted Us for many years with loyalty, devotion and diligence in Our efforts for the progress of education in Our country and in the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa which is one of the affiliated institutions to the Haile Selassie I University.

"Also we wish to remember the late Mr. A. Besse who was one of those who have generously contributed towards the establishment of this University.

"All of you must maintain the highest standards in your instruction in order that the overall standard of this University may be second to none. Work together in harmony, as a team, in raising this institution to the highest academic levels. Each of you must do his part to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. You must above all be scholarly, for it is by deeds rather than by words that you can most effectively inspire your students to heed your words. Each of you should consider it his duty to pursue research in your own field of study, for you will thereby bring renown both upon yourselves and upon the institution.

"On many occasions during recent years, We have had the opportunity to speak to our students. We trust that Our love and consideration for them and the deep interest which We feel in their progress has been felt and understood. Today, We have dedicated Our home, which We received from Our noble father, to their service as a free gift to the nation, in the hope that We thus contribute to the opportunity for them to prepare for fruitful careers.

"We ask that each student who passes through these halls devote himself to the development of his mind and body, his mental and physical prowess, so as to be better able to serve his country and his fellow countrymen. Choose the field of study which best suits your talents, continue unwavering in your diligent studies, prepare yourself for service in whatever profession you may best be fitted. God grant you success."

TIME FOR A NEW SQUARE DEAL

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. C. Calvert Hines of 800 Villa Ridge Road, Falls Church, Va., has recently provided me with a copy of a letter he addressed to Dr. Nathan Pusey, president of Harvard University, and an article entitled "Time for a New Square Deal," both of which I feel merit the careful attention of all who read this RECORD.

I insert the text of the letter and the article at this point in the Record:

DECEMBER 12, 1969.

DR. NATHAN PUSEY,
President, Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR DR. PUSEY: Since you took the trouble to acknowledge my letter and make a serious comment, a letter which could not have been pleasing to you personally, let me call a cease-fire on my attack on you as a self-appointed leader of middle-of-the-road alumni. Perhaps there is something in the Harvard situation which I have not perceived. If so, I and the rest of the alumni should know about it. Meanwhile, here are a few more thoughts from a lowly observer of the Harvard scene, which I know to be shared by many of the alumni.

Many of our leaders today, it seems to us, seem to be beclouded by subtleties of "liberal" thought which obscure the simple elemental facts of life. Our enemies, in using this fog to screen their purposeful maneuvers, never lose sight of these basic truths—that he who has power can rule, and that he who can capture men's minds wields power. The most untutored savage or the most immature youth can strike down the wisest of our savants, if he be left unguarded. It is the obligation of the wise to use their gift to free men from oppression, to protect those who are ignorant or foolish, but also, first and foremost, to maintain control and keep themselves alive and free from intimidation by force. Today, men who wish to make use of the voices and muscles of our own people against our free institutions have captured the minds of many who are immature and ignorant, and our leaders seem to have lost sight of the fact that force must sometimes be met with force.

Our leaders need to recognize that the challenge to their leadership is a powerful assault which could prove mortal. So far, I see this recognition in Nixon and Agnew but in few others, and those few seem to doubt whether it will avail anything for them to declare themselves and throw themselves into the fray.

In my opinion, now is a time when all good men should come to the aid of the party, and of the Nation. There are dangers on the left and dangers on the right, and those of us on the middle road cannot afford to sit still or go half way.

Representative Broyhill of my district, who sees realities in simpler and clearer focus than most, still is constrained by cloudy considerations of freedom to assemble and to speak, from directly facing the need to protect the seat of government from menacing mobs. Senator Scott and those of his luncheon group seem to be impelled by more practical considerations of being re-elected by constituencies infected with "liberalism", to sabotage their leader's efforts to return the Court to its proper job of protecting the

TIME FOR A NEW SQUARE DEAL

(By C. Calvert Hines)

structure rather than the termites gnawing at its foundations. All of these men work strenuously from day to day trying to shore up the crumbling bastions, apparently unable to contemplate the possibility that the whole structure may be swept away, that all their past efforts may be wasted, and indeed, that they may have no future.

The one simple fact is that if the mobs are allowed to continue and to strengthen their assaults, the structure will fall. And the remedy is simple also—simply to make it clear by legislation, that mass demonstrations will not be permitted in the Nation's Capital, and will be prevented by whatever degree of force is necessary. This is elementary, this is what was intended in giving the Federal Government control of the Federal District. Certainly it is a limitation, but it leaves open wide enough areas of freedom, certainly wider than will be left if the demonstrations continue.

Freedom is always necessarily limited in its own protection: without discipline there can be no family, and without law and order there can be no Nation and no protection to the sanctity of the body and its freedom. Mobs cannot be permitted to assemble and harangue in the halls of Congress; the first duty of government is to protect its own being and freedom. No more can we permit mobs to wander unchecked in Washington, endangering and attempting to intimidate our President and our Congress.

At Harvard also the facts are simple; the solution is not easy, but it is easier than the alternative. What is needed is simply to stop tolerating student violence and insurrection. You say you can understand my strong feelings, but you say nothing about measures to remove their cause. I would appreciate it much more if, when you learned of the recent planned attack, you had caused University Hall to be surrounded by several hundred fighting men, and if, when the lawbreakers had broken and entered, they had all been arrested and summarily expelled. You would only need to do this once or twice, and these attacks would cease. The alternative likely is, that one of these times the mob will burn down University Hall, and maybe all of Harvard. How will you feel if then they say, "He sat by while Harvard burned, and now he just sits and there is no Harvard." Ah, veritas.

We would hate to see it come to pass, but in all veritas we can get along better without Harvard than without Washington. This is where comes the need for all strong men to devote their full powers to supporting their government. The Republican party stands for conserving and preserving, foremost, our free form of government; faults it may have, but if it fails, it will be too late to institute reforms. I believe the majority of the people in all the states are thinking this way; and that this is a time when candidates who feel it necessary to hedge their bets should not be allowed to run under the Republican flag. Why should they not take a small risk; the day may be coming when a lot of people will risk their lives to keep the rabble out of Washington, as Stewart Alsop astutely infers. Plans are now under way to get around the press barrier if there is another demonstration, and call on the moderates by telephone and personal contact. The next time, they will merely give signs of support for the government. The time after—who knows.

Sir, my letter to Harvard alumni asked for action to put the University in stronger hands. If you are willing to exert the power vested in you to get the University back under control, we squares of the alumni, and I think we are the majority, will rally our support to the strength of your hands.

Sincerely yours,

C. CALVERT HINES.

As the old saw goes, a word to the wise is sufficient. Well, the words are pouring forth, and the gist of what they say is, the middle-of-the-road squares don't think they've been getting a square deal from the media. Furthermore, it looks like the squares are in the majority, and that now they are getting into a fighting mood. The media will be very unwise indeed if they don't take heed.

As Alsop said recently on the last page of Newsweek, many of the demonstrator kids are undoubtedly sincere, but so are the solid citizens who have come to despise them and hate their guts. Again, many of the pro-liberal reporters and editors are sincere and believe they are doing the right thing, but so are the conservative readers who are so fed up that they are cancelling subscriptions, and, finding they have nowhere else to go, are now beginning to talk about a need for new media.

After 40 years of New Deal thinking the editors, particularly those in the rarefied atmosphere of Washington, sitting in their ivory towers and looking out through their pale pink Roosevelt-colored glasses, can't seem to see that there is a potentially explosive "square deal" counter-revolution getting under way, which just might sweep them off the plush thrones they have so long occupied. They need to see the light and starting mending their ways, and quickly.

For the message is coming in loud and clear. A thousand cars roll for the rule of reason in liberal New York City; letters pour into the halls of Congress and the White House; Mary McGrory, the Washington Star's square-needer, is swamped with requests to drop dead and cries plaintively for a Holidays mall moratorium. It seems clear that Agnew didn't start the reaction but merely triggered it. The middle-of-the-roadsers sympathized with much that Wallace said, but not many felt they could march under his banner. Increasingly, in Nixon and Agnew they have found leaders to fall in behind, and they are dusting off their American flags and getting ready to march.

Like most of the other squares and unlike most of the demonstrators, I have a job to do, a living to earn, a family to support. It takes a very important cause to stir us squares into action. Well, we have such a cause today. I believe there are millions of us who feel that if things go on much longer as they have in the past two years of riots and confusion, our government and institutions may fall, and if this should come to pass, we see no happy future for families. So we are now willing to do battle for the Constitution (as strictly interpreted), even if we have to neglect some of our daily chores for a while.

From personal experience, I see some hope emerging in the struggle to get some representation in the existing media; for example, when the Washington Post published on December 12 the letter reproduced below. This letter was sent to Katherine Graham herself and she appears to have exerted some influence on the editor to print it.

A "SQUARE" REASSESSMENT

Perhaps Mr. Agnew and the rest of us pro-Nixon squares have been a little less than just in our feelings about the top management of The Washington Post and Newsweek. We still have no doubt that the pro-liberal bias is there, but perhaps it is due more to the staff of working reporters and editors imbued with 40 years Washington conditioning in "liberal" views and tactics.

I canceled my subscription to Newsweek before Agnew, when the cover featured the line "Nixon in Trouble." A careful perusal of the inside contents revealed only that

Newsweek wants to find Nixon in trouble, and my reaction was, this is the last straw and as far as I am concerned Newsweek is in trouble, which proved to be prophetic.

While most of us squares are fully convinced that Newsweek and The Post are biased, in all justice we must admit that Mrs. Graham's reply to Agnew, while failing to take a square look at the charges, was much more temperate than most of the media reactions. In fixing the blame on the joint ownership, Agnew may have been over-anxious to hoist the "liberals" on their own petards, since trust-busting of worthy enterprises is their own stock in trade. He might have been more correct in accusing the working stiff of closed-union tactics against the untutored squares.

My grievances against the media fill 20 pages of an article which no news medium will publish, but in this letter, I will make only two brief points:

1. As Alsop said of the demonstrators, the media are having fun lambasting Nixon; so that no matter what Nixon may do, and he must have done one good thing or two, I defy anyone to produce a clip from Newsweek praising any Nixon word or action. Alsop may call this fun and games, but a lot of us call it bias, and on the part of men with a public responsibility, we also call it irresponsible and vicious.

2. During the disgraceful October and November demonstrations, The Post along with other Washington media published thousands of words portraying Sam Brown and his cohorts with sympathy, but *not one word* from supporters of our official government policy except in a *paid ad*. We tried repeatedly with all the media to get word out asking people to show support for the government by burning their headlights and displaying small flags on their antennae, but not one word went out. Next time if need be we will get the word out by telephone and personal contact and will explain why we find this necessary. Enough said.

C. CALVERT HINES.

FALLS CHURCH.

There were many phone calls regarding this letter, and one caller told me that she had a missive from Mrs. Graham saying that the Post was looking for a conservatively-oriented columnist. I immediately applied; as mentioned, I have a job and am not doing badly, but I would jump at a chance to get some conservative views into print on a regular basis.

Incidentally, many of my callers have volunteered to make phone calls and personal visits to get the word around on recommended counter-activities in the event of another mass demonstration, and this included some who remain loyal to the Democratic Party, at least in local politics.

So, unless the media change radically before the next demonstration, action is forthcoming. Volunteers are being signed up, the wires are already busy; and money will be found to get the message out in paid ads as well as in person of this proves necessary. The effort will be non-partisan, for Democrats and Republicans, rich and poor, black and white; they may disagree on many things, but all are agreed on the points brought out in the letter. It has been suggested that we adopt the title ASDM—American Square Deal Movement—and work for a revival of patriotism and support a middle-of-the-road position, not only on the war issue but in other important matters—opposing closed-mind reactionary thinking as well as overly liberal permissive attitudes.

To return to the media—evidence of pro-liberal bias in the Washington Post could be found by analysis of any day's news offerings, and I would be glad to provide documentary

evidence if anyone feels it necessary. Broadening the view to the nation-wide press, radio and TV, reporting of the Tet offensive and the My Lai incident provide classic examples of reporting at its worst. The American press pictured the Tet offensive as a defeat for U.S. forces; the rest of the free world reported it accurately as a costly—almost a last gasp effort comparable to the Battle of the Bulge and the suicidal Kamakaze assaults north of Okinawa. The European press has been puzzled by the masochistic tone of U.S. news coverage of the My Lai affair; they see it as an isolated incident in no way typical of U.S. military behavior.

Certainly there should be some limitations on the freedom of the press, aside from the basic requirements of accuracy and impartiality; there should not be freedom to infer that top military officials ordered, or at least condoned the slaughtering of non-combatants; nor should there be freedom to bring out details and arouse emotions which make it impossible for the defendants to have a fair trial, let alone a chance for a future honorable career.

Well, so much for the past; let us look to the future and ask—if, as seems evident, many of the public have lost faith in the accuracy and fairness of the media, and if some of those in control of the media should decide to go to work to restore this faith, what shall they do?

First of all, they can police themselves: they can make sure that news they don't like is not suppressed; they can see to it that opinions on both sides of the great issues are presented in even proportions. However, while I see some change for the better since Agnew, I am afraid that more than self-policing is needed; most of the men are too set in their pro-liberal molds.

I have suggested to Congress that it set up an impartial commission to observe and report on the accuracy and impartiality of the media. Fairness self-imposed is the ideal, but perhaps it is more than can be expected of most humans; perhaps the best we can do is to make sure that the media give the people what they want. The commission would be composed of representatives of labor, of management, of the general public, and of the media themselves; to be appointed by the President and confirmed every two years by the House of Representatives, the organ of government most sensitive to current moods of the people. To my mind, no enforcement except publicity should be necessary; the commission need only be obligated to maintain continuous study and publish regular reports, perhaps semi-annually.

So I go a step beyond Mr. Agnew, and I believe I am not alone. And perhaps such a solution would be less onerous than what may come to pass if something of the kind is not done. And if the media themselves would take the initiative in such a venture, it would go a long way toward restoring the faith which the public should have, and deserve to have in their public media.

FUNDRAISING FOR RED STORM TROOPERS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Black Panther's promoted notoriety is now being capitalized on for fundraising. Here in the District we learn that an Episcopal church was supplied a predominantly white audience to attend a fundraising rally—supposedly in support of the Panthers.

Similar greetings and laudations have come from Havana and from North Korea.

The color approach may differ, but behind the scenes it is the same leftist crowd, old and new, trying to captivate some un-American cause for profit. The "peace and justice throughout the world" movement is mobilizing for funds to hire its mercenaries—it is getting harder to fool the liberals and the poor people.

Mr. Speaker, a local news report, the November Latin America Report, a reprint of a monitored radio message from North Korea, and several letters follow my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 21, 1969]
GOOD WISHES DON'T HELP—PANTHER RALLY TOLD OF FINANCIAL NEED

(By Joseph D. Whitaker)

A member of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party told a predominately white audience at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church here last night that the party needs more financial support and less well-wishing from so-called white liberals.

Speaking at the rally called in support of the Panthers, Marty Blue of Philadelphia said there are a lot of white people who wish them luck, "but the Panthers don't need luck, they need support."

Blue and Rennie Davis, a defendant in the Chicago conspiracy trial, were brought to Washington by 11 local organizations, including the D.C. Democratic Central Committee, the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis and the Washington Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam.

In earlier comments to the audience, which was dotted with middle-aged whites flashing protest buttons, John Carter, vice chairman of the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis, said that the "Nixon administration is coming down on black people with all intent to kill. We are here to question the value of the U.S. Constitution and what your relation is to it."

Rennie Davis told the group the trial in Chicago is part of the new administration's strategy to suppress antiwar protests. He said the President is using the antiriot act to disband any form of dissent, from campus rebellions to the Black Panther movement. (The antiriot act defines "riot" as any assembly of three people or more, one of whom threatens to break a law.)

John Rudder, of the Coalition Against Racism and Fascism, asked the group to support a public demonstration against Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.) for comments he made on the House floor late last week involving Julius Hobson, Marion Barry, and Willie Hardy, whom he called "bleary-eyed malcontents."

"Broyhill's attack on Mrs. Hardy is tantamount to an attack on all women seeking peace and justice throughout the world," Rudder said. He said that white women "should re-examine their relationship with black women" and join the effort to bring an end to the defamation of black people.

[Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report, Dec. 18, 1969]

TELEGRAMS OF SUPPORT SENT TO BLACK PANTHERS

(Pyongyang KCNA International Service in English 0344 GMT/Dec 69 B)

Pyongyang December sixteenth (KCNA)—The Korean Democratic Lawyers Association and the Korean Committee for Asian-African Solidarity sent telegrams to the Black Panther Party of the United States of America, denouncing the U.S. imperialists ever-intensified fascist outrages against and suppression of the Black Panther Party of the USA and expressing solidarity with the righteous struggle of the party.

Pointing out that the U.S. imperialists' ever intensified fascist outrages against and suppression of the Black Panther Party of the USA have evoked surging indignation among the Korean people, the telegrams noted that such outrages of the U.S. imperialists are not only a vicious criminal act against the Black Panther Party of the USA but also a shameless challenge to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and all the people who love freedom and justice.

The Korean people who always resolutely support the liberation struggle of all the oppressed peoples strongly hold that the U.S. imperialists must stop at once all their acts of suppression against your party and immediately and unconditionally release the leaders and members of the Black Panther Party of the USA whom they illegally arrested and imprisoned, the telegrams stressed.

The telegrams expressed the conviction that the leaders and members of the Black Panther Party of the USA would win final victory in the end bravely overcoming all kinds of suppression and persecution by U.S. imperialism and voiced once again firm solidarity with their righteous struggle to break the chains of slavery and achieve freedom and liberation.

[From the Latin America Report, November 1969]

ARE ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS DIRECTED FROM HAVANA?

HOAXES PLAYED ON SOVIET EMBASSIES

On November 15, as Moratorium- and New Mobe-led Americans converged on Washington, Radio Havana, Cuba, broadcast the following message in English to the United States: "The Tricontinental Committee for Support of Vietnam urgently calls on the people of the whole world to organize a campaign of international mobilization, huge and powerful, in support of the Moratorium movement in the United States." The broadcast added: "Our campaign will continue into 1970 and will have its major emphasis in the week of solidarity with Vietnam, from December 14 to 20 of this year." For Communist Cuba, the Moratorium is "our campaign."

The majority of those participating in the Moratorium claim they are motivated by idealism, and pooh-pooh the thought that they may be responding to Communist leadership. While the overwhelming number firmly believe this, the evidence is no less overwhelming that they are following a Communist blueprint for victory that was hammered out in Havana, Cuba, four years ago.

The momentum to force the United States to withdraw its support to governments under Communist attack (Vietnam) came out of a "Tricontinental Conference," held in Havana from January 3-15, 1966. The Conference was attended by 782 accredited Communists from 82 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who developed what is now known as the Tricontinental Organization (OSPAAAL). The Soviet Union gave the conference its overt sponsorship and sent 40 official delegates, including Sharaf Rashidov, a candidate member of the Supreme Soviet. Red China came next with 34 official delegates. The two Communist powers emerged as leaders of a Havana-based central strategy body within OSPAAAL which is now directing "wars of national liberation" throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

OSPAAAL has two missions—1. to foment and direct "wars of national liberation," and 2. to undercut nations of the free world who are fighting them. The point is that the Vietnam war is considered by the Communists to be the prototype of all future wars of Communist aggression. The purpose of convening the Havana Conference was to devise a strategy to protect those wars from

a free world, specifically, a United States, response. The test case is Vietnam.

The groundwork had been laid well in advance. On April 7, 1965, nearly one year before the Havana conference was convened, Cuba, under Soviet auspices, announced via Prensa Latina that it had organized what it called a "Latin American Commission to Aid Vietnam." Headed by Hilda Gadea, former wife of the late "Che" Guevara, the Commission boasted that by 1966 it had committees operating in 25 countries and dependencies in Latin America.

Their purpose: To terrorize and pressure governments in those countries into taking an anti-American position on Vietnam. This first, and necessary, step had to be taken if "Che" Guevara's call for exploding more "Vietnams" was to be realized. By undercutting the United States' war effort in Vietnam, governments in Latin America and elsewhere would, in fact, be undercutting their response to "Vietnams" exploding in their own countries. This OSPAAAL set out to accomplish.

The goals adopted by the Tricontinental Committee for Support of Vietnam follow:

"All progressive forces are to join in a mass movement to demand the immediate cessation of the war of aggression in Vietnam; the immediate, final and unconditional cessation of air raids against North Vietnam; the withdrawal of all North American troops as well as the troops of satellite countries from South Vietnam; and the dismantling and removal of the North American military bases in South Vietnam." How many U.S. Senators today espouse these same goals?

The way to achieve these goals was also spelled out, and follows:

"To develop in every way—through demonstrations, rallies of protest, boycotts against the loading and transportation of arms and war material and North American troops, celebration of days and weeks of solidarity (Moratorium) against the war . . ."

It is within the context of this Communist resolution of 1966 that the recently broadcast Tricontinental support for the Moratorium has its real importance.

Just why the Communists consider it vital that the United States be undercut in Vietnam is also spelled out in another resolution adopted in Havana back in 1966. Here it is:

"The Conference considers that the struggle of the people of Vietnam is in itself a direct support and a powerful contribution—especially through the rich experience accumulated—to the national liberation movements of the people . . . a brilliant and courageous example and a stimulus to all the progressive people of the world."

In short, stop the free world from responding to aggressive "wars of national liberation" as in Vietnam, and the road is left open to Communist conquest on enemy terms. So, what President Nixon does or does not do in Vietnam will affect the entire course of our foreign affairs for decades to come. And the Communists seek to inhibit the President's actions—to intimidate him—in typical Communist fashion.

Cuba, inspiration, training ground

Why Cuba? Why did the Russians choose Cuba as the site for this provocative conference? The answer is that the late President Kennedy, in exchange for the alleged withdrawal of Soviet long-range missiles in 1962, extended to Cuba the status of a Communist sanctuary. Cuba has since emerged as the "North Vietnam" of the Western Hemisphere and is ruled by a rabid anti-American, Fidel Castro. It's estimated 43 guerrilla training camps, leadership schools and political indoctrination centers turn out thousands of guerrillas and subversives now formenting "Vietnams" not only in Latin America, but in Africa and Asia as well.

Ideology was relaxed enough to make room for non-Communist Arab officers to train alongside Communist Senegalese and Latin Americans. Cuba has an estimated 300 Negro troops in the Congo (Brazzaville), underscoring the global importance of that Caribbean island, only 90 miles from Florida.

Obviously, the Communist consortium operating in Havana has not overlooked the utility of Cuba as a base for subverting the United States itself. (H. Rap Brown: "We live in the heart of the monster and will destroy it from within.") Well before there were significant acts of resistance to the Vietnam war in this country, the OSPAAAL spelled out what it expected of American youths. Using the Communist lingo of reporting plans for the future in the present tense, the Havana conferees appealed to American youth in the following terms:

"We congratulate the youth of the United States who refuse to become accomplices to the crime of genocide perpetrated by Johnson's government against the Vietnamese people, who destroy their draft cards in order not to participate in the slaughter . . . refuse to permit the recruiting of mercenaries on American Campuses . . ." All of these have come to pass, in mounting response to Havana's call.

This resolution was followed by the creation of the Latin American Student Organization (OCLAE) and a call for youths to "launch a wave of sabotage against Yankee interests throughout the world." It urged "demonstrations, sit-ins, death marches, protest meetings and denunciations of Yankee policy." These, too, have come to pass.

In August of 1967 Stokely Carmichael, then of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, journeyed to Havana where he participated in an OSPAAAL conference, made common cause with the anti-war aims of Castro's student organization and concluded with a world tour denouncing the United States for trying to stem the Communist advance in Vietnam. Also present at the Havana meeting was Juan Mari Bras, head of Puerto Rico's Communist Pro-Independence Movement and its satellite students organization, FUPI. This September, FUPI burned down the ROTC facilities at the University of Puerto Rico (see Latin America Report, Oct. 1969). The faculty has since decided to ban the ROTC from the campus.

Dave Dellinger of the New Mobilization, and principal instigator of last year's Chicago convention riots, has attended subversive conference in Havana. So has George Murray, who exploded San Francisco State College last year following his return from Havana. S.D.S. leader Mark Rudd attended Havana's Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam in early 1968, then returned to trigger the sacking of Colombia University in April of that year. The September 15 edition of Cuba's Granma reveals that Castro's OCLAE is in direct contact with the S.D.S. through the latter's office in Mexico City. Not least, Black Panther leader, Eldridge Cleaver, now operates out of Havana as did Robert Williams before him for many years.

H. Rap Brown has been on the phone with Havana a number of times, as has Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick and Black Panther Bobby Seale. On August 15, 1968, Dave Dellinger told Havana by phone in advance of the Democratic Convention in Chicago: "Youths in the United States will force the Democratic Convention to quit the war in Vietnam . . . we will keep our active resistance in the streets until all U.S. soldiers return from Vietnam and the current policy of repression against the Negro community is stopped . . ."

A Tricontinental Resolution on American Negroes outlines Communist plans to use Negroes for political purposes:

"During the rioting in Watts, Los Angeles, and Chicago, Afro-Americans proclaimed that

they were fighting a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers against racism and North American imperialism . . ." This certainly was not the case then, but few can deny that militants within the civil rights movement today indeed identify civil rights with the war in Vietnam.

How this came about is suggested in yet another Tricontinental Resolution:

"While Afro-Americans do not form part of Latin America, they merit special consideration, and we call upon the Tricontinental Organization to create the necessary mechanism so that these brothers in the struggle will in the future be able to participate in the great battle being fought . . ."

Circumstantial evidence more than suggests that the "necessary mechanism" has been forged since 1966 which identifies civil rights with an end to the Vietnam war. It appears to have started on March 30, 1967, when the Southern Christian Leadership Conference condemned the war in Vietnam, said that U.S. response to aggression was morally and politically unjust and charged that draft boards were racially motivated.

Then, on April 15, 1967, Stokely Carmichael joined Rev. Martin Luther King in staging a massive anti-Vietnam war rally near the United Nations, in New York. It was supported by something called the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War.

There we have it. Only the naive can believe that these intricate, inter-locking events are mere coincidence. They represent ideological purpose and superb planning.

An even more recent event serves to dramatize the interest which Communist Cuba has in anti-war demonstrations. On November 16, the day following the Moratorium march on Washington, Castro's Prensa Latina issued this release:

"Messages of solidarity with the Moratorium and congratulations have been addressed to the American people by AALAPSO and by the Tricontinental Committee of Support for Vietnam."

STOP THE TRIAL

DEAR FRIEND: As you are surely aware, seven prominent political activists are now on trial in Chicago federal court, charged with intending to incite riot during the Democratic National Convention. An ACLU Director has called it "probably the most important political trial in the history of the United States." Certainly no other trial in recent memory has cast such dark shadows across our assumptions about the judicial and political process: An eighth defendant, Panther Chairman Bobby Seale was chained and gagged in the courtroom for his refusal to accept the denial of his right of self-defense in the absence of his attorney, Charles R. Garry. Because of the "outbursts," trial judge Julius J. Hoffman declared a mistrial for Seale, sentencing him to four years imprisonment for "contempt of court." Attorneys who were associated with the defense in pretrial work were likewise jailed for contempt of Judge Hoffman's court.

The continuing trial in Chicago is the first under the infamous anti-riot provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Congress passed the provision under pressure from segregationists who were anxious to bring the enormous investigative and legal machinery of the federal government to bear against black civil rights activists.

As this first indictment shows, the blanket provisions of the Anti-Riot Act can all too readily be applied against political dissenters in general and anti-war protesters in particular. The new men at the Justice Department have been quite candid in their views on dissent. Will Wilson, the department's chief of prosecutions, told a reporter: "On the question of where does free speech

move toward public disturbance, my answer would be: "pretty soon." Because the "Anti-Riot" Act undertakes to punish intent rather than acts, it is a frighteningly effective weapon for the intimidation and harassment of those who would speak too freely—on the war, on the crucial issues that grip this nation.

Those of us who have felt impelled to support organized protest against racial injustice at home and a horrendous war in Asia have an obligation to support the right of organized dissent. Seldom have the lines of liberty and repression been so clearly drawn as they are now in Chicago.

In order for the defense of the Chicago Conspiracy to be handled properly and a strong Constitutional test of the Anti-Riot to be made, funds are very urgently needed. Defense counsel have been serving without fee; even so, costs of the defense exceed \$1,000 per day. I and other members of the National Committee to Defend the Conspiracy appeal to you for whatever you can afford—to defend the right of dissent in the streets of Chicago, and across the breadth of America.

Yours Sincerely,

BENJAMIN SPOCK, M.D.

P.S.—Checks should be made payable to the Chicago Defense Fund.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CHAPTER, San Francisco, April 22, 1969.

DEAR FRIEND: We are honoring a man in his time—his name is Charles R. Garry. You know him. He is known to Huey P. Newton, to Eldridge Cleaver, to the Oakland Seven, to Wesley Robert Wells, to Bobby Seale, now indicted in Chicago for protesting the Vietnam war at the Democratic National Convention.

If Charles Garry retired today, his magnificent legal contributions to the poor, the unrepresented, would entitle him to the greatest community recognition and gratitude. As one might expect of a man with his convictions, Charles Garry is a charter member of the National Lawyers Guild, a professional association which unites the lawyers of America as an effective force serving the people.

We in the Guild believe that many persons throughout the United States who know Charles Garry would want to join with us in a heartfelt tribute and warm embrace.

A testimonial banquet for Charles Garry will take place on the evening of May 10, 1969 in the Imperial Ballroom of the San Francisco Hilton. It is appropriate that such an event will also serve to raise much needed funds for the greatly expanded functions of the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. The Chapter has recently opened a regional office to more fully coordinate legal representation of people involved in current movements for social change.

We realize that many persons who would like to be present to pay tribute to Charles Garry and the National Lawyers Guild will not be able to attend. So that all may express their feelings, therefore, we invite letters from all over the country, to be bound in a single volume and presented to Charles Garry.

Would you join us in this? We ask that you send us your greeting on a single sheet of paper, together with a contribution of \$5.00 or more in the enclosed envelope.

Checks should be made payable to the National Lawyers Guild, and the greeting and the check should be mailed in time to be received in San Francisco by May 1, 1969. You are, of course, free to make a contribution without a greeting, if lack of time or other considerations make a greeting impracticable.

Of course, if you are able to attend the banquet in person, you are cordially invited. Tickets are available at the above address for \$25.00 per person.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE L. DUGA,
Secretary.

THE PRINCE OF PEACE

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that William Jennings Bryan delivered his famous oration, "The Prince of Peace," over 3,000 times throughout the Nation and the world over.

At this Christmastime, I commend to the attention of my colleagues and the people of our Nation once again, this magnificent address.

THE PRINCE OF PEACE

(By William Jennings Bryan)

(A lecture delivered at many Chautauquas and religious gatherings, in America, beginning in 1904; also in Canada, Mexico, Tokyo, Manila, Bombay, Cairo, and Jerusalem. Mr. Bryan's famous "Cross of Gold" speech is printed in Volume XI and an after-dinner speech in Volume I.)

I offer no apology for speaking upon a religious theme, for it is the most universal of all themes. I am interested in the science of government, but I am more interested in religion than in government. I enjoy making a political speech—I have made a good many and shall make more—but I would rather speak on religion than politics. I commenced speaking on the stump when I was only twenty, but I commenced speaking in the church six years earlier—and I shall be in the church even after I am out of politics. I feel sure of my ground when I make a political speech, but I feel even more certain of my ground when I make a religious speech. If I addressed you upon the subject of law, I might interest the lawyers; if I discussed the science of medicine, I might interest the physicians; in like manner merchants might be interested in comments on commerce, and farmers in matters pertaining to agriculture; but no one of these subjects appeals to all. Even the science of government though broader than any profession or occupation, does not embrace the whole sum of life, and those who think upon it differ so among themselves that I could not speak upon the subject so as to please a part of the audience without displeasing others. While to me the science of government is intensely absorbing, I recognize that the most important things in life lie outside of the realm of government and that more depends upon what the individual does for himself than upon what the government does or can do for him. Men can be miserable under the best government and they can be happy under the worst government.

Government affects but a part of the life which we live here and does not deal at all with the life beyond, while religion touches the infinite circle of existence as well as the small arc of that circle which we spend on earth. No greater theme, therefore, can engage our attention. If I discuss questions of government, I must secure the cooperation of a majority before I can put my ideas into practice; but if, in speaking on religion, I can touch one human heart for good I have not spoken in vain, no matter how large the majority may be against me.

Man is a religious being; the heart instinctively seeks for a God. Whether he worships on the banks of the Ganges, prays with his face upturned to the sun, kneels toward Mecca, or, regarding all space as a temple, communes with the Heavenly Father according to the Christian creed, man is essentially devout.

There are honest doubters whose sincerity we recognize and respect, but occasionally I find young men who think it smart to be skeptical; they talk as if it were an evidence of larger intelligence to scoff at creeds and to refuse to connect themselves with churches. They call themselves "Liberal," as if a Christian were narrow-minded. Some go so far as to assert that the "advanced thought of the world" has discarded the idea that there is a God. To these young men I desire to address myself.

Even some older people profess to regard religion as a superstition, pardonable in the ignorant but unworthy of the educated. Those who hold this view look down with mild contempt upon such as give to religion a definite place in their thoughts and lives. They assume an intellectual superiority and often take little pains to conceal the assumption. Tolstoy administers to the "cultured crowd" (the words quoted are his) a severe rebuke when he declares that the religious sentiment rests not upon a superstitious fear of the invisible forces of nature, but upon man's consciousness of his finiteness amid an infinite universe and of his sinfulness; and this consciousness, the great philosopher adds, man can never outgrow. Tolstoy is right; man recognizes how limited are his own powers and how vast is the universe, and he leans upon the arm that is stronger than his. Man feels the weight of his sins and looks for One who is sinless.

Religion has been defined by Tolstoy as the relation which man fixes between himself and his God, and morality as the outward manifestation of this inward relation. Every one, by the time he reaches maturity, has fixed some relation between himself and God, and no material change in this relation can take place without a revolution in the man, for this relation is the most potent influence that acts upon a human life.

Religion is the foundation of morality in the individual and in the group of individuals. Materialists have attempted to build up a system of morality upon the basis of enlightened self-interest. They would have men figure out by mathematics that it pays him to abstain from wrongdoing; they would even inject an element of selfishness into altruism, but the moral system elaborated by the materialists has several defects. First, its virtues are borrowed from moral systems based upon religion. All those who are intelligent enough to discuss a system of morality are so saturated with the morals derived from systems resting upon religion that they cannot frame a system resting upon reason alone. Second, as it rests upon argument rather than upon authority, the young are not in a position to accept or reject. Our laws do not permit a young man to dispose of real estate until he is twenty-one. Why this restraint? Because his reason is not mature; and yet a man's life is largely molded by the environment of his youth. Third, one never knows just how much of his decision is due to reason and how much is due to passion or to selfish interest. Passion can dethrone reason—we recognize this in our criminal laws. We also recognize the bias of self-interest when we exclude from the jury every man, no matter how reasonable or upright he may be, who has a pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. And, fourth, one whose morality rests upon a nice calculation of benefits to be secured spends time figuring that he should spend in action. Those who keep a book account of their good deeds seldom do enough good to justify keeping books.

A noble life cannot be built upon an arithmetic; it must be rather like the spring that pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates.

Morality is the power of endurance in man, and a religion which teaches personal responsibility to God gives strength to morality. There is a powerful restraining influence in the belief that an all-seeing eye scrutinizes every thought and word and act of the individual.

There is a wide difference between the man who is trying to conform his life to a standard of morality about him and the man who seeks to make his life approximate to a divine standard. The former attempts to live up to the standard if it is above him, and down to it if it is below him—and if he is doing right only when others are looking, he is sure to find a time when he thinks he is unobserved, and then he takes a vacation and falls. One needs the inner strength which comes with the conscious presence of a personal God. If those who are thus fortified sometimes yield to temptation, how helpless and hopeless must those be who rely upon their own strength alone!

There are difficulties to be encountered in religion, but there are difficulties to be encountered everywhere. If Christians sometimes have doubts and fears, unbelievers have more doubts and greater fears. I passed through a period of skepticism when I was in college, and I have been glad ever since that I became a member of the church before I left home for college, for it helped me during those trying days. And the college days cover the dangerous period in the young man's life; he is just coming into possession of his powers, and feels stronger than he ever feels afterward—and he thinks he knows more than he ever does know.

It was at this period that I became confused by the different theories of creation. But I examined these theories and found that they all assumed something to begin with. You can test this for yourselves. The nebular hypothesis, for instance, assumes that matter and force existed—matter in particles infinitely fine and each particle separated from every other particle by space infinitely great. Beginning with this assumption, force working on matter—according to this hypothesis—created a universe. Well, I have a right to assume, and I prefer to assume, a Designer back of the design—a Creator back of the creation; and no matter how long you draw out the process of creation, so long as God stands back of it you cannot shake my faith in Jehovah. In Genesis it is written that, in the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth, and I can stand on that proposition until I find some theory of creation that goes farther back than "the beginning." We must begin with something—we must start somewhere—and the Christian begins with God.

I do not carry the doctrine of evolution as far as some do; I am not yet convinced that man is a lineal descendant of the lower animals. I do not mean to find fault with you if you want to accept the theory; all I mean to say is that while you may trace your ancestry back to the monkey if you find pleasure or pride in doing so, you shall not connect me with your family tree without more evidence than has yet been produced. I object to the theory for several reasons. First, it is a dangerous theory. If a man links himself in generations with the monkey, it then becomes an important question whether he is going toward him or coming from him—and I have seen them going in both directions. I do not know of any argument that can be used to prove that man is an improved monkey that may not be used just as well to prove that the monkey is a degenerate man, and the latter theory is more plausible than the former.

It is true that man in some physical characteristics resembles the beast, but man has a mind as well as a body, and a soul as well as a mind. The mind is greater than the body and the soul is greater than the mind, and I object to having man's pedigree traced on one-third of him only—and that the lowest third. Fairburn, in his "Philosophy of Christianity," lays down a sound proposition when he says that it is not sufficient to explain man as an animal; that it is necessary to explain man in history—and the Darwinian theory does not do this. The ape, according to this theory, is older than man, and yet the ape is still an ape, while man is the author of the marvelous civilization which we see about us.

One does not escape from mystery, however, by accepting this theory, for it does not explain the origin of life. When the follower of Darwin has traced the germ of life back to the lowest form in which it appears—and to follow him one must exercise more faith than religion calls for—he finds that scientists differ. Those who reject the idea of creation are divided into two schools, some believing that the first germ of life came from another planet and others holding that it was the result of spontaneous generation. Each school answers the arguments advanced by the other, and as they cannot agree with each other, I am not compelled to agree with either.

If I were compelled to accept one of these theories I would prefer the first, for if we can chase the germ of life off this planet and get it out into space we can guess the rest of the way and no one can contradict us, but if we accept the doctrine of spontaneous generation we cannot explain why spontaneous generation ceased to act after the first germ was created.

Go back as far as we may, we cannot escape from the creative act, and it is just as easy for me to believe that God created man as *he is* as to believe that, millions of years ago, He created a germ of life and endowed it with power to develop into all that we see to-day. I object to the Darwinian theory, until more conclusive proof is produced, because I fear we shall lose the consciousness of God's presence in our daily life, if we must accept the theory that through all the ages no spiritual force has touched the life of man or shaped the destiny of nations.

But there is another objection. The Darwinian theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate—the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak. If this is the law of our development, then, if there is any logic that can bind the human mind, we shall turn backward toward the beast in proportion as we substitute the law of love. I prefer to believe that love rather than hatred is the law of development. How can hatred be the law of development when nations have advanced in proportion as they have departed from that law and adopted the law of love?

But, I repeat, while I do not accept the Darwinian theory I shall not quarrel with you about it; I only refer to it to remind you that it does not solve the mystery of life or explain human progress. I fear that some have accepted it in the hope of escaping from the miracle, but why should the miracle frighten us? And yet I am inclined to think that it is one of the test questions with the Christian.

Christ cannot be separated from the miraculous; His birth, His ministrations, and His resurrection, all involve the miraculous, and the change which His religion works in the human heart is a continuing miracle. Eliminate the miracles and Christ becomes merely a human being and His gospel is stripped of divine authority.

The miracle raises two questions: "Can

God perform a miracle?" and, "Would He want to?" The first is easy to answer. A God who can make a world can do anything He wants to do with it. The power to perform miracles is necessarily implied in the power to create. But would God *want* to perform a miracle?—this is the question which has given most of the trouble. The more I have considered it the less inclined I am to answer in the negative. To say that God *would not* perform a miracle is to assume a more intimate knowledge of God's plans and purposes than I can claim to have. I will not deny that God does perform a miracle or may perform one, merely because I do not know how or why He does it. I find it so difficult to decide each day what God wants done now that I am not presumptuous enough to attempt to declare what God might have wanted to do thousands of years ago. The fact that we are constantly learning of the existence of new forces suggests the possibility that God may operate through forces yet unknown to us, and the mysteries with which we deal every day warn me that faith is as necessary as sight. Who would have credited a century ago the stories that are now told of the wonder-working electricity? For ages man had known the lightning, but only to fear it; now this invisible current is generated by a man-made machine, imprisoned in a man-made wire and made to do the bidding of man. We are even able to dispense with the wire and hurl words through space, and the X-ray has enabled us to look through substances which were supposed, until recently, to exclude all light. The miracle is not more mysterious than many of the things with which man now deals—it is simply different. The miraculous birth of Christ is not more mysterious than any other conception—it is simply unlike it; nor is the resurrection of Christ more mysterious than the myriad resurrections which mark each annual seed-time.

It is sometimes said that God could not suspend one of His laws without stopping the universe, but do we not suspend or overcome the law of gravitation every day? Every time we move a foot or lift a weight we temporarily overcome one of the most universal of natural laws and yet the world is not disturbed.

Science has taught us so many things that we are tempted to conclude that we know everything, but there is really a great unknown which is still unexplored and that which we have learned ought to increase our reverence rather than our egotism. Science has disclosed some of the machinery of the universe, but science has not yet revealed to us the great secret—the secret of life. It is to be found in every blade of grass, in every insect, in every bird, and in every animal, as well as in man. Six thousand years of recorded history and yet we know no more about the secret of life than they knew in the beginning. We live, we plan; we have our hopes, our fears; and yet in a moment a change may come over any one of us and this body will become a mass of lifeless clay. What is it that, having, we live, and, having not, we are as the clod? The progress of the race and the civilization which we now behold are the work of men and women who have not yet solved the mystery of their own lives.

And our food, must we understand it before we eat it? If we refused to eat anything until we could understand the mystery of its growth, we would die of starvation. But mystery does not bother us in the dining-room; it is only in the church that it is a stumbling block.

I was eating a piece of watermelon some months ago and was struck with its beauty. I took some of the seeds and dried them and weighed them, and found that it would require some five thousand seeds to weigh a

pound; and then I applied mathematics to that forty-pound melon. One of these seeds, put into the ground, when warmed by the sun and moistened by the rain, takes off its coat and goes to work; it gathers from somewhere two hundred thousand times its own weight, and forcing this raw material through a tiny stem, constructs a watermelon. It ornaments the outside with a covering of green; inside the green it puts a layer of white, and within the white a core of red, and all through the red it scatters seeds, each one capable of continuing the work of reproduction. Who drew the plan by which that little seed works? Where does it get its tremendous strength? Where does it find its coloring matter? How does it collect its flavoring extract? How does it develop a watermelon? Until you can explain a watermelon, do not be too sure that you can set limits to the power of the Almighty and say just what He would do or how He would do it.

The egg is the most universal of foods, and its use dates from the beginning, but what is more mysterious than an egg? When an egg is fresh it is an important article of merchandise; a hen can destroy its market value in a week's time, but in two weeks more she can bring forth from it what man could not find in it. We eat eggs, but we cannot explain an egg.

Water has been used from the birth of man; we learned after it had been used for ages that it is merely a mixture of gases, but it is far more important that we have water to drink than that we know that it is not water.

Everything that grows tells a like story of infinite power. Why should I deny that a divine hand fed a multitude with a few loaves and fishes when I see hundreds of millions fed every year by a hand which converts the seeds scattered over the field into an abundant harvest? We know that food can be multiplied in a few months' time; shall we deny the power of the Creator to eliminate the element of time, when we have gone so far in eliminating the element of space? Who am I that I should attempt to measure the arm of the Almighty with my puny arm, or to measure the brain of the Infinite with my finite mind? Who am I that I should attempt to put metes and bounds to the power of the Creator?

But there is something even more wonderful still—the mysterious change that takes place in the human heart when the man begins to hate the things he loved and to love the things he hated—the marvelous transformation that takes place in the man who, before the change, would have sacrificed a world for his own advancement but who, after the change, would give his life for a principle and esteem it a privilege to make sacrifice for his convictions! What greater miracle than this, that converts a selfish, self-centered human being into a center from which good influences flow out in every direction! And yet this miracle has been wrought in the heart of each one of us—or may be wrought—and we have seen it wrought in the hearts and lives of those about us. No, living life is a mystery and living in the midst of mystery and miracles, I shall not allow either to deprive me of the benefits of the Christian religion. If you ask me if I understand everything in the Bible, I answer, no, but if we will try to live up to what we do understand, we shall be kept so busy doing good that we shall not have time to worry about the passages which we do not understand.

Some of those who question the miracle also question the theory of atonement; they assert that it does not accord with their idea of justice for one to die for all. Let each one bear his own sins and the punishment due for them, they say. The doctrine of vicarious suffering is not a new one; it is as old as

the race. That one should suffer for others is one of the most familiar of principles, and we see the principle illustrated every day of our lives. Take the family, for instance; from the day the mother's first child is born, for twenty or thirty years her children are scarcely out of her waking thoughts. Her life trembles in the balance at each child's birth; she sacrifices for them, she surrenders herself to them. Is it because she expects them to pay her back? Fortunate for the parent and fortunate for the child if the latter has an opportunity to repay in part the debt it owes. But no child can compensate a parent for a parent's care. In the course of nature the debt is paid, not to the parent, but to the next generation, and the next—each generation suffering, sacrificing for and surrendering itself to the generation that follows. This is the law of our lives.

Nor is this confined to the family. Every step in civilization has been made possible by those who have been willing to sacrifice for posterity. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, and free government have all been won for the world by those who were willing to labor unselfishly for their fellows. So well established is this doctrine that we do not regard any one as great unless he recognizes how unimportant his life is in comparison with the problems with which he deals.

I find proof that man was made in the image of his Creator in the fact that, throughout the centuries, man has been willing to die, if necessary, that blessings denied to him might be enjoyed by his children, his children's children, and the world.

The seeming paradox, "He that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it," has an application wider than that usually given to it; it is an epitome of history. Those who live only for themselves live little lives, but those who stand ready to give themselves for the advancement of things greater than themselves find a larger life than the one they would have surrendered. Wendell Phillips gave expression to the same idea when he said, "What imprudent men the benefactors of the race have been! How prudently most men sink into nameless graves, while now and then a few forget themselves into immortality!" We win immortality, not by remembering ourselves, but by forgetting ourselves in devotion to things larger than ourselves. Instead of being an unnatural plan, the plan of salvation is in perfect harmony with human nature as we understand it. Sacrifice is the language of love, and Christ, in suffering for the world, adopted the only means of reaching the heart. This can be demonstrated not only by theory but by experience, for the story of His life, His teachings, His sufferings and His death has been translated into every language, and everywhere it has touched the heart.

But if I were going to present an argument in favor of the divinity of Christ, I would not begin with miracles or mystery or with the theory of atonement. I would begin as Carnegie Simpson does in his book entitled "The Fact of Christ." Commencing with the undisputed fact that Christ lived, he points out that one cannot contemplate this fact without feeling that in some way it is related to those now living. He says that one can read of Alexander, of Caesar, or of Napoleon, and not feel that it is a matter of personal concern; but that when one reads that Christ lived, and how he lived and how He died, he feels that somehow there is a cord that stretches from that life to his. As he studies the character of Christ he becomes conscious of certain virtues which stand out in bold relief—His purity, His forgiving spirit and His unfathomable love. The author is correct. Christ presents an example of purity in thought and life, and man, conscious of his own imperfections and

grieved over his shortcomings, finds inspiration in the fact that He was tempted in all points like as we are, and yet was without sin. I am not sure but that each can find just here a way of determining for himself whether he possesses the true spirit of a Christian. If the sinlessness of Christ inspires within him an earnest desire to conform his life more nearly to the perfect example, he is indeed a follower; if, on the other hand, he resents the reproach which the purity of Christ offers, and refuses to mend his ways, he has yet to be born again.

The most difficult of all the virtues to cultivate is the forgiving spirit. Revenge seems to be natural with man; it is human to want to get even with an enemy. It has even been popular to boast of vindictiveness; it was once inscribed on a man's monument that he had repaid both friends and enemies more than he had received. This was not the spirit of Christ. He taught forgiveness, and in that incomparable prayer which He left as a model for our petitions, He made our willingness to forgive the measure by which we may claim forgiveness. He not only taught forgiveness, but He exemplified His teachings in His life. When those who persecuted Him brought Him to the most disgraceful of all deaths, His spirit of forgiveness rose above His sufferings and He prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

But love is the foundation of Christ's creed. The world had known love before; parents had loved their children, and children their parents; husbands had loved their wives, and wives their husbands; and friend had loved friend; but Jesus gave a new definition of love. His love was as wide as the sea; its limits were so far-flung that even an enemy could not travel beyond its bounds. Other teachers sought to regulate the lives of their followers by rule and formula, but Christ's plan was to purify the heart and then to leave love to direct the footsteps.

What conclusion is to be drawn from the life, the teachings, and the death of this historic figure? Reared in a carpenter shop; with no knowledge of literature, save Bible literature; with no acquaintance with philosophers living or with the writings of sages dead, when only about thirty years old He gathered disciples about Him, promulgated a higher code of morals than the world had ever known before, and proclaimed Himself the Messiah. He taught and performed miracles for a few brief months and then was crucified; His disciples were scattered and many of them put to death; His claims were disputed, His resurrection denied, and His followers persecuted; and yet from this beginning His religion spread until hundreds of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips and millions have been willing to die rather than surrender the faith which He put into their hearts. How shall we account for him? Here is the greatest fact of history; here is One who has with increasing power, for nineteen hundred years, molded the hearts, the thoughts, and the lives of men, and He exerts more influence to-day than ever before. "What think ye of Christ?" It is easier to believe Him divine than to explain in any other way what He said and did and was. And I have greater faith, even than before, since I have visited the Orient and witnessed the successful contest which Christianity is waging against the religions and philosophies of the East.

I was thinking a few years ago of the Christmas which was then approaching and of Him in whose honor the day is celebrated. I recalled the message, "On earth peace, good will toward men," and then my thoughts ran back to the prophecy uttered centuries before His birth, in which He was described as the Prince of Peace. To reinforce my memory I re-read the prophecy, and I found immediately following a verse which I had forgotten—a verse which

declares that of the increase of His peace and government there shall be no end, and, Isaiah adds, that He shall judge His people with justice and with judgment. I had been reading of the rise and fall of nations, and occasionally I had met a gloomy philosopher who preached the doctrine that nations, like individuals, must of necessity have their birth, their infancy, their maturity, and finally their decay and death. But here I read of a government that is to be perpetual—a government of increasing peace and blessedness—the government of the Prince of Peace—and it is to rest on justice. I have thought of this prophecy many times during the last few years, and I have selected this theme that I might present some of the reasons which lead me to believe that Christ has fully earned the right to be called the Prince of Peace—a title that will in the years to come be more and more applied to Him. If He can bring peace to each individual heart and if His creed when applied will bring peace throughout the earth, who will deny His right to be called the Prince of Peace?

All the world is in search of peace; every heart that ever beat has sought for peace, and many have been the methods employed to secure it. Some have thought to purchase it with riches and have labored to secure wealth, hoping to find peace when they were able to go where they pleased and buy what they liked. Of those who have endeavored to purchase peace with money, the large majority have failed to secure the money. But what has been the experience of those who have been eminently successful in finance? They all tell the same story, viz., that they spent the first half of their lives trying to get money from others and the last half trying to keep others from getting their money, and that they found peace in neither half. Some have even reached the point where they find difficulty in getting people to accept their money; and I know of no better indication of the ethical awakening in this country than the increasing tendency to scrutinize the methods of money-making. I am sanguine enough to believe that the time will yet come when respectability will no longer be sold to great criminals by helping them spend their ill-gotten gains. A long step in advance will have been taken when religious, educational, and charitable institutions refuse to condone conscienceless methods in business and leave the possessor of illegitimate accumulations to learn how lonely life is when one prefers money to morals.

Some have sought peace in social distinction, but whether they have been within the charmed circle and fearful lest they might fall out, or outside and hopeful that they might get in, they have not found peace. Some have thought, vain thought, to find peace in political prominence; but whether office comes by birth, as in monarchies, or by election, as in republics, it does not bring peace. An office is not considered a high one if all can occupy it. Only when few in a generation can hope to enjoy an honor do we call it a great honor. I am glad that our Heavenly Father did not make the peace of the human heart to depend upon ability to buy it with money, secure it in society, or win it at the polls, for in either case but few could have obtained it, but when He made peace the reward of a conscience void of offense toward God and man, He put it within the reach of all. The poor can secure it as easily as the rich, the social outcasts as freely as the leader of society, and the humblest citizen equally with those who wield political power.

To those who have grown gray in the Church, I need not speak of the peace to be found in faith in God and trust in an overruling Providence. Christ taught that our lives are precious in the sight of God, and

poets have taken up the thought and woven it into immortal verse. No uninspired writer has expressed it more beautifully than William Cullen Bryant in his "Ode to a Waterfowl." After following the wanderings of the bird of passage as it seeks first its southern and then its northern home, he concludes:

"Thou are gone; the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form, but on my
heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast
given,
And shall not soon depart."

"He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy
certain flight,

In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright."

Christ promoted peace by giving us assurance that a line of communication can be established between the Father above and the child below. And who will measure the consolations of the hour of prayer?

And immortality! Who will estimate the peace which a belief in a future life has brought to the sorrowing hearts of the sons of men? You may talk to the young about death ending all, for life is full and hope is strong, but preach not this doctrine to the mother who stands by the death-bed of her babe or to one who is within the shadow of a great affliction. When I was a young man I wrote to Colonel Ingersoll and asked him for his views on God and immortality. His secretary answered that the great infidel was not at home, but inclosed a copy of a speech of Colonel Ingersoll's which covered my question. I scanned it with eagerness and found that he had expressed himself about as follows: "I do not say that there is no God, I simply say I do not know. I do not say that there is no life beyond the grave, I simply say I do not know." And from that day to this I have asked myself the question and have been unable to answer it to my own satisfaction. How could any one find pleasure in taking from a human heart a living faith and substituting therefor the cold and cheerless doctrine, "I do not know"?

Christ gave us proof of immortality, and it was a welcome assurance although it would hardly seem necessary that one should rise from the dead to convince us that the grave is not the end. To every created thing God has given a tongue that proclaims a future life.

If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will He leave neglected in the earth the soul of man, made in the image of his Creator? If He stoops to give to the rose bush, whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze, the sweet assurance of another springtime, will He refuse the words of hope to the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If matter, mute and inanimate, though changed by the forces of nature into a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial spirit of man suffer annihilation when it has paid a brief visit like a royal guest to this tenement of clay? No, I am sure that He who, notwithstanding His apparent prodigality, created nothing without a purpose, and wasted not a single atom in all His creation, has made provision for a future life in which man's universal longing for immortality will find its realization. I am as sure that we live again as I am sure that we live to-day.

In Cairo I secured a few grains of wheat that had slumbered for more than thirty centuries in an Egyptian tomb. As I looked at them this thought came into my mind: If one of those grains had been planted on the banks of the Nile the year after it grew, and all its lineal descendants had been planted and replanted from that time until now, its progeny would to-day be sufficiently

numerous to feed the teeming millions of the world. An unbroken chain of life connects the earliest grains of wheat with the grains that we sow and reap. There is in the grain of wheat an invisible something which has power to discard the body that we see, and from earth and air fashion a new body so much like the old one that we cannot tell the one from the other. If this invisible germ of life in the grain of wheat can thus pass unimpaired through three thousand resurrections, I shall not doubt that my soul has power to clothe itself with a body suited to its new existence when this earthly frame has crumbled into dust.

A belief in immortality not only consoles the individual, but it exerts a powerful influence in bringing peace between individuals. If one actually thinks that man dies as the brute dies, he will yield more easily to the temptation to do injustice to his neighbor when the circumstances are such as to promise security from detection. But if one really expects to meet again, and live eternally with, those whom he knows to-day, he is restrained from evil deeds by the fear of endless remorse. We do not know what rewards are in store for us or what punishments may be reserved, but if there were no other it would be some punishment for one who deliberately and consciously wrongs another to have to live forever in the company of the person wronged and have his littleness and selfishness laid bare. I repeat, a belief in immortality must exert a powerful influence in establishing justice between men and thus laying the foundation for peace.

Again, Christ deserves to be called the Prince of Peace because He has given us a measure of greatness which promotes peace. When His disciples quarreled among themselves as to which should be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven, He rebuked them and said: "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Service is the measure of greatness; it always has been true; it is true to-day, and it always will be true, that he is greatest who does the most good. And how this old world will be transformed when this standard of greatness becomes the standard of every life! Nearly all of our controversies and combats grow out of the fact that we are trying to get something from each other—there will be peace when our aim is to do something for each other. Our enmities and animosities arise largely from our efforts to get as much as possible out of the world—there will be peace when our endeavor is to put as much as possible into the world. The human measure of a human life is its income; the divine measure of a life is its outgo, its overflow—its contribution to the welfare of all.

Christ also led the way to peace by giving us a formula for the propagation of truth. Not all of those who have really desired to do good have employed the Christian method—not all Christians even. In the history of the human race but two methods have been used. The first is the forcible method, and it has been employed most frequently. A man has an idea which he thinks is good; he tells his neighbors about it and they do not like it. This makes him angry; he thinks it would be so much better for them if they would like it, and, seizing a club, he attempts to make them like it. But one trouble about this rule is that it works both ways; when a man starts out to compel his neighbors to think as he does, he generally finds them willing to accept the challenge, and they spend so much time in trying to coerce each other that they have no time left to do each other good.

The other is the Bible plan—"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." And there is no other way of overcoming evil. I am not much of a farmer—I get more credit for my farming than I deserve, and my little

farm receives more advertising than it is entitled to. But I am farmer enough to know that if I cut down weeds they will spring up again; and farmer enough to know that if I plant something there which has more vitality than the weeds I shall not only get rid of the constant cutting, but have the benefit of the crop besides.

In order that there might be no mistake in His plan of propagating the truth, Christ went into detail and laid emphasis upon the value of example—"So live that others seeing your good works may be constrained to glorify your Father which is in Heaven." There is no human influence so potent for good as that which goes out from an upright life. A sermon may be answered; the arguments presented in a speech may be disputed, but no one can answer a Christian life—it is the unanswerable argument in favor of our religion.

It may be a slow process—this conversion of the world by the silent influence of a noble example—but it is the only sure one, and the doctrine applies to nations as well as to individuals. The Gospel of the Prince of Peace gives us the only hope that the world has—and it is an increasing hope—of the substitution of reason for the arbitrament of force in the settlement of international disputes. And our nation ought not to wait for other nations—it ought to take the lead and prove its faith in the omnipotence of truth.

But Christ has given us a platform so fundamental that it can be applied successfully to all controversies. We are interested in platforms; we attend conventions, sometimes traveling long distances; we have wordy wars over the phraseology of various planks, and then we wage earnest campaigns to secure the endorsement of these platforms at the polls. The platform given to the world by the Prince of Peace is more far-reaching and more comprehensive than any platform ever written by the convention of any party in any country. When He condensed into one commandment those of the ten which relate to man's duty toward his fellows and enjoined upon us the rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," He presented a plan for the solution of all the problems that now vex society or may hereafter arise. Other remedies may palliate or postpone the day of settlement, but this is all-sufficient, and the reconciliation which it effects is a permanent one.

My faith in the future—and I have faith—and my optimism—for I am an optimist—my faith and my optimism rest upon the belief that Christ's teachings are being more studied today than ever before, and that with this larger study will come a larger application of those teachings to the everyday life of the world, and to the questions with which we deal. In former times when men read that Christ came "to bring life and immortality to light," they placed the emphasis upon immortality; now they are studying Christ's relation to human life. People used to read the Bible to find out what it said of Heaven; now they read it more to find what light it throws upon the pathway of to-day. In former years many thought to prepare themselves for future bliss by a life of seclusion here; we are learning that to follow in the footsteps of the Master we must go about doing good. Christ declared that He came that we might have life and have it more abundantly. The world is learning that Christ came not to narrow life, but to enlarge it—not to rob it of its joy, but to fill it to overflowing with purpose, earnestness, and happiness.

But this Prince of Peace promises not only peace but strength. Some have thought His teachings fit only for the weak and the timid and unsuited to men of vigor, energy, and ambition. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Only the man of faith can be courageous. Confident that he fights on the side

of Jehovah, he doubts not the success of his cause. What matters it whether he shares in the shouts of triumph? If every word spoken in behalf of truth has its influence and every deed done for the right weighs in the final account, it is immaterial to the Christian whether his eyes behold victory or whether he dies in the midst of the conflict.

"Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here."

"Another hand thy sword wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave."

Only those who believe attempt the seemingly impossible, and, by attempting, prove that one, with God, can chase a thousand and that two can put ten thousand to flight. I can imagine that the early Christians who were carried into the Coliseum to make a spectacle for those more savage than the beasts, were entreated by their doubting companions not to endanger their lives. But, kneeling in the center of the arena, they prayed and sang until they were devoured. How helpless they seemed, and, measured by every human rule, how hopeless was their cause! And yet within a few decades the power which they invoked proved mightier than the legions of the emperor, and the faith in which they died was triumphant o'er all the land.

It is said that those who went to mock at their sufferings returned asking themselves, "What is it that can enter into the heart of man and make him die as these die?" They were greater conquerors in their death than they could have been had they purchased life by a surrender of their faith.

What would have been the fate of the church if the early Christians had had as little faith as many of our Christians of to-day? And if the Christians of to-day had the faith of the martyrs, how long would it be before the fulfillment of the prophecy that "every knee shall bow and every tongue confess"?

I am glad that He, who is called the Prince of Peace—who can bring peace to every troubled heart and whose teachings, exemplified in life, will bring peace between man and man, between community and community, between State and State, between nation and nation throughout the world—I am glad that He brings courage as well as peace, so that those who follow Him may take up and each day bravely do the duties that to that day fall.

As the Christian grows older he appreciates more and more the completeness with which Christ satisfies the longings of the heart, and, grateful for the peace which he enjoys and for the strength which he has received, he repeats the words of the great scholar, Sir William Jones.

"Before thy mystic altar, heavenly truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth;
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brightened by thy ray."

THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE REPORTS

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, since the beginning of the session, the Senate majority policy committee has under-

taken new responsibilities which confront Democrats as a majority in the Senate at a time when the executive branch is under a Republican administration. It was the view of the Senate Democrats that since the Presidency no longer provided the focus of party unity, the policy committee should strive to fill the void in developing and setting forth party positions on issues before the Senate. The committee has pursued these new responsibilities with the cooperation of the legislative committee chairmen and with the unanimous approval of the full Democratic conference.

Throughout the session, the committee's actions have been designed to strengthen party awareness and unity in the Senate to the end that Senate Democrats might make the largest possible contribution to the Nation's interests. In this context, the committee considered a number of issues which arose during the past session, in addition to its customary deliberations on the scheduling of legislation.

Senate Resolution 85, the national commitments resolution, was the first such issue. The resolution was regarded of great significance to the Nation in the reassertion of the proper constitutional role of the Senate in foreign affairs. It had already drawn support from individual members of both parties but seemed of sufficient import to warrant recommendation to the entire Democratic Membership. The action of the policy committee in so recommending was unanimous and the resolution subsequently passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote.

Beginning last winter, a number of meetings were held by the policy committee on the question of tax reform and tax relief. Inflation emphasized the urgency of meeting the issue during the first session if at all possible. The steep rise in prices was adding to the economic burdens of the people, particularly the low- and middle-income groups. These Americans were already carrying a disproportionate share of the tax burden because of accumulated inequities in the income tax laws.

To bring the issue to a head, the Democratic policy committee, in conjunction with and with the cooperation of the chairman and Democratic members of the Finance Committee, agreed that any extension of the surtax—a tax which, passed alone, only would have compounded the inequities in the existing tax structure—had to be coupled with full and meaningful tax reform. It was the unanimous determination of the committee that if the tax surcharge extension became law without tax reform and relief, the latter would, indeed, remain the impossible dream that it had been thought to be for years. The policy committee, therefore, gave its unanimous support to a growing Senate resistance to extend the surtax for the 12-month period unless the extension were coupled with firm guarantees of consideration of a full tax reform package in the first session. The committee's effort did much to overcome insistence from the administration and other quarters that the surtax be passed, with or with-

out general tax reform and tax relief. The committee stood fast in this position, because, as noted, it was persuaded that linking the two was an essential procedure if the overhaul of the income tax structure was ever to be realized. An agreement to report the tax package to the Senate by October 31, 1969, was finally obtained and only then did the committee support extension of the surtax for an interim period of 6 months.

The committee was unanimous in all its actions on the tax reform bill. The motion to recommit immediately prior to final passage, thereby killing tax relief, for example, found 96 percent of the Senate Democrats all voting together to save the bill. Final passage of tax reform and tax relief found every Democrat voting for adoption.

Another significant issue recommended by the policy committee to Senate Democrats was the so-called Troops-in-Europe resolution. The committee called again, in a resolution, for a substantial reduction in American troops and dependents permanently stationed in Europe. The resolution was identical to that generated in the policy committee during the 90th Congress. Like all its actions this year it received the unanimous endorsement of the policy committee.

Under consideration by the policy committee late in the session were adequate social security benefits—including the 15-percent increase in annuities as well as other features of the social security laws. Adoption of the 15-percent increase as a part of the tax bill this session was a step in the right direction in bringing benefits closer to the needs of social security pensioners.

The issue of the continuing involvement in Southeast Asia and the war in Vietnam was under intense consideration during the session by the policy committee. The war in Vietnam—its ramifications abroad and at home—of course, received particular emphasis.

The action of the Senate which resulted in deferring final action on the foreign aid appropriations bill until next session was considered and also approved by the policy committee. Also considered at length were the new Asian doctrines enunciated by the President at Guam, the growing involvement of the United States in Laos and Thailand, the problems of national priorities and the competing needs of health, education, and other programs of social welfare and internal national security as contrasted with foreign aid appropriations, defense appropriations, and similar expenditures. Of looming importance, the committee addressed attention not only to problems of air and water pollution but to the whole question of the deterioration of the natural environment. Without any request from the administration, the Senate saw fit to move to establish a Council on Environmental Quality as an arm of the Presidency in dealing with this matter.

As I stated on the Senate floor on the closing day of the session:

If this Senate is to be characterized at all, it seems to me that it should be remembered, first, as the Senate that stayed intensely with the Vietnamese issue until the lamp of peace

showed at least a flicker of light. May I add the expectation and hope that the Senate's concern will not lessen until the casualties cease and the last American soldier is withdrawn. Second, this session should be remembered for the general tax reform and tax relief bill, sought unsuccessfully for many years, ridiculed as a possibility for this session, and regarded by many as an impossible dream. It now awaits the President's signature. Finally, this Senate ought to be remembered as that moment in legislative time when the concept of the nation's security ceased to be drawn in terms of the piling up of more and more military hardware—as the Senate which began to require from the Executive Branch a full and complete explanation of the relationship of vast military expenditures to defense—as the Senate which insisted that, in the making of claims on the people's tax resources by any Administration, human values must be given their just consideration along with military demands.

The work of the Democratic policy committee this session pursuant to the unanimous directive of the full Democratic caucus provides hope for further actions on the part of the majority during the coming session of the Congress. I would just add that beyond party consideration, the Democrats in the Congress must remain constructive with regard to issues of national importance. It is our responsibility to cooperate with the administration when its leadership serves the best interests of the Nation and to oppose it when, in our judgment, it does not. In that case, moreover, it is our responsibility to offer constructive alternatives. In this connection, it is a function of the policy committee to provide a unifying stimulant to the Senate Democrats. The record of the majority policy committee this session sustains this approach. Its recommendations have been constructive. It has contributed to the initiative of this Congress, to the enhancement of the Senate as an institution, and to a necessary adjustment of the role of the Congress within the Government.

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE WORLD COURT?

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the world seems to move daily further from adopting civilized methods of resolving international disputes. Most discouraging was the failure of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly to even be able to take up the questions of Vietnam and the Middle East, the two greatest threats to peace, at the current session. U.S. public pronouncements that it would ignore the overwhelming vote of the General Assembly Political Committee interpreting the prohibitions of the Geneva Protocol on poison gas and biological weapons as including tear gas and herbicides was another body blow by this country to the acceptance of the United Nations as the appropriate body for resolving international disputes.

Certainly, high priority action must

be taken to restore the authority of the United Nations, and the United States should take the leadership in this endeavor.

Virtually forgotten in the turmoil of international strife and the various debates that were undertaken in the United Nations is the sad state of the World Court, an international institution that should be a key in resolving international disputes that involve interpretations of international law. Again, the United States has been a disruptive force rather than assuming leadership to increase the Court's effectiveness. Our perpetuation of the Connally Reservation permitting us, and thus all nations, to withdraw all matters that we consider vital to our national interests, has rendered impotent the jurisdiction of that august body. It means that no nation can be required to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court—it can only deal with matters voluntarily set before it by all the parties to a dispute.

It is much to their credit that a number of concerned Members of Congress went to visit the World Court in October of this year to get a firsthand report on its grave problems. The delegation consisted of Representatives PAUL FINDLEY and ALBERT QUIE, and Senators CLAI-BORNE PELL, THOMAS EAGLETON, and JACOB JAVITS. They had an opportunity to speak with the Justices of the Court and to see at firsthand the magnificent Court facilities and tremendous judicial talent reposed in the Court, as well as to become informed in detail about how inadequately used these great resources are. The waste of talent and facilities is colossal.

The conditions this congressional delegation found and some recommendations for overcoming the Court's problems are set forth in the very fine report of Congressman PAUL FINDLEY to Members of Congress for peace through law. I believe this report contains important information for all Members of Congress, indeed, for all Americans, and, therefore, am including it in the RECORD:

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE WORLD COURT?

(By Congressman PAUL FINDLEY)

On October 19, several members of MCPL accompanied me on a trip to find out whatever happened to the World Court, the judicial arm of the United Nations, known officially as the International Court of Justice.

I had asked for the opportunity for us to meet with the United States Judge on the Court, Philip C. Jessup, and with any other officials of the Court who might be available.

MCPL members who met with Justices of the Court included Senators Pell of Rhode Island, Eagleton of Missouri and Javits of New York and myself. Representative Quie of Minnesota was also present.

In addition to Judge Jessup of the United States, these judges were present: Jose Bustamante, former president of Peru, Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice of Great Britain, Andre Gros of France, Manfred Lachs of Poland, Charles Onyeana of Biafra. Mr. Onyeana was careful to identify himself as being from Biafra, not Nigeria. Clearly, he is a partisan in the Nigerian civil war. Also present was Stanley Aquarone of Australia, Court registrar.

This meant that our circle included six of the Court's 15 Justices, nearly one-half the total.

The turnout was less a tribute to the drawing power of our Congressional group, I fear,

than to the somber fact that the Court judges had very little else to do.

The Court has only one remaining case on its docket, adjudication of an expropriation case, known as the Barcelona Transit case. When that case is finished, the Court will have no litigation before it.

We asked why there was no business.

The French jurist supplied this answer: He said governments, like people, dislike litigation and avoid it when they can. He said governments, like people, dislike getting themselves into circumstances in which they may be the loser.

Others gave what may be a more fundamental reason: The foreign office or State Department officials simply prefer not to place matters before the Court. It's not the accustomed way to deal with problems. To an appalling extent, I'm afraid, our Department of State could accurately be named the Department of Status Quo when it comes to making the World Court a useful tribunal.

In any case, the World Court gets business only if all parties to a dispute agree to place before it a matter at issue, and this rarely occurs.

In other words, the transit case went to the Court only because the government of Spain and the Belgian interests which had originally owned the transit company agreed to let the Court make the settlement.

The Court itself is housed in a magnificent structure called the Peace Palace. It was financed by Andrew Carnegie in a brief peaceful interlude before the outbreak of World War I.

The courtroom is appropriately colorless, dusty and musty. Like the palace, the Court is largely a tourist attraction.

Actually, the Court has had success as far as its record goes. Of 60 cases since the Court resumed its work after World War II, the Court's decision has been carried out fully in each case but one.

But today the world's highest tribunal is a pathetic institution. What is more pathetic is the state of world affairs that has made it so.

What can be done?

Several suggestions developed from our discussion:

1. The availability and high quality of the tribunal should be called to public attention—and especially to governmental attention—at every opportunity. When problems arise, no one seems to think of the court as a place of settlement.

2. The court should be utilized for advisory opinions. Although not binding, these opinions can nevertheless be influential. The court's statute should be changed to permit individual governments to request advisory opinions. Only the U.N. General Assembly or Security Council can presently make such requests.

3. Future treaties should contain language bringing disputes arising from them under the court's jurisdiction. This would remove uncertainties caused by the Connolly Reservation.

Never in human history has the world had such great need for an international tribunal where disputes are settled, not by force of arms—or by lesser forms of power politics—but by the application of legal principles and precedents through a judicial process of hearings, testimony and cross-examination.

Nowhere is the need more clearly evident than in the Middle East, where clouds of war gather ominously.

Two years ago during the hostilities between Israel and its Arab neighbors, I urged that the United States use its influence to get the major parties in the dispute to place all the complex legal issues there involved before the World Court for adjudication. The issues are complex. Many go back as far as the Palestinian period. They involve refugee questions, seized and destroyed property, boundaries, and right of access.

Neither side is without fault or responsibility, but feeling is so intense that a rational solution through negotiation between the parties seems out of the question.

The World Court provides a safe, face-saving, fair way out of the present dilemma. If all parties agreed in advance to the Court's adjudication of all issues, most likely each would eventually confront a Court order not entirely to its liking. But because of the circumstances of the settlement—the process of adjudication as opposed to arbitration—the outcome would be one which each could defend back home with a minimum of repercussions.

A Jewish rabbi described my proposal as an appeal to reason. I like that description. Put another way, it is a proposal for peace in the Middle East through the application of legal principles and due process.

I have suggested similar measures in respect to the Pueblo crisis and the legal issues involved in Vietnam. I make the same suggestion regarding the dispute over the expropriation of an oil company by Peru. As a sovereign nation, Peru has the right to take the property, but it also has the obligation to make a fair settlement. Why not place the whole question before the World Court and end the spectacle of the United States trying to shove Peru around?

The sad truth, a truth which our trip to The Hague confirmed, is that our State Department presently has almost no interest in utilizing the World Court.

ASHLAND COUNTY YOUTHS WIN WISCONSIN 4-H AWARDS

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, Miss Grace E. Swensen, home economics agent for Ashland County, has written to me on Wisconsin 4-H awards which were won recently by two youths of Ashland County in the 10th Congressional District.

In sending me the releases on the awards, Miss Swensen wrote me as follows:

At a time when the actions of youths who do violent destructive things seem to be monopolizing the headlines, I thought I would share with you the good news that many of our Ashland County youths are constructively building toward a better future for themselves and their communities.

So that my colleague may know of the achievements of the Ashland County youths, I am pleased to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news releases on the awards to Mark Kretzschmar, Mellen, Wis., and George Mika, Marengo, Wis. The news releases follow:

TOP DAIRY AWARD

George Mika, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Mika, Marengo was one of 24 Wisconsin 4-H members who represented this state at the National 4-H Dairy Conference in Chicago December 4-6, Grace Swensen, Ashland County Home Economics Agent, announced.

A member of the Marengo Valley 4-H Club, George has established the foundation for a purebred dairy herd during his eight years of 4-H dairy project work. He now owns a herd of six purebreds and one grade cow. This herd began with a calf which was obtained through the 4-H calf program.

Local business and industry and members of the Chequamegon Cattle Club can take

pride in the fact that they have helped make it possible for another Ashland County 4-H member to earn this award. The award is a national one and is the highest recognition given in the 4-H dairy project. Previous recipients have been Tom Riemer and Jerry Richardson. The foresight of adults in this community has made it possible for 4-H members to get a start in the dairy industry, to learn and apply modern dairy practices and to confidently build toward a future in Ashland County.

AWARDED STATE GRAIN MARKETING TOUR

Mark Kretzschmar, son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Kretzschmar, Mellen, has been selected as one of five state 4-H members to attend the Wisconsin 4-H Grain Marketing Tour and Clinic which was held in Madison on December 5 and 6.

Mark participated in tours of grain marketing facilities in southern Wisconsin counties and observed grain marketing demonstrations by faculty members of the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences.

Mark is an active member of the Cozy Valley 4-H Club. In making the announcement, Grace Swensen, Ashland County Home Economics Agent, pointed out that Mark Kretzschmar has also done outstanding work in 4-H Dairy projects and Junior Leadership.

STATEMENT OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL CONDITION

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, following a practice adopted in 1963, and repeated each succeeding year, I am placing in the RECORD today my annual statement of personal financial condition.

In so doing, I would like to reiterate briefly comments made in the past in the House and in reports to constituents of Wisconsin's Second Congressional District.

Members of Congress and holders of high elective office in general ought to make periodic public disclosures of personal holdings as a matter of course. Such reports of outside income and interests are needed to provide the public with information with which to assess whether their representative's personal holdings have affected the performance of his public trust.

Presently, House Members are required to make a limited financial disclosure report. This year marks the initial attempt at mandatory public disclosure. While part of the report is made available for public inspection, a more detailed section remains confidential in sealed envelopes to be held from public scrutiny and can be opened only by a majority vote of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

If conflicts of interest are to be avoided, however, and the integrity of the Congress upheld, both Houses of the Congress must adopt a standing rule providing for a public periodic report of all outside interests and income for all Members.

Mr. Speaker, my personal statement follows hereunder:

Robert W. Kastenmeier, Statement of Financial Condition, Dec. 1, 1969

Cash on account with the Sergeant at Arms Bank, House of Representatives	\$1,249.32
Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C., checking account	47.10
Securities:	
RIC International Industries	725.00
Banister Continental Corp	1,900.00
Residential real estate:	
House, Arlington, Va.:	
Purchase price	28,000.00
Less mortgage	15,903.00
Equity	12,097.00
Lot	14,750.00
House construction in process, subject to mortgage: Net value, Dec. 1, 1969	13,280.00
Household goods and miscellaneous personalty	4,800.00
Miscellaneous assets: Deposits with U.S. civil service retirement fund through Dec. 1, 1969, available only in accordance with applicable laws and regulations.	21,877.81
Cash surrender value of life insurance policies:	
On the life of Robert W	None
On the life of Dorothy C	544.00
Automobiles:	
1963 Oldsmobile	700.00
1965 Chevrolet	800.00
Total	1,500.00
Total assets	72,770.23
Liabilities: National Bank of Washington note	4,800.00
Income for calendar year 1968, excluding congressional salary and expenses:	
Interest	102.15
Travel, per diem and speaking, honorariums and travel (including \$849.55 from Fund for Republic)	1,047.58

and foundation officials to take note of it:

ADVICE TO NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Few men in America merit the title of "civic leader" more than John W. Gardner, former head of the Carnegie Foundation, former secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and now chairman of the Urban Coalition Action Council.

So what he had to say the other day in a speech here about his own field is of special interest.

"Let me say a word about private nonprofit activities in general—cultural, civic, social service, religious, scientific and charitable organizations," he began.

"Some of the worst known examples of organizational decay are in this category. And one of the gravest agents of decay is the sense of moral superiority that afflicts such institutions. Sad to say, people who believe they are doing a noble thing are rarely good critics of their own efforts.

"As we enter the 1970s, all such high-minded organizations should re-examine their performance with unsparing honesty. Let them ask whether they have spent too much time congratulating themselves.

"Let them ask what possible difference it would make if their organization went out of existence. Let them ask whether they are dabbling with a problem that calls for a massive assault. Let this be the year in which they ask tough-minded outside critics to work with them in a no-holds-barred reappraisal of what they are doing."

Those words should be pasted on the wall at every private nonprofit organization office in America, including foundations. And, hopefully, heeded.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE "SILENT MAJORITY"?

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, many of the thoughtful and thought-provoking editorials which I see are those which are written "in the backroom" of the weekly newspapers of Wisconsin. At the Dousman Index, one of the smaller weeklies in the Ninth District, Chuck and Jeanne Hill do everything from sweeping the floor to setting the type, but they somehow find time to express themselves, each week, in a manner that shows they are deeply thinking while their hands are busy. Several of their recent editorials have shown their deep concern with the moral fiber of Americans. One such front-page editorial, entitled "Who Are the People of the 'Silent Majority'?" strikes a deep chord. It follows:

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE "SILENT MAJORITY"?

Much has been said and a great deal more written about this country's "Silent Majority." Who are the living, breathing humans who are thus grouped? Are they really silent? Consider their actions, then decide for yourself.

The people of the Silent Majority have faith in the United States Democracy . . . they are the people who pay their taxes to the federal, state and local government each year . . . they are the people who attend the church of their choice most Sun-

day mornings . . . add to their savings accounts regularly, and believe in their rights, freedoms and privileges—within reason—but not to the extent that those rights, freedoms and privileges interfere with those of other citizens.

The people of the Silent Majority do not agitate and protest to cause a revolution in our country—so that it can suffer an overthrow by another type of government. The Silent Majority knows that although we do not live under a perfect government in this imperfect world, it is the best possible government yet devised.

The Silent Majority is made up of people who . . . believe in America's lasting freedom, and consequently . . . pay their bills on time . . . buy homes for their families . . . and teach their children to love and honor America and its heritage of freedom.

These people are the people who pray for our country's leader and firmly believe that once a United States citizen is elected to public office, his or her love for America will guide the public office holder toward the decisions which will keep America free.

The Silent Majority consists of the people in America who have faith in America's "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

It is to our country's credit that the "Vocal Minority" in America is made up of those of little faith.

ARTWORK BY PRISONERS IN OHIO PENAL INSTITUTIONS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my pleasure to view a show of art work by prisoners in Ohio penal institutions. The display of craftwork was interesting. However, the paintings displayed remarkable talent, creativity, and imagination. I was so impressed that I contacted Mr. Myrle E. Alexander, Director, Bureau of Prisons of the United States, bringing to his attention the unusual latent talents that have been brought, at least in part, to fruition in Ohio penal institutions.

Bearing in mind that Leavenworth and Lewisburg Federal Penitentiaries have had annual art shows and that the inmates buy materials and the Federal Government supplies direction, I am hopeful that Federal penal institutions will continue to encourage and provide more facilities for such avocations so that they can be nurtured and developed.

An article appeared in the magazine section of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, written by Helen Borsick, concerning the first all-Ohio exhibit. I believe it is well worthy of reading. Under leave granted, I include in my remarks the article by Helen Borsick, "Oh, If I Had the Wings of an Angel."

"OH, IF I HAD THE WINGS OF AN ANGEL"

Lacking wings, prisoners express longings for freedom with brush and palette. A remarkable show of prison art.

"Beauty can help liberate us from our prisons of ugliness," Prof. Richard Eeels of the Columbia University School of Business wrote somewhat loftily in his book on "The

GOOD ADVICE FOR FOUNDATIONS

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, as one who has not been afraid to criticize the activities of certain powerful tax-exempt foundations, I am pleased to note that John W. Gardner—an acknowledged expert in the area of private nonprofit activities—has called on these foundations and other nonprofit organizations to reexamine their attitudes and actions.

There is no question in my mind, nor apparently in Mr. Gardner's, that these tax-exempt foundations are going to have to reappraise their activities and are going to have to become more effective, responsible, and accountable if they are to retain their privileged status much longer. I hope that the foundations will heed Mr. Gardner as well as others who offer constructive criticism.

Mr. Gardner's statement was discussed in an excellent editorial in Friday's Washington Daily News. I wish to include the text of that editorial at this point in the RECORD, and I urge my colleagues

Corporation and the Arts." He urged business interests to support the humanities and the arts, which he considers the basis of a health society and education for living.

The concept of art as respite for "prisons of ugliness" comes into focus (in a way not anticipated by the above-mentioned writer) this week in Cleveland with regard to an art exhibition opening Tuesday at Avco Delta Corp. in Tower East, the Shaker Heights office building designed by the late Walter Gropius. The show will present paintings and craftworks by prisoners in Ohio's penal institutions, a segment of society little associated in the public mind with the civility of "the art world."

The show, a first of its kind on a state-wide and privately supported basis, is the result of a year-long project that began with the Utopian remark of the Rev. James Redding, director of Cleveland's Half-Way Houses for prison parolees. The Rev. Mr. Redding is a Missionary Baptist minister whose voluntary ministerial services have extended to every prison in the state and whose life work centers on helping released prisoners make the transition from imprisonment to responsible freedom.

"I think," he said in a chance conversation last winter with Mrs. Nelson Case of the North Olmsted Art League, "that something should be done to bring out the beauty in our prisons. There must be talent there. It should be encouraged."

Mrs. Case remembers the conversation very well because it led immediately to plans for a prison art show and she and the Rev. Mr. Redding became the nucleus of a committee that for many months has been visiting prisons, talking with officials and prisoners, shepherding artworks and coping with the innumerable details that art shows generate. Others who joined in the effort include Mrs. Redding, artist Shirley (Mrs. A. E.) Cooper of Rocky River, and WEWS-TV account executive John K. Betonte, who among other things persuaded Avco Delta to house the exhibition.

Few of the creators of the 300 paintings plus craftworks in the exhibit have had any formal art training. Some picked up a brush for the first time in their lives when the Rev. Mr. Redding invited them to produce something for the exhibit. In some cases his group provided materials with money out-of-pocket as occasional donations for expenses.

Only a few of Ohio's eight penal institutions—in Marion, Lebanon, London, Mansfield, Marysville, Chillicothe, Warrensville and Columbus—have any sort of art program or regular form of encouragement. Nevertheless, in several the committee found prisoners who on their own had been painting or were involved in some type of art work, using art materials supplied by relatives, and often painting on old bed sheets and "anything they can get their hands on." One prison artist did a striking portrait of Christ on the Cross, using burnt sugar in lieu of painting materials.

An inmate at London Correctional Institute who signs himself "Everett" and who painted the elves on the cover of this magazine, is a man in his 40s whose earliest chance for parole comes up in about the year 2170. He is an authentic primitive artist with no training. Prison officials say that he literally has been rehabilitated through painting which he took up since his imprisonment in the Ohio Penitentiary in February 1960. Two years ago he was transferred to London, a preferential placement, and in addition to the paintings that he does with art supplies provided by his foster mother who lives in Lynchburg, O., he is doing a mural for the prison.

A visit to the home of the 84-year-old foster mother to whom Everett lovingly dedicates and sends all his paintings wracked the committee with compassion

when they found her living alone (there are no living relatives) and on a meager income in a tiny farmhouse. She was surrounded by his paintings.

Laura Lee Madden has filed a petition with 412 signatures requesting her foster son's release from prison. "Do you want to know more about him from the beginning?" she said. "We got him from the Welfare in Hillsboro when he was 14. He had a glass eye from an accident in the children's home before he came here. He made his home with us until he was married and then he lived in a house on the property and worked for seven years for a construction company where they said he was one of their best workers.

"Then when he and his wife broke up he left but we always kept in touch. I don't know where it started but he got a parking ticket I think and wouldn't pay it and they went after him. The next thing, he broke out of jail in Wilmington."

She told of a gun battle in which Everett escaped in a police car with a policeman at gunpoint; he didn't kill anyone but the prison penalty hinged on the theory that he might have.

"All I can say," said Mrs. Madden, "is that Everett was a good boy to us and treated us wonderful and we felt the same way about him. I'll do anything I can to help him. We—my husband died five years ago—always thought that Everett deserved more than he got in this life."

It developed as a project within a project that a large group of Everett's landscapes, animal paintings and others of miscellaneous subjects will hang separately in the Tower East exhibit and proceeds from sales will go to the foster mother.

The paintings of a prisoner at Marion (now a parolee) were so skillfully drawn, or at any rate copied from pictures in magazines and books, that a member of the committee, which rarely inquired of the nature of the artists' crimes, couldn't resist asking, "What's he in for? Counterfeiting?" No, the charge was armed robbery. He started painting and drawing as a pastime, quickly gained facility. He thrives on his new distinction as an artist.

Though not one to talk of art as therapy, Herbert Read, the late British scholar and theorist on education through art, stressed the utility of creating artworks as "a tool for tilling the psyche," giving form to inner feelings and reconciling inner conflicts. Many conclusions on that order could be drawn from this exhibition of prisoners' paintings ranging from sunny and idyllic landscapes, florals and portraits of Mandonnas and children to pictures of death's-heads, voluptuous women, prison cells, chains and handcuffs.

"They tend to paint about their problems," said an attendant in the women's section at the Warrensville House of Correction where a corner of the cafeteria served as art studio for women prisoners willing to participate in the prison exhibit. One of the painters in the group was a young woman who along with her boyfriend had been taken into custody on narcotics charges; he had been sent to a different location. Her painting pictured two silhouetted figures and a moon and a sun arranged in separate sections of a four-pane window.

"That's me and my boyfriend in jail," she said softly. "We can look out the window and see the same sun and moon but not each other."

Another woman in the group painted the figures of a black man, a white woman, and a half-black-half-white child against a checkerboard background. "I call it 'The Game of Life' because that's the way it is," she said. The painting was autobiographical.

A painter who did an abstraction in a leafy pattern of bright fall colors said, "Don't ask me what it means because I don't know how to explain it. I just painted it, that's all."

The Rev. Redding asked, "What do you feel about this picture that you are not saying? What about the colors?"

"I don't know—I guess that's it. I'm going home in October."

There was a discussion of whether or not someone should finish a painting started by a woman who had since left the prison. "No, we mustn't touch it," said one of the inmates with newly assumed authority in such matters. "You never interfere with the artwork of another person. So it's unfinished. That's the way she did it."

A prisoner in the Ohio Penitentiary painted the face of an inmate peering from behind bars, with flames soaring in the background—his representation of the Ohio Pen riots. "I hope you don't mind, Warden," he said. "It's just a little something I did for fun. It doesn't mean anything special."

The same self-taught artist did a painting of astronaut Neil Armstrong which was selected by the Ohio Historical Society for the Neil Armstrong Museum in preference to portraits offered by professional artists. Among his works in the Cleveland exhibit are religious paintings, florals, landscapes—and a copy of the Mona Lisa.

The money from the sale of the prison artworks largely will be held for the artists' use on release from confinement; and in part for art supplies for continued use in the prisons. The artists themselves have set the prices. The highest is \$100.

Speaking of prices and prison art shows, Plain Dealer movie writer Ward Marsh found this note in a recent issue of Hollywood Reporter:

"From 'Barquero' location in Canon City, Colo., actor Warren Oates pens that he, Lee Van Cleef and Forrest Tucker drove to the Colorado State Penitentiary as honored guests for an exhibit of paintings daubed exclusively by inmates 'and all three of us bought some. How can you argue with cons who say they're offering you a steal?' . . . Tucker went beyond the call of duty to make the pen trip, sacrificing a golf date with Dow Finsterwald at Colorado Springs"—and so on.

NATIONAL BLOOD DONOR MONTH

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, recently House Resolution 911, which establishes January as National Blood Donor Month, was passed by this Chamber. This resolution was sponsored by my friend and colleague, Congressman TIM LEE CARTER, who distinguished himself as a practicing physician in Kentucky prior to his entering Congress. Congressman Carter worked diligently for the passage of this resolution, and I am sure that we can all be proud of the great public service this resolution will bring.

There is a critical need for blood donors during this month, and in a further move to encourage donations, my colleague, Congressman CARTER, informed me of his plans to have competition between the Republicans and Democrats in a blood donation drive to be conducted here at the Capitol on January 30. Such a drive might well illustrate which party is ready to start the New Year by bringing attention to the national need for donations.

PEMBROKE MAYOR FRANK MILLER
DIES

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Pembroke, Ga., as well as the entire First Congressional District, were stricken last Friday with the news that its beloved mayor and editor of the Pembroke Journal passed away in a Savannah hospital.

The Honorable Frank O. Miller, a friend to all who knew him, a fine newsman, and an exceptionally good mayor, will be missed by everyone and especially by me for I was fortunate enough to have been able to call him my friend.

To write an obituary about so exceptional and colorful a person is most difficult. However, I feel the article which appeared in last Friday's Savannah Morning News is certainly a good likeness and a fine tribute to this fine individual and carries comments which help to show the outstanding qualities and characteristics which have endeared Frank to all who knew him.

The article follows:

PEMBROKE MAYOR FRANK MILLER DIES

(By Barr Nobles)

PEMBROKE.—Mayor Frank O. Miller, just recently elected to his 13th term of office, and editor of the Pembroke Journal, died in a Savannah hospital Thursday. He was 76.

His death marked the end of a style of able politics and rural journalism matched by only a small number.

His illness did not dull the mind or the wit of the man. With the aid of relatives and friends, he ran an uncontested campaign from his bedside, taking out time to write a few articles of appreciation for visits from friends for publication in his Pembroke Journal.

The Journal reflected the man. As the masthead stated and as Miller liked to boast, it is "Liked by Many—Cursed by Some—and Read by Them All."

Tom Coffey, assistant City Manager of Savannah, an old friend of Miller said Thursday evening. "He had a basic country-boy honesty. He was a man of his word. If he said he'd do something, come hell or high water, he'd do it."

J. Dixie Harn, city clerk and county commissioner in Bryan County, said, "I'm going to be lost without him. He was a friend to everybody. He spent the better part of his life working for this community."

While Mayor Miller made many friends, he had feuded politically from time to time, and was once quoted as referring to his opponent for mayor as being "three shades lower than a two-headed dodo who is not fit to be a dogcatcher."

Last month, in an interview with the Morning News, Miller talked of his friendship with Gov. Lester Maddox, but added that Maddox's biggest problem was in "keeping a distance between his foot and his mouth." Miller retold with obvious pleasure and pride of his overnight visit in the Governor's Mansion.

Miller and his wife celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary earlier this year at the family home, "Needmore Farm," and as Tom Coffey said, "Cars were backed up into the next county. He was just as friendly with farmhands as governors and senators. I don't know anyone in the newspaper business I liked better."

The irrepressible politician took great interest in the welfare of his town. He was known to make trips to Atlanta with frequency to apply a little pressure to accomplish something for Pembroke. An editorial in the Savannah Evening Press on March 15, 1950 cited Miller by stating:

"Be it recalled . . . that in an era of spending Mayor Miller so handled Pembroke's affairs as mayor that the town's bookkeeper had no use for red ink."

As a journalist, he caught an occasional blast from his peers in the industry, but the Pembroke Journal demanded big city attention and was seldom without a front page story on the comings and goings of "Ye Editor" and "Ye Mayor." In a 1952 issue, Ye Editor gave good coverage of the trials and tribulations of breaking in a "pair of store-bought teeth." The article was extended into a weekly series, leading the reader from dentist's chair to the initial attempt to "wear the things."

CURBING THE THREAT OF A
POISONED PLANET

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Sunday Star of November 16, 1969, carried a most incisive editorial entitled "Curbing the Threat of a Poisoned Planet," in which long overdue credit is given to Rachel Carson for her great foresight in warning against the dangers of DDT. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be aware of the Star's views on the question of DDT and Miss Carson's foresight, I include the text of the editorial at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CURBING THE THREAT OF A POISONED PLANET

In 1948, Paul Hermann Mueller, a Swiss chemist, was awarded the Nobel prize in medicine and physiology for his discovery, in the mid-1930s, that a man-made substance—dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane—was a highly efficient insect-killer.

The award came as no surprise. DDT, which was put into production in 1942, was instantly recognizable as one of the most astounding substances ever produced by man. It was a potent weapon against insect-borne disease such as malaria and encephalitis. Food production increased radically. Areas made almost uninhabitable by insect infestation were transformed into instant Edens. Man's inventiveness had, in the space of a few short years, made the world a safer, a more comfortable, a better place to live.

So it seemed.

A few Nervous Nellies of the scientific community thought otherwise. From the beginning they questioned the blessings of DDT. The substance, they pointed out, was a poison. There was no assurance that its dark magic was limited to the insect world. All creatures with nervous systems might be vulnerable.

In addition, some chemists pointed out, DDT does not vanish after its deadly work is done. The chemical structure does not break down quickly into its harmless components. It takes ten years before the substance loses half of its potency. If other forms of animal life were indeed susceptible to the poison, the accumulation of DDT in the biosphere—that thin layer of earth, water and atmosphere that supports all the known life of the universe—could, with profigate use, soon reach the crisis stage.

Those voices went largely unheeded. DDT was in use all over the world. It was not just a means of saving a crop from total destruction; it was a way to end all insect-related problems of agriculture. It was not only a tool against disease; it was a means of ending the discomfort of mosquitoes on golf courses and at summer resorts.

Then the adverse reports began to come in. Insect species, after repeated exposure to DDT, began developing a resistance that was being passed along to succeeding generations. The response was to increase the dosage. Various forms of animal life, among them those on which man depends for food supply, were found to contain traces of the poison. It soon became clear that some varieties of birds, including the bald eagle—our national emblem—and the peregrine falcon, had fallen victim to DDT and were on the brink of extinction.

In 1962, the public was made privy to the debate that was raging in scientific circles and to the facts that had accumulated to support the warnings. A biologist in the Interior Department wrote a book, Rachel Carson was transformed overnight to an international celebrity. Her book, "Silent Spring," sounded an alarm that alerted millions to the peril that was developing. "As crude a weapon as the cave man's club," Miss Carson wrote, "has been hurled against the fabric of life."

There are those who argue that Miss Carson overstated her case, that she displayed a lack of proper scientific objectivity, giving way to emotionalism and sensationalism to drive home her point. The change is almost certainly true. But, somewhat more to the point, it is entirely possible that "Silent Spring" was the factor chiefly responsible for stopping mankind from blindly committing chemical suicide.

Even with the public outcry that followed Miss Carson's book, the governments of the world—and chief among them the federal government of the United States—have been slow to react. DDT, and the other chlorinated hydrocarbons that have been developed, can be found in virtually every kind of food that man eats today. Six years ago, it was discovered that every part of the globe, including Antarctica, was tainted. A recent study by the National Cancer Institute showed that six pesticides, including DDT, significantly increased the incidence of tumors in laboratory mice. Major bodies of water have been contaminated. Thousands of pounds of salmon from Lake Michigan have been condemned as unfit to eat because of high concentrations of DDT and dieldrin. It has been estimated that the average person now carries more DDT in his tissues than is tolerated in the meat he eats.

And yet, as late as last summer, government agencies sprayed a quarter of a million pounds of dieldrin over the nation's airports. And it was not until last week that the federal government finally moved to put effective controls on DDT, announcing plans to ban all nonessential use of the pesticide over the next two years.

Why was this action so slow in coming? It was not, despite some of the more extreme statements from dedicated conservationists—or survivalists as some have taken to calling themselves—merely a reflection of official blindness, insensitivity and stupidity. The fact is that today there is still no certain knowledge of just how much DDT can be safely tolerated by man. Indeed direct proof is lacking that the substance in any quantity can kill, weaken or impair man's ability to reproduce. And lacking such proof, the government was hesitant to impose prohibitions or controls on the use of the products.

It has done so not because of any new-found knowledge, but because of a growing realization on the part of officials and the general public that what ecologists have been saying all along is true: That anything that

is patently harmful to a major segment of life is dangerous to man. Life is an interrelated process. Mankind is not an island; when the bell tolls for any form of life on earth, it tolls for man.

Man, at last, hears that bell and reads its significance. Concern over the future livability of earth is no longer limited to a handful of visionary naturalists. The people are getting the message that man is an endangered species, that the planet may soon be poisoned beyond redemption. The danger is not limited to DDT, or to the vast related family of pesticides and herbicides. The environment is being contaminated as well by industrial wastes, exhaust fumes, radiation, heat pollution—in brief by almost every activity of civilized man.

This state of affairs is not an accident, bred by indifference out of carelessness. It is the inevitable by-product of man's existence on earth.

One of the several things that makes man unique among animals is the fact that he is not in harmony with nature. Left to the unadjusted mercies of his environment, he would long since have vanished—or more properly would not have evolved at all. Man must change nature to survive. He must warm himself, clothe himself, cool himself, shield himself against the elements. He must, in order to feed himself, force the earth to produce more than the dictates of nature would provide. Man cannot, because of the DDT experience, decide that all tinkering with nature must be avoided. Food production could not be sustained at today's levels without chemical and organic fertilization and without control of weeds and insects.

What is needed is a more reasoned approach to environmental control. DDT may be the quickest way to get rid of a crop-eating bug, but it is not really necessary to poison the world to do it. More research is needed in the field of short-lived pesticides, or in the development of chemical additives that will destroy the persistent poisons once their work is done. More needs to be known about the possibilities of insect sterilization, the manipulation of insect genes, and the encouragement and transportation of natural enemies of pests.

Man must accept the fact that he is in conflict with nature. He has learned, through the uncontrolled use of DDT, that total war is self-destructive. The only reasonable course is for man to work out a system of peaceful coexistence with his hostile environment.

MEANS OF PROTEST

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bert Travis, one of my constituents, has clearly and concisely put into words some thoughts for those who protest and degrade what they choose to call the Establishment. His remarks appeared in a recent edition of the Kansas City Star follow:

MEANS OF PROTEST

I feel compelled to put a protest on paper today, because I am writing this from Boston's old South Meeting House, the site of many pre-Revolutionary gatherings, in this place, the voices of outraged giants once rang in protest. On this squeaky, drafty floor, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and other Boston men planted their boots and took a firm stand for honor.

But let's remember that these men did much more than merely say, "Down with

the Establishment!" The new Establishment which they and the other freedom people finally put together in Philadelphia fell short of perfection. But the founders, fully aware that their new creation would have shortcomings, built into it an unprecedented array of devices for righting whatever matters would need righting as time went on.

Those first Americans, no strangers to indignation themselves, were intelligent enough to design modification systems so effective that they would forever after let a well-conceived protest really count. So today I wonder if the youngsters outside this meeting house have seriously studied the origins of the Establishment they're inheriting. Have they read the instructions that have come with the package thoroughly enough to learn that all those channels for alteration still exist?

Because they exist, we no longer have to dump tea in Boston harbor, or hurl stones, filth and obscenities at policemen. The machinery of the Establishment was so ingeniously engineered that there is no sense in beating it with a hammer. Nor, for that matter, with a hammer and sickle.

BERT TRAVIS.

ROELAND PARK.

RESERVE RECOGNITION DAY

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the House's attention that the President of the United States signed a Reserve Recognition Day proclamation on December 16, 1969, paying special tribute to the 115 units from the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, and Air Force that were mobilized in 1968. Representatives from each Reserve unit mobilized were present at the White House for the signing of the proclamation. The Reserve representatives included the Army and Air National Guard, Army Reserve, Naval Reserve, Marine Reserve, Air Force Reserve, and the Coast Guard Reserve. The service Secretaries, the Chiefs of Staff, and the Reserve chiefs were present. Proclaiming the occasion Mr. Nixon said:

The Nation is grateful to you for the service you have rendered. The Nation is also grateful to you for being in the Reserve.

Following the ceremony each service Secretary and Chief of Staff hosted a luncheon for their representatives. At the Army luncheon, General Westmoreland spoke. In part he said:

As I see the future, your role will increase in importance. The Department of Defense already has taken steps to assure Reserve Component readiness—steps which will permit more effective resource distribution among all units within our One Army . . . and you will play an even greater role in shaping future force structure.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the outstanding manner in which our Reserve forces responded to their Nation's call to duty. The Reserve components of the Armed Forces serve their country honorably and well, in peace and in war. I fully support Reserve Recognition Day and commend this proclamation to the atten-

tion of my colleagues and to the American people:

RESERVE RECOGNITION DAY

In January and May of 1968, one hundred and fifteen units from the Reserve Components of the Army, Navy and Air Force were ordered to active duty to quickly augment the Active Forces. This action provided this country with armed strength capability with which to meet possible contingencies that might have arisen as a result of the threats and actions by the North Koreans and the need for additional troops in Vietnam caused by the TET offensive.

Many of these units have served in Vietnam while others have served in Korea, Japan, and the United States. Those units remaining in the United States were primarily used to strengthen the strategic reserve and participate in the Military Airlift Command operations.

By June 18th, Reserve units of the Naval Air Reserve, the Naval Reserve Mobile Construction Battalions (SEABEES), the Air National Guard, and the Air Force Reserve were demobilized and the units returned to inactive reserve status. The units of the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve have now been released.

All of these Reserve Component units responded to the Nation's call in time of need and established records of performance, both in and out of combat, which have demonstrated a level of readiness and training never before achieved by our reserve forces. In addition, many individual reservists volunteered for active duty during this period. They have truly upheld the heritage and tradition of the citizen soldier and have again proven that both the National Guard and the Reserves are a great resource for our country and one which is necessary to our national security.

Now, therefore, I Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America, do hereby issue this proclamation in recognition of and appreciation for the patriotic, dedicated and professional service of our loyal members of the Reserve Components of the Armed Forces of the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 16th day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-fourth.

MICHAEL STEFFE DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4C. Michael W. Steffe, a fine young man from Maryland, died recently in Vietnam. I wish to honor his memory and to commend his courage by including the following article in the RECORD:

MICHAEL STEFFE DIES IN VIETNAM—HAD BEEN MISSING SINCE NOVEMBER 5 BATTLE IN DELTA

The Defense Department announced yesterday the death of Spec. 4 Michael W. Steffe, who had been missing since November 5, when his unit was engaged in a battle in the Mekong delta in South Vietnam.

Specialist Steffe, whose 21st birthday would have been later this month, was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Morton B. Steffe, of the 600 block North Bend road, Baltimore.

A native of Baltimore, he was a 1966 graduate of Catonsville Senior High School. Before joining the Army two years ago, he

worked in the computer department of Cloverland Farms Dairy.

Specialist Steffe would have had 80 more days to go before his discharge from the Army. He had planned to continue his education on the college level, majoring in electronic engineering.

"He was a quiet boy. He didn't tell too much in his letters. . . little action here and little action there, that's all," his father said yesterday.

In addition to his parents, he is survived by two brothers, Craig Steffe, 23, who finished his active training in the Naval Reserve less than two weeks ago, and David Steffe, 22, who is in the Air Force, stationed in Mississippi.

Specialist Steffe will be buried in the Baltimore National cemetery.

FIRST SESSION SUMMARY REPORT

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, in accord with the custom I have continuously followed as a Member of Congress, I would like to include, for the information of my constituents, a summary report on some of the major legislative issues and activities of this first session of the 91st Congress.

WE MUST SPEEDILY END THE VIETNAM WAR

The continuation of the Vietnam war is stifling domestic progress, feeding the fires of inflation, and promoting dangerous disunity throughout the country. It must be speedily brought to an honorable end. In this first congressional session, I joined in introducing resolutions urging the President to withdraw American military forces from Vietnam, and subsequently praising him for the withdrawal action he did initiate. I will continue to appeal to the President to accelerate troop withdrawal and to exercise every other resource of our Government to conclude the war as quickly as possible. I will further support every responsible effort for peaceful agreement and earnestly hope it will be finally accomplished well before the end of 1970.

INFLATION CONTROL IS IMPERATIVE

Our second most important national objective is to more effectively control inflation. Basic living costs and interest rates are at an all-time high. The hardest hit by inflation are the impoverished, those trying to live on fixed incomes, such as social security recipients, and the great majority of middle-income families who pay most of the Nation's taxes. Many economists believe the President will have to recommend stronger controls than the present ones to restrict the inflationary spiral. If and when he does I am sure the Congress will give them very serious consideration. Meanwhile, I advocated and supported two other measures to help contain inflation that were adopted, reductions in defense spending and tax reform.

SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASES ARE DESPERATELY NEEDED BY OUR OLDER CITIZENS

It is an established fact that, today, one out of every eight Americans count on their monthly social security payment for the mere essentials of a decent

life. The further harsh economic fact is that the checks they are receiving are not large enough to overcome inflationary costs and provide even these basic essentials. Therefore, I introduced and urged the Congress to approve legislation, this past year, for immediate social security increases of at least 15 percent, pending action for additional overall increases and improvements this year. I am gratified that our recommendation was adopted and I shall continue my efforts for the approval of expanded benefits early in this second congressional session.

DEFENSE SPENDING CAN BE REDUCED AND THE SAVINGS TRANSFERRED TO OTHER URGENT DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

A great many military experts have suggested and recommended that our astronomical defense appropriations ought to and could be reduced by as much as \$10 billion without hurting the security posture of the country and I am inclined to agree. For many years, I have argued against the Congress routinely giving military officials a "blank check" every time they request money for "national defense." I did this to encourage the closest possible congressional scrutiny of military spending to eliminate unnecessary wasteful and extravagant programs. This year, for the first time in history, the Congress devoted several weeks, instead of the usual 1 or 2 days, to closely examining every military appropriation item and the result was a substantial reduction of some \$5 billion in the original requests. With this precedent, we can look for further and greater savings in the future, which can be transferred to urgent domestic improvement programs such as education, crime reduction, employment training, social security improvement, conducting the war on poverty, flood control, eliminating water and air pollution, and so many others vital to our national stability and progress.

TAX REFORM

The record shows that for several years, I have been urging correction and improvement in our antiquated and discriminatory tax laws. Something is greatly wrong when very wealthy individuals and corporations can legally escape payment of even 1 cent of taxes. I was extremely gratified, therefore, when a compromise tax measure to eliminate the poor from the tax rolls, raise personal exemptions, lessen the heavy burdens of the middle-income and single head-of-household taxpayers, and more equitably distribute the overall tax load was approved by the Congress. Although this compromise tax measure is far from perfect, it is a substantial forward step in essentially needed reform and I am proud to have had a part in its enactment. However, I shall further persevere in my efforts to encourage adoption of urgently needed tax relief to parents for college tuition and expenses, to persons over 65 for full medical expenses, to the handicapped, to small business, and in other areas where extreme economic distress is being experienced.

THE ALARMING INCREASE IN CRIME MUST BE HALTED

In my opinion a primary obligation of free government is the establishment and maintenance of law and order, with jus-

tice, to keep our citizens safe in the streets of their community and in their homes. That is why I have urged and voted for greater Federal assistance to our cities and towns for better police training, to strengthen our courts, impose heavier sentences for crimes of violence, sensibly restrict the interstate sale of firearms, expand juvenile correction facilities, and educate our young people to the dangers of drug misuse. The general public and our youth, particularly, must be effectively protected against organized crime and riotous killings and property destruction must stop. A stronger Federal commitment must be made in the common effort and urgency to overcome the foundation causes of increasing crime in our cities and towns, and I will continue to support programs to eliminate crime at its roots, such as those providing better education and housing, and more employment training and assistance in job placement.

EDUCATION FOR PROGRESS

Education is the key to constant improvement of the quality of American life. In this area, the Federal Government has promised much but delivered too little. Therefore, I sponsored and supported resolutions in this past session to greatly increase Federal funding for student loans, grants, and scholarships, teacher improvement, library equipment, vocational training, educational facilities expansion, impacted aid, educational research and pre-school learning programs. Adequate funding of these and other educational activities represents a prudent investment in America's future and I believe they merit our united support.

FLOOD, WATER, AND AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

Here are three other critical areas in which there has been too much talk and too little doing. Unless flood control measures are strengthened and pollution and poison eliminated from our waters and atmosphere, our whole society is threatened with extinction. Many well-intended programs have been initiated at Federal and local levels but not enough money has been made available to carry them out. Small communities throughout the country, like those bordering on the Blackstone River and other tributaries in our own area, are in real need of greater assistance to construct more and better flood control facilities. That is why I constantly urged and appealed, in this past congressional session, for approval of substantially increased Federal appropriations to enable our towns and our cities to more fully control the threatening dangers from river and ocean floods and water and air pollution. I shall persevere in my efforts for even greater increases in Federal assistance in these critical areas until these imperative local and national objectives have been achieved.

EQUITABLY REVISING OUR DRAFT SYSTEM PENDING ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE

Having long believed that our military draft system should be equitably revised, I have persistently urged the complete removal of any partisan politics from this vitally important subject. When the President requested authority

from the Congress, in this past session, to set up a lottery system, I supported his request. I did so in order to help restore the confidence of our youth in the ability of the President and the Congress to work together in their interest, to enable our young men to better plan their lives and to lessen the natural anxiety of parents about their children's future. I shall continue my efforts to further improve our selective service law, particularly in the areas of conscientious objection, legal representation and the application of identical standards throughout the country. As we try to establish an adequate all-volunteer force, it is imperative that our draft system be made as fair and impartial as is humanly possible.

PLEASE LET ME HEAR FROM YOU

Of course, many other activities occurred in this past congressional session that I cannot touch upon in this necessarily short summary; however, I will report to you again, from time to time, during this second session. Meanwhile, I hope you will never hesitate to contact me by letter or phone whenever you have problems connected with Federal agencies or are interested in pending legislation. In case of emergency, please call me collect at my Washington or central district office in Worcester.

MAIN OFFICES—ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS

Each weekend that the congressional schedule here will permit, I return to my Worcester office to meet and talk with constituents. The addresses and phone numbers of our two main offices are as follows: Hon. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Member of Congress, room 425, 390 Main Street, Worcester, Mass. 01608—phone number, area code 617, 754-7264, and Hon. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Member of Congress, room 2265 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515—phone number, area code 202, 225-6101. Let me repeat, in case of emergency, do not hesitate to call me collect.

THE NEW YEAR

As we prayerfully and perseveringly continue our individual and cooperative efforts to restore peace on earth and renew traditional virtues and strengths within our own beloved country, I would like to extend new year's greetings and my sincere wishes for continuing good health and fortune to all of you and your families.

IF YOU WANT TO FREEZE IN ONE PART OF THE HOUSE AND SWEAT IN ANOTHER, BE SURE TO PURCHASE YOUR EQUIPMENT THROUGH THE WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT CO. AND BE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN THAT THE APPLIANCE IS MADE BY THE BRYANT CORP.

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have expressed a consumer's regret for the installation made

in my home by the Washington Gas Light Co. and the farming out of the installation of new equipment to the Bryant Corp., both for heating and cooling. I have introduced a resolution for an investigation of the shabby practices of the Washington Gas Light Co. and their contractors.

A little over 3 years ago, having some faith in the Washington Gas Light Co. and needing a new heating and air-conditioning system, I asked them to come to my home and I signed an agreement with them for the installation of heating and cooling equipment. I specified a certain type of equipment I wished to have installed, but instead the company pushed the Bryant equipment upon me. We have had nothing but trouble with the Bryant equipment and the installation. The outside air-conditioning unit has had to be repaired several times and new parts inserted. The heating unit has had to be repaired many times and the Aprilaire unit has continually malfunctioned. The installer also made mistakes in the installation of the louvers bringing the heat and/or cold into the house.

Now that the winter season is upon us, with the malfunction of the humidifier our children wake up in the morning with sore throats and at the present time they are in bed.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on. I could explain the installer's disregard for fire safety by placing the furnace room lamp directly in contact with the black tubing that comes into the furnace room from the outside air conditioning unit.

Mr. Speaker, I think the people who consider gas heating, and particularly the terribly bad heating and cooling appliances of the Bryant Corp., should be concerned, and as a consumer I would recommend to them that they never purchase anything built by the Bryant Corp. I would further recommend that they not contract through the Washington Gas Light Co., whose service is poor regardless of the fancy advertising I notice on television and in the newspapers.

GOSSIP GAME

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpt from a column written by Mr. Ralph H. Romig, farm editor of the Uhrichsville-Dennison Evening Chronicle of December 2, 1969:

GOSSIP GAME

Taking backyard gossip out of the backyard and putting it on a national basis is another fad that is sweeping America today. We can find the answer to it in seven words of wisdom that were first spoken in a countryside service in another land. They were spoken long ago but they might have been tailored for the national gossips of today.

Take a look at that backyard gossip and the attempt to make it nationally respectable today. We see certain national groups indicting whole classes of people because some member of that class aroused the dislike of another.

A man before a television microphone last night indicted by implication the whole United States army for the errors of a few. He indicted a lot of fine young men, and with them one very special young soldier I know quite well. He claims the right of free speech, but in the pages of Country Wisdom no one has a right to do that in the name of free speech.

A United States Senator recently called everyone who opposed him "fat cats." It sounds like a couple of frustrated gossips tossing epithets at each other over a back fence instead of the words of a responsible official.

"Don't trust anyone over thirty," is another mass indictment phrase, too long accepted and unchallenged.

Inventing dirty names for policemen and the "establishment" has become a national pastime.

The Babe in the Manger grew up to give us the answer to the national sport of mass indictment. He gave it in seven words spoken at a countryside service long ago. His seven words "judge not that ye be not judged," are foundation stones early American country life. They are the antithesis of the sport of national gossip and name calling.

SIX EX-VETERANS' LEADERS URGE AID FOR ISRAEL

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, United Press International has written an interesting report which I would hope the State Department and the Nixon administration would take under serious consideration.

The report states that six past national commanders of major American veterans' organizations are urging President Nixon to provide Israel with all arms needed to maintain a Middle East power balance.

I am very pleased to see this report and to have the support of such distinguished Americans in a similar proposal that I had made recently here on the floor of the House. It would be my hope that the Nixon administration would once and for all realize that with the presence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and with the Soviet Union rearming all of the Arab states, it is the height of folly for the United States to continue its policy of parity of military aid to the Middle East.

I believe the United States should give Israel 200 Phantom jets forthwith to preserve peace in that explosive part of the world. Only when the Arabs realize that any attack on Israel will be doomed to failure will we finally persuade them to act like civilized nations and enter into a discussion with the Israelis for a meaningful peace.

The article follows:

SIX EX-VETERANS' LEADERS URGE AID FOR ISRAEL

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL, December 7.—Six past national commanders of major American veterans' organizations said today they will urge President Nixon to provide Israel all arms needed to maintain a middle east power balance.

The six included: Claude L. Callegary, Baltimore, Md., Disabled American Veterans; Ted C. Connell, Killeen, Tex., Veterans of

Foreign Wars; Eldon James, Hampton, Va., and John Davis, Arlington, Va., both of the American Legion; Ralph Hall, Wheaton, Md.; Amvets; Cooper Holt, VFW, Silver Spring, Md.; Robert O'Leary, Baltimore, Catholic War Veterans; and Malcolm Tarlov, Norwalk, Conn., Jewish War Veterans.

They and Bernard Drenfeld, Cleveland, present commander of the the Jewish War Veterans, are on a 10-day tour of Israel ending Tuesday. They met Foreign Minister Abba Eban and Israel military commanders and visited cease-fire fronts and occupied areas and saw how Israelis were using some American weaponry, including Phantom jets and Hawk anti-aircraft missiles.

PROBLEMS OF THE SEC

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have read with interest the statement recently made before a subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee by our former colleague, the Honorable Hamer H. Budge, now Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Because of the growing problems in the investment field, and particularly mutual funds, I suggest that Members of the House would do well to acquaint themselves with the excellent presentation made by Mr. Budge before the proper committee of the House. His statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HONORABLE HAMER H. BUDGE
I. INTRODUCTION

This is our second appearance before you on behalf of H.R. 11995. When we were last here, we briefly sketched the long history of the proposals now before you and outlined what the Bill would actually do. We did not discuss the reasons for the need for the Bill since we did not think it necessary to review again ground that we then believed noncontroversial. We had good reason for that belief. The Commission had gone as far as it could reasonably go in meeting the industry's objections to our original proposals. Compromises satisfactory to the major segments of the investment company industry and to the retail securities business appeared to have been arrived at, and when S. 2224 was reported out of the Senate Banking Committee, it was generally believed that the Bill reflected the agreement of the major segments of the industry, in particular, the ICI.

Thus, Senator Sparkman, the Chairman of the Senate Banking Committee and a key sponsor of the Bill and Senator Bennett, the ranking minority member of that Committee both understood, as did the other members of the Committee, that an agreement had been reached between the Commission and the ICI on the management fee issue, as well as the other items in the Bill. Senator Sparkman said, "These amendments have widespread support throughout the securities industry." Senator Bennett also stated, on the floor of the Senate, that "It may seem surprising, but both the Securities and Exchange Commission and the mutual fund industry are in general accord with the Bill's provisions." The Bill was unanimously passed and H.R. 11995 now before you is the Bill as it passed the Senate.

Hence, our task, as we saw it when we were here last, was to explain those compromises and their effect.

During this past month, however, the spirit of compromise seems to have dissipated. It therefore appears necessary to review why we believe this legislation is vitally important to investment company shareholders, the one group who has not appeared before you because they depend upon the Commission to speak for them and the Congress to act for them.

It has been suggested that there is no public outcry demanding reform in the investment company area. However, in 1940 in enacting the present Act, the Congress directed the Commission, in Section 14(b) if it believes that "any substantial further increase in the size of investment companies creates any problem involving the protection of investors or the public interest, to make a study and investigation . . . and . . . to report the results of its studies and investigations and its recommendations to the Congress." We have made such a study and investigation and have reported to you and have made various recommendations embodied in this Bill. We feel it was our obligation to do so. On the other hand, we have studiously avoided attempting to influence your deliberations by contacting you directly or attempting to have others do so. We would, of course, welcome the opportunity to discuss this with you personally. Except for the ICI and the contractual plan sponsors, we know of no objection of any organized group in the securities industry to the mutual fund provisions of the bill.

In this connection, when the present Act was enacted the net asset value of all mutual funds was only about \$450 million. As at June 30, 1969, that amount was \$54.4 billion, 120 times as large. Even using the ICI's figure that the average advisory fee was 0.348% of net assets, the advisory fees paid in fiscal year 1969 were about \$190 million. It is our opinion that the total may be significantly greater.

II. MANAGERIAL COMPENSATION—THE "ADVISORY FEE"

The S.E.C. has never suggested that the Congress pass a federal statute dealing with the compensation of business executives in industry and trade. Nor can I conceive of the Commission ever making any such proposal. Yet all of us at the Commission think that legislation dealing with managerial compensation in the investment company industry is desirable. Why? What is so special about investment companies?

To answer these questions one must look at the peculiar way in which mutual funds are organized. The mutual fund is unique. There is nothing like it anywhere else in the American economy. When promoters start a mutual fund, they almost always do so by launching not one entity, but two. One of those entities is the one into which the public is asked to put its money. That is the fund itself. To it, the promoters make a relatively small initial contribution. But the great bulk of the fund's capital is expected to come, and actually does come, from the general public to which it sells its shares. Very seldom do the promoters draw (or expect to draw) much from the fund itself by way of salary. In fact, they usually serve without salary.

The second of the two entities formed by the promoters is called an "investment adviser." It is formed, controlled, and dominated by the very same group that formed and controlled the fund. The fund then makes an arrangement called an advisory contract with the adviser. In most cases the flesh and blood people who enter into the contract for each entity are largely the same on both sides. The fund pays the adviser a fee, usually a percentage of the fund's assets, in return for investment management.

Of course, in addition to managing its investments, the fund has another function, that of selling its shares to the public. This share selling function is also contracted out. It is handled by an organization called a principal underwriter. In most cases, the principal underwriter is either the adviser itself or a close affiliate of the adviser. In fact, the fund itself is often a kind of a ghost. It may hold many millions of dollars in public savings. But, it may have no staff of its own and be really totally dependent upon its adviser-underwriter.

True, the fund itself looks—when viewed superficially—just like any other corporation. It has a board of directors and it also has one or more executive officers. But, in the case of most funds, a substantial portion of the directors, and all or virtually all of its officers, are normally associated with or employed by the adviser. So for all practical purposes the typical fund is under the adviser's thumb. It was conceived by the adviser and it never assumes a truly independent existence.

This pattern is commonly referred to as one of external management. It is the traditional way of doing things in the investment company field, but it is hard to conceive of anything like it anywhere else. There is no valid comparison between external management in the mutual fund business and the ordinary business practice of subcontracting. Mutual funds just do not go out to buy advisory and underwriting services on the open market on the best terms they can get. They are generally tied to their advisers. The adviser sets his price and, typically, the fund pays that price. The arms-length bargaining element in the ordinary business relationship, is completely lacking here.

The structural arrangements found in this industry create an economic environment in which normal market restraints on managerial compensation are conspicuous by their absence. This is a situation in which insiders usually bargain with themselves. In this type of system, legal controls are needed in order to do what normal market forces can be depended on to do elsewhere.

As long ago as 1940, there were those who considered external management an anomaly that should be banned by law and who argued that all investment companies should be required to do their own work through their own staffs. At that time, however, the problem of investment company managerial compensation did not seem to be of great magnitude. The funds were small in those days and the amount of compensation involved was not significant.

Accordingly, in 1940, the Commission took a very conservative view. It recommended only the imposition of what it then described as "a few elementary safeguards." Those safeguards consisted essentially of disclosures and of requirements as to the composition of boards of directors. The Congress of 1940 accepted that view. In the Investment Company Act it required that the funds must have boards of directors elected by the shareholders. The Investment Company Act also requires that at least 40 per cent of the directors must be unaffiliated with the adviser. The Investment Company Act also provide that investment advisory contracts must be approved at the outset by shareholder vote and periodically thereafter either by the shareholders or by the directors. If the adviser chooses to rely on the periodic approval by the directors, a majority of the unaffiliated directors must approve the contract.

The studies made for and by the Commission since 1958, demonstrate that these "elementary safeguards" have been ineffective.³ The unaffiliated directors are chosen by the affiliated directors, and with very few exceptions they have no staffs of their own. They do not choose to dispute with their colleagues about the advisory fee nor do they

Footnotes at end of article.

have any alternative which would not disrupt management. They typically have other businesses or occupations and receive very modest compensation from the fund or its adviser. There is a general pattern followed by most funds with respect to their advisory contracts. So, when the terms of the contract are not unusual, approval is pretty much a routine matter.

Nor has shareholder voting operated as an effective control on management fees. The shareholders have no real choice. All they can do is to approve or disapprove the advisory contracts that management submits to them. The shareholder who thinks of disapproving the contract faces the spectre of a fund with no facilities for running its day-to-day operations, since those facilities are supplied by and are in the hands of the external investment adviser who has been in charge of the fund's operations. Of course, the shareholder can dispose of his investment, but he has ordinarily paid a substantial sales charge and if he purchases shares of another fund he is subjected to another substantial sales charge. For the average shareholder, this is not much of a choice. Moreover, the wide dispersion of fund shares among many small shareholders, coupled with management's control of the proxy machinery, makes organized opposition to management practically impossible.

Experience during the two decades from 1940 to 1960 demonstrates the ineffectiveness of unaffiliated directors and shareholder voting as a restraint on managerial compensation. During those 20 years the funds grew enormously. This growth led to tremendous economies of scale. A billion dollar fund is ten times the size of a \$100 million fund. But there is no such steep rise in operating costs. The actual cost of running a billion dollar fund is nothing like 10 times the cost of running a \$100 million fund. Had normal free market forces been at work, the benefit of these lower advisory costs would have been passed on to shareholders in the form of lower advisory fees. Nothing of the sort happened. In spite of the funds' sensational growth, advisory fees continued to cluster around the traditional $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent.

Prior to 1960 the fund managers, with rare exceptions, made no move to lower their fees. Many funds grew tenfold in size and more. Nevertheless, the $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent advisory fee remained constant.

In 1960, however, the situation began to change to some limited extent. Advisers began to scale down their fees to provide for charges of less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent on that portion of the fund's assets in excess of some stipulated figure. For example, one fund now pays its advisers the traditional $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent fee on its first \$500 million in assets, with the fee dropping to $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent on the next \$250 million, to $\frac{1}{20}$ of 1 per cent on the next \$250 million, and finally to $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent on that portion of the assets in excess of a billion dollars.

This change developed after some 50 private lawsuits had been instituted by mutual fund shareholders to attack the advisory fees paid by most of the large externally managed funds as excessive. These lawsuits were derivative in nature—brought by one or more individual shareholders on behalf of their funds.

Only three of the cases were fully litigated.⁴ One court thought that the fees were "high,"⁵ and another thought that a flat $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent management fee on \$600 million, produced profits "certainly approaching the point where they are outstripping any reasonable relationship to expenses and effort even in a legal sense."⁶ Nevertheless, all three actions resulted in judgments for the defendants. The courts viewed the fact that the advisory contracts had been approved by the

shareholders in all three cases—and in one case by the unaffiliated directors—as changing the applicable standard from fairness or reasonableness to the much looser standard of waste of corporate assets. Thus the Congressional requirement of approval by the shareholders and a majority of the unaffiliated directors, which was intended to act as a protection for the shareholders, has actually served to insulate the fees and deny shareholders the benefit of judicial protections they would otherwise have enjoyed.

The courts themselves have not been happy about the results they felt they were constrained to reach under the present law. One judge said in part:

"... if there is to be 'regulation', it must come from the legislative branch unless it results in the violation of some positive principle of law, such as that applicable to a waste of assets."⁷

In another case the court stated: "If the fund management company format is to be legally questioned, such inquiry must come from some other place."⁸

Although judicial examination of advisory fees in the courts did not, therefore, serve as an effective substitute for competition and arm's length bargaining, most of the cases that were brought were settled under conditions which resulted in new advisory contracts somewhat more favorable to the funds.

Another factor came into the picture in the fall of 1962, when the Wharton School delivered its report to the Commission entitled "A Study of Mutual Funds."⁹ That report documented the inflexibility of the mutual fund investment advisory fee situation and concluded that "the more important current problems in the mutual fund industry appear to be those which involve potential conflicts of interest between fund management and shareholders. . . ." ¹⁰ In response to that report additional, but still modest, advisory fee reductions were made. The Commission has firmly believed that further reductions may well be appropriate and that investment company shareholders should at least have the opportunity to question the adequacy of the reductions that have been made and the propriety of existing and future fee levels. Because it has not been possible successfully to maintain such a cause of action under the present state of the law as it has developed, the Commission considered the available alternatives in its Mutual Fund Report.¹¹

One alternative would have been to urge that the Act should be amended so as to require that the funds do their own work under the direction of their own officers, directors, and employees—just as other companies and some few investment companies do. There were many who urged that course. It was argued that to attempt to superimpose protections upon the external management system would be like trying to treat a serious illness with band-aids and aspirins and that there was a basic incompatibility between external management and investor protection.

The Commission recognized the force of these views but rejected them as too drastic. It asked only that the Act be amended so as to include an express federal requirement of reasonableness with respect to managerial compensation. After all, there is nothing unreasonable about reasonableness.

The industry, we found to our regret, took a different view. They found the proposal that the law require reasonableness extremely objectionable, although they did not quarrel with the proposition that fees should be reasonable. Industry spokesmen from the out set made several arguments.

First, they said there is no advisory fee problem—full disclosure, shareholder voting, the presence of the unaffiliated directors, and "competition" in the business operate, they said, as effective checks on advisory fees. Experience has demonstrated, however that disclosure, voting and the unaffiliated directors

all together have not been enough and whatever competition there has been in the industry has historically been for sales, and recently for performance, but never for lower advisory fees.

It was also argued that this "non-problem" was getting better all the time—that fees, which were always reasonable, have dropped further in recent years. Those reductions that have occurred, however, can be traced generally to the shareholder litigation, the Wharton Report and Congressional consideration of reform—not to the advisers' initiatives, the efforts of the unaffiliated directors, or shareholder balloting. Further, there are still many very big funds—including two of the largest in the industry—as well as the bulk of the smaller funds, which charge a flat $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent or more.

Another argument made was that fees that may look large in the aggregate are really small. After all, $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent on a \$5,000 investment is only \$25 a year and it is simply impossible for any one to get expert investment management individually for as little as \$25 a year. Such an argument is sheer sophistry, of course, because even the most outrageously exorbitant fees or charges can be made to seem "reasonable" if they are spread over a very large group. In this argument the industry, which wishes to use the fund's corporate form to exact such high fees, now wishes to divide the fee by the hundreds of thousands of shareholders when we examine the fees closely.

The final objection most often heard was that the Commission's recommendation that the courts pass on a reasonableness of the fees on a case-by-case basis would lead to a rash of strike suits.

In the Commission's view, this argument was not convincing because first, the industry already faces a number of strike suits and second, because courts frequently are called upon to judge whether a charge for a service is reasonable and there is nothing undemocratic in having a court make such a determination.

Thus, the Commission was unable to discern any merit in the industry's objections to the proposed reasonableness standard. It is worth noting that in 1968, the Senate agreed with the Commission on this point. S. 3724, which the Senate passed in the first session of the 90th Congress in the summer of 1968, would, if enacted, have added to the Investment Company Act an express requirement that managerial compensation be reasonable.

But the Commission has never been wedded to any particular formula. It has always been more concerned with the substance of investor protection than with the particular words in which that substance is conveyed. Hence, when Senator McIntyre suggested the fiduciary duty approach now taken in H.R. 11995, and the ICI itself came to us to discuss the possibility of reaching an agreement along these lines, and when the negotiations our staff had with the ICI led us to believe that the industry would not only accept but would support the fiduciary duty language, we were willing to accommodate ourselves to the industry's preference.

That is why neither the bill that the Senate passed at this session (S. 2224) nor H.R. 11995 uses the word "reasonable" in this context. Instead, those bills provide for the addition of a new section to the Investment Company Act (proposed Section 36(b)), which would:

A. State specifically that the adviser has a "fiduciary duty" with respect to all compensation received from the fund itself or from its shareholders; and

B. Direct the courts to give the directors' approval of the management fee and the shareholders' ratification of that fee such consideration as they deem appropriate in the circumstances of the particular case.

Last month, we said that the Commission understands "that the Investment Company

Footnotes at end of article.

Institute does not oppose the adoption of these provisions." Unfortunately, we learned, to our dismay, that the situation has changed. Although the President of the ICI has since testified that the ICI does not oppose the Bill, he has also stated that

"... it must be obvious that our understanding with the S.E.C. that we would not object to the management fee provisions now contained in H.R. 11995 was reached without any enthusiasm on our part in view of the fact that these provisions continue to be vague and will inevitably breed expensive, time-consuming and unnecessary litigation.

"We have never believed that this type of legislation in the management fee area was really necessary..."

The Institute's president then told this Committee that it "should also know that some of our members [admittedly only a "very few"] have expressed the view that the management fee provisions of the present Bill are still unacceptable to them." So, after all this time, all this energy, and all of the accommodations that the Commission made, it turns out that we succeeded only in achieving a peculiar kind of an "understanding" with the Institute—an "understanding... without any enthusiasm" which is "unacceptable."

If they had these reservations during what now appears to have been a tongue in cheek negotiation, they certainly did not express them to us. The Institute's president has in his testimony again reviewed the industry's old arguments against any legislation in this area. We find those arguments unconvincing for the reasons we have already indicated and, with the Committee's permission, we are submitting for the record a separate memorandum dealing with his contention that the costs of investment company management are low.

The ICI also suggested the adoption at this time of "self-regulation" in the advisory fee area where they have always maintained—and still do—that a problem does not exist.

Of course, self-regulation has an appropriate place in the federal system of controls over the securities industry. From its earliest days, the Commission has recognized the value of the self-regulatory concept in certain areas. For example, in the area of business ethics, self-regulation is effective. It must be remembered, however, that the self-regulatory concept is a supplement to—not a substitute for—the rule of law.

We have serious doubts as to the desirability and workability of self-regulation in the area of management fees.

Nevertheless, at the request of Chairman Moss, our staff has had several meetings with industry representatives and staff members of your Committee. We understand that these discussions have demonstrated that the proposal involves very complex and difficult problems which do not appear likely to be resolved soon or easily.

The ICI admits that the entire proposal has been advanced for the purpose of depriving shareholders of the opportunity to sue fund managers in the federal courts in respect of management fees, a right provided in the present bill. Under the ICI self-regulatory proposal, shareholder suits against members of the self-regulatory association would be eliminated in this area. While we understand the desire to insulate management from shareholder actions, the fact is that such actions are often beneficial to the shareholders and provide a valuable supplement to the Commission's own activities. There are already in H.R. 11995 and in the FRCP¹² sufficient safeguards against frivolous or harassing law suits. This is not a new area. Commissioner Owens in response to a question by Senator Bennett on April 22, 1969, detailed the Commission's views against prohibiting shareholder actions.¹³ We question

the desirability, under color of self-regulation, of now giving unprecedented special new protection from shareholder suits to mutual fund managements in the crucial area of advisory fees.

The ICI proposal also requires Commission action with respect to the level of management fees. The self-regulatory association's rules would be subject to Commission oversight and thus the industry and the Commission would be involved in rate regulation. We have resisted asking the Congress for power to set management fees. We have consistently held to the position that the Commission should not act as a rate-making body in the advisory fee area, as we do in the stock exchange commission rate area. Oddly enough, until this proposal was made, the industry emphatically agreed.

The ICI contemplates that the self-regulatory association will adopt rules to insure that the terms of the advisory contracts of its members do not provide for compensation which is unreasonable. It is not clear how they propose to accomplish this. Apparently, they do not contemplate a separate rule for each company. A single rule of fixing the fees for all funds, on the other hand, appears wholly impracticable. As the discussions our staff has had with the ICI have shown, it is doubtful that an objective standard could, in fact, be developed and applied fairly to such a diverse industry. Such a rule would disregard the vast differences in compensation received by the advisers as well as the immense variations in the nature, value, and cost of services rendered by different investment advisers. The ICI recognizes that this may not work. They do not know just how they would propose to go about this self-regulation.

We are also concerned that any new self-regulatory organization should not dilute the effectiveness of the NASD. The ICI proposal contemplates that the new self-regulatory association would be empowered to adopt rules to prohibit excessive sales loads—a function traditionally vested with the NASD and embodied in Section 12 of H.R. 11995. Serious questions would be raised by any such division of self-regulatory responsibility in the investment company industry.

Another problem is the manner and extent to which unreasonable fees, in violation of rules the Association may adopt, will be recoverable for the fund. Under the proposal, the Association could direct the repayment of unreasonable fees but the enforceability of such an order of the Association is not clear. Further, the constitutionality of this approach is doubtful.

Still another problem is raised by the fact that not only would the proposal provide unprecedented insulation to the Association's members from shareholders actions and from the power of courts to scrutinize violations of fiduciary obligations, but that it also provides for insulation from the anti-trust laws. Setting fees—even advisory fees—requires exemption from the anti-trust proscriptions against price-fixing and such an exemption is, in fact, part of the ICI proposal. We cannot at this point in good conscience advise this Committee that private price-fixing with antitrust immunity is in the public interest.

Finally, there is a basic philosophic and economic problem in this proposal. There is no business reason why anyone should join this proposed self-regulatory body as there is, for example, in the case of the New York Stock Exchange or the NASD. Members of the Exchange assume the costs and burdens of self-regulation in order to obtain the economic advantages of a "seat," and NASD members have almost exclusive access to the underwriting of any significant new issue of stock or corporate bonds. Members of this new organization would gain nothing except immunity from judicial scrutiny of advisory fees. This raises two questions: would

the new body have to unduly lenient in dealing with advisory fees in order to attract and keep members? Would it be proper for a fund manager to cause his fund to join the organization, and assume whatever expense and burden that entails, when all the fund gets out of it is the possibility of paying a higher advisory fee than a court would find to be fair?

Because of all these problems, and possibly more, we find it difficult to conceive at this time just how the self-regulatory proposal of the ICI would work. If your Committee desires, our staff can continue to explore the possibility of self-regulation in the investment company industry. It may be possible that self-regulation can contribute something in the advisory-fee area. It appears that careful study—and perhaps even a period of experience with the actual workings of H.R. 11995—will be needed before informed opinions on that point can be formulated. In short, the possible use of self-regulation in the advisory-fee field is a subject that should be considered in the future and should not delay enactment of this Bill.

II. SALES LOADS

Now turning to sales loads, other than front-end loads, we are pleased that the NASD is still adhering to its agreement to support this legislation. However, representatives of several NASD members have appeared before you opposing our recommendations, so I would like as briefly as possible to review our position in this area.

Mutual fund sales charges are substantially out of line with charges in all other segments of the securities business. They are not determined by the normal interplay of competitive market forces and in most cases, are far higher than acquisition charges for other securities of comparable quality.

The Commission originally recommended that sales loads for investment company shares be limited to 5 per cent of the net amount invested, subject to authority in the Commission to allow higher loads where appropriate. Section 12(a) of H.R. 11995 does not do this. Rather, it would give the NASD authority to adopt rules designed to prevent "excessive sales loads" but allowing for reasonable compensation for sales personnel, broker-dealers and underwriters, and reasonable sales load levels to investors. The Commission would be authorized after the expiration of 18 months from the enactment of the Bill, to alter or supplement the NASD rules. It would also be granted authority to make rules covering non-NASD members, but such nonmember dealers could elect to be governed by the NASD's rules.

Some background information on why this is necessary may be helpful at this point.

Sales charges are fixed by the fund managers under Section 22(d) of the Investment Company Act, an exemption from the anti-trust laws, which prohibits price competition by dealers in the sale of shares of any fund.

That is, Section 22(d) permits the funds' principal underwriters to fix prices to which every retail dealer in securities must adhere. Without any doubt, Section 22(d) is unique. It places the full force of the criminal laws of the federal government behind resale price maintenance in the investment company field, so that if a retail dealer knowingly sells a mutual fund share for less than the price stated in the prospectus, he violates the Investment Company Act. And as we have noted, sales charges for mutual fund shares are far higher in most cases than acquisition costs on other types of securities of comparable quality.

There is little difference in the sales loads charged by most of the load funds. With few exceptions, they range from 7.5 per cent to 8.9 per cent of the offering price. Expressed in the way sales charges are usually stated elsewhere in the securities industry, i.e., as

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a percentage of the net amount actually invested rather than as a percentage of the total gross dollar amount paid out by the investor, an 8.5 per cent sales load amounts to a sales charge of 9.3 per cent of the value of the fund shares purchased.

In recent years, sales loads have tended to cluster around 8.5 per cent and this 8.5 per cent figure is the one that most mutual fund investors pay today. In this connection, it is important to note that in 1950, when there was much less investor interest in mutual funds as an investment medium, the most typical sales load was 7.5 per cent.

Most funds offer reductions from the basic load for large purchasers. But very few of them offer quantity discounts below the \$10,000 level, and even at that level, many still do not offer a quantity discount. When quantity discounts are offered to \$10,000 purchasers, those discounts are very small. And, one Investment Company Institute survey showed that only 7.3 percent of mutual fund purchasers invest more than \$10,000 in any one transaction.

These charges do not compare favorably with other sales commissions. Exchange commission rates on orders for lots of 100 shares or multiples thereof, run about 1 percent of the dollar amount involved. While exchange commission rates on small transactions and on the lowest priced stocks amount to quite a bit more than 1 percent, even in these situations, they are far below the typical mutual fund charges of 9.3 percent of the amount invested in the fund.

Charges for most transactions in over-the-counter securities and charges in connection with conventional underwritings of securities are also generally substantially less than mutual fund sales charges. Moreover, distribution of mutual fund shares is quite different from underwritings of other securities which involve the special risks and effort incident to the distribution of relatively large amounts of securities in a very limited period of time. In contrast, the distribution of mutual fund shares is a continuous merchandising operation. The distributor is under no pressure to dispose of a specific quantity of shares within a limited time, he has no inventory and he assumes no market risks. Whatever he may be in a legal form, the distributor is, in economic reality, a sales agent rather than a risk-taker. As such, he has little in common with underwriters of other types of securities.

These striking differences between mutual fund sales charges and charges for other securities transactions reflect the type of competition which has developed in the mutual fund industry. This competition focuses on securing the favor of retail dealers—it tends to raise, rather than lower, sales loads. All of this takes place under the umbrella of Section 22(d) which prohibits retail dealers from engaging in retail price competition for customer favor.

The testimony of Mr. Milton Mound before this Committee two weeks ago illustrates this point strikingly. The Bill fixes a low sales load for his type of fund. So, far from giving him a competitive advantage, he claims that this places him at a grave competitive disadvantage and he wants to charge more in order to be competitive. This shows how competition works in this business.

Finally, as Chairman Moss said, excessive sales loads cannot be justified by the fact that many mutual fund investors, like other participants in the securities market, have fared well. The fact that a given product ultimately benefits the purchaser does not justify a price for it which is neither competitively determined nor subject to a type of regulatory control which is an adequate substitute for such competition.

That is the problem as we see it today, and as we saw it in our Mutual Fund Report.

During the 3 years that have passed since that Report, it has not gone away or diminished. ICI members have enjoyed record sales of \$16.26 billion and have added more than 2 million new shareholder accounts, or almost 26% more accounts than those in force at the end of 1966. Thus, as each year has gone by, the numbers of accounts and the dollars involved have mounted. During this same period, we have considered a number of solutions designed to result in fairer treatment of investors in the purchase of fund shares. To clarify any substantive questions remaining in your minds, and more significantly because it illustrates our open-minded, flexible approach to this legislation, I would like to trace the evolution of our approach to this subject. Here again, we have reviewed and revised our thinking and adopted an industry suggestion in order to reach a solution we believe will be fair to investors and assures fair consideration to the interests of sellers.

Our consideration of methods of dealing with the levels of mutual fund sales charges began with the suggestion that Section 22 (d), the legal barrier to retail price competition, be repealed and normal market forces set sales price levels of mutual funds. It was suggested that, if that happened, fund distribution systems would be destroyed, dealers would no longer sell fund shares, funds would fall into a net redemption status and dump their portfolio securities onto the markets, wrecking the markets and ultimately, the economy. We thought this was somewhat exaggerated. However, we did recognize that permitting price competition might have little or no impact on funds distributed by "captive sales organizations" to the disadvantage of other broker-dealers.

We therefore did not make that recommendation and instead originally recommended that sales charges be limited to 5 percent of the amount invested. Even then, however, we were aware that there might be some situations in which higher sales charges might be appropriate, so we recommended that we have authority to raise that limit in such circumstances. In arriving at the 5 percent figure, we were influenced by the fact that 5 percent is considered by the NASD an outside limit on the mark-up that ordinarily can be charged on a securities transaction—including a transaction in which the customer sells one security and buys another.

An alternative to our initial proposal was suggested at a meeting of the Investment Bankers Association. It was proposed that the present authority of the NASD to make rules prohibiting "unconscionable or grossly excessive sales loads" simply be changed to rules prohibiting "excessive sales loads." We determined we would not oppose it if offered as an amendment. As passed by the Senate, the Bill embodies this provision with the Commission having authority to alter or supplement the rules of the securities association after 18 months from the effective date of the Act.

Still, there are some who fear that at the first opportunity the Commission will cast aside the work of the NASD and substitute its own preconceived standards. Indeed, the proposal does provide that the Commission may alter or supplement the rules of the Association. However, there are a number of safeguards. First, the NASD will conduct a study to determine the appropriate rate and I understand that it is beginning to organize a group for this purpose. If the Commission has any questions as to the propriety of the resultant rule, it must (1) make a written request to the NASD that it alter or supplement its rules; (2) the NASD must fail to adopt the requested alteration or supplement; (3) the Commission must hold a hearing after appropriate notice; and (4) a decision must be made by the Commission that the alteration or supplement is necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the

protection of investors to effectuate the purposes of the Section.

I would expect that the role of the Commission would be to review the study in order to insure that it has been thorough and objective and that any rules adopted by the NASD were consistent with the purposes of the Section. In doing so, we would, of course, be guided by the Congressionally expressed intent that any such rules "allow for reasonable compensation for sales personnel, broker-dealers and underwriters, and for reasonable sales loads to investors." We would also consider the nature and quantity of services necessary to effect the proper distribution of fund shares to the public. We believe that if Section 22(b) is amended, as proposed, and if the NASD acts in accordance with the intent of that Section to prevent "excessive" sales loads, there will be no need for the Commission to exercise its own oversight authority to alter or supplement the rules.

FRONT-END LOADS

As you know, the present law permits up to 50 per cent of the first year's payments on contractual plans for the purchase of mutual fund shares by monthly installment payments to be deducted as sales charges. In the Mutual Fund Report, the Commission had recommended that the front-end load be abolished. The present Bill however, allows two alternative means for selling with a front-end load. Under the first alternative, contractual plans may still be sold with the present authorized front-end load, under which up to 50 per cent of the first year's payments may be deducted for sales commissions, provided that if the investor elects for any reason to redeem his underlying shares for cash during the first three years of his contract he would be entitled to receive, in addition to his net asset value, a refund of the amount by which all sales charges paid exceed 15 percent of the total payments made under the plan. The Commission would be authorized to make rules and regulations specifying the form of refund notice required under this alternative and setting forth reserve requirements so that sponsors could meet their refund obligations.

In addition, contractual plan sponsors could elect a second alternative. Under this alternative, the Bill specifies a formula whereby the load could not exceed 20 per cent of any payment nor average more than 16 per cent over the first four years.

As I told you on November 12, after the Senate passed S. 2224, at the request of the Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, our staff met with their representatives. Despite some misgiving about decreasing investor protection even further than the minimum provided by the Bill that passed the Senate, we agreed we would not oppose a provision which would reduce the refund period to 18 months. We were advised this was agreeable to the Association of Plan Sponsors. The had some problems as to what sort of reserve requirements the Commission would impose and we were discussing this. We felt that this was a matter for rule making, not for legislation, and we were willing to cooperate in an effort to work out reserve requirements which would not be unduly burdensome to them, consistent with investor protection. However, the day before the hearings were to commence before your Committee, the Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors informed our staff that our agreement had come apart.

The November 18 testimony given on behalf of the Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc. indicates the need to review the background of our recommendations in this area also. The statistics presented by the plan sponsors are essentially the same statistics as those presented for over six years to the Commission and for three years to the Congress. I refer to figures indicating that the great majority of contractual plan holders show a profit if they hold on to their

certificate long enough and that the profit of the majority exceeds the losses incurred by a minority of contractual plan investors.

The plan sponsors' attempt to justify sale levels on the basis of prior investment experience is unique in the securities industry. They certainly guarantee no refund of sales charges if investors experience a loss.

We at the Commission have never questioned the utility of investment companies as a medium through which the small investor may obtain portfolio diversification and professional management otherwise unavailable to him. The fact that the stock market has generally risen since 1953 (the time when the plans which are the subject of these profit and loss statistics were bought) explains the figures offered by the plan sponsors. The managers of the mutual funds in which the contractual plans invest have been able, through portfolio diversification and professional management, to bring the benefits of rising common stock prices to investors. Because of this, it is not surprising that most contractual planholders who have been able to hold on to their plans for a great many years have shown a profit. Since World War II, we have seen generally rising stock markets which may offset the front-end load. Before then, in the 30's the experience was different. It is rather terrifying to consider the fate of small investors paying 50 per cent sales load if we should ever encounter a real bear market again.

What is surprising is that the statistics submitted by the plan sponsors to show the profitability of most contractual plan certificates demonstrate that most contractual plan buyers do not complete their payments and that most pay effective sales loads of 15 to 50 per cent.

It has never been disputed that the front-end load penalizes even those who complete their contractual plans. They would do better by investing the same amount in the underlying mutual fund through a voluntary plan which has an 8½ per cent sales load on each payment. This was demonstrated in both the 1963 Special Study Report and our 1966 Mutual Fund Report.

The plan sponsors state that the 50 per cent front-end load is necessary if salesmen are to seek out prospective investors in their homes and bring them their message of the value of mutual fund investment. The Commission in 1966 concluded, whether or not this incentive system is still necessary, that the front-end load be abolished because the Commission felt that the detriments to investors outweigh any benefits to them. As the plan sponsors' own statistics demonstrate, after 10- and 13-year periods, between 25 and 43 percent of planholders paid no more than the installments scheduled for the first three years and about half of these had not progressed beyond the first year's installments. These planholders paid effective sales loads of from 16 to 50 percent.¹⁴ It is no answer to say, as do the plan sponsors, that many of them made money. Of course, many of them lost money—especially those who redeemed in the 3½ year period (some 13.5 percent) and this does not include an additional 22.1 percent whose accounts lapsed.¹⁵

Experience demonstrates that the steps taken by the plan sponsors in response to criticism are inadequate. The plan sponsors have voluntarily undertaken to extend the 30-day absolute refund privilege, already adopted, to 60 days; but their own statistics demonstrate that the investor's financial ability or desire to maintain his payments does not change so soon after the initial sale. Rather, the attrition is greatest during the first three or four years of the plan. It is not confined to the first two months or even the first year. Thus, a 60-day refund privilege does not reach the heart of the matter, which is that the front-end load makes in-

vestors pay the bulk of the sales load for the entire long-term investing program in the program's early stages.

The so-called one-year "hardship" refund provision does not solve the problem either. Seldom does investor attrition result from what the Plan Sponsors would treat as a "hardship" situation during the first year of the plan. These "hardship" situations are defined so narrowly that very few persons will be able to take advantage of them. This "hardship privilege" is granted only when the planholder is disabled for at least 30 consecutive days or a dependent member of the family is hospitalized for at least 30 consecutive days or the planholder or the head of the household is unemployed for 30 consecutive days.¹⁶

Another privilege offered by the sponsors to planholders who may find themselves in need of ready cash is the 90-per-cent withdrawal and reinvestment privilege. Desirable as that may seem, it does not provide a refund of the front-end load already paid.

The most important fact for your consideration is that contractual plan buyers pay effective sales loads much higher than those that other mutual fund investors pay. Is the 50-per-cent front-end load equitable when the industry's own statistics demonstrate the probability that a majority of the customers will not make the future investments for which the front-end load is a prepayment?

As I stated on November 12, 1969, while the Commission has believed that the abolition of the front-end-load would more effectively ensure fair treatment to future small investors, enactment of H.R. 11995 would constitute an important reform.

PERFORMANCE FEES

When we were here before, we briefly mentioned our legislative recommendation which would restrict the types of performance fees that can be charged to a registered investment company. We noted that our position was reached after a discussion with the industry although we had originally recommended a flat prohibition of performance fee arrangements.

We did not comment on this provision in significant detail, other than a brief explanation of how the proposal would operate to permit a performance fee scaled to an appropriate index, increasing and decreasing in equal proportion from the base fee that would be paid if the Fund's performance is exactly equal to that of the index selected. In view, however, of the testimony of several witnesses who have appeared before the Subcommittee, it seems necessary, in this area too, to review how and why we arrived at our present position and the protections we are recommending that Congress provide. But first we wish to emphasize that the proposal in the Bill would not prohibit performance fees—as the witnesses who oppose the proposal seem to argue. It would permit performance fees, but in a manner fair both to the advisory company and also to the funds' shareholders.

In the Mutual Fund Report, the Commission recommended that investment advisers to registered investment companies be required to register under the Investment Advisers Act of 1940 in full awareness of the fact that such registration would preclude any performance fee arrangement.

At the same time, however, the Commission did not take the position that the investment advisers who perform better should not be better compensated than investment advisers who perform poorly. In other words, we have always recognized and accepted the fundamental proposition that good performance merits increased compensation.

In our Report, we made clear that the standard of reasonableness would be applied to advisory fees in the light of all relevant factors including the nature and quality of the services provided, which might include

growth in the net asset value per share of the Fund.¹⁷ We took care to note that even though performance-based fees would be prohibited, "capital gains and appreciation of a registered investment company could be taken into account as a factor in setting the amount of the fee of its investment adviser. . . ."¹⁸

Performance fee arrangements for registered investment companies were at that time of little significance. In fact, when S. 1659, which embodied our recommendation, was introduced in 1967 only 16 funds had performance-based advisory fees and 12 of the 16 had commenced operation or changed to performance fees within the previous year.

The provision of S. 1659 that would have prohibited all performance fees did not go unnoticed or unchallenged as some who testified before you have suggested. In fact, it became the subject of considerable discussion between members of our staff and those of the industry who sought to comment on this recommendation—speaking principally through the Investment Company Institute. Further, various articles appeared which criticized this provision, including two which were included in 1967 as part of the hearings in the Senate.¹⁹ In view of this background of discussion and criticism, we find it puzzling to hear the so-called Ad Hoc Group come before you now and complain that our position is new and has not been adequately explored.

As a result of the discussions that took place, we modified our original approach so as to exempt from the prohibition against performance fees those investment advisory contracts which provide for proportionate increases and decreases in compensation on the basis of the investment performance of a fund as measured against some appropriate standard. The Commission agreed to the modification to accommodate those who believed a performance fee was not inappropriate and because we believed the formula was a fair one. We understood this was acceptable to the Investment Company Institute and those individual investment advisory firms which had expressed concern over the original proposal.

The modified proposal was included in S. 3724 which was passed by the Senate in July, 1968, and is also part of S. 2224 which was passed by the Senate this Session and is now before you in H.R. 11995. Even this modified restriction is not inflexible, however. As the Senate Report on S. 2224 points out and as we stated in our earlier testimony before you, we also propose that the Investment Advisers Act be amended to add a new Section 206A to enable the Commission to exempt persons from provisions of the statute. Under the proposed Section 206A, upon a proper showing by the investment adviser, we would be able to exempt the adviser from the prohibition of Section 205 on performance-based advisory compensation even beyond that expressly permitted by the amended statute.

It should be helpful now to review just why we believe it important to restrict the types of performance fees charged registered investment companies. The dramatic increase in the use of these performance fees is clear when you realize that on June 30, 1966, there were approximately only a dozen such arrangements in effect. As previously noted, only 16 such arrangements were in effect when S. 1659 was introduced, and as recently as June 30, 1968, there were still less than 40; but as of June 30, 1969, there were 92 in operation with many more proposed.

Many of the performance fees now in use are unfair. Some so-called incentive fee arrangements subject the companies, but not their management, to a performance bonus if the fund outperforms a specified index but no penalty if the performance is worse than that of the index—truly, a one-way street. Recently, a number of funds have introduced arrangements which provide for some kind

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of penalties in the event of poor performance but many of these latter arrangements provide penalties which are significantly less on the downside than on the upside. Other arrangements establish, as a *minimum*, a base fee, regardless of performance, equivalent to (or in some cases substantially higher than) the conventional $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of net assets.

Even when penalties are provided, the situation is often still unfair. Although fees for favorable performance are payable by the fund to the adviser as they are earned, any credit owed to the fund by the adviser because of underperformance is seldom paid to the fund. Rather, it is used as an offset against future fees and, in some cases, where future fees are not adequate to absorb the offset, it is simply forgotten. This is so unfair. If the fund must pay fees to the adviser immediately for performance, why should the benefit of any amounts owed by the adviser to the fund because of underperformance be deferred? To the extent it is, the fund is deprived of a return on the amounts owed to it. Further, these arrangements provide no assurance that advisers would be financially able to meet their future obligations. This is essential because Section 15(a)(3) of the Act requires each advisory contract to provide that it may be terminated at any time without penalty by the fund on 60 days' notice. Advisers should have the financial ability to pay promptly any amounts owed to the funds in the event their contracts are terminated, assuming that there is some realistic possibility of termination.

Another problem with carry-forward fee credits for inferior performance is that they will tend to discourage the termination of an advisory contract despite a poor record of management. The fund may not be free to terminate the contract if the advisor does not have the financial resources to pay the amount of unsatisfied credits due, regardless of how poor the fund's performance is.

Finally, it is not possible accurately to compute asset value of fund shares where outstanding credits owed to the fund by its adviser by reason of under performance should be taken into account. These unfair provisions can be found in many of the performance fee arrangements now in effect. For example, as of June 30, 1969, of the 131 mutual funds which had performance related fees, 120 had contracts tied to indices of securities prices. Of that number, 76 funds had fee arrangements which provided for no reductions in basic fee rates for inferior performance or for reductions which were not proportionate to increases in fee rates for superior performance.²⁰

We recognize, of course, that it is possible, as other witnesses before the Subcommittee have indeed acknowledged, for the Commission to promulgate appropriate rules under the general anti-fraud provisions of Section 206 of the Advisers Act which are applicable to all investment advisers whether registered under the Act or not. We have not taken this approach because the rule would provide no protection against unfair arrangements subsequently adopted which were not specifically contemplated and prohibited by the express language of the rule. Further, we felt that in dealing with performance fees, it would be desirable to permit advisers an opportunity to establish that a particular arrangement, different from that expressly permitted, might nevertheless be in the public interest. The exemptive authority we propose in the new Section 206A would provide such an opportunity. We therefore decided that the problems of performance fees should be first approached by recommending appropriate legislation.

We also believe that it is pertinent to note the unfair results to many mutual fund investors who have been subjected to advisory fee formulas where a performance bonus, but little or no penalty, is provided.

As of June 30, 1969, as we have already noted, 76 mutual funds, out of a total of 120 which had performance fee contracts related to indices of securities prices, had arrangements which provided for no reductions in basic fee rates for inferior performance or for reductions which were not proportionate to increases in fee rates for superior performance. Some 32 of these funds were operating publicly prior to January, 1969. The remainder—44 funds—commenced operations since that time or have proposals pending.

The relative performance of 29 of the funds operating during the entire year 1969 to date—comparative performance data is not available for the other three funds—illustrates graphically the apparent inequitable operation of their fee arrangements. Our staff's analysis of these results is set forth in Appendix B which consists of a chart comparing the performance of the group of 29 funds at four-week intervals during the year 1969 (January 1 to dates shown) with the performance of a number of indices.

It is clear from Appendix B that the performance of this group of funds was not only substantially below the performance of widely used market indices of securities prices but also below the performance of growth funds in general. Despite this, the basic fees paid by the funds to the advisers, which were subject under the contracts to increases for inferior performance or were subject to reductions which were proportionately less than the potential increases for superior performance. The total net assets of the 29 funds as of June 30, 1969, were approximately \$1.6 billion. At that level of assets, the basic minimum annual fee payable by the funds, irrespective of the degree of performance below the index of securities prices, totals approximately \$6.1 million.

Finally, it has been urged that the ordinary investor, by reading the prospectus, knows what the performance fee arrangement is and knowingly agrees to that fee. However, these fee arrangements are so complex that it is virtually impossible to understand them. We have attached as Appendices²¹ those portions of the prospectuses of the Hartwell and Campbell Leverage Fund and Gibraltar Growth Fund which describe those arrangements. Representatives of the advisers of both of these funds commented before you on the Bill.

Our staff, in an effort to understand their fee arrangements, found them so baffling that they had to call counsel for each of the funds for an explanation as to how they operate. The present counsel of Gibraltar Growth Fund confessed that he was unsure of the meaning of statements in that Fund's prospectus and had to refer us to the Fund's accountant for an explanation. The Fund's accountant, in turn, could explain the provisions only after considering the provisions further and discussing them with the Fund's Controller. Hartwell & Campbell's counsel understands his client's fee arrangement but he found that a very detailed analysis was necessary in order to explain how it works. Surely, an ordinary investor will not be expected to understand them, even though the formula may be fully disclosed.

There is one more point with regard to performance fees that we wish to comment upon. Other witnesses before you have urged that just as registered investment advisers would be permitted to charge registered investment companies the limited type of performance fees which would avoid the conflicts of interest inherent in arrangements that do not provide potential penalties equal to potential rewards, so should they also be permitted to charge similar fees to other sophisticated investors desiring to enter into

such arrangements. We understand the types of investors contemplated are large private advisory clients, whose accounts under such an arrangement would substantially exceed \$1,000,000 and large pension funds and other similar investors with net assets managed under such an arrangement of more than \$5,000,000. We recognize the logic in such an approach and would not oppose an appropriate modification in H.R. 11995 to accomplish this purpose.

OIL AND GAS COMPANIES

Finally, with respect to the oil and gas provision, as we noted on November 12, 1969, Section 3(b)(5) of this bill changes Section 3(c)(11) of the Investment Company Act to delete the exemption for oil and gas funds which issue redeemable securities or sell their securities on the installment plan.

Oil and gas investment companies in which the investors make only a single investment and do not receive redeemable securities would still be excluded from the definition of investment company in the Act.

When we were last before you, we explained that our staff had already conferred with some representatives of the oil and gas industry and that as a result of those discussions, the Commission had concluded not to object to a further amendment of Section 3(b)(5) of the present bill in order to continue the present complete exemption for oil and gas investment companies if their investment contracts (1) require the participants to pay \$10,000 or more during every consecutive 12 months, (2) do not afford the participants any cash surrender or redemption rights, and (3) provide that there be no front-end load or other disproportionate charges.

Subsequent to November 12, several witnesses appeared before your Committee objecting to this section of the Bill.

Prior to October of this year there was no organization representing this industry with whom we could discuss these matters and our staff was limited to holding discussions with such individual firms as presented themselves and were willing to consider the matter. There, however, now is such an organization, the Oil Investment Institute, which as I mentioned was created in October and which approached us subsequent to our appearance in November. Our staff has held discussions with them which have served to clarify the situation. They confirm our original view that there is a need for regulation to some degree of the type provided in the Investment Company Act for this industry. However, the industry vigorously opposes being regulated under the Investment Company Act. Such regulation would appear to present certain real problems for them, primarily because of the difficulty of accommodating the industry structure contemplated by the Investment Company Act with the structure in fact adopted by this industry in order to provide favorable treatment for its investors under the Internal Revenue Code.

The tentative understanding reached between our staff and representatives of the Oil Investment Institute was that we could arrive at a mutually satisfactory solution by sitting down with them and drafting a regulatory statute which would provide certain safeguards for investors which they recognize may well be needed and which in some instances parallel provisions of the Investment Company Act but are especially tailored to the practices, problems and operating methods of this industry. We also learned that the proposals advanced to our staff by representatives of individual companies and referred to when we were last before you are not satisfactory to the industry as a whole and would afford less protection to investors than the procedures now contemplated. Consequently, we propose to

²⁰Footnotes at end of article.

sit down with this group and work out a separate piece of legislation which would be submitted to the Congress before 18 months after the passage of H.R. 11995. We believe that this would be the best way to handle the matter and therefore if this Committee wishes to delete Section 3(b) (5) from the bill, the Commission would not object. Of course, we make this suggestion on the assumption that representatives of oil and gas industry will co-operate with the Commission in working out a reasonable regulatory statute consistent with the protection of investors.

One last word about the oil and gas funds. There has been considerable discussion as to whether Section 13(a) of the Investment Company Act would require shareholder approval of all real estate transactions if oil and gas companies were subject to the Investment Company Act. Our staff has prepared a memorandum, attached as Appendix E, which discusses this problem which I request be printed as a part of the hearing record.

CONCLUSION

This concludes our formal statement. We will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Daily Congressional Record, May 23, 1969, p. 13646.

² Daily Congressional Record, May 26, 1969, p. 13692.

³ Section 14(b) of the Investment Company Act authorizes the Commission to make studies of the effects of size on investment companies and on securities markets and to report the results of its studies and its recommendations to Congress.

⁴ *Acampora v. Birkland*, 220 F. Supp. 527 (D. Colo., 1963); *Saxe v. Brady*, 40 Del. Ch. 474, 184 A. 2d 602 (Del. Ch., 1962); *Meiselman v. Eberstadt*, 39 Del. Ch. 563, 170 A. 2d 720 (Del. Ch., 1961).

⁵ *Acampora v. Birkland*, supra, 220 F. Supp. at 549.

⁶ *Saxe v. Brady*, supra, 40 Del. Ch. 474, 184 A. 2d at 616.

⁷ *Saminsky v. Abbot*, 194 A. 2d 549, 551-52 (Del. Ch. 1963), affirmed sub nom., *Kleinman v. Saminsky*, 200 A. 2d 572 (Del. Sup. Ct., 1964), cert. den., 379 U.S. 603.

⁸ *Saxe v. Brady*, 40 Del. Ch. 474, 184 A. 2d 604, 616 (1962).

⁹ H.R. No. 2274, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. 1 (1962) (usually referred to as the "Wharton Report").

¹⁰ Wharton Report, p. X.

¹¹ H. Rept. No. 2337, 89th Cong., 2d Sess. (December 2, 1966) ("Mutual Fund Report").

¹² See e.g. Rule 23 FRCP.

¹³ A copy of Commissioner Owens' letter is attached as Exhibit 1. Senate Hearings, S. 34 and 296, April, 1969, at page 30.

¹⁴ Mutual Fund Report, p. 240.

¹⁵ Id. p. 238.

¹⁶ See page 11 of the October 1, 1969, prospectus of Trust Securities Programs for Shares of Investment Trust of Boston. See also pp. 304-305 of the Hearing Transcript of 11-18-69.

¹⁷ Mutual Fund Report, p. 145.

¹⁸ Mutual Fund Report, p. 345.

¹⁹ See "Has the SEC Forgotten its Economics," by Leon Levy and Sidney Robbins, Columbia Journal of World Business of May-June, 1967, reprinted at pages 1140-1141 of the Senate Hearings on S. 1659 (90th Cong., 1st sess.). Mr. Levy is president of the Oppenheimer Fund and Mr. Robbins is one of its directors. This article criticized the proposed abolition of performance fees. Oppenheimer Fund is a member of the Ad Hoc Group for Performance Fees.

See also an article by Mr. Robbins, printed at pages 248-256 of the Senate Hearings, particularly pages 254-255 where the author, at p. 255, suggests a "bonus-penalty fee ar-

rangement to provide an incentive for managers who attain superior performance."

²⁰ A list of companies registered as of June 30, 1969, which have performance fee arrangements in effect or proposed, and a brief description of their fee arrangements is attached as Appendix A-1 through A-3.

²¹ See Appendices C and D.

MAGAZINE SERVICE AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, recently my attention has been directed to a statement which bears uniquely on our tradition of responsibility and service in our American press. This is a subject in which I am personally and particularly concerned as it relates to the effective preservation of our free press heritage.

In a statement made last September 30 before the National Commission on Product Safety, Mr. Raymond J. Petersen, publisher of Good Housekeeping magazine, stated the case for the concept of service which his magazine has been performing for more than three-quarters of a century.

Because of the general interest in the subject of Mr. Petersen's remarks—consumer protection—I take this opportunity of directing it to the attention of my colleagues:

STATEMENT OF RAYMOND J. PETERSEN, PUBLISHER, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING MAGAZINE

Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, my name is Raymond J. Petersen. I am Publisher of Good Housekeeping Magazine. I am also Senior Vice President of Hearst Magazines Division of The Hearst Corporation, the corporate publisher of Good Housekeeping Magazine.

This statement has been prepared in response to your invitation to make a statement . . . regarding use of the Good Housekeeping Seal, its meaning, and its recognition by the public in connection with products commonly used in and around the home. You further invited me to give testimony . . . directed at Good Housekeeping Institute's methods of testing and its program of product certification. Further the Commission would want to know how the advertising policies of Good Housekeeping bear on the availability and dissemination of product safety information to consumers. You further stated that the subject of the hearing is, "Who Tells Us About Safety: Education, Advertising, Public Information?"

Submitted herewith for the Commission's review is a book entitled, "A History of American Magazines," by Frank Luther Mott, as edited by his daughter, Mildred Mott Wedel. May I refer you to Pages 125 through 143. This study, published by the Bellnap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is an objective report of the editorial performance and growth of Good Housekeeping Magazine.

We would ask at this time that a letter, dated February 5, 1969, to your Chairman (your reference ZL014) from the Director of the Good Housekeeping Institute, which has previously been made a part of the record of this Commission, be considered a part of this statement.

Good Housekeeping Magazine is a monthly

publication of The Hearst Corporation. It is an editorial enterprise that began in 1885. It has developed and progressed within the tradition of America's free press.

Good Housekeeping is a Women's Service Magazine. It enjoys an average monthly paid circulation in excess of 5,600,000 copies, which constitutes its primary readership. It has a secondary readership (or pass-along circulation) of an additional seven million, or a total readership of about 13 million people.

The purpose of Good Housekeeping is Service . . . service to the American homemaker in all aspects of her maintenance of her family unit and her home; providing her with editorial articles designed to educate, entertain, advise, stimulate, counsel and caution.

Good Housekeeping Magazine's basic editorial concept was started in 1885:

"This enterprise is the outcome of great thought . . . and is undertaken with the well-fixed conviction that it has a mission to fulfill compounded of about equal proportions of public duty and private enterprise . . . to produce and perpetuate perfection—or as near unto perfection—as may be attained in the household."

Good Housekeeping is an editorial product: a magazine.

It is a unique editorial product.

In order to develop the editorial service material that appears in its pages, the magazine inaugurated in 1901 an editorial facility known as the Good Housekeeping Experiment Station. This facility, today known as the Good Housekeeping Institute, was designed to provide the editorial pages of Good Housekeeping an authority and accuracy predicated upon expertise within the magazine . . . it was a facility created to investigate and check every fact offered to the reader in the editorial pages of Good Housekeeping Magazine.

A reputation for "Integrity" is difficult to earn. Good Housekeeping earned for itself, in the early 1900s, the friendship of the American consumer. It had established itself as an authority . . . a friend whose opinions its readers valued, whose articles she trusted as to accuracy of fact, and whose leadership she accepted. Nowhere else in the American publishing scene is such a service to be found.

Good Housekeeping Magazine talked to its readers. The readers talked back to the magazine, as they do to many magazines. But here was a difference. Good Housekeeping receives between fifty (50) and seventy-five (75) thousand letters a year . . . asking its help, seeking its assistance in purchasing decisions, complaining over experiences in the marketplace, making suggestions as to how the lot of the reader can be improved, telling of experiences with a particular product, giving to the magazine and its editors a full spectrum of the experiences, requirements, needs and hopes of the American homemaker.

In addition, Good Housekeeping regularly sends questionnaires to its readers and to its correspondents . . . questionnaires which sample the opinion and experiences of the homemaker in areas of interest to the editors of the magazines.

Once its proven authority and reader acceptance were established, Good Housekeeping became a prime and unique medium in which American business sought to present its goods and services to the homemaker.

Good Housekeeping was not interested in maintaining one climate in its editorial pages and another climate in its advertising pages. For 84 years, Good Housekeeping has been committed to its editorial concept . . . that which was stated earlier . . . to attain perfection or as near perfection in the household as is possible. This is done only by exercising the same careful scrutiny of the

products, services and claims offered to it for advertising as is exercised in the preparation and presentation of its editorial articles.

We are offering as part of this statement the last 12 issues of our magazine, which, I submit to you, are the current result of these policies as they are reflected in the product we sell.

Let me establish now that, as an editorial product in the tradition of the free American press, Good Housekeeping requires revenue for its continued existence; revenue that is secured through the sale of our magazine to our readers; revenue secured through the purchase of our advertising pages by the business community.

In the early years of this century, the "age of proliferation of products" began. It began at a time when manufacturers had yet to develop adequate means of quality control. Today, we respect the technological progress that has been made in an effort to bring good products of uniform good quality to the American consumer. It is not perfect, and conceivably may never be perfect. During these years, however, Good Housekeeping's advertising-acceptance policies have been developed to accomplish one thing: Present to our readers products and services which, in our opinion, are good ones and the advertising claims, packaging and labeling for which are, in our opinion, truthful and understandable representations of their performance characteristics.

We've answered, I think, the question of why we do it; may I discuss with you how we do it.

We maintain, at our editorial offices the Good Housekeeping Institute staffed by over 100 people, including engineers, chemists, nutritionists, home economists and other technicians, whose professional training and practical expertise is used to evaluate all products or services that appear not only in our editorial pages, but in our advertising pages as well.

May I, gentleman, with respect for your time and schedules, invite you to visit the Good Housekeeping Institute: All the words we may use here will never adequately describe its technical sophistication and the integrity of its dedicated staff.

In our Institute, utilization is made of an accumulated knowledge of consumer preferences, use patterns, habits, desires and needs. Systems of product measurement have been devised, which, in conjunction with the Institute's knowledge of our reader, and the flow of technical data that reaches it from scientific associations, the medical and dental communities, hospitals, government and other respected sources, assist Good Housekeeping to reach its own opinions, which opinions determine whether or not a particular product will be accepted for advertising by Good Housekeeping.

Mindful of the subject of your hearing, we offer as part of this statement the attached schedule of "Articles on Safety in Whole or Part Which Have Been in Good Housekeeping Since 1961." Here are over 200 safety-oriented articles which have been published by us over the last eight years. Ninety-six editions of Good Housekeeping have reached the public during this period . . . for a conservative estimate of more than one billion reader exposures (not counting pass-along readership).

We respectfully submit, in response to your question, "Who Tells Us About Safety," that we, Good Housekeeping, more than any other editorial product, do.

May we also offer, for your review and as part of this statement, a library of Good Housekeeping's Consumer Service Bulletins, many of which further demonstrate our editorial concern for our reader . . . the type of concern and direction that we provide through this additional means of communicating fact and assistance.

In addition to this, various articles and features in our magazine have interwoven into them suggestions, cautions and advice on how a particular product should be regarded, used and handled. All of this material, all of this concern is the work product of the Good Housekeeping Institute, and therefore of Good Housekeeping Magazine.

How, in this context, does Good Housekeeping administer its relationships with would-be advertisers?

Submitted as part of this statement are Good Housekeeping's current Rate Card No. 39, and "The Good Housekeeping Consumer's Guaranty" booklet, incorporating a specimen form of our "agreement governing the use of the Good Housekeeping Consumers' Guaranty by the advertiser."

A word on each may be helpful.

Our Rate Card is the only basis on which we will do business with an advertiser. We call your attention to Pages 8 and 9 in the Rate Card and particularly the provisions on Page 9 which read as follows:

"Acceptance of advertising for any product or service is subject to provision by the advertiser of such samples as may be required, investigation and acceptance of the product or service and of the claims made for it upon its package, labels and accompanying materials as well as in the advertisements offered for publication in Good Housekeeping."

Once an advertiser has fulfilled these requirements, and we are satisfied, he may seek to make use of our Consumers' Guaranty which reads, "If product or performance defective, Good Housekeeping guarantees replacement or refund to consumer," outside the pages of our magazine. Page 10 of our Rate Card delineates the conditions of such use. The "agreement" to which I have referred speaks for itself not only as to our requirements of strict and limited use of our Consumers' Guaranty but also to the relationship of our advertiser to us.

Before a product sample is submitted to our Institute for investigation, we ascertain, through our Advertising Editor's office, that the particular advertiser is or is not a reputable and stable business organization. The nature of the product is given preliminary consideration in that office. For example, you are all familiar with the current high rate of crime in our major cities. We recently were asked to consider a device designed to be carried in either pocket or purse, a device in the nature of a small tear gas dispenser. This device, rather than spewing tear gas, spread a pepper-like substance. Its obvious design effect is momentary defense against a would-be assailant. The Advertising Editor concluded that the device was subject to both offensive and defensive use. For this reason, it was considered unacceptable for advertising in Good Housekeeping.

This was an opinion.

The device could be a very effective one. Good Housekeeping's judgment in this instance cannot be construed as an indictment of the effectiveness of the product. It is presented here as an example of an incident in Good Housekeeping's day-to-day consideration of products offered for advertising.

If the advertiser and his product clear the Advertising Editor's office, the product is then forwarded to the Institute. Additional samples are often required at this point. An advertiser may be required to submit technical data in support of copy claims and product efficacy and safety.

Upon receipt of the necessary samples, either from the advertiser or from the marketplace or both, the Institute commences its evaluation. It approaches the task both as scientist and as a highly knowledgeable consumer. It approaches the problem with reason, experience and technical expertise. Its expertise is equated to the present state of the art.

You have asked me to provide you with testimony as to Good Housekeeping's method of testing. This is an impossible assignment. Impossible because: Good Housekeeping "evaluates" rather than tests. It uses this word because its review procedures, while utilizing generally accepted test methods, also applies its knowledge of its reader, her use patterns, her needs, etc., as we anticipate she will approach the product in the marketplace.

During the course of any year, Good Housekeeping may evaluate or investigate over a thousand products. To detail in any report its investigation of each of these products would take, we estimate, at least a year or possibly longer to prepare. Here, however, are some illustrative safety requirements in various product categories as they are applied in the evaluation the Institute undertakes.

Textiles—flammability (we note there that there is a distinct lack of performance criteria and reproducible and meaningful methods of test for both clothing and home furnishings) bacteria static and germicidal performance characteristics.

Engineering—safety guidelines in the investigation of electrical products:

(a) the samples must be submitted to suitable (as determined by us) electrical safety tests.

In the case of gas appliances, compliance with American Gas Association standards is a basic norm. Added to this are suitable evaluation procedures to determine performance and safety characteristics.

(b) the product must be listed with Underwriters Laboratories.

Toys—Good Housekeeping has long given careful consideration, from the standpoint of practical child safety, to any toy it accepts for advertising. Some requirements which concern us are:

(1) in crib and toddler toys—small objects which can be swallowed or choked upon;

(2) presence of heavy metals such as leads in paint used on toys or on any surface to which a child has access;

(3) chemistry sets—Good Housekeeping requires what we believe are more stringent labeling requirements than the Federal Hazardous Substances Act demands. Specifically, we insist on calling special attention to the need for parental supervision and cautions against substitution of chemicals other than those that come in the set. On any plug-in, electrically operated toy, it must meet the Institute's own safety-oriented scrutiny and be listed with Underwriters Laboratories. The toy must include proper operating instructions and a prominent notice which will draw parents' attention to the need for supervision.

Juvenile Furniture—here the Institute concerns itself with tippability, sharp edges, burn capability, toxicity of paint, loose fasteners, etc.

Child Carseats—Good Housekeeping has long felt that a carseat that hooks over the back of the automobile's front seat and cannot be used on most rear carseats is unsafe. The carseat must be such that it can be secured with a regular automobile safety belt; however, such carseat is unacceptable if the child is restrained directly by the regular safety belt (child's pelvic bones not sufficiently developed to withstand full force of restraint).

Here are some other safety concerns used in reaching our opinions:

Cautionary statements must be made on any electrical device which is prone to inadvertent immersion in water; on aerosol paint we require all manufacturers to conform to industry safety checks for high temperature rupture.

Good Housekeeping does not accept for advertising regular or plate-glass shower enclosures, and requires that glass for such use be tempered or plastic substituted.

With respect to house appliances, the Institute is concerned with safety in areas such as:

Cooking Utensils—safe balancing in handling when hot and full; adequate handles to protect against burns; no rough edges or crevices to injure or prevent adequate cleaning.

Ranges—the ease of use and reliability of pan supports, oven racks, doors, controls and other critical parts; smooth edges with no projections that might injure hands, good working clearance around hot areas, no grease traps to cause fat fires.

Automatic Washers (here, may I note that we have not accepted wringer washers for some years)—we are concerned, among other things, with stability in operation, safety shut-offs, sharp edges and projections, among many other things.

Portable Appliances—with the stability of coffeemakers, ice crushers, can openers, etc., in use. Safe and accessible location and ease of operation of controls on mixers, blenders, toasters, etc.—safe surface temperatures of frying pans, broilers and other heating appliances.

These are just some of the safety concerns of one department in the Institute. Add to this engineering evaluations, chemical analyses and textile concerns, and the comprehensive nature of our efforts can be understood, and this is only in the area of safety.

It is, as I have said before, impossible to delineate articulately the procedure followed in the evaluations of the many products that have gone through our Institute. May I again remind you that all of this work, study, compilation of available data, communication with the consumer (who uses the particular product or service) is undertaken to *satisfy us* that a particular product or service is a good one and that, in our opinion, the claims made for it are truthful. We respectfully point out that this concern is repeatedly stated on Page 6 of every issue of our magazine.

Good Housekeeping's Consumer's Guaranty promises a refund if a product is defective.

Good Housekeeping does not guarantee the safety or wholesomeness of any product. Good Housekeeping *satisfied itself*, by criteria and systems of measurement unequalled in any consumer-oriented publication or service, that the samples of a product it has evaluated are good ones and safe, in its opinion, for the use for which they were intended. There can be no such thing, in our judgment, as a guarantee of safety and wholesomeness for the simple reason that the most advanced system of technological quality control still depends upon the human element and all the design characteristics incorporating safety, admonitions, notices, specifications, etc., can be rendered null and void by the intentional or inadvertent action of one person in the construction or use of any produce. To guarantee perfection is beyond the scope of human capability, since even the most simple, safe and wholesome rag doll is capable, in the hands of one child, of smothering another.

The Good Housekeeping Consumers' Guaranty is not, in any sense, a certification of a product since certification, by its definition, presupposes that the very product purchased by the consumer has met generally accepted standards of performance and quality.

May I again point out that Good Housekeeping's systems of measurement must be its own and must be used for the purpose of aiding us in our determination of those products and services which we are willing to accept for advertising and those which we must refuse to accept.

We would therefore offer to this Commission a supplemental statement concerning any specific questions regarding a method employed by the magazine in its evaluation of any specific product, and we would again state that the magazine never has been nor is it now involved in any form of any program of product certification as the term is understood today.

The total editorial dedication to our reader, with the commitments we have attempted to touch upon here today, must by their very nature incorporate our advertising policies. Our publication of over 200 editorial articles in the last eight years dealing with safety bears a direct relation to the part Good Housekeeping Magazine plays in the subject of this Commission's hearings today, "Who Tells Us About Safety . . ."

As we have stated earlier, advertising and the revenue derived therefrom, along with the subscriptions of five million six hundred thousand readers, supports this publication, enables it to carry on its self-assumed function and contributes—directly or indirectly, depending upon how you care to view it—to the dissemination of information about which we have attempted to tell you today. The very nature of Good Housekeeping Magazine's editorial pages, necessitated the facility now known as the Good Housekeeping Institute. These same editorial pages have contributed, through our mass circulation, to a well informed readership of 13 million women . . . well informed through the integrity of private enterprise and the free American press.

We are hard put to answer your question as to the meaning of this program to the consumer, since we are unable to measure her thinking. We do know (see Crossley—S. D. Surveys, Inc.—Survey—February 1964, submitted as part of this statement) that some 40 plus million consumers are "influenced in their buying decisions" in varying degrees, at the time of purchase, by the appearance of the Consumers' Guaranty Seal on a product.

We believe that this "influence" is predicated upon an integrity some 84 years young that the consumer in the marketplace knows, regardless of whether she has read our publication or not, and that the appearance of our Good Housekeeping Consumers' Guaranty indicates to her that an objective friend has concerned itself with that product to the point of risking its own resources should she find that her purchase proves to be defective.

May I thank the Commission for this opportunity to make this statement, which unfortunately must be so brief and must, because of time and physical limitations, neglect many of the vital areas with which Good Housekeeping concerns itself.

Good Housekeeping Magazine has watched the progress of the consumer for 84 years. It has contributed, in the capacity and in the fashion we have described, to her growing standard of living, the health of her children, and her own well-being, ever striving toward the attainment of perfection in the household."

Good Housekeeping is dedicated to this purpose.

Good Housekeeping will continue its chosen and dedicated work. In so doing we will completely support the proposition upon which the existence of this Commission is based: "The American consumer has a right to be protected against unreasonable risk of bodily harm from products purchased on the open market for the use of himself and his family."

We have been doing this for 84 years.

We would suggest that it be the common goal of us all ". . . to produce and perpetuate perfection—or as near unto perfection—as may be attained in the household."

TRIBUTE TO HARMON A. SMITH OF AGAWAM, MASS.

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the great role athletics play in the development of our youth and the strengthening of our national fiber has long been recognized by educators and, indeed, all of our leaders.

Too often, however, our attention and our adulation in the field of sports is centered solely on the player—the young man or woman in uniform on the field. I would suggest that we would do well on occasion to look beyond the active participant and pay tribute to those who have guided, encouraged, and inspired them. If we did that, we would find a group of men and women who have dedicated their lives and their talents to the youth of America.

These unselfish people, of course, are the coaches and athletic directors who daily perform their duties in our country's schools—from the elementary grades down through our high schools and colleges.

Such a person, Mr. Speaker, is Harmon A. Smith of Agawam, Mass., who for nearly half a century has been the guiding spirit of athletics at Agawam High School. He has served as head coach of football, baseball, basketball, track, and golf. And for the past several years he has actively served as the school's athletic director.

There is no way to calculate the good this man has accomplished during his long and successful career. For how do we reduce to statistics the number of careers he has launched, the lives redirected, the knowledge dispensed?

And it is important to note here that "Harm" Smith's influence was not felt only by those youngsters who were able to make the varsity teams in the various sports he coached. As a graduate of Springfield College, which boasts a physical education course second to none in the country, he was an accomplished teacher in this field. In this role, he came into contact with and made an effort to know every student enrolled at Agawam High School.

"Harm" Smith was not a coach who learned sports only in the classroom or from books. Perhaps the greatest reason for the success he attained was the fact that he was an athlete, and an excellent one, himself. He knew well what it took to compete on the field or in the gym.

At Springfield College he excelled in football, basketball, and baseball. He also played semipro football and baseball. As an example of his versatility, he also took up tennis and became the city amateur champion.

His long career has not been without recognition. Mr. Smith was elected to the Football Coaches Hall of Fame for the State of Massachusetts. He is also a former president of the Massachusetts

Athletic Directors Association and football commissioner of the western Massachusetts area.

Despite all of this, Mr. Speaker, Harmon Smith is not a one-dimensional man. He is a fine pianist and is well known throughout western Massachusetts as an entertaining and talented after-dinner speaker.

The illustrious career I have so briefly described here is now drawing to a close. Mr. Smith is retiring from his long service at Agawam High School.

To their credit, the grateful citizens of Agawam, whose lives "Harm" Smith touched, will honor him at a testimonial dinner on the evening of January 17, 1970. Appropriately, the function will be held at Agawam High School.

Mr. Speaker, Harmon A. Smith is one of the countless people in this country who have dedicated their lives for the betterment of our youth and therefore, ultimately, for the betterment of our Nation. I am pleased I was able today to bring this man's contributions to the attention of this great body.

CONSERVATION REPORT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the National Wildlife Federation Conservation Report of December 19, 1969, comments on the record of the first session of the 91st Congress and on the accomplishments on behalf of conservation which were achieved during the 1960's.

It is good to note that this report, by one of the Nation's largest and foremost conservation organizations, sets out a record of accomplishment for both 1969 and for the decade of the 1960's. We who have served in the Congress during these last 10 years, I believe, can take pride in those things which we have done to preserve and protect our natural heritage. However, the grim thought persists that there is so much more to be done if we are to pass on to future generations an environment worthy of life.

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read the National Wildlife Federation's comments on the actions of Congress, I include text of the conservation report's article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CONSERVATION REPORT OF THE NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

FINIS FOR 1969

As this issue went to press, adjournment of the First Session of the 91st Congress appeared imminent, with the Members expected to go home for the year within a matter of days—probably either late this week or early in the next. If adjournment occurs as expected, this will be the final issue for 1969. It will be resumed when the Congress reassembles for the Second Session, probably in mid-January, 1970. The Editor and other members of the Staff hope this publication has been useful, informative, and interesting to those who have received it. Sincere appreciation is expressed to those who aided in the collection and presentation of information.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS REGISTER CONSERVATION GAINS

Members of the 91st Congress are wrapping up the lengthy First Session and will go home for the holidays with a record of having registered solid conservation accomplishments in several different areas of activity, capping off what must be considered as an outstanding and significant decade of progress in natural resources management.

While the record of conservation gains in 1969 is not as imposing as in some years, several noteworthy bills have been passed and added to the list of accomplishments scored during the 1960's. Among the important actions of the 1969 sessions are these:

Protection of Endangered Wildlife (P.L. 91-135). Prohibits the importation of endangered species, or their parts, and protects alligators (see Report No. 47, page 510).

Extension and expansion of the Great Plains Conservation Program (P.L. 91-118). Broadens scope of the program with added wildlife benefits (see Report No. 44, page 496).

Removal of ammunition record-keeping (P.L. 91-128). The "Interest Equalization Tax Act" contains a provision removing the requirement that sales of shotgun and rifle ammunition, except .22 calibre, be registered (Report No. 46, page 507).

Establishment of a national policy on the environment (S. 1075, Report No. 47, page 508). This has cleared both the Senate and House and recommendations of a conference committee are expected to be sent to the President prior to adjournment (see details later this issue).

Adoption of the "Water Quality Improvement Act" (H.R. 4148, Report No. 47, page 508). This bill, strengthening the Federal Water Pollution Control Act with respect to oil pollution, thermal pollution, and pollution from water craft, was expected to clear a conference committee and possibly go to the President prior to adjournment (see details later this issue).

The addition of two California national forest areas, Desolation (P.L. 91-82) and Ventana (P.L. 91-58), to the National Wilderness Preservation System.

Establishment of the Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (P.L. 91-60) in Colorado (Report No. 33, page 372).

Appropriation of \$800 million for Federal grants to municipalities for the construction of waste treatment plants, whereas the Administration asked for only \$214 million (Report No. 46, page 499). This is part of the Public Works Appropriations Bill (P.L. 91-144).

There were other significant actions. Important acquisitions were approved within Everglades National Park (P.L. 91-88) and Padre Island National Seashore (P.L. 91-42). Research on air pollution was extended for an additional year (P.L. 91-137). Established were the Lyndon B. Johnson (P.L. 91-134) and William Howard Taft (P.L. 91-132) National Historic Sites. The Appalachian Regional Development Act was extended (P.L. 91-123), with a continuing impact on natural resources in the area concerned.

The First Session, however, also was marked by disappointments from the conservation point-of-view. Severe budgetary restrictions resulted in a slowdown on authorizations for the establishment of new park and recreation areas, with only \$124 million allowed from an authorization of \$200 million for the funding of both Federal and State programs. Money, however, was found for the controversial Supersonic Transport (SST). No new contracts were approved for the Cropland Adjustment Program. The President ordered a 75 percent cutback in construction, a program reflected in appropriations for several resource projects.

In fact, the First Session was featured to some considerable degree by Congressional

reaction to Executive branch decisions. Especially controversial were these: closure of many Job Corps Conservation Centers; Interior Secretary Hickel's announced delay in invoking the second step in the scheduled grazing fee increase (see elsewhere in this issue); stipulation on the construction of a controversial oil pipe line across the State of Alaska; and the Defense Department's transportation and proposed disposal of poison gasses.

Mounting concern about contamination of the environment was reflected in many ways. A group of conservation-minded Congressmen first held a Congressional Conference on the Environment and then called for the next decade to be designated as the "Environmental Decade." Committees of the Congress held significant hearings on effects of nuclear power generation on the environment; on the underground uses of nuclear energy with interest centering on a test at Amchitka Island in Alaska; on the disposal of solid wastes; and on specific problems such as the oil leak at Santa Barbara, California, and the gigantic jetport proposed at Miami, Florida.

As the Congress paused for the holidays before going into the final session next year, several significant resource bills were in varying stages of progress. Here is a brief summary of those which have been given the most consideration:

Fish and Wildlife: The Senate has passed and sent to the House a bill (S. 1232), giving primary jurisdiction over resident species of wildlife to the States (Report No. 47, page 510). The Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation has cleared an anadromous fisheries bill (H.R. 1049, see elsewhere this issue) and it also has been the subject of hearings within the Senate Committee on Commerce. A proposed "Water Bank Act" (H.R. 11707, Report No. 34, page 375) has been the subject of hearings and likely will be among the proposals to receive early consideration within the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries early next year.

Firearms: The Senate passed and referred to the House S. 849, imposing mandatory prison terms for the use of firearms in the commission of felonies (Report No. 43, page 478). Hearings were held in the Senate on bills to require certification for the purchase of firearms and licensing of gun owners (S. 2433 and S. 2667, Report No. 28, page 319) and registration of all firearms.

Forests and Forestry: The House Committee on Agriculture has cleared "The National Forest Timber Conservation and Management Act" (H.R. 12025, Report No. 43, page 486) and hearings were held on similar legislation in the Senate.

Mining and Minerals: The Senate has passed S. 719, establishing a national mining and minerals policy (Report No. 33, page 372). The bill also has been the subject of hearings in the House Committee on Agriculture and consideration of it is expected early in the Second Session.

Parks, Monuments, and Recreation Areas: Passed by the Senate and referred to the House where they have been the subject of hearings are proposals establishing these areas: Sawtooth National Recreation Area in Idaho (S. 853, Report No. 26, page 288); and Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin (S. 621, Report No. 31, page 350). The Senate also has passed these: S. 855, Buffalo National River, Arkansas (Report No. 32, page 360); S. 1708, the "Federal Lands for Parks and Recreation Act" (Report No. 25, page 276); and S. 2315, restoring fee provisions of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act (Report No. 36, page 399).

Wilderness Areas: Passed by the Senate, where they have been the subject of hearings in the House are proposals to add these areas to the National Wilderness Preserva-

tion System: Lincoln Back Country, Montana (S. 412, Report No. 21, page 244); Wildlife Refuges in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Maine (S. 826, Report No. 21, page 244); Pelican Island Refuge, Florida (S. 126, Report No. 20, page 229); Monomoy Refuge, Massachusetts (S. 1652, Report No. 21, page 236); and refuges in Alaska, Oregon, New Mexico, and Washington (S. 3014, Report No. 46, page 503, and "Actions on Bills" this issue).

Others: Both Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs have held hearings on various bills relating to Alaska native land claims. Passed by the Senate and referred to the House, where hearings have been held, is S. 1076, establishing a pilot Youth Conservation Corps (Report No. 25, page 277). Receiving prime attention in the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries are bills relating to the coastal zone and oceanography, particularly H.R. 13247, the "National Oceanic and Atmospheric Program Act" (Report No. 30, page 345).

The Decade and Conservation: The decade ending with 1969 has been highly significant for programs relating to the protection, preservation, and management of natural resources programs. Beginning and ending under Republican executive branch administrations with eight years of Democratic party control sandwiched in between, more conservation legislation was enacted during these ten years than in any comparable period of American history. These enactments mirror the mounting concern of the public about the welfare of the environment, especially in light of increasing demands exerted by an expanding human population.

Here are the major conservation gains and losses during the decade, other than 1969:

Fish and Wildlife: An emergency program to acquire and preserve waterfowl wetlands through a \$105 million advance program was initiated by legislation enacted in 1961 and extended in 1967. In 1960, a significant proposal was enacted in that it provided for wildlife conservation programs on military lands. In 1966, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to establish a major program for the protection of endangered species of wildlife. A highly successful and effective Federal-State program on anadromous fisheries was initiated in 1965. Permanent protection for four wildlife refuges in the Tule Lake-Klamath region of California, a troublesome problem for years, was assured with the adoption of legislation in 1964.

Agriculture: An ambitious Conservation Reserve program, whereby a maximum of 29 million acres of agricultural land was taken out of production and placed in conservation practices, was ended in 1960 although contracts remained in effect through the life of the agreements. A new Cropland and Adjustment Program was initiated in 1965 but funding for it was halted after only 4 million acres were taken out of production.

Air Pollution: In 1963, the Air Pollution Act of 1955 was amended and strengthened by adoption of a new "Clean Air Act." This was strengthened again in 1965 by amendments establishing a program somewhat paralleling the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, and again in 1966 and 1967 with adoption of the "Air Quality Act." States are being given an opportunity to establish and enforce air quality standards before the Federal Government steps into control a situation.

Firearms: A climate of riots and assassinations resulted in the establishment in 1968 of the Gun Control Act, replacing the Federal and National Firearms Acts. This statute, widely condemned and opposed by sportsmen, placed restrictions on the availability of firearms.

Highway Beautification. In 1963, the Federal Aid Highway Act was amended to extend the "bonus" provisions whereby States were given incentives to beautify roadways through the effective control of outdoor advertising. An ambitious program for highway beautification through the control of advertising along Federal aid highways and through the screening of junkyards was launched in 1965. Never fully funded, however, the program has not reached the expectations of its sponsors. Provisions in the Federal-Aid Highway Act and the organic Department of Transportation Act relating to the protection of natural areas and wildlife refuges were weakened in 1968.

Parks, Monuments, and Recreation Areas: Highly significant progress was made in this area of conservation effort. In 1961, the Cape Cod National Seashore (Mass.) and the Hawaii Volcanoes National Park (Hawaii) were established, followed by the Point Reyes (California) and Padre Island National Seashores (Texas) in 1962. However, 1963 was marked by the establishment of the basic organic Act establishing the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of the Interior. This was followed by the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, financing both Federal and State outdoor programs, and Wilderness Preservation Act in 1964, accompanied by authorizations for the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (Missouri), Canyonlands National Park (Utah), and Fire Island National Seashore (New York). Then, in 1968, two more basic Acts were approved; the "Wild and Scenic Rivers Act," initiating a Wild and Scenic Rivers system with eight streams and providing for studies on at least 27 others; and the "National Trails System Act," starting with the Appalachian and Pacific Crest Trails. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act also was amended in 1968 to allow for an expanded appropriation for five years. Authorizations for the establishment of these major facilities have been approved; *national parks*—Redwood (California), 1968; North Cascades (Washington), 1968; and Guadalupe Mountains (Texas); *national monuments*—Biscayne (Florida), 1968; *National seashores*—Assateague Island (Maryland and Virginia), 1965; Cape Lookout, (North Carolina), 1966; *national lakeshores*—Indiana Dunes (Indiana), 1966; and Pictured Rocks (Michigan), 1966; *national recreation areas*—Delaware Water Gap (Pennsylvania and New Jersey), 1965; Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks (West Virginia), 1965; Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity (California), 1965; Mount Rogers (Virginia), 1966; Bighorn Canyon (Montana and Wyoming), 1966; Flaming Gorge (Utah and Wyoming), 1968. Some of the acquisition programs, however, have run into trouble and these problems well may extend into the next decade. Four areas were added to the Wilderness System in 1968.

Water Conservation, Pollution Control: The Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1948, updated in 1956, was strengthened additionally in 1961. Then, the "Water Quality Act of 1965" provided a system of State-Federal standards for effluents. This was followed in 1966 by amendments which allowed for significant increases in appropriations for waste treatment construction grants through the "Clean Waters Restoration Act." Important water resources research was authorized in 1964. This was followed in 1965 with enactment of the "Water Resources Planning Act." And, in 1968, the National Water Commission was established. The year 1968 also was featured for the once-controversial dams on the Grand Canyon portion of the stream. Several major irrigation projects contain significant values for fish and wildlife, a situation made possible, at least partially, through enactment of the Federal Water Project recreation Act in 1965. These statutes provides a system for assigning costs on Federal water projects.

Other: In 1964, a Public Land Law Review Commission was authorized and legislation to extend life of the study was approved in 1967, along with extensions of the Multiple Use and Classification Act. The Youth Conservation Corps was authorized in 1964. The Appalachian Region Development Act, and the Housing and Urban Development Act, both in 1965, contained significant provisions for open space preservation, water pollution control, and other conservation features.

SENATE AND HOUSE INTERIOR COMMITTEES CONSENT TO LIFTING OF ALASKAN LAND FREEZE

In separate actions, the Senate and House Committees on Interior Affairs have granted their consent to a lifting of Public Land Order No. 4582, the Alaskan Land Freeze Order. See Report No. 46, page 504. This will allow Secretary of the Interior Hickel to issue a permit to the Trans Alaskan Pipeline System (TAPS) to build an 800-mile hot oil pipeline over and under the Alaskan permafrost from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez under certain conditions.

The Senate Committee granted its consent in a letter to Secretary Hickel dated 12/11/69. The letter, signed by Chairman Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), stated that the Committee's considerations were limited to whether the lifting of the land freeze was a matter of public necessity and whether it would prejudice Congressional consideration of the Alaska Native land claims legislation. "Therefore, on this basis, the Committee does not object to the promulgation of the proposed modification of Public Land Order No. 4582," the letter stated. Chairman Jackson's letter stated that although the "Committee is very concerned about the many interrelated technological, environmental, ecological and scientific questions which have been raised concerning the proposed modification of PLO No. 4582 and the granting of a pipeline right-of-way to TAPS, . . . These are matters—based upon the best judgment of the professional personnel in the Department—for your (Secretary Hickel) decision pursuant to the administrative authority and responsibilities of your office."

In the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Congressman John P. Saylor (Pa.) stated that: "The Senate Committee had ducked the issue." But, after some debate, the Committee on 12/16/69 passed a resolution also consenting to the lifting of the land freeze. Wording of the resolution states: "The Committee has no objections to the proposed modification of PLO No. 4582, and the grant of the proposed right-of-way after the Secretary is fully satisfied that all reasonable efforts have been taken to preserve any rights regarding the Alaska native land claims, and to fully protect the general environment and ecology of the public domain together with the broad public interest in the wise use and conservation of the many resources and values."

The written resolution, which had been submitted to members of the Interior Committee immediately before the committee meeting, passed by a roll call vote of 17 ayes, 7 nos and 2 voting present. The resolution passed only after a motion to table the resolution was defeated 15 to 7. Those voting against the resolution were: John P. Saylor (Pa.), Thomas S. Foley (Wash.), Morris K. Udall (Ariz.), John V. Tunney (Calif.), William F. Ryan (N.Y.) and Robert W. Kastenmeyer (Wis.). Chairman Wayne P. Aspinall (Colo.) and Congressman Howard W. Pollock (Alaska) led the fight for adoption of the resolution and both voted for the lifting of the Alaskan land freeze.

Chairman Aspinall stated that there had been a "misconception of our function in this matter," and that the "chair accepts

all responsibility for not calling on environmental witnesses," including conservation groups who had written the Chairman requesting to testify. Mr. Saylor said: "We haven't really had hearings" because "only Assistant Secretary of the Interior Train came before us and we haven't heard from those that represent the public including interested conservation groups." Mr. Saylor felt "we're just wiping our hands" of the matter. He referred to House Report No. 91-747, a supplemental appropriation bill, reported by the House Committee on Appropriations on 12/11/69. In this report, the Subcommittee on the Department of the Interior granted a \$1 million supplemental appropriation "for initial cost of permit issuance and first-year supervision of the proposed oil pipeline across Alaska." However, the report further states that "The Committee strongly feels that any costs incurred by the Department of the Interior for inspection and protection of American natural resources in Alaska are properly chargeable to those oil companies constructing the pipeline, and the Committee directs that in negotiations for issuance of rights-of-way permits, adequate fees and/or reimbursement be charged for recovery of expenses incurred by the Department which are directly attributable to its immediate and continuing supervision of the pipeline."

The Appropriations Committee took issue with the request and progression of the hearings before the Interior Committee and stated: "The Committee was appalled and surprised that representatives of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries did not attend the hearings to present the information necessary for total evaluation of the effects construction of the pipeline will have on this natural resource (fisheries)."

Mr. Saylor, referring to the language of the House Appropriations Committee regarding TAPS funding for enforcement of the stipulations, said: "I conclude that there are three categories involved. (1) The oil companies get the oil. (2) The State of Alaska gets the land and money from the oil. (3) The Federal Government gets the bill."

Mr. Udall (Ariz.) stated: "We are going to regret this—like Santa Barbara and other mistakes."

Secretary Hickel is now free to grant a permit for the right-of-way. TAPS already has ordered and recently received more pipe—by tanker on 12/7/69 and by a 38 box-car train delivery. Evidently, TAPS' owners—British Petroleum, Atlantic-Richfield and Humble Oil anticipated the lifting of the land freeze, and further, anticipate that the permit will be granted in the near future.

PUBLIC TO BE HEARD ON EFFECTS OF POWER PRODUCTION ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Chairman Chet Holifield (Calif.) has announced that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will conduct additional public hearings on the environmental effects of producing electric power.

The Committee earlier this year, during Phase I of the hearings, heard from Federal agencies. Now, in Phase II beginning the week of January 26, 1970, the Committee will receive testimony from state governmental agencies, representatives of private industry and environmental groups, and the public at large.

In announcing the hearings, Chairman Holifield said: "We want to get a balanced representation of the views of all who can contribute to our understanding of the factors involved in power plant siting, construction, and operation."

SENATOR METCALF LAMBASTS SECRETARY HICKEL ON GRAZING DELAY

Sen. Lee Metcalf (Mont.) has lambasted Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel on

falling to respond to the Senator's request for copies of reports and analysis upon which Secretary Hickel based his decision to delay the grazing fee increase for one year. (See Report No. 46, page 501.) Senator Metcalf had requested these reports in a letter dated 11/26/69, one day after Secretary Hickel's announced delay. Speaking from the Senate floor on 12/10/69 and 12/11/69, Sen. Metcalf called the attention of the Senate to "the inability of the Secretary of the Interior to provide in 15 days the information on grazing fees on which he has given the public 30 days in which to comment."

Sen. Metcalf also pointed out that, in Secretary Hickel's letter to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs dated 11/25/69, he planned to publish the Federal Register before 12/1/69 the proposed rule-making delaying the imposition of the grazing fees. Also, Secretary Hickel was to give interested members of the public 45 days in which to comment on the delay. However, the notice of proposed rulemaking did not appear in the Federal Register until 12/4/69 and the time for comment was cut to 30 days.

As of this writing, Secretary Hickel had still not responded to Sen. Metcalf's request for information on why the grazing fee increased imposed on January 14, 1969 was being delayed. The Senator stated: "I am at a complete loss to understand why this administration has not answered a simple request for information about the public business, required by Members of Congress who would like sensibly to respond to Secretary Hickel's own invitation to comment."

Sen. Metcalf then pointed to a review of the Forest Service Grazing Fee System as implemented on January 14, 1969 and which was submitted by Edward P. Cliff, Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture to the Senate Interior Committee in November, 1969. The report concludes that, "A fee system is in effect that will return the Federal Government fair market value for the grazing privilege. It considers public equity. . . . Evaluation of extensive information collected from 97 National Forest areas throughout the 11 Western States and in South Dakota and Nebraska and other sources strongly indicates that the public interest and equity are being served under the new grazing fee system."

Sen. Metcalf asked: "If, on November 25, Secretary of the Interior Hickel had had such a report before him I wonder if he would have concluded that the Interior Department should not continue with the schedule of grazing fees announced January 14, 1969."

Sen. Metcalf further stated that the "Secretary of the Interior has an obligation to state why it isn't sound public policy to continue the schedule of proposed increases in grazing fees; he has an obligation to cite negative impact, if any, and to whom; he has an obligation to describe why the U.S. Government should forego increased revenue, a substantial part of which would be available to conserve the watershed and grass on the public range. And finally, Secretary Hickel has an obligation to explain why the public should respond in 30 days when it has taken him at least 15 days (as of 12/10/69) to reveal the substance of a review undertaken months ago."

The general principle of the new grazing fees implemented on January 14, 1969 was the establishment and recovery by the Government of the fair market value for use of the public lands. When implemented, the grazing fee on Interior-administered public lands was \$33 per animal unit month. The charge is now \$44 per animal unit month while the fair market value is about \$1.25 per animal unit month.

HEARINGS ON EFFECTS OF PHOSPHATE-BASED DETERGENTS ON WATER QUALITY

The Conservation and Natural Resources Subcommittee on the House Committee on

Government Operations held hearings on 12/15 and 12/16/69 on the effects of phosphate-based detergents on water quality.

Congressman Henry S. Reuss (Wis.), Chairman of the Subcommittee, stated that: "phosphates fertilize the growth of vegetation in water, and lead to accelerated eutrophication and destruction of a body of water by excessive vegetation, particularly algae. Lakes become uninhabitable by valuable sport and commercial fisheries." Carl L. Klein, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Water Quality and Research agreed and commented that: "with present technology, the preferred procedure to control eutrophication is to impede plant production by making phosphorous less available for growth. One important step toward this goal is to curtail phosphorous-bearing effluents."

Detergents are the main contributor of phosphates to U.S. waters although human wastes, agricultural fertilizer run-off, natural run-off and industrial wastes also contribute materially to the eutrophication of lakes and streams. Secretary Klein stated that the Secretary of the Interior "is very perturbed about the problem" of phosphate-based detergents and wants it solved. But, he went on, "we believe that the reduction or elimination of phosphorous from detergents is essential but inappropriate for implementation at this time." Mr. Klein explained this position by pointing out that if phosphates were banned from detergents the substitute material used "could be equally stimulating to algal growth, it is even possible that these materials, or their degradation products, could cause other, more severe, pollution than does phosphorous. We do not want to solve one problem by creating an even greater problem."

David D. Dominick, Commissioner of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, amplified these views in urging that phosphates be banned from detergents only when less damaging substitutes are found. Mr. Dominick pointed to the development of a Provisional Algal Assay Procedure and efforts by the Joint Industry/Government Task Force on Eutrophication to come up with a viable substitute. The PAAP test, however, will not be available until 1972.

Chairman Reuss commented that although the Joint Industry/Government Task Force was established in August of 1967, the principal result seems to be an agreement to develop the PAAP system. He commented: "We don't need to assay algae nearly so much as we need to eliminate them." Congressman Reuss felt that the Joint Task Force was dominated by the representatives of the detergent industry and suggested that it should be disbanded. He stated: "In this field of phosphate cleanup I feel the Department of the Interior is fiddling while our lakes eutrophify and putrify." Assistant Secretary Klein promised that "we are not going to wait until PAAP tests to remove phosphates. They'll be removed."

The need for advanced waste treatment facilities to remove phosphates was also discussed. These advanced treatment facilities can remove 90-95% of phosphates from wastes but today less than 15% of wastes are so treated. Mr. Klein acknowledged the fact that if phosphates are taken out of waste treatment plants in Detroit and other cities surrounding Lake Erie, "then chances are Lake Erie will be restored in 4 to 5 years."

Representatives of the Soap and Detergent Association, which represents 129 soap and detergent manufacturers including the largest phosphate-based detergent producers—Colgate-Palmolive Company, Lever Brothers Company, and Procter and Gamble Company—told the Subcommittee that "there is no proof that detergent phosphates are the key element in accelerated eutrophication of lakes and other surface waters:— "and that if phosphates were removed from

detergents this step would be equivalent to setting back health, cleanliness and sanitation standards many years."

Chairman Reuss has introduced legislation which would ban the use of phosphates in synthetic petroleum-based detergents used in the United States. The bill, H.R. 12435 (Report No. 26, page 296) is before the House Committee on Public Works and no action other than a request for agency reports has been taken.

SUBCOMMITTEE CLEARS ANADROMOUS FISHERIES BILL

The Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation 12/16/69 ordered a favorable report to the full House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on H.R. 1049, extending the Anadromous Fish Conservation Act of 1965 (Report No. 47, page 509). As ordered reported, the Subcommittee amended the bill to remove the \$1½ million provision, thereby leaving a ceiling at \$1 million. A four-year extension was agreed to, with these fiscal year appropriations ceilings: 1971, \$6 million; 1972, \$7½ million; 1973, \$8½ million; and 1974, \$10 million. The maximum that States could get under cooperative arrangements would be reduced from 75 per cent to 60 per cent. The Subcommittee, however, wonders if these limitations are reasonable in view of the fact that the States have \$9 million in applications pending.

REPORT ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY BILL IS COMPLETED

The formal report of a Senate-House Committee was expected to be filed and printed late this week on S. 1075, the "National Environmental Policy Act of 1969" (Report No. 47, page 508). The report was expected to be filed in time for clearance by both the Senate and House prior to adjournment.

The report was expected to declare a national policy which will encourage productive and enjoyable harmony between man and his environment and prevent or eliminate damage to the environment. Title I would have the Congress recognizing the impact of man's activities on the interrelations of all components of the natural environment and declaring it a policy of the Federal Government to use all practicable means and measures "to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony, and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations of Americans." A section declaring that each person has a fundamental and inalienable right to a healthful environment was modified, in the fear of stimulating law suits, to: "The Congress recognizes that each person should enjoy a healthful environment and that each person has a responsibility to contribute to the preservation and enhancement of the environment."

Title II establishes a three-person Council on Environmental Quality and requires an annual report on status of the environment.

NORTHWEST ATLANTIC FISHERIES

The Senate 12/12/69 received a proposed Protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (EX. I, 91st Congress, First Session). After the injunction of secrecy was removed, it was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

NEW BILLS INTRODUCED

Fish and wildlife

S. 3221—*Humane Treatment of Research Animals*. Sen. Stephen M. Young (Ohio). Provides for the licensing of all persons who perform any research or experiments with any animal. Also the bill requires the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to promulgate standards to govern the humane handling, care, treatment and transportation of research animals. Sen. Young said, in introducing the bill that, "man's inhumane treatment to man is not so separate from his inhumanity to animals. We must not

ignore the conditions that now exist. Legislation setting forth standards for the treatment of animals used in research experiments should be enacted without further useless delay." Referred 12/9/69 to the Senate Committee on Commerce.

Identical bills were introduced in both Houses of Congress on 12/10/69 to prohibit the shooting of any bird, fish or any other animal from an aircraft while over land owned or reserved to the United States. A fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for one year are provided for violators. Sen. Gaylord Nelson (Wis.) introduced S. 3234 which was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce. H.R. 15188 was introduced by Messrs. John P. Saylor (Pa.) and David E. Obey (Wis.) and referred to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. The bills are an apparent response to the recent NBC television documentary "The Wolfmen." The bill would outlaw not only the hunting of wolves by airplane as was shown in the documentary but all other wildlife including eagles. The wolf is listed as a rare and endangered species and only 800 or less remain in the contiguous U.S. while there are 5,000 wolves in Alaska. However, the State of Alaska pays a \$50 bounty on wolves and in the past four years, 5,693 bounties have been paid for wolves in Alaska. Sen. Nelson said that "this bill will not give the protection to the timber wolf that it deserves but it will cut down on the mass extermination that is presently going on."

H.R. 15237—*Restrictions on Pesticides Which Pollute Navigable Waters*. Mr. Clarence E. Miller (Ohio). Amends 16 U.S.C. 742d-1 to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to restrict or prohibit the use of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides and pesticides which results in the pollution of any navigable waters of the U.S. so as to constitute a substantial threat to man or to fish and wildlife resources. See H.R. 14192 (Report No. 37, page 415) and others. Referred 12/12/69 to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Air pollution control

H.R. 15137—*Extension of Clean Air Act*. Mr. John Jarman (Okla.). Extends the Clean Air Act through fiscal year 1973. Referred 12/8/69 to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 15192—*Extension of Clean Air Act*. Mr. George P. Miller (Calif.). Same as H.R. 15137 above. Referred 12/10/69 to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 15230—*Amendment to Clean Air Act*. Mr. Robert O. Tiernan (R.I.) and six colleagues. Amends the Clean Air Act to authorize increased grants to be made to certain air pollution control agencies not now eligible therefor. Referred 12/12/69 to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 3229—*"Air Quality Improvement Act" and Noise Pollution and Abatement Act*. Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (Me.) and five colleagues. Amends the Clean Air Act to extend authorization under the Act, extends provisions relating to emission standards and provides for a study of noise and its effects. The bill would provide authority: first, to carry out low-emission vehicle research; second, to extend and expand the authorizations of the Clean Air Act for research and demonstration; third, to require public hearings in connection with the adoption of any plan for the implementation of air quality standards and to require 30 days notice of any hearing on air quality standards; fourth, for the Secretary to promulgate national emission standards for new and used aircraft, vessels, and other vehicles capable of moving interstate commerce; fifth, for the Secretary to set emission standards for existing commercial vehicles; sixth, to require the assurance of compliance with national emission standards for a period beyond the initial

sale of a motor vehicle, vessel, or aircraft, and so forth; seventh, to set standards for low-emission vehicles and to test and certify vehicles as to their compliance with those standards; eighth, to set national emission standards for certain organic solvents, paints, and other oxidants which, because they are manufactured and shipped in interstate commerce, cannot be effectively controlled at their point of use; ninth, to establish an Office of Noise Pollution Abatement and Control in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and tenth, to authorize the Office of Noise Pollution Abatement and Control to conduct a study of the health and welfare ramifications of noise and to include recommendations for needed legislation in a report to Congress.

Sen. Muskie in introducing the bill said that "it is a response to the growing public pressure for a clean environment and a recognition that certain kinds of air pollution control activities will not or cannot be carried out without Federal intervention." Sen. Muskie stated further that the Federal Aviation Agency should not have primary responsibility for air pollution controls or other environmental controls because of a built-in conflict of interest—... "clearly, the agency with the responsibility for promoting air commerce should not be the agency which determines the extent to which aircraft emission controls will be necessary to protect the public health and welfare." "Pollutants are emitted from jet engines at the rate of 78 million pounds a year," Sen. Muskie stated. The bill was referred 12/10/69 to the Senate Committee on Public Works.

Flood control, rivers and harbors

S. 3230—*Construction of Low Diversion Structure on the Potomac River, Md.* Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (Md.). Authorizes the construction of a low diversion structure or dam by the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission into a portion of the North Channel of the Potomac River near Potomac, Md. Referred 12/10/69 to the Senate Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 15207—*Modification of Denison Dam Project, Texas and Oklahoma*. Mr. Ray Roberts (Texas). Provides for a modification of the Denison Dam project, Lake Texoma, Red River, Texas and Oklahoma to authorize the city of Sherman, Texas to construct a barrier dam to create a subimpoundment of up to 95,000 acre/feet to supply municipal and industrial water. Referred 12/11/69 to the House Committee on Public Works.

Firearms

H.R. 15180—*Mandatory Sentence for Use of a Firearm in Crime of Violence*. Mr. Bill Chappell, Jr. (Fla.). Provides for a mandatory one-year jail sentence for a conviction of using a firearm in a Federal crime of violence. A mandatory 25-year sentence would be imposed for subsequent convictions. See H.R. 14749 (Report No. 43, page 482) and others. Referred 12/10/69 to the House Committee on the Judiciary.

Forests and forestry

S. 3218—*"Operations Fire Fund Act"*. Senators Robert W. Packwood (Oreg.), Mark O. Hatfield (Oreg.) and George Murphy (Calif.). Requires each purchase of national forest timber to deposit in a special Treasury fund not less than \$0.05 per thousand board feet cut to pay the cost of suppressing operation fires. "Operation fires" is defined as fires caused without negligence by the operations of a purchaser of national forest timber in connection with his timber sale operation. Referred 12/8/69 to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Indian land and resources

H.R. 15131—*Federally Owned Lands Held for Trust for the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony*. Mr. Walter S. Baring (Nev.). Declares that 28 acres of land in Nevada are held in trust for

the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony. Referred 12/8/69 to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 15239—Lands in Trust for Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Montana. Mr. Arnold Olsen (Mont.). Declares that 82 acres of federal land are held in trust for the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Montana. Referred 12/12/69 to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mines and minerals

H.R. 15139—California Marine Sanctuary Act of 1969. Mr. Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. (Calif.). Creates marine sanctuaries from leasing pursuant to the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act in areas off the coast of California adjacent to State-owned submerged lands when such State suspends leasing of such submerged lands for mineral purposes. See H.R. 14787 (Report No. 42, page 474) and others. Referred 12/8/69 to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Parks, monuments, and recreation areas

S. 3228—"Balanced Urbanization Policy and Planning Act." Sen. Edmund S. Muskie. Provides for the balance urban development and growth of the U.S. Amendments are made to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide for urban development consistent with adequate outdoor recreational facilities and clean water. Referred 12/10/69 to the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

Wilderness preservation

S. 3222—Designation of Certain Lands in the Wichita Mountains National Wildlife Refuge as Wilderness. Sen. Fred R. Harris (Okla.). Designates certain lands within the Wichita Mountains National Wildlife Refuge, Oklahoma as wilderness under the Wilderness Act of 1964. Referred 12/9/69 to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Miscellaneous bills of interest

S. 3037—"Environmental Reclamation Education Act of 1969." Sen. Charles E. Goodell and 8 colleagues. Title I authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to develop a national environmental-ecological education program ranging from preschool to the graduate level. A three-year \$37 million authorization is recommended. Regional ecological-environmental education centers are authorized. Title II creates a National Advisory Commission on Technology and the Environment to examine the capacity of the Federal Government to deal with the impact of technology on the environment. Referred 12/11/69 to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

H.R. 15147—"National Oceanic and Atmospheric Program Act of 1969." Mr. John D. Dingell (Mich.). Amends the Marine Resources and Agency Engineering Development Act of 1966 to encourage, develop and maintain a comprehensive national program in marine and atmospheric science, technology and technical services. The bill creates the position of Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Oceanic and Atmospheric Affairs. A National Advisory Committee for Oceans and Atmosphere is also created. Referred 12/8/69 to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 15233—"National Oceanic and Atmospheric Program Act of 1969." Mr. Mario Biaggi (N.Y.). Same as H.R. 15147 above. Referred 12/12/69 to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 15148—"National Oceanic and Atmospheric Program Act of 1969." Mr. John D. Dingell (Mich.). The same as H.R. 15147 above except that the Coast Guard and other agency functions are not transferred to the Department of the Interior. Referred 12/8/69

to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Nineteen identical bills by nineteen different Congressmen were introduced 12/12/69 which would establish a Joint Committee on Environmental Quality. The bills, H.R. 15241 through H.R. 15259 would place 10 Senators and 10 Representatives on the Joint Committee. An annual report would be issued to the Senate and House of Representatives concerning its findings and recommendations. The bills were referred to the House Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 751—Creation of a Standing Committee on the Environment. Mr. Donald G. Brotzman (Colo.). Amends the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment. Included within this Committee's purview would be water quality, air quality, weather modification, waste disposal, pesticides and herbicides and acoustic problems. Referred 12/12/69 to the House Committee on Rules.

H.R. 15263—"National Oceanic and Atmospheric Program Act of 1969." Mr. Louis Frey, Jr. (Fla.). Amends the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 to establish a comprehensive and long-range national program of resource, development, technical services, exploration and utilization with respect to the marine and atmospheric environment. Same as "clean bill" introduced as H.R. 13247 (Report No. 30, page 345). Referred 12/15/69 to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

LATE BULLETIN

Congressional leaders have announced that the Second Session of the 91st Congress will be convened on Monday, January 19, 1970. Thus, the lawmakers will have something less than a month off from work from the time of adjournment of the First Session to the beginning of the Second Session. All work not completed in the First Session will be held over into the Second.

ACTION ON BILLS

S. 1108—Waiver of Acreage Limitations on Lands in Nevada. Waives the acreage limitation provisions of the Recreation and Public Purposes Act to permit Nevada to purchase 26,160 acres of public domain land necessary to complete the Valley of Fire State Park. Passed by the Senate earlier in the year, the bill was reported favorably, without amendment, 12/10/69 by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (House Report 91-731). Passed by the House, without amendment, 12/15/69 and cleared for the President.

S. 3014—Designation of Wildlife Refuge Lands and Wilderness. Designates as wilderness for addition to the National Wilderness Preservation System certain lands administered by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife (Report No. 38, page 428). Reported favorably, with amendments, 12/9/69 (Senate Report 91-594) by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The Committee removed the Hart National Antelope Refuge Wilderness and the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge Wilderness from the bill. This action leaves in the bill these refuge wilderness areas: the Three Arch Rocks and Oregon Islands National Wildlife Refuges, all in Oregon; the Bering Sea, Bogoslof, Tuxedni, St. Lazaria, Hazy Islands, and Forrester Island National Wildlife Refuges, all in Alaska; the Copalls, Flattery Rocks and Quillayute Needles National Wildlife Refuges in the State of Washington, and the Bitter Lake National Wildlife Refuge in New Mexico. Passed by the Senate, with amendments, 12/12/69 and referred to the House.

S. 3108—"Airport Airways Development Act." Provides for the expansion and improvement of airport and airway systems (Report No. 44, page 496). The formal re-

port of the Senate Committee on Commerce was filed 12/5/69 (Senate Report 91-565). The Senate bill does not contain provisions in the House version for protection of parks, monuments, recreation areas, or wildlife refuges although the report does say that the Committee "is concerned that airport development proceed with all due caution and concern for protection of the environment." Further, it said that "factors such as noise, air and water pollution, site selection consonant with the environmental surroundings and preservation of natural beauty should be taken into account." The bill now has been referred to the Senate Finance Committee and no action is expected before the Second Session.

S. 3219—"Family Planning Services Amendments of 1969." Senators Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.), Peter H. Dominick (Colo.) and Winston L. Prouty (Vt.). Amends the Public Health Service Act to provide for special project grants for the provision of family planning services and related research, training and technical assistance. The bill authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to pay for up to 90 per cent of the cost for public or nonprofit private agencies' family planning services. Referred 12/8/69 to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

H.R. 13407—Amendment of Pacific Marine Fisheries Compact. Consents to the amendment of the Pacific Marine Fisheries Compact, recognizing adherence of Idaho and Alaska to the document in addition to the original members: California, Oregon, and Washington. Other amendments to the compact would modify reference to the Pacific Ocean and provide a more equitable means of apportioning costs. Reported favorably, without amendment, 12/9/69 by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries (Report 91-715). Passed by the House, without amendment, 12/15/69 and referred to the Senate.

H.R. 14159—Appropriations for Public Works, Fiscal 1970. Makes appropriations for Public Works, including water pollution control, for fiscal 1970 (Report No. 46, page 499). Signed by the President 12/11/69 (P.L. 91-144).

H.R. 15166—"River Basin Monetary Authorization Act of 1969." Authorizes additional appropriations for projects in certain comprehensive river basin plans for flood control, navigation, and other purposes. Introduced 12/6/69 by George H. Fallon (Md.) and six colleagues. Reported favorably, without amendments, 12/11/69 by the House Committee on Public Works to which it was referred (House Report 91-748). The authorization amounts to \$830,000,000 plus \$9 million for the Chesapeake Bay Basin Comprehensive study. The authorizations:

Alabama-Coosa River.....	\$45,000,000
Arkansas River.....	89,000,000
Brazos River.....	5,000,000
Central and southern Florida.....	20,000,000
Columbia River.....	263,000,000
Lower Mississippi River.....	167,000,000
Missouri River.....	109,000,000
Ohio River.....	69,000,000
Quachita River.....	18,000,000
San Joaquin River.....	18,000,000
South Plate River.....	21,000,000
Upper Mississippi River.....	2,000,000
White River.....	4,000,000

H.R. 15187—Establishment of a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. Mr. Ogden R. Reid (N.Y.) and eight colleagues. Same as H.R. 15165. Referred 12/10/69 to the House Committee on Government Operations.

The House Committee on Government Operations reported favorably H.R. 15165, establishing a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future (H. Rept.

91-738). This action was taken on 12/10/69 after the Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization held hearings on various population bills including the House companion bills to the Senate-passed S. 2701. See Report No. 46, page 502. The Subcommittee then introduced a "clean bill", H.R. 15165, which goes beyond the administration bill, S. 2701. This bill is now awaiting floor action. The bill directs the Commission to study five aspects of population growth. They are: 1. The probable course of population growth internal migration, and related demographic developments between now and the year 2000; 2. the resources in the public sector of the economy that will be required to deal with the anticipated growth in population; 3. the ways in which population growth may affect the activities of Federal, State and local government; 4. the impact of population growth on environmental pollution and on the depletion of natural resources; and 5. the various means appropriate to the ethical values and principles of the society by which our Nation can achieve a population level properly suited for its environmental, natural resources, and other needs. Numbers 1 through 3 are included in the Senate-passed S. 2701 while 4 and 5 are new in the clean bill. President Nixon has already requested a supplemental appropriation of \$1,443,000 to implement the Commission's study over a 24-month period. (Report No. 47, page 502).

COMMUNIST RULES FOR REVOLUTION

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the end of 1969 and look forward to the year ahead, I think it is appropriate that we look back to a document captured by the allied forces in May 1919. This document, "Communist Rules for Revolution", now 50 years old, should cause all of us to listen more carefully and more cautiously to the news events we hear day-by-day in the local press and radio.

This document, reprinted in PEN—Public Employees News of November 1969, follows:

COMMUNIST RULES FOR REVOLUTION

In May, 1919, at Dusseldorf, Germany, allied forces captured a very significant document: "Communist Rules for Revolution." As you read these "Rules" now, 50 years later, keep in mind what you are reading and hearing everyday via news media:

A. Corrupt the young; get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex. Make them superficial; destroy their ruggedness.

B. Get control of all means of publicity, thereby:

1. Get people's minds off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, sexy books and plays and other trivialities.
2. Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of no importance.
3. Destroy the people's faith in their natural leaders by holding the latter up to contempt, ridicule, obloquy.
4. Always preach true democracy, but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible.
5. By encouraging government extravagance, destroy its credit, produce fear of inflation with rising prices and general discontent.

6. Promote unnecessary strikes in vital industries, encourage civil disorders and foster a lenient and soft attitude on the part of the government toward such disorders.

7. By specious argument cause the breakdown of the old moral virtues, honesty, and sobriety.

C. Cause the registration of all firearms on some pretext with a view to confiscating them and leaving the population helpless.

BRIDGING THE GENERATION GAP

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest citizens of Fall River, Mass., is Manuel Mello. In his active retirement years, he is making many outstanding contributions to his church and to his community. Mr. Mello's time is largely taken up with organizing senior citizen activities and in teaching children.

Recently the Fall River Herald News paid a well-deserved tribute to Manuel Mello, pointing with pride to his work on behalf of senior citizens. He believes in senior power, as the newspaper article explains, and is one of three persons who are responsible for founding 24 of Fall River's 30 active senior citizens clubs. This, indeed, is a remarkable accomplishment.

But he has apparently also learned the secret of how to bridge the generation gap. Surely, there is a great lesson for all of us in how he does it. When teaching children, he says:

I try to find out what interests them most and connect it all with God's love for us.

Perhaps there would be a greater understanding between the generations if others followed Mr. Mello's example?

Manuel Mello is an amazing individual. His wife is also active in his work, and I join in paying tribute to both. I include in the RECORD at this point the text of the article:

MELLO SPANS THE GENERATION GAP

Not everyone succumbs to the generation gap.

Manuel Mello, whose average day often includes both senior citizen activities and teaching catechism classes, doesn't even have time to worry about the span of years between his friends.

Retired since 1958, Mello has turned his senior years into vital years of favorable influence on the community.

This busy life started in 1962 when Rev. Msgr. Anthony M. Gomes asked Mello to help with Saturday catechism classes at Our Lady of Angels Church.

Filling in at first when needed, Mello now serves on the pastoral council of the church, supervises Saturday catechism classes and teaches Wednesday afternoons.

"I've learned that the day of the stern, grouchy teacher are gone," says Mello, who teaches by connecting the lesson with some current events that the children know about.

"I try to find out what interests them most and connect it all with God's love for us," he said.

His methods must work, because all his students love this energetic man who believes in "coming down to their level."

The other side of his retired life began early in 1963 when he became active in the King Philip Senior Citizens Club. In 1966 Mello and the late Samuel Clegg became the official Senior Citizen Club organizers. Later assisted by Mrs. Florence Benoit, the three are responsible for 24 of the 30 clubs now active in the city.

Back from the annual senior citizens convention in Washington, D.C., Mello proudly wore a large button proclaiming Senior Power * * * something he proves every day as he moves easily from one age to the other, equally at home with both.

Mello and his wife, who is also active in senior citizens, reside in the Morgan Apartments.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA—NAMIBIA

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, October 27 marked the third anniversary of the almost unanimous finding of the United Nations General Assembly—GA Resolution 2145—that South Africa has forfeited its right to administer the international territory of South-West Africa—Namibia.

December 17 marked the 49th anniversary of the establishment of the League of Nations Mandate for South-West Africa pursuant to the principle that "the well-being and development" of its people "form a sacred trust of civilization."

A recent report in the Johannesburg Star—weekly edition, November 15, 1969—raised the question of what to do about that "sacred trust", in relation to the territory's 13,000 Bushman who are, of all its inhabitants, those least able to "stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The wide-ranging implications of that question have been reemphasized in a report by Stanley Uys, political correspondent of the Johannesburg Sunday Times, which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times of December 7, 1969.

I insert both of these articles at this point in the RECORD:

NEW PRESSURE ON BUSHMEN TO SETTLE DOWN

WINDHOEK.—South West African authorities have embarked on a vast resettlement scheme whereby it is hoped to lure groups of the notoriously shy Bushmen to "frontier posts."

It is hoped that they may be persuaded to move to their own homeland at Tsumkwe, north-east of Grootfontein.

The aim of the scheme is to cut the stock losses suffered by farmers in the remote northern areas of the territory as a result of thefts by groups of these nomadic hunters. It was conceived jointly by members of farmers associations, representatives of the Department of Bantu Affairs and the South African police at a meeting held earlier this year.

At the posts, one of which will be set up at Tsintsabis in the Okavango area, food, tobacco and other supplies will be made available to the Bushmen. Once their confidence has been gained the estimated few hundred groups distributed in an area stretching about 140 miles along the line which marks the boundary of the farming area will be persuaded to make their "big move."

It is hoped that the Bushmen will be encouraged to settle by making them work to pay for the items they purchase at the posts. In this way their nomadic instincts, the biggest obstacle in any Bushmen settlement plan, will gradually be blunted.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
(By Stanley Uys)

CAPE TOWN.— The Oct. 4 deadline set by the United Nations Security Council for South Africa to withdraw its administration from the trust territory of South-West Africa has come and gone, and the South African government remains in undisturbed control of the territory.

South Africa has no intention of handing over administration of South-West Africa to the UN, and, in fact, is drawing the territory steadily deeper into its administration. The relationship which now exists between South Africa and South-West Africa is undistinguishable in practice from incorporation.

The Security Council had resolved that if South Africa ignored the Oct. 4 ultimatum, it would "meet immediately to determine upon effective measures" provided by the UN Charter. On Oct. 21, the United Nations Trusteeship Committee, by 96 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 6 abstentions (Australia, Botswana, France, Ivory Coast, Malawi and Britain) censured South Africa for ignoring the deadline, and asked the Security Council to note the "deteriorating situation" in South-West Africa.

But this is as far as the UN has been able to go, short of invading South-West Africa or applying sanctions against South Africa—measures which the Western nations, and many others, simply would not support.

Through the years in which the South-West Africa issue has been raised at the UN—annually since the founding of the world body in 1946, in fact—the protesting members have made no progress whatever in persuading the South African government to relinquish even a fraction of its control over the territory.

South Africa's "obduracy," as it is called, has left its mark on the prestige of the UN, whose members have quarrelled among themselves over whether they should continually be adopting resolutions which they cannot enforce.

In 1962, the UN sent a mission to South-West Africa, which after a farcical tour expressed divided opinions. In June, 1967, the UN appointed an 11-member council charged with the task of securing entry into South-West Africa and administering it until it was ready for independence. The council tried to fly into Windhoek, South-West Africa's capital, in April, 1968, but got no farther than Lusaka, Zambia, again in circumstances which, if anything, detracted from the UN's prestige.

But South-West Africa still remains a grave international issue. A German colony until World War I, it was entrusted to South Africa by the League of Nations to administer under a mandate as if it were part of South Africa, with the provision that South Africa "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory."

When the League of Nations was dissolved, and the UN was founded in 1946, an international trusteeship system came into existence, and the former colonial powers were asked to place the remaining colonies under this system. The UN would appoint administrators, and through its various agencies would help the territories concerned to develop as quickly as possible towards self-rule.

But South Africa, maintaining that the UN had not inherited the league's power over former mandates and that its obligations to the international community had lapsed

with the league's dissolution, refused to place South-West Africa under international trusteeship. It undertook, however, to administer the territory in the spirit of the terms of the original mandate.

This decision was made in 1946, and every year the debates at the UN on South Africa's attitude have become increasingly heated. Only Portugal, which has retained control of the African colonies of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, has consistently supported the South African stand. The question has been submitted to the International Court of Justice several times, without conclusive result.

The essential charge against South Africa is that it is not administering the territory in the interests of all South-West Africa's inhabitants: That the 96,000 whites have all the political, economic and social rights and privileges, and that the 514,000 nonwhites are the hewers of wood and drawers of waters. Only white adults, for example, have the vote for the territory's 18-member (all-white) legislative assembly and for the South African parliament in Cape Town.

Apartheid exists in all South-West Africa's hotels, restaurants, cinemas and public transport. Residential areas, too, are segregated: The nonwhites of Windhoek live in a township on the outskirts of the city.

Generally, South Africa's apartheid laws are applied in the territory. Africans who wish to leave the Northern Sector or the Reserves in the Southern Sector are subject to influx-control and pass laws, although these are not as strict as similar laws in South Africa.

In 1962, about 58.6 per cent of South-West Africa consisted of white-owned farms (close to 15 per cent of the territory is desert and a considerable area is semidesert), 26.6 per cent consisted of Reserves for Africans and colored, the rest being the Walvis Bay area (a South African-owned enclave of 434 square miles), townships, diamond areas, and game and nature parks.

In 1963 a commission of inquiry appointed by the South African government recommended the creation of "homelands" (no fewer than 10) for the territory's nonwhites, along the lines of the "bantustans" in South Africa itself, these homelands to become ultimately self-governing.

The commission recommended the purchase of both government land and white-owned farms, to be added to the Reserves to increase their size from 26.6 per cent to 38.7 per cent of the total area of the territory. Most of this purchasing now has been done.

Even so the 96,000 whites still own more land than the 514,000 nonwhites.

The African Reserves are mainly areas of subsistence farming. The charge against the whites is that they are in almost exclusive control of the territory's real wealth—its diamonds, copper, lead, zinc, its rich fishing enterprises.

South-west Africa's economy is much more dependent on migratory labor than South Africa's. This is partly because the government is anxious to keep white the "white south" where the work force is needed, and partly because of a seasonal cycle in labor requirements, especially in the fishing industry. At any time there may be 45,000 migratory laborers working away from their homes in the "black north."

Because of the shortage of skilled white labor, the industrial color bar is applied slightly less rigidly than in South Africa. The employers' approach is more paternalistic: they prefer to provide meals, clothes, accommodation and recreational facilities rather than give the same value in extra wages. Nevertheless, cash earnings, low as they are, have risen in recent years.

Another charge against the South African government is that it has neglected the education of the territory's indigenous inhabi-

tants. In 1966, for example, only 11 Africans from South-West Africa took the examinations for the equivalent of high school graduation. Six of them passed, and none qualified for university entrance.

The South African government's answer to all these charges is that it is now providing for the "separate development" of the indigenous inhabitants through the creation of "homelands," which will be assisted financially, and with white skills, to advance toward independence. The emphasis at the moment is on the development of Ovamboland, the "homeland" of the Ovambo Africans in the north, and the biggest of all the "homelands."

The program will take time, the South African government says, but it believes it is the only possible way of securing co-existence of the races in South-West Africa. Otherwise, it says, there will be race friction if the races are integrated and compete within the same structure.

But the "homelands" program has not impressed apartheid critics, who see it as a classic divide-and-rule stratagem. They ask how these "mini-homelands" could possibly become economically viable and politically independent. Even Ovamboland, the biggest of the "homelands," has only 280,000 inhabitants. Thereafter, the "homelands" dwindle in population down to Tswanaland with only 11,300 inhabitants.

ON POLISH-JEWISH RELATIONS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, Dr. Ludwig Krzyzanowski, professor of East-Central European area studies at New York University prepared an excellent address on the historic relationship of the Poles and the Jewish people.

His remarks were delivered at the opening of a special exhibit at the Polish Museum in Chicago, which is operated by the Polish-Roman Catholic Union. This exhibit depicts the horrors suffered by the Jewish people in the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

I believe Dr. Krzyzanowski has performed a notable public service by placing in proper perspective the historical role which has existed between the Poles and the Jewish people who lived in Poland for centuries past.

It would be a tragic error to judge the historical relationships of the Polish and the Jewish people on the basis of severe difficulties the Jewish people now suffer in a Poland dominated by a pro-Soviet regime. The denial of passports, the wanton prosecution and persecution of the Jewish people in Poland today is not the basis for judging the attitude of Poles toward the Jewish people over the centuries.

I would like to place in the RECORD today Dr. Grzyzanowski's excellent analysis of the historical relationship between Polish and Jewish people for indeed I believe that Dr. Krzyzanowski has captured the true spirit of this relationship.

Dr. Krzyzanowski's remarks follow:

"It is not without a singular decree of Providence that the Jewish people lived in Poland

for centuries, and that their fate is so clearly linked with the fate of the Polish nation."

These are the words of Poland's greatest poet, Adam Mickiewicz, from his lecture at the College de France on February 21, 1843.

Five years later during the so-called "Springtime of Nations" Mickiewicz conceived the idea of organizing a Polish legion to fight at the side of the Italians for their and Polish freedom. For this Promethean band of exiles, he composed a Set of Principles in which he envisaged the structure of the liberated Poland.

Among the fifteen principles one is particularly noteworthy on the occasion that has brought us together.

"To Israel, our elder brother, respect, brotherhood, help on the road to his eternal and temporal welfare, equal rights in everything."

Indeed, the Jews have coexisted with the Poles in one land since the dawn of recorded history. The causes of the mass-immigration of the Jews from the West, continuing throughout the middle ages and the modern era, were outbreaks of persecution in central European cities. Just as in the sixteenth century, Poland was known as a refuge of heretics, it was also an *asylum Judaeorum*.

Two years ago we celebrated the Millennium of Poland's history and nationhood. In 1964 our great event was the six hundredth anniversary of the founding of one of Europe's oldest institutions of Higher Learning—the University of Cracow. But perhaps we did not pay sufficient attention to a date that falls between the two—namely, the seven-hundredth anniversary of the promulgation in 1264 by Duke Boleslaw the Pious of the Piast Dynasty of the first privilege issued to the entire Jewish community—the Statute of Kalisz. By the Statute of Wislica in 1334 King Kazimierz the Great confirmed the application of the Statute of Kalisz to the entire State and later in 1364 to the territories which had then become attached to Poland. The Statute of Kalisz was afterwards confirmed by almost all the Kings who succeeded Kazimierz, and it was generally known as the General Privilege or the Jewish Statute to distinguish it from special privileges conferred by various kings on particular Jewish communities. The last to confirm the Jewish Statute was the last king of Poland, Stanislaw August Poniatowski, in 1765. In the course of time, the Statute of Kalisz became part of the *Voluntaria Legum*, the official collection of laws obligatory in Poland.

The short time allotted to me is not conducive to a detailed analysis of the provisions of these statutes. However, we are entitled to say that the old Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth manifests an unbroken continuity of protective Jewish legislature over several centuries. Of course, we should not close our eyes to the fact that the application of these immunities was not always exemplary; but all in all, the Jewish community in Poland was able to practise its religion, and to observe its own customs unmolested by outside interference.

The time since the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth is a period of recurring efforts to regain independence by armed struggle. In all the struggles since the time of Tadeusz Kosciuszko through the January Insurrection of 1863, and later, Polish Jews did their share, to mention only the name of Colonel Berek Joselewicz, who was killed in action in 1809 in the Polish army of the Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw.

During the November Insurrection of 1830-31 the Jewish community set aside a day of fasting terminated by prayers lasting four consecutive hours; to quote the document in question: "Amid the chanting of the psalms, amid the recollections of a lost homeland in Palestine, the Israelites of the

two sexes pray for the salvation of their second homeland, this Poland in which they have been living for centuries! How sweet and consoling is this spectacle which unites all opinions and all religions when the defense of the common cause of the common homeland is at stake."

There is a beautiful poem by Mieczyslaw Romanowski, the bard of the January, 1863 Insurrection, entitled, "The Rabbi." I regret that I can do no more than to give only its briefest outline. A venerable rabbi is sorrowfully reflecting on the sufferings of Poland and bemoans the fate of Warsaw, which he identifies with Jerusalem. A delegation from Germany arrives trying to persuade him to exchange the misfortunes of Poland for a peaceful and prosperous life in Germany. The rabbi listens to them and replies: "At the Lord's Judgment woe will befall traitors. I was born here. Serving Jehovah, I shall die here when my brethren perish." When the emissaries expostulate with him that he should not reject the gifts their country brings, and ironically ask him, "Who stands at the side of Poland?" the rabbi simply answers, "The noblehearted."

It is only natural that the part of the Jews in the development of Polish culture is considerable and that without this contribution, that culture would be so much poorer. Again we can only mention a few names. Julian Tuwim will remain in Polish literature as a star of first magnitude. Lesmian, Sionimski, Witlin, Wazyk, Jastrun, will forever have a place in the annals of Polish letters. Polish literary criticism boasts of such names as Julian Klaczko, Wilhelm Feldman, Ostafin Ortwin, Juliusz Kleiner.

Polish historiography owes much to Askenazy, Handelsman and Jozef Feldman.

In visual arts such names as Maurice Gottlieb, Artur Szyk, Zygmunt Menkes, and a long list of others come immediately to one's mind.

Everybody is of course familiar with such brilliant names in the performing arts as the harpsichordist, Wanda Landowska, the pianist, Artur Rubenstein, or the great theatrical producer, Arnold Schifman.

Polish jurisprudence has many outstanding Jewish representatives, as do medicine, the sciences, and technology. Many of them were active and well-known abroad. However, in most instances, they never denied their links with Poland and her culture.

The short period of regained independence, 1918-39, would require extensive treatment to explain the vicissitudes of the Polish-Jewish relationship. When the holocaust came, it should be fairly stated that no matter how anti-Semitic some segments of the population were, it was not the Poles who slaughtered the Jews; and the few who survived, survived only because there were Gentiles who did not hesitate to risk and sacrifice their lives in defense of their Jewish brethren.

It is not so much the passivity, of which the Poles were so often accused, but rather the indifference of the leaders of the Free World and of world Jewry which doomed the heroic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. That the Polish Underground did what it could to assist the ghetto fighters, and the true sentiment of the Polish masses is evident from the stirring proclamation of the Central Organization of Polish workers. It is dated Warsaw, April, 1943: "The inhabitants of the Warsaw Ghetto are resisting the Germans who are attempting to annihilate the remnants of Polish Jewry. These Jewish workers—Polish citizens of Jewish nationality—are the very marrow and soul of the Jewish detachments who have raised an armed resistance to the Hitlerite criminals. To these workers of Jewish nationality who, facing unavoidable death, have decided to die fighting rather than to surrender passive-

ly, we send our brotherly greetings and our promise that their deeds will be remembered and will become part of the immortal legend of Fighting Poland."

By coincidence or design, this magnificent exhibit illustrating one thousand years of Polish-Jewish symbiosis is being opened on May 3rd, which until recently was celebrated as Poland's national holiday.

I vividly recall from my youth that there was almost no observance of this event without a recitation of Jankiel's Concert. It is striking, indeed, that Poland's national poet, Adam Mickiewicz, made a Jew, the village innkeeper, Jankiel, the spokesman for Polish patriotism. Playing his dulcimer, Jankiel stirringly evokes recent events of Polish history. Concluding with the triumphant song of hope, "Poland Has Not Yet Perished." The concluding lines of this famous passage in the great epic *Pan Tadeusz*, in the translation of a Jewish poet, Aaron Kramer, are as follows:

" . . . Jankiel now began to play a stronger, higher strain; he dropped the dirge-like measure, and proclaimed with every beat a mood quite different from the one of sorrow and defeat. Once more his eyes surveyed the strings; he raised his hands like one, and brought down both the hammers in tremendous unison. With such great artistry, such might, the master struck that chord, his strings rang out like clarions of brass, and from them roared a well-known march, a victory-march, that floated to the sky: "Our Poland has not perished yet, nor shall she ever die! Dombrowski march to Poland!" Then they shouted all in chorus:

"March on, Dombrowski, lead the way! Our land is waiting for us!" The master sat quiet still, as though his own song had amazed him; he dropped his hammers on the ground, stretched forth his arms and raised them; down to his shoulder fell the cap from off his upturned head; majestically waved his beard; his cheeks grew strangely red; and in his glance of fire of youth appeared once more to blaze. At last, when on Dombrowski the musician turned his gaze, he tried to cover up his eyes, but through his fingers fell a stream of tears, that seemed to gush from far too deep a well. "O General! Our land awaits thee many a long year; long—as we Jews have waited for Messiah to appear; the minstrels sang of thee among the folk in times gone by; thy coming was announced by a great marvel in the sky. Live and wage war, O thou our—" as he spoke, the master sobbed; within the bosom of the Jew a love for Poland throbbed! Dombrowski held his hand out, and his thanks were rich reward; old Jankiel bowed, and kissed the hand that held his country's sword.

Our ceremony would not be complete if we did not make some mention of the events now occurring in Poland. I am convinced that this is an aberration of only a few rabble leaders who for purposes of their own are trying to find a scapegoat or their own mistakes or incompetence. Nevertheless, as people of Polish antecedents, we cannot help but feel regret and shame. The great contemporary poet, Kazimierz Wierzyński, gave apt expression to these sentiments. I will give a literal rendering of his short poem in English.

"ISRAEL

"Polish diplomats, the messengers of the Soviets, went with their Moscow mail-pouches to cast a black ballot against Israel; to decree in a star-chamber court Death in absentia

"Where is the Wailing Wall?
Where misfortune has turned to stone for
centuries?
Where do the Jews assemble?
I want to go there, stand among them,
Bow my head, I a Pole who is ashamed."

CBW—FORWARD OR BACKWARD?

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent announcement that he would urge ratification of the 1925 Geneva protocol on chemical and biological warfare was welcome.

For many years the United States has been conspicuous by its absence from the list of countries which accepted the protocol's prohibition of the first use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and of bacteriological methods of warfare.

Less encouraging is an analysis, by the National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex—NARMIC—on what the President's message actually means. NARMIC, a special project of the American Friends Service Committee, questions whether the President's statement, and its subsequent interpretation by the Pentagon, does not in fact set back our country in the effort toward more elevated and humane standards of conduct in war.

The NARMIC report follows:

LITTLE OR NO CHANGE INDICATED IN U.S. CBW ACTIVITIES

On November 25 President Nixon held a press conference on chemical and biological warfare (CBW). This speech has been publicized as a major change in U.S. policy and a move on the President's part toward a ban on CBW agents. However, a close analysis of the President's speech reveals that it requires virtually no change in either our current use of chemical weapons in Vietnam, or our research, development and production of these and other CBW munitions.

In specific, the President made the following recommendations:

"As to our chemical warfare program, the U.S.: reaffirms its oft-repeated renunciation of the first use of lethal chemical weapons." (emphasis added)

This is not a ban on chemical weapons: It is a restriction on first use. However, even this restriction does not cover all chemical weapons; it only covers the ones that the U.S. is not currently using. The range of weapons defined by the U.S. as non-lethal includes all gases (even mustard gas) except the nerve gases (GB and VX). Gases like Adamsite (DM), which is being used in Vietnam, are classified as "riot control agents," even though the Army says that DM is not to be used "in any operation where deaths are not acceptable."¹ Even the tear and lung cases, which do not kill their victim directly, are used to drive him into the open where he can be killed by aircraft or gun fire.² Yet they are exempted, as "non-lethal" weapons, from the President's restrictions.

"First use" of chemical herbicides and defoliants will also continue, despite the fact that they are used to destroy food crops to starve "the enemy," and to destroy the jungle

cover to improve kill ratios. The substances used for these purposes include two arsenic compounds and 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T—the latter banned in the U.S. following a study which showed malformations and birth defects in all of the litters of the test mice administered the chemical during pregnancy. The study followed reports in Saigon newspapers of high rates of birth defects in the Vietnamese countryside.³

The "first use" of such chemical warfare munitions as napalm and white phosphorus, classified as incendiaries, will also continue.⁴ "Extends this renunciation to the first use of incapacitating chemicals."

The only CW munition classified by the Army as "incapacitating" is BZ, a psychochemical similar to LSD. The Pentagon has admitted that BZ is terribly expensive (at \$20 a pound, it takes 10 tons to knock out a battalion⁵), and it seems, from trial uses in Vietnam, that the gas has been found to be unreliable. The French newspaper L'Express reported a use of BZ by the U.S. Army's 1st Cavalry (Airmobile), March 14, 1966, in the Vietnamese town of Bongson.⁶ The problem with BZ is that it affects each person differently. While it makes some people passive, others may act violently irrational. So we are faced with a situation in which the President plans to extend the no-first-use ban to a weapon which we have reported used first and found to be ineffective.

"Consonant with these decisions, the administration will submit to the Senate, for its advice and consent to ratification, the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which prohibits the first use in war of 'asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare.'" (emphasis added)

This treaty, which was never ratified by the Senate largely due to pressure from the chemical industry, the American Legion, and the Army Chemical Corps, provides a ban on first-use-in-war, but does not prohibit research, development, production or stockpiling of CBW munitions.

In addition, the Nixon Administration does not consider tear gases and herbicides to be covered by the Protocol, even though two-thirds of the signatory nations (including Britain, France and the USSR) have officially interpreted the ban on "other gases" as inclusive of such weapons.⁷ Thus, our ratification of the Protocol, if we impose these limitations, will serve to weaken the ban, while not affecting our current chemical warfare program in Vietnam.

"Biological weapons have massive unpredictable and potentially uncontrollable consequences. They may produce global epidemics and impair the health of future generations. I have therefore decided that: The U.S. shall renounce the use of lethal biological agents and weapons, and all other methods of biological warfare." (emphasis added)

This statement sounds sweeping indeed, at first reading. However, biological weapons constitute less than 10% of the U.S. arsenal of CBW (the rest being chemical). Furthermore, at least part of this BW arsenal will not be covered in the ban because of a redefining of biological toxins which was one result of U Thant's report to the U.N. General Assembly in July, 1969. That report, compiled by chemical warfare experts from all over the world, reclassified the non-reproductive toxins, which are produced by living organisms, as chemical, rather than biological, warfare agents.⁸

It was discovered that the first chapter of the U.N. report, which included the changed definition, was written by a team headed by Dr. Ivan Bennett, Director of the New York University Medical Center. He is also Research Contract Director of the Army Chemical Corps and an advisor to the Army on epidemiology and pathology.⁹ His staff included three Pentagon officials, and the first draft of Bennett's chapter was written by

the Army's CBW experts, according to Representative Richard McCarthy, Democrat of New York.¹⁰

In a telephone conversation with Dr. Bennett, he reported that his staff, even while in Geneva working on negotiations of the final draft, were in telephone contact with the Pentagon "every day." However, he stressed that his participation in the report was that of a private scientist, and thus he could not speak for the Pentagon as to whether they accepted the new definition.¹¹

Dr. Benjamin L. Harris, Deputy Assistant Director of Chemical Technology of the Office of Defense Research and Engineering, was then contacted about the new definition. He acknowledged that until quite recently the military definition of biological warfare was the "employment of living organisms, toxic biological products, and plant growth regulators to produce death or casualties in man, animals or plants; or defense against such actions."¹² However, he said, now that the U.N. committee of "international experts" had decided on this new, clear definition, "we certainly subscribe to it." (emphasis added)

He was then asked specifically whether the stockpile of 20,000 Botulinum bullets at Pine Bluff Arsenal (revealed in recent press reports)¹³ would be destroyed. Dr. Harris answered: "What we have and where we have it is still classified."¹⁴

Botulinum is the deadly toxin given off by Botulism bacteria. Such dead toxins, unlike live germs, would not set off epidemics that might spread beyond the "hostile territory," nor would they produce the "massive, unpredictable and potentially uncontrollable consequences" which the President cited as the drawbacks to the employment of germ warfare weapons.

Thus, far from being banned, as the President implied, the use of germs in warfare has merely been refined. We now produce a "chemical" agent extracted from live germs to induce the disease directly. This allows us to apply the disease to selected targets rather than to rely on random infection. Botulinum bullets, then, could be effective assassination or counterinsurgency weapons which would need only to nick their victims to produce death by Botulism, the disease induced by the powerful toxin.¹⁵

The President has renounced the militarily unreliable part of the U.S. biological arsenal, and has reclassified the useful part as "chemical substances."

"The U.S. will confine its biological research to defensive measures such as immunization and safety measures." (emphasis added)

This statement provides a wide-open loophole for biological research and development (R&D). It practically negates the President's biological warfare renunciation, at least in respect to its impact on our current activities, since it has been traditional to define biological research and development as "defensive."

For example, the day of the President's speech, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird told Senator Charles Mathias, Jr. (R-Md.) that "there will be no major impact on the basic research in defense systems and safety" being conducted at Fort Detrick, Md., the nations biological warfare research and development center. (Among the diseases involved in the work at Detrick are pneumonic plague, tularemia, brucellosis, anthrax, encephalitis, glanders, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, undulant fever, psittacosis, cholera, botulism and coccidioidomycosis.)¹⁶ In fact, the Deputy Commanding Officer at Fort Detrick, Colonel Lucien Winegar, "said it would be 'fair to assume' that Detrick will continue to produce dangerous organisms that could be used offensively, since any defense against biological weapons involves the production of harmful agents that are potentially available to an enemy."¹⁷

As "defense" involves producing "offensive" diseases, so "offense" involves "de-

Footnotes at end of article.

defensive" inoculation of one's own troops. Thus the lines between defense and offense are blurred to the degree that the distinction becomes meaningless. It would seem that Rep. Richard McCarthy's statement made at Tufts University on September 15, 1969, would still hold true even after the President's speech. McCarthy said: "there is very little of a defensive nature in our biological warfare program."

"We do not have any defense for our civilian population against a germ attack. We do not even have an effective warning system against attack with biological agents. . . . Even our armed forces have no effective means of protection against biological warfare. . . . We can conclude from the lack of a defense that our germ warfare policy is one that would defend against biological warfare by the threat of a biological attack in retaliation."¹⁷

Finally, we come to a point in the President's speech which suggests a small change in our actual activities, rather than merely a change in our rhetoric.

"The DOD has been asked to make recommendations as to the disposal of existing stock of bacteriological weapons."

Here the President, while not ordering any specific action has asked the Department of Defense to make recommendations about possible actions. It is hard to tell how this will affect our biological warfare facilities. Fort Detrick (the largest BW center, which had a 1969 budget of \$421.5 million¹⁸) claims that it does not stockpile weapons,¹⁹ but maintains only "limited components for biological testing." Pine Bluff Arsenal in Arkansas (which has 273 refrigerated "igloos" for storage, and biological production facilities to mass-produce its biological agents if they are needed)²⁰ may have a small portion of its activities cut back, but the Base Commander, Colonel Clyde L. Friar, says: "We have no plans at this time. . . . It will be Laird's job and that of the DOD to come up with the procedures."²¹ If this base does give up storage of germs for biological warfare, it would still retain its stock of chemical and nerve gas weapons, its stocks of bacteria-produced "toxins," its production facilities for incendiaries and its "defensive" biological research and development.

The Army's largest testing area, the Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah, apparently will not be affected. In fact, the President said nothing at all about the halting of open-air testing such as the kind that killed 6000 sheep outside of Dugway last year.

While little change is indicated in these three leading U.S. CBW installations, there have been reports of cuts in CBW staffs in some areas.²² Such reports, however, should be carefully scrutinized in light of indications by White House spokesmen that "as much as possible, this [defensive] research will be shifted from the Defense Department to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare."²³ Senator Charles Mathias, in reporting on his interview with Secretary of Defense Laird on the day of the President's speech, also indicated a trend in this direction.²⁴ A shift of CBW research to such agencies as the National Institutes of Health would be a deceptive victory indeed for CBW critics.

If the purpose of the President's speech was not, then, to indicate a major change in U.S. CBW activities, what was its purpose? It is interesting to note that the President's speech was delivered at a time when the Song My revelations had generated an international atmosphere of anti-American feeling. The speech produced the expected wave of congratulation from European capitals.

The speech also came at a time when the big powers were becoming increasingly fearful of the proliferation of relatively cheap CBW munitions among the smaller nations

of the world, as indicated by the final ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty by the U.S. and the USSR the previous day.

Perhaps even more important, the statement came within one day of the publication of Representative McCarthy's book, *The Ultimate Folly: War by Pestilence, Asphyxiation, and Defoliation* (Knopf, 1969), a high point in the anti-CBW movement.

Further, it came the day of the release of still another Congressional investigation which scrutinized U.S. CBW activities.²⁵

Thus, while the President's minor restrictions may help the world to breathe a microscopic degree easier, the overall effects of the speech may be the opposite. The President's speech may have served to disarm the President's critics more than to disarm the U.S. CBW capacity.

(Written by Arthur Kanegis, NARMIC Research Assistant.)

FOOTNOTES

¹ *Employment of Chemical and Biological Agents*, Army Field Manual FM 3-10, March 31, 1966, p. 7.

² This use is confirmed by sources as divergent as widespread newspaper accounts, firsthand letters from soldiers in Vietnam (reprint in *War/Peace Report*, November, 1969, p. 17), testimony before congressional hearings (U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Hearings on CBW*, 91st Cong., April 30, 1969, p. 34) and *Army* magazine itself ("Infantry Support Weapons," *Army*, October 1969), although the Pentagon officially insists that it uses these gases "to save lives" (Pentagon Press Release, September 23, 1969).

³ "Thalldomide Effects From Defoliants," *Scientific Research*, Vol. 4, No. 23, November 10, 1969, p. 12.

⁴ The Army classifies these chemical substances as incendiaries rather than chemical weapons, arguing that they kill people by burning and asphyxiation rather than by poisoning. However, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines Napalm as "an aluminum soap of naphthenic and palmitic acids which when mixed with gasoline from sticky syrup used in CHEMICAL WARFARE." The thickening substances used in Napalm were first developed in 1944-1945 under contract to the Chemical Warfare Service, and improved more recently by U.S. chemical companies (Dow's Napalm "B"). White phosphorous is also a chemical substance, and is manufactured in the chemical weapons production facilities at the Pine Bluff CBW Arsenal. (William Terry, "Huge Germ-War Arsenal Awaiting Orders to Close," *Washington Post*, November 27, 1969, p. A2.)

⁵ Robert M. Smith, "Germ War: What Nixon Gave Up," *New York Times*, November 26, 1969, p. 16.

⁶ Pierre Darcourt, "Le Temps Des Massacres," *L'Express*, March 14-20, 1966.

⁷ Richard Homan, "Vietnam Use of Gas Could Block Treaty," *Washington Post*, November 26, 1969, p. A1.

⁸ U Thant, "Report of the Secretary General on Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use," July 1, 1969, pp. 6-7.

⁹ The 1969 edition of *Who's Who* included the following citations for Dr. Ivan L. Bennett: "special cons, Surgeon Gen, US Army Mem Comm on Epidemiological Survey 1966-" "Armed Forces Epidemiology Bd." "Research Contract Dir., Army Chem Corps." "mem hd sci advisors, Armed Forces Inst Pathology."

¹⁰ Richard McCarthy, "Banning CB Weapons—the Pressure Mounts," *War/Peace Report*, November, 1969, p. 19.

¹¹ Telephone interview with Dr. Ivan L. Bennett at his N.Y.U. Medical Center office, December 4, 1969.

¹² This definition, with emphasis added,

was quoted from the *Dictionary of US Military Terms for Joint Usage*, August 1, 1968.

¹³ Robert M. Smith, "20,000 Poison Bullets Made and Stockpiled by Army," *New York Times*, October 31, 1969.

¹⁴ Telephone interview with Dr. Albert Hayward at the Pentagon, December 4, 1969.

¹⁵ John Hanrahan, "Germ Warfare Ban Is Expected to Have Slight Effect on Detrick," *Washington Post*, November 26, 1969, p. A6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Richard McCarthy, Press Release, "Remarks of Rep. Richard D. McCarthy at Tufts University-Medford, Massachusetts, September 15, 1969—CBW as National Policy."

¹⁸ Defense Marketing Survey, as cited by Seymour Hersh, "On Uncovering the Great Nerve Gas Coverup," *Ramparts*, June, 1969, p. 15.

¹⁹ Hanrahan, p. A6.

²⁰ Smith, "20,000 Poison Bullets."

²¹ Terry, p. A2.

²² Seymour Hersh, *Dispatch News Analysis*, *Dispatch News Service*, 199.

²³ James M. Naughton, "Nixon Renounces Germ Weapons," *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1969, p. 16.

²⁴ Hanrahan, p. A6.

²⁵ U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings, Department of Defense Appropriations for 1970*, 91st Congress, July 1, 1969 (released November 26, 1969).

²⁶ Botulinum toxin, derived from *Clostridium Botulinum*, as well as toxins derived from *Salmonella* and *Staphylococcus*, could be dispersed in a variety of ways in "chemical" biological warfare. Dr. Bennett himself noted: "It has been calculated that the placing of only 5.0 kilograms of botulinum toxin, a poisonous material produced by a bacterium (which, though biologically produced would be used as a chemical weapon) into a reservoir would result in the same degrees of poisoning that would be achieved by dumping 10 tons of potassium cyanide into the water supply."—testimony before the House Foreign Relations Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, November 20, 1969, printed in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, November 25, 1969, pp. 35711-35713.

MARYLAND MARINE KILLED IN VIET ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Charles R. Pittinger, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PITTINGER KILLED IN VIET ACTION—SHELL FRAGMENTS FATAL TO MARINE ON NIGHT DUTY

A young marine from Thurmont, Md., was killed Monday after being in Vietnam for seven weeks, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Pfc. Charles R. Pittinger, 21, was killed by enemy missile fragments while at a night defensive position in Quang Nam province, his father Charles E. Pittinger said yesterday.

THURMONT HIGH GRADUATE

Private Pittinger graduated from Thurmont High School in 1967, and worked at a gas station until he was drafted in April.

His father said yesterday that the youth went to Baltimore for his Army induction,

but that a Marine Corps recruiter at the induction center selected him for that service instead.

After training at Parris Island, S.C., Camp Lejeune, N.C. and Camp Pendleton, Calif., he was sent to Vietnam, his father said.

Besides his parents, Private Pittinger is survived by two sisters, Mr. Patricia Stambaugh of Fort Huachuca, Ariz., and Miss Ann Marie Pittinger, of Thurmont; and two brothers, John Pittinger and Larry Pittinger, both of Thurmont.

THE AMERICAN VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION'S CITATION AWARD FOR 1969

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my privilege to attend the annual convention of the American Vocational Association in Boston to accept their highest decoration, the Citation Award for Contributions to Vocational Education in 1969.

Needless to say, I was tremendously moved by the honor bestowed upon me and am most grateful to the officers and delegates of the American Vocational Association for this distinction.

The AVA has been a formidable force in the development of an effective vocational education program in this Nation.

Its executive director, Lowell Burkett, and all of his aides, as well as the officers who change every year, have been of enormous help to the Congress of the United States in drafting meaningful legislation which today brings almost one-half billion dollars of Federal aid to the State departments of vocational education throughout the Nation.

The dedication of the AVA and its membership to the highest ideals of quality education brings all of us closer to the day when every American child will graduate from high school with a marketable skill.

The convention was attended by more than 6,500 delegates from all over the country and one could not help but be impressed by the high level of conferences and exhibits which marked this very important assembly.

Among the exhibits at the convention at the back of the auditorium where the awards were presented were a number of educational exhibits including one which was set up and manned cooperatively by member of the Division of Vocational and Technical Education and Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Research of the U.S. Office of Education.

I was tremendously impressed by this exhibit which illustrated more than 50 end products of vocational education research efforts supported by the U.S. Office of Education.

Dr. Philip R. Teske, acting chief of the Instructional Materials and Practices Branch, Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Education Research in the National Center for Educational Re-

search Development—an agency of the USOE—gave an excellent description at the AVA convention of a number of fascinating studies in education included in the exhibit.

I shall like to take this opportunity to include in the RECORD today a copy of Dr. Teske's excellent remarks. Indeed, Mr. Robert Pruitt, chief of the Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Research, can be rightfully proud to have in his department men of Dr. Teske's stature. Dr. Teske's speech reflects the high standards that Mr. Pruitt has established for his agency.

The remarks by Dr. Teske follow:

LOOKING AHEAD IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(By Dr. Philip R. Teske)

Mr. Chairman and Instructional Materials Specialists, I am pleased to have this opportunity to meet with such a distinguished group of vocational educators, and to share with you some thoughts on current and future developments in the area of curricula and instructional materials.

Before proceeding to my assignment for today, I want to take this opportunity to invite each of you to visit our Division exhibit on the main floor of the War Memorial Auditorium. Several of the instructional materials and other activities I shall refer to in my presentation are on display in our exhibit.

I also want to take this opportunity to commend the group on the establishment of the Vocational Instructional Materials Section within the A.V.A. organization. Individuals involved in the preparation, production, field-testing and adoption of instructional materials need to become better acquainted and to exchange information leading to more relevant, quality, efficient vocational education. VIM should and will provide that opportunity.

I do not possess a crystal ball into which I can peer and predict with acceptable probability of success the future in the development of curricula and instructional materials, including training aids, devices and equipment. It is said history gives us clues to the future. Today, I want to share with you some of the U.S.O.E.-supported research and development activities recently completed or still underway which, as history, will perhaps provide clues to the future in instructional materials development.

Now then, when I think of instructional materials, I think of instructional systems—systems which, for purposes of our discussion here, consists of four sub-systems: (1) the specification of the desired end-products of the total system; (2) the curriculum, courses of study, units of instruction, etc. and the companion instructor handbooks and student study materials; (3) the training aids, devices and equipment—the hardware and software—that are intended to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the teaching-learning processes; and (4) the student evaluation/performance procedures and/or devices necessary to assess whether or not the specified end-product has, in fact, been produced.

Specification of the Desired End-Product of the System. The current literature contains many references to behavioral objectives, performance objectives, desired student outcomes, instructional objectives, etc. The key point here is that we specify as precisely as possible the desired end-products of the system. These specifications should be spelled out so that we can assess whether or not the specifications have been met. This is the "quality-control" aspect of the system. The work of Popham, Tuckman, Morrison and

Crawford illustrate some of the work underway in specifying end-products of the system. Dr. Bruce Tuckman at Rutgers is developing a schema for classifying educational objectives in vocational education toward the future development of a concept-oriented curriculum. Dr. James Popham at UCLA is developing a bank or pool of behavioral objectives, organized by discipline and grade level, from which schools and teachers may order sets of objectives for use in guiding their curriculum improvement efforts. Dr. Ed Morrison at the Ohio State Leadership Development Center is developing performance goals or objectives for a new Office and Business Education instructional system. Dr. Lucy Crawford, while at VPI, developed a set of performance objectives in the distributive education area.

The concern being given to the specification of the desired end-products is a major breakthrough in improving education. The Armed Forces have used such quality control specifications in their training programs for nearly twenty years. I personally am pleased to see this concept being applied in our civilian educational institutions.

CURRICULUM GUIDES, COURSES OF STUDY, AND RELATED INSTRUCTOR AND STUDENT MATERIALS

Vocational educators, and instructional materials specialists in particular, are demonstrating exceptional leadership in developing viable curricula, instructor handbooks and student study materials. I wonder how many of you are really aware of the contributions you are making. Let me cite a few projects that are making a real impact on vocational education and on general education.

Drs. Lux and Ray at the Ohio State University are developing a two-year articulated program of study for industrial arts in the junior high school. At the present time the "construction" and "manufacturing" portions are undergoing field testing and evaluation.

Drs. Flug and Face at Stout State University are working on an "American Industries" curriculum designed to provide a transition between general and vocational education. The field testing and evaluation of the curriculum guides and materials developed in this project is nearing completion.

The experimental junior high school course in occupational opportunities and labor market processes developed by Drs. Bob Darcy and Phil Powell at the Ohio University, Athens has been a significant contribution to vocational education. Student study materials and teacher guides are available for the 75 unit, one semester course. During 1968-69, the course was adapted and offered fall and spring semester to over 4000 ninth grade students in 13 schools via the Arkansas ETV network. At the present time approximately 5000 students in 50 schools in 35 school systems in Arkansas are enrolled in the course via the ETV network. Schools in at least three other states are offering the course this year.

Dr. David McClay, Dr. Richard Stinson and others of the Pennsylvania State University Agricultural Education Department are developing an instructional program and materials in the vocational ornamental horticulture area. Approximately 1300 copies of the teacher's manuals and over 5000 copies of the student manuals in retail flower shop operations, turfgrass maintenance and establishment, landscape design, and landscape maintenance and establishment have already been distributed, including 80 copies of the Retail Flower Shop Operations student text ordered by a school in London, England.

Personnel of the five state departments of education and 14 local schools in the Western States Small Schools Project are well along in the development of an integrated, career-development curriculum for use in small

high schools in rural areas. The curriculum is being designed to be relevant for the student who remains in the area and the student who migrates out of the rural environment.

Ed Henderson, AAAE/VA at the University of Georgia, tells me over 20,000 copies of the recently developed Small Gas Engines volumes have already been purchased by school systems across the Nation.

A great deal of effort is underway in developing curricula and instructional materials for use at the post-high school technician training level. Again, let me cite a few examples. The recently completed two-year electromechanical technology curriculum developed by the Ward Technical Institute is now in use in 15 junior colleges, community colleges and technical institutes.

The Portland Cement Association has completed the preliminary design of a two-year post-high school curriculum to train persons for technician-level openings in the cement and concrete industries. The curriculum and allied materials are now being field tested in 6 institutions across the Nation.

Mel Barlow and his staff at UCLA are making excellent progress in developing curricula and instructional materials in the Allied Occupations area.

Approximately 20,000 copies of the "Guide For Planning Health Occupations Programs" developed by the N. Health Council and AAJC have been distributed across the Nation. The "feedback" we are getting suggests this Program Planning Guide is most helpful to institutions planning and/or upgrading such programs.

U.S. Office of Education supported curriculum development efforts are underway in the Bio-Medical Equipment, Nuclear-Medical, and other newer areas.

May I also note the Commercial Fisheries project underway at the University of Rhode Island to train captains, first mates and engineers for the commercial fishing fleet. Here is an "old occupations" area in which we are establishing and up-grading a formal training program at the technician level.

TRAINING AIDS, DEVICES, AND EQUIPMENT SUBSYSTEMS

As I noted earlier, we must have the hardware and software which will increase the quality and efficiency of the teaching-earning processes.

Warren Gibbons and Paul Lahner at SUNY, Buffalo are working in the career development area. An expected end-product of this project is a computerized game and associated curriculum units on vocational decision-making by high school students. Other "gaming technique" activities are underway.

The General Programmed Teaching Corp., at Palo Alto, California has prepared a programmed course for group instruction of secondary teachers and administrators in the various techniques of instructional technology. The programmed workshop of 18-20 hours has student workbooks, film strips, audiotapes, unit tests and a monitor's manual.

The Aerospace Education Foundation conducted an evaluation of three USAF instructional systems for use in civilian institutions. Materials from the standard USAF Aviation Mechanics, electronics technology, and medical technology training programs were tested in 5 schools in Utah. The preliminary data indicates more than 90% of these unmodified USAF materials are highly effective when used in civilian schools.

Drs. Brandon and Mitzel at the Pennsylvania State University are continuing their investigations on computer-assisted instruction in technical education. To date, 78 course segments in technical mathematics, communications skills and engineering sci-

ence have been developed. More than 1000 slides are involved in these segments.

A study of the efficacy of a home economics curriculum designed to prepare girls—and boys—for the dual roles of homemaker-wage earner is being carried out at Cornell University, Purdue University, and Ohio State University. The curriculum guide which is a product of this study has broad applicability. It will be made available nationally through the State departments of education.

Swanson and Persons at the University of Minnesota are continuing their studies to refine and improve farm record keeping and analysis in which extensive use is made of the computer's capabilities. In recent correspondence, I was advised their system, still under test, has already been adopted in four other states.

At the U.S. Naval Academy, we are testing out individualized multi-media instructional models in the areas of leadership development, freshman economics and freshman science. The preliminary data suggests the three models are both effective and efficient.

STUDENT EVALUATION

Some work is being done in the development of standardized tests in vocational-technical education. I refer, for example, to the work of Dr. Thomas Baldwin at the University of Illinois who has developed achievement tests in 7 technical areas such as automotive mechanics, electrical repairs, Radio and TV repairs, etc.

From the above, I trust you realize a great deal of effort is underway in the development and improvement of instructional materials. I encourage you to pursue your work in this vital area of vocational education. Thank you for inviting me to appear on your program.

SPORTS AND SUBSCRIPTION TELEVISION

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD, so that all Members of Congress might have an opportunity to read it, the testimony of Mr. Bowie Kuhn, commissioner of baseball, Mr. Pete Rozelle, commissioner of professional football, and Mr. Robert Hall, secretary of the National Football Association and Hall of Fame. This testimony was given December 10 and 11 before the Subcommittee on Communications and Power of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

An important milestone has been reached in the many years of discussion and inquiry, pro and con, into subscription television, often called pay-TV.

For the first time, in meaningful sequence and surroundings, the top officials of professional baseball, professional football, and a well-identified authority and spokesman for collegiate and other amateur athletics, counseled with that subcommittee on the future of broadcast sports events. Their remarks and observations are key considerations in the unfolding future of both conventional commercial television broadcasting and the newly authorized over-the-air subscription television. Most important, from these gentlemen we get at long

last some authoritative indications of what will and will not happen—settling the dusty cloud of conjecture raised by both proponents and opponents of STV as a supplementary television broadcasting service.

The material follows:

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS AND POWER

(H.R. 420 and all identical bills, to amend the communications Act of 1934 so as to prohibit the granting of authority to broadcast pay television programs)

Mr. MACDONALD. The hearings will come to order.

The subcommittee met at 10:05 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2123, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Torbert H. Macdonald (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Macdonald, Van Deering, Ottinger, Tiernan, Broyhill, Harvey, Brotzman and Brown.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Broyhill?

This morning we resume on the subject of H.R. 420 and other related bills to amend the Communications Act of 1934 so as to prohibit the granting of authority to broadcast pay television programs.

The first witness this morning is the very distinguished Commissioner of Baseball, Mr. Bowie Kuhn, accompanied by his counsel, Mr. Porter of Washington.

Statement of Bowie Kuhn, commissioner of baseball

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Kuhn, Mr. Porter, we welcome you here this morning.

Mr. KUHN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. I understand you don't have a prepared statement but inasmuch as there has been ever so much conversation and testimony both pro and con on this matter, it seems to me that one of the basic problems that the committee faces is the question of siphoning off of programs and as I think all of us know the rise in programs of sports events is fantastic over the last decade and one of the first things that is talked about is the siphoning off of so-called commercial TV programs to subscription TV.

The matter of the World Series, the All Star Game, and that sort of thing. Many of us on the committee are of the opinion, obviously, that any siphoning-off process would not be any good, so we thought we would go to the horse's mouth on this to get the reaction of you as the Commissioner of Baseball and eventually perhaps speaking for both of the leagues.

I don't know whether you can talk for Mr. Feeney, but in any event, we would certainly like to hear from you about that prospect in your judgment.

Mr. KUHN. Mr. Chairman, let me tell you a little bit about what my authority is in this area of broadcasting. In baseball, as distinguished from perhaps some other sports, the control of broadcasting rights has in the main resided at the club level, not at the level of the Commissioner or at the league level.

The clubs retain most of the broadcasting right with respect to their games and make whatever deals are appropriate for the radio broadcast or telecast of those games in their general market areas.

Now some years ago the clubs, many years ago, actually, clubs authorized the telecast of the World Series, the All Star Game, and now more recently the League Championship Series in each league, to be broadcast as part of the nationally negotiated agreement.

Now the sale of those rights has been handled by what is called the Major League Television Committee and not by the Commissioner.

The Commissioner's job has been to administer those contracts after they have come into existence. So that I have no direct authority for the sale of broadcast rights at this time although I might conceivably in the future, but I do have some general knowledge in the area and I would be very happy to respond to any questions that you might like to put to me.

Mr. MACDONALD. I noticed, Mr. Kuhn, that you have a very highly developed sense of public relations. I was privileged to attend the banquet at the Sheraton Park on the occasion of your anniversary and I thought it was a terribly impressive thing. A lot of work obviously went into it. A very successful thing, too, I might add.

Therefore, I said earlier without any basis in knowledge of my own that I wouldn't think that baseball people would stand, because of their great feeling of public relations with the American public as the so-called American national game, to permit any thought of siphoning off of such landmark events as the World Series.

Mr. KUHN. Let me address myself to that specifically, Mr. Chairman. It has long been the view or perhaps you might say the policy, in any event, it has long been the view of baseball people that our premier events, World Series, All Star Game, and now the League Championship Series, should be made as widely available to the American public as possible.

This, no doubt, derives from the feeling of what is good for baseball in the sense of what is the best public relations for baseball and an interest in having the maximum number of people exposed to these games because that, obviously, is going to be in the best interests of baseball.

To implement that policy or view, baseball has authorized the broadcast and telecast of these games very widely. I imagine no other sport has gone quite as far as baseball.

Feeling so strongly about this, they even telecast those games in the city where the game was being played. In other words, we are telecasting against our own gate and we have done that as long as I can recollect. That gives you some idea how strongly baseball feels about the wide dispersion of the telecast of these games.

I find it difficult to foresee a situation where we would take a different view. I can't read the future with perfect clarity, Mr. Chairman, but I would have to be presented with a situation where I saw another medium which offered as wide a dispersion, and I don't anticipate seeing that.

Therefore, as far as I can see in my rather imperfect crystal ball, I would expect these games to continue to be telecast as they are.

Mr. MACDONALD. Just to clear up in my own mind the relationship between the league and the teams financially about broadcasting, do you authorize the individual clubs to enter into contracts?

Mr. KUHN. No. I do not authorize individual clubs to enter into contracts. That has been a club prerogative. I imagine that the Commission has some theoretical jurisdiction in the event a contract were contemplated or entered into which might not be deemed in the best interests of baseball, but that jurisdiction has never, to my knowledge, been exercised.

Mr. MACDONALD. Do you think that could be stretched not to the good interest of baseball to have clubs siphon off their individual games?

Mr. KUHN. I would hesitate to make that interpretation. I think I would really have to be faced with a particular situation and see what was in prospect before I could even make a sensible judgment on it. Take this kind of situation. I can conceive under some circumstances that pay television might offer new broadcast potential.

You are no doubt familiar that a relatively small number of away games of baseball teams are telecast in the market of that ball club. Hence, you would not see too many road games of the Senators telecast here. The reason for that is financial. The line costs tend to be prohibitive.

Therefore, relatively few are telecast. Now I imagine it is possible that a team which had not telecast significantly its road games might be prompted to do so by something that presented the possibility of overcoming these financial problems. This would not be a siphoning off. This would be a new availability. That is speculation on my part.

I can't say whether that is a realistic possibility or not, but it occurs to me.

Mr. MACDONALD. Would you care to discuss the arrangement for the Game of the Week that ABC carries?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. The Game of the Week is part of the national property which is negotiated at the national level and has been negotiated by the Major League Television Committee.

It happens to be on ABC at this time and that has been a very successful program and I would anticipate that that program will continue.

As to the prospect of pay TV, if that is the specific question, presenting an attraction for that, I am a little hard pressed to answer the question.

We have not had the philosophy there or as clearly there as the desirability of wide dispersion as we have with the wide availability as we have with the World Series, the All Star Game, and the League Championship Series.

However, I would think—and I am thinking out loud that we view the Game of the Week as an ongoing public relations phase of baseball. It is the one opportunity nationally during the season for people to see all over the country a prominent collision of baseball teams and therefore would have, I think, some of the same considerations in our mind as the crown jewels, the World Series, and so forth.

Mr. MACDONALD. Why I asked that, it seemed to me that it is perfectly clear to anybody who isn't prejudiced that the World Series will never go off and the other games we talked about, the All Star and League Championship. I think that is clear from the FCC rule promulgation.

But I was wondering if it would fall into language of the rule that talked about an event that had not been regularly broadcast. In other words, with the number of teams and the number of contemplated expansions, I could easily see where they could get some teams that hadn't been regularly been broadcast over a period of two or three years.

Baseball being what it is, you might have to be in contention one year and be the St. Louis Cardinals next year. So I was wondering if you had any comment about that.

Mr. KUHN. I have seen some thickets, Mr. Chairman, I am hesitant to walk into. I read the paragraphs of the FCC Order yesterday pertaining to sports events for the first time and I came away without any firm understanding of that language.

I am slightly confused in reading it, to be honest, and I would really be quite hesitant to try to answer that question.

Some of those questions that you just suggested occurred to me as I read it, but I honestly have no fixed views on that.

Mr. MACDONALD. Thank you very much.

Mr. KUHN. Thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Van Deerlin.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Good morning.

Mr. KUHN. Good morning.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. I don't want to sound ungracious but I think you still owe Congress an All Star game.

Mr. KUHN. I owe one on the day scheduled. That is sure.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Does the revenue from these presently existing broadcasts go into a fund that is shared by all the teams in the league?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, it does. That is, I am talking now, and I assume you are, about what I call the national package. Yes, that goes into a joint bank account and is distributed to the clubs.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. The individuals telecast games of local teams, such as the Senator road games that are a matter for the Senator management.

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. I was interested, although it really isn't important to the central question of our discussion, I was interested in your remarks about the high line costs limiting the number of away games that the home team telecasts.

I would surely assume that these telecasts are carried at a profit for all concerned.

Mr. KUHN. Well, the line charges can create some question on that if you can analyze it from the accounting point of view on a per game basis which is not easy to do.

Apparently it is done, I judge.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Well, I can't imagine that the Senators operate as an eleemosynary institution here.

Mr. KUHN. No. I don't think that they intend to.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. So whatever the arrangement is that it must be in the planning or they would be discontinued, don't you think?

Mr. KUHN. Well, the Senators will sell rights, or this could be any other club, will sell rights to a sponsor or broadcaster and it will then—this is a typical kind of arrangement. It wouldn't be every arrangement. It is then up to the broadcaster as to how many games he would like to bring back and he has to make a judgment within certain financial considerations as to how many he will.

Now he may bring games back from New York and not from Seattle, the line charges being particularly heavy, of course, coast to coast, but this can become in part the judgment of the sponsor of broadcasting.

As far as most of the ball clubs are concerned they would be delighted to see a substantial number of their road games carried because it does not compete with their local gate.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. And increases interest.

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. The question as you know that has involved us here in considering rule-making and possible statutory arrangements for subscription television has been the fear that important sports events will no longer be carried by free television.

One of the proposals that has been made is that we should increase the FCC's proposed delay time from two years to three or five or even a greater number of years.

Would it be your guess that no sports promoter could keep his attraction out of view, so to speak, for five years or more with any hope of retaining public interest?

Mr. KUHN. I would think it would present a severe obstacle for him.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. So this might be a very effective way of protecting the viewing rights of the public that they are now getting.

Mr. KUHN. I would think it would have a considerable effect. Again I would have to say what I said to the chairman. I am not fully certain I understand the FCC Order and these details. I am not certain I understand the full meaning of a delay period, but making certain assumptions, I think it would be a factor to consider for a sports operator.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Without revealing any private conversations, without betraying

any trusts, do you know of any baseball owners who today are holding off any broadcast plans, any telecasting plans, waiting for the bonanza of pay television to which they can restrict their product?

Mr. KUHN. No, I do not. I anticipated the possibility of that question being asked and I searched my recollection and I cannot say that I know of any club which is awaiting pay television.

I must say that it is perfectly possible that I can be in ignorance in this area, but I know of none. You must also realize that there are some clubs who have had a no-telecast policy. Whereas others, such as the New York Mets, to take a dramatic example, telecast most of their games both home and away or authorize them to be telecast so you get a wide divergence of practice by the individual clubs in this area.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROYHILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In answer to a question, by the answer that you did not fully understand the rules of pay TV promulgated by the Federal Communications Commission, and being an attorney with a vast reputation you are not sure that the rules would prevent sports contests such as the World Series from being siphoned away from commercial television and lead into pay television.

Mr. KUHN. What I say is that, Congressman, that I don't understand those clearly enough to make a judgment on that one way or the other.

I do not anticipate, however, that that kind of siphoning off would occur in anything.

Mr. BROYHILL. Now when you make a statement as an individual or as the Commissioner of Baseball?

Mr. KUHN. I am making that statement as Commissioner of Baseball.

Mr. BROYHILL. Do you have authority in your position as Commissioner of Baseball to issue an order so that you can put an injunction on the club owners?

Mr. KUHN. No, I don't believe I do, although I am hesitant to make any statement which would tend to limit my authority. I prefer the broader view of it.

At the present time I would not be prepared to say that I had that power but I want to be careful, I don't want to be filed out on that. I do not have the authority at this time even to negotiate a deal for the World Series after our present NBC contract expires. That runs '69, '70 and '71.

Mr. BROYHILL. Who has that authority?

Mr. KUHN. Authority is in the Major League Television Committee. For the agreement which is currently with NBC they have negotiated it and at the present time the clubs have not conveyed that authority either to the Television Committee or me for the following period.

I would anticipate that within a year or so some formal action will have to be taken by baseball to convey that authority.

Mr. BROYHILL. If you don't have that authority, then what you are saying is that it is your personal opinion, that it doesn't carry any weight, the weight of your office.

In other words, the owners could at some future time decide that they will sell their product to some other medium; is that not correct?

Mr. KUHN. Theoretically, that is correct. I would think it unlikely if I felt strongly that was not a wise move for baseball so long as I was Commissioner.

Mr. MACDONALD. Just on that point, Mr. Kuhn, you won't have to agree, but is it a fact since you have been Commissioner it seems to me awfully clear that you have upgraded the power and authority of the Commissioner?

As I recall, you are the first Commissioner in a long, long time that ever cracked down. As I recall, the Houston Astronauts did

something in defiance of your office and you immediately cracked down on them and the rest of the club owners stood up to you and, therefore, I can see that in the past there have been some sort of rubber stamp commissioners.

You are not of that mold and I would think your authority is growing every day.

Mr. TIERNAN.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I might say I was also at the banquet and it was very enjoyable. I also appreciate your coming up and keeping the Republicans and Democrats separated at the annual baseball fiasco that the Democrats always lose.

Mr. KUHN. It was a great pleasure.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Commissioner, the committee that negotiates the contract is made up of representatives of the owners of clubs?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, it is made up of club presidents exclusively.

Mr. TIERNAN. And the contract that is executed is for varying packages or just for the World Series?

Mr. KUHN. The present agreement with NBC includes the World Series, All Star Game, and the League Championship Series.

Mr. TIERNAN. Then there is a separate agreement with regards to the Game of the Week?

Mr. KUHN. I misspoke. Add the Game of the Week to the present agreement. All four of these elements are in the present agreement with NBC.

Mr. TIERNAN. Is that contract in your office?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, it is.

Mr. TIERNAN. I would suggest that we might, Mr. Chairman, request a copy of that contract be made available to the committee.

Mr. MACDONALD. Does the Commissioner have any objection?

Mr. KUHN. I have no objection.

Mr. MACDONALD. All right.

Mr. TIERNAN. Do you know if that contract is written in a manner which would allow the agreement to be used in pay television?

Mr. KUHN. As I recollect, Congressman, there is a definition of pay television in it and as I recollect that is designed to make it clear what the granted rights is to NBC.

I couldn't go beyond that as I sit here right now in the effect of that contract.

Mr. TIERNAN. I gather from your testimony that really the owners two years from today or sometime in the future could conceivably enter into a contract with an operator of a system such as Mr. Hughes or somebody else, and your authority would be limited to a determination in your mind or your opinion that that would be not in the best interest of baseball.

You make that determination, but the owners would not be bound by that which might put you in a position of either them accepting it or you leaving it.

The point I am making is your power really is basically in the owners. If they agree with what you say, they will go along with it. But if they decide, the majority, that they are going to go into pay television, you are limited, aren't you?

Mr. KUHN. Well, my powers are—what you might describe as my areas of activity I would say are twofold. One is persuasive. I have always felt that the job is best carried out by the use of persuasion. I found that quite effective.

The other is my use of my broad legal power which is essentially injunctive but not simply that to prevent things which are not in the best interests of baseball.

If I felt that a particular course of conduct or act was not in the best interests of baseball I wouldn't hesitate to restrain it. But I am a little hard-pressed to, say, theorize as to the future, what particular act might—

Mr. BROTZMAN. May I interrupt there?

I just want to straighten out one thing, Mr. Commissioner.

Do I understand that the entire spectrum of practical arrangements relative to baseball teams and as far as televising their games is confined to this one basic document that you alluded to?

Mr. KUHN. No, it is not. There is a basic document which covers the World Series, the All Star Game, League Championship Series, and Game of the Week.

Then each club has its own individual broadcasting arrangement so there would be 24 more of that.

Mr. BROTZMAN. I won't go any further because I just wanted to settle that. I will go into that further on my own time.

Thank you, Mr. Tiernan.

Mr. TIERNAN. Those agreements with the individual clubs, are those on file with the Commissioner's office?

Mr. KUHN. No.

Mr. TIERNAN. They are strictly an arrangement with the individual club owners and the broadcaster or sponsor?

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. TIERNAN. Also, you said that there have been a number of owners of clubs who have refrained from as wide a dispersion of their games. What clubs would that be? Could you help us with that?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, there would be a fair number of those. I say that have a wide television dispersion. They broadcast by radio in every instance very widely. I believe all of the newer clubs, the four new clubs as I recollect, and I must say I am speaking here from recollection, would have taken this policy, would have adopted this policy.

Mr. TIERNAN. Can I ask you specifically, does the Los Angeles Dodgers team refrain from exposure on television?

Mr. KUHN. My recollection is that the Dodgers have not telecast any of their home games. They have some of their road games.

Mr. TIERNAN. Because there has been testimony to the effect that Mr. O'Malley, when he moved to the West Coast, there were reports or rumors that the reason he was making the move was that he felt there could be great availability of money in the sense of a pay television system that was being started at that time.

Are you aware of that?

Mr. KUHN. I recollect that.

Mr. TIERNAN. The question was asked you whether or not we should change this rule from two to five years, and you felt that that would certainly make it difficult for an operator of a ball club to sustain himself without the financial or money that comes in, but wouldn't it be difficult even under the present regulations for an operator to go two years without that income?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes. Coming back to that point again, saying that I don't think I fully understand the FCC provisions, two years is probably as severe a prohibition as you have described the regulation as five.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Harvey?

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Kuhn, how many presidents are on the Committee on Television?

Mr. KUHN. There are four.

Mr. HARVEY. When were they appointed or elected?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, that committee has—at least three years old. I think it is older than that but it is at least three years old.

Mr. HARVEY. So they were all appointed before you became Commissioner?

Mr. KUHN. Yes.

Mr. HARVEY. Since you have been Commissioner have they discussed their television future?

Mr. KUHN. No, they have not discussed prospects of the future other than this: There has been some discussion of the future administration of the Game of the Week.

At the present time the Game of the Week program is administered, has been administered by the Television Committee and we have discussed our ability of having administration both of that phase of the program as well as the World Series, and so forth, administered by the Commissioner and that is the way they will be administered in the future.

Mr. HARVEY. Have you ever discussed the prospects of pay television or possible penetration of pay television to the market?

Mr. KUHN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. HARVEY. Never considered that, to your knowledge?

Mr. KUHN. That is right.

Mr. HARVEY. Any additional consideration of that prospect, you have no knowledge of that by any teams?

Mr. KUHN. I have no knowledge of any consideration by teams. As I said before, it is perfectly possible this could have been considered and I not be aware of it, but I think it would be unlikely that it could have been considered without my being aware of it.

Mr. HARVEY. Is it true what we keep hearing that the revenue from present televising has about reached its limit?

Mr. KUHN. I hope not, Congressman. I don't know. This is a judgment that has to be made. I do not think it has reached its limit, no. There are some who feel that way. I don't.

Mr. HARVEY. The network seems to feel that way, at least we gather that from what they have said and that perhaps advertising revenues as far as they are concerned have about reached their limits.

Mr. KUHN. Well, you may understand that the networks might take a different point of view on this than we do.

Mr. HARVEY. If they can reach their limits would you change your view at all?

Mr. KUHN. No, I don't think I would. The principal consideration from my point of view remains the importance of the wide dissemination of telecasts of our great games and if the present revenue were to be the limit, I don't think it would change my view.

But I must say I do not consider it to be limited. I think there are all kinds of things we can do to enhance our present broadcast package and I anticipate that we will.

Mr. HARVEY. Have you, yourself, arrived at a figure that you believe to be reasonable penetration of the market that could be conquered by pay television?

Mr. KUHN. My present advice, Congressman, is that there is no reason to anticipate a significant penetration of the market by pay television and I am operating on that advice at this time.

I think it is an extremely remote thing which is a long way away from being a reality in terms of significant penetration.

Mr. HARVEY. And all of your answers here today, I take it, are predicated on that thinking?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. I would say my answers are predicated on that thinking.

Mr. HARVEY. That there will be a very small penetration by pay television?

Mr. KUHN. That is correct.

Mr. HARVEY. My question to you is if that does not turn out to be the case, if as predicted, for example, pay television within a matter of a few years, will be in 6 million or 10 million homes, will your thinking then change?

Mr. KUHN. I doubt it very much. Obviously, I can't sit here and foreclose the consideration of any substantial possibility that might emerge in the future, but if you ask my view as Commissioner of Baseball, I doubt that my view would change.

Mr. HARVEY. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. I am sure you couldn't have been aware of the testimony given yes-

terday, Mr. Commissioner, so I want to congratulate you on your astuteness because it was testified by one of the leading corporations that do market surveys, that going through various big markets, I don't know if all 100, but the big markets in the country, the answer to FCC was that pay TV would be attractive to only about 12 percent of the people owning TV sets, leaving 88 percent either not interested or thinking that they couldn't afford it.

So inasmuch as baseball, while the national game, I don't think it appeals to the highest economic groups of the country, that is the blue collar man, the high school student, the college student, and people maybe who would be represented in the 88 percent, not in the 12.

However, let me congratulate you on your perspicacity.

Mr. KUHN. I do hope, Mr. Chairman, we appeal to the blue collars, white collars, Republicans, and Democrats, and whoever is left over. I think we do.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Brotzman.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would just like to add to what somebody else said, Commissioner, in telling you how much I, too, enjoyed the celebration. I think it was one of the greatest things I have ever attended to be able to sit down with some of those people whom I have admired and respected so long. I was sorry it had to rain.

Mr. KUHN. I would be glad if this committee can help me on that next year. You can help by putting a dome on the Washington stadium, but I am not suggesting it.

Mr. BROTZMAN. All right. Obviously, the question we are all concerned with is the economics, namely, and it has been stated here in a wide variety of ways, we would like to insure that non-subscription television for broadcasting of sporting events continues on because, obviously, the American people want it and I personally think it is very much in the public interest.

So that our question relative to that is does the FCC proposal adequately protect that future viewing or do we need to do something else, and I think I understand your testimony, you have equated yourself specifically with that particular rule.

It is a two-year program is what it really is and perhaps it might even be stated more succinctly to insure, I think, that two years would be a very effective bar economically?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I have to say as I understand the two-year provision, I think it would be a significant bar, yes.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Now to just go into one other question very briefly. I think I understand the so-called owners package arrangement. From your office is there any control or any exercise of authority relative to individual contracts by the individual clubs? Do you have superintending over there?

Mr. KUHN. No, I do not. Again, I think I am repeating what I said before. I do not. The clubs make those local broadcasting arrangements as they deem to be in their best interests.

If I have any authority it is in the broad best interests of baseball area.

Mr. BROTZMAN. This package contract which you are going to furnish us, is that money pooled and then distributed to all of the teams in the league?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, I think with the exception of one or two of the new teams which may not be included, but that is just as matter of time before they will be included as well.

Mr. BROTZMAN. This is a general question, Mr. Commissioner, and possibly somebody asked it before I got here, but do you know what general percentage of revenues organized baseball has derived from television currently?

Mr. KUHN. I couldn't give you a precise percentage, Congressman.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Maybe just a ball park figure.

Mr. KUHN. I would say it was a substantial part of the general revenues of baseball and an important part.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Those are all the questions I have. Thank you very much.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Commissioner, I also want to say that it was a nice party, weather or not, but I would like to suggest to you that the weather may have been an act of divine retribution for your not having had it in Cincinnati, which some of us think the Cincinnati Reds are the greatest.

Mr. KUHN. Congressman, we will move to rectify that error. We will have it in Cincinnati this year.

Mr. BROWN. I will be there.

I want to go to this local television arrangement made by the individual club and the local station.

Can you clarify for me why the Dodgers, for instance, do not televise home games from games from Los Angeles, the economics of it?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, I think I can at least give you an idea. If you do televise your regular season games there is a distinct possibility that you will adversely affect your gate and, therefore, you are not going to televise them if you think that the revenues from broadcasting don't sufficiently balance out the lost revenues from gate.

Some clubs reach different conclusions. I again cite the example of the New York Mets which broadcast home games extensively and draw very well. This is a matter of local judgment as to how your fans are going to react to television.

Mr. BROWN. Of course, they have a somewhat bigger market in New York than any place else in the world.

Mr. KUHN. Yes, they have.

Mr. BROWN. Los Angeles doesn't follow too far behind, does it?

Mr. KUHN. Well, both are very large markets. I would think New York is significantly larger.

Mr. BROWN. It is more than just psychological then. Presumably the local team would be willing to have no one in the game except corporal's guard if they were making money with the television arrangement.

Mr. KUHN. I don't think so, Congressman. It is the widely held view in baseball and certainly one that I hold that the presence of a live audience and hopefully a large live audience is an essential ingredient of the game.

I cannot imagine studio baseball.

Mr. BROWN. Then, does it follow that also part of that is that if you get a crowd out to the stadium to watch the game in person that you keep over a period of years your audience more interested in the game than if it were all on television?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes, I would think that would follow. Yes, the more people you can get out at your games the more lively interest you are going to have in your ball club locally, no question in my mind.

Mr. BROWN. So it isn't a matter of being sold out for the Dodgers of seats at the game but rather a matter of the economics and a little bit of the long-range reaction that your audience may have to the game itself.

Mr. KUHN. If I were in court I would ask you to rephrase that question for me because I am not sure I understand it.

Mr. BROWN. I am trying to find out why it is that they do not televise home games, and I would assume there are two aspects that go into that decision.

First, the economic aspect of the individual game itself or the individual season itself were the revenues to be derived from televising the home games might not be equivalent to the revenues lost from the gate crowd.

And then the second point of our colloquy is that there is a factor, whatever it may mean, that they don't want to lose the long-

range impact of people learning to come out to the stadium to watch the games there.

Mr. KUHN. I understand that and I think that is a fair analysis of those two points.

Mr. BROWN. So that it isn't totally a matter of the dollars that a local team considers or the institution of a contract that relates to the All-Star Game series and the World Series?

Mr. KUHN. It is most definitely not totally a matter of dollars. The exposure to the maximum number of people is very important as we view it to the good name of baseball.

Mr. BROWN. So that your decision wouldn't be entirely predicated on the possibility that somebody could buy up a contract, put this on pay TV, limit the audience and make money out of it?

Mr. KUHN. No, it would not be.

Mr. BROWN. Do I gather from this that you would generally be opposed then—I am sorry I missed your initial testimony—to the idea of an All-Star Game or the Series contract, that package going on pay TV?

Mr. KUHN. Under the circumstances as I see them today, very definitely.

Mr. BROWN. What could change those circumstances?

Mr. KUHN. I cannot speculate on what might change it. I don't anticipate anything that might change my view.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. Thank you very much, Mr. Commissioner.

Just in closing, you will have to excuse this Congressman for being a little parochial, but as you were talking about the Dodgers and their judgment not to broadcast the games, the Red Sox on the other hand, as I am sure you know, broadcast and televise all their home games and many, many of their away games, and even with a small park as they have and it is nowhere near as big as the Dodgers' mammoth stadium, they are year in and year out among the leaders at the gate.

They have the slogan, and they used to get kidded about it, but it worked. Their slogan was "Being there is twice the fun," and the Red Sox, I repeat, didn't have the best team in either league this year and were among the leaders at the gate, if not the leader. They were the leader up towards the end, I believe.

Mr. KUHN. They led the American League in attendance this year.

Mr. MACDONALD. And, therefore, it would seem to me, I took it this was your answer to Mr. Brown, that when a club sells a TV contract to a local advertiser, the club gets the revenue but also gets advertised, itself, and therefore, they get a double revenue out of it.

Would you agree?

Mr. KUHN. Oh, yes. Definitely.

Mr. MACDONALD. Therefore, wouldn't it seem peculiar there is this great fear that the ball clubs would ignore the local market and go for an 88 percent market nationally?

Mr. KUHN. Yes. I think that any consideration that suggests that the clubs would not be highly concerned about the local reaction would be erroneous.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, if I may ask one more question, I hesitated to ask this before but I would like to know whether you have had an opportunity to look into the prospects of CATV, cable television, which we are told in a technological sense offers the possibility of many more channels available locally than are now available over the air broadcast system.

And with that I would think then the prospect that—I don't know what the maximum number is, I am not too quick on the figures, of games in one day, but let us say—

Mr. KUHN. Six in each league.

Mr. BROWN. So with the maximum 12 games, that one might be able to watch 12

channels where you could watch one or the other of the games, you might be able in part of the country except maybe the local market where the game is being played, to watch any one of those 12 games under CATV arrangements.

Does that seem to offer any desirable prospect for baseball?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I have not made any kind of study of CATV, Congressman. CATV, of course, is used locally to supplement baseball coverage within the primary contours of stations already carrying the game.

What the prospects are beyond that I am very hesitant to say because I don't know enough about it.

Mr. BROWN. But if I can put the predicate, we might be in position, say, on the East Coast to watch 12 games so that the chairman can watch the Red Sox play and I can watch the Cincinnati Reds and we would both be relieved from watching the Washington Senators.

Do you think that offers any kind of encouragement for prospects of baseball or would it discourage it?

Mr. KUHN. Well, I wouldn't be encouraged by that, notwithstanding that you would have an opportunity to watch your home teams.

In the first place, the Senators is a very good ball club so I hope you watch them anyway. Beyond that I think if you had a great deal of other television coming into each market, the value of the local rights would be greatly diminished and the local club's future would be jeopardized, particularly if it were a weak ball club.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Broyhill?

Mr. BROYHILL. Commissioner, you have been emphatic here that pay TV is not for major league baseball. You made this clear.

In order to make sure, would you favor either a change in the regulations or the law to make it a little more clear that the games will not be siphoned off to pay TV?

Mr. KUHN. I would have to say that I am in no position to be a proponent or the reverse of the FCC regulation because as I have said several times I am not certain I fully understand them or their possible impact.

Under those circumstances I think I am a little hard-pressed to answer your question in any intelligent way, Congressman.

Mr. BROYHILL. The only thing that we would have to go on for the future is your authority as Commissioner or your attempt to exercise that authority.

Mr. KUHN. Well, I believe there is more. I believe what we have said here today indicates that you have not only my authority and the possibility that it might be used in a certain way, but you have in addition some very hard practical considerations that the clubs must face if at some future time they should consider pay television.

Those hard practical realities are some of those we have been discussing here with respect to the situation in Boston or Los Angeles and the possible disaffection of their fans and the loss of opportunities to promote the interests of their fans. These are very hard realities that they have to deal with.

Mr. BROYHILL. In order to insure that games will not be siphoned away, why wouldn't you support efforts to clarify the FCC rules or even in the basic law to make sure that it wouldn't happen?

Mr. KUHN. Several reasons occur to me. One immediately, I have alluded to the possibility that through pay television it is theoretically conceivable that you might have additional game material available for broadcast that is not now broadcast.

I don't think you would want to preclude that opportunity.

Mr. BROWN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Do I understand you are saying you would prefer that we be flexible as to what rules affect sports events that would go on pay TV?

Mr. KUHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROYHILL. I can only conclude that you say today no baseball games on pay TV, but leave it open and might want to do it in the future.

Mr. KUHN. Congressman, I have said that I cannot endlessly preclude the future. I do not see a future that offers much likelihood of our national program being on pay TV but I cannot endlessly preclude the future possibilities.

Mr. BROYHILL. Thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. Thank you very much, Mr. Commissioner, especially because you came on rather short notice.

Mr. KUHN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, it was a pleasure to be with you gentlemen.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1969

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2123, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Torbert H. Macdonald (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Macdonald, Staggers, Van Deerlin, Rooney, Ottinger, Tiernan, Broyhill, Springer, Harvey, Brotzman, and Brown.

Mr. MACDONALD. The hearings will be in order.

This morning we will take up again H.R. 420, and other similar bills, to amend the Communications Act of 1934 so as to prohibit the granting of authority to broadcast pay television programs.

Our first witness this morning is Mr. Pete Rozelle, Commissioner of Professional Football.

Commissioner?

Statement of Pete Rozelle, Commissioner of Professional Football

Mr. ROZELLE. Mr. Chairman, I am here at your invitation because you felt that the testimony of professional football might be helpful to you during these hearings. We had not previously felt that these hearings were related to professional football interests.

I have no prepared statement, but I am here to answer any questions that you and your committee might have.

Mr. MACDONALD. Originally, Commissioner, we didn't think professional football or professional sports in general would be a large part of the hearings, but after a few weeks of hearings it seems it is one of the main topics, what was going to happen to the professional sports in the country and, of course, the great fear was that in some manner—it never became very clear, but it seemed to bother a lot of people both on the committee and other witnesses, especially proponents of commercial TV—that in some way sports are now put on commercial TV and would be siphoned off, and there was some talk about some method or plan to take over the sports network of all types of sports and especially, of course, since yours is the prima donna of the sports world on TV, the one that has the highest appeal, that we should hear from you people as to the status of it. So if you would care to comment what your feeling is about even the possibility of your games being siphoned off we might start questioning from there.

Mr. ROZELLE. Fine. We are now in the process of negotiating new three-year television contracts with the networks. They have been partially concluded and we hope to have arrangements finished within the next few weeks. These contracts will have provisions anticipating renewals of the contracts on free television.

We have been most successful in our use of commercial television. Primarily because of TV professional football attendance has more than quadrupled in the last decade and we feel that promotional aspects, totally

apart from the direct dollar return in rights, have been extremely beneficial to pro football.

We have not at our league meetings discussed a plan for pay television. We have had no committee work on the subject. And our entire thinking has been geared to the pattern started in professional football in 1956, that of free television.

Mr. MACDONALD. We had some testimony yesterday from Commissioner Kuhn that he had no direct hand in the scheduling of TV, that each club made its own arrangements about it, and, in addition to that, that it was subject to a committee of club owners and by a man who I guess knows something about TV, having been a broadcaster himself, and I was wondering if you had a similar set-up.

Mr. ROZELLE. Football's arrangements are conducted differently. In football all network television income is shared equally. As an example, in 1970 Denver or Green Bay would receive as much money from network television as the New York Giants or the New York Jets. The clubs are committed to this policy in perpetuity and this was reaffirmed through the terms of our merger agreement. In other words, an individual team of professional football is obligated to participate as part of an overall league television program wherein the money is shared equally.

I negotiate television contracts on behalf of the league and have an advisory committee working with me, of Art Modell of the Cleveland Browns and Gene Klein of the San Diego Chargers.

Mr. MACDONALD. But in fact you have more or less control of how the TV rights are? You negotiate with the networks yourself?

Mr. ROZELLE. That has been the pattern; yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. Would the same pattern be in existence in the future, since this bill looks to the future?

Mr. ROZELLE. Because it has been successful, I would certainly anticipate that this pattern will continue.

Mr. MACDONALD. And that goes for both leagues?

Mr. ROZELLE. As of February 1 we will be a single league entity, the National Football League. That will embrace all 26 teams and these teams will be divided into two conferences, the American and the National, so such negotiations would cover all teams in major professional football.

Mr. MACDONALD. Just for the record, I would point out at this point that an invitation was sent to your counterpart in the AFL, Mr. Woodard, but apparently knowing that this bill looked to the future and with the short time, he deferred to you, so I take it you are speaking for him at the moment.

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. Yesterday, Mr. Kuhn indicated that he didn't really have any control over the leagues or the clubs in many respects that his only power lay in that of avoiding what he thought could be construed as being not in the best interests of baseball. I didn't think it was the time to go into it with him, but he said he couldn't really speak for the owners as to what they would do about radio and TV and, of course we could have gotten in a bit of conversation, even if he didn't think it was in the worst interest of baseball to come off of free TV and to go to pay TV, that the Congress might take another look at the fact that they get an exemption from not being in interstate commerce, some many, many years ago. I think Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote the decision and I didn't think that it would be fair to point that out to him, that Congress would be watching very closely as to how pertinent that decision which was back in the Nineteenth Century, what effect, if he took away free TV and go on to a strictly commercial venture, that I would not like to be the lawyer for baseball to go before

the Supreme Court or to come before, perhaps, this committee, or the Judiciary Committee, to argue they still were not in interstate commerce, but I know that pro football doesn't have that same exemption.

Mr. ROZELLE. That is correct.

Mr. MACDONALD. As I recall, you appeared before the Congress in 1966, didn't you?

Mr. ROZELLE. That is correct.

Mr. MACDONALD. To get an exemption at the time of the merger?

Mr. ROZELLE. A limited exemption pertaining only to merger, not the practices of the league.

Mr. MACDONALD. And at that time did the subject of pay TV come up?

That isn't a fair question. We are not in court, so I will take it back.

I checked it out and it did come up.

Mr. ROZELLE. I believe it came up in the Celler hearings Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. Right.

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. Those were the hearings I have reference to.

And, at that time, you indicated that football was not contemplating, would not contemplate, going on pay TV. I was wondering if anything had happened since that time to change your mind.

Mr. ROZELLE. Absolutely nothing. We have no plans and we are not in the process of making plans. I question whether I would have the authority or whether I should make a commitment into perpetuity. It would be purely speculative to talk about the future. Perhaps the entire television picture in our country will change 50 or a hundred years from now, but my thinking, personally, has not changed since those hearings and my views are the same.

Mr. SPRINGER. Would the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. MACDONALD. I yield.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Roselle, were you Commissioner in 1958?

Mr. ROZELLE. No, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. We had hearings in this committee on this matter. The owner of the Dodgers was here and the Commissioner of Baseball was here. Do you remember a play-off of the Eastern Division between San Francisco and Detroit in 1957?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. It was one of the great football games of the last 15 years.

Our staff run a survey on that. There were 33 million sets turned on and roughly 80 million people saw it. That was the biggest television audience up to that time in history.

We also ran a test to determine what would have happened if you had had a machine to put a dollar in. There would not have been 33 million sets turned on, but there could have been 9 million sets turned on. There was approximately \$450,000 that walked through the gate. Pay TV would have been 18 times richer. You would have been 18 times richer on pay TV than what walked through the gate.

Now, it is my understanding that it is going now at roughly a million dollars a game. Is that about your contract, your receipts?

Mr. ROZELLE. It is difficult to put it on a per game basis.

Mr. SPRINGER. Well, isn't it roughly that?

Mr. ROZELLE. That would be high—

Mr. SPRINGER. Your contracts run for 12, 14 games?

Mr. ROZELLE. In other words, you are speaking weeks rather than games. We may play 112 games but we certainly don't get \$112 million, but we would have 14 weeks in our regular season.

Mr. SPRINGER. So you are running about \$800,000 a week, roughly. Isn't that about right?

Mr. ROZELLE. In the National Football League it would be about a million dollars a week, if you were to consider the 14 weeks plus the Saturday special games, Thanksgiving, and so forth.

Mr. SPRINGER. Now, if we reduced this even to 50 cents, the figure would be fantastic, wouldn't it?

Mr. ROZELLE. On that basis it would be, yes, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. If we reduced it to 50 cents.

The Commissioner of Baseball, who was here—he is not Commissioner now—estimated the first year they would make \$5 million, but in five years they would make \$25 million on the World Series. The problem which I think the Chairman has been trying to get at in simple terms is the enormous amount of money that could be made by pay TV. This committee is subject to all the pressures that go from time to time. Thus far, the FCC has set out certain guidelines which prevent you from doing certain things. What worries this committee a whole lot is whether or not we are going to stay within those guidelines. That is what bothers us, and what I would like to know from you, for the record, at your next meeting is whether or not you people intend to stay in the free TV field or go into the pay TV field if you can.

Now, I think that ought to be reduced to writing. There ought to be some kind of a resolution. I am going to stay with it until I either get an answer in one way or another on this issue because this may determine a great deal of the outcome of these hearings on the whole question of whether you have anything to do with pay TV.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am sorry to use so much time.

Mr. MACDONALD. On the same point, Mr. Springer—unless I misunderstood you, Commissioner, I thought you had just committed yourself on record that that was your position, that you had no plans to go into pay TV. Maybe Mr. Springer wasn't here, or I didn't understand.

Mr. ROZELLE. That is right. I gave one qualification, Mr. Chairman. I said I did not feel that I would have the authority to commit in perpetuity that professional football would never be on pay television, because perhaps pay television would be the sole medium a hundred years from now I don't know, but I did say that we have no plans. We have made no studies. We are now on a course of continuing free television on new three year contracts that may cover all three of the major networks and those contracts will have provisions in them relative to renewals.

Further, those contracts will have no provision for the league or the network to go into pay television during the period of the contracts.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Rozelle, there is no doubt about it that the Sports Network is going to be the big one in the next few years—that is my belief—because of the money and that is all that is necessary to put it into effect.

There was a story in the Boston Globe the other day in which it was said pay TV is coming and there isn't anything to stop Pay TV from coming.

Now, this was the whole tenor of that story. I don't know where that staff story is, but it was here in one of the newspapers and quoted this fellow Bailey in considerable detail as to how they expected to bring this about and sports was where they were going to make all the money and, Mr. Rozelle, sports is the leading big thing in America today.

Mr. ROZELLE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. There is no doubt about that. That is where the money is going to be made in pay TV because it is the biggest single attraction you have. All you have to do is look at the ratings every week. That is all the people are watching on Saturday and Sunday, is football, when it is in action. Until we get some kind of statement from you as Commissioner, and representing and having a meeting with the owners, I am not

going to let this matter rest, unless we get an answer one way or another what you will do in this field. So I want you to be sure that you understand that before you go out of this room.

Mr. ROZELLE. I would like to fully understand the commitment that you would seek. Are you asking that we adopt a resolution stating that professional football will never be used on pay television?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is what I am trying to get from you.

Mr. ROZELLE. That is what I wanted to ascertain.

Mr. SPRINGER. What I was trying to get from you was that. Anything less than that is not a commitment in my estimation for free TV for spots.

Mr. MACDONALD. Commissioner Rozelle, I understand your problem. What you are saying, if I understand you correctly, is that at this time under the given circumstances that you now know about with the league set up as it is now and under everything that you can foresee, there will be no pay TV siphoning of what is now seen on commercial TV; that being a lawyer, a bright man, and somewhat conservative, I take it that all you are saying is under the foreseeable circumstances there would be no siphoning off to pay TV from commercial TV; that you don't want to commit yourself to saying that if everything changes in some way that you can't foresee, but something might happen, then it might change and, therefore, while we understand, or at least I understand your problem and being that conservative, you give us a big problem and I know Mr. Kuhn did yesterday in the same way because he didn't want to commit himself, as you say, in perpetuity, but other people like lawyers on this committee and wanting to serve in the public interest, might say, "Well, there is a loophole. They are saying there will be no siphoning from commercial TV to pay TV, but they have left themselves an out and the change might come from within."

That is what I am sure Mr. Springer is worrying about.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. And that, frankly, is what I am worried about. I don't believe that you mean that, but it could be interpreted that way.

Mr. SPRINGER. Would the Chairman yield for just a further clarification?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. SPRINGER. I think the Chairman has put it about right.

Now, at the present time, Mr. Rozelle, you can't do anything because the FCC has adopted a rule and you are within that rule. Therefore, there is nothing you have to do. You don't have to be on free TV. You understand what I am talking about?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. Right now the FCC says you are in the free TV field. What bothers me and bothers a lot of these people who are sports-minded people, and I watch every Sunday, and last Sunday I saw all the games, period, from beginning to end—I watched the Redskins and the Rams and the Vikings last Sunday, so I am a TV watcher, but I think what the Chairman was talking about is you are regulated now but what we want is an indication from you that you intend, regardless of regulation, to stay in the free TV field. Do you see what I mean?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. Whereas if you are not going to do that, say so.

Mr. ROZELLE. I do not intend to make such a commitment in perpetuity today, sir.

Mr. SPRINGER. I don't want you to. I want you to take it up with the people who are your bosses and come back with a letter to us telling us what you intend to do.

Mr. ROZELLE. I would be very happy to take it up with the league at our annual meeting.

Mr. SPRINGER. You be frank with them on this because I tell you the outcome of this whole thing may depend a whole lot on what you say that the owners are going to do.

Am I making that pretty clear?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, you are.

I would only like to state that the outcome of this bill is of little interest to us, sir. We are here to answer your question and I will, as you suggest, take this matter up and be most forceful with the league owners at our annual meeting in March and ask them if they would like to commit in perpetuity that professional football will never be on pay television, and I will give you their answer.

Mr. SPRINGER. All right. All we are asking is that you have free television. If there is never any free television that is a different thing. But as long as there is free TV you will be on that free. There isn't any doubt about pay TV, and you know it just as well as I know it, of what it can be made in the future. It is going to be fantastic if you go to pay TV. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. Chairman, I beg your pardon for interrupting, but I did want to get this record cleared for Mr. Rozelle because I have been on this committee 15 years and on this subcommittee a good part of this time, and I know this question back and forward and I know the money involved in it, which is a pretty important factor as you well know.

Mr. MACDONALD. The House is in session, Mr. Rozelle, so the committee will stand adjourned for 20 minutes. We will reassemble here after we answer the call.

Mr. ROZELLE. Fine.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. MACDONALD. The hearing will resume.

Mr. ROZELLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasize one point that I attempted to earlier.

Professional football is not a proponent of this bill. We don't care what disposition is made of it.

Mr. MACDONALD. I understand. You made that quite clear in answer to Mr. Springer. I know Mr. Springer's point. As a matter of fact, before going further, let me say that I know how you got here, because I asked you to come, and you were kind enough to respond to my invitation and I appreciate it.

Mr. ROZELLE. There is another point that I feel we might well make if we are speculative about possible income should pay television become a reality at some future date. I don't particularly like to see figures thrown about, thrown around, that seem to have little reality. As an example, when you talk about how much money might go into that theoretical box, certainly the programmer would not derive all that income. I would assume from the little I read on the subject that the entity providing the programming would derive perhaps 20 to 35 percent of that income and I think that that should be taken into consideration if we are theorizing on the future of pay television and its possible bearing on the entity supplying such programming.

Mr. MACDONALD. Before Mr. Springer started questioning and before the bells rang, I was going back to your testimony before the Antitrust Subcommittee in 1966. The main reason I brought it up was you stated flatly at that time that the league had no idea at all of going into pay TV and you gave reasons why that was so, and I was just going to ask has anything changed since that to change your mind.

Mr. ROZELLE. None whatsoever. I have seen written, as an example, the income that could be derived from a Super Bowl game. From what I know of the policies adopted by the FCC—I am referring to the point that to go on pay television you could not have been seen on free television during the preceding two years—for the Super Bowl to be on pay television this would in effect call for us

keeping it off free television. If we were to do that, I have the greatest respect in the world for Congress but I would have even greater respect for the 70 million people in this country who watch that football game and I can just conceive of no way that that game could be kept off of the television to lay the groundwork for pay TV.

Mr. MACDONALD. Speaking of the Super Bowl, how are the receipts of that divided up? I know the players get \$15,000 apiece—don't they?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes. This year's game will be played January 11th in New Orleans and it is expected to gross at the gate about \$1,200,000, and there will be an additional \$2½ million from television. After all expenses, the competing teams and the player pension funds will receive approximately 75 percent of the net.

Mr. MACDONALD. The only reason I ask that is because I thought there was some arrangement of that sort and, therefore, there would be very little inducement to go into pay TV, would there, if the players pension and players themselves share that? It would seem to me that the league wouldn't gain much unless, of course, you revised your contract, the circumstances surrounding the receipts.

Mr. ROZELLE. Particularly when the league is composed of 26 teams who would have to share that money equally, I can't see that it would be a significant amount of money.

Mr. MACDONALD. My last remark, or question, is that it seems to me that while everyone is talking about the fact that professional sports, and especially professional football, is a leading attraction on TV, there aren't that many games, even though sometimes our wives perhaps think that there are, starting back in August and going until February, but it wouldn't seem to me that there would be that money games to support pay TV. Would you care to comment about that?

Mr. ROZELLE. We have great pride in our sport, but I would have to accept the fact that of the truly prime attractions during the entire season there would not really be that many.

Mr. MACDONALD. Because that pay TV would be dark a lot of hours if it relied solely on sports.

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Van Deerlin?

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry I was not here during the earlier portion of Mr. Rozelle's testimony. Did he explain the difference between the responsibility in the broadcasting between professional football and professional baseball?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. It is in the record.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. I gather from what I have heard you have testified in the last few minutes that there is nothing in the consideration of the owners that you represent that would lead you to object to an increase from two years to three or five or even longer any FCC regulations regarding the transfer of sports events from conventional television to subscription television?

Mr. ROZELLE. I have so little awareness of that, sir. We did not even testify nor offer statements during the FCC hearings on the subject, and I am really not familiar with it and would have no interest one way or the other.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Well, I would explain to you that it has become a litany of testimony from opponents of subscript television that inevitably sports which are now available to the public on free television would be siphoned off by pay television. The FCC sought to meet this objection by specifying a two year period that such sports would have to remain off conventional TV before being bought out by the promoters of pay television. It has been suggested informally by

members of the Subcommittee here that in order to allay such fears we might either enact into law or suggest to the FCC that it increase this time delay to a greater number of years without appearing to, you know, commit the future into the next succeeding generations, but to suggest that you could keep the World Series or the Pro Bowl off television for five years and maintain public interest or public peace would seem fantastic. I assume that you agree with this.

Mr. ROZELLE. Absolutely.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. And you are satisfied with anything that we decide to do in that regard?

Mr. ROZELLE. We would have no interest and whatever you people saw fit on this bill would be fine with us.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Some people say Congress has wisdom. Others say it is lack of wisdom.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Harvey?

Mr. HARVEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Rozelle, I keep reading in the sports pages where pro football has reached a plateau of diminishing returns with the costs still rising and yet the sources of revenue are drying up. Is this true?

Mr. ROZELLE. Hopefully not. At present, as I testified earlier, we are in the process of negotiating new three-year television contracts and it is very possible that in 1970 major professional football will be seen on all three major networks. Indications at this point in our negotiations lead me to believe that there will be additional money forthcoming from television.

Mr. HARVEY. Well, the networks themselves tell us that they have reached a plateau or an upper limit of advertising revenue as far as they are concerned of where they can possibly go. Is this true?

Mr. ROZELLE. I don't know if it is true until I finish negotiating with them. I have reason to believe, however, that it may not be true, at least at this point.

Mr. HARVEY. When did you say that your negotiations were going to start?

Mr. ROZELLE. They have started.

Mr. HARVEY. They have started?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes.

Mr. HARVEY. And they will be for what year?

Mr. ROZELLE. 1970, '71, and '72, with provisions looking to renegotiation at the end of that time.

Mr. HARVEY. And who are you negotiating with?

Mr. ROZELLE. We have completed negotiations with ABC for a series of 13 Monday night games for each of the next three years. We are now negotiating with both CBS and NBC because of the large number of teams to divide the television on Sunday.

Mr. HARVEY. Is the Hughes Sports Network involved in that at all, in any negotiations for those years?

Mr. ROZELLE. Hughes had some interest in the Monday night games which went to ABC. They are not involved in our Sunday negotiations. We are negotiating with the two networks that have been carrying professional football in recent years; CBS and NBC.

Mr. HARVEY. Have you had any negotiations which the Hughes Sports Network with regard to any other aspect of televising the games?

Mr. ROZELLE. Prior to the time that it was purchased by Mr. Hughes, we did have some negotiations with Mr. Bailey over the last 10 years on various events but we have not negotiated contracts with them.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Bailey still represents Mr. Hughes, is that correct?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes. His organization was purchased by Mr. Hughes, but Mr. Bailey operates it.

Mr. HARVEY. At any rate, what you are saying is that the Hughes Sports Network will not be one of those involved in the showing

of professional football in 1970, '71, or '72, is that correct?

Mr. ROZELLE. They will not be if we are successful in negotiating with CBS and NBC, and I anticipate that we will be.

Mr. HARVEY. Yet I continue to read in the sports pages where the Howard Hughes Sports Network and Mr. Bailey, both before he sold and since he has sold, continue their interest in pay television. I am sure you must read these sports pages.

Let me just read you the first paragraph of a story by Dave Brady in the Washington Post in March this past year, and I quote. He says:

"On a clear day in the sparkling desert air of Las Vegas, Howard Hughes can see beyond the outer limits of free television. And into the golden horizon of pay TV."

And then Mr. Brady goes on to outline many statements by Mr. Bailey showing clearly their interest in pay television and their intention to bid on pay television and so forth.

Would you care to comment on these remarks? After all, this is the very crux of the matter that you are here for and that the committee is assembled for and that we are all interested in, really.

Mr. ROZELLE. I can only say that we have not negotiated or discussed with Mr. Bailey the Hughes Network carrying professional football through pay television and I have not discussed this with Mr. Brady. I wouldn't be aware of what information he obtained from Hughes or others. We have just had no interest in it because we are entirely oriented toward what has been successful for us since 1956, commercial television.

Mr. HARVEY. Well, thus far, of course, we haven't had pay television for you to sit down and negotiate with him, and I take it that is the reason that you haven't discussed it in the past.

Mr. ROZELLE. I have not been approached. The last approach I had with a firm offer for pay television was about seven years ago. It was not pay television that would be pertinent to this bill. It was theater television, and at a time when the National Football League was receiving \$200,000 for its championship game. I was offered a minimum of \$1 million to put the NFL championship game on theater television and that offer was rejected, and we continued on commercial television.

Mr. HARVEY. Why was it rejected? I am curious. This subject has come up in the course of the hearings and I am wondering why some of the Redskin games, for example, which are sellouts, aren't shown even in the theaters today? Why is this?

Mr. ROZELLE. The reason the Redskin games are not sold in the theaters, to the best of my knowledge, would be that there is so little income, if any, and there are risks involved in carrying them on theater television.

Mr. HARVEY. By risks you mean lessening of the crowd? They are sellout games.

Mr. ROZELLE. No; losses on the presentations themselves. Some clubs have experimented, not for perhaps four years, with theater television, and the costs are great. The rent on the arena is great, and they were not successful.

Mr. HARVEY. All the risk is on the part of the club, is that correct?

Mr. ROZELLE. In some cases it is on the part of the—

Mr. HARVEY. I would think it would be on the part of the theatre owner or the interests putting together the deal.

Mr. ROZELLE. Sometimes it is, but on other occasions it is divided. The expenses are divided.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. Yes.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Isn't it possible that another reason that Mr. Rozelle would have

decided against going into theatre television—and I will obviously ask Mr. Rozelle this rather than you, is that you would have diminished the viewing public so greatly by doing that that you might have been putting the first dagger into the golden goose?

Mr. ROZELLE. I am sorry, that was a two-part question and I just answered the part relevant to the Redskins.

Mr. HARVEY. That is the part I was asking about, I was concerned about the home games of the Redskins because this came up earlier in our hearings. Mr. Brown, or someone, brought it up.

Mr. ROZELLE. I think you also asked why I didn't accept the million dollar theatre bid on the championship game which is something I did control, and the obvious reason is the one suggested by Mr. Van Deerlin, that it was certainly not in the public interest and I felt it would reflect adversely on our sport if we were to take a showcase game away from the general public and force them to go to theatres and pay to see it.

As I mentioned earlier this morning, our attendance has quadrupled in the last decade and in my opinion the main reason for this is the exposure that commercial free television has given us throughout the country.

Mr. HARVEY. How many other clubs have sellout crowds such as the Redskins?

Mr. ROZELLE. I would estimate that perhaps of the 26 teams in professional football, perhaps 60, 70 percent would be a sellout or close to it each Sunday.

Mr. HARVEY. Sixty or seventy percent?

Mr. ROZELLE. Of the 26.

Mr. HARVEY. Dave Brady in his article, and I didn't mean to trap you there, but I just noticed he said the NFL is playing 87.1 percent capacity.

Mr. ROZELLE. This would be the 16 teams in the NFL. As of February 1, we will have 26 teams, including 10 in the AFL. We will become one league.

Mr. HARVEY. He said in the article that the AFL is playing to 74.8 percent of capacity.

Mr. ROZELLE. I still feel that my figure is accurate, approximately 60 to 70 percent of the 26 teams ordinarily have a sellout or close to a sellout in addition each week. His figures, I think, are based upon total stadium capacity.

Mr. HARVEY. So that this would be the upper limit of income that we discussed earlier from gate receipts? In other words, you only have that difference between 60 and 100 percent or 70 and 100 percent or using his figures the difference between 87 and 100 percent.

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes.

Mr. HARVEY. I take it as to the assurances as to what the intentions of professional football are in the future your answer is just exactly what you gave Mr. Springer, that is, you are going to go back and talk with them and come back and tell us by letter or take some other means, is that correct?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes. Beyond that, I would simply like to say that I am not attempting to qualify or indicate in any way that our planning has changed since my previous testimony in Congress three years ago. I simply find it difficult to make a sweeping statement in perpetuity just as I would have in 1940 if appearing before a congressional committee I would have testified, had been asked to, that professional football would use radio as the sole medium in perpetuity. Conditions changed somewhat in the next 20 to 25 years, but I certainly through the qualification that I have given you do not want to infer that our planning or our thinking has altered in any way because it has not.

Mr. HARVEY. I thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Rooney?

Mr. ROONEY. I would like to compliment you, Mr. Rozelle, on your fine leadership in

providing the American people with the greatest sport I think of all time. You and the NFL have certainly done an outstanding job. I only wish you would give those Philadelphia Eagles a better draft choice next year. I am sure that some wives in this audience will be very displeased to hear that you are going on Monday night, also. But it has certainly become the country's greatest attraction and I am quite surprised because all of the testimony we have heard thus far in objecting to pay TV is the fact that sports is going to be taken off and it is going to have to be paid. I am surprised that you haven't given this consideration because it is a bonanza according to all the people who have testified prior to you.

I think you have indicated the theory to give it free coverage by your decision not to accept that million dollar closed circuit TV versus the \$200,000, but aren't some games televised today by the NFL, closed circuit games? Aren't there theatres in Chicago that have closed circuit television?

Mr. ROZELLE. The last, I believe, was perhaps three or four years ago. We have none this year.

Mr. ROONEY. None now?

Mr. ROZELLE. In fact, it is prevented under the contract we have been operating under the last three years.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Rozelle, why do you continue to black out in areas like Philadelphia or Washington? Why do you deprive the people of the right to view those games when they are sold out two or three years in advance? I came to Washington six years ago and asked for four tickets to the Redskins and every year since I have been trying to get four tickets and it doesn't take an Act of Congress, because I have tried to enact one.

Mr. ROZELLE. The main reason is that we do not want to become a studio show. Unlike baseball, as an example, football is not played under ideal weather conditions throughout the year. We have seen what has happened to other sports when they have televised locally the event that is taking place, and while I certainly would accept the fact that for perhaps a limited period this could be done in Washington and perhaps other cities, we feel that breaking that precedent in time could wreck this sport, put it back to being a studio show, where it would lose its glamor and at that point probably television wouldn't even be interested in it. We attempt to compensate for that through a policy we started about four years ago of giving the public in such a blackout market another attractive game that day.

As you are aware, when the Redskins are playing at home we do put another game into Washington. We feel that that satisfies to a certain extent a public need and does not risk the breaking of our precedent and the possible reduction in time of the the crowds at D. C. Stadium. Perhaps in inclement weather or late in the year or if the team happened to be down you wouldn't have the interest, if the people could sit in the comfort of their living room and watch it on television.

Mr. ROONEY. Thank you.

No further questions.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Tiernan?

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROZELLE. The Chicago Bears have apparently had the closed circuit TV of some of their games.

Mr. ROZELLE. About four or five years ago they experimented I think during a single season with it somewhat.

Mr. TIERNAN. Why was this discontinued? Was it successful financially?

Mr. ROZELLE. No.

Mr. TIERNAN. So it was discontinued really on the basis of financing?

Mr. ROZELLE. It didn't affect their attendance because so few people went and it was extremely costly. The rental of the theatres, the cost of production were extremely costly.

Mr. TIERNAN. Who did this? Was this done by the team itself in renting the theatre or was it done by a promoter or theatre owner?

Mr. ROZELLE. The team would make its own arrangement with an organization that provided such services.

Mr. TIERNAN. Under the present contract that you are operating under you are not allowed to have closed circuit theatre presentations, is that correct?

Mr. ROZELLE. Under the contract we are contemplating, that is correct.

Mr. TIERNAN. Is that of all games?

Mr. ROZELLE. Of all regular season games.

Mr. TIERNAN. Under the contract you do not cover the Super Bowl games?

Mr. ROZELLE. That is a separate negotiation.

Mr. TIERNAN. A separate one. And the monies derived from that do not go to the league or to all the teams in the league? It goes to those who participate?

Mr. ROZELLE. The participating players, the participating teams, and the players' pension fund takes about 75 percent of the net from that game.

Mr. TIERNAN. We have requested from the Commissioner of Baseball that a copy of the contract between the league and the network be supplied to the committee. I would like to make, if there is no objection, a similar request of you that a copy of the contract that you are now operating under be presented to the committee so that we would have that in the record.

Mr. ROZELLE. For the 1969 regular season?

Mr. TIERNAN. The present contract that you are operating on now. I understand you are negotiating now for '70, '71 and '72.

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes. There would be two contracts then that we would provide you, one for the National Football League and one for the American Football League. After this season we will be operating under one contract embracing all 26.

Mr. MACDONALD. I don't mean to be a stickler, gentlemen, but what is the purpose of that?

Mr. TIERNAN. Well, I frankly would like to see some of the language in the contract, whether or not there was any possibility for perhaps presentation of a game on pay television in an experimental area or whether or not the contract specifically bars presentation in any other area.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Rozelle, do you have any objection to furnishing that?

Mr. ROZELLE. No. They will expire in three weeks. In fact, one of them was never signed. We operated under it for about three years and never did reach agreement in signing, but I would be very happy to.

Mr. TIERNAN. Is there much difference between, in the contracts between the American and National Football Leagues?

Mr. ROZELLE. Yes.

Mr. TIERNAN. There is.

You said earlier that you had some negotiations with the Hughes Sports Network with regard to the Monday night game. Do you know what their interest was in the presentation? Was it going to be for pay television?

Mr. ROZELLE. No, just to develop a commercial network of independent stations to carry the games on free television.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. Thank you very much, Mr. Rozelle.

One last question, if I may.

The report that you agreed to furnish to the committee, at Mr. Springer's request, after you sat down with the owners, I was wondering, do you have any possible time in mind that that could be furnished, because the record has to be closed before we can mark up the bill.

Mr. ROZELLE. We will have our annual meeting of all 26 clubs on March 16th. That is the next time that I would have all of them together.

Mr. MACDONALD. Well, obviously, that can't be made a part of this record, but if we haven't acted on the bill by that time it would be helpful, I am sure.

Mr. ROZELLE. Fine.

Mr. MACDONALD. In closing, I would like to once again thank you ever so much for taking time out of what I know is a very busy schedule to come down here and submit yourself to our questions. I know that you know that all the questions asked are merely for our own edification and clarification in the thinking that we have to do before we go ahead with this bill.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, would you yield?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. ROONEY. I think Mr. Springer was more or less insistent on that request so maybe we better hold this until we get that information, in deference to Mr. Springer.

Mr. MACDONALD. I don't think that these hearings ought to be held up just for one document. We will discuss that late.

Thank you again very much.

Mr. ROZELLE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. The next witness is Mr. Robert Hall, Secretary of the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame.

Statement of Robert Hall, Secretary, the National Football Association and Hall of Fame

Mr. HALL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MACDONALD. It is a pleasure to have you here again, Mr. Hall. It is nice to see you.

Mr. HALL. I greatly appreciate this opportunity of being here and having this chance to state my feelings and views on the proposed legislation, particularly as it relates to sports.

For the record, my name is Robert Hall, of New Haven, Connecticut, former Chairman of the Board of Athletic Control and Director of Athletics at Yale University, also Chairman of the NCAA Television Committee representing well over 400 football playing institutions. I believe I am qualified as an expert on sports in general and on football in particular and their relation to the public and to television.

I might also add that I am heavily involved in presenting live entertainment with leading stars in theatrical offerings, including both variety and musical shows.

Having been the principal architect of the first NCAA restricted or controlled football program for television, I must admit, Mr. Chairman, that among my sins is the blackout which I also recommended to the late Bert Bell, Commissioner of the National Football League, and which was adopted in their plan.

At the time the restricted national football program was adopted the network and the advertising agencies made many dire predictions concerning its feasibility and salability. Their predictions and speculations were just as unsound then as many of the fears which now are being voiced about STV.

I have been actively involved in STV efforts to obtain a fair opportunity in the marketplace for over 19 years and it is still rather incredible to me that the pressure groups have been able to block this effort to establish this service in the marketplace along with so-called free or commercial TV, which has so many admitted faults and shortcomings.

I should like to discuss the FCC proposed sports rule and my understanding of its application to college football.

Let us assume that the University of Southern California is one of the best teams in the Nation. Assume then that this team is to have exposure on commercial television once on a national basis and once on a regional basis, as is now permitted under the NCAA rules.

By the time the University of Southern

California and the University of California at Los Angeles game is to be played they are both undefeated and the winner will emerge as the undisputed national champion. Provided that game—and I emphasize the word "game"—has not been broadcast by commercial television within 2 years on a national basis, it would be available for subscription television.

If it had been broadcast on a regional basis within 2 years, it would only be available for STV outside of that region of the previous broadcast.

Incidentally, in this example I felt I would be most prudent to stay away from mentioning either Texas or Penn State. I might also mention that my interest and concern with football is evidenced by the fact that the Chairman alluded to that I have been Secretary of the National Football Foundation Hall of Fame since it was reorganized back in 1952 which reorganization I carried out on the request of the NCAA.

I am also a member of their executive committee and we were very happy to have football's No. 1 fan present at our Gold Medal Dinner on Tuesday night, and we were very happy to have Congressman Rooney there, and I am sure he appreciates why I have not put Penn State or Texas in as an example here.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Will the gentleman yield a moment?

Since the gentleman has become apologetic, would he care to change the wording in his third paragraph on page 2 which says, "Let us assume that the University of Southern California is one of the best teams in the Nation"?

Mr. HALL. I think I will have to apply the assumption to the total picture.

The assumption is more based, sir, on the fact that they didn't wind up eligible for this particular example. I certainly do not mean to imply that the University of Southern California isn't quite a football team. It is definitely so.

Another example would be the case of a team like Houston. In a given year, it might turn out to be one of the great football teams in the Nation. If this team were eligible for an NCAA telecast it might be overlooked in the early summer selection of the teams and games to be telecast that fall under the NCAA program. Under such circumstances, STV would certainly want a Houston game and under the proposed rules could carry it. The proposed rule thus provides an opportunity to see more football without any siphoning away of free TV football.

The rule would enable games of special and local interest to be seen by segments of the sports-minded public who now have no opportunity to see the game either live or on commercial TV.

There are many sports event which could be seen in the home for a small fee which are not now and in the foreseeable future will not be available on commercial TV. I could cite examples, but I know there are many such examples already in the record. I am sure that I am speaking for a majority of the sports world, both the public and the organizations that sponsor and hold or stage sports events, when I urge the support of the proposed rules and regulations adopted by the FCC.

A case in point on a game that would not be available to the public on free TV are the Rangers in New York. They are enjoying a great season and it is not available on free television.

I don't know how much more delay is warranted. Nineteen or more years it has been on fire and that has been long enough for any tests and determinations. After 19 years of study of the problem of subscription television with respect to sports I am convinced that under the proposed rules that allow only one STV operation, and only in

major markets having at least five TV commercial stations operating, I feel that is unduly restrictive and that such a rule defeats the basic efforts of providing the public with programming that commercial TV cannot or will not provide.

The NCAA won't broaden its advertiser-sponsored offerings because the reason for the NCAA plan and the professional football plan is to protect the gate. But they would like to extend that box office and STV would enable them to do so.

Another important point is that college football has a very definite and important stake in its public image. I am convinced in my own mind that free TV or commercial TV is a very important element to secure the success of college football, to maintain its image and position with the public and to further the interest that we have in sports as a very important element in our process of educating these young men.

This particular aspect applies in the case of your bowl games.

Along with what Commissioner Rozelle said, I cannot foresee or believe that those great games would be taken by pay TV. Football has too much at stake, college football, with the public and with the youth of this country not to have that showcase made available as it presently is.

I do not see any chance that the NCAA will broaden its plan of restricting the amount of television that you now can get at home via commercial television.

I mentioned that and I am certain that it will not. It will stay with its present plan with the blackouts on the regional basis and this will provide areas where games which are not now seen could be seen by a local regional group.

Furthermore, products that the public will pay for are in very short supply. I am now addressing myself to other areas in the entertainment fields that will not and cannot go via commercial television. Fifty-two weeks a year, every evening, covers many more hours than can ever be filled with box office attractions.

I emphasize that again, when you charge whether it is in the home or down the road, you have to have what the public wants.

Of many STV stations competing for specific top entertainment events, certain stations will obviously lose out and will offer something else of an entirely different nature, or they might revert to commercial television.

The winners will also have to be very careful that they do not price themselves out of the market. This is not hard to do. When you pay so much for talent, as we are paying these days, and we do it every day now in our live operations—then you are very close to pricing yourself out of the market with the public.

So there is a control that just exists by virtue of the economics.

The reason that the commercial television does not upgrade more than it has, has been answered by others. They just cannot afford to do it.

In our theaters we already now pay more for the box office attractions than they can pay in Las Vegas, and we have reached a point where if we have to charge any higher admission we just won't have the people out there.

If STV is available to the public they will be able to see many more programs at low prices.

Now, I should emphasize again that colleagues want commercial television, or free TV for their public image. This is most important to them, it is paramount. The problem is very complicated. I have spent a great deal of time studying the proposed rules. I will admit they are not easy to completely understand and I am talking only about the sports rule, but I believe the examples that I have cited would be permissible under the rules and I am convinced that the rules do

provide adequate protection against siphoning.

But in the event there should be further grave concern on this matter of siphoning, and I gather that there still is from what I have heard this morning, I would suggest that the proposed rule might provide no games—and I am addressing myself to both college and professional football—no games which are a part of the NCAA or the National Football League or the American Football League approved programs for free or commercial TV shall be available to STV for a period of two, three, four years—let us make it four years—following the actual broadcast of such games except where such games have been blacked out in the home team's market, presumably a 75-mile radius.

In that case there will still be games available to STV in the blacked out market. If the time bar is extended, you can secure both commercial or free TV and also give the public a chance to see those events which are not now available and won't be available on TV until the box office can be extended via STV.

Further, where a game is broadcast by commercial TV on a regional basis, then such game may be available to STV in any community outside the particular region covered by the commercial broadcast, provided such game was not broadcast in such community or communities within two years or three years from the date of the proposed broadcast by STV.

What this would be in brief would be—let us take the Yale-Harvard game which was not on the national or regional telecast under the controlled NCAA program. There is a great deal of interest in that game in the greater New England area.

There would be, if STV were operating in Boston, Worcester, New Haven and other New England communities, a demand for that game, admittedly on a limited audience basis, but sufficiently large enough to warrant the extension of the Yale-Harvard box office if you will, to those people who would like to have it.

In fact, in the past, I made available several Yale games to the Zenith experiment in Hartford. I might add, also, that when the first NCAA plan was prepared and put into force and for every year since that time great care has been taken to leave room under the plan to provide for cooperation with pay TV when, as and if it should come about.

I am particularly mindful of the fact that this is based upon making games that will not now be available on free TV available under the pay plan.

So, I suggest that the bar might be extended to a longer period of time or you might wish to take certain specific events and reserve those strictly for commercial TV.

I, myself, would not advocate that as a part of the rule but if you wanted to go that far I think you could, and you could solve this siphoning problem.

I do not think very much stress has been placed either on the fact that because of the advances that have been made in the technical aspects of television, that you could not see replays of the most important plays and calls on the tapes and get an analysis of the game, which is difficult to do on commercial TV due to time factors and commercial interruptions.

It seems to me that those events that require box office extensions should be given that opportunity.

I cheerfully would pay to see such events on STV free of commercial interruptions.

But if I didn't care that much I could wait a couple of hours and see that same event played at home for free on commercial TV via tapes. I think a great deal of attention should be given to that fact.

I would limit STV or pay TV to box office

attractions which are not now available. TV channels have been allocated for educational TV and that has been done in the public interest. It seems to me it would be in the public interest to do the same thing for STV.

I have indicated that other reasonable regulations would be in order and I think would be both legal and in the public interest.

I have addressed myself to the time bar, the two or three or four year rule. I have indicated that on the time bar if the interests which control various events which are now on free TV should elect to keep them away from the public for four or five years, the loss in public interest and in prestige as well as in dollars would be more than they could afford. That is an element that I haven't heard discussed in too much detail, and I think we should keep it in mind. There is much more at stake than just dollars when you are talking about college and professional football, and the public.

Their stake in the public has to depend on this kind of exposure. If they attempt to price themselves right out of the market because pay TV could come along, as one gentleman suggested, and make it possible for them to take their games that are on and hold them off for a couple of years, they would have another serious problem to concern themselves with, which has been alluded to by the two commissioners whom you heard from yesterday and today.

How long can you keep this away from the public and maintain this great interest of the kids that are coming along, that you have to have to keep that sport going? Not just to keep it going from the box office point of view, but if we are to have sports a competitive part of our life.

Unfortunately, college football has to depend on the gate, too. I say the public clamor would also be such that the public image of the particular sport would be seriously impaired.

Now the professional football people as well as the colleges could have the best of two worlds under the rules as they are proposed or as they might be modified; they could supplement commercial TV by putting their home games on STV, and stay with commercial TV for the network presentation in all areas outside the home base.

The FCC rules can protect siphoning away from commercial TV and yet make it possible to provide more college and professional football for viewers via STV. This statement also can apply to other sports events.

Further, events with special audience interest, both sports and other forms of entertainment, would be readily available in the home and under the present system we cannot get them.

That is the sum and substance of my statement, Mr. Chairman, I would like to place in the record a letter from Mr. Pat Weaver, who was the president of the company that had the abortive pay TV system which was operated on the West Coast. With your permission, I would like to put this in the record. This letter addressed to the Commission sets forth rather completely the experience that they had out there and the broad acceptance which a form of STV had received.

Mr. MACDONALD. Without objection, so ordered.

I want to thank you, again, for your fine testimony.

Once again, we have been summoned to the floor to answer the call of the House.

Will there be questions of Mr. Hall?

I would hate to keep you waiting here unless there are questions.

Mr. HALL. I am available here for questions.

Mr. MACDONALD. The committee will stand in recess for 15 minutes. Thank you. (Brief recess.)

Mr. MACDONALD. The hearing will be back in order.

Mr. Hall, once again I want to thank you for appearing before us.

Of all the witnesses I would think, with your background, you speak with as much if not more authority than anybody, which leads me to my first question.

Where you listed among your sins the blackout, I was wondering what your thinking was in putting forth the blackout principle.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, before the NCAA plan was developed, we had had a full year of very intensive surveys made by the networks, or financed by the networks, and by the NCAA jointly, and the networks' position prior to this study had been that open and unrestrained television of football games would do nothing but develop attendance at every football institution, but this survey certainly proved conclusively that that would not be the case.

Since, unfortunately, college football and the college athletic programs in most instances depend upon the revenues derived from football, we naturally try to protect our gate in order to maintain the total athletic programs, and it was quite apparent that with the weather a factor, with large college stadiums, that with some few exceptions that if the game were not blacked out, should it be allowed to be televised, if it were not blacked out in its immediate area, there would be a serious impact on the home attendance.

Mr. MACDONALD. Could I interrupt you at that point and ask a question?

I understand that part of the blackout, but why a blackout, say, when Texas and Arkansas are playing, the most recent game, or before that, Ohio State and Michigan? Why black out that area, when the people cannot possibly get in, and it has been sold out for months?

Is that quite fair to the people of that area, to have them blacked out?

Mr. HALL. I can give you a specific example. When we first had the NCAA plan, I had inserted a provision that in the event that there was a sell-out game—let us take an actual case. The Michigan-Michigan State game was a sell-out. We had provided that it would have to be blacked out within 75 miles of the home site. We also provided that in the event the game were a sell-out, that then it could be televised and must be televised, provided no other game would be played within that radius that could be seriously hurt.

So I had to call Mr. Fritz Crisler, the director of athletics at Michigan and say, "Fritz, your game is a sell-out. You have said so, and so has Michigan State. I have canvassed the area, and there will be no game hurt by allowing that game to go on the Detroit station WJR-TV."

So it was announced three days before the game that it would now be available in that local market, which is the local regional market where most of the people are going to be drawn from that to go to the game.

Mr. Crisler received thousands of letters and telegrams to the effect that, "If I had known this game would be on television, I wouldn't have paid X dollars for your lousy goal line seats."

I can agree with you that in the case of the Texas-Arkansas game, not even a blizzard would have kept that stadium from being filled, and that would have been accomplished long before the blizzard came along, but there are other instances where that will not be the case, and you could wind up creating a lot of ill will with the people that now had the choice of seeing it for free at home, without putting some money on the line, and it is raining or snowing, and they don't want to go.

Mr. MACDONALD. I am certainly not going to quarrel with you, because you do make a case, and I am sorry for Mr. Crisler for getting those letters, but your Congressmen get

inured to getting those letters after a while, so that it does not strike me as being that big a punishment.

Mr. HALL. It was not the letters so much as it clearly evidenced that if it were known that the game would be made available locally, far enough in advance, that then the game would not have been sold out, and people would then wait.

Mr. MACDONALD. I am talking about, when there is actually a sell-out, people who are very interested and have supported the team or teams earlier through tougher times trying to get tickets cannot and want to see the game, and I think it is terribly commercial on the part of the colleges to take this attitude. I would think that they could view the greater good for the greater number, and those people who were stuck with goal line seats just took their chances.

Mr. HALL. I would agree entirely with you. That is why I had the rule made that made it mandatory to put it on if it were a sell-out. I would advocate such a rule now.

Mr. MACDONALD. But the rule is no longer in effect?

Mr. HALL. No, it is not.
Mr. MACDONALD. So that therefore, when you say it was a sin to institute this policy, you are saying mea culpa.

Mr. HALL. Well, to a degree, but don't forget that I had the provision to have the game go on the air, so that somebody else is a bigger criminal than I am since I got off the committee.

Mr. MACDONALD. I had just one other question. As I went through your fine statement, I did not really understand this point.

I will yield to Mr. Brown while I find it.

Mr. BROWN. I wanted to get into the economics of professional football with Mr. Rozelle, and I am sorry that I was not here for his testimony and questioning, or for the beginning of your testimony, Mr. Hall.

It seems to me that this provision for blacking out in the local community is appropriate to so-called free TV, but may not be appropriate to pay TV, if the circumstances are right, and I would gather that the economics of professional football, and you have said that college football economics are not a great deal different, are based on the fact that you ought to have a full stadium if you can get it, and then anything that you charge for the tickets at that point is a reasonable fee, and, in fact, because there is a pressure to get the scarce tickets that are available.

On the other hand, if you have less than a full stadium, anything that you charge may not affect it too much, because there are empty seats.

In that regard, I guess football is like entertainment, and the psychology of having a full house is desirable. If there is a full house, and you throw it open for free TV, you get the kind of reaction that Mr. Crisler got from his fans, but if, then, you obliged viewers to pay for the right to watch that game, that is otherwise blacked out of free TV, it seems to me that the school or the professional team would get additional benefit from the pay TV relationship, or the contract.

Is that right?

Mr. HALL. I think that is very definitely the case, and I am convinced, myself that if pay TV is permitted, that in the case of the blacked out areas that it would be made available to provide the supplementary income, and the opportunity for the people who, as you all have heard here and know yourselves, cannot get to the stadium, cannot get in, cannot get the ticket, and would have a chance to see it, and it would not do the damage that it would do if it had to be given away.

Mr. BROWN. If it were on free TV, I assume they would get a commercial benefit, because it would be sponsored.

Mr. HALL. Right.

Mr. BROWN. And that is permitted in college ball.

But you would have the psychological effect of somebody who could not buy a five buck ticket because it was a sell-out to watch it at the stadium being able to watch it free at home, whereas, if the economics of what you charged on pay TV were right, this could be in effect the overflow audience where you could still make it expensive, but—

Mr. HALL. But still within the range of a great many people who now could not go at any price.

I am convinced that that is the case, and I would be convinced that that would be the way it would happen.

Mr. BROWN. What happens when your threshold of interest falls below the full stadium at that point?

Mr. HALL. Well, if I had a franchise and was free to do as I wanted in my best interest, I think I would then not go on pay TV that next year. I would probably restrict my television, if I had it, to keeping the blacked out area, because I know that from the standpoint of the general interest and excitement that is maintained, you better have a full stadium, even leaving the economics out, but the economics are important there, too.

Mr. BROWN. The same thing would probably apply to commercial television, would it not? In other words, if you did not have a full stadium, you would not go on commercial TV?

Mr. HALL. Remember, I am talking about college and professional football, now, and you don't blanket the local market. It is blacked out, so that the free television is going to people who normally would not be coming to that game.

The attendance at the games, with the exception of some of the great major attractions, comes from within a 75-mile to 100-mile radius, so that most of the people that are going to be in your stadium would not see it by staying home, unless they did as they do in New York, get in a car and drive 75 miles up into Connecticut and rent a motel room and get it on television.

Mr. BROWN. So that if your viewing market is 75,000 people, and you only have 50,000 seats, then it is possible that college athletics or professional football could tap that additional 25,000 people through pay TV?

Mr. HALL. Right.

Mr. BROWN. Which they do not do at present through commercial TV.

Mr. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. BROWN. So that there is an economic benefit, then, that inures to college ball from this possibility, and I gather it is a psychological benefit that is controllable. In other words, you don't have people deciding to stay home because it is on pay TV, or if you do have that, you can say, "Well, it is not going to be on pay TV, then."

Mr. HALL. That is right.

You might find that in the course of a couple of years that your team was not doing as well, and so you would notice a lack of demand for your season tickets when they went on sale in June. That might lead you then to say, "Maybe this year I better not make it available on pay TV in my immediate area."

This could happen. On the other hand, as it stands now, a large segment of the public would get it via pay TV who could not, any way they might try, but a ticket to the game.

I am just pointing out that in the course of the success of the particular team, it might at some point withdraw from pay TV in its local area.

Mr. BROWN. I might observe that I was up at the Army-Navy game this year at that municipal stadium, which seats 100,000 people, and it was full for the Army-Navy game, in more ways than one, and just over from where we were sitting you could see them building a new stadium.

I asked if the Eagles played at Municipal Stadium, and the response was that they played at Franklin Field, and I asked how many that seated, and I think it seats 60,000 some.

Mr. HALL. 60,000-some.

Mr. BROWN. And the comment was made that, A, you could see better at Franklin Field, you were much closer to the field, but also they wanted to limit the availability of seating, so that they could have a full house in the available stadium seating, because of this economic interest of keeping your ticket price under demand.

Then, as I say, I noticed that they were building a new stadium, and I said, "How many will that seat," and they said, "Essentially not very many more than Franklin Field."

So that the economics in terms of the stadium is apparently designed with that thought in mind, and those of us who are not fortunate enough to be on the season ticket lists are not going to get to see the ball games, apparently, even if we want to.

Mr. HALL. That is correct in terms of all but the greatest and the most desirable, which are very few and far between.

It is very definitely true that most of these teams would have difficulty under a five-year span in selling out, if those stadiums that they were playing in would go, say, to 100,000, so that I agree with you that there will always be that limitation, I think, except when you have the Super Bowl, or the World Series, or Texas-Arkansas.

Mr. BROWN. If this were on pay TV, I might be able to put in three bucks instead of five bucks to watch it.

Mr. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. BROWN. Then if I live long enough, maybe I will inherit some tickets.

Mr. HALL. Pay TV would be a great benefit to a great many people who cannot get the tickets they want now, and I don't think they will get that opportunity by having the stadiums built larger, for the reason you cite about the Army-Navy game, which is the only game I know, virtually, outside of Ohio State on some occasions, and like the situation we had this year where you could go to 120,000.

Mr. BROWN. Now that you have mentioned Ohio State, my parochial pride requires me to pursue that just a little.

I think it is of interest to note that even at Ohio State, which had sell-outs at all of its home games this year, and drew, of course, very heavily on the road, the athletic program ran in the red in spite of that, and it seems to me that if there is a way of supplementing the income of a collegiate team, without at the same time derogating its home attendance, that it is worthy of some exploration, because it may benefit not just admission athletics, but also intermural athletics and less popular interscholastic athletics.

Mr. HALL. I am glad you mentioned that. I feel that I can speak on that with great authority.

If we all accept the fact, and I believe almost all of us do, that the competitive athletic program is essential, and I am not limiting it to football or any particular sport, but to competitive athletic programs, the availability of such programs is essential maybe more now than ever before in our American way of life, and unfortunately, those programs cannot be supported without the revenues that are derived from football, and even then, as you indicated in the case of Ohio State, they are not sufficient to do the job, so that the universities have to come up with additional funds.

The competition for the dollar that goes into the universities today is such that in many instances athletics are being short-changed a bit, so that anything that would further cut down on these revenues would

seriously impair something that the average member of the public would not be aware of. That would be the basis for our total interest in the things that are derived from competitive athletics, whether it be at a varsity level or intramural or freshman.

Mr. BROWN. Apparently Yale would have a problem, because they would have to set up a whole new plant for their students who cannot play on a boys' field.

Mr. HALL. We might let them play there, too.

Mr. BROWN. Thank you.

Mr. MACDONALD. I was tempted to say sometimes yet cannot tell the difference.

Mr. HALL. If I were not sitting in the august presence of the Congress, I might say it might be the other way.

Mr. MACDONALD. That is a Harvard man speaking.

The question that I had in mind was at the bottom of page 6, where you say:

"I do not think very much stress has been placed either on the fact that because of the advances that have been made in the technical aspects of television, that you could see replays of the most important plays and calls on the tapes and get an analysis of the game, which is difficult to do on commercial TV due to time factors and commercial interruptions."

"It seems to me that those events that require box office extensions should be given that opportunity."

"I cheerfully would pay to see such events on STV free of commercial interruptions."

Are you saying that if the game was both on commercial TV and pay TV that you would pay to watch it on pay TV merely to get the instant replays?

Mr. HALL. I believe that there would be some portion of the public that would do so.

Mr. MACDONALD. There are not that many football scouts in the country, are there?

Mr. HALL. But the advantage of the replay is that it makes the game understandable and more interesting for the person who is watching it on television.

In fact, to a slight degree, perhaps, the fact that there are instant replays on college football now, but not as many as you could have if you did not have the commercial interruptions, is having an effect I know on some people who say, "Well, now, I would rather watch it there, because I get things out of the game I would not get if I were actually present."

And the audience for these events changes so rapidly that in the 15 years I have been in the entertainment business, we have a totally new audience available at your theater now than we had eight or nine years ago, and it is a different audience, and their interests are different.

I could see where, if you on free TV do such a magnificent job in the coverage that you are going to have a generation of people who would rather stay home than go to the stadium, and, as has been said here before, none of these sports can maintain the interest in our competitive athletic picture unless you are playing before a reasonably full house. The response of the athlete and the interest is tied to that.

Mr. MACDONALD. Thank you very much.

Mr. HALL. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

VOTING AND ATTENDANCE RECORD

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I

include a report of my voting and attendance record during the first session of the 91st Congress, 1969.

The record includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The description of the bills is for the purpose of identifica-

tion only; no attempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

The report is as follows:

Rollcall number	Date	Measure, question, and results	Vote	Rollcall number	Date	Measure, question, and results	Vote
1	Jan. 3	Call of the Members.	Present.	53	May 1	H. Res. 17: On adoption of the resolution to establish a 7-member Select Committee to Study Crime in the United States. (Passed 343 to 18.)	Yes.
2	do	Election of the Speaker (McCormick 241; Ford 187).	Do.	54	May 6	Quorum call.	Present.
3	do	H. Res. 1: To order the previous question on the resolution which would permit Representative-elect Powell to take the oath of office. (Defeated 176-248.)	No.	55	do	H.R. 5554: To approve the bill making the special school milk program a permanent program and authorizing appropriations of \$125,000,000 annually. (Passed 384 to 2.)	Yes.
4	do	H. Res. 1: A motion similar to that in rollcall 3 to order the previous question. (Defeated 172-252.)	No.	56	May 20	Quorum call.	Present.
5	do	H. Res. 1: On a substitute amendment providing that the matter involving Representative-elect Powell be referred to a special committee for investigation and recommendations. (Defeated 131 to 290.)	Yes.	57	May 21	do	Do.
6	do	H. Res. 2: To order the previous question on the resolution providing a fine of \$25,000 and loss of seniority for Representative-elect Powell. (Passed 248 to 171.)	Yes.	58	do	H. Res. 414: On adoption of the rule waiving points of order in the consideration of H.R. 11400, the supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 322 to 53.)	Yes.
7	do	H. Res. 2: To adopt the resolution seating Representative-elect Powell and providing for a fine of \$25,000 and loss of seniority. (Passed 252 to 160.)	Yes.	59	do	H.R. 11400: To adopt an amendment to the supplemental appropriation bill denying interest grants to colleges which do not enforce the law relative to grants for students convicted of crimes in connection with campus disorders. (Passed 329 to 61.)	Yes.
8	do	Quorum call.	Present.	60	do	H.R. 11400: On final passage of the supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 347 to 40.)	Yes.
9	Jan. 6	On the motion that the House of Representatives reject the objections to the electoral vote of the State of North Carolina by which 1 vote would be counted for George Wallace and Curtis LeMay. (Defeated 169 to 229.)	Yes.	61	May 26	Quorum call.	Present.
10	Jan. 15	Quorum call.	Absent.	62	do	do	Do.
11	Jan. 16	do	Present.	63	May 27	do	Do.
12	Jan. 17	do	Do.	64	do	H.R. 11612: On an amendment to the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture limiting subsidy payments to any one farm to \$20,000. (Passed 224 to 145.)	No.
13	Jan. 30	do	Do.	65	do	H.R. 11612: On final passage of the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill. (Passed 321 to 50.)	No.
14	Feb. 5	H. Com. Res. 124: On the adoption of the resolution providing for the Lincoln day recess. (Passed 241 to 125.)	Yes.	66	do	H. Res. 424: On adoption of the rule providing for the consideration of the appropriation bill for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and the Executive Office. (Passed 345 to 12.)	Yes.
15	Feb. 18	Quorum call.	Present.	67	do	Quorum call.	Present.
16	do	H. Res. 89: On a motion to order the "previous question" on the resolution to change the name of the Committee on Un-American Activities to Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 262 to 123.)	Yes.	68	do	H.R. 11582: On an amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill limiting to \$20,000 the postal subsidy for any one mailer of 2d class mail. (Defeated 99 to 239.)	No.
17	do	H. Res. 89: To adopt the resolution changing the name of the Committee on Un-American Activities to Committee on Internal Security and clarifying its responsibilities. (Passed 305 to 79.)	Yes.	69	do	H.R. 11582: On final passage of the appropriation bill for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and the Executive Office of the President. (Passed 325 to 6.)	Yes.
18	Mar. 4	Quorum call.	Present.	70	May 28	Quorum call.	Present.
19	Mar. 12	do	Do.	71	June 2	do	Do.
20	do	H.R. 33: To recommit to committee the bill providing for increased participation by the United States in the International Development Association. (Defeated 155 to 241.)	No.	72	do	H.R. 763: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for a study of State laws governing the operation of youth camps. (Defeated 151 to 152.)	Yes.
21	do	H.R. 33: On final passage of the bill providing for increased participation by the United States in the International Development Association. (Passed 247 to 150.)	Yes.	73	do	H.R. 693: To suspend the rules and pass the bill permitting veterans 72 years of age and older to enter a VA hospital without declaring inability to pay. (Passed 302 to 3.)	Yes.
22	Mar. 18	Quorum call.	Present.	74	June 4	Quorum call.	Absent. ¹
23	do	S. 1058: On passage of the bill to extend to Apr. 1, 1971, the authority of the President to submit reorganization plans to Congress. (Passed 334 to 44.)	Yes.	75	do	do	Do. ¹
24	do	Quorum call.	Present.	76	do	H.R. 11102: On final passage of the Medical Facilities Construction and Modernization Amendments of 1969. (Passed 359 to 0.)	Do. ²
25	do	H.R. 2171: To suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a commission to advise the President on national observances and holidays. (Defeated 164 to 212.)	Yes.	77	June 10	Quorum call.	Present.
26	Mar. 19	Quorum call.	Present.	78	do	H.R. 11271: To approve the bill authorizing appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 328 to 52.)	Yes.
27	do	H.R. 8508: To approve the bill increasing the limitation on the public debt to \$377,000,000,000 until June 30 1970. (Passed 313 to 93.)	Yes.	79	June 11	Quorum call.	Present.
28	Mar. 20	Quorum call.	Present.	80	do	H.R. 1035: To approve the bill prohibiting the use of public grounds in the District of Columbia for camping or erection of any temporary buildings. (Passed 327 to 51.)	Yes.
29	do	do	Do.	81	June 16	Quorum call.	Present.
30	Mar. 26	do	Do.	82	June 17	do	Do.
31	Mar. 27	H.R. 7757: On passage of the supplemental military procurement authorization for 1969. (Passed 341 to 21.)	Yes.	83	June 18	Quorum call.	Do.
32	Apr. 1	Quorum call.	Present.	84	do	do	Do.
33	do	H. Res. 270: On a motion to recommit to committee the resolution authorizing \$425,000 for use by the Committee on Internal Security. (Defeated 73 to 284.)	No.	85	do	H.R. 6543: On a motion to recommit to committee "The Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969." (Defeated 137 to 252.)	No.
34	do	H. Res. 270: To approve the resolution authorizing \$425,000 for expenses of the Committee on Internal Security (Passed 305 to 51.)	Yes.	86	June 24	Quorum call.	Present.
35	Apr. 16	Quorum call.	Present.	87	do	H.R. 12167: To approve the bill authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1970 (passed 406 to 3.)	Yes.
36	do	do	Do.	88	do	Quorum call.	Present.
37	do	H.R. 4148: To adopt the bill amending the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. (Passed 392 to 1.)	Yes.	89	do	H.R. 12307: To approve the \$14,900,000,000 appropriation bill for the independent agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (passed 388 to 6.)	Yes.
38	Apr. 21	Quorum Call.	Present.	90	June 25	Quorum call.	Present.
39	do	do	Do.	91	do	H. Res. 357: On adoption of the resolution providing for an additional clerk for all House Members (passed 204 to 195.)	Yes.
40	do	do	Absent.	92	do	Quorum call.	Present.
41	Apr. 22	do	Present.	93	do	H.R. 7906: To approve the bill providing a system for the taxation of interstate commerce (passed 311 to 87.)	Yes.
42	do	do	Do.	94	June 27	Quorum call.	Present.
43	do	do	Do.	95	do	H.R. 8644: To adopt the conference report on the bill to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on crude chicory roots and to repeal the freeze on aid to families with dependent children (passed 269 to 65.)	Yes.
44	do	do	Do.	96	June 30	Quorum call.	Present.
45	Apr. 23	do	Do.	97	do	H.R. 12290: On final passage of the bill to continue the surtax and the excise taxes on automobiles and telephone service to terminate the investment credit, and provide for a low-income allowance for individuals (passed 210 to 205.)	Yes.
46	do	H.R. 514: On the motion to adopt the substitute proposal providing a 2-year extension and certain block grants to the States in lieu of the committee's bill amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. (Passed 235 to 184.)	Yes.	98	July 8	Quorum call.	Present.
47	do	H.R. 514: On final passage of the bill (the substitute) amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. (Passed 400 to 17.)	Yes.	99	do	H.R. 11249: To recommit to committee the authorizing of an additional \$7,500,000 appropriation for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts (defeated 162 to 217.)	No.
48	Apr. 28	Quorum call.	Present.				
49	do	do	Do.				
50	Apr. 29	do	Do.				
51	do	H.R. 4153: To approve a \$142,800,000 authorization bill for Coast Guard ships planes, shore facilities, aids to navigation, and bridge construction. (Passed 382 to 2.)	Yes.				
52	Apr. 30	Quorum call.	Present.				

Footnotes at end of table.

Rollcall Number	Date	Measure, questions, and results	Vote	Rollcall number	Date	Measure, question, and results	Vote
100	July 8	H.R. 11249: On final passage of the bill to authorize an additional \$7,500,000 appropriation for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts (passed 210 to 162.)	Yes.	150	Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
101	July 9	Quorum call	Present.	151	do	do	Do.
102	do	H.R. 11400: To approve the conference report on the 2d supplemental appropriation bill for 1969. (Passed 348 to 49.)	Yes.	152	Aug. 12	do	Do.
103	July 10	H.R. 11702: To approve the Medical Library Assistance Extension Act of 1969.	Yes.	153	do	H. Res. 269: To authorize the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to conduct studies and investigations. (Passed 196 to 132.)	Yes.
104	do	H.R. 4284: To approve the bill authorizing appropriations for the Standard Reference Data Act. (Passed 365 to 2.)	Yes.	154	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
105	July 15	Quorum call	Present.	155	do	H.R. 10105: To amend the National Trade and Motor Vehicle Safety Act and to authorize appropriations for 1970 and 1971. (Passed 321 to 0.)	Yes.
106	do	H.R. 4018: To approve the bill renewing and extending the Appalachian and Regional Planning Commissions. (Passed 273 to 163.)	Yes.	156	Sept. 4	Quorum call	Present.
107	July 17	Quorum call	Present.	157	do	H.R. 7621: To adopt the Child Protection Act of 1969. (Passed 327 to 0.)	Yes.
108	do	do	Do.	158	do	H.R. 12085: To adopt the bill amending the Clean Air Act to extend the program of research to fuel and vehicles. (Passed 332 to 0.)	Yes.
109	do	H.R. 7491: To recommit to committee the bill relative to State taxation of national banks in order to substitute for the committee's bill a provision that would protect national banks from interstate taxation that would permit interstate taxation on State banks.	Yes.	159	Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
110	do	H.R. 7491: On final passage of the bill relative to State taxation of national banks. (Passed 342 to 4.)	Yes.	160	do	do	Do.
111	July 21	Quorum call	Absent.	161	do	H.R. 11039: On the motion to recommit to committee the Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1969 in order to reduce the 1970 authorization from \$101.1 million to \$90 million. (Defeated 144 to 186.)	No.
112	do	H.R. 11609: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing the construction of an entrance road at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, N.C. (Passed 341 to 3.)	Absent. ²	162	do	H.R. 11039: To approve the Peace Corps Act Amendments of 1969 with the \$101.1 million authorization. (Passed 281 to 52.)	Yes.
113	do	H.R. 11651: To suspend the rules and pass the bill concerning temporary emergency assistance to provide nutritious meals to needy children.	Do.	163	Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
114	do	Quorum call	Present.	164	do	H.J. Res. 247: To approve the resolution relative to the administration of the national park system. (Passed 334 to 55.)	Yes.
115	July 22	H.R. 12781: To approve the \$1,500,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Interior and related agencies. (Passed 398 to 6.)	Yes.	165	Sept. 10	Quorum call	Present.
116	July 23	Quorum call	Present.	166	Sept. 11	do	Absent. ³
117	do	do	Do.	167	do	do	Do.
118	do	do	Do.	168	Sept. 15	do	Present.
119	do	H.R. 9825: To recommit to committee the bill relative to civil service retirement financing and benefits in order to continue the provision for "5 consecutive years" and to omit congressional employees from title II of the bill. (Defeated 129 to 261.)	Yes.	169	do	H.R. 13194: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing higher interest rates and market adjustment allowance for student insured bank loans. (Passed 322 to 60.)	Yes.
120	do	H.R. 9825: On final passage on the bill relative to civil service retirement financing and benefits. (Passed 358 to 48.)	Yes.	170	do	Quorum call	Present.
121	July 24	Quorum call	Present.	171	Sept. 16	do	Do.
122	do	H.R. 12964: To approve the \$2,300,000,000 appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and other related agencies. (Passed 366 to 31.)	Yes.	172	Sept. 17	do	Do.
123	July 28	Quorum call	Absent. ¹	173	do	do	Do.
124	do	H.R. 9553: To amend the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act for Hospital Employees. (Passed 220 to 141.)	Absent. ²	174	do	do	Do.
125	do	H.R. 255: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing the deduction of interest in advance on installment loans in the District of Columbia. (Passed 356 to 19.)	Yes.	175	Sept. 18	do	Do.
126	do	H.R. 2: To amend the Federal Credit Union Act to provide for an independent Federal agency for supervision of federally chartered credit unions. (Passed 365 to 10.)	Yes.	176	do	H.J. Res. 681: To recommit to committee the resolution providing for the direct election of the President and Vice President in order to substitute the district plan. (Defeated 162 to 245.)	No.
127	July 29	Quorum call	Present.	177	do	H.J. Res. 681: To adopt the resolution providing for a constitutional amendment calling for the direct election of the President and Vice President by the people (Passed 339 to 70.)	Yes.
128	July 30	do	Do.	178	Sept. 19	Quorum call	Present.
129	do	H.R. 13080: To approve the bill extending for 15 days to Aug. 15 the withholding of the 10-percent surtax. (Passed 306 to 103.)	Yes.	179	do	H.R. 13763: To pass the Legislative appropriation bill (Passed 177 to 94.)	Yes.
130	July 31	Quorum call	Present.	180	Sept. 23	Quorum call	Present.
131	do	H.R. 13111: On an amendment to the Labor-HEW appropriation bill increasing the amount by \$894,500,000 over that recommended by the committee. (Passed 293 to 120.)	No.	181	do	H.R. 12549: To approve the bill establishing a council on environmental quality (Passed 372 to 15.)	Yes.
132	do	H.R. 13111: On an amendment to the Labor-HEW appropriation bill to prohibit funds to any college or university that does not comply with the law relative to disorders. (Passed 316 to 95.)	Yes.	182	Sept. 24	Quorum call	Present.
133	do	H.R. 13111: Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies appropriations, 1970. (Passed 319 to 16.)	Yes.	183	do	S. 574: On a bill to authorize the Secretary of Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments (Passed 364 to 16.)	Yes.
134	Aug. 4	Quorum call	Present.	184	Sept. 25	Quorum call	Present.
135	do	do	Do.	185	do	do	Do.
136	do	H. Res. 509: To approve the resolution accepting the Senate amendment to H.R. 9951 (unemployment insurance) extending the 10-percent surtax to Dec. 31, 1969. (Passed 237 to 170.)	Yes.	186	do	do	Do.
137	do	Quorum call	Present.	187	Sept. 29	do	Do.
138	do	H.J. Res. 764: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution authorizing appropriations for expenses of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. (Passed 396 to 7.)	Yes.	188	do	H.R. 13369: To approve the bill extending for 2 additional years the authority of the Administrator to set interest rates for guaranteed and insured home loans to veterans (Passed 339 to 21.)	Yes.
139	do	S. 1611: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for a National Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped. (Passed 365 to 22.)	Yes.	189	do	H.R. 4314: To approve the bill permitting employer contributions to trust funds for scholarships for employees and their families, and so forth (Passed 354 to 1.)	Absent. ²
140	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.	190	Sept. 30	Quorum call	Present.
141	do	do	Do.	191	do	do	Absent. ¹
142	do	H.R. 13018: On a motion to recommit to committee the military construction authorization in order to strike the provision prohibiting pickets or parades in or near the Pentagon which would interfere with the administration of defense affairs. (Defeated 323 to 87.)	No.	192	do	do	Do. ²
143	do	H.R. 13018: On final passage of the \$1,500,000,000 military construction authorization bill. (Passed 375 to 30.)	Yes.	193	do	H.R. 13300: To approve the bill amending the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Retirement Tax Act (Passed 372 to 17.)	Do. ³
144	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.	194	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
145	do	H. Res. 513: To adopt the previous question on the rule under which to consider H.R. 13270, the Tax Reform Act of 1969. (Passed 265 to 145.)	Yes.	195	do	H. Res. 561: To adopt the rule under which to consider H.R. 14000, the military procurement authorization bill (Passed 324 to 61.)	Yes.
146	do	Quorum call	Present.	196	Oct. 2	Quorum call	Present.
147	Aug. 7	do	Do.	197	Oct. 3	do	Do.
148	do	H.R. 13270: To recommit to committee the Tax Reform Act of 1969. (Defeated 79 to 345.)	No.	198	do	H.R. 14000: On a motion to order the previous question on a motion to recommit the military authorization bill to committee with restrictions (passed 223 to 141.)	Yes.
149	do	H.R. 13270: On final passage of the Tax Reform Act of 1969. (Passed 394 to 30.)	Yes.	199	do	H.R. 14000: On a motion to recommit to committee the military authorization bill in order to strike out funds for the ABM Safeguard missile (defeated 93 to 270.)	No.
				200	do	H.R. 14000: On final passage of the military authorization bill for 1970 (passed 311 to 44.)	Yes.
				201	Oct. 6	Quorum call	Present.
				202	do	H.R. 14127: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing the minting of a nonsilver cupro-nickel half dollar coin and a nonsilver cupro-nickel dollar coin bearing the portrait of President Eisenhower (defeated 205 to 148, a 2/3 majority being necessary.)	Yes.
				203	do	H.R. 13304: To suspend the rules and pass the bill relating to educational programs for gifted and talented children (passed 352 to 0.)	Yes.
				204	do	H.R. 13310: To suspend the rules and pass the bill to include "children with learning disabilities" among "handicapped" and to provide research and demonstratives in the education of these children. (Passed 350 to 0.)	Yes.
				205	do	H.R. 13376: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing increases in the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation of widows and children of men who died in service or as a result of service-connected disability. (Passed 350 to 0.)	Yes.
				206	Oct. 7	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of table.

Rollcall number	Date	Measure, question, and results	Vote	Rollcall Number	Date	Measure, questions, and results	Vote
207	Oct. 7	H.R. 10878: To pass the bill authorizing appropriations for the National Science Foundation. (Passed 384 to 5.)	Yes.	267	Nov. 12	H.R. 2777: On passage of the Potato Research and Promotion Act. (Defeated 171 to 198.)	No.
208	Oct. 8	Quorum call	Present.	268	do	H. Res. 603: On ordering the previous question on the rule under which H.J. Res. 589 (expressing support for the international biological program) was to be considered. (Passed 230 to 100.)	Absent. ²
209	do	H.R. 14159: On a motion to order the previous question on final passage of the Public Works Appropriation bill (Passed 215 to 187.)	Yes.	269	Nov. 13	Quorum call	Present.
210	do	H.R. 14159: On a final passage of the Public Works Appropriation bill. (Passed 396 to 3.)	Yes.	270	do	H. Res. 677: To adopt the rule under which H.R. 14751 (military construction appropriation bill) was to be considered. (Passed 326 to 43.)	Yes.
211	Oct. 9	Quorum call	Present.	271	do	H.R. 14751: To approve the \$1,450,000,000 military construction appropriation bill. (Passed 343 to 32.)	Yes.
212	do	H.R. 11612: On a motion to lay on the table a motion to instruct the conferees on the agricultural appropriation bill to insist on the provisions in the House bill limiting subsidy payments to \$20,000 to any one producer. (Passed 181 to 177.)	Yes.	272	do	H.R. 14705: To approve the Employment Security Amendments of 1969. (Passed 337 to 8.)	Yes.
213	do	H.R. 8449: To approve the Hours of Service Act Amendments of 1969 relating to railroads. (Passed 370 to 0.)	Yes.	273	Nov. 17	H. Res. 675: To approve the resolution agreeing to a conference with the Senate on H.R. 12829, extension of the interest equalization tax as amended by the Senate to repeal certain provisions of the Gun Control Act. (Passed 313 to 36.)	Yes.
214	do	H.R. 7737: On a motion to recommit to committee the bill relating to public (educational) television in order to reduce from \$20 million to \$10 million the authorization for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1970. (Defeated 131 to 190.)	Yes.	274	do	S.J. Res. 121: To suspend the rules and pass the resolutions authorizing appropriations for expenses of the National Conference on Indian Opportunity. (Passed 316 to 31.)	Absent. ²
215	do	H.R. 7737: On final passage of the bill relating to grants for public (educational) television. (Passed 279 to 21.)	Absent. ²	275	Nov. 18	Quorum call	Present.
216	Oct 13	Quorum call	Absent. ¹	276	do	do	Do.
217	Oct 14	do	Present.	277	do	H.R. 14794: To approve the \$6,600,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Transportation and other related agencies. (Passed 352 to 25.)	Yes.
218	do	H.R. 13000: To amend the Federal Salary Act to require Congress to take affirmative action on the yearly recommendations of the Federal Salary Commission. (Passed 191 to 169.)	Yes.	278	Nov. 19	Quorum call	Present.
219	do	H.R. 13000: On a motion to recommit to committee the Federal Salary Comparability Act of 1969. (Defeated 81 to 281.)	Yes.	279	do	do	Do.
220	do	H.R. 13000: On final passage of the Federal Salary Comparability Act of 1969. (Passed 311 to 51.)	No.	280	do	do	Do.
221	do	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Defeated 99 to 210)	No.	281	do	H.R. 11612: On a motion to order the previous question on adoption of the conference report on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill. (Passed 214 to 172.)	Yes.
222	do	Quorum Call	Present.	282	do	H.R. 12829: To agree to the conference report on the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1969 as amended to repeal certain provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968. (Passed 334 to 47.)	Yes.
223	do	do	Do.	283	Nov. 20	Quorum call	Present.
224	do	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Passed 112 to 110)	Yes.	284	do	H.R. 14580: On an amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill to add \$54,500,000 for aircraft for the Republic of China.	Yes.
225	Oct. 15	Quorum call	Present.	285	do	H.R. 14580: On a motion to recommit to committee the foreign aid authorization bill in order to reduce development loan funds by \$50,000,000 for each year of the program. (Passed 185 to 187.)	No.
226	do	do	Do.	286	do	H.R. 14580: On final passage of the \$2,100,000,000 foreign aid authorization bill. (Passed 176 to 163.)	Yes.
227	do	do	Do.	287	Nov. 24	Quorum call	Present.
228	do	H.R. 14127: To approve the bill providing for the coinage of a cupro-nickel half dollar and dollar (Eisenhower-Apollo 11). (Passed 257 to 68.)	Yes.	288	do	H.R. 11193: To strike from the bill relating to the District of Columbia subway system, a provision for \$150,000 for a study of extending the system to Dulles International Airport. (Defeated 52 to 256.)	No.
229	do	Quorum call	Absent. ¹	289	do	H.R. 11193 (S. 2185): To approve the National Capital Transportation Act 1969 (subway system). (Passed 285 to 23.)	Yes.
230	Oct. 16	do	Present.	290	do	H.R. 14916: To approve the \$683,000,000 appropriation bill for the District of Columbia. (Passed 305 to 9.)	Yes.
231	do	H.R. 13194: To adopt the conference report on the Emergency Insured Student Loan Act of 1969. (Passed 326 to 10.)	Yes.	291	Nov. 25	Quorum call	Present.
232	do	Quorum call	Absent. ²	292	do	H.R. 14741: On passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1969. (Passed 341 to 1.)	Yes.
233	do	H.R. 4293: On final passage of the bill to provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports. (Passed 272 to 7.)	Present.	293	Dec. 1	Quorum call	Present.
234	Oct. 20	Quorum call	Yes.	294	do	H. Res. 613: To order the previous question on the resolution of support for the President's efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam. (Passed 225 to 132.)	Yes.
235	do	H.R. 14195: To suspend the rules and pass the bill revising the law governing contests of elections of Members of the House of Representatives. (Passed 311 to 12.)	Present.	295	do	H. Res. 722: To adopt the rule under which H. Res. 613 was considered. (Passed 251 to 100.)	Yes.
236	Oct. 21	Quorum call	Present.	296	do	Quorum call	Absent.
237	do	do	Do.	297	Dec. 2	do	Present.
238	do	do	Absent. ¹	298	do	do	Do.
239	do	do	Present.	299	do	H. Res. 613: On a motion to recommit the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to insert the following amendment "requests the Government of North Vietnam to abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949 in the treatment of prisoners of war". (Adopted 392 to 0.)	Yes.
240	Oct. 22	do	Do.	300	do	H. Res. 613: To adopt the resolution as amended affirming House support of Nixon efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam. (Passed 333 to 55.)	Yes.
241	Oct. 23	H.R. 13763: On a motion to lay on the table a motion to instruct the conferees to accept the Senate position.	Do.	301	Dec. 3	Quorum call	Present.
242	do	Quorum call	Do.	302	do	do	Do.
243	do	H.R. 13827: (S. 2864) On final passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969. (Passed 339 to 9.)	Yes.	303	do	do	Do.
244	Oct. 27	Quorum call	Absent. ¹	304	Dec. 8	do	Do.
245	do	do	Do. ¹	305	do	do	Do.
246	Oct. 28	do	Present.	306	do	H.R. 15090: To approve the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. (Passed 330 to 33.)	Yes.
247	Oct. 29	do	Do.	307	Dec. 9	Quorum call	Present.
248	do	H.R. 13950 (S. 2917): On final passage of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. (Passed 389 to 4.)	Yes.	308	do	do	Do.
249	do	Quorum call	Present.	309	do	H.R. 15149: To amend the foreign aid appropriation bill to provide \$50,000,000 for Korea and \$54,500,000 for Taiwan. (Passed 250 to 142.)	Yes.
250	do	do	Do.	310	do	H.R. 15149: To pass the bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. (Passed 200 to 195.)	Yes.
251	Oct. 30	do	Do.	311	Dec. 10	Quorum call	Present.
252	do	H. Res. 586: On ordering the previous question on adoption of the "Rule" under which to consider H.R. 14001, amendments to the Military Selective Service Act. (Passed 265 to 129.)	Yes.	312	do	H.R. 4293: To adopt the conference report on the bill providing for the continuation of authority to regulate exports which liberalized the rules on trade with the Communist nations. (Rejected 238 to 157.)	No.
253	do	H.R. 14001: On passage of the bill amending the Selective Service Act to permit the drafting of 19-year-olds first and the use of the lottery system. (Passed 382 to 13.)	Yes.	313	do	Quorum call	Present.
254	Oct. 31	H.R. 14252: On final passage of the Drug Abuse Education Act. (Passed 294 to 0.)	Yes.	314	Dec. 1	do	Do.
255	do	H.R. 4244: To recommit to committee the bill increasing the authorized annual appropriation for the Administrative Conference of the United States from \$250,000 to \$450,000. (Defeated 130 to 134.)	Yes.	315	do	do	Do.
256	do	H.R. 4244: On final passage of the bill increasing the authorized annual appropriation for the Administrative Conference of the United States from \$250,000 to \$450,000. (Passed 133 to 127.)	No.	316	do	H.R. 4249: On a motion to amend the committee bill by substituting an administration bill establishing a nationwide suspension of literacy tests extending nationwide the Attorney General's authority to monitor elections and initiate voting rights law suits, establishing uniform requirements for presidential elections and establishing a presidential commission to study voting practices. (Passed 208 to 203.)	Yes.
257	Nov. 4	Quorum call	Absent. ¹				
258	do	do	Do. ¹				
259	Nov. 5	do	Present.				
260	do	H.R. 6778: On a motion to recommit to committee the 1-bank holding company bill as amended by the House. (Defeated 124 to 245.)	Yes.				
261	do	H.R. 6778: On final passage of the 1-bank holding company bill as amended by the House. (Passed 351 to 24.)	Yes.				
262	Nov. 6	Quorum call	Present.				
263	do	do	Do.				
264	do	H.R. 14465: To approve the Aviation Facilities and Expansion Act. (Passed 337 to 6.)	Yes.				
265	Nov. 12	Quorum call	Present.				
266	do	do	Do.				

Footnotes at end of table.

Rollcall number	Date	Measure, question, and results	Vote	Rollcall number	Date	Measure, question, and results	Vote
317	Dec. 11	H.R. 4229: On final passage of substitute voting rights bill. (Passed 234 to 179.)	Yes.	334	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091 (S. 2577): On final passage of the bill relating to interest rates and inflation. (Passed 259 to 136.)	No.
318	do	H.R. 15209: On a motion to recommit to committee the bill making supplemental appropriations in order to eliminate \$7,500,000 for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. (Defeated 142 to 243.)	Absent. ⁴	335	do	S. 2917: To recommit the conference report on the Mine Health and Safety Act with instructions to insist upon the House position relative to sec. 110(B) on injunctions. (Defeated 83 to 256.)	Yes.
319	Dec. 12	Quorum call	Present.	336	do	S. 2917: On final passage of the conference report on the Mine Health and Safety Act. (Passed 333 to 12.)	Yes.
320	do	H.R. 12321: On a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to strike all after the enacting clause and insert a substitute which would give states greater control of the OEO program. (Rejected 163 to 231.)	Yes.	337	Dec. 18	Quorum call	Absent. ¹
321	do	H.R. 12321 (S. 3016): On final passage of the bill extending for 2 years the Office of Economic Opportunity. (Passed 276 to 117.)	No.	338	do	H.R. 14944: On passage of the bill to establish the Executive Protective Service. (Passed 394 to 7.)	Do. ²
322	Dec. 15	Quorum call	Present.	339	do	H.R. 13111: To table the motion which would have instructed the House conferees to agree to Senate amendments to the Labor-HEW appropriation bill which would uphold the authority of HEW to cut off funds from school districts that refuse to desegregate. (Defeated 180 to 216.)	Do. ⁴
323	do	H.R. 15095: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for a 15 percent increase in social security effective January 1, 1970. (Passed 397 to 0.)	Yes.	340	do	H. Res. 572: On adoption of the resolution to authorize investigative authority to the Committee on Education and Labor. (Passed 224 to 153.)	Do. ²
324	do	H.R. 14646: To suspend the rules and pass the bill approving the Connecticut-New York Railroad Transportation Compact. (Passed 352 to 49.)	Yes.	341	Dec. 19	Quorum call	Present.
325	do	H. Con. Res. 454: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution calling for the humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war held by North Vietnam and the National Federation Front. (Passed 405 to 0.)	Yes.	342	do	H.R. 14580: To adopt the conference report on the \$1,970,000,000 foreign aid appropriation bill. (Passed 208 to 166.)	Yes.
326	Dec. 16	Quorum call	Present.	343	do	S. 2577: To adopt the conference report on the bill relating to interest rates and inflation. (Passed 358 to 4.)	Yes.
327	do	S. 740: To suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People. (Passed 314 to 81.)	Yes.	344	Dec. 20	Quorum call	Present.
328	do	H.R. 14213: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for additional members of the Board or Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. (Passed 273 to 119.)	No.	345	do	H.R. 15149: On a motion to recommit to committee the conference report on the foreign aid bill with instructions to agree with the Senate amendment deleting \$54,500,000 for military assistance to the Republic of China. (Defeated 136 to 220.)	No.
329	Dec. 17	Quorum call	Present.	346	do	H.R. 15149: To adopt the conference report on the foreign aid appropriation bill in the amount of \$1,460,000,000. (Passed 181 to 174.)	Yes.
330	do	do	Do.	347	do	S. 3016: To adopt the conference report on the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1969. (Passed 243 to 94.)	No.
331	do	H.R. 15091 (S. 2577): On an amendment to the bill relating to interest rates and inflation which would strike out the provision authorizing the Federal Reserve Board to purchase federally guaranteed mortgages to assist in meeting national housing needs. (Passed 231 to 171.)	Yes.	348	Dec. 22	Quorum call	Absent. ³
332	do	H.R. 15091 (S. 2577): On an amendment to the bill relating to interest rates and inflation which would strike out provisions authorizing the purchase of up to \$6,000,000,000 in federally guaranteed mortgages by the Federal Reserve Board. (Passed 233 to 170.)	Yes.	349	do	do	Do. ³
333	do	H.R. 15091 (S. 2577): On a motion to recommit to committee the bill relating to interest rates and inflation in order to substitute portions of the Senate-passed bill, S. 2577, that would provide authorization for the purchase of \$3,000,000,000 in federally guaranteed mortgages by the Federal Reserve Board. (Defeated 193 to 206.)	Yes.	350	do	H.R. 13111: On a motion to order the previous question on adoption of the conference report on the appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare. (Passed 261 to 110.)	No.
				351	do	H.R. 13270: On adoption of the conference report on the Tax Reform Act. (Passed 381 to 2.)	Yes.
				352	do	H.R. 15209: On a motion to agree to a continuing resolution to Jan. 30, 1970, as provided in the supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 276 to 99.)	Yes.
				353	do	H.R. 15209: On a motion to agree to the Senate amendment to the supplemental appropriation bill limiting the application of the so-called Philadelphia plan on job discrimination. (Defeated 156 to 208.)	No.

¹ Speaking engagement.² If present, would have voted "yes."³ Senator Dirksen's funeral.⁴ If present, would have voted "no."⁵ At White House.

AND IF "VIETNAMIZATION" SHOULD FAIL?

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, in an incisive article appearing in the Sunday New York Times Magazine, Mr. George W. Ball has pointed out what may well turn out to be the fundamental weakness of the administration's policy of "Vietnamization." Mr. Ball, a distinguished former Under Secretary of State, wisely asks the question, "What do we do if Vietnamization fails?"

The fact is that President Nixon had an opportunity in his November 3 speech to change the entire tone of American involvement in South Vietnam. He could have, as Mr. Ball points out, said that America's commitment was a limited one, that it was conditioned on significant good faith efforts at reform by the South Vietnamese Government, and that when our limited objectives were achieved we would leave South Vietnam to the Vietnamese. This approach would have recognized what most observers already accept as fact, and what history will surely decide: that the United States has no vital national inter-

est at stake in South Vietnam. Although this recognition would have been inconsistent with the thousands of American lives lost and billions of dollars spent in South Vietnam, President Nixon could certainly have claimed—and rightly so—that the responsibility for those lives and those expenditures rested with another administration, not his own.

Instead of de-escalating the rhetoric about South Vietnam, however, the President chose to continue to stress its importance to the United States. He continued to argue, as had his predecessors, that the fall of the present Government of South Vietnam would be a diplomatic and military disaster for America and Southeast Asia, that America's prestige and credibility with its allies would be irrevocably damaged, and that future wars would be inevitable. Thus, what could have been an honorable withdrawal, with our originally stated objectives fulfilled and our consciences clear, has been turned into a gigantic question mark. And the question which our present withdrawal policy, with its attendant cold war rhetoric, raises is precisely this: What if Vietnamization fails? That is the question the President has not answered.

As Mr. Ball points out, one of the lessons which the United States should have learned from Vietnam is that we

must plan for the failure of our policies as well as for their success. To proceed blithely, as we did for years in Vietnam, on the assumption that our policies must inevitably triumph if only we would have patience, is patently irresponsible policymaking. It is in light of this history of irresponsibility that the question of what happens if "Vietnamization" fails becomes so ominous. If the South Vietnamese Government cannot take over the burden of defending itself, if the present Government is not able to maintain itself in power—what then? How much longer, how many more American lives, how many more billions of dollars?

By failing to change America's fundamental stance on the nature and extent of our commitment to South Vietnam, President Nixon may well have missed the greatest opportunity of his administration. He may well have forfeited whatever chance for greatness he ever had. What is certain is that he has raised some agonizing and ominous questions about America's future.

The article referred to follows:

WE SHOULD DE-ESCALATE THE IMPORTANCE OF VIETNAM (By George W. Ball)

The course of action toward Vietnam laid out in the President's speech of Nov. 3 calls for the United States to continue to pursue

the search for a negotiated solution in Paris. At the same time, the President is giving effect to an additional "plan" which, he promises, "will bring the war to an end regardless of what happens on the negotiating front."

This second "plan" is, in substance, a program for the gradual withdrawal of American forces while South Vietnamese armed strength is progressively built up to sustain the weight of Communist pressure and attack. The end of this program, so the President tells us, will see the return home of all American ground combat troops and—though his speech was less clear on this point—the ultimate repatriation of all American forces.

Given the disturbed state of domestic opinion and the acute problems created by an increasingly nasty and frustrating war, the President has, in his second plan, adopted the only responsible course of action still available. Yet since it is a course we have not followed before, we cannot be sure just where it will lead us. It is only prudent, therefore, that we take candid note of the hazards we may encounter while appraising our chances of success with hard-nosed realism.

To make a realistic appraisal we must consider not only our own view of the situation—too frequently marred by wishful thinking—but also the view from the other side. All too often we have failed to recognize that the North Vietnamese have a special vision of the military and political landscape, a vision colored by their own reading of their own history.

Ever since the United States sent its first troops to Vietnam, the strategy of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong has been based on the belief that, by protracted military pressure, they could accomplish at least one of two objectives:

They could make Americans sick of the war and thus persuade us to pull out.

They could generate such pressure on the fragile Government in Saigon that it would come apart at the seams.

Their belief in their ability to achieve the first of these objectives was based on solid precedent. At the time of the Geneva agreement in 1954, France still had a quarter of a million of its veterans in the field supported by an army of 205,000 Vietnamese. The French quit not because of military defeat but because of a political decision, made under pressure of a public opinion disgusted with "the dirty war." They simply concluded that their national interests in Indochina were no longer worth the cost in blood and money.

As President de Gaulle observed to me six years ago, what happened in Paris could eventually happen in Washington, and Hanoi has clung passionately to this belief. North Vietnam's conviction was apparent to anyone privy to the underground probing we were continually undertaking, beginning in about 1963. This probing was conducted through a number of different channels to Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, through third-country representatives or unofficial (and, therefore, disavowable) emissaries.

What we learned through these channels was, however, of little utility. The fact monotonously emphasized was that every minion of Hanoi or the National Liberation Front had—apparently as Government issue—an exhaustive dossier of statements made by the swelling legion of American professors, politicians and columnists, no matter how obscure, who were expressing views critical of America's involvement in the war.

What this disclosed, therefore, was not merely a hope but an article of faith—the conviction that no foreign interloper could withstand the iron resolve of North Vietnam. Sooner or later, doctrine decreed, the Americans would become fed up with the

war. We would wearily conclude, as Paris had, that the game was not worth the candle, that our nation's interests in Vietnam were too marginal to support the vast costs of protracted struggle.

Today, the tough leaders in Hanoi see their hopes on the way to fulfillment. To them the announcement of our first withdrawal has confirmed their strategy, since, in spite of our perfunctory threats of re-escalation, they are sure we are on the way out.

In confirming that strategy, our adoption of a withdrawal program almost certainly snuffed out any lingering possibility of a negotiated settlement in Paris on terms we would ever be likely to accept. Yet, though this was a game that had to be played out, it was always a forlorn chance.

Here again, history can prove a useful tool in interpreting the thoughts of the leaders in Hanoi, since these same people were once leaders of the Vietminh. Just as many Americans have seen Vietnam in terms of their experiences in Korea—which were only marginally relevant—so the North Vietnamese have seen the American war as recapitulating their experiences with France.

To them, in fact, the present conflict is merely another chapter of the same book, the second phase of a fight that began almost 25 years ago, in August, 1945, when the Vietminh first set out to expel the French. Though the military phase was interrupted by partition at the 17th Parallel, even that was for Ho Chi Minh and his colleagues only a step toward their ultimate objective.

As now seems clear from intervening events, the Vietminh agreed to the partition of the country only because they were confident that the South would fall in their lap, either through the crumbling of the Saigon Government or through the elections to be held in 1956. Nevertheless, as an extra precaution, Ho sent an agent to speed the building of insurgency forces in the South. This agent, named Le Duan, was a functionary of the Communist party of the North.

Once Le Duan discovered that Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, with American help, was building support and that the 1956 elections would not be held, he returned from the South in a sad but wiser spirit. Ho, he proclaimed, had blundered in agreeing to partition. Had the Vietminh turned their backs on the Geneva agreement and continued the fight even a few months longer, he contended, the war-weary French would have yielded the whole country. Now they were in for a long struggle.

Le Duan's complaints caused painful discomfiture among the top Communist command, and ever since I learned of this episode four or five years ago, I have strongly doubted that Ho would make the same mistake twice, stopping the fight before he had gained the whole country. Now that Le Duan is apparently emerging as the strongest figure in the North Vietnamese hierarchy, a compromise seems even less likely.

Whatever weight one puts on the Le Duan episode, the objective evidence points strongly against the hope that the North Vietnamese will quit before they have achieved all they have sought for 25 years. With clear confirmation of an American intention to withdraw—even slowly—why should they accept half measures when things are going their way?

Let us never forget that the North Vietnamese are a formidable breed. They have been fighting for a quarter of a century (almost an entire generation has known no way of life other than bloody struggle) for only one objective: to rid their land of foreigners, whether French or American, and extend their dominion to the whole of the country. Now, with 300,000 soldiers in the North still uncommitted, they see history repeating itself—to their advantage.

Nevertheless, old habits do not die easily—that, after all, is the story of our last eight years in Vietnam—so even today many otherwise-sensible Americans still let hope give the lie to experience, seeking desperate comfort from impressionistic reports that attrition has taken its final toll of the North Vietnamese, that the losses during the Tet offensive were fatally debilitating and that the countryside has turned against the Vietcong. Perhaps—and I am sure some of it is true—but have we not heard it all before?

No one has yet explained that special quality of Vietnam which brings on periodic bouts of euphoria. Oddly enough, this is not a new—or even a peculiarly American—phenomenon. During France's struggle in Indochina, many of my friends in the French Government were subject to the same cycle of depression and exaltation that has long marked the mood of Washington. They lived and dined out on the same macabre statistics—kill ratios, body counts, the numbers of villages under Government control, etc.—and, anticipating our own self-deception, they constantly pinned their hopes on a succession of bright new schemes (the Navarre Plan, the Salan Plan, the De Latre de Tassigny Plan, etc.) that with a small amount of incremental effort, would bring a happy conclusion to the war.

Yet Vietnam, both for the French and ourselves, has proved a land of blighted expectations, because what neither Paris nor Washington could ever fully comprehend was the implacable—indeed, the fanatic—determination of the Communist North Vietnamese to drive the foreigners from Indochina and take over the country.

Having watched the Vietnamese war at close range for a number of years, I do not share the sanguine instincts of many of my countrymen. Indeed, I am inclined to attribute the present lull in the fighting more to a deliberate North Vietnamese ploy than to any confession of weakness, and I recently found this belief echoed by one of the most sophisticated political leaders in Southeast Asia—a man of extraordinary perception and experience—who said to me:

"In dealing with the North Vietnamese over the months ahead, you Americans must bear one point clearly in mind. The prime objective of North Vietnam is not to humiliate the United States; it is to bring about an American withdrawal. If, therefore, the leaders in Hanoi can encourage your withdrawal by lowering the level of violence for a period, they will accommodate you.

"This does not mean that they will stop fighting altogether. In fact, I think it is likely that they will hit hard from time to time in order to frighten the Thieu Government and remind you of your discontent; but do not be deceived into thinking that they are too weak to attack if they feel it useful to do so."

What, then, of the other assumption of our Vietnamese policy—that we will be able, while slowly withdrawing, to bring the level of fighting power of the South Vietnamese forces to the point where they can, without the presence of American combat troops, effectively protect those areas now under the control of Saigon, gradually destroy the Vietcong and finally expel the invader?

To answer this question one must look beyond the effort to recruit and train soldiers to the staying power of the political leadership to which they are responsive. It is here that I find myself most apprehensive as to the success of the President's plan because, after a substantial number of our forces have been brought home and withdrawals continue at a faster pace, the pressures on the Saigon Government are likely to build up beyond the threshold of tolerance. At the same time, the North Vietnamese can be counted on to use every device in the book—

propaganda, terror, assassination, subversion, infiltration and military harassment—to stimulate those pressures, build up discontent and political agitation and nurture doubt in the minds of the Saigon leaders.

Thus, though we must fervently hope that the South Vietnamese Army can do almost alone what it has been unable to do with the aid of a half million American troops, that is an assumption based more on faith than on history.

Communist propaganda has long insisted that the Government in Saigon is a creature of the United States which can last only so long as it is sustained by American force. Yet one need not accept this crass formulation to acknowledge that at some point in the progress toward final withdrawal the forces and counterforces let loose by the reduction of our presence and influence may prove more than Saigon can bear. And let us be in no doubt that, if the current regime should crumble, any successor government would almost certainly be driven by only one objective—to move as quickly as possible, in a spirit of *saute qui peut*, to make a deal with the North Vietnamese, even on Hanoi's terms.

Though no one but The Farmer's Almanac should try to forecast the events of the coming year this far in advance, we should still take stock of possible contingencies if we are, as a nation, to be prepared for what may happen.

Under the optimistic scenario outlined in the President's speech, the Administration will presumably bring all conscript forces out of Vietnam as soon as possible. This seems eminently sensible, since it was a wrong and novel idea to try to fight what resembles a colonial war with a *levée en masse*. With the field left to volunteers and professional soldiers, American boys will no longer have to face the problem of fighting a war in which they do not believe.

Yet even this move may be coming too late to blunt the opposition to the war, since, for many Americans, distaste for Vietnam no longer stems merely from resentment at an agonizing personal decision. It has become a moral issue—heightened with each new revelation that even some of our own sons can be brutalized by an ambiguous combat in a foreign land under guerrilla conditions, surrounded by alien people of another race.

Nor will the return of some American boys quiet the clamor to bring others back. On the contrary, the President's decision to withdraw American troops—a decision required, as I see it, by the state of our political health—diminished the urgent character of the war. By making clear that the mission of our forces in Vietnam would from now on be a rear-guard action, the President seemed to confirm the futility of a struggle that has already lost meaning for many Americans. At the same time he set in motion a self-reinforcing process, since each withdrawal will inevitably heighten the expectation of wives and parents and even of the troops themselves that further withdrawals will rapidly follow, thus raising the fever for even faster disengagement.

All this suggests that we should, as contingency planning, recognize that we may have to face a different, less happy scenario than the one postulated by the President. First, a conscious effort of the North Vietnamese to dampen down the fighting until our program of withdrawals has acquired a sustained momentum. Then, an attack or series of attacks, raising still further the pressure to bring more boys home, while at the same time eroding the confidence of the South Vietnamese that they can carry on the fight alone—or of individual Vietnamese leaders that they have a secure future. The result: accelerated American withdrawals and ultimately the disintegration of the Thieu Government.

When historians dissect our experience in

Vietnam—as they are already beginning to do—they will, I think, be amazed at the recurrent theme of recklessness throughout our policy. Again and again we have gambled that a new approach or emphasis or additional increment of effort would bring success, but we have refused to prepare for the possibility that we might not fully succeed in our objective. Thus, we have painted out one option after another while insisting we were acting to preserve options. We have built up our investment of men and material when the chances of success were too slight to justify the added risk.

Today we are repeating the same error, but in a somewhat different form. Although we are no longer engaging additional forces in Vietnam, we are, while tying our future to a plan that may not work, rejecting those measures that could ameliorate the costs in the event of failure.

That such costs would be considerable no matter how much we might try to reduce them is beyond question. No great power can extricate itself from an untenable position in which it has engaged vast resources without serious loss in prestige and authority.

Yet to a considerable extent we have already suffered that loss. The spectacle of more than half a million young men from the world's strongest power floundering for years in the jungles and paddies of a small, backward nation without decisive result has already impaired the legend of our omnipotence, while Gothic tales of massacres and Green Beret executions have challenged Liddice and Katyn as the shibboleths that distinguish the barbarians from the humanity we have worn like a badge.

Yet many of the other costs of the war need be only short-term if we choose to make them so, because, to a substantial degree, our predicament results from the gradual inflation of our political rhetoric.

From the very beginning of our active involvement, Vietnam has posed a dilemma for successive American administrations, stemming from the simple fact that to succeed in a democratic society, governmental policies need public support. Thus, whenever a President deploys our military power, he is obliged to prove to the satisfaction of the American people that the objective is worth the commitment; then, if success is not readily forthcoming and more force is required, he is under pressure to exaggerate the importance of the contest to justify the additional expenditure.

This process worked with a vengeance in Vietnam until, as repeated frustrations led us to commit massive ground forces, the need for ever-greater justification pushed Vietnam to center stage as the obsessive focus of American interest.

So we are caught in a tangled web of our own making. To justify our expanding commitment of force, we have continually restated our objective in increasingly strident terms, while at the same time exaggerating the political costs of extricating ourselves from a situation which large numbers of our people find totally unacceptable.

The lesson of all this should be quite obvious: since no one can guarantee that the present plan for measured withdrawals will prove successful, and there is a strong chance it will not, we should, as a matter of simple prudence, reverse the process by which we inflated the importance of Vietnam beyond life-size. We should, in other words, accompany our attempts to de-escalate the war by de-escalating our appraisal of it, at the same time preparing the political ground to mitigate the costs.

Thus, rather than harping on the calamitous consequences of failure, our Government should, by careful preparation, establish the proposition that if the present program does not function as hoped—if, for example, the Government in Saigon disinte-

grates and our troops are invited to leave the country—we will still have done all that anyone might reasonably have expected of us.

As a lesson in how to proceed we would do well to look back to the time it all started, in October, 1954, when President Eisenhower sent a letter to Diem promising assistance to South Vietnam. In that letter he offered to aid "the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion and aggression through military means."

But, as President Eisenhower made emphatically plain, this offer was *not* unqualified. It was made on the explicit condition that the Government of Vietnam "give assurances as to the standards of performance it would be able to maintain in the event such aid were supplied."

"The Government of the United States," he wrote, "expects that this aid will be met by performance on the part of the Government of Vietnam in undertaking needed reforms. It hopes that such aid, combined with your own continuing efforts, will contribute effectively toward an independent Vietnam endowed with a strong government. Such a government would, I hope, be so responsible to the nationalist aspirations of its people, so enlightened in purpose and effective in performance, that it will be respected both at home and abroad and discourage any who might wish to impose a foreign ideology on your free people."

Unfortunately, the quite-proper conditions that President Eisenhower underlined so clearly were largely lost sight of in later years, when American governments sought to save a succession of South Vietnamese governments, not so much from the depredations of the North as from their own inadequacies. Yet now, looking back with a great deal of painful experience behind us and an uncertain future ahead, do we not owe it to ourselves to reimport into the statement of our objectives in Vietnam the conditions that President Eisenhower so wisely spelled out when our effort was first undertaken? And would not this be particularly appropriate for President Nixon, who was Vice President of the Administration that attached those conditions?

Thus, President Nixon would, I think, be quite justified in making it clear that we regard his program announced on Nov. 3 as a final test for the Government in Saigon. Has it at long last met those standards which were the essential condition for American assistance? If the South Vietnamese armed forces are able to stand alone and the Government widens its base and extends its authority, the answer is clearly "yes." If, on the other hand—after all the years of effort—the Saigon Government should fall under the pressure of our phased withdrawals, the answer is just as clearly "no." It has not become a "strong government" "enlightened in purpose" and "effective in performance."

Once we make this point explicit, we can with good reason claim to have upheld our part of the bargain, no matter what happens. If a breakdown of the Thieu Government leads to our being no longer wanted in South Vietnam, we need make no apologies; though disappointed, we will still have done all we contracted to do.

This is a reasonable position for America, wholly consistent with the program President Nixon has announced, and certainly far wiser than crying havoc. No purpose whatever is served by continuing to insist that the crumbling of South Vietnam would lead to the overrunning of all of Southeast Asia. No one can prove that assertion, and there is much history against it; in any case, the further expansion of the North Vietnamese—for that is what we are really talking about—would depend to a considerable extent on what we did to stop it.

After all, let us never forget that South

Vietnam has offered the worst possible terrain, both political and physical, on which to hold the line. Yet, in contrast to South Vietnam—which was historically only one-and-a-half kingdoms embodied for many years in the French empire—Thailand is a nation with a long, rich history and a sense of its own nationality. Malaysia drove out the equivalent of its Vietcong some years ago. Singapore is a small nation with almost an export surplus of skilled leadership, while Indonesia—the ultimate prize of the region—is not a part of the Asian mainland but protected from infiltration by a barrier of water.

These countries and others in the region are thus totally different from South Vietnam, and to equate the destiny of that poor beleaguered acreage of paddy and jungle with that of the whole of Southeast Asia is, I think, to distort the military and political realities. After all, the great captains of history drew their lessons from complex chess, not simple dominoes.

Not only is it factually dubious to exaggerate the dangers that may flow from the inability to achieve our overblown objectives, but it involves the risk of undercutting our own authority. Having spent a large part of my time abroad over the last few years, I am convinced that other nations, by and large, are inclined to put great weight on our own assessment of any situation in which we become deeply involved. Thus, if we continually emphasize that a North Vietnamese encroachment into South Vietnam would be a world-shaking catastrophe, we may well find ourselves the victim of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Let us recognize therefore, that alarmist predictions are a form of self-indulgence we can no longer afford.

Instead, the major thrust of our policy should be to restore a more rational perspective, correcting our political maps to make clear that, in spite of the impressions created by past rhetoric, there is no hill in South Vietnam named Armageddon nor any sacred redoubt called the Alamo.

What America has done is to spend a frightful amount of blood and treasure in a good-faith endeavor to help a handful of people in a far corner of the world build a nation where there was none before. In the frustrations of this effort we have, as President Nixon has perceptively pointed out, tended to take over too large a part of the burden ourselves. Not only too much of the military burden, but also of the internal political burden. Thus, we have tried—by the alchemy of our own will and resources—to make bricks with very little straw, to conjure up a "strong, viable state" where only a meager sense of nationality existed.

Today, as we seek to restore perspective to the Dadaist picture that is Vietnam, we should stop once and for all implying what the world knows to be quite untrue: that all areas of the globe are of the same importance to our national interest.

For, by what we have done—more than by what we have said—we have eloquently emphasized that this is not the case. Throughout the last 20 years we have made clear to prospective aggressors that an attack on Western Europe would be met with nuclear weapons, since encroachments on that vital industrial area would so drastically tip the power balance as to endanger our own security. By the same token, we have made it equally clear that the struggle in Vietnam was merely a "limited war for limited ends"; it would never be more than a local conflict, since the United States does not regard that agrarian area as of sufficient strategic importance to justify the risks of a nuclear collision.

To suggest, therefore, as has sometimes been done, that even if our failure in Vietnam should result from a breakdown in the Saigon Government, it would destroy the credibility of our worldwide commitments, is,

in my view, reckless hyperbole. Certainly, the people of Berlin do not equate themselves with the Vietnamese, and it would not occur to them that an ambiguous end to the Vietnamese war could mean that we Americans could no longer be trusted to defend Berlin—not unless we continue to tell them so.

While earnestly seeking to regain a proper focus on Vietnam, we should also be studying the lessons to be gleaned from that tragic experience. This exercise will be useful if we succeed and imperative if we fail.

For if we do not succeed—if the war should shudder to a disappointing conclusion, quite possibly next year—then an unprepared America could well give itself to passion and reprisal. Even more important, our country could reach quite wrong conclusions as to its future course. We have seen political hysteria before in our lifetime—in post-World War I Germany and even in our own country—and, should it be unleashed again just as a new generation is about to take the levers of power, we might well throw overboard the policies that have protected civilized mankind for 25 years and move again toward an old discredited isolationism.

We followed that dismal course after World War I when we pulled the bedclothes over our heads and pretended that nothing that went on outside our hemisphere was of any concern to us. As a result, we did nothing whatever to stop the bully tactics of Hitler or to deflect the squalid maneuvering that led to World War II; we simply dropped out. When we were finally shocked awake, it was late in a dark night, and far more millions of people—including Americans—died than might have been the case had our country played a steady and responsible role in the chaotic world politics of the nineteen twenties and thirties.

To those who lived through that grim period, the lesson of Vietnam should be remarkably simple. It is not that we should refrain from using our power, but that we should be more careful where and how we use it. Certainly we should never again commit our power in an area of marginal strategic importance, on physical terrain where it cannot be effectively applied and in a land where the political underpinning is too weak to sustain a major military effort.

What we should do instead is redefine quite carefully the outer limits of what we can effectively undertake. We have learned that we cannot do everything, and in the future we must be more selective in engaging our finite strength.

I fully recognize that to translate these generalities into usable guidelines will not be easy. It will require calm and responsible discussion, both public and private. Yet we had better get on with the task. That is all part of preparing ourselves for the critical months that lie ahead, for 1970—like the famous year 1666—could well be an *annus mirabilis*, a "year of wonders," and if we are to acquit ourselves with the wisdom in which we take so much pride, we had better prepare ourselves—in a mood of realism—for all that may happen.

HAZEL McCLURE IS NAMED KANSAS TEACHER OF THE YEAR

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, Miss Hazel Dean McClure, a native of Osawatomie, Kans., has been selected to represent Kansas in the National Teacher of the

Year program sponsored by the Council of Chief State School Officers and Look magazine.

It is a constant source of pride to me to be able to note the outstanding accomplishments of the good people who live in the Third Congressional District of Kansas. I would like to share with my colleagues some of the reasons for the selection of Miss McClure as outlined in the following article from the Osawatomie Graphic-News:

DEANA McCLURE IS NAMED KANSAS TEACHER OF YEAR

TOPEKA.—A re-assuring smile, a helpful suggestion, a friendly touch, a compliment for a job well done—these are characteristics of Hazel Dean McClure, the 1970 Kansas Teacher of the Year.

Deana, as Miss McClure is known to her many friends and colleagues, teaches freshman and junior English and literature in a bright, well-lighted classroom at Osawatomie High.

She was selected by Dr. C. Taylor Whittier, commissioner of education, as an outstanding classroom teacher to represent Kansas in the National Teacher of the Year program sponsored by the Council of Chief State School Officers and Look Magazine.

This award, presented annually by the president, emphasizes teaching both as an achievement and an inspiration. A superior ability to inspire love of learning in students of all backgrounds and abilities is the prime criteria for selecting state nominees.

Miss McClure meets this qualification well according to her administrators, board members, and colleagues.

"She is outstanding as a teacher because she is able to educate all children," emphasizes Ernest L. Swenson, Unified District 367 superintendent. "She is able to take them as they are and motivate them to their highest potential."

John Shaw, high school principal, added, "She has the ability to make every child feel that he is important, and she instills in each student the desire to achieve to benefit himself and those around him."

Miss McClure's attitudes and philosophy of education become obvious to an observer as she moves about her classroom—encouraging, praising, suggesting, and prodding when necessary—in her efforts to involve each student in the day's activities. The students frequent her doorway between and after classes seeking advice and assistance.

Reflected in her own words, this philosophy states, "Since a democracy needs its people to be able and willing to judge wisely not only for themselves but also for the common good, I believe that the objective of education is to build responsible, thinking, public spirited citizens. I believe that the educational program should help students build good characters and develop worthy interests as well as attitudes which can accept change and adapt to the challenges of the times."

In her own field of teaching Miss McClure's objectives includes helping the student learn to think clearly, critically, and independently; guiding him in learning to express himself clearly and effectively; helping him achieve the ability to glean all from the printed page that was intended; and teaching him to evaluate and select worthwhile books, movies, and television programs.

These attitudes are reflected outside the regular classroom as Miss McClure serves her school, profession, and community.

For 25 years she has sponsored Kayettes at Osawatomie High, and has been senior counselor at the Kansas Association for Youth Leadership summer camp for the past 15 years.

Her teaching is carried into the commu-

nity through a succession of special Kayette service projects which have included a safety awareness program throughout the school and community, spring housecleaning at the city library, and sponsoring recreation activities and birthday parties for children in the adolescent center at the Osawatomie State Hospital.

Miss McClure is presently a member of the state president conference planning committee and the program development committee at the national level of the American Association of University Women. She served as State AAUW president from 1967 to 1969 and has held numerous positions at the state and local levels.

She also plays an active role as a member and officer of the Business and Professional Women's Club; Delta Kappa Gamma; local, state, and national professional teacher organizations; and various community membership in the Kansas Council of Women and Pi Lambda Theta, honorary society for women in education.

She also extends her teaching services to the Sunday School of the Methodist Church and, for the past four years, in the school's summer reading improvement program.

Deana taught one year at Lane before returning to her hometown of Osawatomie as a fifth grade teacher. After three years, she moved to the position she has filled for 23 years.

She attended Baker University two years on an undergraduate scholarship, completed her bachelor's degree at the University of Kansas in 1943, and earned a master's at Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia in 1964.

"I have always wanted to teach, even as a young girl," Miss McClure stated. "Teaching is the most important thing one can do, if he works at it."

She concluded, "Teaching is important because we are working with the future! Every young person presents a different challenge and these kids are our future!"

THE POPULATION PROBLEM

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I think it is highly regrettable that the leadership has chosen to delay action on H.R. 15165, a bill to establish a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. This bill has already been approved by the other body and it has been reported out of the House Government Operations Committee. I fail to see any legitimate reason for postponing its consideration by this body. It seems to me that this is just one more example of the irresponsibility and foot dragging which has characterized this session of Congress. How can we possibly maintain the credibility and viability of this body if we continually back away from and ignore the basic problems which confront our society today? And the population problem is perhaps one of the greatest challenges to emerge in this century.

On July 18 of this year, President Nixon sent to the Congress a message which addressed itself to this challenge. The President stated, and I quote:

One of the most serious challenges to human destiny in the last third of this century will be the growth of the population. Whether man's response to that challenge

will be a cause for pride or for despair in the year 2000 will depend very much on what we do today. If we now begin our work in an appropriate manner, and if we continue to devote a considerable amount of attention and energy to this problem, then mankind will be able to surmount this challenge as it has surmounted so many during the long march of civilization.

The President made a number of far-reaching recommendations to deal with both the international and domestic population problem. One of his key domestic proposals was the creation of a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. The President explained the urgent need for such a commission in the following manner:

Perhaps the most dangerous element in the present situation is the fact that so few people are examining these questions from the viewpoint of the whole society. . . . In the governmental sphere . . . there is virtually no machinery through which we can develop a detailed understanding of demographic changes and bring that understanding to bear on public policy. The federal government makes only a minimal effort in this area. The efforts of state and local governments are also inadequate. Most importantly, the planning which does take place at some levels is poorly understood at others and is often based on unexamined assumptions.

The Commission proposed by the President would have a threefold purpose: To chart the probable course of population growth, internal migration, and related demographic developments in the next 30 years; to determine the resources required from the public sector of the economy to deal with the anticipated population growth; and to determine the ways in which the population growth may affect the activities of Federal, State, and local government.

The Government Operations Committee bill has added two additional areas for study by the Commission: the impact of population growth on environmental pollution and on the depletion of natural resources; and the various means appropriate to the ethical values and principles of this society by which our Nation can achieve a population level properly suited for its environmental, natural resources, and other needs.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is obvious that if this Commission is to do the job which needs to be done in planning for the next 30 years, it must be given the authority to begin its task today. This is not an issue which can be shoved onto some backburner for an indefinite period of time. The fact is that this is something which should have been started yesterday.

In conjunction with this, I think it should be pointed out that today the House Republican Research Committee Task Force on Earth and Population Resources released its report entitled "Federal Government Family Planning Programs, Domestic and International." Under the able leadership of Congressman GEORGE BUSH, this task force has been examining population and environmental problems over this past year. The task force report addresses itself to the need for achieving a national goal of providing family planning services to the 5.3 million American women who need

such services yet cannot afford or are unable to obtain them; and secondly, it confronts the world population problem and the American role in assisting nations with their population planning programs.

As chairman of the House Republican conference I want to commend the task force on the outstanding work it has done and for the insight and foresight it has shown in confronting this problem. The task force report clearly reflects the concern expressed by the President in his population message and goes on to enumerate a set of recommendations aimed at meeting the need which exists. I commend the entire report, which may be found at another point in this RECORD, to the attention of my colleagues. At this point in the RECORD I include an editorial from the December 17 New York Times, entitled "The Next Hundred Million," which stresses the urgency of the population problem with special reference to the need for a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

The editorial follows:

THE NEXT HUNDRED MILLION

It took three hundred years for this country to attain a population of one hundred million persons.

The second hundred million Americans arrived, by immigration and birth, in only fifty years, between 1917 and 1967.

At present rates of growth, the United States will reach a population of 300 million within the next thirty years.

An increase of that magnitude in so short a time will place an enormous strain on American resources and institutions. For example, in order to provide housing and other facilities for the expected population increment, it will be necessary to build the equivalent of one new city of 250,000 inhabitants every forty days from now to the end of the century. If new cities are not created, the newcomers could place an intolerable strain on the overburdened urban centers where two-thirds of the nation's people already are concentrated on 2 per cent of the national land area.

No one has yet calculated the resources that will be required to sustain a population of 300 million at the rising standards of living to which Americans have become accustomed. But it has been estimated that every child born in the United States will consume eight times as much of the world's resources as a child born in the underdeveloped world. William H. Draper Jr., former chairman of the Population Crisis Committee, has warned:

"All the values we cherish—happy families, decent housing, universal education, equal economic opportunity, natural beauty, outdoor recreation, simple privacy and, above all, individual human freedom—are threatened by the prospect of a population which doubles every seventy years. In the things that really count, three hundred million Americans may be poorer in the year 2000 than we are today."

It was with such grim prospects in view that President Nixon last July recommended to Congress creation of a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future to study the probable course of population growth and migration in this country and to estimate the public resources that will be required to meet future needs. The Senate has already approved a bill to create such a commission. Last week the House Government Operations Committee also endorsed the bill, wisely adding to the commission's assignment the determination of the effects of population growth on environmental pol-

lution and estimation of the most suitable population size in relation to the nation's resources.

The sooner this commission is established and starts its work, the better for all of us. No one who lives in this congested, polluted megalopolis of the northeastern United States can doubt that the population crisis is here and now.

WILLIAM BROWNE, A GREAT CONSERVATIONIST AND A GREAT AMERICAN

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Browne III, a constituent of mine, has made a magnificent gift to future generations, an inspiration to me as well as to everyone who knows of it. I have long known and admired Mr. Browne, as well as his brother, the late Saxon Browne. I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following articles, which speak of the tremendous gift that Mr. Browne has made, and of his own self-denial in the process:

[From the Florida Times-Union, Nov. 26, 1969]

SWAMP'S BEEN HIS HOME: RECLUSE DONATES \$1-MILLION TRACT
(By Bill Foley)

William Browne III, who has lived in the wilds north of Fort Caroline Road for the last 80 years and kept the outside world away from them, is giving better than \$1-million worth of land to be maintained as a nature preserve.

The Nature Conservancy, a private, nonprofit organization headquartered in Washington, said Browne is donating 361 acres fronting on the St. Johns River.

The area is to be named the Theodore Roosevelt Preserve, according to Thomas W. Richards, president of the Nature Conservancy.

It is to be used for scientific and educational purposes by Jacksonville University. JU President Robert H. Spiro says the university will observe both the letter and spirit of Browne's wishes in protecting the land.

"Jacksonville University is delighted to cooperate with the Nature Conservancy in effecting the wishes of Mr. William Browne," said Dr. Spiro. "Our biologists and other scientists will assist in the preservation of this property, which also will serve importantly in the scientific education of our students."

Richards said the land represents Browne's entire estate.

"He could have reaped great profit from its sale to commercial interests. He chose, instead, to give the people of northern Florida and their progeny a unique example of natural America," said Richards in announcing the gift Monday.

The land, bathed by wandering marshes and lushly grown with palmetto stands and Spanish moss-draped trees, is virtually the same as it was when Browne's father bought it in 1884.

"Mr. Wille," as Campfire Girls who camp nearby call him, has lived on the property since he was six months old—alone since his brother Saxon died 10 years ago.

Browne donated the land for the Campfire Girl camp—about 300 acres away from his electricity-less frame cabin—several years ago. The organization responded by naming it Camp Wil-Le-Ma, after "Willie's Ma."

Although Browne has successfully kept the world well away he has allowed archeologists from the University of Florida to do extensive work over the years. The property is abundant in Indian mounds and kitchen middens and the scientists say it was inhabited as long as 6,000 years ago by a people unrelated to the Seminole and Timucuan Indians who later settled there.

It's still overgrown with saw and cabbage palmetto, live oak, water oak, hickory, magnolia, long-leaf pine, sweetgum and loblolly bay—dark, silent and far removed from the cluster of commercial and residential Arlington.

The land is a haven for birds and other wildlife, with heron rookeries in each of the two major marshes that break up the dense undergrowth. Yellow-crowned night herons are common and bald eagles can be found there.

The gift was announced in Washington—while Browne remained alone in his preserved wilderness.

The Nature Conservancy also has regional offices in Evanston, Ill. and San Francisco. In its 15 years of operation, it has been responsible for preservation of more than 130,000 acres nationally, said a Conservancy spokesman.

Last year more than \$5 million in land was turned over to the National Park Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and other agencies by the organization, he said.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 27, 1969]

LAND DONATED FOR WILDLIFE

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—Willie Browne III has donated as a wildlife refuge the 361 acres of marsh and palmetto land where he shunned civilization for most of his 80 years.

The gift was announced Monday by the Nature Conservancy, recipient of the land. The private nonprofit organization valued the land at approximately \$1 million.

Denizens of the area include the bald eagle and the yellow-crowned night heron, both near extinction from the inroads of civilization.

Browne never went to school, married, attended church or rode in an airplane. He had hardly left the land—acquired by his lawyer father in 1884—since he was 6 months old. The last other surviving member of his family, a brother, died in 1959.

Self-educated under the guidance of his parents, Browne was an avid reader of newspapers, magazines and history books.

He never said why he chose isolation, but expressed one regret in life: He did not achieve his ambition to become a Pony Express rider.

Asked why he gave his land away after so many years of deep attachment to it, the old hermit replied:

"I believe the saying from the Bible that bread cast upon the waters comes back to you."

BIG TRUCK BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from station WBT in Charlotte, in the State of North Carolina. The editorial follows:

LONGER, WIDER, HEAVIER

Several months ago, this station opposed a bill before the General Assembly that would permit passenger buses to be eight-and-a-half feet wide—half-a-foot wider than the present limit. The bill, however, quickly

passed both the House and Senate, with the slight modification that it would not take effect until federal regulations allow the same additional width on interstate highways.

Congress is already considering such legislation—not for the first time, either, and not just for buses but for trucks also, AND not just for increased width but for increased length and load weight as well.

Is there a single motorist who doesn't think trucks and buses are big enough already, or who hasn't clenched his teeth and tightened his steering grip in the presence of these snorting mammoths? Do we have to remind anyone of the strain on roads and bridges, of the crowding of traffic lanes, of the jolting suction and blinding spray that they create?

And yet someone wants to make them longer, wider, and heavier. Who? The people who own them, of course, not the general public. It might be expected that Congress would side with the public, yet last year the Senate actually passed a bill for longer-wider-heavier vehicles. Fortunately, it never reached the floor of the House. But the battle has started all over again this year with hearings before the House Public Works Committee.

This station recognizes the vital service that trucks and buses perform in moving goods and people from one point to another and the importance of the trucking industry to Charlotte and the Piedmont Carolinas. But that gives them no right to hog the highways even more and to clog the streets at the expense and to the danger of all other traffic. We believe you think the same thing, and we urge you to write your sentiments to the Public Works Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., or to the Congressmen of your choice. Or write to us, and we'll pass it on.

FRANCIS M. LEMAY PASSES

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, it is with sorrow that I inform the House of the death Saturday, December 20, of Francis M. LeMay, a longtime newsman who later served as Coordinator of Information for the House of Representatives and then as a staff member of the House Committee on Agriculture.

I know that a great many Members of the House knew Frank LeMay well and not only respected him highly in regard to his professional ability but considered him a true southern gentleman and a cherished friend. I know they will join me in voicing deepest sympathy to his wife, the former Jeanette Mitchell.

Funeral services for Frank are to be held at 2 p.m. today in Florence, Ala., with burial in Russellville, Ala.

I ask to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the obituary which appeared in yesterday's Washington Post, December 21, 1969, under the heading: "F. M. LeMay, Newsman, Aide to House Panel":

Francis M. LeMay, 63, a retired newsman and aide to the House Agriculture Committee, died yesterday at his home in Town Creek, Ala., following a cerebral hemorrhage Friday.

He served on the House Committee for 15 years before his retirement in 1967. He had

earlier worked for the Atlanta Constitution and Florence (Ala.) Times and joined the AP in 1928.

Before being appointed Co-ordinator of Information for the House of Representatives in 1951, Mr. LeMay had served as Chief of the AP staff covering the House. He was a native of Alabama and a graduate of the University of Alabama.

Mr. LeMay is survived by his wife, the former Jeanette Mitchell, who was office manager of Sears Roebuck and Co. corporate office here until her retirement in 1968.

A TRIBUTE TO ROSS WILSON

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. West Virginia lost one of its leading citizens Thanksgiving Day in the passing of Ross Wilson, of Elizabeth, who had been associated for 51 years with the Wirt County Journal, a weekly newspaper, and who up until a few weeks prior to his death at the age of 86, was actively engaged in helping to publish the Journal. During his long and illustrious career, Mr. Wilson also served as an educator and a leader in youth activities. I wish to extend my sympathy to his family. A son, Woodrow Wilson, editor of the Journal, published the following articles on his father, including a warmhearted tribute as seen through the eyes of a child—Mr. Ross Wilson's granddaughter, Susan Noyes:

rites conducted for Ross Wilson

Ross Wilson, City, retired Wirt County educator and newspaperman, died Thanksgiving evening, Thursday, November 27, in Camden-Clark Memorial Hospital in Parkersburg. He was 86 years of age, and had been in failing health the past few weeks, suffering with congestive heart failure.

Born in Wirt County December 26, 1882, he was a son of the late Emerson M. and Lucinda Haught Wilson of near Brohard.

He was a farm boy and school teacher for several years around the turn of the century, and was graduated from Marshall College in 1910. He served three terms as Superintendent of Wirt County Schools, being elected first in 1910, again in 1914, and was the last publicly elected Superintendent in 1930, before the West Virginia County Unit System went into effect.

In 1918, he and the late C. H. Snodgrass, also a Wirt County educator, purchased the Wirt County Journal, which had been founded in 1908 by Fred Haverty. The next year, Mr. Wilson purchased Mr. Snodgrass' interest in the publication and was the owner, editor and publisher until 1946, when he retired from active business life.

During his early years as School Superintendent, he was instrumental in the organization of what are now 4-H Clubs, as he assisted personnel from West Virginia University in introducing the program in Wirt County, then known as Farm or Garden Clubs. Later he served as a director of the Camp Barbe Association for many years. He was also a former Boy Scout leader in Elizabeth. During the World War I years, he served as clerk of the Selective Service Board.

He was a member of the Elizabeth Baptist Church, Burning Springs Lodge No. 132, A.F. & A.M., in which he had received his 50-year membership pin, and of Palestine Council No. 33, Jr. O.U.A.M.

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Cassie Ferree Wilson; one daughter, Mrs. John H. (Werneth) Noyes, of Amherst, Mass.; four sons, Elwin B. Wilson of Belmont, Ward Wilson of Athens, Ohio, Duane and Woodrow Wilson, City; one sister, Mrs. Zillah Caltrider, City; one brother, Harry B. Wilson, of Mt. Pleasant, Mich.; 16 grandchildren, and two great-grandsons.

Funeral services were conducted at 2 p.m. Sunday at the Elizabeth Baptist Church, with the Rev. Vairi C. Winter of Ripley officiating. Burial was in the Elizabeth K. of P. Cemetery where Masonic graveside rites were conducted. Pomroy Funeral Home, City, was in charge of the arrangements.

SIDE VIEWS

(By the editor)

Our thoughts on the life of a wonderful Dad are shared, we know, by many of our readers who have known him personally in the school room and a variety of other ways in the educational field, as well as his connection with the Journal for the past 51 consecutive years.

A tribute to one departing the journalistic field and public eye is customary and expected. Many of you have already helped create and shared in that tribute by your kind expressions to family members, which we deeply appreciate.

On Thanksgiving evening, 1969, he "turned in his report," an expression of his own made in previous years in reference to this solemn occasion which must eventually come to us all, and which holds a similarity to activity in his first-chosen profession of teaching and education.

Your Editor leaves to a family member of a younger generation the remainder of this tribute. It was written, not with any thought of publication, more than four years ago (on Sept. 24, 1965) by Miss Susan Noyes, Werneth's daughter, then age 11 and in Grade 6, as a classroom assignment for a spelling story. It follows:

GRANDFATHER

My grandfather, Mr. Ross Wilson, lives with my grandmother in a little town, Elizabeth, West Virginia. He is my mother's father.

He has been retired for many years, but, before, he was a schoolteacher in one room schools, a principal of graded schools and taught eighth grade. He also was superintendent of Wirt County Schools. He was owner, editor and publisher of a weekly newspaper, the Wirt County Journal. One of his four sons, my Uncle Woodrow, now holds this position.

My grandfather is getting quite deaf, but that doesn't change him a bit, he's a wonderful man.

Grandpa doesn't get angry or frustrated very often, but when he does he says "Pshaw." This sounds like a perfectly harmless word, but, when he says it, it explodes! It bursts into flame!

Grandpa used to take care of several cows. He walked about a mile every morning and every evening to milk them. People along the road would set their clocks by him, for he always went to milk them at exactly the same time. He also kept kittens in the barn and helped grandma keep chickens. Now they have sold the chickens and given the cows and cats to Uncle Woodrow.

My grandfather has a beautiful garden. He works in it every morning. Grandpa grows huge, lush, juicy watermelons and muskmelons, and delicious corn (roasting ears). He seems to have thousands and thousands of beans and tomatos. He grows and digs potatoes and sweet potatoes. He has prize-winning pumpkins. He always sends me some of his peanuts that he has grown; they're the best tasting things! I don't know what else he has, but it's a huge garden! He never sells his surplus food—he says it tastes better if he gives it away.

No one else in the family has this amazing knack of his; he just walks along, bends down and picks a four-leaf clover. He has the sharpest eyes for them, and I never find any! We go to visit them every summer and grandpa has always saved some four-leaf clovers for me to find. We were so surprised this morning when we found in the mail a six-leaf clover he had sent us! I said, "Well, if anyone could find one, he sure could."

My grandfather has a wonderful sense of humor which we all love.

He loves to fish in his spare time.

He walks up to the printing office every day and helps Uncle Woody with the paper. Grandpa has bright, cheery, blue, blue eyes and white hair that used to be black. We always see him in the summer, so he has a tan that he gets from working in the garden.

Mr. Ross Wilson, my grandfather, is 82 years old, getting deaf, but, as I said before, he's the most wonderful man I know, next to my Dad.

OLSEN YEAREND REPORT

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to submit for the Record the following report which I have made to the working men and women of Montana:

COPE RATES OLSEN "ONE OF THE BEST" IN 91ST CONGRESS

The Committee on Political Education (COPE) scorecard for the 91st Congress recorded a perfect record for First District Congressman Arnold Olsen.

The scorecard indicates whether congressmen voted for or against the interests of labor on key votes this year.

In a report to Montana AFL-CIO executive committee, COPE Director Ernest Post said "Congressman Arnold Olsen voted right on all issues and points up the need for our continued support of the Congressman from the 1st District."

OLSEN PRESSES FOR OVERHAUL OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Workers and their families have less real protection against "temporary" unemployment today than when the nation's unemployment insurance system began more than 30 years ago. Nationwide standards for unemployment compensation benefit levels, duration and eligibility have been called for by 1st District Congressman Arnold Olsen.

Olsen emphasized that the lack of federal standards for unemployment insurance has led to "serious deterioration" of the system.

The first District Congressman pointed out:

Maximum benefits have fallen from 65 percent of the average weekly wage in covered employment in 1938, to about 30 percent today.

Some 18 million workers, many of them public employees, farm workers, and domestics, are still denied protection of the insurance. This "stands out like Pikes Peak in our present system of income maintenance."

Harsh disqualifications rule out protection for many who would otherwise be eligible for temporary help while looking for work.

He also pointed out that 11 million people were out of work at some time during 1966. Only three in ten drew even the "benefits that allow less than poverty level subsistence."

URGES SURTAX END

1st District Congressman, Arnold Olsen told the House Ways and Means Committee he will work against any extension of the surtax until it is combined with immediate substantial and equitable reform of the federal income tax structure.

OLSEN SEES "SOME RELIEF" FOR WORKERS IN TAX REFORM

Montana's Arnold Olsen said he is pleased the First Session of the 91st Congress resulted in some degree of tax reform, but expressed disappointment that the reforms did not go farther.

The Montana lawmaker had introduced legislation calling for broad reforms, with the closing of 13 tax loopholes which enable many wealthy Americans to escape taxation altogether.

"There is little justice to our nation's laboring men and women who must pay taxes on their earnings when persons with gross incomes of more than \$1 million a year are not paying any taxes," Olsen commented.

Olsen said tax changes voted this year would "at least partially close many of the loopholes and provide tax relief soon for all middle class Americans," but he expressed hope that the Congress will turn its attention at once to other glaring tax inequities.

OLSEN PRESIDES AS CHILD MILK BILL IS PASSED IN HOUSE

Presiding over the House of Representatives during consideration of extension of the Child Nutrition Act, Olsen steered the legislation to an overwhelming victory with only two Congressmen casting negative votes. This House action extended indefinitely the special milk program authorization contained in the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. In addition, it increased the appropriation authorization for 1970 and following years by \$5 million—from \$120 to \$125 million.

Speaker McCormack said he selected Olsen to preside over this legislation because of his "intense interest in education and in assuring an adequate diet for all school children."

HOUSE APPROVES DIRECT ELECTION

Representative Arnold Olsen reports success in co-sponsoring legislation providing for direct election of the President.

Olsen said the legislation just passed calls for an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the election of the President on the basis of the popular vote. If no candidate received a 40 per cent plurality, there would be a run-off election between the top two candidates. "This is a long overdue reform of our present antiquated electoral college system," Congressman Olsen commented.

OLSEN RECOMMENDS FULL DISCLOSURE

Arnold Olsen: Last year the House and Senate adopted new rules on ethics and conduct for congressmen and their staffs that were laudable in their intent but called for only limited financial disclosure reports.

The statements required under the new rules have been filed and their obvious shortcomings put on public display.

The basis for Olsen's bill is simple enough: a public official should be required to make full disclosure of income over and above his salary as a public official, and, just as important, the source of the outside income.

The electorate has a basic right to this information in making its choice of elected officials and in placing its full confidence in the government in terms of those appointed to office, Olsen states.

OLSEN TESTIFIES TO PRESERVE JOB CORPS CENTERS

As lead-off witness before House Education and Labor Committee hearings on the closing of Job Corps Centers, First District Congress-

man Arnold Olsen challenged the Nixon Administration judgment in its decision to close certain Job Corps Centers.

The Montana Centers remain open today because of the efforts of the Montana Congressional Delegation.

RAIL MERGER PLAN GETS OLSEN FIGHT

Rep. Arnold Olsen, asked the U.S. Attorney General to continue Justice Department opposition to the proposed Northern Line Railroad merger. Olsen's action followed a decision by a three judge federal court upholding the merger.

In a letter to the Attorney General, Olsen strongly supported the Justice Department opposition to the merger. "The Department correctly contends that the merger eliminates competition among five railroads serving the Northwest. This elimination of competition will be to the detriment of service to shippers and receivers of goods in Interstate Commerce," he asserted.

Olsen, who said he was hopeful the merger will be opposed "all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary," charged that the evils of such a merger included "the design and goal of the railroads to eliminate employment by eliminating service."

"FULL EMPLOYMENT FIRST PRIORITY," AND MONTANA'S OLSEN LEADS EFFORT

Montana Congressman Arnold Olsen has introduced major legislation designed to reach the goal of National full employment. "This legislation," Olsen said, "proposes that every American willing and able to work should be guaranteed a job or the training needed to qualify for a job."

The Manpower Act of 1969, as the legislation will be known, has been cosponsored in the House by nearly 100 members. According to Olsen, the Act would give to the Secretary of Labor the power to move with greater flexibility to meet any manpower crisis that might arise.

The Act declares "It is within the capability of the United States to provide every American who is able and willing to work, full opportunity, within the framework of a free society, to prepare himself for and obtain employment at the highest level of productivity, responsibility and remuneration within the limits of his abilities."

NEW HIGHWAY—NEW COMMERCE MORE JOBS

A plan that was once no more than a pipe-dream—a paved Alaska Highway—may soon become a reality as a result of the plodding insistence of Montana's Congressman Arnold Olsen.

Through Olsen's perseverance, the House Works Committee, of which he is a member, voted to include plans for the paving project in the Highway Act of 1969. Hearings were held last summer in Montana and Alaska and all six of Olsen's colleagues who participated in the hearings introduced and gave strong support to the Olsen Alaska Highway bill.

The Congress has directed that necessary negotiations for international cooperation in the paving venture begin at once between the State Department and the Canadian government. The recently passed legislation also stipulates that the State Department should report back to the Congress after nine months.

"This is a major breakthrough," Olsen asserted. "I believe it is the first major breakthrough we have had, and I am confident the day is now closer when Montana will be the gateway to the Yukon Territory and our 49th State. The recreational and economical advantages for the United States and Canada of a paved highway to Alaska will become more and more apparent as negotiations continue."

FIRST DISTRICT FIRST AGAIN

First District Congressman Arnold Olsen announced that his Western District once

again placed high on the Federal appropriation scale for construction, and improvement of airport facilities.

Congressman Olsen said that a total of \$957,722 has been awarded to the State for fiscal year 1968, with more than half of this amount or \$585,259 going to the First Congressional District.

Airports receiving assistance are: Bozeman's Gallatin Field, \$304,392.00 for land acquisition and runway lighting; Choteau Airport, \$45,000.00 for land acquisition and runway construction; Conrad Airport, \$7,981.00 for runway lighting; Libby Airport, \$185,349.00 for construction and lighting of runway, taxiway, and apron, and West Yellowstone Airport, \$42,537.00 for the construction of an apron.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE IN REHOVOT, ISRAEL

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, early last month the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot, Israel, observed its 25th anniversary.

This was an event of great significance, for indeed, the Weizmann Institute of Science stands out today literally as the eighth wonder of the world.

This unique institute of research and studies in scientific pursuits is rapidly taking on a reputation of international stature. In this grand institute, there are some 1,500 of the world's great scholars in tireless and endless pursuit of the mysteries that surround our universe and our every day life.

The 25th anniversary gave all of us an excellent opportunity not only to review the enormous contributions of the Weizmann Science Institute, but also for men and women from the world of science to join in a common tribute to the huge potential that man possesses for the solution of his problems.

Meyer Weisgal, president of the Weizmann Institute of Science, properly called attention to the many glories of this outstanding institute and paid tribute to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel and founder of this unique institute who had died 17 years ago, for his vision.

I should like to include in the RECORD today an account of the 25th anniversary as reported in the Jerusalem Post and also a brief description of the week-long series of ceremonies and lectures which preceded the main tribute on Sunday, November 2, in the Weizmann Memorial Plaza, at Rehovot, Israel. This account was prepared by the Public Information Service of the Weizmann Institute.

I shall also include in the RECORD today the inspiring words of President Weisgal, as well as the address by the President of Israel, Zalman Shazar.

I shall also include the brief remarks of Dr. Albert Sabin, who is the president-elect of the Weizmann Institute and who will assume his duties January 1. He is a most worthy and highly respected successor to President Weisgal.

The highlight of the anniversary festival was an address by Foreign Minister Abba Eban who spoke on behalf of Her Excellency, the Prime Minister of the State of Israel, Golda Meir, who at the last minute was detained in an important cabinet meeting.

Abba Eban has a rare quality for placing into proper perspective the rushing events of man's progress and his speech at the Weizmann Institute anniversary is a moving tribute not only to the institute but to all of Israel.

The culmination of this magnificent and inspiring tribute festival came with the reading of a special poem by Haim Hefer called "Trial and Error." It was translated by Hanna Meron and Yosef Yadin.

Earlier, Mr. Speaker, the Weizmann Institute conferred honorary fellowships to 10 outstanding citizens from various parts of the world for their enormous contributions both in science and in the humanities.

I was particularly pleased that in this group was a fellow Chicagoan, Philip David Sang, businessman and philanthropist. His citation read:

In recognition of his dynamic and perceptive concern for the state of the arts in general, and for Jewish historical scholarship in particular; and of his unflinching support for those institutions in the Jewish National Home, such as Yad Haim Weizmann, which are dedicated to the study of the major events and personalities of the Jewish past.

I am enclosing in the RECORD today an article which appeared in the Jerusalem Post describing the 10 citizens at this inspiring ceremony and I am taking the liberty to include in this listing an article about Ambassador Walworth Barbour, who has done such an outstanding job for the United States in Israel and who was among those honored.

I am also including an article about a fellow American, Prof. Christian Boehmer Anfinsen, a biochemist at the National Institutes of Health here in Bethesda who was honored as one of the 10 fellows for his three-dimensional study of protein structure.

The response for the honor paid to the 10 fellows was made by Dr. Ernst D. Bergman, Department of Organic Chemistry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I believe his outstanding address not only captured the spirit of the Weizmann Institute, but also reflected the contributions of the other nine distinguished citizens honored that day.

Mr. Speaker, I am tremendously grateful to Dr. William Novick, executive director of the Weizmann Institute Committee in Chicago for inviting me to participate in the 25th anniversary tribute. Dr. Novick has made many speeches about the Institute and is today one of its most enthusiastic supporters. It has been the tireless effort of Bill Novick that has helped raise the funds to bring such vast expansion to the Weizmann Institute. The tribute paid Dr. Novick and his lovely wife was well deserved.

After personally viewing this unique institute with its many buildings for scientific pursuit and after talking to its many scientists I am convinced that the Weizmann Institute will continue to play

a key role in helping man develop the heights of his ability.

As chairman of the subcommittee here in Congress which has been holding hearings on a national science information retrieval system, I was particularly interested in the institute's work in information retrieval. I must say, Mr. Speaker, that the exciting programs being laid out by Prof. Chaim L. Pekeris, head of the Department of Applied Mathematics, leave one with the distinct impression that Israel is making huge strides in this whole field of information retrieval. In many respects, the Weizmann Institute is pacing the world in computer methodology.

Mr. Speaker, the various papers that I have referred to follow. At the very conclusion of all of these papers, I have placed the official program of activities.

Not only the people of Israel, but all of us interested in man's pursuit for knowledge so he can better understand his fellow man, can be proud of the Weizmann Institute. This unique institute needs and deserves a great deal of help for indeed it is charting new courses in scientific pursuit and setting new challenges for the world's entire scientific community.

The papers follow:

PAGEANTRY AT OPENING OF WEIZMANN INSTITUTE SEMI-JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS
(By Philip Gillon)

REHOVOT.—Mr. Meyer Weisgal bowed out and Dr. Alfred Sabin bowed in as President of the Weizmann Institute of Science yesterday, at a ceremony commemorating Balfour Day, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Institute, and the 17th anniversary of the death of Chaim Weizmann. Speeches, lights, torches, flowers, gowned and capped scientists in blue hoods, prominent actors, pretty girls, a chamber orchestra and a choir all played various parts in the pageant in the Weizmann Memorial Plaza in the Institute grounds.

The ceremony marked the last major public appearance of Meyer Weisgal in his capacity as President of the Institute, and the first such appearance of Dr. Alfred Sabin, the President-elect, to whom he is handing over at the end of the year. Mr. Weisgal paid tribute to the late Amos de-Shalit, as well as to Weizmann, and emphasized the value of the high tradition of excellence that men like these had established.

Dr. Sabin apologized for speaking in English, but said the deficiency would be remedied within a few months. He said that working for the Weizmann Institute automatically involved working for Israel's survival, for the enrichment of life for the country's inhabitants, and providing inspirations for thousands of Jews throughout the world.

President Zalman Shazar paid tribute to Weizmann, Lord Steff, Meir Weisgal and Alfred Sabin. It was a proud day for Israel to see how far science had advanced, he said.

EBAN BATS FOR MEIR

Prime Minister Golda Meir, who was to deliver the keynote address, was unable to come and Foreign Minister Abba Eban spoke in her stead. Mr. Eban recalled the day when Chaim Weizmann laid the foundation-stone of the Institute 25 years before, at a time when the Yishuv was struggling for survival and the holocaust was at its height, a time when no man knew what the outcome would be. At such a time the dedication of a science institute was an act of spiritual faith, not just a means of advancing the economy, Mr. Eban said. In the course of

the past 25 years, Israel, had established itself as one of the 12 nations contributing substantially to world science.

In a pageant of light and sound, directed by the Gershon Plotkin girls in Greek miniskirts carrying bouquets contrasted with torches burning from golden stands. Hanna Meron and Yosef Yadin read a ballad by Haim Hefer, "Trial and Error," in praise of Weizmann and Weisgal, of science and the collection of dollars.

Meyer Weisgal's traditional luck held: although there were rainstorms in Rehovot all morning, the skies cleared completely in time for the open air ceremony.

In the packed audience were Education Minister Zalman Aranne; Labour Party Secretary-General Pinhas Sapir; Mr. David Ben-Gurion, M.K.; Chief Rabbi Isser Unterman; the Chairman and Treasurer of the Jewish Agency Executive, Mr. Arye Pincus and L. Dultzin; numerous members of the Diplomatic Corps headed by the Doyen Ambassador Dr. Jerome Yancy, of Liberia, and Mr. Walworth Barbour, the U.S. Ambassador; and many world-famous scientists and friends of the Weizmann Institute.

Professor Gerhard Schmidt, Director of the Institute, presented Mr. Weisgal with a symbolic Tree of Life on behalf of the staff.

Mrs. Meir arrived in time for the dinner which followed the ceremony. In her remarks, she paid warm tribute to Mr. Weisgal.

WEEK-LONG SERIES OF CEREMONIES AND LECTURES INAUGURATE CELEBRATIONS OF WEIZMANN INSTITUTE'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

REHOVOT, ISRAEL.—The Weizmann Institute of Science initiated the celebrations of its 25th anniversary this week with a series of colorful ceremonies and important scientific lectures attended by members of its Board of Governors, representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, and many guests from Israel and abroad, including special delegations from the United Kingdom, the United States and Latin America.

The celebrations began on November 2, Weizmann Day, with a State ceremony, addressed by President Zalman Shazar and Foreign Minister Abba Eban, and incorporating a majestic pageant of music and light. The ceremony, held in the Weizmann Memorial Plaza and attended by over 5,000 people, was opened by Institute President Meyer W. Weisgal, who paid tribute to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the man who inspired and guided the builders of the Institute, and to Amos de-Shalit, one of the most brilliant of its scientists.

Dr. Albert Sabin, the President-elect of the Institute, said "it would become increasingly involved in the struggle of Israel for both survival and the development of an ever richer spiritual and material life for its inhabitants—the development of an Israel that will continue to be an ever greater source of pride to the Jews of the world and an inspiration to the hundreds of millions who are striving for the better life that has so long been denied them."

President Zalman Shazar paid tribute to Weizmann, Lord Steff, Meyer Weisgal and Albert Sabin. It was a proud day for Israel to see how far its science had advanced, he said.

Foreign Minister Abba Eban recalled the day when Chaim Weizmann laid the foundation stone of the Institute 25 years before, at a time when the Yishuv was struggling for survival and the Holocaust was at its height. At such a time, the dedication of a science institute was an act of spiritual faith, Mr. Eban said. In the course of the past 25 years, Israel had established itself as one of the nations contributing most substantially to world science, he added.

The pageant, directed by Mr. Gershon Plotkin of the Cameri Theater, employed the

talents of Dani Karavan, who provided the eye-catching scenery and special effects; the Israel Chamber Ensemble and the Rinat Choir, conducted by Gary Bertini, as well as the Cantor and Choir of the Defense Forces Chief Rabbinate, who provided the music; and actors Hanna Maron and Yosef Yadin, read a ballad by Haim Hefer retelling the history of the Weizmann Institute. The narrator was Amikam Gurevich.

A surprise feature of the program was the presentation to Mr. Weisgal of a symbolic Tree of Life by Professor Gerhard Schmidt, the Director of the Institute, on behalf of its staff.

Prime Minister Golda Meir spoke at the dinner which followed. She paid tribute to Mr. Weisgal for his dedicated work on behalf of the Zionist Movement, the State of Israel and the Weizmann Institute.

WEIZMANN INSTITUTE HONORS LORD SIEFF

The Weizmann Institute continued its 25th anniversary celebrations on November 3 with a ceremony honoring Lord Sieff of Brimpton, one of the men most responsible for its growth and development. Lord Sieff, who was unable to attend, was represented by his son, the Hon. Marcus J. Sieff, Deputy Chairman of the Institute's Board of Governors.

The highlight of the informal but colorful ceremony, which took place, appropriately, in front of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, was the unveiling of an evocative bronze sculpture by Nathan Rapaport. The sculpture, "symbolizing the enduring link between Science and Man's pursuit of progress", was dedicated to Lord Sieff on the occasion of his eightieth birthday.

Speaking briefly, Marcus Sieff recalled the beginnings of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, forerunner of the Weizmann Institute, which had been conceived by Dr. Weizmann in 1933 and opened a year later, thanks to the support of the Sieff, Marks and Sacher families. Praising Meyer Weisgal, President of the Weizmann Institute, and those who had helped create the Weizmann Institute of Science, he concluded with the hope that science would bring world peace.

Professor David Lavie, an Institute chemist since 1940, spoke on behalf of the scientists working in the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, while Prof. David Samuel of the Isotope Research Department, who worked at the Sieff Institute as an apprentice in his teens, read the scroll of dedication.

The Rapaport sculpture was unveiled by Lord Sieff's daughter, Mrs. A Shechterman, together with Mrs. M. Sieff and Lord Sieff's Sabra great-granddaughter, Rebecca.

SAMBURSKY LECTURE

The unveiling was followed by Prof. Shmuel Sambursky's brilliant lecture on "Balfour's Philosophy of Science." Prof. Sambursky, of the Hebrew University, is the first incumbent of the Arthur James Balfour Chair in the History of Science which was established at the Weizmann Institute by the Sieff, Marks and Sacher families in 1967 on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

INSTITUTE VETERANS HONORED

At the festive luncheon given that day in honor of Lord Sieff, the Institute paid tribute to two of its veteran scientists, Professors Emeritus Ernst Simon and David Shapiro. The scrolls, presented to them, describe Professors Simon and Shapiro as "among the devoted company of pioneering scientists who, under the leadership of Dr. Weizmann, laid the foundations of the Weizmann Institute."

On the same occasion, Dr. Josef Cohn, Executive Vice President of the European Committee of the Weizmann Institute of Science, was presented with the Weizmann Award in the Sciences and Humanities for 1969. It was given in appreciation for his endeavors for the Institute, first as a close associate of Dr.

Weizmann and then as the guiding spirit of the European Committee.

Dr. Cohn replied on behalf of the three recipients.

British Ambassador John Barnes, speaking both in Hebrew and English, praised the contributions made by Lord Sieff to Britain, Israel and the friendship between the two countries. Other speakers included Mr. Harry Levine, Treasurer of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science.

BOARD MEETS

In the afternoon, the Institute's Board of Governors met under the chairmanship of Mr. Dewey D. Stone, of Brockton, Mass., for a review of the Institute development. The Board unanimously elected Mr. Weisgal Chancellor of the Institute, effective from January 1, when Dr. Sabin becomes the Institute's President.

The crowded day closed with the inaugural lecture of the I. I. Rabi Chair in Natural Philosophy, delivered by Prof. Rabi, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University, who spoke on "A Scientist's Credo."

TEN HONORARY FELLOWSHIPS

Ten distinguished personalities, five of them scientists and five laymen, were awarded Honorary Fellowships of the Weizmann Institute of Science in an impressive academic ceremony on November 4. Opening the proceedings, Board Chairman Stone said: "This year, the Weizmann Institute of Science celebrates its development from a small cluster of chemical laboratories into what is today, literally, a world-famous multi-disciplined institution of scientific research."

Institute President Weisgal declared that the new Fellows "from Israel, Great Britain, the United States and West Germany, represent the truly international character of the Institute."

The new Fellows are: Prof. Christian B. Anfinsen, of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, known for his outstanding work in the field of protein structure and function; Mr. Walworth Barbour, U.S. Ambassador to Israel, who has made signal contributions to the maintenance of intellectual, cultural and educational ties between the U.S. and Israel; Prof. Ernst David Bergmann, Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Hebrew University, who plays and has long played a key role in the development of Israeli science; Mr. Charles Clore, British financier and philanthropist, who has been a leader in international commerce and a stalwart supporter of the Weizmann Institute; Prof. John C. Kendrew, Nobel Laureate of Cambridge, England, whose research on the structure of proteins has profoundly influenced the progress of molecular biology; Mr. Theodore R. Racoosin, New York business executive, and one of the central figures in the development of the Weizmann Institute since its inception; Mr. Philip David Sang of Chicago, who has shown particular concern for Jewish historical scholarship, as carried out by Yad Chaim Weizmann and other institutions; Prof. Gershom Scholem, Professor Emeritus of the Hebrew University, celebrated for his contribution to the study of Jewish mysticism; Mr. Axel C. Springer, West German publisher, whose friendship for the Jewish people and the State of Israel has been demonstrated both frequently and vividly; and Prof. Robert Burns Woodward, Nobel Laureate of Harvard University, whose work in modern synthetic chemistry and its application of to the synthesis of complex molecules have earned him world fame.

Prof. Joseph Gillis, Chairman of the Institute's Scientific Council, and Professor Gerhard Schmidt, Director of the Institute, both officiated at the ceremony.

Responding on behalf of the ten new Fellows, and speaking in Hebrew, English and German, Prof. Bergmann said, *inter alia*:

"We are grateful for and proud of the honor bestowed on us because we share with you the belief that this great institution has in its power to bring nearer the days of redemption, because we believe with you—perhaps against all reason—that the truth is marching on."

Later in the week, scientific lectures were delivered by Professor Robert B. Woodward and by Prof. Herman Mark. Prof. Mark, of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, was among the members of the committee appointed in 1944 to plan the Weizmann Institute's program.

STAMP, MAGAZINE AND SUPPLEMENTS

The anniversary was also marked by a special issue of REHOVOT, the Weizmann Institute periodical, a new stamp issued by the Israel Post Office, and special supplements in the Israel Press.

There were also major stories in the *New York Times*, *Time* magazine and other overseas journals.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

More than 600 personalities, distinguished in science, education, public affairs, literature, music, art and business—including 63 Nobel Laureates—have joined an international Sponsorship Committee to honor the Weizmann Institute on its 25th anniversary and its President, Mr. Weisgal, on his 75th birthday.

OPENING REMARKS BY INSTITUTE PRESIDENT, MR. MEYER W. WEISGAL

For the benefit of the Diplomatic Corps and of our many guests from overseas, including the special delegations from the United States, Canada and Latin America, I shall take the liberty of making my few remarks this afternoon, in English.

It is integral to the Jewish tradition to combine *evel* with *Yom Tov*, to obey the injunction laid down so clearly in Ecclesiastes: "There is a time to weep and a time to laugh, a time to mourn and a time to dance . . ." Before we celebrate together, as we shall within a few minutes the start of the 25th anniversary of this institution, let us take time to remember and to mourn those who are no longer with us.

Seventeen years ago today, the greatest Jew of our era, the first President of the State of Israel, and of this Institute, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, left us; and just two months ago we suffered the tragic loss of professor Amos de-Shalit.

It was Chaim Weizmann who inspired and guided those who built this Institute, and it was Amos de-Shalit who was one of the most brilliant, one of the youngest, one of the most dynamic among them.

But we, the living, must take up the torch they dropped, must continue to strive for the achievement of that which is most meaningful and good in Jewish life; must rededicate ourselves to the renaissance of our national existence in this land. If we are to honor the memory of those who have gone—and do so, well and truly, we must be wholly worthy of them. If we can carry on where they left off, we shall have paid the most effective tribute to them. . . .

Twenty-five years ago today, while a world conflagration raged, and in the midst of the greatest tragedy of Jewish history, the Weizmann Institute of Science was conceived. Its birth was both an affirmation of our determination to survive as a people, and a statement of the loftiest of our national aims. Since then, we have lived through three more wars, through the turbulence of independence, through tensions and unease such as few communities have ever known. But we did more than stay alive. Together, we built an institution which has made a singular and shining contribution, both nationally and internationally. We trained scores of young people to meet the most exacting

standards of a most demanding profession. We made a place of beauty to which there came—and still come—some of the greatest men of our time; they come to share their knowledge with us and to take from us that which we can offer. For all these reasons, we are entitled, I believe, to pause from our labors and to rejoice tonight.

Now, I have said almost all that I have to say. From now on, let music and pageantry take over in celebration of this, our 25th anniversary.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL MR. ZALMAN SHAZAR

The 25th anniversary of the Weizmann Institute of Science is the holiday of all the people of Israel.

The Institute reflects the vision of one of the nation's finest sons, the first President of Israel, who wished to make the Jewish genius in science the cornerstone for the State of Israel, and its international calling card. At this 25th anniversary, it can be safely said that the Institute has justified the hopes placed in it when it was founded. Moreover, its potential is still greater than its achievements.

The nation owes thanks to those who built and developed the Weizmann Institute. It is worth mentioning, in this context, Lord Sieff, who created the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, the nucleus of the Weizmann Institute, and my friend Meyer Weisgal. He has devoted all his talent, energy and many contacts to the development of the Weizmann Institute, until it finally became the pinnacle of scientific achievement in Israel. My friend Meyer Weisgal achieved a great deal in the United States, but he has achieved infinitely more since he was called upon by Chaim Weizmann, the man he loved and admired, to take over responsibility for the Institute.

We do not bid him farewell, for he retires from his present position while he still possesses all his strength, and I am sure that he will accomplish wonders in any field to which he turns his attention.

I would also like to extend a welcome to the world-famous Professor Albert Sabin, who has earned the gratitude of parents everywhere for his polio vaccine.

Let us honour the founders of the Weizmann Institute, give our thanks to those who carried forward the project and receive with open arms those who will continue on with it.

ADDRESS BY DR. ALBERT SABIN AT WEIZMANN ASSEMBLY—25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, NOVEMBER 2, 1969

An occasion such as this is a time for dedication and I wish first of all to dedicate myself to Weizmann's own dedication to serve this country, to serve science and to serve humanity. We cannot continue our efforts for the Weizmann Institute of Science without becoming increasingly involved in the struggle of Israel for both survival and the development of an ever richer spiritual and material life for its inhabitants—and the development of an Israel that will continue to be an ever greater source of pride to the Jews of the world and an inspiration to the hundreds of millions who are striving for the better life that has so long been denied them.

I am proud now to be a part of this historic enterprise both as a member of the Weizmann Institute family and as a Jew participating in the historic events taking place in Israel.

The bomb shelters you may have seen on the campus of this Institute are in a way symbolic of what is going on in Israel i.e. prepare for the worst and continue to work for the best. We here, and the Jews all over the world, must dedicate ourselves to break-

ing the worst of all cycles in Jewish history—the cycle of great and heroic achievements followed by devastating catastrophe. We must dedicate ourselves to do all in our power to insure that such a cycle will never happen again.

ADDRESS BY FOREIGN MINISTER ABBA EBAN

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, The President designate of the Weizmann Institute promised to learn Hebrew within the next few months. I wish that I could make a similar promise about any of the scientific disciplines in which he is already versed but I applaud his philological audacity and I am convinced that he will carry through that which he has undertaken to perform.

In the meantime, the Prime Minister, for whom I am deputising this evening, asked me to include in my remarks a word of appreciation to the many guests from abroad, whose festival this festival is, they who have contributed to the foundation of the growth and the expansion of the Weizmann Institute of Science. I see many before me who were present at the founding ceremony twenty-five years ago. There were very few buildings, and very few trees and none of the aesthetic grace and beauty which surround us today. But the leader of our national movement, later to be its first President, still in the turmoil of war and of our nation's struggle of sovereignty and survival, thought that high priority should be given to this community's scientific development.

Few people could understand, even in 1944, how vast and spectacular would be the expansion of new scientific concepts; new areas of thought, new countries of the mind, new terms for the understanding and definition of nature, were to unfold within the next few decades. And the nation which established an indigenous scientific tradition could assure itself a much swifter development than a nation in which such a tradition did not exist. Israel could not have reached even its present intermediate stage of economic and social progress, and therefore could not have achieved the cohesion and security which now mark its lift, if it had not given to science and technology a high place within its educational movement and within its national priorities. But there was another, more abstract, less tangible, but perhaps deeper vision of what the scientific tradition could do for a country: the elevation of its spiritual standards, the sharpening of its intellectual capacities, the assurance that reason, analysis, precision, order, severity of intellectual standards would plan a part in the development of its life. The founders of the Institute were keenly aware of the effects of scientific thought upon the country as a whole, and not only upon those engaged themselves in scientific investigation.

This vision is also very timely today. Science should be pursued not only for its results but also for its national purpose, for its creative insight, for its basic universal humility, and for the principles of international government which it fosters. Scientists alone amongst men have created the first real, universal, international community of men who speak to each other in the same tongue and the same idiom, across all the frontiers and oceans of the world. Reason itself, of course, is not the only basis for a national culture. There is in the Hebrew tradition also the element of faith and of emotion. Passion without reason is hysteria, reason without passion is sterility. It is only by the creative union of reason and emotions, the intuitions of the mind and the stirrings of the heart, that a nation's culture can reach its true point of equilibrium.

We are therefore here to pay tribute to those whose daring vision has been so gloriously revealed and fulfilled. There are those who have a very special place in the national

gratitude and affection, notably Meyer Weisgal, who for twenty-five years has accompanied this dream, pursued it with an unexampled militance and singleness of purpose. He could not possibly have imagined 25 years ago what a heritage he would now be passing on to one who comes after him. Anybody who sees his efforts rewarded so tangibly does not stand in need of any rhetorical thanks.

I should like at the same time to say how deeply moved the Government and people of Israel were by the readiness of Professor Sabin to come and inaugurate a new period in his scientific career, here in Rehovot at the Weizmann Institute of Science. It was a testimony of faith in the standards which the Institute have already achieved, and of belief in his capacity to add new layers to the buildings that have already been erected. He can be assured, I am certain, of the cooperation not only of those who will work with him here but, also, of all those in the government and in this community to whom he may turn for assistance in his task.

We do well to gather here in pious homage to the founders of this institution, to express both a pride and an expectation, pride in the achievement of the past, and expectation of high fulfillment yet to come. After all, Jewish history is in essence a constant celebration of resilience. It proves that there are no conditions from which recovery is impossible. And through the full exercise of man's intellectual and spiritual genius, the new emergent Israeli society will be bountifully enriched.

TRIAL AND ERROR

(By Haim Hefer)

This people, the Jews, who can fathom their strange ways at all. One day, just like that, they rise up as if they heard a bugle call. They abandon their homes which they built in days of yore. Leave behind them a language, their friends, gesheften, a rich folk-lore. And, to be perfectly frank, a pack of troubles not to be sneezed at. And to be frank again many happy years they can be pleased at. Just like that, up they get and take their staff in hand. And off they go to build their promised land. The reason? Nothing special if you look. Nothing really, except a certain Book. True, a best-seller that's taught in the schools, to be sure. But only a book, no more.

This people, the Jews, who can fathom their strange ways, I ask you. How wherever they went and wherever they happened to pass through. How in days of the blackest despair and in days when hope ran high. They treasured the written word like the apple of their eye. And not only the words but the spirit these words expressed. And none was more honored among them than the scholar at his desk. And even the scholars were graded with care and with keenness. There was the wit, and the learned, the zealous, and naturally the genius. And just for good measure, each Jew had his Rabbi, a leader and man of vision. Because a people who thrives on ideas for five thousand years also needs sometimes a man of decision. And so it was from the beginning, they resolved eager and yearning. To choose the Tree of Life but to eat from the Tree of Learning.

And that's how it was when Reb Chaim Weizmann left Mottele 80 years ago or more. And that's how it was when he learned to probe the intricacies of H₂SO₄. He trod in the footsteps of wise men up the byways of science mysterious. Whose dark mazes leave some men delighted and other delirious. And as he ascended he noted with awe and elation. The beauty and wonders all wise men see in the acts of creation.

But wise man that he was he never stood aloof. He knew that wisdom needs, among other things, four walls and a roof. (1) And here in Rehovot, between fields, grass and

fruits. He set up some labs and a few institutes. He brought in some test tubes, computers, and other ABC's. And then gathered around him some old and some young Ph.D's.

(2) And so he said to his friend Weisgal, in Yiddish, without doubt. We've got to get down to business and see what we're about. Here in Rehovot between fields, grass and fruits. We have to get test tubes, computers and maybe a few cosmic rays. Because you better than Weisgal knew that a Jew feels good when he pays. Weisgal took up the challenge with a shout and a holler. And between the two of them they added scientist to scientist and dollar to dollar. And after a while midst the trees and the flora. One could see, here was bread, one could sense, here was Torah. This Weisgal, just give him something impossible—and it's done. He himself didn't know that his troubles had just begun.

Now perhaps there is among us someone young or old like me. Who will one day stand and say "I am joyous for I see. In days of peace and war, in times both bad and good, before my very eyes has been written the Rehovot Talmud."

This people, the Jews, who can fathom their strange ways, their history. They build no monuments to their heroes to proclaim this conquest or that victory. They just inscribe the words of the prophet or realize a dream dreamt far away. And is there better proof of it than this wondrous place today?

**WEIZMANN INSTITUTE HONORARY FELLOWS
CITED FOR SERVICE**

ERNEST DAVID BERGMANN

(of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

"In recognition of his distinguished contribution to scientific research in the State of Israel in general, and in the field of organic chemistry in particular; of his dedicated work on behalf of the defence of this country; and, most especially—on this the 25th anniversary of the Weizmann Institute—in recognition of his pioneering role at Dr. Weizmann's side in setting those exacting scientific standards which have characterized this institution ever since."

CHARLES CLORE

(British financier)

"In recognition of his great and enlightened contributions, both as a leader in the world of international commerce and industry, and as a faithful and generous son of his people; and of his long and stalwart service to this institution as a ranking member of its Board of Governors."

JOHN COWDERY KENDREW

(British Nobel Prize winner)

"In recognition of his outstanding and revolutionary research on the structure of proteins; of the originality and brilliance of his experimental work which has so profoundly influenced the progress of molecular biology; and of his stalwart and wise counsel as scientist-member of the Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors."

THEODORE R. RACOOSIN

(New York businessman)

"In recognition of his active participation in the affairs of this institution since its inception a quarter of a century ago; of his indefatigable service as a member of the Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors; and of his devoted work, over the years, on behalf of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute."

PHILIP DAVID SANG

(Chicago businessman, philanthropist)

"In recognition of his dynamic and perceptible concern for the state of the arts in general, and for Jewish historical scholarship in particular; and of his unflinching support for those institutions in the Jewish National

Home, such as Yad Haim Weizmann, which are dedicated to the study of the major events and personalities of the Jewish past."

GERSHOM SCHOLEM

(Professor of Jewish Mysticism, Hebrew U.)

"In recognition of his systematic research in the field of Jewish mysticism; of his unrivalled contribution to the study of its various trends and periods; and of his profound and original interpretation of the history of Judaism and of the Jewish people."

AXEL CAESAR SPRINGER

(West German publisher)

"In recognition of his abiding friendship for the Jewish people and his gallant championship of the State of Israel; of his assistance to and support of Jewish authors in his homeland, even in times of dire peril; and of his steadfast and imaginative concern with the media of information and communication."

ROBERT BURNS WOODWARD

(Nobel laureate, Harvard University)

"In recognition of his illuminating contribution to the development of modern theoretical organic chemistry in general, and of his brilliant work in modern synthetic chemistry and its application to the synthesis of complex molecules in particular; and of his deeply felt and effectively expressed interest in the progress of science in the State of Israel."

**HONORARY FELLOW WALWORTH BARBOUR: AM-
BASSADOR KEEPS HIS SPEECHES BRIEF**

(By Sraya Shapiro)

In the eight-and-a-half years Ambassador Walworth Barbour has represented the U.S. here, nobody has ever succeeded in making a shorter public address than he does. But brevity at the microphone belies the Ambassador's good humour and easiness in private conversation. Statements, especially short ones, are inevitably over-simplifications, and over-simplification may lead to misrepresentation—or to what is much worse, mis-interpretation, Ambassador Barbour believes. If there is one thing which he loathes it is being unclear or unreasonable. A New Englander by birth and education, he likes to regard man as a thinking creature.

Born in Cambridge, Mass., graduated from a private academy and then from Harvard, he served the U.S. foreign service first in Naples, Athens, Baghdad and Sofia.

He was a vice-consul in Sofia when the Second World War broke out. When Germany declared war on the U.S., the Allied diplomats were to be escorted to Lisbon. "Nonsense," the vice-consul protested. "There is the Turkish border at arm's reach, why travel to Portugal? Finally, the Bulgarians agreed. "But it took some talking . . ."

It was on his way from Sofia to his new post, in Cairo that the future Ambassador to Israel first passed the plains of Palestine. Later, he revisited Palestine on his way back from a mission to Baghdad. "We traveled by car, mainly by night, because the desert was cooler by night."

His later posts included an assignment as Minister-Councillor in Moscow.

But the first involvement with Israel occurred in 1956, when Mr. Barbour was Minister in London and deputy to the American Ambassador Winthrop Aldrich. During the Suez crisis, the U.S. Embassy asked the British for the facts. When Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Secretary, stated in the House of Commons that the British did not know what Israeli mobilization signified, Ambassador Aldrich was scandalized.

"Under the circumstances I arranged to have all telegrams to Washington from that time on drafted by Mr. Barbour and myself jointly. And thereafter I never had any con-

versation with the British without having Mr. Barbour with me," Ambassador Aldrich wrote later in "Foreign Affairs." He probably never believed that Selwyn Lloyd did not deliberately mislead the Americans—though it might be taken as a case of deliberate over-simplification. In the summer of 1961, on completing his tour of duty in London, Walworth Barbour was promoted to the rank of Ambassador and posted to Tel Aviv.

Ambassador Barbour's portly presence, in thin-rimmed spectacles, chewing a cigar when he tells of his experience in terse, precise sentences, has become a familiar figure in Israel society. He has the record of serving in Israel longer than any other American Ambassador. "I would not have stayed here if I did not like this country."

What was the most memorable experience in his 39-year-old diplomatic career?—"The Six Day War, of course. Especially, the first day. The excitement it caused . . ."

**THREE-DIMENSIONAL STUDY OF PROTEIN
STRUCTURE**

(By Philip Gillon)

Professor Christian Boehmer Anfinsen, a biochemist in the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, was made an Honorary Fellow of the Weizmann Institute this week. "In recognition," as his Scroll put it, "of his outstanding contributions to molecular biology, particularly in the field of protein structure and function." He arrived at the Institute three weeks ago, together with his wife; he is to spend several months here working with Professor Michael Sela.

Molecular biology was very much in fashion a year or two ago, I say, when we expected it to provide us with solutions to many problems, including the secret of life.

Tall and soft-spoken, with his height and looks indicating his Norwegian origin, although he was born in America, Professor Anfinsen looks dubious. "Molecular biology covers a lot of other disciplines: I call myself a biochemist trained in aspects of chemistry and biology. Some people seem to think that the most important discoveries have already been made in molecular biology, that the double helix wrapped it up, but I think that it just opened up an enormous field for us."

What is his particular interest?

"I'm concerned with protein structure. The aim is to understand how macro-molecules work in terms of three-dimensional structure. The genetic code determines what the linear code will be; this is translated into three dimensions. Since the development of X-Ray crystallography and computers, we have been able to study this three-dimensional structure.

"A very exciting development was the discovery of ways to synthesise macro-molecules. Now we are engaged in what you may call molecular engineering. We look at the structure of an enzyme, for instance, and if we see a loop in the chain that doesn't seem to be doing anything, we see what happens if we chop it off. We say, let's synthesise this without the loop and see what funny things will happen. We get the most interesting results—as often as not, they confirm the first impression that the loop has no apparent use, it must have been preserved by evolution, perhaps it had a use we don't know about. Maybe, instead of molecular engineering, you can say that we are doing molecular surgery."

Can you change the function of molecules by this surgery?

"In 20 years, perhaps, somebody will be able to change the macromolecule for function. But we are only at the beginning."

Does this mean that you and your colleagues will be able to tailor the genetic code to get rid of genetic abnormalities?

"I think so—work is already being done, as you know, on abnormal hemoglobin."

I know that you have been a member of the Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors since the beginning of the decade, and have been to Israel many times, but is there any specific reason why you came to Israel for your Sabbatical?

"My wife and I have a tremendous number of friends here. Michael Sela came to work with us in Bethesda in 1956, and I enjoy working with him very much. Perhaps one of the main attractions Israel has for me is because of my Norwegian origin—and I still have many ties with Norway, although I was born and brought up in America. Like Israel, Norway is a small country, but an energetic one; even the language sounds something like Hebrew.

"Of course a major attraction is the quality of the work at the Weizmann; it is one of the four, five or six places in the world where one naturally thinks of spending a Sabbatical. It is really a phenomenon, as well equipped as most American institutions—everything I have at N.I.H. is here, in some respect the Weizmann may even be better off than many American institutes. The computers are phenomenal."

Science-based industries have become the vogue in Israel, and some people are alleging that the Weizmann people should come out of their ivory towers down into the marketplace.

"Applied science has to come from basic science—you have to have some science to apply. This ideal is to have both. And to keep them separate."

Science-based industries do not attract Israeli scientists in the same way as basic research; there is a sort of snobbery.

"I have heard that Israelis want to remain in academic life. In the U.S. people tend to move about more than they do here, they go from the academic life to industry and back again. Of course, there are more opportunities in America. I think that applied science is perhaps better for a man who is getting a little older, who is losing the drive and push needed to tackle new problems. The going gets tougher and tougher as the years pass."

But, fundamentally, you do not think that the Weizmann Institute should change the course it has taken for the last 25 years, should become more practical?

"Why change something that has brought so much prestige to Israel, that puts a small country among the world's leaders in science?"

REMARKS OF ERNST D. BERGMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIC CHEMISTRY, HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

Every one of us on whom the Honorary Fellowship of the Weizmann Institute has been conferred, feels deeply moved, and in some measure every one of us for different reasons that lie hidden deep in one's life history. However, I am sure that all of us alike, whether we are scientists or not, ponder in these solemn moments the same question: what it is that moves all of us so deeply, what it is that makes us so proud?

Is it not a fact to be marvelled at, that only the scientific community confers such honours on men outside its confines? No other profession, no other community knows such a festive and memorable ceremony. This fact expresses both the esteem in which Science is held and its value for society. There has been a time when the scientific community was a closed community, but not closed in the geographical sense; on the contrary, one was not really accepted into its membership before one had studied at all the different places of Higher Learning and had sat at the feet of all the famous men of learning—and for long years the young scientist had to be migratory and to wander from land to land all over the civilised world as it existed then—Europe.

It is interesting to recall that already two thousand years ago, the Jewish Sages had this advice to give to young people: go to the place where knowledge is flourishing, and do not think that knowledge will come to you on its own.

With the advent of the political theories of nationalism and the growth of scientific knowledge, this situation changed. The young scientist completed his studies at one University, very often with one teacher, because one considered the time spent on travelling as wasteful—too much had to be learned; *ars longa, vita brevis*. However, also in this period the civilised world was well aware of the international or rather supra-national aspects of science. I recall the much too little known, much too little appreciated story of the French naval vessel captured at the time of the Napoleonic wars by the British Navy; the French vessel happened to carry a number of French scientists and a large treasure of data and samples from an exploration of South America, which all fell into British hands. However, the British Admiralty returned the scientists and their treasures to France with a letter saying H.M. Government are at war with France, but not with the French scientists and with French science. We may well profit today from this story.

In our generation, we are witnessing a synthesis of the opposing historical trends of thought, a synthesis in the Hegelian sense; we know that institutions of higher learning can only grow in the national frame which they serve; they resemble Antheos of the Greek myth, the giant who had only strength when his feet stood firmly on the soil from which he sprang. But we do know that this necessity of having roots in a national society must not imply a limitation. Science organises itself across and beyond national boundaries; its problems and those of the society it serves, are the same in every country, and competition and collaboration must be interwoven, if scientists want to fulfill their dual obligation to understand the mysteries of nature and to make nature serve the needs of the human race.

The Romans called their priests pontifices, builders of bridges. I submit to you that today the scientists are the bridge-builders, perhaps (to our regret) the only ones, between nations; they are part of a national and an international community. One of my distinguished colleagues may well remind us that Schiller's words on joy, made immortal by Beethoven's music, are singularly applicable to science today: "Alle Menschen werden Brüder, wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt." Science may help to create the brotherhood of men.

I wonder whether we are not all subconsciously influenced by Plato's idea of the philosopher-king: to be accepted into the membership of a scientific institution means then to be accepted into a princely family, and that is what makes us proud.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, my distinguished colleagues will agree with me that we have one more reason to be particularly proud and deeply moved. The Daniel Sleff Research Institute and the Weizmann Institute of Science, its successor, are not like other scientific institutions, in the same sense as Israel, the Promised Land, is not like other lands. The scientific institutions of this country have a history different from that of all other places of higher learning. They have not been created by a rich and satiated society, which could afford the luxury to promote science for the sake of science; they have not been built in the centre of cities which had accumulated power and wealth. They have been in some measure castles in the sky and certainly castles in the sand of the desert.

There are in this Hall many who still remember the sand dunes into which the proud buildings of the Weizmann Institute have

been constructed; they know that faith moves not only mountains. Thus the Israeli scientists and their institutions have always been also pioneers and builders of their new-old country. There are two reasons why the Israeli scientific institutions have not been based on the firm basis of the past, but on the more elusive foundations of our dreams for the future—long before there was a State to support these efforts. We have always believed what a French philosopher has expressed so aptly—in our times, the only practical people are the dreamers of dreams. We wanted to pay tribute to the age-old yearnings of the Jewish people for knowledge, and we were convinced that a small country, poor in natural resources, poor also in the number of its inhabitants, in its human resources could only succeed in creating a stable society if it marshalled all that modern science and technology can offer. It is the awareness of this dual objective that, I believe, distinguishes us from so many other institutions of higher learning which find today—in an almost schizophrenic mood—the service of Science and the service to the nation mutually exclusive.

Let me recall that Dr. Weizmann who has watched so jealously over the purity of purpose of this institution, had originally planned it as a source of knowledge and impetus for the agricultural efforts of this country. Indeed, everyone who envisioned the future of this country, of a State to grow from it, knew that it would be faced with three complexes of scientific problems, and that we would have to solve all these problems simultaneously, under the pressure of circumstances: to create a modern agriculture in an area which has been largely a desert, both through the inequity of nature and the neglect by man—to establish an industry in a country which was devoid of almost all the natural resources on which our technological society is built—and to build up a defense establishment in a nation for which the war of attrition has been an integral part of its daily life for 2000 years, but which has always abhorred war and has rarely remembered that the God of the Bible is not only the God of Peace between all nations, but also the God "who teaches my hands to fight and my fingers to wage war".

All this is reflected also in the history of the Weizmann Institute. Its members can take pride in the fact that in spite of these pressures they have never forgotten that their pure scientific achievement, too, represents a service to their country, because the standing of a country in the comity of nations depends today more than ever on the contribution the country makes to the treasure of knowledge of the human society.

I cannot, Mr. Chairman, try to characterize this institution without mentioning one name, that of Meyer Weisgal who has contributed to the formation of its character more than any other person, who has made the Weizmann Institute not only a centre of learning, but also a meeting place for the friends of Science and the friends of Israel. It may seem paradoxical that a non-scientist should have contributed so much to the growth and success of a scientific institution and should have understood so well the individualistic, non-conformist trend of thought of scientists; in fact, this is in the best scientific tradition. Let me remind you that Socrates took pride not in his original thoughts, but in his being the obstetrician who assisted at the birth of the ideas of others. This, I believe, is also an apt description of Meyer Weisgal's role in the development of the Weizmann Institute: the man who helps the realization of an idea is no less important than the one who conceives it.

Twenty years may be too short a period to permit an objective answer to the question, whether the Weizmann Institute, whether the scientific institutions of this

country have succeeded in putting their aspirations, their dreams, into effect. But in magnis voluisse sat, in great undertakings it is enough to have tried.

Let us then again ask ourselves, who have been honoured by being adopted into this community, what is it that makes us so proud, that moves us so deeply? Do you remember, my friends, the old Jewish legend that the Messiah, disguised as a beggar, sits at the gates of Rome and waits to be called upon to bring redemption to the world? It is no longer Rome which can contribute to the coming of the Messiah; nor is it any other of the capitals of the world, West or East. We will have to change this legend; we believe that the Messiah today sits, waiting, at the gates of one of the great scientific institutions; they hold in their hand the key to the future.

Or if I may say so on your behalf, my distinguished colleagues from abroad, we are proud and moved because we feel that the words of the old hymn of the American Republic may have been written for this country and for today:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword

The truth is marching on.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, we are grateful for and proud of the honour bestowed on us because we share with you the belief that this great institution has in its power to bring nearer the days of redemption, because we believe with you—perhaps against all reason—that the truth is marching on.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS AT THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE MARKING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT. NOVEMBER 1969

SUNDAY, 2.11.69

Weizmann Memorial Day 5:30-6:30 p.m.
Memorial Plaza

Opening Ceremony.

Speakers will include: The President of Israel, Mr. Zalman Shazar; the Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir; the President of the Weizmann Institute, Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal; and the President-elect, Dr. Albert Sabin.

A pageant of sound and light, directed by Mr. Gershon Plotkin of the Cameri Theater, will be presented. Among the participants: the Israel Chamber Ensemble and the Rinat Choir, conducted by Gary Bertini; and the Cantor and Choir of the Chief Rabbinate of the Israel Defense Forces. Hanna Meron and Yosef Yadin will read a ballad by Haim Hefer. Narration will be Amikam Gurevich.

A special anniversary issue of REHOVOT, the Weizmann Institute periodical, will be published, as will special supplements in the Israeli press.

MONDAY, 3.11.69

10 a.m. Daniel Sieff Research Institute

Ceremony honoring Lord Sieff of Brimpton on his 80th birthday. A sculpture by Nathan Rapaport, dedicated to Lord Sieff, will be unveiled.

11 a.m., Wix Auditorium

Lecture by Prof. Samuel Sambursky of the Hebrew University, first incumbent of the Balfour Chair in the History of Science at the Weizmann Institute, on "Balfour's Philosophy of Science."

1 p.m., San Martin Faculty Clubhouse

Institute luncheon in honor of Lord Sieff.

3-6 p.m., Stone Administration Building
Meeting of the Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors (closed to press).

8:30 p.m. Wix Auditorium

The inaugural lecture of the I. I. Rabi Chair in Natural Philosophy, delivered by

CXV—2601—Part 30

Prof. I. I. Rabi, Nobel Laureate in Physics, of Columbia University. He will speak on "A Scientist's Credo."

TUESDAY, 4.11.69

9 a.m.—1 p.m.

Stone Administration Bldg.

Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors (closed to press).

4 p.m., Wix Auditorium

Conferral of Honorary Fellowships of the Weizmann Institute on: Prof. Christian B. Anfinsen, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md.; Mr. Walworth Barbour, Ambassador of the United States to Israel; Prof. Ernest David Bergmann, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Mr. Charles Clore, Financier of the United Kingdom; Prof. John C. Kendrew, Nobel Laureate, Cambridge University, England; Mr. Theodore R. Racoosin, New York businessman and member of the Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors; Mr. Philip David Sang, Chicago businessman; Prof. Gershon Scholem, Professor of Jewish Mysticism; Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Mr. Axel C. Springer, publisher, West Germany; Prof. Robert Burns Woodward, Nobel Laureate, Harvard University. (Brief biographies and photographs of new Fellows are available on request).

WEDNESDAY, 5.11.69

3 p.m., Wix Auditorium

Scientific lecture by Professor Robert Woodward of Harvard University. In the Chair: Prof. Gerhard Schmidt, Director of the Weizmann Institute of Science.

THURSDAY, 6.11.69

10 a.m., Wix Auditorium

Lecture by Prof. Herman Mark, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, on "New Concepts, New Polymers, New Uses." In the Chair: Prof. Aharon Katzir, Head of the Weizmann Institute's Polymer Research Department.

MONDAY, 10.11.69

3-5 p.m., San Martin Faculty Clubhouse

Staff party honoring Institute President Meyer W. Weisgal on his 75th birthday.

MONDAY, 17.11.69 TO SATURDAY, 29.11.69

International Training Course on Molecular Aspects of Antigenicity and Immunoglobulins, sponsored by UNESCO, ICRO (International Cell Research Organization), WHO, and the Weizmann Institute.

LOUISVILLE SOLDIER KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Diana G. Fulks has just recently received notice that her husband Pfc. Charles E. Fulks had been killed in action in Vietnam.

Charles Fulks thus becomes another of the valiant men who has given his life in defense of his country and in protecting the free world.

The sympathy of thousands of other families who have paid this sacrifice goes out to Mrs. Fulks and the Fulks family. To them also goes the sincere gratitude of those of us whom Charles died protecting.

The recent Courier-Journal article, which reports the loss of Pfc. Charles E. Fulks to the war in Vietnam follows:

LOUISVILLE SOLDIER IS KILLED IN ACTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

The Pentagon reported yesterday the death in action in Vietnam of Army Pfc. Charles E. Fulks, of Louisville.

Fulks, 20, had been in the Army since October 1968 and in Vietnam since April. He was a student at Durrett High School before he entered the Army.

Fulks is survived by his wife, Mrs. Diana G. Fulks, of 3311 Nelinda May Drive; a 5-month-old son, Charles Edward Fulks; his mother, Mrs. Virginia McHugh; his father, Irvin Fulks, of Bonnieville, Ky., and a grandmother, Mrs. Margaret Fulks, of Bonnieville.

Also surviving are his stepfather, Elrod McHugh; a brother, Wayne Fulks; six half brothers, Donald and Glendell Fulks and Jimmy, Bobby, Freddie and Johnny Graham; and a half sister, Mrs. Connie Graham Nutting.

The body will be at Arch L. Heady Okolona Funeral Home, 8519 Preston Highway, on arrival from Vietnam.

CFR: FOR WHOM WE SERVE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, like many of our colleagues, I receive frequent inquiries as to who or what is responsible for causing the wars and in preventing peace. Most people do not buy the story that people provoke wars—therefore, they seek to discover sinister alternatives such as the lust for profit and power.

Many inquiries suggest the existence of an international conspiratorial plot—an invisible government—promoted by and for industrialists, intellectuals, and wealthy financiers. The CFR, Council on Foreign Relations, is commonly mentioned—and to the inquisitive mind the CFR itself may supply many answers.

Almost as a Christmas gift, I was supplied by the CFR with its annual report for the year ending June 30, 1969. The report, in addition to containing impressive data and accomplishments, supplies the CFR membership list. Among the 1,451 CFR members are former military commanders of Vietnam and Korea, Secretaries of State under both parties, labor czars, international bankers, and newsmen. Undoubtedly an index to the most powerful group of men ever assembled within one organization. In addition to their own finances they acknowledge grants received from Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Carnegie Corporation Fund.

Since the CFR membership list contains so many prominent individuals who preside as unelected decisionmakers in our Government—those who have and who are making the overall policy and decisions—perhaps it would be more feasible to direct the many inquiries of parents and survivors of our fighting men and POW's to them, CFR, Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th Street, New York.

Mr. Speaker, I include pages of the CFR annual report including the membership list following my remarks:

CFR ANNUAL REPORT

MEMBERSHIP

For some time the Council has been in the process of a serious self-study regarding the direction and emphasis its program of studies and related activities should take in light of present and, insofar as they can be anticipated, future foreign policy priorities of the United States. An important aspect of this investigation relates to the quality of the Council's membership and the degree to which balance is maintained among the different types of members. Recognizing the need for a comprehensive examination of the membership situation, the Board of Directors set up an *ad hoc* committee, with Carroll L. Wilson as chairman, to review the present composition and to suggest guidelines for the future. It met during the past winter and spring and expects to present its conclusions and recommendations to the Board in the coming winter.

The Advisory Committee on Younger Members has just completed its second year and as a result of its recommendations, 34 exceptionally qualified younger members (principally in their thirties, with the remainder in their twenties) have been admitted during this period. The following have been serving on the committee: Eugene B. Skolnikoff, Michael V. Forrestal, Gerald Freund, Gerald M. Mayer, Jr., Lawrence C. McQuade, Stephen Stamas, and Alexander B. Trowbridge.

As of June 30, 1969, there were 1,451 members, of whom 704 were resident and 747 non-resident.

LORNA BRENNAN,
Membership Secretary.

Resident Members as of September 8, 1969

A

Akers, Anthony B.; Albrecht-Carrie, Rene; Aldrich, Winthrop W.; Alexander, Archibald S.; Alexander, Henry C.; Alexander, Robert J.; Allan, F. Alley; Allen, Charles E.; Allen, Philip E.; Alley, James B.; Allport, Alexander W.; Alpern, Alan N.

Altschul, Arthur G.; Altchul, Frank; Ames, Amyas; Ammidon, Hoyt; Anderson, Robert B.; Armour, Norman; Armstrong, Hamilton Fish; Ascoli, Max; Attwood, William; Aubrey, Henry G.; Ault, Bromwell.

B

Backer, George; Badeau, John S.; Baird, Charles F.; Baldwin, Robert H. B.; Ball, George W.; Bancroft, Harding F.; Barber, Charles F.; Barber, Joseph; Barker, Robert R.; Barlow, William E.; Barns, William J.; Barnes, Joseph; Barnes, Robert G.; Barnett, Frank R.; Barrand, Harry P., Jr.; Barrett, Edward W.; Barzun, Jacques; Bassow, Whitman.

Bastedo, Phillip; Bator, Peter A.; Beal, Gerald F.; Becker, Loftus E.; Bedard, Pierre; Beebe, Frederick S.; Beinecke, William S.; Bell, Daniel; Bell, David E.; Benjamin, Robert S.; Bennett, Jack F.; Bennett, John C.; Benton, William; Beplat, Tristan E.; Berle, Adolf A.; Besse, Simon Michael; Bienstock, Abraham L.; Bingham, Jonathan B.; Birkelund, John P.

Black, Joseph E.; Black, Peter; Blake, Norman P.; Blough, Roger M.; Blough, Roy; Blum, John A.; Blumenthal, W. Michael; Bogdan, Norbert A.; Bolte, Charles G.; Bonasal, Dudley B.; Borch, Fred J.; Borton, Hugh.

Bowers, John Z.; Boyd, Hugh N.; Braxton, Carter M.; Breck, Henry C.; Brinckerhoff, Charles M.; Brittenham, Raymond L.; Bronk, Detlev W.; Brown, Courtney C.; Brown, Irving; Brown, Walter L.; Brownell, George A.; Bruce, James.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Buffum, William B.; Bullock, Hugh; Bundy, McGeorge; Burden, William A. M.; Burkhardt, Frederick; Burnett, John G.; Bush, Donald F.; Bushner, Roland H.; Butler, William F.; Buttenweiser, Benjamin J.

C

Cabell, Richard A.; Calder, Alexander, Jr.; Calhoun, Alexander D.; Camp, Hugh D.; Campbell, John C.; Canfield, Cass; Canfield, Franklin O.; Carey, Andrew G.; Carroll, Mitchell B.; Carson, Ralph M.; Carter, George E.; Carter, William D.

Cary, William L.; Case, John C.; Cates, John M., Jr.; Cattier, Jean; Chartener, William H.; Chase, W. Howard; Chittenden, George H.; Chubb, Hendon, 2nd; Chubb, Percy, 2nd; Church, Edgar M.; Clay, Gen. Lucius D.

Cleveland, Harold van B.; Cleveland, William B.; Clinchy, Everett R.; Coffin, Edmund; Cohen, Jerome B.; Coles, James S.; Collado, Emilio G.; Colwell, Kent G.; Conant, James B.; Conant, Melvin; Connor, John T.; Considine, Rev. John J. M.M.

Cook, Howard A.; Coolidge, Nicholas J.; Coombs, Charles A.; Cooper, Franklin S.; Cordier, Andrew W.; Costanzo, G. A.; Coughran, Tom B.; Cousins, Norman; Cowan, L. Gray; Cowan, Louis G.; Cowles, Gardner; Creel, Dana S.; Cummings, Robert L.; Cusick, Peter.

Darlington, Charles F.; Darrell, Norris; Davenport, John; Davidson, Ralph K.; Davison, W. Phillips; Dean, Arthur H.; Debevoise, Ell Whitney; De Cubas, Jose; de Lima, Oscar A.; Deming, Frederick L.; De Rosso, Alphonse; de Vries, Henry P.; Dewey, Thomas E.; Dexter, Byron.

Dickson, R. Russell, Jr.; Diebold, John; Diebold, William, Jr.; Dillon, Clarence; Dillon, Douglas; Dilworth, J. Richardson; Dodge, Cleveland E.; Donahue, Donald J.; Donovan, Hedley; Dorr, Goldthwaite H.; Dorwin, Oscar John; Douglas, Lewis W.; Douglas, Paul W.; Dubinsky, David.

E

Eagle, Vernon A.; Eaton, Fredrick M.; Eberle, W. D.; Eberstadt, Ferdinand; Edelman, Albert I.; Edelstein, Julius C. C.; Eder, Phanor J.; Eichelberger, Clark M.; Elliott, L. W.; Elliott, Osborn.

Elson, Robert T.; Emmet, Christopher; Engel, Irving M.; Engelhard, Charles W., Jr.; Erpf, Armand G.; Estabrook, Robert H.; Ewing, Sherman; Ewing, William, Jr.; Exter, John.

F

Feer, Mark C.; Fenn, William P.; Ferguson, Glenn W.; Field, William Osgood, Jr.; Finger, Seymour M.; Finlay, Luke W.; Finletter, Thomas K.; Finney, Paul B.; Fischer, John; Fleck, G. Peter.

Ford, Neil; Forrestal, Michael V.; Fowler, Henry H.; Fox, Joseph C.; Fox, William T. R.; Foye, Arthur B.; Frankel, Charles; Franklin George S., Jr.; Franche, Dean F.; Fredericks, J. Wayne.

Freedman, Emanuel R.; Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B.; French, John; Freudenthal, David M.; Friele, Berent; Friendly, Henry J.; Frye, William R.; Fuerbringer, Otto; Fuller, C. Dale; Fuller, Robert G.; Funkhouser, E. N., Jr.

G

Gage, Harlow W.; Gallatin, James P.; Gardner, Richard N.; Garretson, Albert H.; Garrison, Lloyd K.; Gates, Samuel E.; Gates, Thomas S.; Geneen, Harold S.; Gideones, Harry D.; Gillespie, S. Hazard; Gilpatric, Roswell L.; Goldberg, Arthur J.; Golden, William T.

Golden, Harrison J.; Goldstone, Harmon H.; Gordon, Albert H.; Grace, J. Peter; Graft, Robert D.; Grazier, Joseph A.; Griffith, Thomas; Grimm, Peter; Gross, Ernest A.; Grover, Allen; Gruson, Sydney; Guggenheim, Harry F.; Gunther, John; Gurfein, Murray I.

H

Hager, Eric H.; Haider, Michael L.; Haight, George W.; Halaby, Najeeb E.; Halberstam, David; Hamilton, Fowle; Hammond, Capt. Paul; Hance, William A.; Harari,

Maurice; Harbar, J. G.; Harriman, E. Roland; Haskell, Broderick.

Hauge, Gabriel; Hayes, Alfred; Hayes, Samuel P.; Haynes, Ulric, Jr.; Hazard, John N.; Heath, Donald R.; Heckscher, August; Helm, Harold H.; Henderson, William; Henkin, Louis; Herod, W. Rogers; Herter, Christian A., Jr.

Herzog, Paul M.; Hester, James M.; Hickey, William M.; Hill, Forrest F.; Hill, James T., Jr. Hilsman, Roger; Hochschild, Harold K.; Hochschild, Walter; Hoffman, Paul G.; Hoggland, Ellis S.

Hoguet, Robert L.; Hohenberg, John; Holland, Kenneth; Holmes, Alan R.; Holt, L. Emmett, Jr.; Homer, Sidney; Hoover, Lyman; Horn, Garfield H.; Horton, Phillip C.; Hottlet, Richard C.

Houghton, Arthur A., Jr.; Houston, Frank K.; Hovey, Allan, Jr.; Howard, John B.; Howell, John I.; Hughes, John Chambers; Hurewitz, J. C.; Hyde, Henry B.; Hyde, James N.

I

Inglis, John B.; Irwin, John N., 2d; Iselin, O'Donnell; Issawi, Charles.

J

Jackson, Elmore; Jackson, William E.; James, George F.; Jamieson, J. K.; Jaretzki, Alfred, Jr.; Jastrow, Robert; Javits, Jacob K.; Jay, Nelson Dean; Jessup, Alpheus W.; Jessup, John K.; Johnson, Edward F.; Johnson, Joseph E.; Johnson, Lester B.; Jones, David J.

K

Kahn, Herman; Kalinski, Felix A.; Kammer, Peter H.; Kane, R. Keith; Katzenbach, Nicholas de B.; Keezer, Dexter M.; Keiser, David M.; Kempner, Maximilian W.; Kenen, Peter B.; Kenney, F. Donald; Keppel, Francis; Kern, Harry F.; Kettaneh, Francis A.

Keyser, Paul V., Jr.; King, Frederic R.; Kirk, Grayson; Kleiman, Robert; Knight, Douglas; Knight, Robert Huntington; Knoke, L. Werner; Knoppers, Antonie T.; Knowlton, Winthrop; Koenig, Robert P.; Kriedler, Robert N.

L

Labouisse, Henry R.; Lacy, Dan B.; Lamb, Horace R.; Lamont, Peter T.; Larmon, Sigurd S.; LaRoché, Chester J.; Lary, Hal B.; Laukhuff, Perry; Laybourne, Lawrence E.; LeBaron, Eugene; Lee, Elliott H.; Lehman, John R.; Lehman Orin; Lehrman, Hal; Leonard, James G.

Leroy, Norbert G.; Leslie, John C.; Levy, Walter J.; Lewis, Roger; Lieberman, Henry R.; Lillenthal, David E.; Lilley, A. N.; Lindbeck, John M. H.; Lindquist, Warren T.; Lindsay, George N.; Lindsay, John V.; Linsen, James A.; Lippmann, Walter; Lissitzyn, Oliver J.; Locke, Edwin A., Jr.; Lockwood, John E.; Loeb, John L.; Loft, George; Loomis, Alfred L.; Loos, Rev. A. William; Loucks, Harold H.; Lubar, Robert A.; Lubin, Isador; Luckey, E. Hugh; Ludt, R. E.; Luke, David L., 3rd; Lunt, Samuel D.; Lyford, Joseph P.

M

McCance, Thomas; McCarthy, John G.; McCloy, John J.; McCloy, John J., 2nd; McCoolough, C. Peter; McDermott, Walsh; McGraw, James H., Jr.; McKeever, Porter; McLean, John G.; MacEachron, David W.; MacGregor, Ian K.; MacIntyre, Malcolm A.; Maffry, August; Manshel, Warren D.

Mark, Rev. Julius; Markel, Lester; Marshall, Burke; Marvel, William W.; Masten, John E.; Mathews, Edward J.; Mattison, Graham D.; May, A. Wilfred; Mayer, Gerald M., Jr.; Menke, John R.; Merz, Charles; Metzger, Herman A.; Meyer, John M., Jr.; Mickelson, Sig.

Millard, Mark J.; Miller, Paul R., Jr.; Mills, Bradford; Model, Leo; Moe, Sherwood G.; Moore, Ben T.; Moore, Edward F.; Moore, George S.; Moore, Maurice T.; Moore, Robert A.; Moore, Walden; Moore, William T.; Morgan, D. P.

Morgan, Henry S.; Morley, James William; Morris, Grinnell; Morrisett, Lloyd N.; Mosely,

Phillip E.; Moyers, Bill D.; Muir, Malcolm; Munroe, George B.; Munroe, Vernon, Jr.; Munyan, Winthrop R.; Murden, Forrest D., Jr.; Murphy, Grayson M. P.; Murphy, J. Morden.

N

Neal, Alfred C.; Nelson, Clifford C.; Newton, Quigg, Jr.; Nichols, Thomas S.; Nichols, William I.; Nickerson, A. L.; Nielsen, Waldemar A.; Nimitz, Chester W., Jr.; Nolte, Richard H.; Notestein, Frank W.; Noyes, Charles Phelps.

O

Oakes, John B.; Ogden, Alfred; Olmstead, Cecil J.; O'Neill, Michael J.; Osborn, Earl D.; Osborn, Frederick H.; Osborn, William H.; Osborne, Stanley de J.; Ostrander, F. Taylor, Jr.; Overby, Andrew N.; Overton, Douglas W.

P

Page, Frank, Jr.; Page, Howard W.; Page, John H.; Page, Robert G.; Page, Walter H.; Paley, William S.; Palfrey, John G.; Parker, Philo W.; Passin, Herbert; Patterson, Ellmore C.; Patterson, Frederick D.

Patterson, Herbert P.; Payne, Frederick B.; Payne, Samuel B.; Payson, Charles Shipman; Peardon, Thomas P.; Pearson, John E.; Pennoyer, Paul G.; Pennoyer, Robert M.; Perkins, James A.; Perkins, Roswell B.; Perry, Hart.

Petersen, Gustav H.; Petschek, Stephen R.; Phillips, Christopher H.; Picker, Harvey; Pickering, James V.; Piel, Gerard; Pierce, William C.; Piercy, George T.; Pierson, Warren Lee; Pifer, Alan; Pike, H. Harvey.

Place, John B. M.; Platten, Donald C.; Plimpton, Francis T. P.; Polk, Judd; Poor, J. Sheppard; Potter, Robert S.; Power, Thomas F., Jr.; Powers, Joshua B.; Pratt, H. Irving; Probst, George E.; Pulling, Edward.

Q

Quigg, Philip W.

R

Rabi, Isidor I.; Rabin, J. Howard, Jr.; Reber, Samuel; Reed, Philip D.; Reid, Ogden R.; Reid, Whitelaw; Reston, James B.; Rhein-stein, Alfred; Richardson, Arthur Berry.

Riegelman, Harold; Robbins, Donald G., Jr.; Robertson, Charles S.; Robinson, Gerold T.; Roche, James M.; Rockefeller, David; Rockefeller, John D., 3d; Rockefeller, Nelson A.; Rockefeller, Rodman C.; Rockhill, Victor E.; Rodriguez, Vincent A.

Rogers, Lindsay; Roosa, Robert V.; Root, Oren; Rosenman, Samuel I.; Rosenstiel, Lewis; Rosenthal, A. M.; Rosenwald, William; Rosin, Axel G.; Ross, T. J.; Ruebhausen, Oscar M.; Russell, T. W., Jr.; Rustow, Dankwart A.

S

Sachs, Alexander; Sachs, Howard J.; Salisbury, Harrison E.; Saltzman, Charles E.; Sargeant, Howland H.; Sargent, Noel; Sarnoff, Brig. Gen. David; Schachter, Oscar; Schaffner, Joseph Halle; Schapiro, J. Salwyn; Scherman, Harry; Schiff, John M.

Schiller, A. Arthur; Shilling, Warner R.; Schilthuis, Willem C.; Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.; Schmidt, Herman J.; Schmoker, J. Benjamin; Schwartz, Harry; Schwarz, Frederick A. O.; Scott, John; Scott, Stuart N.; Seagrave, Norman P.; Seligman, Eustace.

Seymour, Whitney North; Shapiro, Isaac; Sharp, George C.; Sharp, James H.; Shea, Andrew B.; Sheehan, Vincent; Sheeline, Paul C.; Sheffield, Frederick; Shepard, David A.; Shepard, Frank P.; Shulman, Marshall D.; Shute, Benjamin R.

Silver, K. H.; Simons, Hans; Sims, Albert G.; Slater, Joseph E.; Slawson, John; Smith, Carleton Sprague; Smith, Datus C., Jr.; Smith, David S.; Smith, Hayden N.; Smith, W. Mason; Sommers, Davidson; Sonne, Christian R.

Sonne, H. Christian; Sorensen, Theodore C.; Soubry, E. E.; Spang, Kenneth M.; Spencer, Percy C.; Spofford, Charles M.; Stackpole, Stephen H.; Stamas, Stephen; Stanton, Frank; Stebbins, James H.; Stebbins, Richard P.; Steiniger, Edward L.; Stern, Fritz; Stern, H. Peter.

Stewart, Robert McLean; Stillman, Chauncey; Stillman, Ralph S.; Stinebower, Leroy D.; Stoddard, George D.; Stokes, Isaac N.P.; Straka, Jerome A.; Stratton, Julius A.; Straus, Donald B.; Straus, Jack I.; Straus, Oscar S.

Straus, Ralph I.; Strauss, Simon D.; Streibert, Theodore C.; Strong, Benjamin; Sulzberger, Arthur Ochs; Sutton, Francis X.; Swearer, Howard R.; Swing, John Temple; Swinton, Stanley M.; Swope, Gerard, Jr.

T

Taylor, Arthur R.; Thomas, Evan; Thomas, H. Gregory; Thompson, Earle S.; Thompson, Kenneth W.; Tibby, John; Tomlinson, Alexander C.; Topping, Seymour.

Townsend, Edward; Townsend, Oliver; Trager, Frank N.; Traphagen, J. C.; Travis, Martin B., Jr.; Trippe, Juan Terry; Trowbridge, Alexander B.; Tweedy, Gordon B.

U

Uzielli, Giorgio.

V

Vance, Cyrus R.; Vila, George R.; von Klemperer, Alfred H.; Voorhees, Tracy S.

W

Wagley, Charles W.; Walker, A. Lightfoot; Walker, George G.; Walker, Joseph, Jr.; Walkowicz, T. F.; Warburg, Eric M.; Warburg, Frederick M.; Ward, F. Champion; Warfield, Ethelbert; Warner, Rawleigh, Jr.; Wasson, Donald.

Watson, Arthur K.; Watson, Thomas J., Jr.; Wauchope, Vice Adm. George; Weaver, Sylvester L., Jr.; Webster, Bethuel M.; Wernimont, Kenneth; Wharton, Clifton R., Jr.; Wheeler, Walter H., Jr.; Whidden, Howard P.; Whipple, Taggart.

White, Frank X.; White, Theoreore H.; Whitney, John Hay; Whitridge, Arnold; Wilbur, C. Martin; Wilhelm, Harry; Wilkey, Malcolm Richard; Wilkinson, Theodore L.; Williams, Franklin H.; Williams, Langbourne M.

Wilson, Donald M.; Wilson, John D.; Wingate, Henry S.; Winslow, Richard S.; Wofford, Harris L., Jr.; Wood, Bryce; Woodman, Herbert, B.; Woodward, Donald B.; Woolley, Knight; Wriston, Henry M.; Wriston, Walter B.

Y

Yost, Charles W.; Young, Edgar B.; Young, John M.; Young, Kenneth T., Jr.

Z

Zagoria, Donald S.; Zurcher, Arnold J.

NONRESIDENT MEMBERS AS OF SEPTEMBER 8,

1969

A

Abegglen, James C.; Abelson, Philip H.; Abram, Morris B.; Acheson, Dean G.; Achilles, Theodore C.; Agar, Herbert; Allen, Raymond B.; Amory, Robert, Jr.; Anderson, Dillon; Anderson, Adm. George W., Jr.; Anderson, Roger E.; Angell, James W.; Armstrong, Brig. Gen. DeWitt C., 3rd; Armstrong, John A.; Austin, Vice Adm. B. L.

B

Babcock, Maj. Gen. C. Stanton; Baker, George P.; Baldwin, Hanson W.; Ballou, George T.; Barco, James W.; Barger, Thomas C.; Barghoorn, Frederick C.; Barker, James M.; Barkin, Solomon; Barnett, Richard J.; Barnett, A. Doak;

Barnett, Robert W.; Barnett, Vincent M., Jr.; Barrows, Leland; Bartholomew, Dana T.; Bass, Robert P., Jr.; Bates, Marston; Bator, Francis M.; Baumer, William H.; Baxter, James P., 3rd; Bayne, Edward Ashley; Beam, Jacob D.; Bechtel, S. D.; Beckhart, Benjamin H.

Beckler, David Z.; Beer, Samuel H.; Behrman, Jack N.; Bell, Holley Mack; Benda, Harry J.; Bennett, Lt. Gen. Donald V.; Bennett, Martin Toscan; Bergson, Abram; Bergsten, C. Fred; Bernstein, Edward M.; Betts, Brig. Gen. Thomas J.;

Billington, James H.; Bissell, Richard M.,

Jr.; Black, Cyril E.; Black, Brig. Gen. Edwin F.; Blackie, William; Blake, Robert O.; Bliss, C. I.; Bloomfield, Lincoln P.; Boardman, Harry; Boeschstein, Harold; Bohlen, Charles E.;

Bonesteel, Gen. C. H., 3rd; Bonsal, Philip W.; Boorman, Howard L.; Boothby, Albert C.; Bowie, Robert R.; Bowles, Chester; Bowles, Frank; Braden, Thomas W.; Bradford, Richard; Bradford, Amory H.; Braisted, Paul J.

Bramstedt, W. F.; Brewster, Kingman, Jr.; Briggs, Ellis O.; Brimmer, Andrew F.; Bristol, William M.; Bronwell, Arthur; Brooks, Harvey; Broby, Melvin; Bross, John A.; Brown, Harold; Brown, Lester R.; Brown, William O.; Brownell, Lincoln C.

Bruce, David K. E.; Brundage, Percival F.; Bundy, William P.; Bunker, Ellsworth; Bunnell, C. Sterling; Burchinal, Gen. David A.; Burgess, Carter L.; Burgess, W. Randolph; Burns, Arthur F.; Bussey, Col. Donald S.; Byrne, James MacGregor; Byrnes, Robert F.; Byroade, Henry A.

C

Cabot, John M.; Cabot, Louis W.; Cabot, Thomas D.; Caldwell, Robert G.; Calkins, Hugh; Caraway, Lt. Gen. Paul W.; Carpenter, W. Samuel, 3rd; Cary, Maj. Gen. John B.; Case, Clifford P.; Case, Everett N.

Cater, Douglas; Chapman, John F.; Charple, Robert A.; Chartener, William H.; Chayes, Abram J.; Cheever, Daniel S.; Cherrery, Hollis B.; Cherrington, Ben M.; Childs, Marquis; Church, Frank; Cislser, Walker L.; Clark, Ralph L.; Cleveland, Harlan.

Clough, Ernest T.; Coffey, Joseph Irving; Cohen, Benjamin V.; Cole, Charles W.; Collings, L. V.; Collingwood, Charles C.; Conlon, Richard P.; Conrad, Gen. Bryan; Coombs, Philip H.; Cooper, Chester L.; Cooper, John Sherman; Cooper, Richard N.

Copeland, Lamot du Pont; Corson, Dale R.; Coting, Charles E.; Cowles, John; Cowles, John; Cowles, John Jr.; Crane, Winthrop Murray, 3rd; Cross, James E.; Crotty, Homer D.; Crowe, Philip K.; Curran, Jean A., Jr.; Curtis, Edward P.

D

Dale, William B.; Dallin, Alexander; Dangerfield, Royden; David, Donald K.; Davidson, Alfred A.; Davies, Fred A.; Davies, Roger P.; Davis, John A.; Davis, Nathanael V.; Davis, Nathaniel; Davison, Daniel P.; Dean, Edgar P.; Deaver, John V.

Decker, William C.; De Guigne, Christian, 3rd; De Kiewiet, C. W.; DePalma, Samuel; Despres, Emile; Deuel, Wallace R.; Deutch, Michael J.; Dickey, John S.; Doherty, William C., Jr.; Dollard, Charles; Donham, Paul.

Donnell, James C., 2nd; Donnelley, Lt. Gen. Harold C.; Dorr, Russell H.; Doty, Paul M., Jr.; Douglas, Donald W., Jr.; Dowling, Walter; Draper, William H., Jr.; Dreier, John C.; Drummond, Roscoe; Ducas, Robert; Duke, Angier Biddle; Dungan, Ralph A.; Durdin, F. Tillman.

E

Eckstein, Alexander; Edwards, A. R.; Edwards, William H.; Einaudi, Mario; Elliott, Byron K.; Elliott, Randle; Elliott, William Y.; Ellsberg, Daniel; Emeny, Brooks.

Emerson, Rupert; Enthoven, Alain C.; Eppert, Ray R.; Ernst, Albert E.; Evans, John K.; Evans, Roger F.; Everton, John Scott.

F

Fahs, Charles B.; Fainsod, Merle; Fairbank, John King; Fairbanks, Douglas; Falk, Richard A.; Farmer, Garland R.; Farmer, Thomas L.; Fels, Herbert; Ferguson, John H.; Fifield, Russel H.

Finkelstein, Lawrence S.; Firestone, Harvey S., Jr.; Fishel, Wesley R.; Fisher, Adrian S.; Fisher, Roger; Flanigan, Peter M.; Florinsky, Michael T.; Folsom, Victor C.; Ford, Thomas K.

Forkner, Claude E.; Fosdick, Raymond B.; Foster, William C.; Frank, Isalah; Fankel, Max; Free, Lloyd A.; Freeman, Fulton; Freund, Gerald; Fuller, Carlton P.; Furber, Holden.

G

Galbraith, J. Kenneth; Gallagher, Charles F.; Gallagher, John F.; Gant, George F.; Gardner, Arthur Z.; Gardner, John W.; Garthoff, Raymond L.; Gaud, William S.; Gaylord, Bradley; Geier, Paul E.; Gerhart, Maj. Gen. John K.; Grevers, Max E.

Gibney, Frank B.; Giffin, Brig. Gen. Sidney F.; Gil, Peter P.; Gilbert, Carl J.; Gilbert, H. N.; Gilchrist, Huntington Gilpatric, Chadbourn; Ginsburgh, Brig. Gen. Robert N.; Gleason, S. Everett; Glennan, T. Keith; Coheen, Robert F.

Goodhart, Arthur L.; Goodpaster, Gen. Andrew J. Goodrich, Carter; Goodrich, Leland M.; Gordon, Kermit; Gordon, Lincoln; Gornick, Alan L.; Gorter, Wytze; Grant, James P.; Graubard, Stephen R.; Gray, Gordon.

Gray, William Latimer; Green, Joseph C.; Greene, James C.; Greene, Brig. Gen. Michael J. L.; Greenwald, Joseph A.; Griffith, Brig. Gen. Samuel B., 2nd; Griffith William E.; Grondahl, Teg C.; Gruenther, Gen. Alfred M.; Gullion, Edmund A.

H

Hall, John W.; Halle, Louis J., Jr.; Halperin, Morton H.; Hamilton, Edward K.; Hamilton, Thomas J.; Hammonds, Oliver W.; Hanes, John W., Jr.; Hansell, Maj. Gen. Haywood S., Jr.; Harbison, Frederick; Hare, Raymond A.

Harriman, W. Averell; Harris, Irving B.; Harris, James T. Jr.; Harsch, Joseph C.; Hart, Augustin S.; Hartley, Fred L.; Hartley, Robert W.; Haskins, Caryl P.; Hauck, Arthur A.; Haviland, H. Field, Jr.; Eays, Brooks; Heald, Henry T.

Heffelinger, Totton P.; Hellperin, Michael A.; Heintzen, Harry L.; Heinz, H. J., 2nd; Henderson, L. J., Jr.; Henderson, Loy W.; Hesburgh Rev. Theodore M., C.S.C.; Hill, George Watts; Hill, Robert C.; Hinshaw, Randall; Hirscham, Albert O.

Hitch, Charles J.; Hofer, Philip; Hoffman, Michael L.; Hoffmann, Stanley; Holland, William L.; Holst, Willem; Holt, Pat M. Hoopes, Townsend W.; Hoover, Herbert W., Jr.; Hopkins, D. Luke; Hopper, Bruce C.; Horton, Alan W.

Hoskins, Harold B.; Houghton, Amory; Howde, Frederick L.; Hoyt, Edwin C., Jr.; Hoyt, Palmer; Hughes, Thomas L.; Hugin, Brig. Gen. H. C.; Humphrey, Hubert H.; Hunsberger, Warren S.; Hunt, James Ramsay; Hunter, Clarence E.; Huntington, Samuel P.

I

Isaacs, Norman E.; Iverson, Kenneth R.

J

Jacobson, Harold K.; Jaffe, Sam A.; Janzen, Marius B.; Jenney, John K.; Jessup, Philip C.; Jessup, Philip C., Jr.; Johnson, Gen. Harold K.; Johnson, Howard C.; Johnson, Howard W.; Johnston, Henry R.; Johnstone, W. H.; Jones, Peter T.; Jones, Thomas V.; Jordan, Col. Amos A., Jr.; Jorden, William J.

K

Kahin, George McT.; Kaiser, Philip M.; Kamarck, Andrew M.; Katz, Milton; Katzenbach, Edward L., Jr.; Kaufmann, William W.; Kaysen, Carl; Kempner, Frederick C.; Kennan, George F.; Kerr, Clark; Killian, James R., Jr.; Kimberly, John R.

King, James E., Jr.; King, John A., Jr.; Kintner, Col. William R.; Kissinger, Henry A.; Kistiakowsky, George B.; Kitchen, Jeffrey C.; Knorr, Klaus; Kohler, Foy D.; Kohler, Walter J.; Korb, Josef; Korry, Edward M.; Kotschnig, Walter M.; Kraft, Joseph.

L

Ladejinsky, Wolf; La Farge, Francis W.; Laing, R. Stanley; Lampert, Lt. Gen. James B.; Lamson, Roy Jr.; Lang, Robert E.; Langer, Paul F.; Langer, William L.; Langsam, Walter Consuelo; Lanham, Maj. Gen. Charles T.

Lansdale, Maj. Gen. Edward G.; Lasswell,

Harold D.; Lawrence, David; Lawrence, William H.; Laylin, John G.; Leddy, John M.; Lee, Charles Henry; Leghorn, Richard S.; Leich, John F.; Lemnitzer, Gen. Lyman L.; Leslie, Donald S.; Le Sueur, Larry.

Levine, Irving R.; Levy, Marion J., Jr.; Lincoln, Gen. G. A.; Lindblom, Charles E.; Linder, Harold F.; Lindley, Ernest K.; Lindsay, Franklin A.; Lingle, Walter L., Jr.; Linowitz, Sol M.; Lipson, Leon; Little, Herbert S.; Little, L. K.

Lockard, Derwood W.; Lockwood, Manice de F., 3rd; Lockwood, William W.; Lodge, George Cabot; Lodge, Henry Cabot; Long, Franklin A.; Longstreet, Victor M.; Loomis, Henry; Lovestone, Jay; Loy, Frank E.; Lynch, Edward S.; Lyon, E. Wilson.

M

McCabe, Thomas B.; McClintock, Robert M.; McCone, John Alex.; McCormack, Maj. Gen. James; McCracken, Paul W.; McCutcheon, John D.; McDaniel, Joseph M., Jr.; McDougal, Myres S.; McFarland, Ross A.; McGee, Gale W.; McGhe, George C.

McKay, Vernon; McKinney, Robert M.; McLaughlin, Donald H.; McLean, Donald H., Jr.; McNamara, Robert S.; McQuade, Lawrence C.; MacArthur, Douglas, 2nd; MacChesney, A. Brunson, 3rd; MacDonald, Gordon J. F.; MacDonald, J. Carlisle.

MacIver, Murdoch; MacLaury, Bruce K.; MacVeagh, Lincoln; Machold, William F.; Maddox, William P.; Mallinson, Harry; Mallory, George W.; Mallory, Walter H.; Mann, Thomas C.; Manning, Bayless; Manning, Robert J.; Mansager, Felix N.

Marcus, Stanley; Marcy, Carl; Marshall, C. Burton; Martin, Edwin M.; Martin, William McC., Jr.; Mason, Edward S.; Matthews, William R.; May, Ernest R.; May, Oliver; May, Stacy; Mayer, Ferdinand L.

Mayer, Gerald M.; Meagher, Robert F.; Meck, John F.; Merchant, Livingston T.; Merrillat, H. C. L.; Merriwether, Duncan; Metcalf, George R.; Meyer, Albert J.; Meyer, Charles A.; Meyer, Cord, Jr.; Milbank, Robbins; Miller, Col. Francis P.

Miller, J. Irwin; Miller, William J.; Millikan, Max F.; Minor, Harold B.; Mladek, Jan V.; Molina, Edgar R.; Montias, J. Michael; Moore, Hugh; Moran, William E., Jr.; Morgan, Cecil; Morgan, George A.; Morgenstern, Oskar.

Morgenthau, Hans J.; Morse, David A.; Morton, Louis; Mudd, Henry T.; Muller, Steven; Munger, Edwin S.; Munoz Marvin, Luis; Munro, Dana G.; Murphy, Franklin D.; Murphy, Robert D.; Myers, Denys P.

N

Nason, John W.; Nathan, Robert R.; Nelson, Fred M.; Nelson, Merlin E.; Neustadt, Richard E.; Newman, Richard T.; Nichols, Calvin J.; Nitze, Paul H.; Nolting, Frederick E., Jr.; Norstad, Gen. Lauris; Nover, Barnett; Noyes, W. Albert, Jr.

O

O'Connor, Roderic L.; Oelman, R. S.; Oliver, Covey T.; Osborne, Lithgow; Osgood, Robert E.; Owen, Garry; Owen, Henry.

P

Paffrath, Leslie; Palmer, Norman D.; Pantzer, Kurt F.; Park, Richard L.; Parker, Barrett; Parkhurst, George L.; Parsons, John C.; Patterson, Gardner; Paul, Norman S.; Paul, Roland A.; Pedersen, Richard F.; Pell, Claiborne.

Pelzer, Karl J.; Penfield, James K.; Perera, Guido R.; Peretz, Don; Perkins, Courtland D.; Petersen, Howard C.; Petty, John R.; Phleger, Herman; Pierotti, Roland; Piquet, Howard S.; Plank, John N.; Platig, E. Raymond.

Plimpton, Calvin H.; Pogue, L. Welch; Poletti, Charles; Polk, William R.; Pool, Ithiel DeSola; Posvar, Wesley W.; Praeger, Frederick A.; Prance, P. F. A.; Price, Don K.; Prizer, John B.; Pusey, Nathan M.; Putzell, Edwin J., Jr.; Pye, Lucian W.

R

Radway, Laurence I.; Rathjens, George W.; Ravenholt, Albert; Ray, George W., Jr.; Redmon, E. Hayes; Reeves, Jay B. L.; Reinhardt, G. Frederick; Reischauer, Edwin O.; Reitzel, William; Rennie, Wesley F.; Resor, Stanley R.; Reuss, Henry S.; Reuther, Walter P.

Revelle, Roger; Reynolds, Lloyd G.; Rich, John H., Jr.; Richardson, David B.; Richardson, Dorsey; Richardson, Elliot L.; Richardson, John, Jr.; Ridgway, Gen. Matthew B.; Riefler, Winfield W.; Ries, Hans A.; Ripley, S. Dillon, 2nd; Roberts, Henry L.; Rogers, James Grafton.

Rogers, William D.; Roosevelt, Kermit; Rosengarten, Adolph G., Jr.; Ross, Roger; Rostow, Eugene V.; Rostow, Walt W.; Roth, William M., Jr.; Rouse, Robert G.; Bowen, Henry S.; Rubin, Seymour J.; Rubina, J. P.; Rush, Kenneth; Rusk, Dean; Ryan, John T., Jr.

S

Salomon, Irving; Samuels, Nathaniel; Satterthwaite, Joseph C.; Sawin, Melvin E.; Sawyer, John E.; Scalapino, Robert A.; Schaezel, J. Robert; Schelling, Thomas C.; Schiff, Frank W.; Schmidt, Adolph W.; Schorr, Daniel L.

Schuyler, Gen. C. V. R.; Schwab, William B.; Schwebel, Stephen M.; Seaborg, Glenn T.; Seabury, Paul; Sedwitz, Walter J.; Seymour, Forrest W.; Shaplen, Robert; Sharp, Walter R.; Shearer, Warren W.; Sherbert, Paul C.; Shields, Murray.

Shirer, William L.; Shishkin, Boris; Shuster, George N.; Simons, Howard; Simpson, John L.; Sisco, Joseph L.; Skolnikoff, Eugene B.; Slocum, John J.; Smith, Gerard C.; Smith, Horace H.; Smith, Robert W.

Smithies, Arthur; Smyth, Henry DeW.; Solbert, Peter O. A.; Solomon, Anthony M.; Sonnenfeldt, Helmut; Sontag, Raymond James; Soth, Lauren K.; Southard, Frank A., Jr.; Spaatz, Gen. Carl A.; Spaeth, Carl B.

Spain, James W.; Spencer, John H.; Spencer, William C.; Spiegel, Harold R.; Sprague, Mansfield D.; Sprague, Robert C.; Sprout, Harold; Staley, Eugene; Stanley, Timothy W.; Stason, E. Blythe; Stassen, Harold E.

Stein, Eric; Stephens, Claude O.; Sterling, J. E. Wallace; Stevenson, John R.; Stevenson, William E.; Stewart, Robert Burgess; Stilwell, Lt. Gen. Richard G.; Stone, Donald C.; Stone, Shepard; Straus, Robert Kenneth.

Straus, R. Peter; Strauss Lewis L.; Strausz-Hupe, Robert; Strayer, Joseph R.; Struble, Adm. A. D.; Sullivan, William H.; Sulzberger, C. L.; Sunderland, Thomas E.; Surrey, Walter Sterling; Swihart, James W.; Symington, W. Stuart.

T

Talbot, Phillips; Tanham, George K.; Tannenwald, Theodore, Jr.; Taylor, George E.; Taylor, Gen. Maxwell D.; Teiler, Edward; Templeton, Richard H.; Tennyson, Leonard B.; Thayer, Robert H.

Thompson, Llewellyn E.; Thomson, James C., Jr.; Thorp, Willard L.; Timberlake, Clare H.; Trezise, Philip H.; Triffin, Robert; Truman, David B.; Turkevich, John; Tuthill, John W.; Tyler, William R.

U

Ullman, Richard H.; Ulmer, Alfred C., Jr.; Upgren, Arthur R.

V

Valentine, Alan; Van Dusen, Rev. Henry P.; Van Slyck, DeForest; Van Strum, John; Vernon, Raymond; Von Mehren, Robert B.

W

Wait, Richard; Walker, George R.; Wallich, Henry C.; Waimley, Walter N.; Ward, Rear Adm. Chester; Warren, John Edwin; Washburn, Abbott M.; Wasson, R. Gordon; Watkins, Ralph J.; Weaver, George L. P.; Weiner, Myron; Weisskopf, Victor F.

Welch, Leo D.; Wellborn, Vice Adm. Charles, Jr.; Wells, Herman B.; West, Robert LeRoy; Westmoreland, Gen. W. C.; Westphal,

Albert C. F.; Wheeler, Oliver P.; Whipple, Brig. Gen. William; Whitaker, Arthur P.; White, Gilbert F.; Whiting, Allen S.

Wiesner, Jerome B.; Wight, Charles A.; Wilcox, Francis O.; Wilcox, Robert B.; Wild, Payson S.; Wilde, Frazar B.; Wilds, Walter W.; Williams, Haydn; Williams, John H.; Willits, Joseph H.; Wilmerding, Lucas, Jr. Wilson, Carroll L.; Wimpfheimer, Jacques; Winton, David J.; Wohl, Elmer P.; Wohlstetter, Albert; Wolf, Charles, Jr.; Wood, Harleston R.; Woodbridge, Henry S.; Wriggins, W. Howard; Wright, Adm. Jerault; Wright, Quincy; Wright, Theodore P.; Wyzanski, Charles E., Jr.

Y

Yarmolinsky, Adam; Yntema, Theodore O.; Young, T. Cuyler; Youngman, William S.; Yudkin, Maj. Gen. Richard A.

Z

Zimmerman, Edwin M.

FINANCES

During the Council's fiscal year ending on June 30, 1969, there were a number of important increases in income. Membership dues were raised during the year, resulting in new income of \$60,900. Largely through a drive undertaken last January, subscriptions to the Corporation Service were increased by \$46,600. For the first time in many years, the gross income of *Foreign Affairs* exceeded direct expenses, resulting in a net income of \$7,600, as compared with a net loss of \$12,300 in the preceding year. Net proceeds from the sale of Council books, on the other hand, fell slightly during the year, partly because extensive revisions have delayed publication of the *Political Handbook*.

The Council's expenses increased substantially, in part because of the pressures of inflation. In three areas, however, there were major increases not attributable to inflation. The largest of these, \$91,000, was due to the Council's reassuming for the past seven months the major responsibility for the Foreign Relations Library, which in each of the two previous years had benefited from \$100,000 provided by a most generous anonymous donor. Second, the International Affairs Fellowship Program is now in full swing, as the increase in expenses of \$54,500 indicates; this entire program is financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Third, with the help of a fine special grant from the Ford Foundation, work has started on the *Foreign Affairs Fifty-Year Bibliography*, which will take three years to complete.

The Council's financial statements, as audited by Price Waterhouse & Co., follow. More detailed information is available to any member on request.

RUTH C. WITHERSPOON,
Comptroller.

FOREIGN RELATIONS LIBRARY

Use of the library's facilities, including reference services, books, and clipping files, has increased approximately 10 per cent during the past year, reflecting greater use of the Library by permanent staff and visiting fellows. The pattern of reference requests continues to be similar to that of the past few years in that the Library staff works more closely with the research staff, particularly in the bibliographical field.

The collection now contains 50,500 accessioned volumes, an increase of only 1,000 over last year's total. This is a pleasing statistic because it reflects progress in the program of weeding out obsolete and redundant material. Even with a large inflow of new volumes each year, it is possible through judicious discarding to maintain the collection within bounds. Discarded books are given to selected local and foreign libraries with interests similar to the Council's.

Some 53,000 United Nations documents were added, bringing the total to almost 126,000, which require considerable effort to house and catalog. The Library's collection

of United Nations material is frequently consulted by others associated with similar depository organizations, a fact which is a source of pride to the staff. Documents of other international-intergovernmental organizations continue to flow in, and, as noted in an earlier report, our collection is among the finest in this field.

The clipping files continued to be used extensively. Almost the same number, 29,000, of clippings were added as last year, but there was a decided increase in the total number of complete folders circulated. It appears that with a change of administration in Washington, with many new envoys and special representatives seeking background information for new assignments, this phenomenon may be expected periodically.

Three steps were taken to ease the problem of limited space. The weeding-out process was continued as noted, a project which is now approximately 50 percent completed.

The card catalog in which there was no further room for expansion has been photocopied and will appear in book form (nine bound volumes) in November, 1969. It will be sold commercially to other libraries, so that aside from saving space and recouping perhaps a small portion of cataloging expenses, a good bibliographical tool will be available to other libraries in this country and abroad.

The decision to start replacing original U.N. documents with microprint copies has been implemented. It was first necessary to approach the United Nations for formal permission to do this. Permission has been granted, much to our satisfaction and that of other libraries which will use this decision as a precedent. Microprints of all U.N. documents and Official Records from 1946 to 1953 have now been purchased, thus freeing over 400 feet of shelving.

Since the early days of the Library it has been active in cooperating with other libraries and library associations. A large number of domestic and foreign books, documents, and pamphlets were received in exchange for 306 copies of Council books.

DONALD WASSON,

Librarian, Foreign Relations Library.

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Wesley C. Mitchell, 1927-1934.
Owen D. Young, 1927-1940.
Hamilton Fish Armstrong, 1928.
Charles P. Howland, 1929-1931.
Walter Lippmann, 1932-1937.
Clarence M. Woolley, 1932-1935.
Frank Altschul, 1934.
Philip C. Jessup, 1934-1942.
Harold W. Dodds, 1935-1943.
Leon Fraser, 1936-1945.
John H. Williams,* 1937-1964.
Lewis W. Douglas,* 1940-1964.
Edward Warner, 1940-1945.
Clarence E. Hunter, 1942-1953.
Myron C. Taylor, 1943-1959.
Henry M. Wriston,* 1943-1967.

Thomas K. Finletter,* 1944-1967.
William A. M. Burden, 1945.
Walter H. Mallory,* 1945-1968.
Philip D. Reed,* 1945-1969.
Winfield W. Riefler, 1945-1950.
David Rockefeller, 1949.
W. Averell Harriman, 1950-1955.
Joseph E. Johnson, 1950.
Grayson Kirk, 1950.
Devereux C. Josephs, 1951-1958.
Elliott V. Bell,* 1953-1966.
John J. McCloy, 1953.
Arthur H. Dean, 1955.
Charles M. Spofford, 1955.
Adlai E. Stevenson, 1958-1962.
William C. Foster, 1959.
Caryl P. Haskins, 1961.
James A. Perkins, 1963.
William P. Bundy, 1964.
Gabriel Hauge, 1964.
Carroll L. Wilson, 1964.
Douglas Dillon, 1965.
Henry R. Labouisse, 1965.
Robert V. Roosa, 1966.
Lucian W. Pye, 1966.
Alfred C. Neal, 1967.
Bill D. Moyers, 1967.
Cyrus A. Vance, 1968.
Hedley Donovan, 1969.
* Directors Emeriti.

FROM FOUNDING TO PRESENT

Honorary Presidents

Elihu Root, 1921-1937.
Henry M. Wriston, 1964.

Chairmen of the Board

R. C. Leffingwell, 1946-1953.
John C. McCloy, 1953.

Presidents

John W. Davis, 1921-1933.
George W. Wickersham, 1933-1936.
Norman H. Davis, 1936-1941.
R. C. Leffingwell, 1944-1946.
Allen W. Dulles, 1946-1950.
Henry M. Wriston, 1951-1964.
Grayson Kirk, 1964.

Vice presidents

Paul D. Cravath, 1921-1933.
Norma H. Davis, 1933-36.
Edwin F. Gay, 1933-1940.
Frank L. Polk, 1940-1943.
R. C. Leffingwell, 1943-1944.
Allen W. Dulles, 1944-1946.
Isalah Bowman, 1945-1949.
Henry M. Wriston, 1950-1951.
David Rockefeller, 1950.
Frank Altschul, 1951.
Devereux C. Josephs, 1951-1952.

Secretaries

Edwin F. Gay, 1921-1933.
Allen W. Dulles, 1933-1944.
Frank Altschul, 1944.

Treasurers

Edwin F. Gay, 1921-1933.
Whitney H. Shepardson, 1933-1942.
Clarence E. Hunter, 1942-1951.
Devereux C. Josephs, 1951-1952.
Elliott V. Bell, 1952-1964.
Gabriel Hauge, 1964.

Executive directors

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, 1922-1928.
Malcolm W. Davis, 1925-1927.
Walter H. Mallory, 1927-1959.
George S. Franklin, Jr., 1953.

WEST VIRGINIA INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the beautiful mid-Ohio Valley,

once surveyed by George Washington, is now teeming with industrial plants, including a major polyester manufacturing facility operated by the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., at scenic Apple Grove near Point Pleasant. This is one of the many plants located along West Virginia's Route 2.

Recently, Mr. John Gerstenmaier, vice president of domestic manufacturing for Goodyear, addressed the Central Ohio Valley Industrial Council at Point Pleasant. His speech gave an inside look at how Goodyear happened to locate at Apple Grove 10 years ago, pointed up the dramatic production increase from 17 million pounds of polyester resin a year to more than 150 million pounds. His comments were supplemented by a statement from United Rubber Workers Union, Local 644, in an article printed in the December 2 edition of the Point Pleasant Register. Mr. Gerstenmaier's speech and the United Rubber Workers Union comments follow:

GOODYEAR IN WEST VIRGINIA: WHY?
(Address by John Gerstenmaier)

Thank you, Mr. Lanham, and good evening ladies and gentlemen.

Several weeks ago I read with interest two articles written by Edward Peeks, business and labor editor of the Charleston Gazette. The first one appeared Friday, October 31. It quoted West Virginia House Speaker Ivor Bolarsky as saying that labor in West Virginia projects an image of violence and that this image poses a great deterrent to locating a plant in the state.

The second article—as one might expect—followed pretty quickly. The next day, Mr. Peeks told us that someone disagreed with Speaker Bolarsky's assessment. Quoting Miles Stanley, the state AFL-CIO president, the second article said the charge was—quote—"as phony as a \$3 bill." Mr. Stanley then proceeded to lay the problem at the state's doorstep.

This evening, I should like to offer the voice of one company, Goodyear, and describe its experiences, its successes, its disappointments, and its hopes during its association with West Virginia and the Central Ohio Valley. In conclusion, I should like to suggest some steps that could, from our viewpoint, lead to long-range mutual benefits for the state, business, labor and other citizens of West Virginia.

Maybe by stating our viewpoint, we can help you and COVIC carry out your organizational objective of promoting the economic growth of this region. We share with you that desire.

Goodyear's association with West Virginia pre-dates by many years the location of our plant here. Our headquarters city of Akron is thought of by many people as the Ohio capital of West Virginia. A number of years ago, Mountain Staters working and living in the Akron area formed the Society of West Virginia Club. I am happy to report, too, that there are many hard-working West Virginians among our employes in the Rubber Capital of the World.

When asked to speak during your annual meeting, I accepted with more than usual enthusiasm. Mike Bucc, our plant manager here, and Jerry Butcher, our personnel manager, told me that COVIC members represent Ohio and Kentucky as well as West Virginia. All three states bear special significance for me. Previous career assignments took me to two towns in Ohio—Logan, only a short hop from here, and St. Marys in the western part of the state. Upon returning to Akron in 1967 I became involved in the start-up of our first plant in Kentucky, at Madisonville, and in the operation of our vitally important plant

at Point Pleasant, actually located just down the road a piece at Apple Grove.

Having accepted the assignment for tonight, I began shaping some thoughts about Goodyear in West Virginia. A story came to mind of the excited little boy who ran all the way home from school to tell his father: "Dad, I've got my first part in a play. I'm going to take the part of a man who's been married 25 years."

"Cheer up," his father said.
"One of these days they'll give you a speaking part."

I guess that day has arrived. We mark the 10th anniversary of our "marriage" with West Virginia this year. If you happened to see any of the area newspapers, listened to radio or watched TV during the past long, hot summer, you might have been led to believe that the marriage was on the rocks. (Incidentally, Jerry, was that a two-day strike, or a three-day strike?)

The differences have been patched up—for a while, any way—so we can move ahead. I'd like to take you with me now on a little imaginary tour. Let's hop into the time capsule and go back to 1958. I'm going to break the rules tonight by giving you some money before the directors approve the budget; I'm going to set you up with a product to sell, and then send you on a mission to find a plant location where you can mass-produce that product.

While you're on that mental journey, tune one ear into me while I set the stage and trace the steps taken by Goodyear. See if your choice for the journey's path doesn't lead, as ours did, to Apple Grove, W. Va.

It's late in 1957. Intensive research since the early 1940's and seven years of commercial testing tell us that we have an exciting new product on our hands. It is a plastic, called Videne, a polyester laminating film that can be adhered under heat and pressure to a wide variety of things in many industries.

Applications seem unlimited: houses, furniture, automobiles and appliances can be protected and beautified with some form of this new plastic. It can be adhered to textiles, metals, wood, paper and even certain other plastics. Testing already has been successful in the aluminum, plywood, chemical, graphic arts, coated paper and converter industries. This polyester laminate can be used with glass, fabric, cotton, wood, Dacron, Orlon and nylon. It brings out beauty in colors, a richness in wood grains. It can be embossed and printed, opening new vistas in style and design. There's no end in sight.

And all the while you share a secret: this polyester film is produced by simply processing a little bit further a resin called Vitel, developed by Goodyear during an 18-year search for new and better tire cords. You know that soon, very soon, Goodyear will have solved the problems of adhesion in using polyester for tire cord. Tire sale expectations are staggering.

This plastic thing is a new ball game. Sixty per cent of your business is tires. But plastics are new for everybody. Polyester still is pretty much a novelty. You want to beat everyone to the marketplace, to start producing it . . . fast. Eagerness leads you to start producing it on a limited scale in an Akron plant, only to increase your desire for a new plant and volume production.

You have \$10-million to build and equip a plant to produce 17-million pounds of resin a year.

The stage is set. But before you go scouring the country for a plant site, let's take a look at the chief requirements which the plant location—wherever it might be—must meet:

Enough available and suitable land—approximately 340 acres—to be bought for the construction of the plant and possible future plants.

A location strategic to the sources of raw

materials and end products with reasonable proximity to corporate headquarters for the technical support needed in this new process.

Adequate supply of good manpower in an area whose leading wage and salary levels would induce the best available people without jeopardizing our potential competitive position in the marketplace.

Sufficient transportation routes and modes of transportation to meet shipping and receiving needs economically. River transportation rates high priority. Flood protection important. Easy access to raw material sources and distribution points by way of transportation arteries is essential.

Suitable water, electrical power and natural gas supplies to meet the needs of the plant as projected in engineering studies.

Zoning laws conducive to plant construction and future expansion.

Available housing for rentals and purchases.

Adequate community service facilities at all levels, health care facilities, and public transportation for commercial and private use.

Reasonable city, county or state tax structure.

Growing, or at least steady, population trend.

An attitude climate for mutually beneficial labor-management relations, good business-government relations and good plant-community relations.

The search is on. Your polyester project committee lays the groundwork and begins to seek out a suitable location; an engineering consultant, Catalytic Construction Company of Philadelphia, is enlisted to help.

You inspect potential land sites from New Jersey to Illinois; you visit local employment offices, state agency offices, industrial developers, and tax offices; you weigh the "pros" and "cons" in reams of reports; you disqualify many communities for one reason or another.

No less than 60 potential sites are considered—20 by your Goodyear team and 40 by Catalytic. Joliet, Ill., looms as a strong candidate; so does Wheeling, W. Va.; a Kentucky site is very promising, and so is Apple Grove, W. Va.

Correspondence stacks up; personal inspections intensify. Six months pass by since the search began and the list is pared down to three potential sites. The soon-to-be-elected company president, Russell DeYoung, inspects those three, Apple Grove included. The Goodyear polyester team and Catalytic agree on one site and recommend it. Mr. DeYoung agrees. Apple Grove, W. Va., is the unanimous choice.

Arrangements are made through Jack Llyod of Appalachian Electric Power to purchase 340 acres of farm land, a part of 1,450 acres bought by the power company for electric power and industrial development in the Ohio Valley.

The search is over.

On February 13, 1958, Goodyear publicly announced its decision to build a \$10-million plastic film and resin plant at Apple Grove, marking a double "first" for the company.

It was the first Goodyear manufacturing unit to be built on West Virginia soil and it was the first—and still only—company plant devoted exclusively to the production of polyester resin materials.

Why? Why here in Mason County? What was there about this area that led Goodyear, with its half-century experience in finding and building plants in 50 U.S. locations, to call this the best available site between Pittsburgh, Pa. and Cairo, Ill.

Remember the earlier list of requirements? The geographic location of Apple Grove enables us to reach 70 per cent of our customers in a 300-mile radius. It lies almost exactly in the center of a large parameter that

embraces the prime sources of raw materials. Enough land was available to build the first plant and possible future plants.

Labor supply? It was estimated 2,400 people were unemployed in the Point Pleasant area; 10,500 in Charleston, and 4,100 in the Huntington area, producing a combined labor pool of 17,000. These figures did not reflect the much larger supply not on file in the W. Va. Department of Employment Security. We were told that an industry locating in Apple Grove would receive response from up to 20,000 applicants; that good labor-management relations existed, and that labor rates were—on the average—equivalent to those in other areas investigated by the company.

Transportation facilities for incoming and outgoing materials were excellent. The Ohio River provides access to barging along a network of navigable rivers, including the Mississippi and the Kanawha. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad serves this site and there were 16 general freight carriers with terminals in Huntington. Bus and airline transportation were available.

For water supply, the Ohio River was the major source; a natural gas line extension to Apple Grove from Gallipolis Ferry was proposed; abundant electrical power was available from the Phillip Sporn plant of Appalachian power.

Taxes seemed reasonable and community services in Point Pleasant, Gallipolis and nearby Huntington appeared good. With all the possibilities for industrial development in the area, indications pointed to an upward trend in population.

After careful study of all those assets, the choice, a practical one, became history. (Pause)

There's a story about a 90-year-old man who loved to read history. One day, while sitting in the library, the young and pretty librarian became alarmed when she noticed the old man was reading *Peyton Place*.

"Why, I thought you never read anything but history," she said to him.

The old man snapped back, "At my age, honey, this is history."

Goodyear in West Virginia is 10 years of history, containing many good chapters, and some we would like to re-write.

That first construction work began May 15, 1958 on five buildings, and they were completed on schedule, with limited production commencing in the first quarter of 1959. Initial employment needs were for 200 people.

Within the next six years, three major expansions of that original facility were announced, one overlapping another. The third expansion, launched in 1965, increased plant capacity to five times its original size to make the Apple Grove plant one of the largest polyester manufacturing facilities in the world.

The market dreamed of in 1957 and '58 was becoming a reality. United States' production of polyester fiber and film increased 15 per cent in 1965 alone.

Polyester cord for tires, a Goodyear innovation, was outpacing earlier sales estimates.

Then in November, 1966, we announced plans to expand the plant for the fourth time, boosting capacity to more than 150 million pounds a year—a far cry from the 17 million in 1959. We had to keep running fast in an industry whose domestic production of polyester fiber and film climbed nearly 30 per cent in 1966 and was expected to more than double in the following few years.

The growth of Goodyear at Apple Grove has contributed, naturally, to the economy of the area and the state. In 1968, the Goodyear payroll at Apple Grove reached nearly \$6-million for wages paid to our employes and to contractor employes.

Average employment in one year rose 20 per cent to 479 in 1968, as the demand grew for polyester in tire cord, including the tremendously popular new Goodyear Polyglas tires. Sales of Polyglas tires, which contain cord spun from resins made at Apple Grove, are limited today only by our ability to produce them.

Goodyear impact on the area's economy has intensified in other ways, too. More than \$12.5-million was spent in 1968 to purchase supplies and services from 290 companies within a 100-mile radius, and \$379,000 was paid in local taxes. These expenditures represent increases of 41 per cent in tax payments and 32 per cent in local purchases over 1967.

The number of jobs protected or created in other organizations which provide products and service to Goodyear and its employes is an academic point, but one of certain significance to the economy.

Obviously, our current investment in our Apple Grove plant is substantially larger than our investment in 1959. Goodyear has become the county's largest employer in terms of both personnel and payroll. About half of our employes reside in West Virginia, the other half in Ohio.

Maybe some of you are a little upset with us because of it, but our employe benefits are among the best, not only in West Virginia, but in all American industry. These benefits account for several more millions of dollars in compensation for such things as free hospitalization and surgical care, and liberal holiday, vacation and retirement programs.

We have completed a new office area, a new and well-equipped first aid room and our plant is air-conditioned in many work areas. We sponsor numerous employe activities for men and women, and contribute a leading share to community programs. Recently we announced plans for a new, enclosed employe lunch room at the plant.

In the Charleston Gazette article mentioned earlier, AFL-CIO President Stanley said that West Virginia has a highly qualified competent labor force, and that they are positive people.

Our Point Pleasant employes last month shared honors with management in winning the Goodyear Chemical Division Housekeeping Award. When five production directors from Akron and I inspected the plant last spring, we gave it outstanding ratings in virtually every classification.

We have found West Virginia people to be competent in performing jobs at the plant, including technical ones that never existed in this area before. Point Pleasant is the only plant in our entire domestic plant organization for which we can say absenteeism is not a problem.

Yes, our Apple Grove employes have shown us they are, on the whole, competent and positive people.

"OK", you say, "you've traced the growth of Goodyear in West Virginia and you've told us why Goodyear selected the Central Ohio Valley as a plant site in 1958. What about 1969? What about the future!"

As I pointed out earlier, we do have more land at Apple Grove than what we are now using. But, I must in all honesty say that we look at Apple Grove a little differently now than we did in 1958.

In making a decision for future capital expansion we must look much more closely at factors that could affect our chances for success, and weigh them very carefully against all other advantages.

And, again, it is history which formulates that viewpoint.

In September, 1965, the plant at Apple Grove was hit by an illegal wildcat strike, violating a no-strike clause in the contract and ignoring established grievance and arbitration procedures.

In October, 1967, the plant was again hit by an illegal wildcat strike.

Also in 1967, the plant was struck—this time an authorized strike—for 23 days, until employes returned to work for an additional one-cent an hour shift differential increase. Violence, threats of violence, and property destruction accompanied that strike.

During our almost perpetual state of expansion during the Soaring Sixties, the contractor on the job has been plagued by costly work stoppages for a variety of reasons, including union jurisdictional disputes.

From May, 1967, through August, 1968, a period of about 15 months, we lost 18 days because of labor disputes during our construction projects.

Statistics show that while West Virginia ranks 29th among the 50 States in population, it ranks 9th in the number of non-farm work stoppages during 1968, according to the U.S. Department of Labor.

These expressions of labor attitude—not necessarily employe attitude—together with labor occurrences at other plants in this area must be weighed carefully today.

A strike after tentative agreement on a contract, such as happened this year to set off a 111-day strike, is disappointing, but not shocking. It happens in many states. But the violence, the vandalism, the destruction of property, and the threat to the personal welfare of employes—both union and non-union—is intolerable, regardless of where it happens.

The details of these incidents were adequately covered in the press, so I won't bother to go into them.

I don't mean to say that the labor situation is the only problem area.

We must not forget that many things contribute toward creating an atmosphere for a plant to become profitable, to be able to compete with plants of other companies located in other states. Much of this responsibility rests upon plant management.

Within his responsibility for profitability are such things as employe productivity, which must increase to offset rising labor and material costs product increases. For the employe and the community, this is the best assurance of job security. You cannot negotiate it.

A non-profitable, non-competitive plant whose costs are way out of line eventually will shrink into non-existence, or move to surroundings where there is possibility for a profit. It is axiomatic that a profitable plant can afford the better salaries and wages, and the better contributions to an area's economy.

But there are certain elements outside the plant manager's responsibilities that can adversely affect plant costs. One of these is the tax structure of the city, county and state.

A company like Goodyear expects, yes wants, to pay its fair share of taxes to support the local and state governments in areas where its plants are located. The benefit from taxes is shared.

However, a well-run business expects, and needs, a stable tax structure within which it can operate, and with which it can anticipate for a period of 5, 10 or 15 years how much tax it will be paying.

In 1967, in one fell swoop, the businesses of this state, your non-voting industrial citizens, had their Business and Occupation taxes doubled. As a result of this immediate doubling, it is costing Goodyear \$200,000 more per year in Business and Occupation tax to operate the plant today than it would have cost under the pre-1967 schedule. We cannot describe this as a stable tax structure.

The fact remains Goodyear is still here, and we plan to stay here. Our investment is heavy, and we think it can bring mutually rewarding dividends for many years to come.

Our once-promising product, Videne, is gone. It became too costly to make for the applications dreamed of. But, new areas have

opened up for polyester resins, not to mention the tremendous growth in the use of polyester as a tire cord. With other resins we are making greater inroads into the textile, appliance, clothing, and bedding industries. We're into carpeting, adhesives and magnetic tapes. Research into other market applications goes on continuously.

But our interest is not limited to Goodyear alone. This Central Ohio Valley presents tremendous potential for further economic development. However, first we need answers to important questions. I urge each of you in COVIC, working within your own spheres of influence, to seek those answers:

(1) Is there real concern on the part of state, county and local officials for the success of a business once it's located in West Virginia?

(2) Is there truly concern at all levels for the protection of business and personal rights of a company and its employees?

(3) What are the real causes of violence during strikes? Is it a vestige of the past carried over and practiced in modern times? Knowing full well that law enforcement applies to both business and unions, are courts and law enforcement agencies geared in manpower and processes to prevent or control such outbreaks?

(4) Can labor leadership, *within the framework of all its legal rights and obligations*, set the example and develop the sense of responsibility among all its members?

Gentlemen, I think once we have found the answers to these questions, we will have found the path on which business, labor, the state and its citizens can walk hand-in-hand toward greater prosperity.

Thank you.

UNION LOCAL 644 ANSWERS COMMENTS OF GOODYEAR EXECUTIVE

Officials of United Rubber Workers Union 644 today issued a statement saying its policy, and that of its officers, has been one of complete non-violence in the execution of union legal rights.

The statement was released by union officials as an answer to comments made by Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company Vice President John W. Gerstenmaier, concerning strikes at the Apple Grove plant when he spoke before a session of the Central Ohio Valley Industrial Council in November.

Local 644 commented in its statement that (it) "is not the monster which threatens to keep business expansion and future economic development from our county and state as some would lead the public to believe."

The complete statement of the union, of which Robert Allbright is president, follows:

"In a recent local public address before a meeting of the Central Ohio Valley Industrial Council, John W. Gerstenmaier, Vice-President of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company stated that his company now looks at our area differently from what it did in 1958, when it now decides upon capital expansion of its business facilities. Mr. Gerstenmaier explained that one of his reasons for this attitude is a rash of work stoppages and accompanying violence.

"Since Mr. Gerstenmaier's remarks seem to indicate that the local United Rubber Workers Union 644, in the exercise of its rights, has impeded this area's economic progress and development, we would like to take this opportunity to discuss just what events have occurred over the past few years.

"A work stoppage at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company plant at its Apple Grove location occurred in September of 1965, when the company stripped a senior operator of his seniority rights and cut his wages severely, without first bringing charges against this union member and discussing these charges with the local union officials. Our union had no choice but to walk out

in order to protect our important right to bargain.

"After two and one-half days, Goodyear's management decided to discuss its act and as a result, this work stoppage ceased. The company agreed that this senior operator be reinstated as to certain seniority rights and that he be restored to his original pay. We feel that if the company had negotiated this issue in the beginning, there would have been no stoppage of work.

"The second interruption came in May, 1967, after the company refused to put into writing certain verbal agreements it had made with the union prior to the final negotiation of its upcoming contract. Our local union had informed the company approximately forty-five days before the expiration date of the existing contract that the issues that had been verbally agreed upon must be reduced to writing, because of past problems which had arisen prior to the negotiations due to an absence of a written statement of each party's position.

"When the company refused to place these verbal agreements, it had made, in writing, our union had no choice but to strike after the contract date had lapsed and negotiations ended without these verbal agreements being reduced to written form. After the failure to reach a negotiated contract, this labor stoppage lasted for twenty-three days before Goodyear agreed to place into writing these verbal agreements they had made prior to this strike's occurrence. We believe that this work stoppage could have been averted if the company had been willing to put into writing what they had agreed to do verbally.

"In October of 1967, the company decided to initiate a new policy of reducing the number of employees on their polymer lines. Previous to these employee changes, these control rooms had required one employee per polymer line and the company was now requiring only one employee operating parts of two polymer line control rooms.

"The company's action was taken without first contacting any of our union's officials and our union employees on this particular evening shift requested the company to postpone the adoption of this new method until management and labor officials could discuss this newly proposed employee change. The company refused and our union members had no choice but to leave their jobs at 5:30 a.m. the following morning.

"Our union officers holding office at that time were successful in bringing our members back to work within six and one-half hours and the plant manager informed our union President that there was great leadership displayed in successfully getting the men back to work.

"The Plant Manager further stated that the company had acted hastily in this matter and should have brought this proposed change to the attention of the union first. Our position and our belief is that had Goodyear's management discussed this new employee reduction with our officials, this work stoppage would never have occurred.

"The last work interruption came in June of this year after negotiations for a new contract broke down without a successful adoption of a new agreement. Reports of violence and threats were commonplace and in our opinion were very poorly documented.

"Our membership was accused of many acts of which we had no knowledge. We wholeheartedly deny that our union officers adopted any policy or sanctioned the same, which approved or initiated any violence, threats or illegal occurrences by members of our Local 644, United Rubber Workers Union. In fact, our union officers caused a thorough investigation into many of the company's charges against us, and we are happy to report that we could not find any basis that

these acts or threats were caused or effectuated by our membership.

"It is easy to accuse and delegate blame for wrongdoing upon the other party, but it is another thing to establish the truthfulness of these accusations. No strike is without some form of misbehavior, yet this union's policy and that of its officers has been of complete non-violence and lawful methods in the execution of our union's legal rights.

"Our union's membership ratified a successful negotiated contract with the company on September 20, 1969, and our membership returned to work on September 21. Twenty-eight of our regular bargaining-unit employees terminated their employment during this one-hundred-and-eleven-day strike and until this date have not been replaced by Goodyear.

"Yet, the production capacity and work of this plant has not been reduced and continues as it did prior to these 28 employees leaving. The Goodyear Company has made a great deal about granting to our union members a very large increase of 19 cents an hour over this next 3-year contract. Yet, elementary mathematics shows that with the reduced work force of 28 employees, the company, instead of spending more money through this raise, will save approximately \$62,940.80 per year and for the 3-year contract period, Goodyear will have saved approximately \$187,822.40 by not replacing these 28 union members employed at its Apple Grove plant.

"These figures are based upon Goodyear's granting this hourly increase and the savings Goodyear will receive by this reduced work force. Further, six employees' wages were cut approximately 48 cents per hour by their being assigned to other job positions within the Apple Grove plant. Based upon an approximately \$998.40 reduction in pay per year this cut in hourly wages will save Goodyear approximately \$5,990.40 per year on their labor cost. Now, who has benefited from this strike financially and economically?

"Mr. Gerstenmaier referred to his recent speech to the completion of a new lunchroom facility at the Apple Grove plant for its employees. We are sorry to say that we have the same old lunchroom with conditions so bad and noisy, that while talking it is necessary that you yell at a person three feet away in order to be heard.

"We can not go into all of the details in this short statement of our position and the events that have taken place over the last few years, yet these are but a few of the occurrences we feel should be brought to the public's attention.

"Management and Labor are the two most vital forces effecting our national business economy and each must of necessity respect the lawful rights of the other. This mutual respect includes the responsibility for each to correctly and objectively report to the public the true relationship that exists between them. This report should explain in full the position of management and of labor concerning the issues which have arisen between them. When only one side is heard, public understanding is incomplete and misleading.

"Our local union in Mason County is not the monster which threatens to keep business expansion and future economic development from our county and state as some would lead the public to believe. Organized labor exists for the purpose of protecting the workingman's rights to earn a decent living for himself and his family in direct relationship to the cost of living in our expanding economy.

"Labor does not exist for the purpose of destroying business development and economic expansion in this area, for to do so would destroy newly created jobs that labor hopes will develop and it can service and fill. It is therefore only reasonable that our Union does not attack and oppose in its * * *"

CHEERFULNESS

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, in these closing days of this session, when the hours are long, the pace is frantic, and the frustrations are many, I think it would serve this body well to observe a bit of philosophy by Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Accordingly, with thanks to our noted benefactor, I should like to insert his thoughts into the RECORD to be shared by my esteemed colleagues:

CHEERFULNESS

(By Dr. Albert Schweitzer)

Of all the virtues, cheerfulness is the most profitable. It makes the person who exercises it happy, and it renders him acceptable to everything he meets in life. Cheerfulness puts the heart in tune with life. Age preserves itself in an easy and cheerful frame of mind. Cheerfulness ought to be the most important thing in a person's life. It gives perpetual youth. None ever decry play and fun but those who are strangers to their value. The love of them is one of the signs of a great nature. All true genius is, in its very essence, a joyous faculty. "Wit" originally signified the very highest efforts of mind. It is only by looking around, as well as upwards, that a large and just conception of life is attainable, and therefore that life is truly realized. A mind charged with vitality and sustained by cheerfulness will not only look cheerfully to the goal of its pilgrimage, but have ample amounts of gladness to expend upon the journey. People who are always cheerful are very useful in the world. They maintain peace and happiness. They are spiritually alive.

ISRAEL WILL ASSIST IN THE CREATION OF A WORLD RESERVOIR OF SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my great pleasure to participate in the 25th anniversary of the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot, Israel.

During my visit to the institute, I had occasion to be interviewed by Mr. Israel Newman, a writer for the Daily Davar, which is published in Tel Aviv.

I participated in the 25th anniversary of the Weizmann Institute because of my continuing interest and efforts to set up in the United States a science information retrieval system which would make available to scientists whatever information they need in the pursuit of their own research.

Ultimately, it would be my hope that such a system would be available to all of our allies who wish to live in peace with the world.

Mr. Newman called my concept a "world bank of science" and I can think of no better way to define my great hope.

I shall like to place in the RECORD today a translation of the interview I granted

Mr. Newman and which appeared in Davar.

The interview follows:

ISRAEL WILL ASSIST IN THE CREATION OF A WORLD RESERVOIR OF SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

(An interview with American Congressman ROMAN PUCINSKI by Israel Newman)

Roman C. Pucinski is a member of the American Congress, representing an electoral district in Chicago, and a Democrat who has placed before himself an original goal: to strive towards the creation of a world reservoir of knowledge which will prevent unnecessary duplication and a waste of scientific manpower, and to place at everyone's disposal the fruits of research from the best institutes and laboratories in the world. In his opinion, Israel is able to play a key role in creating this system—a form of "World Bank of Science." She should benefit from suitable assistance in order that she may contribute towards realizing this joint project.

Congressman Pucinski came to Israel as a guest of the Weizmann Institute and has devoted most of his time here to clarifying the possibility of benefiting from the work done at the Institute in order to advance his program. He explains, "I found that the Institute is a pioneer in the efforts to develop a modern method for the proper dissemination of information. We are living in an era of information explosion in different fields of science. Man is producing so much information that he can no longer manage it all. Therefore, I initiated the passing of a bill in Congress to create an "Information Retrieval System."

Q. What exactly is involved? How can this ambitious plan be executed?

A. The intention is to create a series of scientific centers connected to each other by electronic means. The information at our disposal will be fed into computers, and the results will be available to every scientist conducting a particular research work. Thus, he will save the time and the finances required to repeat the same work that others have already done. At the beginning, this arrangement will be used to create a scientific reservoir in America; every scientist will be able to present the computers with questions, and he will immediately obtain a complete answer. At a future date, the system will be expanded to an international level. This will be one of America's contributions to bolster international cooperation and world peace.

Q. And what about the place of Israel and the Weizmann Institute in this system? What role is envisaged for Israel's scientists?

A. At the Weizmann Institute, methods are being developed which will make possible the realization of this plan. In America we have modern computers—but we do not yet know how to exploit them for this job of accumulating information from various scientific fields, so that this information can be immediately available for use. One of the problems is coding the information. Furthermore, a satisfactory method must be developed to record scientific knowledge in terms acceptable and understandable to those working in various fields.

Q. And what is your concrete proposal?

A. In my opinion, the United States must cooperate with the Weizmann Institute to develop the scientific reservoir project which will be expanded by means of Telestar-type satellites into a global system at a future date. I have already brought before Congress a proposal to approve a grant to the Weizmann Institute of three million dollars for the purchase of parts for an exceptionally rapid computer currently being constructed in Israel. At the present, very little is known about the methodology which will facilitate creation of the reservoir. The Weizmann Institute is occupied with one of the most im-

portant projects for the future of science, in its search for methods of coding scientific knowledge. I hope that in the spirit of the proposal I placed before Congress, the American Government will sign a contract with the Weizmann Institute to advance the development of methodology in this field.

YOU HAVE ALREADY SAVED US \$50 MILLION

Q. Is there a chance of your proposal being approved in the near future?

A. There is a reasonable chance, for one of the greatest scientific endeavors is involved. Incidentally, Israel has already been a blessing to the American scientific community by translating a wealth of scientific literature for us. As a result, the United States has saved a sum of 50 million dollars! In Israel there are people capable of translating scientific material from Chinese, Russian, and almost any other language into English. We have contracts with various institutions in Israel, and they have already given us more than 400,000 pages of scientific material translated from different languages. We have linguists capable of translating literature into English—but only you have the ability to provide a team that can handle scientific matter. About half of the research work currently being done in the world is published in languages other than English—and you cannot know what is going on in the world of science without being familiar with these publications. For this purpose, a cadre of translators is required, and only in Israel does there exist such a group.

A DECADE OF PEACE AND CONCILIATION

Q. As Chairman of the Congressional Subcommittee for Educational Affairs, and as a representative of the city of Chicago, you are certainly interested in the Negro problem. What is your opinion? Is there a chance of solving the problem, and if so, how?

A. I have no pretense of being an expert on this problem. However, I believe that the decade of the Seventies which begins in several weeks, will be a decade of tranquility and conciliation. Everybody has learned from the mistakes of the Sixties—the Government agencies, the citizens and their elected representatives. We found out how terrible are the explosives concealed in the feelings of discrimination. The Negro problem is only part of the problem of discrimination and social injustice. There is also the problem of millions of whites suffering in poverty, some place below what is called "the poverty line." Also in the realm of foreign affairs I believe in conciliation—and I am referring to both the Vietnam war and the Middle East.

Q. From where do you derive your great optimism concerning the Middle East?

A. First and foremost, from the anticipated development of gigantic oil fields in Alaska. The flow of large amounts of oil from Alaska to the world market will force the Arab world to weigh twice whether they indeed desire that the world be involved in struggle. Their bargaining position will become weakened due to the stiff competition in the oil market. The approaching talks between the two major powers, which will not be easygoing, on the subject of reducing strategic nuclear armaments, will also help to calm the situation. In our time, war is an out-dated form of battle; the competition will take place on economic battlefields, in the field of science, and in other spheres.

Q. And what about Vietnam? Do you really believe that peace is near?

A. I have never been a 'dove.' Nevertheless, on the eve of the Moratorium I voted against discontinuing the debate on Vietnam. I disagreed with many of the late Bob Kennedy's opinions, but on one thing he was correct: the danger that continuation of the war in Vietnam will result in a general loathing of war by Americans to the extent that they will be deterred from it in the future, even if it will be essential. Take, for example, the Mid-

dle East. If it would be necessary for us to face up to a confrontation in this region, we would find it difficult to do so, because of Vietnam. I do not support the idea of unconditional evacuation, but I believe that the moment has arrived to announce a timetable for withdrawal of the fighting ground army, while leaving the air force and certain ground forces to provide logistic support. We did not go to Vietnam in order to carry the Saigon Government on our hands. Our purpose was to establish a stable government, to create a stable economy, and to organize a strong South Vietnam army. These objectives have been achieved. Is it so, that America is to serve as a world policeman?"

SOUTH ORANGE CENTENNIAL

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the village of South Orange, N.J., celebrated the 100th anniversary of its charter this year. A century ago, "an act to incorporate the village of South Orange in the county of Essex" was placed on the statute books.

Known originally as the Orange Dale section of Orange, South Orange today is one of the few incorporated villages in the State, with a nonsalaried board of trustees and a president. It has a first-class school system, as well as housing Seton Hall University. The university, which was founded at Madison in 1856, has 18 buildings and an enrollment of 8,800 students. It was named for Mother Seton, who introduced the Sisters of Charity into the United States.

The village of South Orange from its very beginning has been fortunate in the number of its public-spirited citizens, not the least of whom led a crusade against the mosquito back in 1901. The group was known as the Village Improvement Society Drainage Committee, and its chairman, Spencer Miller, is today considered the father of the New Jersey mosquito extermination crusade.

The first telephone exchange was opened on December 6, 1879, and 5 years thereafter had 18 subscribers. The first U.S. post office opened in 1841. The first village bank, the People's Bank, opened in 1897.

Columbia High School of South Orange is well known for its house plan structure. There are four house centers for 600 pupils, each containing study hall-commons, offices for counselor and dean, and adjacent faculty workroom. The students benefit thereby in having the advantages of a small school, such as a better ratio of leadership and activities opportunities and day-to-day contact combined with the advantages of a large school, such as specialized courses, staff and equipment, and a superior library. Curriculum, class sectioning, major athletics and activities are functions of the whole school, while the rest of the program and relationships involving counseling, discipline, placement, and attendance fall within the smaller houses. There are some unusual courses available to South Orange youngsters at Columbia such as data processing, electronics, auto mechanics, graphic

arts, Russian language and history, Chinese, work experience and vocational home economics. The precursor to Columbia High School was the Columbia School, which dated back to 1814.

The South Orange Library Association had its first meeting in 1864. At the close of the first year there were 567 volumes on the shelves. Today, the library has a collection of about 57,000 volumes and has, in addition, a music table, microfilm readers and 16 millimeter sound films.

Recreation has its place in South Orange, too. The Little League baseball program uses village playgrounds, and is sponsored and supported by businesses and organizations of the village. Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops are available to the children of the village. The parks in the village are numerous, in addition to the availability of a swimming pool, playground equipment, a South Orange community center, a summer day camp, a senior citizens program, and a 2,000-acre tract of woodlands, South Mountain Reservation. This area has hiking and ski trails, bridle paths, the Turtle Back Zoo, and an indoor South Mountain arena for ice skating and related sports.

South Orange also has its problems. Annual flooding on the east branch of the Rahway River caused heavy damages. A bill introduced back in 1947 authorized a preliminary survey of the river with a view to control of floods, including channel and drainage improvements. Funds were initially allocated in 1956, and subsequent allocations were made in 1957 and 1958. However, when I took office for the first time in January of 1963, the project was at a standstill. The Korean conflict had placed such problems as domestic floodings well in the background of priorities insofar as Congress was concerned. However, I strongly pushed for completion, and after much involvement with redtape and listless bureaucrats, a survey report was completed and approved. Public notice of the recommended improvements was given, setting the Federal cost at \$1,514,000. Although the project was then authorized in Public Law 89-298 in October 1965, it still required an appropriation of funds to cover the cost of engineering planning. Since a request for funds was not included in the budget request of January 1966, I found it necessary once again to keep reminding the powers that be that South Orange had a flood problem that needed attention. It proved possible to obtain approval by Congress of \$50,000 to cover the first portion of preconstruction engineering planning. Additional funds of \$60,000, required to complete planning, were requested in the budget of January 1967 and approved by Congress.

Preconstruction planning is now in its final stages of completion. Although the administration's budget had neglected to request funds for construction, the House Appropriations Committee heeded my pleas and approved \$125,000 for construction in the Public Works Appropriations bill. The bill was signed into law on December 11 of South Orange's centennial year.

That is quite a birthday present, and South Orange is most deserving of it.

COURT ORDER REQUIRES COWLES SUBSIDIARY TO OBSERVE MAGAZINE INDUSTRY SELLING CODE

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in a statement last week dealing with magazine subscription sales abuses I alluded to the decision of an Allegheny County, Pa., judge, Arthur Wessel, Jr., imposing a mandatory permanent injunction against use of certain deceptive or fraudulent sales practices by a magazine sales agency, Mutual Readers League, Inc.

A subsidiary of Cowles Communications, Inc., Mutual Readers League, Inc., of Des Moines, Iowa, and its franchised dealership, Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh, have been ordered by Judge Wessel to refrain from a long list of deceptive practices, including manipulation of magazine subscription contracts, padding monthly payment books with extra payment coupons, and representing certain subscriptions to be free when in fact they are charged to the subscriber without his knowledge.

Basically, Judge Wessel's decision now forces Mutual Readers League to comply with the magazine industry's code of fair practices or risk contempt of court charges for further sales abuses. The injunction is a victory not only for my own investigation of magazine sales abuses which produced information prompting the Pennsylvania attorney general's office to enter the Pittsburgh case as a friend of the court, but also it is a victory for the Commonwealth's special assistant attorney general, Joseph M. Gelman, of Pittsburgh, who was instrumental in protecting the public's interest in this case.

Mr. Gelman and a member of his staff, Mr. Marvin Samberg, succeeded in having the court grant Pennsylvania access to the records of the Mutual Readers League franchise in Pittsburgh to determine whether subscribers had been victimized. Mr. Gelman also won court endorsement of his proposal to have Mutual's open accounts, valued at \$670,000, held under trusteeship to insure that funds would be available to reimburse consumers who were victimized.

As the court decision, which I will insert in the RECORD with my remarks, will indicate, Judge Wessel was convinced of corporate involvement in the deceptive practices utilized by this and other Cowles franchises. Testimony during the hearing made that fact apparent.

The court decree specifically cited the actions of Mr. Herndon Hippee, a regional director for Mutual Readers League, in establishment of the deceptive practices. Mr. Hippee is an agent of the parent corporation.

Mr. Speaker, because of the keen interest shown by the attorneys general of many of the 50 States to bring to a halt the deceptive and fraudulent practices employed by some magazine subscription sales agencies, I believe all of my colleagues will be interested in reading the decision in this case. It follows:

[In the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, Pa., Civil Division, No. 1433 January term, 1970, in equity]

MUTUAL READERS LEAGUE, INC., A CORPORATION,
PLAINTIFF, V. JOSEPH MARTINELLI, D/B/A
MUTUAL READERS LEAGUE OF PITTSBURGH,
DEFENDANT.

ADJUDICATION

This matter is before the Court on plaintiff's complaint in equity requesting injunctive relief against defendant for a breach of contract.

After hearing testimony, examining the exhibits admitted as evidence in this case, and considering arguments of counsel, the Chancellor finds the following facts:

1. That the plaintiff, Mutual Readers League, Inc., is a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware, with its principal office in Des Moines, Iowa, and is engaged in the business of clearing subscriptions to magazines and other periodicals pursuant to agreements with the publishers thereof, and granting franchises to dealers, and contracting with such dealers for the sale on a budget or installment basis of combination subscriptions to such magazines and periodicals in specified geographical areas throughout the United States.

2. That Mutual Readers League, Inc. is a subsidiary of Cowles Communications, Inc.

3. That defendant, Joseph Martinelli, is an individual doing business as Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh, with offices at 810-812 Wood Street, in the Borough of Wilkingsburg, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and is engaged in the business of selling and servicing magazine subscription contracts.

4. On June 28, 1962, plaintiff and defendant entered into a franchise agreement, hereinafter referred to as Exhibit "A", under which plaintiff granted to defendant the right to sell within the counties of Allegheny, Washington, Westmoreland, Fayette, Butler, Beaver, Somerset, Cambria, Indiana, Armstrong, Clearfield, Jefferson, Clarion, Venango, Forest, Mercer, Lawrence, Erie, Warren and Elk, all in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, budget or installment subscriptions for its magazines and other periodicals obtained on lists furnished defendant by plaintiff.

5. The terms of the agreement required that all subscription sales by defendant should be made honestly and without misrepresentation and that all solicitations, sales and collections should be made in compliance with publisher's terms and conditions and all applicable requirements, rules and regulations of the United States Post Office Department, the Audit Bureau of Circulation and the Central Registry Bureau of the Magazine Publishers Association, Inc.

It is further required by the agreement that all subscription order forms, installment contract forms, and all other forms or documents used by defendant or by his organization, should be subject to plaintiff's approval and copies of the same be submitted by the defendant to plaintiff in advance of their use by defendant.

6. Defendant has failed to sell subscriptions in compliance with terms set by plaintiff and the publishers; has reported inaccurate information to plaintiff in regard to his accounts; has misrepresented to the plaintiff the extent of the sales he has actually made to subscribers; and has misrepresented to customers the subscriptions they will receive as a result of said sales.

7. On November 19, 1969, plaintiff Mutual Readers League, Inc. terminated its franchise agreement of June 28, 1962, with defendant Joseph Martinelli, d/b/a Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh.

8. Defendant failed to submit for approval copies of all subscription order forms, installment contract forms, and other forms and documents used by him in his performance under the agreement.

9. That defendant had perforated and used subscriber coupon books which did not conform to those coupon books approved by plaintiff and which were calculated to mislead subscribers.

10. That Herndon Hippee of 407 28th Street, Des Moines, Iowa, is franchise director of Mutual Readers League, Inc., which included Pittsburgh district, and as director, supervised the personnel that handled the dealers. In addition thereto, assisted in sales techniques with various dealers and gave advice as to how the dealers should set up their accounts. The defendant Martinelli was under Hippee's jurisdiction as franchise dealer; that he spent considerable time on exhibit sales programs with Martinelli and had extensive meetings that varied from two to three times a week. That Hippee was aware of the 29 renewal coupon books that Martinelli had sent out as an experiment, in fact, had had negotiations with Mr. Bodkin about prices and rental for a perforating machine to be used in connection with defendant Martinelli's 29 renewal coupon book experiment.

DISCUSSION

After five days of trial, defendant's counsel raised the question of whether or not plaintiff has standing to sue in this court under 15 P.S. § 2014 on the ground that Mutual Readers League, Inc., a Delaware corporation with its principal office in Des Moines, Iowa, is a foreign corporation transacting business in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania without a certificate of authority, and cited in support of its motion 15 P.S. § 2011 for a definition of what constitutes the doing of business in Pennsylvania by a foreign corporation.

In refusing defendant's motion to dismiss this case, the Chancellor pointed out that § 2011 cited by defendant is entirely inappropriate for determining what constitutes the transacting of business for the purposes of § 2014. § 2011 pertains solely to the question of jurisdiction and the power of the Commonwealth courts to exercise process over foreign corporations in doing business within the state.

It is clear that the standards applied for determining whether a foreign corporation is doing business within the Commonwealth for jurisdictional purposes are not the same standards that are applied for determining whether a foreign corporation is required to register in the Commonwealth. The Business Corporation Law of Pennsylvania in fact follows this distinction for in 15 P.S. § 2001 (b) it is clearly stated:

"Without excluding other activities which may not constitute doing business in this Commonwealth, a foreign business corporation shall not be considered doing business in this Commonwealth for the purposes of this section and of sections 1012 and 1014 (15 P.S. §§ 2012 and 2014) of this act, but not necessarily for the purposes of taxation or of section 1011 (15 P.S. § 2011) of this act concerning service of process, by reason of carrying on in this Commonwealth any one or more of the following activities:

"(5) Effecting sales through independent contractors;

"(6) Soliciting or procuring orders, whether by mail or through employees or agents or otherwise, and maintaining offices therefor, where such orders require acceptance without this Commonwealth before becoming binding contracts;

"(9) Transacting any business in interstate commerce;"

The testimony disclosed that the plaintiff has no offices in Pennsylvania; maintains no bank accounts here; has no employees in Pennsylvania; has no telephone listings; and owns no property in Pennsylvania. Its only contact with Pennsylvania is through independent contractors and, on occasions for

business of the plaintiff, its franchise director visits the plaintiff's franchisees within the franchised area of Pennsylvania.

We must conclude, therefore, that the definition of "doing business" in § 1011 of the Business Corporation Law applies only to service of process on foreign corporation sued here and has no reference to the right of a foreign corporation to institute suit. We are satisfied that the plaintiff's activities are clearly within interstate commerce and therefore do not require qualification as stated in § 1001 of the Business Corporation Law, 15 P.S. § 2001.

As the trial progressed the Chancellor became more and more aware of the public involvement in this proceeding. The testimony of plaintiff's witnesses, as well as those of the defendant, pointed out consumer deception in numerous subscription orders procured by the defendant under the franchise dealership contract with the plaintiff.

The Chancellor further became aware through a revelation of the testimony that these magazine sales in some instances were so neatly concealed the consumer most likely would never realize that he was victimized. As a result of the public involvement and public interest being seriously concerned, the Court requested the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Justice, Bureau of Consumer Protection, be joined in this proceeding as amicus curiae.

These subscription sales abuses, such as, the deceptive sales pitch, the forged contract, the hidden gift subscription, all of which were revealed through the witnesses' testimony in this case, are merely in the Chancellor's opinion, end products of corporate organizational structures and operational policies which are keyed more to quantity sales than to quality.

While the plaintiff attempts to place full blame for deception or fraud upon the defendant franchised dealer, plaintiff's agent, Mr. Hippee, was directly involved with the dealer in his official capacity as franchise director of plaintiff. Hippee's testimony that he spent considerable time on exchange sales programs with the defendant Martinelli; that he had numerous meetings with Martinelli; that he was present and did some talking with Mr. Bodkin in respect to procuring a perforating machine to be used in connection with the 29 renewal coupon books not authorized to be issued by the plaintiff; that the welcome letter sent out by defendant was dictated in part by Hippee with respect to the four additional coupons issued in connection with the 29 renewal coupon books.

We think that publishers have a responsibility to insure that any agencies which sell their publications do so by honest means. While we must hasten to point out that the plaintiff is to be commended in its position that it always fires field personnel, salesmen and dealers involved in serious sales abuses, we think the plaintiff should go a step further and correct the corporate policies which lead to these sales abuses, the root of which seems to stem from these subscription sales contracts, practices and franchised dealerships.

The parties to this litigation have agreed to settle, and have settled, their dispute as between plaintiff and defendant and have requested the Court to discontinue this proceeding, although the hearing on the preliminary injunction has not been completed nor have there been requests for findings of fact and conclusions of law submitted by the litigants, nor has the testimony been transcribed. The Court has no objection to the litigants settling matters as between themselves, but must consider the public interest in this matter and to protect the public from these sales abuses, must enter an injunction jointly and severally against plaintiff and defendant. The Court further considers the hearing on preliminary injunction

to be a final hearing without prejudice to either party.

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

1. That equity has jurisdiction of the parties and subject matter of this proceeding.

2. That this proceeding be considered a final hearing without prejudice to either party.

3. That the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Justice, Bureau of Consumer Protection is joined in this case at the request of this Court as amicus curiae.

4. That the contract of plaintiff, Mutual Readers League, Inc., dated June 28, 1962, with Joseph Martinelli, d/b/a Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh, was terminated for cause November 19, 1969.

5. That defendant's motion to dismiss under § 1014 of the Pennsylvania Business Corporation Law (15 P.S. § 2014) be denied.

6. That the parties plaintiff and defendant should be permitted to settle this case.

7. That a permanent injunction should be entered against both parties enjoining them from subscription sales abuses, such as the deceptive sales pitch, the forging contract, the hidden gift subscription, etc.

FINAL DECREE

And now, to-wit, this 11th day of December, 1969, after hearing and consideration of counsel's arguments and the testimony in this case, and plaintiff Mutual Readers League, Inc. having terminated its franchise agreement with Joseph Martinelli, d/b/a Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh, defendant, on November 19, 1969, and the parties having agreed that the dispute between them be settled, and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Justice, Bureau of Consumer Protection, at the Court's request, having appeared as amicus curiae, and in order to protect the public from any of the practices listed herein below, and for the foregoing reasons, it is ordered, adjudged and decreed that:

1. Plaintiff Mutual Readers League, Inc. and defendant, Joseph Martinelli, d/b/a Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh, are hereby jointly and severally permanently enjoined in this Commonwealth from engaging directly or indirectly, in concert or otherwise, through their respective agents, representatives or any nominal successor, corporate or otherwise, or successor, assignee or substitute organization, or in any manner whatsoever in any unfair, deceptive or fraudulent acts or practices in the soliciting, taking of orders or selling of subscriptions to magazines or other periodicals which practices are in violation of any law of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania or any provision of the "Selling Code for Paid-During-Service Periodical Subscription Sales Agencies" and are ordered to forthwith cease and desist from—

a. Using or causing to be used or engaging in the use of any coupon book containing more coupons than the number of payments after the initial payment to be made under the terms of the subscriber contract.

b. Altering the terms of a subscription contract without prior written authorization of the subscriber.

c. Representing that the subscription contract is noncancellable when in truth and fact under the "Selling Code for Paid-During-Service Periodical Subscription Sales Agencies" such contracts are cancellable within 72 hours after the date on which the contract is finally executed, and may be cancelled within similar or other periods of time under Pennsylvania or Federal law.

d. Failing to notify subscribers in writing at or before the execution of the subscription contract of their right to cancel the same within 72 hours from the date in which the contract is fully executed and failing to

fully explain the subscribers' rights to cancel the subscription contract.

e. Permitting a subscription contract to be signed by the subscriber with blank spaces in the contract at the time of signature by the subscriber, including, but not restricted to, the name and number of issues of the subscription for each magazine, the name and address of the seller, the number of payments, the amount and due date of each payment, and any and all other essential parts of the contract by which the parties or either of them will be bound, or which may be required by Pennsylvania or Federal law.

f. Making any misrepresentation as to the price or reason for the price or for a reduction in the price of any of the subscriptions contained in the contract.

g. Failing to show the true agreed price and length of subscription of each magazine or periodical purportedly subscribed for in the contract.

h. Causing a discrepancy between any provision of the customer's copy of the subscription contract and any other copy of such contract.

i. Entering a person's name on a subscription contract without such person's knowledge and prior written authorization.

j. Inducing minors, illiterates, mentally retarded or mentally handicapped persons, persons who are incapacitated because of severe vision defects, or persons incapacitated because of age to purchase magazine subscriptions.

k. Using a "sympathy appeal" or sales pitch, such as, but not limited to, the magazine subscriptions are needed to win a scholarship, or prize, or that earnings from subscription sales will help or benefit certain groups of persons, such as students, the underprivileged, or charitable, civic or eleemosynary groups, organizations or institutions.

l. Falsely representing, directly or indirectly, expressly, impliedly or in any manner that one or more magazine subscriptions offered during a sales presentation are free or that magazine subscriptions are free or that the customer pays only for the cost of postage, handling, editing and printing, or any of them, or that free magazine subscriptions or publications will be furnished to prospective customers for answering certain questions, participating in a survey the solicitor is making, advertising by certain business concerns to increase circulation, winning a contest or being selected as a prize winner.

m. Falsely representing, directly or indirectly, expressly, impliedly or in any manner that a subscriber will be given a gift subscription to be sent to a person designated by the subscriber without informing the subscriber that the subscriber is paying for the same.

n. Falsely representing, directly or indirectly, expressly, impliedly or in any manner that a prospective customer is signing a preference list of magazines, a guarantee or any inducement or paper other than a subscription contract when, in fact, said person is signing a subscription contract.

o. Altering the terms of the subscription contract without the knowledge and prior written authorization of the subscriber whereby cheaper magazines are submitted, additional subscriptions are added, or the length of any of the subscriptions shortened.

p. From using harassing or oppressive methods in collection of delinquent accounts or failing to comply with the Federal Trade Commission guides against debt collection deception and the Pennsylvania Bureau of Consumer Protection requirements.

2. The plaintiff and defendant shall fully comply in any respect with the provisions of "Selling Code for Paid-During-Service Peri-

odical Subscription Sales Agency" and all applicable provisions of Pennsylvania law.

3. Plaintiff and defendant shall pay the claims of defendant's subscribers as verified by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Consumer Protection which claims arise from any of the practices enumerated in this order.

4. Any subscription contract entered into by defendant in violation of the provisions of this order shall be cancelled upon verification of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Consumer Protection that such contract violates any provision of this order, and upon receipt by plaintiff of a written request for cancellation signed by such subscriber.

5. The Bureau of Consumer Protection of Pennsylvania shall have access to all records and other documents pertaining to the franchise heretofore known as Mutual Readers League of Pittsburgh, and to the records and documents of Mutual Readers League, Inc., concerning the same.

6. This case shall be marked as settled and discontinued subject to the continuing jurisdiction of this court to enforce the provisions of this order.

7. The injunction bond in the amount of Five Thousand (\$5,000.00) Dollars, heretofore filed in this proceeding pursuant to this Court's order of November 19, 1969, with the Federal Insurance Company as surety, is cancelled.

By the Court.

WESSEL, J.

ORDER OF COURT

AND NOW, to-wit, this 15th day of December, 1969, a final decree of this Court entered December 11, 1969, be and the same is hereby amended to read "Decree Nisi" and the aforementioned decree is further amended by adding thereto "If no exceptions are filed hereto within twenty (20) days after notice of filing this adjudication, the decree nisi shall be entered by the Prothonotary upon praecipe as a final decree herein in accordance with R.C.P. No. 1519 (a)."

By the Court.

WESSEL, J.

ADMINISTRATION PEACE INITIATIVES HEIGHTEN MIDDLE EAST TENSION

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed at reports indicating a dangerous shift in the administration's approach to achieving peace in the Middle East.

Until recently it seemed clear that our policy was based firmly on the belief that only direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict, ultimately resulting in signed peace agreements, could provide any real hope for a just and lasting settlement of hostilities. The administration's detailed peace initiatives revive speculations that we, with the other big powers, will attempt to impose a settlement on Israel and the Arab states.

On the surface, the latest proposals contain only guidelines for peace, the precise terms of which must still be worked out during the course of negotiations. Nonetheless, the guidelines themselves, as reported in the press, reflect

certain biases which cannot help but prejudice Israel's position at the bargaining table. Moreover, the very fact that the administration has come forward with a detailed program makes it less likely that Israel and the Arab States will ever make it to the bargaining table. That this country is ready to lay down certain peace conditions in advance, before there is a single expression of willingness by any Arab state to deal directly with the Israelis, borders on the absurd. It can only inspire the Arab countries to perpetuate the state of terror which now exists. It can only tempt them to conclude that, by waiting, they can increase the chances for an imposed settlement, based on some vague notion of peaceful coexistence.

It can only seduce them into believing that they can obtain Israeli troop withdrawals and the cession of occupied territory, without reciprocal obligations to recognize the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of the State of Israel. It can only be taken by them as a sign that the United States is tired of the tension in the Middle East, and is ready to pressure its friend and ally into sacrificing security to obtain a temporary illusion of peace. However unintentionally, the administration proposals will defeat their ostensible purpose: bringing the adversary states together to negotiate.

The most alarming thing about the new administration proposal is its timing, coming as it did on the eve of the Arab summit meeting in Rabat, just a few days after White House meetings with representatives of oil and banking interests which have heavy investments in the Middle East. The inference that we are courting favor with the Arabs is obvious. As a consequence we are reaping the contempt of the Arabs and the anger of Israel.

This is the reward for our "evenhandedness," the word used by Governor Scranton to describe the new policy which the administration is now following in the Middle East. We talk now of requiring concessions from Israel as well as the Arabs. This superficial evenhandedness is nothing but a thinly concealed attempt to appease the Arab countries. What concessions should be necessary to secure Israel's basic right to live in peace, recognized by all as a sovereign, independent entity?

Our public policy has been distorted by the insistent demands of private economic self-interest. We cloak this policy in words which distract the mind from the shattering realization, so real to every Israeli, that the Arabs are publicly committed to the literal devastation of the State of Israel and her people. It takes a mind more comfortable with abstractions and rationalizations than hard facts to recite the virtues of evenhandedness in these circumstances.

The administration policy comes dangerously close to rejecting the open and friendly relationship we have long enjoyed with the State of Israel. Economic expediency, and the desire for increased status within the Arab world, have led the administration to ignore the deep

importance of ideals of national independence, so crucial for the survival of Jews in Israel, and so significant a part of our own national heritage. As Abba Eban has beautifully expressed it, the history of both our lands can be prefaced with these same words:

Men thirsting for freedom, driven by insecurity and persecution but also drawn by the attraction of building a new civilization, emigrated from all parts of the world to a new land across the seas. They reclaimed that land from primeval devastation. They liberated themselves from colonial shackles. They established a free republic which they then defended against every adversary and peril until it secured its recognized place in the international family. In their cultural effort, they merged their diverse immigrant cultures into the unity of a new civilization. They maintained through every ordeal the original moral heritage which had inspired their underlying unity of purpose.

We forget our own moral heritage when we forget for a moment that Israel's struggle is for freedom and independence.

I believe that we must reaffirm our original position of opposition to any attempts by outside powers to impose a peace settlement. We must reaffirm our position of opposition to any pressure to force premature withdrawal of Israeli presence from areas under its administration, as a condition for entering negotiation. We must emphasize that Arab States in the Middle East have the responsibility for the enforcement of peace, and the obligation to curb the activities of terrorists operating from within their borders. We must insist that the only framework for the achievement of peace is through direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict, leading to contractual peace agreements. Only a strong statement of these objectives will silence once and for all the false hopes of the Arab States that we will dictate the terms for settlement of tension in the Middle East.

Israel's expressions of readiness to fight in defense of her national existence must not obscure an awareness of her underlying desire for peace. The people who went to the desert and the hills of Galilee to bring life to a barren land that had not bloomed for centuries, have ears that delight in music, not the clamor of artillery, and hands which turn more eagerly to building their land than to shouldering a rifle.

The consequences of living in a state of constant terror are deeply tragic for both sides. Yet it is clear that the Arab war of attrition is not destroying Israel's strength. The Israelis have shown that they can survive the constant skirmishes along her existing borders. They have shown that their resolve is strong and that they will not be driven to accept an illusory peace out of fear. The perpetual harassment has not prompted the forfeiture of occupied territory, nor has it led the big powers to attempt to impose a makeshift peace in the Middle East. Sooner or later the Arabs will have to negotiate. That is what the Israelis believe, and that also appears to be the only realistic outcome of the present conflict.

We must remain convinced that time lies on the side of peace. We must be ever aware that only real peace, and not mere coexistence, can dissolve the tension. Only direct negotiations leading to agreements signed by the parties can guarantee peace. Only secure boundaries will insure that such a peace will be recognized and respected. Only an open Middle East, where there is a free flow of people, ideas, and goods will promise an end to the refugee problem. Only when the reasonableness of these simple propositions is accepted will there be an end to the terror and reprisal. We must await that end with strength and patience.

DR. H. MARTIN ENGLE, VA CHIEF
MEDICAL DIRECTOR, RETIRING

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, rising medical costs focus our attention not only on increasing basic living costs, but on some of the expensive elements of quality medical care.

However, in recognizing the intensive, specialized training required by today's medical professionals, and in conceding their unselfish dedication to the difficult task of keeping abreast of new medical knowledge and new means of delivering health service, we often overlook this fact.

When someone in authority in the field of hospital and medical care is concerned enough about rising medical costs, something can be done, either to hold the line on these costs, or to maintain high quality medical care in the face of increasing costs.

Such a person is Dr. H. Martin Engle, the retiring Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration.

His entire medical career, but especially his service since January 4, 1966 as the head of the world's largest hospital system, dramatizes Dr. Engle's single purpose devotion to the delivery of second-to-none medical care with maximum efficiency and economy.

For example, in fiscal year 1965, just before Dr. Engle became the Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration, the VA had a ratio of 1.32 employees to each patient in its general hospitals. By fiscal year 1969, this was increased to approximately 1.5 employees per patient in the system.

This is still below the staffing level in the average general hospital which is 2.70 staff to each patient. The important point is that under Dr. Engle's direction the VA hospital system has increased its staffing ratio. And, most important, it has continued to provide veteran patients with good hospital and medical care, even though it has less staff and less funds than other hospital systems.

To the retiring Chief Medical Director belongs another statistical credit, if you will.

In fiscal year 1965, the Veterans' Ad-

ministration treated a little more than 700,000 patients in its hospitals. This year, the VA will care for more than 800,000 patients in its 166 hospitals. And with fewer operating beds than in 1965.

This achievement, and it is nothing less than that, has been made possible because of improved treatment methods, progress in medical research, expanding programs of premedical and posthospital care, and nursing and domiciliary home care.

A graduate of the University of Illinois Medical School, Dr. Engle started his Federal career in 1942 as a wartime first lieutenant in the Army Medical Corps. He joined the VA as a medical officer at the VA center in Fort Harrison, Mont., in August 1946 following his discharge from the Army with the rank of major.

We all know that Dr. Engle and his associates in VA medicine have made considerable personal financial sacrifice to serve America's sick, aging, and disabled veterans, who, this year, numbering more than 7,250,000, will be treated in VA hospitals, clinics, domiciliaries, nursing homes, and restoration centers.

We know, too, that Dr. Engle and his associates, at personal sacrifice, have chosen to dedicate themselves to the cause of making VA medicine a major source of improved health care for our entire Nation.

The sixth Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration, Dr. Engle is the first career civil servant to be chosen for this important position. He has used his intimate knowledge of the VA hospital system to improve its management, and has contributed his considerable professional stature to bring medical colleges and community medical programs into a closer working relationship with VA medicine.

Again, I would cite examples which reflect the concern and the effort of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and the Congress to bring about this necessary and beneficial relationship.

But I would also reemphasize Dr. Engle's vigorous and effective leadership in calling to the attention of the Congress the mutual benefits that he knew, and confidently predicted, would result from this close relationship.

In retrospect, we might consider his pioneering efforts to effect this logical and essential cooperation as routine. But they are unique to the retiring Chief Medical Director. More important than the fact that he initiated this program, however, is the fact that the critical shortage of medical specialists in America will be alleviated to some degree in the future because of the Veterans' Administration medical education program.

This year more than 46,000 of the Nation's medical school graduates will receive training in VA hospitals. And while this number now represents more than half of all medical school graduates, it is expected that it will nearly double in the years ahead. VA is in the process of expanding by thousands its programs for paramedical personnel and technicians.

Surely, this prospect is one of the most meaningful monuments to Dr. Engle's service as Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration.

It is, perhaps, a cliché to say that what

is good for VA medicine is good for the entire medical community in America. Nonetheless, in recognizing and paying tribute today to Dr. Engle I would have to emphasize that the VA's integrated medical system—which included 166 hospitals plus nursing beds, outpatient clinics, restorative programs and domiciliaries—is pointing the way for expanding the Nation's limited medical resources for the growing number of Americans who need them.

To carry out his mission, Dr. Engle has conducted a \$46 million a year medical research program which has refined methods of diagnosis, treatment and management.

During fiscal year 1968, for example, nearly 5,900 research projects were conducted by more than 5,400 investigators in 145 VA installations. VA lead the nation in organ transplants, VA's work in the mental health field has been outstanding, and VA is leading the Nation in research on the problems of the aging individual.

Dr. Engle's professional competence and his important contributions to the Nation's health have been recognized by his professional colleagues by their electing him to serve on their highest professional policy boards and governing councils. He has held faculty appointments with the many medical colleges affiliated with the eight VA hospitals where he has served.

Those of us who worked closely with Dr. Engle will miss his steady guiding hand on VA medical programs, but we trust his retirement from Federal service will not remove him from close association with the programs for veterans.

Careers such as Dr. Engle's illustrate that Government programs not only are users of the top professional talent, but are at the same time producers of talents that are constantly flowing to the private sector. Wherever he might choose to serve, Dr. Engle will continue to contribute to improved medical care. Throughout his service, he has shown a resourceful ability to set goals and reach them. His dedication, creative ideas, and professional competence will continue to inspire confidence in his co-workers. His potential to further advance American medicine is undiminished, and those of us who have been privileged to know him are confident that his productive and distinguished career will continue with its characteristic mark of excellence.

FARMERS HAVE SOMETHING THAT CITY FOLKS DO NOT

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, as this session of Congress finally draws to a close, I think it is most appropriate that we take time out to reflect on this past year and hopefully spend less time on partisan discussion and more on finding workable answers to our pressing problems.

Our Government has spent billions of dollars with the apparent philosophy that pouring out funds from the public purse can solve virtually every problem of human need. Now we find many of these programs have foundered on the shoals of human nature. Obviously, a further outpouring of Federal funds is not the answer.

At least a partial answer may well come from rural and smalltown America—from citizens who traditionally solve their own problems and who believe self-help is best help. Perhaps we have failed on a national level because we have ignored the basic philosophy of simple Christian concern. The desire to help others must come from the heart. Before a Federal program can truly achieve the desired result we should take into account realistic goals, the frailty of human nature and most important basic Christian concern.

It is in this regard that farmers truly have something that city folks do not and more important something that city folks desperately need. Mr. Bill Lee of the Smith County Pioneer has stated the case very well in the following editorial. I would like to bring this article to the attention of every urban Congressman as we work together next session to find workable answers to the problems of our cities and rural America:

FARMERS HAVE SOMETHING THAT CITY FOLKS DON'T

Farmers have something that we who live in towns and cities don't—the situation to really do something about it when a neighbor is sick, when there is a death in the family or when there is some other misfortune.

Farmers take their tractors, their plows, their combines or whatever equipment is needed and in they go to do the things that need to be done. Their love and compassion for a neighbor in trouble and the things they do for that person and his family are among the finest things in life. "Honor thy father and thy mother: and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," said Jesus. Farmers follow that advice. How many, many times have we seen that exemplified among the fine rural people of this county. And what a wonderful thing it is for all concerned, both the receiver and the giver.

City dwellers are handicapped. Many of them, we think, have the same feelings of compassion but they can't express it by doing something—at least not in the way that farmers can—by doing something that really counts. How can you run a store for a sick or injured merchant or do the repair work for a mechanic who is in trouble?

It is true that the trades and professions often help others of their kind. Doctors care for another physician's patients, newspapermen print for their fellows in distress, etc., but it isn't quite the same as when a group of farmers pass the word around that someone needs help, and go out in a group to do it.

This desire to help and doing it is one of the finest things of rural life.

We see it exemplified in cities and towns when the women take in food and do household tasks for families in bereavement or when there is illness in the family. The women have it on us men in those situations.

We've seen so many, many occasions of farmers helping their neighbors in distress—leaving their own work to do something for their neighbors. That is one of the noblest traditions of rural life.

God bless you people who love your neighbors and do something about it!

INSPIRATIONAL LETTER FROM CONSTITUENT

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, several days ago, I received a thoughtful letter from one of my constituents in Margate, N.J. I believe this letter is one of the most truthful and candid presentations of the views of the silent majority I have received. It discusses a variety of subjects which are important to our country, and I would like to share these views with my colleagues.

The letter follows:

DEAR FELLOW AMERICAN: First of all, let me thank you for the opportunity of telling you what is in the heart of a member of the Silent Majority.

LOVE OF COUNTRY AND RESPECT DUE IT

We, as Americans, are the most fortunate people in the world. We also are the most complacent people. We stand idle while the forces that are trying to destroy us are at the peak of their efforts. This country was not founded by cowards or traitors. It has survived and become the leader of all nations only because of the men and women who gave their lives and devotion to it. To continue to survive and enjoy the freedoms we have, is becoming more and more difficult. I do not profess to know all the answers. I do know that I am fed up with what is going on today. I also know that I do not stand alone.

NEWS MEDIA

It makes me wonder when I see on television or read in newspapers the extended coverage given to traitors who are doing their best to destroy our way of life. Why does the news media make so much of so little? What have these creeps to offer us? What would these idiots do to defend their country? How come these so-called peaceniks do not march in front of Red embassies? Why? Where is the money coming from to organize these campaigns? Why are their leaders and organizers not charged with insurrection? The news media is helping these malcontents sow the seeds of treason!!!

DISRESPECT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT

Today, as never before in our glorious history, the public has to get behind their police departments and support them. If we stand by and let these communist-inspired forces break down all respect for law and order, then we surely will destroy ourselves!

By the same token, newspapers and television stations should be reminded that they have an obligation to report the news as it happens. Not slant or change the presentation of it to border on sensationalism.

I am a proud American. I have had the privilege of honorably serving my country on two occasions . . . Europe and Korea. I have five sons. I do not want them to go through what I did. But if it is necessary, I want my boys to serve with honor and pride.

My children are taught that policemen are their friends and they are working for their protection and well-being. Support your police . . . your life depends on it!

PRESIDENT NIXON AND VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

I heard President Nixon's speech and read the Vice President's statement on these so-called peace demonstrators. I thank God that we are fortunate in having men like them running our country!

Forgive me, sir, for taking so much of your valuable time. You have a tough job on your hands, but I know you are part of a

team that will see to it that America remains the great nation that it is.

As my Congressman from the Second District, I most sincerely request that you do your utmost to remind the Supreme Court of the United States of America that they are sworn to uphold the Constitution and laws of our great nation. I also urge you to request J. Edgar Hoover send directives to all law enforcement agencies in the country to bombard their local newspapers and television stations with phone calls and letters demanding that their presentation of news stops making the job of law enforcement so tough. I charge the news media with giving a false image of the police by withholding all the facts of different situations and then showing police in a bad light to create their desired effect of sensationalism! Freedom of the press is a sacred duty . . . it is not intended to be a subterfuge!

Again, sir, let me thank you for your time and consideration to a proud American who is finding it more difficult to keep silent.

May the Good Lord grant you and the Administration the wisdom and power to restore patriotism and love of America into the hearts of all our countrymen.

Most respectfully yours,

ROBERT J. WEINSTEIN.

DEATH OF FRANCIS M. LEMAY

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I join in extending my sincere sympathy to the wife of Francis M. LeMay on his death.

I first knew Frank when I came to Congress more than 23 years ago and he was in charge of the Associated Press bureau on the House side.

His great knowledge and skills as a newsman were recognized and he was promoted to higher station where he could engage his abilities in interpreting economic events for the people. His journalistic career made him an eyewitness to many of the outstanding events of our time. He was an intimate of the Presidents and a close friend of many Members of this body.

Later he was appointed by the late beloved Speaker, Sam Rayburn, as House Coordinator of Information.

In 1953 he was selected as a chief professional staff man for the House Committee on Agriculture where he served until his retirement 2 years ago.

During all this period he was recognized for his dedication to agriculture and the problems of farmers throughout this country. His vast knowledge of agricultural events and problems served him well and his efforts reflect great credit on the agricultural legislation which was brought before this body.

In his position he was able to influence more legislation in the field of agriculture than any other man.

Francis LeMay has had long and close associations with the district which elected me. He was born in Leighton and spent his earlier childhood in my hometown, Scottsboro, where his father was in the jewelry business.

After the death of his father, when Frank was only 7, he grew up in the

Masonic Home in Montgomery, Ala. He worked his way through college displaying considerable talent with a trumpet.

He retired to a small farm near Wheeler Dam near Wilson Lake, a spot of rare beauty known as LeMay's Landing.

He had a distinguished and productive life. As a newsman, he was extraordinary. As a legislative staff man, he was outstanding. He was a man of fine directions, competent, imaginative, and esteemed in all his public and private endeavors.

I join with his many friends in this House in mourning his passing.

LIBYAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the ancient land of Libya has long been the meeting place of empires. The Greek historian Herodotus mentioned the "Libyans" and the "Ethiopians" of the country, and described their agriculture and their cities along the Mediterranean coast and near the desert oases of the interior. The Phoenicians later established trading centers in Libya and the land became a part of the Carthaginian-African Empire that challenged the might of Imperial Rome. In medieval times, Libya was divided between the nations of Egypt and the nations of Morocco and Tunis, usually at the point where the hostile and forbidding Libyan Desert meets the sea at the Gulf of Circe.

Europeans also had their day in Libya, from the Greek colonies of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., the Alexandrian period, the invasions of the Vandals, the conquests of the Byzantines, and even an expedition of the Spanish King Ferdinand in the 15th century A.D. But it was the Muslim conquest that was to have the most lasting effect on the country, leaving as its heritage the language, culture, and religion of the Arabs. Libya finally became an Ottoman Turkish province in the 16th century, enjoying a semi-autonomous status during the declining years of the great Turkish Empire. It was during this period that Northern Africa, including Libya, became famous as a center for pirates and corsairs, as they were known to European seafaring nations whose ships they plundered and raided.

Italy landed troops in Libya in 1911, securing some coastal enclaves after battles with the Turkish armies. But the Italians were never able to complete their domination of the land because the Libyan people refused to submit to the will of the European conquerors. The tenuous Italian hold over this African land was broken in World War II by the combined efforts of the resisting Libyan people and the Allied forces.

From 1942 until 1950, Libya was administered by the British and the French. In 1952, the United Nations decreed that the nation of Libya was to have its independence, the only nation in the world

to have achieved its freedom in this manner. On December 24, 1952, the United Kingdom of Libya, acting under the authority of the constitution promulgated the year before, became an independent nation.

For the first years after independence, Libya was unable to meet its own financial requirements, accepting foreign assistance from other nations. But oil concessions granted to American firms in 1955 and 1956 began to produce oil in the early 1960's, allowing the nation to become self-sufficient and totally independent. Now Libya shares its wealth with its Arab and African neighbors in the true spirit of brotherhood.

On September 1, 1969, a group of young military officers forestalled a grab for power by a self-seeking elite and declared Libya to be a democratic republic. On this anniversary of Libyan independence, we wish the new leaders of the Revolutionary Command Council and the people of Libya every success in their quest for their stated goal of "socialism, unity, and freedom."

THOUGHTS FROM VIETNAM

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, Jim Tomlinson, a resident of Wellsville, Kans., composed a very thought-provoking poem while stationed at Hue, Vietnam. I would like to share with my colleagues, Jim's thoughts as printed in the Miami Republican of Paola, Kans.

POEM FROM VIETNAM

Jim Tomlinson, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Tomlinson, Wellsville, is stationed at Hue, Vietnam, with the 101st Airborne Division of the Army and has sent the following poem home to his parents:

Take a man and put him alone,
Put him 16,000 miles from home,
Empty his heart of all but blood,
Make him live in sweat and mud—
This is the life I have to live.
And while my soul to the devil I give,
You peace boys rant in your easy chair,
But you don't know what it's like over here,
You have a ball without really trying,
While over here your men are dying.
You burn your draft cards and march at dawn,
And plant your signs on the White House lawn.
You all want to ban the bomb,
There is no real war in Viet Nam.
So use your drugs and have your fun,
And then refuse to use a gun.
There's nothing else for you to do,
And I'm supposed to die for you.
I'll hate you to the day I die,
You made me hear my buddy cry.
I saw his bloody body shed,
I heard them say, "This one is dead."
It's a large price he had to pay,
Not to live another day.
He had the guts to fight and die.
He paid the price and what did he buy?
He bought your life by losing his,
But who gives a damn what a soldier gives?
His wife or his folks, and maybe his daughters,
And maybe his sons—
But they're about the only ones.

EXIMBANK IS ON ACTION LINE

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, one of the highlights of 1969 for the international trade task force was its meeting with Henry Kearns, Chairman and President of the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

Task force members were impressed with Mr. Kearns' grasp of the difficulties of promoting U.S. exports in an inflationary period, and of his determined efforts to overcome the disadvantages that U.S. exporters are facing.

The December 22 issue of International Commerce published an article by Mr. Kearns, highlighting initiatives he has taken in the few short months since assuming his post. Because of the extreme importance of better trade and payments balances for the United States, I insert Mr. Kearns' article in the RECORD at this point, as follows:

EXIMBANK IS ON ACTION LINE

(By Henry Kearns)

Clearly, achieving a favorable balance of payments, with its positive impact on the stability of the dollar, is largely dependent upon a surplus in our trade account. Confronted with this urgent need, it is regrettable that only a relatively small portion of the nation's total business is involved in exports. This historical lack of participation compounds our problems and emphasizes the urgent need to broaden recognition of the importance of foreign trade to assure the economic health of our country.

In our analysis of the current U.S. trade posture, there is some evidence that recent generations of American traders may have been lulled into a false sense of security by our country's overwhelmingly favorable financial situation throughout the past three decades. Until very recently, this country's availability of money at comparatively low interest rates was the envy of our competitors from other countries.

Indeed, until 1966, except in special cases, any enterprising U.S. exporter could find some source of private money at more favorable terms than could his counterpart elsewhere. The thought that the United States might find itself short of cash seemed impossible. We all believed "it couldn't happen here", but it did.

With the increasing inflationary pressures which reached alarming proportions last year, domestic demands for financial resources have gone beyond all expected bounds. Industries sensed that money would be tighter, prices higher, and that interest rates would continue to climb. They rushed to fill their growth needs at an early date, competing with each other for construction, for equipment, for personnel, and for money. Rising personal income levels similarly increased the demand for consumer goods of all kinds, as well as for durables and housing, again adding to the excessive competition for the money supply.

Money available for financing exports has diminished and its cost has correspondingly climbed. These factors would be bad enough, but the situation truly becomes intolerable when our exporters are increasingly faced with overseas competition from those who benefit from government-supported export finance. And the mix of U.S. exports includes an ever increasing element of capital equip-

ment requiring massive longer term financing.

Since Mar. 20, when our new team assumed direction of the Export-Import Bank, we have been impressed with the reality that the need for Government assistance in export financing has never before been so great nor so critical in confronting foreign competition. Never has there been a time when effective export financial assistance could produce so much in the way of strength for our economy and versatility for our producers.

Recognizing both the challenge and the answer, the Nixon Administration instructed Eximbank to respond positively to the needs of American business and industry through a significant expansion of its activities. As a result, the reinforced and reinvigorated staff of Eximbank has developed a comprehensive series of programs to improve existing Bank operations and to establish new facilities and courses of action.

Each step taken has been designed to fulfill a recognized need of the current international commercial environment. We, of course, will not be able to satisfy fully all of the needs and desires of the exporting community—that is, immediately—but we are moving rapidly in the direction of comprehensive response to the needs so forcefully presented.

SPECIFIC MEASURES LISTED

The nature and scope of the new export financing initiatives we have taken at the Eximbank are indicated by the measures listed below.

Extended Use of Guarantee Authority. Application of the financial guarantee authority of the Eximbank has been extended, primarily to attract secondary sources of finance for exports. This program is expected to be administered primarily through commercial banks.

Use of Foreign Source Financing. A program has been devised to solicit and negotiate with non-U.S. institutions to provide sources of funds to pay for U.S. exports. In the execution of this program the executives of the Bank have made extensive personal exploration and a permanent representative of the Bank has been established in Europe. The results to date have been most encouraging.

Joint/Participation Financing. A program of joint/participation financing has been undertaken to achieve the greatest leverage from the actual cash resources of the Bank. This program is based upon the experience in financing aircraft sales over the past two years. Under this program, when Eximbank is requested to provide direct credits, it will require participation to a major degree by private financial institutions.

Relending Credit Program. The practice of extending relending credits to certain overseas institutions has been organized into a comprehensive export promotion program. Selected overseas institutions will be extended limited lines of credit in return for active promotion of the sales of certain categories of U.S. products in specific markets. Past experience has revealed that this seeding effect can produce sales of products which otherwise would not have been possible. Continuing financing is expected to be provided from other sources.

Revised Discount Program. The commercial bank export loan program (discount program) initiated in 1966 has been revised and simplified. The current program actually has increased the number of banks which will finance exports and will significantly add to the private resources available for continuing export financing.

Nuclear Power Support. A policy has been adopted to assist in the sale of U.S.-produced nuclear power production facilities. The program includes assurance of the continued availability of financing for fuel charges, of

key importance in maintaining the competitive advantage of American exporters.

Pre-development Support. To support the country's engineering, planning and construction industries as well as to aid potential sales of large capital projects, a program has been approved for financing from the Export Expansion Facility to provide financing backing for U.S. participants in early feasibility and planning studies.

Equipment Insurance. To further assist engineering and construction exporters, a program has been adopted wherein the Eximbank will provide insurance on heavy and valuable equipment transported abroad for performance of contracts.

Local Cost Financing. Local cost financing has been one of the most troublesome demands upon U.S. exporters. To assist American firms in achieving large and important contracts, a program has now been approved that will help to provide local cost financing from various sources without a direct outflow of dollars from the United States (see story on p. 27).

Service to Commercial Banks. A series of programs has been adopted to assist and to work with private commercial banks. These include a free credit information service, a professional training program for young executives, and special assistance in marshaling consortium financing, when needed.

Improved Export Insurance. A special deductible policy has been developed and approved by the Eximbank and the Foreign Credit Insurance Association (FCIA) to reduce the cost and increase the usefulness of export insurance for major users.

Trade Promotion. A program of trade promotion has been undertaken in cooperation with the Department of Commerce for planning and active participation in trade fairs and exhibits in Mexico City, Bangkok, Tel Aviv, Madrid, and Osaka. This program will be continued and expanded.

Private Export Finance Corporation (PEFCO). Agreement has been developed with the Bankers Association for Foreign Trade (BAFT) to produce a joint agreement creating PEFCO, a massive consortium arrangement to finance major exports.

Agricultural Exports. Special attention has been given to agricultural exports, with increasing effectiveness.

Favorable Interest Rate. After a thorough examination and analysis, the Export-Import Bank has continued its direct credit interest rate at 6%.

Comprehensive Jet Aircraft Financing. A comprehensive policy and program to participate effectively in jet aircraft financing has been developed.

Seminar Program. A commercial bank seminar program, heretofore conducted on an *ad hoc* basis, has now been revised and programmed into a unified, planned arrangement to include regional meetings, state seminar programs, and commercial-bank-sponsored programs in various cities.

Special Industry Assistance. A series of special industry programs has been developed to explore in depth the financing needs and to develop specific programs of usefulness. These include: The National Cotton Council of America, the Electronic Industries Association, Machine Tool Builders Association, National Printing Equipment Association, Aerospace Industries Association, and others.

Inter-Agency Cooperation. Special cooperative programs have been developed with international institutions including: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, the privately-sponsored ADELA investment group, and similar organizations.

Financing Assistance Office. An export financing assistance office has been established to cooperate with banks, industries, or others who find difficulty in arranging satisfactory financing. The purpose is to combine the various resources and facilities to accomplish the major purpose.

Industry Discussions. A meeting has been scheduled with representatives of the major U.S. industries involved in exports to exchange experience and to stimulate interest in expansion of their export activities.

Advance Commitment Procedure. An effective advance commitment procedure has been adopted, including guidelines for borrowers, sellers and internal operational direction. It is intended that this development will significantly speed up case handling at all levels.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Administrative changes include the following:

Directors. Agreement by the members of the Board of Directors to accept geographic and operational responsibilities.

Employee Exchange. The development of an employee exchange program between the Department of Commerce, Treasury Department and Eximbank.

Advisory Committee. The statutory Advisory Committee has been reconstructed, including a program of constant communication and quarterly meetings designed to create a true advisory capability.

Speed-up. The reporting procedure has been adopted to assure prompt and thorough consideration of all cases.

Revised Publications. A comprehensive series of pamphlets and explanatory material has been developed for internal and external use.

Collection procedures. A comprehensive and continuous delinquent account and loss recovery collection control program and procedure has been established.

Money Management. Procedures have been established to provide a greater element of money management, combining the resource availability of granted authority and current actions of the Board of Directors.

Overseas Representation. An overseas office has been established in Vienna to continue negotiations on the foreign bank guarantee program and other representation useful to the Bank.

Special Country Studies. A series of in-depth studies of key countries has been undertaken for the guidance of the staff and the Board of Directors. These include countries in which numerous applications are received or countries that are believed to be facing possible foreign exchange difficulties.

Sales of Assets. A comprehensive program to accomplish the maximum sale of assets has been undertaken. This includes exploration with potential foreign buyers, pension funds of major industries, insurance companies and trust. Actual case-by-case negotiation will be undertaken by key members of the Eximbank staff.

Bank programs on which further work is underway include:

Resources and programming to support short-term financing of exports;

An assured and flexible source of funds to provide the backing for continuing programs of the magnitude needed;

A program to assist in developing consortium arrangements on major projects;

Reduction in the time required to process cases;

Revised accounting procedures;

A more adequate program for financing agricultural products;

A program to provide special attention to key geographical areas;

Revision and improvement of the export finance insurance operation and clarification of the Eximbank's relationships with FCIA;

The need for vastly improved communications and public awareness of Bank export financing activities;

Increased and improved working relationships with commercial banks, and

Development of PEFCO coordination and working relationship.

HOW WARM IS THE COLD WAR?

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, former Ambassador of Pakistan and my friend, the Honorable Benjamin H. Oehlert, Jr., delivered to the English Speaking Union in Atlanta, Ga., on November 18 and again to the Rotary Club of Orlando, Fla., on November 19 a speech which deals in part with international communism and in part with some of our greatest domestic problems.

Inasmuch as it is believed that Ambassador Oehlert's comments are most pertinent at this time, I want to call them to the attention of my colleagues.

The speech follows:

HOW WARM IS THE COLD WAR?

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is orthodox doctrine that a speaker should open his remarks with a few stories or jokes to "warm up" the audience.

That is supposed to develop sympathy between audience and speaker. Thus the audience is more attentive and more apt to be persuaded by the speaker.

It is a good doctrine. I have often used it. I shall not use it here.

The matters I wish to discuss are too serious for any levity. I hope that their seriousness and my sincerity will be enough to hold your attention, to cause you to think, and even perhaps to persuade you.

How warm is the cold war?

It is not even a warm war.

It is hot as Hell!

It is hotter than it or any other war has ever been.

The English-speaking nations and their free-world allies face the distinct possibility of utter annihilation.

Those are very extreme statements. I mean them to be. I believe that they are true.

From its invention, Communism has had one objective—to conquer the world.

Its leaders have always stated that objective and still do. They have never made any bones about it.

They have been equally frank in stating two other things.

First. The end is complete justification for the means.

Lies, deception, immorality, the destruction of all the virtues mankind has always treasured, individual assassination, mass murder, class annihilation, anarchy, Godlessness—and any and all means and methods are to be employed.

Second. The objective or world conquest can probably be accomplished by subversion. War will be employed if subversion fails, but only when the prospects of success are absolute.

Lenin once said that a capitalist is a man who will sell you the rope with which to hang him.

He was right then, but capitalists have made progress since his day.

Today a capitalist is a man who will give you the rope with which to hang him and help you put it around his neck.

And that is precisely what we are doing.

Hitler told us in writing what he proposed to do and how—and we laughed at him! We dismissed his words either as the impossible ravings of a maniac or as the extreme statements of a man trying to sell a lot of copies of his book.

But he meant it. And he very nearly carried it off.

From Marx and Engels, through Trotsky and Lenin, up to Stalin and Khrushchev and now with the present rulers of the USSR

and of the Peoples Republic of China, they have told us that they intend to bury us—but we don't believe them.

That is one of the heavy burdens of the Judeo-Christian ethics.

We want to believe the best of everyone and the worst of no one.

We lace this ethic with strong doses of "It can't happen to me", an overriding interest only in our own personal affairs, plus a dash of just plain laziness.

Why is it that so many people condemn the United States bitterly for honoring its treaty obligations to come to the defense of South Vietnam when brutally attacked and invaded by a North Vietnam Government, encouraged and armed by both Russia and China, which massacred hundreds of thousands of its own people when it came to power and forced two million others to flee for their lives?

Why do so few condemn North Vietnam for its crimes?

Why so much silence about the deep involvement of Russia and China?

Call the dreary roll. Have we forgotten Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, the troubles of Greece and Iran?

Have we forgotten Cuba and Santo Domingo and the intrigues and troubles of so many other Latin American countries?

Have we already forgotten Russia's part in the Middle East problems and its powerful intrusion into the Mediterranean?

Have we so soon forgotten the even more recent rape of Czechoslovakia?

Are we not aware of what is happening in Laos and in Thailand?

Don't we know of the huge communist parties in France, Italy and India?

Have we no recollection of some of the shocking developments in Africa?

If we have any memories at all, how can we possibly believe that they are interested in detente, that they are anxious for peaceful co-existence?

They are interested in no such things. They have never changed their sights from the objective of world rule, the repeal of God, the elimination of the middle and upper economic classes, the cancellation of all rights of free speech and free press and even free thought, and the dreary control by the State of every facet of individual life from womb to tomb.

Now don't get me wrong, I am not advocating any holy wars or preventive strikes. I am not opposing disarmament talks or any other efforts to reach some understandings or accords.

But I am pleading that we open our eyes, that we do not allow ourselves to be bamboozled, and that we keep our powder dry. We must realize that we are dealing with monsters who have been let loose in the world and we must act accordingly.

I can't particularize without revealing classified information and violating security but I can assure you that both the Johnson and the Nixon Administrations have carefully explored every conceivable Avenue for the reasonable and honorable settlement of the Vietnam war. There have been, ad nauseam, direct approaches to North Vietnam, direct approaches to Russia, and indirect approaches through friendly, neutral and even some communist countries to North Vietnam, to Russia and to China.

They have all met with nothing but disdainful and insulting rebuff.

I know.

I have participated in some of them.

I have heard the voice of Moscow and the voice of Peking revile and abuse the United States of America with the most outlandish lies imaginable.

I have personally been called a murderer with blood-drenched hands for no better

reason than because of efforts to get the North Vietnamese to agree to tell us the names of their captives and to allow them to exchange mail with their families.

I have been the butt of angry, vicious violence, and even my gentle wife has been placed in great physical danger.

So I do know.

But what is happening here at home?

Two great tides are flowing.

The first I call the tide of permissiveness. Tracing in part at least from the teachings of John Dewey and Dr. Benjamin Spock we have sorely overdeveloped the concept of permissiveness both in the rearing of children and in education.

This has resulted in the lack of a concept of discipline—either self-discipline or the discipline of religion, or of the family, or of school, or of the state.

We seem to accept with equanimity crime, street violence, trespass, looting, arson, murder, the forceful closing of schools and other institutions, pornography, dope addiction, anarchy itself.

I make no rash charges of communism against the great majority of our demonstrators—especially not against our students.

I firmly believe that our young generation is, except for a few radical militants, the finest we have ever developed.

They have many just complaints against us and against "The Establishment". I'd like to talk at length on that subject, but time will not permit.

Let me mention only one thing. Most of my contemporaries seem to be furious with young men who wear beards. Why?

Is there anything illegal or immoral about a beard?

The grandfathers of most of us wore them. So did Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee and Abraham Lincoln. The Master is usually depicted as having one.

But when we rant and rave about such an innocent, inconsequential thing we not only destroy our credibility and influence with youth, but, worse yet, we goad them into other, much more important and dangerous deviations.

Enough of that for now. Perhaps you'll invite me back again to talk at some length about our young—what's right and wrong about them—and most importantly what's wrong about us.

I was saying that I make no rash charges of communism against the great majority of our demonstrators—and I don't. But I maintain that:

1. Much of their conduct is inimical to the legitimate interests of society;

2. The chaos, violence and anarchy they produce is exactly what the communists want;

3. It is encouraged in every way possible by the communists;

4. It is multiplied by the tacit or active support of many fine, decent people who have allowed themselves to be blinded to the forest of social interest by their blandishment with a few trees masquerading under the false titles of freedom, liberty and democracy.

I have spoken of the great tide of permissiveness which is flowing, and I have said that there is a second great tide flowing.

What is the second tide?

Strangely enough, it is a tide of autocratic busybodyness.

Offhand, you may think this is a contradiction of the first tide, but it isn't.

They are handmaidens.

And this second tide too is just what the Communists want.

At the same time that we are being so permissive about what the individual does to violate the rights of society, we are being bureaucratically dictatorial about what

the individual may or may not do when only he himself is concerned.

You are being bombarded day and night with the accusation of guilt for smoking cigarettes when there is little if any clinical evidence of a causal relationship between smoking and cancer.

You are being forced to buy and pay for seat belts. Harnesses and head-rests whether you want to or not, whether you will use them or not, and even though there is good reason to believe that at least some head-rests are downright dangerous.

After years of having been inundated with exaggerated condemnations, about the evils of sugar, you are now being told that you can't ingest cyclamates. Do you realize that in order to get the same amount of cyclamates as they fed those poor little animals you would have to drink 500 bottles of diet beverages each day for a lifetime? No human being could ingest that much sterile water if he took nothing else to eat or drink.

Then there are the flaps about monosodium glutamate, chicken fat in hot dogs, and even common table salt.

Where will it all end? God only knows. But I do know that, unless curbed, the so-called "consumer revolution" may destroy all consumer options and reduce us to a diet of bread and water—perhaps without the bread and maybe without the water.

But I'm sure you see the absurdity and the insidiousness of the juxtaposition of these two tides.

1. Let the individual do whatever he wants to violate the right of others and of society.

2. Force the individual to bow to the dictates of "Big Daddy" when only he himself is concerned.

The first is what the Communists want to see because it creates the chaos and anarchy which will allow them to take over without firing a shot.

The second is a taste of what will happen when they do take over.

You had better wake up to what's going on or you will assuredly lose your country. You may lose your lives. Without a doubt your grandchildren will be condemned to a life truly worse than death.

What can you do?

You can stop letting your lives be bounded by the narrow borders of your professions or businesses, yesterday's golf game, last night's bridge game, spectator sports, and your civic and cultural activities.

You have much at stake. You must concern yourselves.

You must raise your voices for the common decencies and virtues of life. You must raise them to the press and other media. You must raise them to the educators.

Above all you must raise them to Government at all levels—local, state and national.

Vote? Yes. (So very many didn't last time). But that's not nearly enough.

Write letters to the editor and to your congressman? Yes. But that's not nearly enough.

You are important people individually. You are much more important collectively.

You are members of a world-wide organization which could have a powerful influence.

Organize yourselves. Try to get all your sister groups to organize.

Decide on a positive program.

Call in person and en masse on your councilmen, your mayor, your state legislators, your governor, your congressman and senators.

Demand responsible and decent laws and law enforcement.

Don't plead for it. Don't ask for it. Demand it!

If you and like-minded people all over the country do that you'll get what you demand—and you'll save this country.

You'll have to spend to get. Spend thought, energy, time and money. But you can afford it. You have them all.

And you can't afford not to spend them. If we don't hang together, then assuredly we will all be hanged separately. It's much later than you think.

THE IDEOLOGICAL WAR

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, over the past few years, American involvement in the Vietnam war has been defended and damned, discussed and debated, and criticized and praised by almost everyone.

Americans who speak out either for or against the war in accordance with their own conscience are of course, exercising one of our Nation's greatest traditions—the freedom of speech. Freedom of speech is a sacred right but, as with all rights, it cannot be separated from responsibility.

Those of us in public office must be particularly aware of this responsibility. We must be aware of the impact of our words and of the possible ways they may be used by others.

Communication is a complicated process, but one thing is obvious—once a statement has been made we lose control of it. Our words may be interpreted by anyone in any way they like; they may be twisted, they may be distorted, they may be used against innocent people.

I have here an editorial from the Hays, Kans., Daily News. The editor of the News, Bob McFarlin, points out the Vietcong have taken the words of prominent Americans and used them against American captives in prisoner-of-war camps. No one needs to tell us how effective this sort of ideological warfare can be.

I am sure that all Americans want peace. Let us make sure that in speaking for peace we do not provide the enemy with weapons to use against our young men in Vietnam.

The editorial follows:

THE IDEOLOGICAL WAR

Major James Rowe of McAllen, Tex., spent five years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. He escaped with two convictions: That the Vietcong are exploiting statements of members of Congress, with devastating effect on the morale of American servicemen. And, that we are entering into an ideological conflict in which "the political and the military are married into one" and must pull together to win the conflict.

A 1960 graduate of West Point, Rowe is 31, personable and articulate. With the sponsorship of some congressmen and the knowledge of the Pentagon, Rowe is carrying on a campaign unusual in military usage. He has filmed at least 20 television shows and cut a half dozen radio tapes, with as many Representatives, for use at their home stations. Also, he filmed a 30-minute documentary.

Rowe's theme in all these appearances is essentially the same. He is convinced the war has reached a point where we all have to choose sides, for or against our country. When he sees anti-war demonstrators speak-

ing under a Vietcong flag, he says they are assuming the posture of the enemy. And, he adds, "It's hard for the military not to take sides when a Vietcong flag is flying" because so many Americans died fighting that flag. He was especially perturbed when he saw the Vietcong flag flying at the Washington monument during the mid-November demonstration.

The trim, slight, blue-eyed fighting man served as a Special Forces officer, the Green Berets, and as an adviser to a company of irregulars in the Mekong Delta. In October, 1963, his unit was ambushed and he was taken captive. He escaped on his fourth attempt last December 31. His captors tried to turn him against the war, but their propaganda was ineffective.

Then, they began to quote Senator Mike Mansfield, the Senate Majority Leader; Senator J. W. Fulbright, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and Senator George McGovern, South Dakota Democrat, who ran for the Democratic presidential nomination last year. It was these quotations, for peace at any price, and encouragement to the enemy, that determined him to escape and come home to tell the effect they are having on American servicemen's morale. Such quotes are shattering to captive men whose lives are at stake.

In an ideological war, words are as deadly weapons as are bombs and mortars. To the silent majority, it has long seemed that certain Americans have deliberately "given aid and comfort to the enemy" by their remarks.

JUNIUS L. CROWTHER — VOLUNTEER WEATHER OBSERVER

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to call the attention of my colleagues to the deserved recognition recently given to one of Idaho's citizens for his long and faithful service as a volunteer weather observer. Since 1926, Junius L. Crowther of Malad, Idaho, has made and recorded daily weather observations in his community. For his service he has been selected to receive the Weather Bureau's John Campanius Holm Award. Crowther's service continues a family tradition that started more than a half century ago. Since 1917, members of the Crowther family have been rendering a service of great value to the people of Malad and to the Weather Bureau by observing and making an accurate record of the weather in the area.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks a news release describing Mr. Crowther's service and the John Campanius Holm Award:

[From a news release of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Sept. 4, 1969]

WASHINGTON.—Since 1917 the Crowther family name has been officially associated with accurate weather observations in the Idaho community of Malad. Today, the Commerce Department's Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) announced that Julius L. Crowther, who has continued the family tradition since 1926, has been selected to receive the Weather Bureau's John Campanius Holm Award.

John Campanius Holm Awards, created in 1959 by ESSA's Weather Bureau, are made

annually to honor volunteer observers for outstanding accomplishments in the field of meteorological observations. The award is named for a Lutheran minister who is the first person known to have taken systematic weather observations in the American colonies. In 1644 and 1645, the Reverend Holm made records of the climate, without the use of instruments, near the present site of Wilmington, Del.

Crowther's tabulations of monthly records past and present have been of great value to residents of the Oneida County community, particularly through his weekly weather column for the local newspaper.

The Weather Bureau has more than 12,000 volunteer observers throughout the United States who make and record daily weather observations. The information they gather is then processed and published by the Environmental Data Service, another ESSA component, and is invaluable in recording the Nation's climate. Many of these observers, like Crowther, serve without pay.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, we are finally becoming aware of the imminent danger facing our Nation's environment. Life in our cities has become intolerable. The very air we breathe endangers our health. In fact, a daily walk along the streets of New York City is as poisonous as a daily pack of cigarettes.

This danger does not exist merely in our cities. Throughout the country, our waterways are threatened with pollution; our forests are in constant danger of destruction. The danger is so serious that the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution recently predicted that unless we stop destroying our natural resources, approximately 75 percent of all the species of living animals will be extinct in 25 years.

The problems of the environment are very complex and interwoven. Nevertheless, besides a general overall plan, more specific approaches are required.

Along with my distinguished colleagues, Congressmen BRADEMAS, REID, and HANSEN, I introduced the Environmental Quality Education Act of 1969. Such an educational approach to our environmental problems will help produce an informed citizenry, an essential prerequisite for a quality environment.

A speech which I believe can be very helpful for educators in developing suitable curricula is "Environmental Issues for State and Local Governments" by Michael F. Brewer, vice president of Resources for Future, Inc., in Washington, D.C. For the attention of the Members of the House, this speech follows:

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

(By Michael F. Brewer)

THE PRIORITY OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

The environment, its use and abuse, claims high priority in public importance. Formerly, issues involving resources and the environ-

ment carried only secondary importance on the national agenda. In recent years there has been growing awareness of the population to a variety of environmental problems. Prominent among these have been air and water pollution, evident in so many parts of our country, as well as the aesthetic degradation of our landscape.

Maintaining a high quality environment poses inevitable problems to advanced societies. These have received publicity and gained political prominence not only because of the large expenditures needed to clean up the environment, but also because the issue has elicited a new and powerful national constituency. An important, and perhaps dominant, element of this constituency are the younger citizens of the country who view environmental deterioration as one symptom of an outmoded "establishment." Members of this group, including such individuals as Ralph Nader, have given high visibility to the issue. Their numbers and political activism have assured "environmental quality" a very high priority on the national agenda of "challenges to meet."

This is as it should be, for the viability of our national economy and the welfare of the society it supports depends on an environment used and managed so that it retains a high quality. We all are plagued by such nagging questions as: will the future conditions of water pollution preclude further industrial developments within our river basins; will the costs of correcting air pollution shift the competitive margin between coal and natural gas in the generation of electricity; or will the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere do all of us in?

THE ROLE OF WASTES IN ENVIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION

There are of course many causes of environmental degradation. The ways in which we occupy our environment—the locational patterns of settlement, urban densities, and the aesthetic degradation of our landscapes—have given rise to disservices, neuroses, and considerable cost in terms of the general welfare of our population. For the purposes of our present discussion, however, it is necessary to limit the scope of environmental quality problems to a manageable range. Accordingly, I will concentrate on the more tangible aspects of environmental degradation—namely those associated with the generation and handling of waste materials.

ENVIRONMENTAL SYSTEMS

The problem of environmental degradation can be perceived quite clearly within a simplified environmental system. The system encompasses production and consumption activities by a resident population, and also includes other familiar dimensions of the environment—rock, soil, plants, animals, water, and atmosphere. We know that when we produce wastes in quantities that exceed the assimilative capacity of the environmental system, we run into problems. Abandoned automobiles clutter our streets and degrade the landscape. Smoggy air works its physical and psychological ills on the resident population, their structures, and their cleaning bills. Excessive biological oxygen demands produced by sewage in our rivers produce fish kills, offensive views, and smells.

Any type of human enterprise creates waste materials. However, we do have the technological capacity of determining the form and location of these materials. We can convert a portion of city smog into solid deposits of flyash. By washing sulphur from coal we create acid water problems where it is processed, but we diminish problems of sulphur dioxide in the air of cities where the coal is burned. In short, we have a capacity of purposefully determining the kinds of waste we produce. Also, we have the technological capability of substantially reducing the amount of waste materials we produce.

Building automobiles that last longer, or conditioning the consumer to a longer period of utilization, means that a given population at a given level of affluence will "consume" less automobiles and therefore "produce" less automobile carcasses to be disposed of in the environment. Furthermore, we have a capability—although somewhat limited at the present time—of changing the assimilative capacity of our natural environment. Construction of storage reservoirs enables us to augment the low flow of surface streams, increasing their capacity to dispose such waste materials as municipal sewage. In areas where sanitary landfill has been accepted by the local population and where ample opportunities exist such as in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, we can increase the capacity of our environment to assimilate solid wastes without serious degradation—at least in the mind of the resident population.

In short, the system which I wish to use as a context for discussing environmental quality has dimensions very similar to those of the space capsule or submarine. Fortunately our technical knowledge provides us numerous options in terms of: how much waste we generate, the form and locations in which that waste appears, and the capacity of our environment to handle that waste load. The central problem is how to manage our affairs so that the net contribution to human welfare of our production and consumption activities is as great as possible.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTION

Having sketched out the environmental system which must assimilate the wastes of production and consumption activities, we must push on to the question of what we can do about improving our lot. Ultimately our options are limited only by our technology. It sets final bounds on our ability to shift production and consumption, to manipulate the amount and form of waste materials these activities yield, and to increase the capacity of the environment to assimilate these materials. More immediate limits are imposed by the extent to which government agencies and private industries can invoke the prohibitions, sanctions, and incentives necessary to fully use our technical opportunities. Our current technology, the efficacy of our present governmental institutions, and the traditional economic motivation of industry afford us a fairly wide range of opportunities.

Rather than endeavoring to spell out any grand design for improving environmental quality, I shall identify several types of action which are available to us, and illustrate how they could be fruitfully employed. First of all, we can endeavor to extend our technical capacity. This is accomplished by research and development activities devoted to specific technologies which can reduce the emissions of waste or increase the environment's assimilative capability. R&D activities, however, cost money and appropriate incentives would have to be designed and made effective for this investment to be forthcoming from the private sector, unless we look exclusively to the public sector for providing this technological advance.

Another avenue of action would be to devise policies which facilitate the adoption of technologies which reduce the generation of wastes. Several studies of production practices in high waste-producing industries have been undertaken by Resources for the Future. These indicate that there are major opportunities for either recycling waste materials or otherwise altering the production processes which substantially cut down the amount of wastes these industries currently discharge into the environment. Here again incentives for the adoption of these technologies must be devised and instituted.

A third avenue of action open to us is to try and match waste generating activities

with those parts of the environment which have relatively high assimilative capacity for the type of waste generated. This would involve policies relating to the location of economic activities, which could take the form of government fiat, or incentive systems involving subsidies or penalties to newly locating industries characterized by high levels of waste generation.

Another line of possible action is to systematically manage the disposal of all wastes generated within our system. This would enable some management authority to modify the form of waste materials into the liquid, gaseous, or solid state which could be most effectively assimilated by the particular environmental setting. New forms of organizing waste disposal activities would be required. Currently these activities are typically handled through a variety of separate and often disassociated agencies and authorities. Garbage disposal activities of the city seldom are coordinated with programs to alleviate environmental pollution. New legislative authority at the level of state and local governments might well be required for this course of action to be effectively followed.

Another quite attractive alternative would be to discover ways in which today's wastes and residuals may be converted into tomorrow's goods and services. Experimentation with the conversion of municipal sewage into fertilizer, or methods of converting flyash into building products are possible examples. The requisites here identifying new products and new production processes and the development of commercial markets on which the profitability of these new products would have to be tested. We have had limited experience with this approach, such as the production of Millorganite fertilizer from the municipal sewage of Milwaukee. Further attention could be devoted to discovering similar opportunities.

Still other avenues for action exist which would affect consumer behavior. As already mentioned, we can reduce residual wastes by prolonging the usable life of various types of products. If consumers can be conditioned to new types of self-disposing containers, or purchasing in large lots with a reduction in overall container material, substantial reductions of solid waste could be achieved. Such shifts in consumer behavior would have to occur on a national scale, and could not be implemented at the state or local level.

THE ROLE OF INCENTIVES

For each course of action listed above certain incentives, technologies, or changes in consumer behavior must exist. Some of the public policies implied by the alternatives could be quite severe, such as the outright prohibition of certain types of wastes or the imposition of rigid environmental quality standards which would have to be met on pain of closing down production activities. Society has invoked severe measures in the past involving outright prohibition, when public health and safety were obviously involved. Usually such situations were characterized by one or a few sources of materials which caused widespread, substantial damage.

If we consider a more common case—where the social costs are real, and cumulatively perhaps very large, but which cannot be attributable to one or a small number of activities—incentive schemes may be relied upon to reduce environmental pollution. Incentives involve either a "carrot" to elicit the desired behavior, or a "stick" to impose penalties on those who fail to comply.

Much public debate has focused on the propriety of the "carrot" versus the "stick." Waste generators, who would have to incur costs to cut down their waste loads, invariably argue that the appropriate incentives should be a subsidy. Others—either the government or the public at large, who have to

bear the costs of a polluted environment—frequently argue that producers have a moral if not legal obligation to manage their affairs in such a way that they do not impose external costs on others through environmental degradation. They frequently couple this argument with the suggestion that the cost of reducing waste load is an appropriate "production" cost and should be borne initially by the waste generators, and subsequently shifted to consumers through higher prices. This argument would make the relative competitiveness of a firm dependent not only on its production techniques and managerial skill, but also on its ability to keep its waste load within the assimilative capacity of its immediate environment.

It should be recognized that the carrot-type of incentive may result in quite different physical means for reducing wastes than would be the case if stick incentives were used. For example, water pollution alleviation has been sought by carrot incentives which subsidize the construction of waste treatment plants on an across-the-board basis. If "pollution tolls" or taxes were imposed on polluters, they might prefer to reduce waste emission by modifying production techniques or by recycling wastes within the firm, as opposed to constructing waste treatment plants. The cost of these two strategies for alleviating water pollution differ, and this difference can be calculated. Establishing public policy regarding pollution abatement incentive should not be divorced from such a calculation.

INSTITUTIONAL BOTTLENECKS IN IMPROVING ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Up to this time we have really spoken about ranges of technical possibilities for reducing waste materials. We need also to ask whether our existing institutions—our laws and our organizations and our government—are appropriately designed to facilitate efficient waste materials management.

I have suggested above that one course of action involves comprehensive waste materials management under a common administration. If a corporation—it could be either public or private—has the responsibility of managing a wide array of waste materials, it would endeavor to do so at lowest cost or in the most efficient manner. Such an organization would be attentive to opportunities for changing the form of wastes so that they can be most efficiently assimilated by the receiving environment. Under our present arrangements, both at the national level and local governmental level, this is rarely done. We have sewer departments for cities, garbage companies, water pollution authorities, air pollution abatement organizations, etc. Each is doing its own thing. If these activities were collected under a single authority, we may be able to collectively do our own thing at lower cost to society and with less damage to the environment. We have had several initiatives to create waste management authorities which would include liquid effluent, gaseous discharges, garbage, trash, etc. In most instances, this would require a formidable reorganization of these activities at the local governmental level. While such reorganization is always difficult, there are real economies to be had from the comprehensive management of waste materials, and we should seriously pursue those new organization arrangements which would permit their realization.

CHALLENGES TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

In conclusion, I would like to sketch out two approaches which may prove promising for coping with the management of waste materials at the state and local level. The first already has been suggested in my earlier comments, and involves the establishment of a public corporation—possibly an Authority—which would be fiscally responsible for its own operations, and could contract waste materials management services to communities throughout a state. Such an organization

would be involved simultaneously in managing waste materials in liquid and solid forms—and possibly also gaseous emissions—and would be able to apply management techniques to a given area which were most efficient with respect to all residuals. There would be no compulsion in the arrangement; that is, individual municipalities would elect to proceed as they have in the past if they wish to. However, it is likely that a centralized and coordinated management would permit such an Authority to offer comparable services at lower cost than using present arrangements. Original financing for such an organization could be in the form of revenue bonds which would be repaid as contracts are secured.

A second possibility for state and local government involves the establishment of special districts which would have responsibility for particular kinds of waste materials management. For example, such a district might be established to handle water-borne wastes in a contained river basin. It would be empowered to levy assessments on establishments using the river basin for waste removal, and would also be able to charge tolls or fees for particular services rendered. This type of arrangement has been used fairly extensively in various parts of Europe to good advantage. Basically this arrangement would permit the local district to establish fees or assessments at a level roughly commensurate to the costs of restoring the river system to a satisfactory quality. Those enterprises for whom waste removal through the river system is extremely important would opt to pay those fees; other organizations currently using the river system might find it less costly to change in their current mode of operations—for example, to initiate waste receiving mechanisms—and thereby discharge less effluent into the river system. They of course would avoid charges or assessments by the public district if they did so.

In both of these instances the costs of managing waste materials within the local environmental system are being imposed on polluters. This philosophy of user charges is essential if we are to manage the waste materials our communities and industries produce at lowest social cost. If subsidies are heavily relied upon, local municipalities or industries will elect that form of waste management which imposes least cost upon them selves—regardless of whether that particular means of waste management is least costly to the economy at large.

The intensity and pervasiveness of waste-generating activities is going to require a substantial outlay of money if environmental quality is to be sustained at levels we now view as acceptable. The responsibility of public officials and public management agencies is to see that the job is done at lowest cost to the country as a whole. The outlays involved are so large that we simply cannot afford to use other than the most efficient means available in combating environmental pollution. State and local governments have a clear responsibility if that end is to be pursued vigorously; they also have available a fairly broad array of opportunities to respond imaginatively and effectively.

PURCHASE AGREEMENT

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, about 2 weeks ago, I made a speech on the floor of the Senate in which I characterized certain action of the Mexican Government with respect to their treatment of Gulf

Resources & Chemical Corp. as "creeping expropriation." As a result of that speech, it has been reported in the Mexican press that I have been badly informed of the problem and that my charges have no basis and make no sense. It is not my intention to engage in a war of words with either the Mexican press or officials of that country. However, I think the record should be set straight and we will then leave it up to my colleagues here in the Senate and the American people to judge whether my allegations do, in fact, make sense.

Mexico's defense to my charges is that their Government had nothing to do with the negotiations between Gulf Resources and the prospective Mexican purchaser and since this was strictly a private transaction, they cannot help it if the deal fell through. It was also stated that the sales contract was nothing more than an option on the part of a Mexican company to purchase Gulf Resources' interests and that after reviewing the current situation of depressed world sulphur prices, the Mexican concern decided not to exercise the option. If this were the true situation, I would not now be standing here before you but would simply consider the matter as one in which our Government has no concern. However, that is not the case. In January of this year, the Mexican Government in an attempt to force the Mexicanization of Gulf Resources placed upon that company certain production and sales restrictions which would make it impossible for them to operate at a profit and thus force a sale to Mexican nationals.

These restrictions limited Gulf Resources' total sulphur production in Mexico to 250,000 tons and required that they sell 150,000 of those tons in Mexico at controlled prices far lower than the world market price. Up until this year, Gulf Resources had been producing well over 300,000 tons and had been able to compete in the world market. No sulphur producing company in Mexico was so restricted, and, therefore, the only possible reason for imposing these restrictions on Gulf Resources was to force its Mexicanization. The desired result was accomplished when Gulf Resources began negotiations for the sale of its properties to a Mexican firm which had the blessings of the Mexican Government. These negotiations resulted in a contract of sale, which I have had an opportunity to read. It is not an option, but is, in fact, a straightforward sales contract subject, of course, to certain conditions which have to be met by the parties prior to the closing. For the benefit of my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of the contract so they can see that it is not an option. Two of the conditions to closing directly involve the Mexican Government and are really the subject of the controversy which led me to characterize Mexico's actions as "creeping expropriation."

One of these conditions was that the Mexican Government grant to the purchaser the very same concessions as that Government has awarded to another Mexicanized company. In other words, the same concessions that it gave to the purchaser of Pan American Sulphur

Corp. when it was Mexicanized. Although I am reliably informed that the Mexican Government had at all times during the negotiations between the parties assured them that these concessions would be forthcoming, they have without explanation failed to treat Gulf Resources' sale and Mexicanization the same as they treated Pan American. The Mexican Government's failure to grant these concessions prohibited the sale from being closed and has materially affected the value of Gulf Resources' Mexican properties; particularly in light of the previously imposed production and sales restrictions.

Another condition of the closing was that Nacional Financiera, the Government development bank, guarantee certain notes to be given to Gulf Resources by the purchaser. Similar guarantees had been given to Pan American even though the terms of Gulf Resources' sale were much more liberal to the purchaser than Pan American's. In this connection, it should be noted that Nacional Financiera was not just a disinterested Government party but was, in fact, going to own 40 percent of the company which was actually making the purchase of Gulf Resources' interests in Mexico. In other words, Mexico was very much involved in the whole transaction and was, in fact, a party to it.

With this background, it can be easily seen that the Mexican Government was using its official offices to prevent Gulf Resources from selling its properties at a fair price with the end in view that it would eventually give up its operations in Mexico at a distress sale. Who would be the beneficiaries of such a forced sale other than the Mexican Government and its officials who have a direct interest in the remaining sulfur operations in that country? Thus, the Mexican Government has simply sabotaged good faith negotiations by Gulf Resources in an attempt to gain a financial advantage. Call it what you will but it all boils down to forcing Gulf Resources out of Mexico without just compensation and in my mind it is nothing more than another form of confiscation or expropriation.

As I said before, I do not intend to stand idly by and watch our country's businessmen be subjected to this type of treatment from a country to which we have been giving financial aid. It is Mexico which has been badly misinformed if they think I intend to do so.

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

PURCHASE AGREEMENT

(Purchase agreement executed as of August 6, 1969, on the one part by Gulf Resources & Chemical Corporation (a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Delaware, U.S.A., formerly named Gulf Sulphur Corporation, hereinafter called "Gulf"); and on the other part by Inversiones Azufreras, S.A. (a corporation organized under the laws of Mexico, hereinafter called "The Purchaser"), in accordance with the following antecedents and clauses.)

Antecedents

I

(1) *Compañía de Azufre Veracruz, S. A.* (hereinafter referred to as "CAVSA") is a Mexican corporation with a total authorized

and paid-in corporate capital of \$13,650,000.00 Mex. Cy., represented by 136,500 ordinary, registered, fully paid, non-assessable shares, with a par value of \$100.00 Mex. Cy. each (hereinafter referred to as "the CAVSA Shares"), of which 136,496 are owned by Gulf and 4 director qualifying shares are owned 1 by each of the following directors: Messrs. Robert H. Allen, Luis J. Creel Luján, Alberto Hoyos Tello and José M. Diz de León (hereinafter referred to collectively as "The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA").

(2) *Compañía Impulsora del Sur, S. A.* (hereinafter referred to as "CISSA") is a Mexican corporation with a total authorized and paid-in corporate capital of \$4,000,000.00 Mex. Cy., represented by 40,000 ordinary, registered, fully paid, non-assessable shares with a par value of \$100.00 Mex. Cy. each (hereinafter referred to as "the CISSA Shares"), of which 39,996 are owned by CAVSA and 4 director qualifying shares are owned 1 by each of the following directors: Messrs. Luis J. Creel Luján, Alberto Hoyos Tello, José M. Díaz de León and Ernestina S. de Mirachi (hereinafter referred to collectively as "The Individual Shareholders of CISSA").

(3) *Azufrera Tehuana, S.A.* (hereinafter referred to as "ATSA") is a Mexican corporation with a total authorized corporate capital of \$1,000,000.00 Mex. Cy., represented by 10,000 ordinary registered shares with a par value of \$100.00 Mex. Cy. each, of which par value only 20% has been paid and the remaining 80% is pending payment (hereinafter referred to as "the ATSA Shares"), divided into two series, Series "A" with 6,600 shares and Series "B" with 3,400 shares, of which 6,597 Series "A" shares are owned by Mr. Luis J. Creel Luján, 1 Series "A" share by Mr. Carlos Sánchez Mejorada, 1 Series "A" share by Mr. Ricardo Manning Rivera, 1 Series "A" share by Mr. Luis J. Creel, Jr., and 3,400 Series "B" shares by Mr. Alberto Hoyos Tello (individuals who shall hereinafter be referred to collectively as "the individual shareholders of ATSA").

(4) The 136,500 CAVSA Shares, the 4 CISSA Shares owned by the individual shareholders of CISSA and the 10,000 ATSA Shares owned by the individual shareholders of ATSA will be hereinafter referred to jointly as "the Shares".

II

(1) Gulf is a party to and the holder of rights and obligations under the following contracts and agreements (all of which contracts and agreements shall hereinafter be referred to as "the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal"):

(a) Lease dated April 10, 1962, between Tampa Marine Company, as lessor, and Gulf Sulphur Corporation, as lessee, covering 2.6 acres of land in the City of Tampa, County of Hillsborough, State of Florida, recorded in Volume 950, page 326, of the Official Record Books of the Public Records of Hillsborough County, Florida, to which reference is made for all purposes, as amended by letter agreement dated January 14, 1965, between Gulf Sulphur Corporation and DeBardeleben Marine Corporation and letter dated July 17, 1963 from DeBardeleben Marine Corporation, together with all easements and rights of way appurtenant to such leasehold estate, and all lease-hold improvements situated on said 2.6 acres of land.

(b) Agreement dated May 1, 1962, between Tampa Marine Company, Atlantic Cement Company, Inc., and Gulf Sulphur Corporation, relating to dock space under a Lease and Sublease dated February 6, 1962, and recorded in Book 886, page 781, of the Public Records of Hillsborough County, Florida.

(c) Agreement dated November 1, 1962, between Gulf Sulphur Corporation and Moran Shipping Company relating to the operation of the facilities covered by the lease described in (a) above.

(d) Transportation contract dated June 28, 1968, between Louisiana Sulphur Carriers,

Inc. and Gulf Resources & Chemical Corporation as amended by Amendment No. 1 dated September 30, 1968, providing for the transportation of liquid sulphur by the Vessel SS Louisiana Sulphur.

(2) Gulf is the owner and holder of all the machinery, equipment, installations, facilities, rights to services and facilities and all other property or rights which form part of or are directly related to the terminal for the reception, storage, handling, loading, shipping and other operations relating to sulphur, located on the land and dock space covered by the lease contract and the agreement referred to in Inserts (a) and (b) of the preceding paragraph (1), in Tampa, Florida, U.S.A., which are further described in Exhibit A signed by the Chief Executive Officer and the Secretary of Gulf and attached to this agreement as an integral part hereof (all of which properties and rights shall hereinafter be referred to as "the Tampa Terminal"). The sulphur in storage at the Tampa Terminal is owned by customers of COSCO and does not belong to Gulf.

(3) Gulf is a party to, and the hold of the rights and obligations under the following contracts (all of which contracts shall hereinafter be referred to as "the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts"):

(a) Contract dated March 1, 1966 between Gulf Sulphur Corporation and W. R. Grace & Co., Davison Chemical Division, for the transportation and storage by Gulf Sulphur Corporation of the Mexican liquid sulphur purchased by W. R. Grace & Co., Davison Chemical Division, from Continental Overseas Sales Corporation.

(b) Contract dated April 1, 1966 between Gulf Sulphur Corporation and Mobil Chemical Company, a division of Socony Mobil Oil Company, Inc., for the transportation and storage by Gulf Sulphur Corporation of the Mexican liquid sulphur purchased by Mobil Chemical Company, a division of Socony Mobil Oil Company, Inc., from Continental Overseas Sales Corporation.

(c) Contract dated January 1, 1969 between Gulf Resources & Chemical Corporation and Royster Company for the transportation and storage by Gulf Resources & Chemical Corporation of the Mexican liquid sulphur purchased by Royster Company from Continental Overseas Sales Corporation.

(4) Gulf is the owner of 100% of the stock of Continental Overseas Sales Corporation (a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Delaware, U.S.A., with an office in the Bahama Islands, hereinafter referred to as "COSCO"), which has executed the contracts and agreements for the sale to third parties of sulphur produced by CAVSA, which are listed in Exhibit B signed by the Chief Executive Officer and the Secretary of GULF and attached to this agreement as an integral part hereof (which contracts and agreements shall hereinafter be referred to as "the COSCO Sales Contracts").

III

The Shares referred to in Antecedent I, the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, the Tampa Terminal, the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and the COSCO Sales Contracts referred to in Antecedent II, shall hereinafter be referred to collectively as "the Assets Sold hereunder".

IV

Subject to the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth, Gulf is willing (1) to sell, transfer and assign to the purchaser, or to the purchaser's nominees or to the corporate entity or entities that the purchaser may designate the 136,496 CAVSA shares, the contracts related to the Tampa Terminal, the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts; (2) to cause the individual shareholders of CAVSA to sell to the purchaser, or to the purchaser's nominees, the four CAVSA shares which they own; (3) to cause the individual shareholders of CISSA to sell to the purchaser,

or to the purchaser's nominees, the four CISSA shares which they own; (4) to cause the individual shareholders of ATSA to sell to the purchaser, or the purchaser's nominees, the 10,000 ATSA shares which they own; and (5) to cause COSCO to transfer and assign to the purchaser or to the corporate entity or entities which the purchaser may designate, the COSCO Sales Contracts.

v

Subject to the terms and conditions and in reliance upon the representations and warranties of Gulf hereunder set forth, the purchaser wishes to acquire for itself or for its nominees or for the corporate entity or entities which it may designate, the Assets Sold hereunder.

Therefore, on the bases of these Antecedents the parties agree to the following

Clauses

1. *Sale of the Assets Sold Hereunder.* Subject to the terms and conditions of this agreement, on the Closing Date (as such Closing Date is defined in Clause 11 hereof), Gulf shall:

(a) Sell and deliver duly endorsed in ownership to The Purchaser, or to The Purchaser's nominees, 136, 496 CAVSA Shares;

(b) Cause The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA to sell and deliver duly endorsed in ownership to The Purchaser, or to The Purchaser's nominees, the 4 remaining CAVSA Shares;

(c) Cause The Individual Shareholders of CISSA to sell and deliver duly endorsed in ownership to The Purchaser or to The Purchaser's nominees, the 4 CISSA Shares which they own;

(d) Cause The Individual Shareholders of ATSA to sell and deliver duly endorsed in ownership to The Purchaser, or to The Purchaser's nominees, the 10,000 ATSA Shares which they own;

(e) Transfer and assign to The Purchaser, or the such corporate entity or entities as The Purchaser may designate, the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal;

(f) Sell and deliver to The Purchaser, or to such corporate entity or entities as The Purchaser may designate, the Tampa Terminal;

(g) Transfer and assign to The Purchaser, or to such corporate entity or entities as The Purchaser may designate, the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts; and

(h) Cause COSCO to transfer and assign to The Purchaser, or to such corporate entity or entities as The Purchaser may designate, the COSCO Sales Contracts;

and The Purchaser, subject to the terms and conditions and in reliance upon the representations and warranties of Gulf hereinafter set forth, on the Closing Date, shall purchase and acquire the Assets Sold hereunder for itself or for its nominees or for the corporate entity or entities which it may designate.

2. *Purchase price.* The price for all of the Assets Sold hereunder shall be \$24,000,000.00 U.S. Cy., less the amount to be deducted pursuant to Section (a) of Clause 4 below to determine the final purchase price. Of the final purchase price so determined:

(a) \$194,509.00 U.S. Cy. shall be the price for the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, the Tampa Terminal, the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and the COSCO Sales Contracts;

(b) \$655.20 U.S. Cy. shall be the price for the 4 CAVSA Shares to be sold by The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA;

(c) \$176.58 U.S. Cy. shall be the price for the 4 CISSA Shares to be sold by The Individual Shareholders of CISSA;

(d) \$16,000.00 U.S. Cy. shall be the price for the 10,000 ATSA Shares to be sold by The Individual Shareholders of ATSA; and

(e) The difference shall be the price for the 136,496 CAVSA Shares to be sold by Gulf.

3. *Payment of the purchase price.* Subject to the terms and conditions hereinafter set

forth, the final purchase price established in the foregoing Clause 2 shall be paid by The Purchaser, or by The Purchaser's nominees, or by the corporate entity or entities that The Purchaser may designate, to Gulf, as follows:

(a) On the Closing Date Gulf shall be paid and delivered in New York funds to the credit of Gulf at The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A., New York, N.Y., \$6,000,000.00 U.S. Cy., less the amount to be deducted pursuant to Section (a) of Clause 4 below to determine the final purchase price; the full purchase price for the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, for the Tampa Terminal, for the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and for the COSCO Sales Contracts set forth in Section (a) of Clause 2; the full purchase price for the 4 CAVSA Shares sold by The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA set forth in Section (b) of Clause 2; the full purchase price for the 4 CISSA Shares sold by The Individual Shareholders of CISSA set forth in Section (c) of Clause 2; and the full purchase price for the 10,000 ATSA Shares sold by The Individual Shareholders of ATSA set forth in Section (d) of Clause 2, shall be considered to be included in the amount payable to Gulf on the Closing Date pursuant to this Section (a); and

(b) The balance of the purchase price, which shall be \$18,000,000.00 U.S. Cy., shall be payable to Gulf at The Chase Manhattan Bank, N. A., 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y., in seven consecutive annual installments, the first six of which shall be in the amount of \$2,500,000.00 U.S. Cy. each and the seventh and final installment shall be in the amount of \$3,000,000.00 U.S. Cy., which seven installments shall be due, respectively, on the day preceding the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh anniversaries of the Closing Date and shall bear interest at the rate of 8½% (eight and one-half per cent) per annum on unpaid balances, computed from the Closing Date until maturity of each installment, which interest shall be payable annually on the day preceding each anniversary of the Closing Date. To document The Purchaser's obligation to pay such balance of the purchase price and interest thereon, on the Closing Date The Purchaser shall deliver to Gulf seven negotiable promissory notes (hereinafter referred to as "the Notes") issued by The Purchaser and guaranteed "por aval" by Nacional Financiera, S. A. (a National credit institution of the Federal Government of Mexico), which Notes shall be substantially equal to the form attached to this agreement as Exhibit C, and shall be for the amounts of the installments and payable on the dates set forth above. Any one or more of the Notes may be prepaid, if paid in full, without any penalty or surcharge whatsoever. Upon making a payment for interest on the Notes, the maker of the Notes or, as the case may be Nacional Financiera, S. A., shall be entitled to withhold from such payment and to enter with the corresponding tax offices, for the account of the holder of the Notes, the Mexican federal income tax and the state or local taxes on capital investments applicable to such interest, unless rulings excepting such interest from the said taxes are obtained from the Mexican Ministry of Finance and Public Credit and other pertinent Mexican tax authorities.

4. *Indebtedness to be deducted to determine the purchase price.—Payment of balance of indebtedness.* Gulf and The Purchaser agree that:

(a) To determine the final purchase price for all of the Assets Sold hereunder, as provided in Clause 2 above, there shall be deducted from \$24,000,000.00 U.S. Cy. \$1,431,293.00 U.S. Cy. or the aggregate amount of the following indebtedness, whichever is lower:

(i) The amount of any indebtedness that CAVSA shall owe to Gulf on the Closing Date; plus

(ii) The amount of any indebtedness that CISSA shall owe to Gulf on the Closing Date; plus

(iii) The amount of any indebtedness that ATSA shall owe to Gulf on the Closing Date.

(b) If the aggregate amount of indebtedness that CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA shall owe Gulf on the Closing Date exceeds \$1,431,293.00 U.S. Cy., the balance exceeding such amount shall be payable to Gulf by CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA in seven consecutive successive equal semi-annual installments, which shall be documented in seven negotiable promissory notes made by CAVSA in favor of Gulf and guaranteed "por aval" by The Purchaser, the first of which promissory notes will be due eighteen months after the Closing Date and thereafter at the end of each subsequent six-month period the other six notes will become successively due and payable. Said promissory notes shall bear interest at the rate of 8½% (eight and one-half percent) per annum on unpaid balances computed from the Closing Date until maturity of each promissory note, which interest shall be payable semi-annually, the first payment of interest being due at the end of the eighteenth month after the Closing Date. Upon making payment of such interest, CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA or in its case The Purchaser shall be entitled to withhold from such payment and to enter with the corresponding tax offices, for the account of Gulf, the Mexican federal income tax and the state or local taxes on capital investments applicable to such interest unless rulings excepting such interest from the said taxes are obtained from the Mexican Ministry of Finance and Public Credit and other pertinent Mexican tax authorities.

5. *Financing to be obtained by CAVSA and/or CISSA on the closing date and application of proceeds of financing.* Gulf and the purchaser hereby agree that:

(a) On the Closing Date CAVSA and/or CISSA, at the election of The Purchaser will either:

(i) Obtain a credit from The Chase Manhattan Bank, N. A., or from any other bank or credit institution designated by The Purchaser for an amount of up to \$6,000,000.00 U. S. Cy. or its equivalent in any other currency, payable in the form, bearing the interest and subject to the terms and conditions satisfactory to The Purchaser; or

(ii) Sell machinery, equipment and installations of the plants of CAVSA and/or CISSA to the company(ies) or institution(s) designated by The Purchaser for an amount of approximately \$4,000,000.00 U. S. Cy. or its equivalent in any other currency, and take back in lease from the latter the machinery, equipment and installations sold, for the rentals and subject to the terms and conditions which may be agreed upon between such company(ies) or institution(s) and The Purchaser;

provided, however, that if the transactions contemplated by this agreement are not consummated, the financing to be obtained pursuant to this Section (a) will not be consummated.

(b) On the Closing Date, CAVSA and/or CISSA will use the proceeds of the credit or the proceeds of sale of machinery, equipment and installations referred to in Section (a) above:

(i) To pay to Gulf the indebtedness referred to in Subsections (i), (ii) and (iii) of Section (a) of Clause 4 that CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA shall owe to Gulf, up to the amount of \$1,431,293.00 U. S. Cy., and

(ii) To make advances, for the amount remaining of such proceeds, to the Purchaser which advances shall be made on the terms and conditions decided by the Purchaser.

6. *Representations and warranties of Gulf.* Gulf hereby represents and warrants to the purchaser as follow:

(a) Gulf is a corporation organized, validly existing and in good standing under the laws of the State of Delaware U.S.A., and

has the corporate power to own and sell, transfer and assign or cause to sell the Shares, the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts, and to cause COSCO to transfer and assign the COSCO Sales Contracts; and all of its corporate bodies, including but not limited to its Stockholders Meeting, Board of Directors and Executive Committee, which may be required under law or under its bylaws, to approve and authorize the execution of this Purchase Agreement and the consummation of the transactions herein contemplated, have granted their authorization and approval.

(b) Gulf has full ownership and title to the 136,496 CA VSA Shares, to the rights deriving from the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, to all of the property and rights which constitute the Tampa Terminal, and to the rights deriving from the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts, free and clear of any encumbrances; and, therefore, Gulf may freely sell and deliver such CA VSA Shares and Tampa Terminal and may freely transfer and assign such Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal.

and such Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts without any limitation, except for the need of obtaining the approval or authorization of the other parties to such contracts for the transfer and assignment thereof, when specifically required in the said contracts.

(c) COSCO has full ownership of the rights deriving from the COSCO Sales Contracts, free and clear of any encumbrance; and, therefore, COSCO may freely transfer and assign such COSCO Sales Contracts without any limitation, except for the need of obtaining the approval or authorization of the other parties to such contracts for the transfer and assignment thereof, when specifically required in the said contracts.

(d) The Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts are in full force and effect and all obligations of Gulf and all rentals or payments due under such contracts, have been complied with and paid and are current and up to date; and the COSCO Sales Contracts are in full force and effect and all obligations of COSCO under such COSCO Sales Contracts have been complied with and are current.

(e) The individual shareholders of CAVSA have full ownership and title to the remaining 4 CAVSA Shares, free and clear of any encumbrances; and, therefore, the individual shareholders of CAVSA may freely sell and deliver such CAVSA Shares; and Gulf has the representation of and the right to cause The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA to sell and deliver such 4 CAVSA Shares to The Purchaser or its nominees.

(f) CAVSA is a corporation organized, validly existing and in good standing under the laws of Mexico, has the corporate power to own its properties and to carry on its business as now conducted and is qualified to own the Mining Concessions for the exploitation of sulphur to which reference is made below, and also has the corporate power to conduct the exploration for, extraction and production of and the sale of sulphur in Mexico and for export, as now conducted.

(g) CAVSA has as its only authorized and paid-in corporate capital the amount of \$13,650,000.00 Mex. Cy., represented by 136,500 ordinary, registered, fully paid and non-assessable shares with a par value of \$100.00 Mex. Cy. each.

(h) CAVSA has full ownership and registered title to the 30 special mining concessions in National Reserves numbers 115535 to 115564, both included, for the exploitation of sulphur from mining claims Mezquitil No. 1 to Mezquitil No. 30, both in-

cluded, with an area of 100 hectares each, all located within the Municipality of Minatitlán, State of Veracruz, Mexico (hereinafter referred to as "Mining Concessions"), validly issued September 5, 1950 by the Ministry of Economy of the Government of Mexico and registered September 5, 1950 in the Public Registry of Mining in volume 113 of the General Book of Concessions in pages 44 to 51, under Nos. 170 to 199, both included; and the Mining Concessions are free and clear of any encumbrance or limitation and continue to be valid and in full force and effect as issued, except for the limitations on production and sale which were established in January, 1969 by the Ministries of National Patrimony and Industry and Commerce of the Mexican Government; and CAVSA has full ownership and registered title to Concession No. 208 for the operation of its plant for the production and beneficiation of sulphur at Salinas, Municipality of Minatitlán, State of Veracruz, Mexico, which was issued to it by the Ministry of National Economy on March 28, 1955 and registered in the Public Registry of Mining under No. 208, in pages 72 (back) to 73 (front) of volume VII of the General Book of Concessions (hereinafter referred to as "the Plant Concession").

(i) All obligations or requirements deriving from the Mining Concessions and the Plant Concessions provided for in the respective concession titles or in the law or regulations of the Government of Mexico applicable to the Mining Concessions and to the Plant Concession, including but not limited to investments to be made in the mining claims covered by the Concessions, proof of assessment or regular minimum works, notices and reports to the Mexican mining authorities, payment of surface, production or export taxes, if any, and payment of royalties to the Mining Development Commission of the Mexican Government, have been complied with and are up to date, except that CAVSA has not complied, and will not be able to comply prior to October 31, 1969, with the exploration program corresponding to the period from November 1, 1968 to October 31, 1969, which it undertook to conduct pursuant to the request made by the Mexican Ministry of National Patrimony in official communication No. 10-3219 of June 3, 1965, program which was approved by such Ministry in official communication No. 112-1403 of November 30, 1968, and except that CAVSA has not complied, and will not be able to comply in 1969 with the requirement to sell 150,000 metric tons of sulphur in the domestic market of Mexico during the calendar year of 1969 as ordered by the Mexican Ministry of Industry and Commerce.

(j) All royalties whether in favor of the Mining Development Commission of the Mexican Government or of any other party, payable by CAVSA as holder of the Mining Concessions or as a successor or assignee of former holders of such Concessions, or payable by the predecessors of CAVSA, have been paid and shall have been paid to the Closing Date; or the provisions for those of said royalties which are not so paid, which appear on the books of CAVSA, will be adequate to satisfy the liability therefor; and the Mining Concessions, the Plant Concession and CAVSA as owner or holder of such Concessions or as successor or assignee of former holders of such Concessions, are no longer subject to any obligation or liability, actual or contingent, to pay any royalties to anybody, whether based on the production or sale of sulphur or otherwise, as all such royalties have been terminated, except only for the royalty payable to the Mining Development Commission of the Mexican Government provided in the titles of the Mining Concessions, and except as otherwise disclosed in writing by Gulf to the Purchaser prior to the execution of this agreement.

(k) The financial statements of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA as of May 31, 1969, certified by Ruiz, Urquiza y Cia., S.C., representatives of Arthur Andersen & Co., furnished by Gulf to The Purchaser, fairly present the financial condition of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA as of the date thereof and fairly reflect the results of CAVSA's, CISSA's and ATSA's operations for the period ended as at such date; and since May 31, 1969 there has been no material adverse change in the financial conditions, properties and businesses of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA, and CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA have not: (i) incurred any substantial obligation for the purchase of fixed assets in addition to obligations and liabilities shown in the above-mentioned financial statements, except as otherwise disclosed in writing by Gulf to The Purchaser prior to the execution of this agreement, (ii) made any dividend payment or distribution to its shareholders, in their capacity as shareholders, except as it may have been expressly agreed upon in writing between Gulf and The Purchaser, (iii) incurred any current liabilities since that date, except in the ordinary course of CAVSA's, CISSA's and ATSA's business, nor entered into any transaction except in the said ordinary course of business; and (iv) made any change in the compensation of any director, officer or employee of CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA except pursuant to labor and/or employment contracts and normal salary increases for employees other than directors or officers nor named, elected or contracted any new directors, officers or employees, except replacement employees in the ordinary course of business, and except directors elected at a Stockholders Meeting held August 5, 1969.

(l) CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA have no important liabilities or obligations, as important liabilities and obligations are understood under normal accounting practices, actual or contingent not shown in the above-mentioned financial statements as of May 31, 1969 and the footnotes thereto, except current liabilities incurred thereafter in the ordinary course of business.

(m) CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA have full ownership and marketable title to all the properties, rights and assets reflected in the above-mentioned financial statements as of May 31, 1969 and to all other rights and assets thereafter acquired by them (except with respect to rights and assets thereafter disposed of in the ordinary course of business), and such properties, rights and assets are free and clear of any encumbrance or any other limitation of ownership, except for a Caterpillar tractor model D7E, serial number 48A12171, which was purchased with retention of title from Mexicana de Tractores y Maquinaria, S. A. on April 25, 1969.

(n) CISSA is a corporation organized, validly existing and in good standing under the laws of Mexico and has the corporate power to own its properties and to carry on its business as now conducted; CISSA has a total and paid in corporate capital of \$4,000,000.00 Mex. Cy., represented by 40,000 ordinary, registered, fully paid, non-assessable shares with a par value of \$100.00 Mex. Cy. each; CAVSA has full ownership and marketable title, free and clear of any encumbrances to 39,966 of such CISSA Shares; The Individual Shareholders of CISSA have full ownership and marketable title, free and clear of any encumbrance to the remaining 4 CISSA Shares; and GULF and/or CAVSA have the representation of and the right to cause The Individual Shareholders of CISSA to sell and deliver the 4 CISSA Shares owned by them to The Purchaser or to the companies or persons whom The Purchaser may designate.

(o) ATSA is a corporation organized, validly existing and in good standing under the laws of Mexico and has the corporate power to carry on its business as now conducted; ATSA has a total authorized corporate capital

tal of \$1,000,000.00 Mex. Cy., represented by 10,000 ordinary, registered shares with a par value of \$100.00 Mex. Cy. each, of which par value only 20% is paid: The Individual Shareholders of ATSA have full ownership and marketable title, free and clear of any encumbrance, to such 10,000 ATSA Shares, and Gulf and/or CAVSA have the representation of and the right to cause The Individual Shareholders of ATSA to sell and deliver the 10,000 ATSA Shares owned by them to The Purchaser or to the companies or persons whom The Purchaser may designate, subject, however, to the rights, if any, of certain parties under agreement dated March 14, 1966 between Gulf Sulphur Corporation and Fernando González et al. ("Mexican Group").

(p) Except as otherwise specifically mentioned herein, CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA have in all material respects performed all obligations required to be performed by them to date and are not in default in any material respect under any concessions, contracts, agreements, leases or other instruments to which any of them is a party nor are they nor any one of them in default in any material respect under any law, decree, regulation or order of any governmental agency or court and there are no actions, suits or proceedings, pending or to the knowledge of any officer of GULF, CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA threatened against or affecting any of the three latter companies, with the exception of those shown in the list attached to this agreement as Exhibit D signed by the Chief Executive Officer and the Secretary of GULF.

(q) All Federal income, distributable profits, mercantile revenue, import duties or export duties, if any, and other taxes and duties; all taxes or duties of the Federal District of Mexico, of the State of Veracruz, or of any municipality of the State of Veracruz; all Social Security quotas; and all participations of profits to employees and workers; which have been payable to date by CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA, have been paid in full, and the provisions for those of said taxes, duties and quotas which are not yet due, which appear on the books of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA, will be adequate to satisfy the liability therefor.

(r) CAVSA and/or CISSA have rights assured, at least for the initial term of the Mining Concessions, to occupy and use the land required for all of their existing plants, facilities, installations and operations as now conducted, as well as the right of access or ingress to and exit or egress from such plants, facilities and installations, either through ownership, leasehold, easement or otherwise.

(s) Neither the execution of this agreement, nor the consummation of the transactions herein contemplated, nor the compliance and fulfillment of the terms and provisions hereof will conflict with, or result in a breach of the terms, conditions or provisions of any law, decree or regulation of the Republic of Mexico or of any political subdivision or agency thereof or of the United States of America or of any political subdivision or agency thereof, or of any contract, agreement or instrument to which Gulf, COSCO, CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA is a party, with the exception of: (i) the Loan Agreement dated August 20, 1968 between Gulf and The Chase Manhattan Bank, N. A., Bank of Commonwealth, Franklin National Bank, First City National Bank of Houston, and Crocker-Citizens National Bank, with respect to which Loan Agreement the consent of the lenders for the consummation by Gulf of the transactions herein contemplated will be required and Gulf will use its best efforts to secure such consents prior to the Closing Date; (ii) the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts,

with respect to which the consent or authorization of the parties to such contracts for the transfer and assignment by Gulf of the said contracts be required and Gulf will use its best efforts to secure such consents prior to the Closing Date; and (iii) the COSCO Sales Contracts, with respect to which the consent or authorization of the other parties to such contracts for the transfer and assignment by COSCO of the said COSCO Sales Contracts be required and Gulf will use its best efforts to secure such consents.

7. *Representations and warranties of the purchaser.* The Purchaser hereby warrants to Gulf as follows:

(a) The Purchaser is a corporation duly organized, validly existing and in good standing under the laws of the Republic of Mexico, and has the corporate power to execute this agreement, to consummate the transactions herein contemplated and to undertake the obligations provided for herein, and on or prior to the Closing Date will have a subscribed corporate capital of not less than \$275,000,000.00 Mex. Cy.; and all of the corporate bodies of The Purchaser, including but not limited to its Stockholders Meeting, Board of Directors and Executive Committee, which are required to approve or authorize the execution and performance of this Purchase Agreement under Mexican laws, decrees or regulations or under their by-laws, have granted their authorization and approval.

The Purchaser and its nominees and the corporate entity or entities which it may designate to acquire the Assets Sold hereunder have or will have on the Closing Date, the corporate power, legal capacity and authorizations which may be required under the laws, decrees or regulations of the Republic of Mexico, of the United States of America and of the Bahama Islands which may be applicable, to acquire the Assets Sold hereunder.

(c) Neither the execution of this agreement, nor the consummation of the transactions herein contemplated, nor the compliance and fulfillment of the terms and provisions hereof will conflict with, or result in a breach of the terms, conditions or provisions of any law, decree or regulation of any governmental agency of the Republic of Mexico, or of any contract, agreement or instrument to which The Purchaser is a party.

(d) The issuance of the Notes to Gulf by The Purchaser in accordance with the provisions of Section (b) of Clause 3 above have been approved by all necessary corporate action on the part of The Purchaser and when executed, issued and delivered by The Purchaser to Gulf, such Notes will be valid and legally binding obligations of The Purchaser and enforceable in accordance with their terms.

(e) All action on the part of The Purchaser to obtain the guarantee "por aval" of the Notes by Nacional Financiera, S.A. has been taken or will have been taken on the Closing Date and such guarantee will be valid and a legally binding obligation of Nacional Financiera, S.A. and enforceable in accordance with its terms.

8. *Other action prior to the closing date.* Between the date hereof and the closing date:

Gulf shall cause CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA to continue giving to the officers and authorized representatives of The Purchaser free and full access to the plants, properties, books and records of CAVSA, CISSA, ATSA and the Tampa Terminal as an operating unit and to the COSCO Sales Contracts during normal working hours, and shall continue furnishing to The Purchaser such additional financing and operating data and other information as to the business and properties of CAVSA, CISSA, ATSA and the Tampa Terminal as an operating unit, and

as to the COSCO Sales Contracts as The Purchaser shall from time to time reasonably request, provided that all of such information shall be treated by The Purchaser, its officers and authorized representatives as confidential and shall be returned to Gulf in the event the transactions contemplated herein are not consummated.

(b) Gulf will take all action and will cause CAVSA, CISSA, ATSA and COSCO to take all action as may be necessary to render accurate as of the Closing Date the representations and warranties contained in Clause 6 hereof, except to the extent that such representations and warranties may be incorrect as of the Closing Date because of events or changes occurring after the date hereof pursuant to express provisions of this agreement or pursuant to an express agreement in writing of the parties hereto, and they will refrain from taking any action which would render any such representations and warranties inaccurate as of such time.

(c) The purchaser will take all action as may be necessary to render accurate as of the Closing Date the representations and warranties contained in Clause 7 hereof and it will refrain from taking any action which would render any such representations and warranties inaccurate as of such time.

(d) Gulf shall not, and shall cause CAVSA, CISSA, ATSA and COSCO not to make any announcement or other statement to the press or the general public concerning the transactions covered by this agreement, without the prior written consent of the Purchaser, except such news releases as Gulf may deem necessary under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 and under the rules, regulations or policies of the New York Stock Exchange, in which case Gulf will give advance notice to the Purchaser thereof, and the Purchaser shall not make any announcement or other statement to the press or to the general public concerning the transactions covered by this agreement without the prior written consent of Gulf, unless otherwise deemed necessary by The Purchaser, in which case The Purchaser will give advance notice to Gulf thereof.

(e) The Purchaser will take all action and at the request of The Purchaser Gulf will cause CAVSA and/or CISSA to take all action as may be necessary to assist The Purchaser to obtain for CAVSA and/or CISSA the financing referred to in Clause 5 hereof.

(f) Gulf shall cause COSCO to pay to CAVSA on or before the Closing Date, all amounts owed by COSCO to CAVSA as price of sulphur sold by the latter to the former which are due under the terms of the sales contract of March 1, 1966, between CAVSA and COSCO and to pay promptly when due all amounts which under such terms may become due after the Closing Date.

(g) Gulf shall take such action and shall cause CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA to take such action, as may be required to call the Extraordinary and Ordinary Stockholders Meetings of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA, to be held on the Closing Date for the purpose of acting upon the matters described in Clause 11, Section (b), Subsections (ix) and (x) hereof.

(h) On or before the Closing Date, Gulf and The Purchaser shall have designated by written agreement such officers and employees of CAVSA and/or CISSA with whom five-year employment contracts are to be executed by CAVSA and/or CISSA, such employment contracts to be on terms and conditions heretofore accepted by The Purchaser and the officer or employee concerned.

(i) Gulf shall cause CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA to take all action and to obtain all authorizations as may be necessary to change the corporate and fiscal year of such companies in order that their present corporate and fiscal years terminate on the day before the Closing Date and that a new corporate

and fiscal year of such companies be initiated as of the Closing Date.

9. *Conditions precedent to obligations of Gulf.* The obligations of Gulf hereunder are subject to the fulfillment of each of the following conditions effective on or before the Closing Date, except as may be waived in writing by Gulf:

(a) All the terms, covenants and conditions of this agreement to be complied with and performed by The Purchaser on or before the Closing Date shall have been duly complied with and performed.

(b) The representations and warranties of The Purchaser contained in Clause 7 hereof, shall be accurate as of the Closing Date, as though such representations and warranties had been made as of that time, and Gulf shall have received an opinion to that effect of Baker, Botts, Miranda, Santamarina & Steta, counsel for The Purchaser, dated the Closing Date, in form and substance satisfactory to Gulf.

(c) The consent for the sale by Gulf of the Shares and of the Tampa Terminal, from The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A., Bank of the Commonwealth, Franklin National Bank, First City National Bank of Houston, and Crocker-Citizens National Bank, as lenders in the loan agreement between them and Gulf dated August 20, 1968, shall have been obtained; the consents or authorizations of the parties to the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and of the parties to the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts, for the transfer and assignment of such contracts to the corporate entity or entities which The Purchaser may have designated, shall have been obtained; and the consents or authorizations of the other parties to the COSCO Sales Contracts for the transfer and assignment of such contracts to the corporate entity or entities which The Purchaser may have designated, shall have been obtained.

(d) The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A. or other financial institution shall have issued to GULF a satisfactory opinion that the Notes to be delivered by The Purchaser of Gulf may be discontinued.

(e) Gulf and COSCO shall have been released from all obligations, as guarantor or otherwise, with respect to the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, to the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and to the COSCO Sales Contracts and with respect to any lease, charter, contracts or other agreements, pertaining to the operations of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA and the operations of the Tampa Terminal, or in the absence of such releases, such obligations shall have been assumed by a corporate entity designated by The Purchaser and accepted by Gulf.

(f) Gulf shall have received satisfactory tax rulings from the Government of Mexico and of the United States of America on the consequences of the transactions herein contemplated, as listed in Exhibit E signed by the Chief Executive Officer and the Secretary of Gulf and attached hereto.

(g) Gulf shall have obtained a release of all rights of the Mexican Group under the agreement dated March 14, 1966 referred to in Section (o) of Clause 6 hereof.

10. *Conditions precedent to obligations of The Purchaser.* The obligations of The Purchaser hereunder are subject to the fulfillment of each of the following conditions effective on or before the Closing Date, except as may be waived in writing by The Purchaser:

(a) All terms, covenants and conditions of this agreement to be complied with and performed by Gulf on or before the Closing Date shall have been complied with and performed. The representations and warranties of Gulf contained in Clause 6 hereof, shall be accurate as of the Closing Date, as though such representations and warran-

ties had been made as of that time; and The Purchaser shall have received an opinion of Messrs. Vinson, Elkins, Searls & Connally, counsel for Gulf, to the effect that (i) Gulf is a corporation organized, validly existing and in good standing under the laws of the State of Delaware, U.S.A., and has corporate power to own and sell the Shares, the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and to cause COSCO to transfer and assign the COSCO Sales Contracts; and all of its corporate bodies, including but not limited to its Stockholders, Board of Directors and Executive Committee, which may be required under law or under its by-laws, to approve and authorize the execution of this agreement and the consummation of the transactions herein contemplated, have granted their authorization and approval; (ii) Gulf and The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA have full ownership and title to the 136,500 CAVSA Shares, and Gulf has full ownership and title to the rights deriving from the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, to all of the property and rights which constitute the Tampa Terminal, and to the rights deriving from the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts, free and clear of any encumbrances; and, therefore Gulf and The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA may freely sell and deliver such CAVSA Shares and Gulf may freely sell and deliver such Tampa Terminal and may freely transfer and assign such Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and such Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts without any limitations, and has obtained the approval or authorization of all parties to such contracts for the transfer and assignment thereof as required in the contracts; (iii) COSCO has full ownership of the rights deriving from the COSCO Sales Contracts, free and clear of any encumbrances; and, therefore, COSCO may freely transfer and assign such COSCO Sales Contracts without any limitations, and has obtained the approval or authorization of all parties to such contracts for the transfer and assignment thereof as required in the contracts; and (iv) neither the execution of this agreement nor the consummation of the transactions herein contemplated, nor the compliance and fulfillment of the terms and provisions hereof will conflict with, or result in a breach of the terms, conditions or provisions of any law, decree or regulation of the United States of America or of any political subdivision or agency thereof or of any contract, agreement or instrument to which Gulf is a party, or the by-laws of Gulf and COSCO with the understanding that as to matters of Mexican law and particularly as to matters related to CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA, said counsel should rely upon the written opinions of Creel y Ogarrio and as to matters of Florida law with respect to the leasehold covered by the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, said counsel should rely upon the written opinion of Florida legal counsel satisfactory to The Purchaser; and The Purchaser shall have received a written opinion of Creel y Ogarrio as to the accuracy of all the other representations and warranties of Gulf contained in Clause 6 hereof relating to Mexican law.

(c) COSCO shall have paid directly to CAVSA all amounts owed by COSCO to CAVSA as price of sulphur sold by the latter to the former which are due under the terms of the sales contract of March 1, 1966 between CAVSA and COSCO.

(d) CAVSA and/or CISSA shall have received the financing referred to in Clause 5 hereof in either of the forms provided for in Subsections (i) and (ii) of Section (a) of such Clause 5.

(e) The Purchaser shall have received sat-

isfactory rulings, resolutions, confirmations, authorizations and/or opinions from the corresponding authorities of the Government of Mexico on the consequences of the transactions contemplated herein, and on the other matters listed in Exhibit F signed by The Purchaser and attached hereto.

(f) The Purchaser shall have received satisfactory rulings, resolutions, confirmations, authorizations and/or opinions from the corresponding authorities of the Mexican Government that CAVSA and ATSA, as Mexicanized companies, and The Purchaser, will receive all the tax, operating and commercial benefits that the Mexican Government has awarded in the Mexicanization of other similar sulphur operations, which benefits are listed in Exhibit G signed by The Purchaser and attached hereto and shall include, but not be limited to, the reduction of the royalty payable by CAVSA to the Mining Development Commission of the Mexican Government under the Mining Concessions held by CAVSA, from 20% of value to 12% of value (as such value is presently being determined) for the term the Mining Concessions are in force and for the extensions of such term, by means satisfactory to The Purchaser.

(g) All necessary consents and approvals for the sale of the Shares, for the transfer and assignment by COSCO of the COSCO Sales Contracts and for the transfer and assignment by Gulf of the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts, which in the opinion of counsel for The Purchaser may be required for such sale, transfer and assignment, shall have been obtained. Counsel for The Purchaser may rely as to matters of United States law or as to contracts or agreements entered into in the United States law or as to contracts or agreements entered into in the United States of America upon the written opinion of Baker, Botts, Shepherd & Coats, of Houston, Texas. In order to assist Gulf in obtaining such consents and approvals it is agreed by The Purchaser that the corporate entity or entities that may be designated by The Purchaser to receive title to the Tampa Terminal and to acquire the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and to acquire the COSCO Sales Contracts, will assume all obligations of Gulf and COSCO under such contracts accruing after the Closing Date and that The Purchaser will guarantee such assumption of obligations, if necessary.

(h) The accumulated inventories of saleable sulphur, existing in Mexico on the Closing Date, owned by CAVSA, shall not be less than 80,000 metric tons excluding vat bottoms.

(i) Between May 31, 1969 and the Closing Date the properties and assets of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA and the Tampa Terminal shall have not been materially and adversely damaged or affected by fire, explosion, accident, earthquake, flood or any other cause of force majeure or fortuitous circumstances.

(j) The agreements or contracts entered into by CAVSA for the sale of sulphur (whether entered into directly or through an agent or representative) and the commission or agency agreements entered into by CAVSA for the sale of its sulphur, which are listed in Exhibit H signed by The Purchaser attached to this agreement as an integral part hereof, shall have been terminated.

(k) The current account agreements between Gulf and CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA shall have been terminated and the corresponding current accounts closed; provided that the balance in excess of \$1,431,293.00 U.S. Cy. which CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA may owe Gulf when such current accounts are closed, shall be paid to Gulf as stipulated in Section (b) of Clause 4 hereof.

(l) Any and all agreements or arrangements for the rendering of technical services

and management assistance executed between Gulf and CAVSA and between Gulf and CISSA or for the payment of amounts by CAVSA or CISSA to Gulf for technical assistance and/or services, including but not limited to the technical services and management assistance agreement executed between Gulf and CAVSA on December 27, 1968, shall have been terminated.

(m) Gulf shall have delivered to The Purchaser five-year employment contracts executed by those of CAVSA's and CISSA's principal officers and employees which have been designated by Gulf and The Purchaser, as provided in Section (h) of Clause 8 hereof.

11. *Closing date and action to be taken at closing.*

(a) The Closing shall be the consummation of the transactions herein contemplated and shall take place at the offices located at Paseo de la Reforma 144-8th floor, Mexico, D.F., at 9:00 a.m. on September 2, 1969, or on such alternate date as Gulf and The Purchaser agree to in writing, provided that the sale, transfer and assignment of the Assets Sold hereunder shall be effective for all purposes as of September 1, 1969, or on such alternate date as Gulf and The Purchaser agree to in writing; and such date of September 1, 1969, or agreed alternate date, is herein referred to as and shall be "the Closing Date"; provided that if such Closing shall not have taken place by November 30, 1969, this agreement shall terminate and the parties hereto shall have no further liability or obligation hereunder.

(b) If on the Closing Date the conditions precedent to obligations of Gulf and of The Purchaser provided for in Clauses 9 and 10 hereof have been realized or have been waived in writing by the respective party, and subject to the terms of this agreement, the following action shall take place in the order set forth below:

(i) Gulf shall deliver to The Purchaser a certificate, executed by its Chief Executive Officer and attested by its Secretary, in form satisfactory to The Purchaser, stating the compliance by Gulf, as of the Closing Date, with all the terms and conditions of this agreement, and the accuracy, as of such Closing Date, of the representations and warranties contained in Clause 6 of this agreement; and Gulf shall further deliver to The Purchaser the signed opinions of Vinson, Elkins, Searls & Connally and Creel y Ogarrio, as provided for in Section (b) of Clause 10 hereof.

(ii) The Purchaser shall deliver to Gulf a certificate, executed by its Chief Executive Officer and attested by its Secretary, in form satisfactory to Gulf, stating the compliance by The Purchaser, as of the Closing Date, with all the terms and conditions of this agreement, and the accuracy, as of such Closing Date, of the representations and warranties contained in Clause 7 of this agreement; and The Purchaser shall further deliver to Gulf the signed opinion of Baker, Botts, Miranda, Santamarina & Steta of Mexico, D.F., as provided for in Section (b) of Clause 9 hereof.

(iii) The Purchaser shall pay and deliver to Gulf the amount provided for in Section (a) of Clause 3 in New York funds to the credit of Gulf in The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A. in New York, N.Y., and The Purchaser shall deliver to Gulf the Notes, as provided for in Section (b) of Clause 3, endorsed "por aval" by Nacional Financiera, S.A.

(iv) CAVSA and/or CISSA shall pay and deliver to Gulf \$1,431,293.00 U.S. Cy. or the aggregate amount of the indebtedness of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA referred to in Section (a) of Clause 4 hereof, whichever is lower; provided that the payment shall be made in New York funds to the credit of Gulf in The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A. in New York, N.Y.; and in its case, CAVSA will

deliver to Gulf the notes referred to in Section (b) of Clause 4, endorsed "por aval" by The Purchaser.

(v) Gulf shall deliver to The Purchaser the stock certificates representing the CAVSA Shares sold by Gulf pursuant to this agreement, endorsed in ownership to The Purchaser and registered in the stock registry book of CAVSA in the name of The Purchaser.

(vi) The Individual Shareholders of CAVSA, The Individual Shareholders of CISSA and The Individual Shareholders of ATSA, shall deliver to The Purchaser or to its nominees the stock certificates representing the CAVSA Shares, the CISSA Shares and the ATSA Shares which they sell, endorsed in ownership to The Purchaser or to its nominees and registered in the stock registry book of each company in the name of The Purchaser or its nominees.

(vii) Gulf shall deliver to The Purchaser a title opinion dated not more than five days prior to the Closing Date by Florida legal counsel satisfactory to The Purchaser, showing good title in Gulf to the leasehold estate described in paragraph (1) (a) of Antecedent II of this agreement, and to all improvements situated thereon and showing that all property described in Exhibit A is free and clear of all liens and encumbrances.

(viii) Gulf shall sign and execute (1) the contracts and any other documents which may be required to transfer to the corporate entity or entities which The Purchaser may have designated full title to the Tampa Terminal; and (2) assignments transferring and assigning the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Service Contracts to the corporate entity or entities which The Purchaser may have designated, such assignments to be in a form satisfactory to The Purchaser. COSCO will sign the documents which may be necessary to transfer and assign the COSCO Sales Contracts to the corporate entity or entities which The Purchaser may have designated; provided that if under the laws of the State of Florida or under the laws of the United States of America, it shall be required for Gulf or COSCO to sign or ratify such contracts, assignments and documents in Florida or in any other part of the United States of America, they will do so as soon as requested by The Purchaser.

(ix) The purchaser and/or its nominees shall hold General Extraordinary Stockholders Assemblies of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA for the purpose of amending the charter and by-laws of such companies and for the purpose of changing the corporate years of such companies, as provided in Section (i) of Clause 8 hereof.

(x) The purchaser and/or its nominees shall hold General Ordinary Stockholders Assemblies of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA for the purposes of accepting the resignations of the members of the Board of Directors and Stockholders Inspectors (Comisarios) of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA, which written resignations shall be secured by Gulf, for the purpose of appointing new Directors and Stockholders Inspectors (Comisarios) designated by the purchaser and/or its nominees.

(xi) The purchaser shall cause CAVSA to execute the employment contracts referred to in Section (m) of Clause 10 hereof.

12. *Covenant of Gulf regarding contingent labor and tax liabilities of CAVSA, CISSA and ATSA.* Gulf covenants and agrees that it shall promptly pay for its account, or reimburse to The Purchaser, as The Purchaser may elect: a) Any amount in excess of the reserves made in the books of CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA which any of such companies may be condemned or obligated to pay as a result of any of the labor claims listed in Exhibit I signed by the Chief Executive Officer and Secretary of Gulf and attached hereto, or of labor claims which may be ini-

tiated against any of such companies prior to the Closing Date; and b) The amount of any tax liability, tax difference or indebtedness to any taxing authority of the Mexican Federal Government or of the Mexican States, Federal District and municipalities, including surcharges and fines, if any, of CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA, which may appear or be assessed or charged to any of such companies after the Closing Date, deriving from acts or transactions of any such companies performed or originated prior to the Closing Date, as a consequence of a revision of the tax returns of such companies; provided, however, that The Purchaser shall immediately advise Gulf in writing of any such tax or labor liability or claim asserted against CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA and if Gulf should elect to challenge or defend before the corresponding Mexican tax, judicial or labor authorities, any such tax liability, tax difference, tax indebtedness or labor claim, it may do so at its own risk and expense, but promptly delivering to CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA the necessary funds to effect any payments under protest as needed, in order that no property or operations of CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA be affected as a result thereof, and that CAVSA, CISSA or ATSA shall grant powers of attorney to the person or persons which Gulf may designate, and shall furnish the information and documentary evidence which they may have available and which may be required by Gulf for challenging or defending the matter.

13. *Transfer and assignment of insurance policies.* As of the Closing Date GULF shall transfer and assign to The Purchaser or to the corporate entity or entities which The Purchaser may designate, all insurance policies, except any general coverage policies, which may be in force as of such Closing Date and which Gulf may have taken to cover properties, sulphur and liabilities, in the Tampa Terminal or with respect to the operations conducted in such Tampa Terminal or in connection with the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal and the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts.

14. *Miscellaneous.*

(a) A breach of any of the representations and warranties, covenants or conditions contained herein by either party shall entitle the other party to abandon and terminate this agreement prior to or on the Closing Date.

(b) The covenants, warranties and representations contained in or made pursuant to this agreement shall survive the Closing Date for the period of the statute of limitations which may be applicable to the right, obligation or action referred in or related to the covenant warranty or representation concerned under the laws of the Republic of Mexico or of the United States of America or of any State of the latter country. Each party hereto shall, subsequent to the Closing Date, be and remain liable for such period to the other party for the amount of any damage or loss to such party because of any inaccuracy in such representations and warranties, or by failure to observe or comply with any such covenant.

(c) If the Closing provided for in Clause 11 hereof shall not be consummated for any reason, each party hereto shall pay its own expenses, including the fees of accountants and attorneys retained by it, incident to preparing to carry out this agreement and consummate the transactions contemplated herein.

(d) This agreement shall not be assignable by any party hereto, except that The Purchaser will have the right to designate nominees to purchase part of the Shares and the right to designate the corporate entity or entities which will acquire the Tampa Terminal, the Contracts Related to the Tampa Terminal, the Transportation and Terminal Services Contracts and the COSCO Sales Contracts.

(e) Any notice or communication required to be given hereunder shall be in writing and delivered personally or sent by registered air mail, with copy by ordinary mail, postage prepaid:

If to The Purchaser:

Inversiones Azufreras, S. A., c/o Metalúrgica Mexicana Peñoles, S. A., Uruguay 73-80, piso, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico.

If to Gulf:

Gulf Resources & Chemical Corporation, 2125 Tenneco Building, Houston, Texas 77002, U.S.A.

Gulf and The Purchaser agree that if in the future they should change their names or addresses shown above, they will notify the other party of the respective change and of the new names or address, at least five days in advance to effecting such a change.

(f) This instrument with its Exhibits A to I both included contains the entire agreement between the parties hereto with respect to the sale, transfer and assignment of the Assets Sold hereunder by Gulf to The Purchaser and other transactions contemplated herein, and may be modified or terminated only by a written document signed by the parties hereto.

15. *Counterparts of this agreement.* This agreement is executed in four counterparts in the Spanish language and four counterparts in the English language.

16. *Controversies, courts and governing text.* With respect to any controversy arising out of or relating to this agreement or any of the transactions contemplated herein:

If Gulf shall sue The Purchaser, the courts of Mexico City, Federal District, Mexico, shall have exclusive jurisdiction, the laws of the Republic of Mexico shall apply and the Spanish text of this agreement shall govern. If The Purchaser shall sue Gulf, a United States Federal District court of the Southern District of Texas shall have exclusive jurisdiction and venue, the laws of the State of Texas shall apply and the English text of this agreement shall govern.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the enforceability of the Notes, the jurisdiction of enforcement thereof, and the law applicable in determining the validity of the Notes shall be governed by the terms of the Notes.

The present agreement is signed by Gulf and by The Purchaser in Mexico, D. F., Mexico, on August 6, 1969, and will take effect as of the date first above written.

GULF RESOURCES & CHEMICAL CORP.,
ROBERT H. ALLEN, *President.*

Attest:

WILLIAM M. MAY,
Secretary.

The Purchaser: Inversiones Azufreras, S.A.
LIC. ALBERTO BAILLERES,
President of the Board.

EXHIBIT "A" TO THE PURCHASE AGREEMENT OF AUGUST 6, 1969, BETWEEN GULF RESOURCES & CHEMICAL CORPORATION AND INVERSIONES AZUFRRERAS, S.A.

DESCRIPTION OF INSTALLATIONS, FACILITIES AND OTHER PROPERTY OR RIGHTS OF THE TAMPA TERMINAL, AS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH (2) OF ANTECEDENT II OF THE PURCHASE AGREEMENT

One 12,500 Ton liquid sulphur tank.

One 10,000 Ton liquid sulphur tank.

Loading and receiving lines for storage tanks.

Two 105 HP Locomotive type boilers with condensate return system, condensate tank and zeolite softener.

One Bunker C fuel tank, 8,000 gallons.

One Storage warehouse.

One office adjoining roofed power plant.

One FM weight scale with drive-in ramp for trucks.

One Worthington CFM air compressor.

List of pumps:

Two fuel pumps.

Two sulphur pumps.

Two boiler feed pumps.
One liquid loading joint, chiksan.
One tool shed with cabinets and tools and lawn equipment.
Cathodic protection system for sulphur tanks.
One air conditioner.
Two jet air blowers.
400 feet fire hose.

GULF RESOURCES & CHEMICAL CORP.

ROBERT H. ALLEN,

President and Chief Executive Officer.

WILLIAM M. WOLF,

Secretary.

EXHIBIT "B" TO THE PURCHASE AGREEMENT OF AUGUST 6, 1969, BETWEEN GULF RESOURCES & CHEMICAL CORPORATION AND INVERSIONES AZUFRRERAS, S. A.

CONTRACTS BETWEEN CONTINENTAL OVERSEAS SALES CORPORATION (COSCO) FOR THE SALE TO THIRD PARTIES OF SULPHUR PRODUCED BY CAVSA, AS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH (4) OF ANTECEDENT II OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PURCHASE AGREEMENT

1. Contract dated March 1st, 1966 between COSCO and W. R. Grace & Co., Davison Chemical Division.

2. Contract dated April 1st, 1966 between COSCO and Mobil Chemical Company, a division of Socony Mobil Oil Company, Inc. No deliveries of sulphur are being made under this contract due to the fact that Mobil has closed its fertilizer manufacturing plant near Tampa, Florida.

3. Contract dated January 1st, 1969 between COSCO and Royster Company.

4. Contract dated December 19, 1968 between COSCO and The British Phosphate Commissioners of Melbourne, Australia.

GULF RESOURCES & CHEMICAL CORP.

ROBERT H. ALLEN,

President and Chief Executive Officer.

WILLIAM M. WOLF, *Secretary.*

HELPING THE RAILROADS

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, for those of us in the Senate who have been working to improve rail passenger service, the aspect of our efforts, which has been the greatest source of frustration to us, has been the attitude of railroad management toward passenger service.

At a time when there is increasing sentiment in the Congress to provide assistance to the railroads, there is still a distinct lack of evidence that the railroads themselves are willing to make a good faith effort to maintain passenger service. I would ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Providence Sunday Journal of December 7, 1969, entitled "How Not To Run a Railroad" be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

It is this lack of real effort on the part of the major railroads of the country that makes me look to nonprofit rail passenger service corporations, such as the Geo-Transport Foundation in New England, as a source of new invigorated public service minded passenger management for the future.

The Geo-Transport Foundation, under the leadership of very prominent busi-

ness leaders from the New England area, is attempting to organize a passenger service corporation to manage passenger service in New England with an eye toward the future development of a tracked air cushioned vehicle system in New England. Geo-Transport has now the support of the New England Governors through the New England Regional Commission.

It also needs Federal support. I am hopeful that the provisions of the new legislation on rail assistance will provide a source of further support for Geo-Transport, and I am hopeful that the administration in its effort to promote its regional Railpax concept will assist Geo-Transport with some seed money as a demonstration Railpax.

I see no reason why the Congress should pass rail assistance legislation which would reward the railroads for their weak efforts to maintain passenger service assistance at the expense of public spirited passenger corporations willing to make a good faith effort to provide rail passenger service.

I believe, that unless the Nation's railroads demonstrate some dramatic change of attitude, we must look to new institutional forms, such as the Geo-Transport, the compacts I have suggested in my bills, and the other kinds of regional organizations as the means for saving rail passenger service.

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

HOW NOT TO RUN A RAILROAD

The continuing effort of Penn Central to divest itself of passenger service rates an "A" for ingenuity if nothing else. Where the business of running a railroad is concerned, Penn Central's logic seems to be: if at first you succeed, try, try again until you can't.

A number of strategies for confusing and inconveniencing passengers have been chronicled at length in these and other pages. One of the most effective of these devices involves compounding the difficulty of buying tickets and making reservations to the point where the passenger gives up in favor of car, plane or bus. The new "ACD" (automatic call director) is a particularly fiendish example of this technique.

The customer calls a Providence number to make a reservation or to ask about arrival and departure times. In the interests of "economy" there is either no one in the station to take the call, or the ticket agents are assumed to be concentrating exclusively on the hordes of passengers that Penn Central's best efforts have thus far been unable to discourage. In any case, and ACD routes the call to railroad headquarters in New York.

The Penn Central switchboard is, of course, unequipped to handle the volume of calls pouring in through this new device, which has recently been installed throughout New England, all the major cities of New York state and parts of Ohio (would you believe Cleveland and Toledo?) The caller therefore receives a busy signal, no response at all, or a recording that instructs him to wait and then disconnects. "Automatically," of course.

If the caller finally gets through to New York, the operator has no way of knowing what part of the system the call involves. There follows a long wait while the appropriate timetables and routings are researched. If the caller is of a mind to complain by this time, he learns that it is all the telephone company's fault.

There is something magnificent about this devious approach. If as much imagination and forethought were applied to making the Penn Central passenger service comfortable and efficient as are spent on frustrating potential riders (thus making the line even more unprofitable for all concerned), Penn Central would be out of the woods in no time.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE FIRST
SESSION OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we have come to the end of a long and hard session. As in years past I take the floor to report to you on the accomplishments of this session, with a particular emphasis on action taken by the House of Representatives.

Before a general characterization of the past session and a few comments on highlights actions, it is fitting to extend my affection and esteem for our distinguished Speaker, JOHN McCORMACK. For more than four decades he has served the people of his district, of the State of Massachusetts, and of the entire Nation with devotion and honor. Mr. Speaker, we salute you. As most Members are aware, the end of the 91st Congress will establish JOHN McCORMACK as the man to serve the second longest term as Speaker of the House. Only the late, beloved Sam Rayburn will have guided the House in its parliamentary conduct for a longer period of time. Mr. Speaker, you may take justifiable pride in attaining this enviable goal. We all share that pride with you.

May I once again extend my thanks to HALE BOGGS and all the assistant whips for their help and excellent service.

To the Honorable GERALD R. FORD, the minority leader, and his leadership team I express my thanks for the cooperation and spirit of comity which have always marked their relationship with me.

It does not stretch the imagination to suggest that "E Pluribus Unum" aptly describes this convocation of Representatives of the people. We represent a conflicting convergence of opinion and interests but we are dedicated to the welfare of that single entity, our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the session just ended has been long and grueling, one of the longest in our history. There were difficulties, difficulties which naturally arise when a new administration takes office and difficulties inherent in divided control of the Government. These difficulties did not deter us from taking actions necessary to the welfare of the country. They did, however, delay the legislative processes in getting started, and this contributed to the extraordinary length of the first session.

In all fairness it cannot be said that this was a landmark Congress along the proportions of the 89th. But it can be said that we have met our responsibilities to the American people in many areas.

We have given extraordinary attention to priorities in Government. We have moved forward to strengthen our country, but we have examined all areas of Federal expenditures, civil and military. This has been wise and necessary as the inflation which grips the country demands it.

The heavy drain of the war in Vietnam limits at this time the opportunity to make needed reallocations but as we are withdrawing from that conflict it is imperative that a reordering occur.

We pray that the SALT talks at Helsinki will deescalate the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union and thus make it possible to devote a larger effort to our pressing domestic needs.

The President has expressed gratitude for the cooperation of Congress in the field of foreign policy. Domestically there were differences of opinion between the President and the Democratic Congress, as is to be expected. We did our level best to cooperate where possible but when not possible, we acted in accordance with our interpretation of what was best and necessary for the people of this Nation.

On the whole our record is good. The House acted to extend elementary and secondary education funds, the details of which can be found in the appropriate section of this report. Funds were continued for the fight to control air and water pollution although in regard to the latter differing versions passed by each House remain to be negotiated in conference.

Three items loom as particularly important actions taken in the first session. The House passed an amendment to the Constitution which will provide, upon passage by the Senate and ratification by the necessary number of States, for direct election of the President and Vice President. This is an action which meets with the approval of fully 80 percent of the American public and I think the House was well advised in its action. The most significant Tax Reform Act in the history of our country cleared the Congress just prior to adjournment. It is a judicious mix of reform and relief and it is to be hoped that the President will see his way clear to sign it into law. Included in this measure is a 15-percent increase in social security benefits, surely a compassionate and necessary action given the cruel effects of inflation on those who depend on these benefits for subsistence. Finally, we approved a draft lottery system which eliminates the inequities ascribed to the former method for selecting draftees into the military.

Other important actions were taken and I have provided for the benefit of Members succinct summaries of major legislative acts of the House and the Congress in this report. I hope Members will find it useful.

APPROPRIATIONS AND AUTHORIZATIONS

SUPPLEMENTALS, 1969

Due to unexpectedly high rates of separation among Federal employees and servicemen—many of the latter returning from Vietnam—the outflow of unemployment benefits was pushed higher than expected. Consequently, President

Johnson requested additional unemployment benefit funds which were approved in both Houses by voice vote. As cleared for the President, House Joint Resolution 414 appropriated \$36 million, in addition to \$92.2 million already appropriated, to the Bureau of Employment Security in the Department of Labor for unemployment benefits for Federal employees and ex-servicemen. The bill was signed into law, Public Law 91-2, by President Nixon.

Supplemental funds were needed to bolster the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corporation—CCC—which administers the farm subsidy programs. The House Appropriations Committee reported in its bill, House Joint Resolution 584, that this action was necessary. The capital of the CCC has been depleted by a rising demand for loans due to increased production of wheat, soybeans, and feed grains as well as a decline in receipts. The decline was caused by a national dock strike, which slowed exports, and a slackened demand in commodities. The House and Senate passed House Joint Resolution 584—Public Law 91-7—providing a fiscal 1969 supplemental appropriation of \$1 billion to restore the capital of the CCC.

Additional costs for military operations in Southeast Asia and Federal pay raises accounted for the bulk of the second supplemental appropriations for 1969 of \$4.3 billion reported by the House and Senate conference. Included in the appropriations bill (H.R. 11400, Public Law 91-47) was a spending limit of \$191.9 billion in fiscal 1970 expenditures, \$1 billion below the Nixon budget projections and the House ceiling.

The conference report accepted a House provision which permitted congressional flexibility in lowering or raising the expenditure ceiling. The conference compromise between the Senate's version exempting for "uncontrollable" programs such as social security, and the House measure, with no such provisions, resulted in permission for the President to raise the limit by as much as \$2 billion if he found that expenditures for social security, social insurance trust funds, medicare, veteran's insurance, interest on the national debt, and farm price supports were exceeding their original estimates.

The conference agreed upon a supplemental funding of \$1.27 billion for additional military expenditures entailed in South Vietnam. This appropriation was \$224.9 million less than the revised Nixon budget request, the same amount approved by the Senate and \$38 million more than accepted by the House. To meet portions of the pay increases that became effective in 1969, the conference allotted \$1.29 billion as opposed to \$1.46 billion requested in the Presidential budget. This sum represented a compromise between a House allocation of \$1.23 billion and a Senate provision for \$1.37 billion. The conference also accepted the Senate repeal of Public Law 90-364 Federal manpower restrictions. The report argued that the limit had cost more than it had saved since it resulted in costly overtime work, loss of internal

revenue, and inefficient utilization of personnel.

Supplemental funding of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare amounted to \$714 million, the largest appropriations being for public assistance grants. Military personnel expenses were the dominant consideration in the \$227,000,000 allotment to the Department of Defense. This figure represented \$22.7 million less than the Nixon budget request.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development received \$494 million. A major compromise of this housing appropriation was between a Senate allocation of \$50 million for both homeownership and rental assistance programs and the \$40 million accorded by the House. Agreement was reached by apportioning \$45 million to each program.

The conference bill contained a number of requests that were granted by the Senate but came too late for House consideration. Among these appropriations were \$160 million for the first of three annual U.S. contributions for the International Development Association.

In addition the bill allocated funds for programs authorized earlier but not appropriated. The recipients of these allotments include Agriculture, Commerce, District of Columbia, Interior, Justice, Post Office, Public Works, State, Treasury, and Transportation.

TREASURY, POST OFFICE, EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, AND CERTAIN INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT

An appropriation of \$2,276,232,000 was approved in a compromise bill (H.R. 11582, Public Law 91-74) for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies. This amount was \$38,482,000 less than the administration's revised request, yet it constituted a \$414,654,416 increase over 1969 appropriations. The compromise figure was reached by a decrease of \$3,963,000 from the Senate-approved bill and an increase of \$3,900,000 over the House version. The total appropriation, coupled with the \$6,507,013,000 from postal revenues, amounted to \$8,783,245,000.

The allotment of the Treasury Department came to \$1,076,740,000 of which \$799,795,000 went to the Internal Revenue Service. The Bureau of Customs was granted \$107,551,000, which represents a compromise figure between the \$108,110,000 proposed by the Senate and \$106,151,000 sought by the House. The resulting amount allowed the recruiting of 500 new employees by the Bureau of Customs to shorten the serious passenger processing delays in major U.S. international airports and permitted a strengthening of law enforcement efforts along the Mexican border area with special reference to the smuggling of marijuana and drugs such as heroin.

The Post Office Department was apportioned \$1,171,522,000. The conference committee accepted the House postal appropriations of \$133,069,000 for administration and regional operation, \$1 million more than the Senate proposal.

The Senate provision of \$48,838,000 for postal research, development, and engi-

neering was approved, instead of the House allotment of \$46,838,000. The House allocation of \$6,141,711,000 for operations was opted for by the conference committee over the \$6,143,615,000 as sought by the Senate. In lieu of a Senate amendment which allotted \$9,218,000 for additional window service at large post offices and for an increase in the multiple-trip business delivery and special delivery service, the conference committee earmarked \$5,500,000 to maintain the special services. Yet the committee, in offering the amendment, left the option to the Postmaster General to determine which locations needed an increase in special delivery.

The Executive Office of the President was granted \$23,295,000. Within the appropriation \$11,650,000 was directed to the Bureau of the Budget, \$3,630,000 to the White House office, \$1,860,000 to the National Security Council, and \$1,137,000 to the Council of Economic Advisers. Independent agencies were accorded \$4,675,000, including \$2,750,000 for the U.S. Tax Court and \$1,100,000 for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Appropriations to support 1970 operations by the Department of the Interior and related agencies were provided in Public Law 91-98, H.R. 12781. All told \$1,546,273,300 was granted: \$1,380,375,300 in new budget authority and \$168,898,000 to liquidate contract authorizations. The total appropriation was \$23,181,200 below the administration's revised Budget, \$6,088,600 more than the sum accepted by the House, and \$2,391,600 below the sum accepted by the Senate.

The Department of the Interior itself was granted \$948,153,100 for the activities of its various agencies and offices, including the Bureau of Land Management, \$71,101,000; Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, \$112,222,000; Office of Territories, \$55,533,400; Bureau of Mines, \$79,310,000; Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, \$42,316,000; National Park Service, \$101,717,000; Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife, \$60,602,000; and the Office of Water Resources Research, \$11,229,000. The largest allotment to an agency of the Interior Department went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs—\$261,722,000. This amount represented a compromise of a \$1,144,000 increase over the House appropriation and an \$800,000 decrease in the Senate version.

Within conference the sum of \$1.5 million was agreed to for kindergartens in public schools. Although the allotment for the Bureau of Indian Affairs exceeded by \$31,372,000 the 1969 appropriation, it was \$5.4 million less than the 1970 revised budget request. Included in the apportionment of \$95,755,000 to the Department of the Interior's Geological Survey was \$400,000 for an evaluation of exploratory geophysical data of unleased Outer Continental Shelf area. This program was an answer to critics of the Interior Department's leasing of the oil lands off Santa Barbara, Calif., where serious oil spill occurred. Additional allocations were provided for coal research

and timber salvage as a result of the destruction of Hurricane Camille.

Major appropriations for related agencies included \$259,456,000 for the Forest Service, in the Department of Agriculture, \$118,481,000 for Indian health activities, administered by the Public Health Service; \$15,790,000 for the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities; and \$35,165,000 for the Smithsonian Institution. The National Capital Planning Commission received \$222,700, more than \$1 million less than the President's revised budget request. The House conferees would not apportion funds for the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, which had been established by Executive order, but had no congressional mandate for the appropriation.

PUBLIC WORKS AND THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION AUTHORIZATIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Authorization acts are required for both public works projects and the Atomic Energy Commission. Subsequently, funds for the activities authorized are appropriated in a Public Works/Atomic Energy Commission Appropriations Act.

Congress had completed authorizations for future public works in its last session while the authorizations for the Atomic Energy Commission were passed in Public Law 91-44, H.R. 12167. The amount authorized was \$2,448,082,000, 53 percent of which was for military applications and 47 percent for civilian applications.

Public Law 91-144, H.R. 14159 allocated those sums to be spent in 1970 both by AEC and for public works projects. The Atomic Energy Commission received \$2,217,769,000 for its 1970 activities which encompass among other things, special nuclear materials, weapons, naval and space propulsion, reactor development, and physical research. The AEC disbursement was \$141,815,000 less than the Nixon budget. The remaining \$2,538,238,500 was apportioned for public works, water pollution control, power development, and related independent agencies.

The chief controversy of the bill revolved around the gap between the \$1 billion authorized for 1970 to clean up the water of the Nation and President Nixon's requested amount of \$214 million. The conference accepted a compromise figure of \$800 million, splitting the difference between the \$600 million allocation by the House and the entire \$1 billion appropriation submitted by the Senate. The total grant to the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, in the Interior Department, which included pollution control operations and research, was \$886,382,000.

Other appropriations to the Department of the Interior include funding for the operation of four Power Administrations: Alaska, \$1,000,000; Bonneville, \$118,000,000; Southeastern, \$700,000; Southwestern, \$8,250,000. Also within the Interior Department disbursement was the \$267,701,500 for the Bureau of Reclamation, constituting an appropriation increase of \$21,821,500 over the administration request.

The other major public works agency of the Federal Government besides the

Bureau of Reclamation is the Defense Department's Army Corps of Engineers. This agency's appropriation was \$1,141,683,000 for flood control and rivers and harbors improvements. This 1970 allocation was almost \$100 million less than the 1969 figure, \$35.6 million less than the Senate sum and \$54.2 million more than the House amount. Considerable controversy arose over the deletion of \$807,000 in planning funds for the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric power project in Maine. Having been approved by the Senate and rejected by the House in their respective appropriation bills, this project was dropped for the fourth year in conference. Other funds to the Department of Defense were \$15,125,000 for cemetery expenses and \$42,700,000 for the Panama Canal, the total for DOD amounted to \$1,199,508,000.

In addition, independent offices, besides the Atomic Energy Commission, were granted \$56,697,000 which comprised the cost of maintaining and operating the Tennessee Valley Authority, \$50,600,000; the Atlantic-Pacific Inter-oceanic Canal Study Commission, \$917,000; the Delaware River Basin Commission; \$200,000; the Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, \$5,000; the National Water Commission, \$1,050,000; and the Water Resources Council, \$3,925,000. The total allotment for Independent Offices was \$300,000 over the Senate-approved sum, and the same figure as accepted by the House.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION AND NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION AUTHORIZATIONS; DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Law requires that the Space Administration and National Science Foundation obtain annual authorization of funds. Congress provided for the NASA authorization in H.R. 11271, Public Law 91-121, for fiscal 1970. The authorization of \$3,715,527,000 was the figure proposed by the administration and accepted by the Senate. However, the amount constituted a \$250,850,000 decrease from the 1969 authorization, a budget cut necessitated by the need to reduce governmental expenditures in view of inflation, domestic needs and the war in Vietnam.

The Apollo program's tremendous success fulfilled President Kennedy's 1961 pledge to land a man on the moon by 1970. The authorization bill maintained this same tradition with its provision for three more manned moon flights. The bill was affected by campus unrest since it not only prohibited the use of funds to universities which denied military personnel recruitments—unless exception is made by the administrator—but also barred NASA program payments by institutions of higher education to individuals contributing to campus disruption. Actual 1970 funds for NASA were provided in the HUD-Independent Offices Appropriations Act, H.R. 12307, Public Law 91-126. They totaled \$3,696,633,000, of which \$3,006 billion is for research and development, \$53.2 million is for construction of facilities, and \$637.4 million is for administrative expenditures.

Authorizations for the National

Science Foundation were made in H.R. 10878 Public Law 91-120. The amount authorized was \$477,605,000, constituting a substantial cut from the Senate-approved figure of \$500,150,000 and only \$300,000 more than accepted by the House. The appropriations for NSF were also funded in H.R. 12307. That sum came to \$440,000,000.

Important aspects of the poverty and cities' programs are financed through the HUD portion of this appropriation which amounted to \$1,869,026,000—a sum \$28,155,000 less than the Senate allocation but \$208,700,000 more than the House appropriation. Conference compromise marked many of the major HUD program apportionments. The model cities project received \$575 million, reached by an increase of \$75 million over the House appropriation and a decrease of \$25 million in the Senate figure. The contract authority for the low-income homeownership and rental assistance programs, as well as the allotment for the fair housing programs, constituted an even split between House and Senate versions. Ninety million dollars was agreed upon for homeownership assistance, \$10 million less than the Senate figure and \$10 million more than the House amount. A \$30 million difference between the House and Senate versions was split to allow \$85 million in contract authority for low-income rental housing assistance. Six million dollars was accepted for the fair housing and equal opportunity programs—\$1 million more than the House-approved sum and \$1 million less than accepted in the Senate. The conference agreed to the House figure of \$50 million in contract authority for the rent supplement program instead of the \$100 million amount approved by the Senate. However, the Senate-approved appropriation of \$250 million for urban renewal was adopted by the conference rather than the \$100 million sought by the House.

Important HUD programs found their funding increased over the 1969 appropriations. For example, the grants for neighborhood facilities increased from \$35 to \$40 million; total metropolitan development went from a 1969 allotment of \$219,618,000 to the 1970 appropriation of \$276 million; and the funds for urban research and technology were more than double the last year's appropriation, from \$11 million to \$25 million. Yet the total amount appropriated for the Department of Housing and Urban Development's 1970 activities was \$173,612,000 less than the administration's request, itself a decrease of almost \$113 million from the 1969 appropriations. The remaining \$13.2 billion allocated by H.R. 12307 finances the activities of a number of executive and independent offices, including the previously mentioned National Aeronautics and Space Administration and National Science Foundation. Among these independent agencies with their 1970 funds are: Civil Service Commission, \$156,228,500; Federal Communications Commission \$22,225,000; Federal Power Commission, \$16,400,000; Federal Trade Commission, \$19,500,000; General Serv-

ices Administration, \$546,409,000; Securities and Exchange Commission, \$20,416,000; Selective Service System, \$68,348,000; and Civil Defense, D.O.D. \$69,250,000.

More than half of the appropriations to independent offices went to the Veterans' Administration whose portion amounted to \$7,705,192,000. This sum was the amount sought by the House and was achieved by the restoration of the Senate's cut of \$13,935,000 earmarked for modernizing and air-conditioning three veterans hospitals. The 1970 congressional funding for the Veterans' Administration was \$296,628,000 more than the 1969 appropriation and \$34,491,000 more than the administration request. Also, a total of \$452,500,000 was appropriated to the President, including an additional \$125 million toward disaster relief for those areas ravaged by Hurricane Camille.

AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES ACT

The administration's revised budget cited \$6,967,562,050 for the fiscal 1970 activities of the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. The congressional bill (H.R. 11612, Public Law 91-127) approved an appropriation of \$7,488,903,150, which exceeded the President's request by \$251,341,100, but was \$715,613,500 less than provided in fiscal 1969.

Two items accounted for the funding of a larger sum than requested in the President's budget: First, the continuation of the agricultural conservation program and second, the special milk program, both of which the administration had attempted to eliminate.

The bill utilized the House figure of \$195.5 million in advance contract authorization for the agricultural conservation program over the Senate's \$185 million. President Nixon had sought to end the program under which the Government shared with farmers, woodland owners, and ranchers the expenses incurred in soil and water conserving practices. The administration attempted to include milk funding within an expanded school lunch program. However, the special milk program remained intact as the Senate provision of an \$84 million appropriation was adopted along with the Senate reservation of another \$20 million in section 32 customs receipt funds for the program. The conference committee passed over the House recommendation to transfer \$120 million section 32 funds to the special milk program.

The most controversial issue of the conference report was the deletion of the House-approved \$20,000 limitation on payments to any single recipient of subsidies for wheat, feed grains, and cotton crops. A comparable amendment was defeated in the Senate. The conference referred the proposal to the Agriculture Committees for consideration prior to December 31, 1970—the expiration date of current commodity programs.

The final total for food assistance programs came to \$1,820,343,000, which constituted an additional \$89 million over the administration request and \$577,011 over the fiscal 1969 funding. The allocations included within food assistance

were \$316,766,000 for child nutrition programs, \$84 million for milk, and \$610 million for food stamps. The Senate figure was utilized for child nutrition programs and constituted a \$5 million increase over the House proposal. The food stamp allotment was the sum requested by the President. The House had originally appropriated the authorized limit, \$340 million, while the Senate passed \$750 million. Both Houses had passed the bill in early summer; however, the conference report was delayed until a higher authorization for the food stamp program was approved.

Other important programs financed in this appropriation are: Agricultural Research Service, \$227,611,950; the Extension Service, \$131,484,000; the Soil Conservation Service, \$242,530,000; the Consumer and Marketing Service, \$951,695,500—including the \$610 million for the food stamp program; the Stabilization and Conservation Service, \$555,550,000; Rural Electrification, \$476,729,000; the Farmers Home Administration, \$149,793,000; the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, \$12,000,000; Public Law 83-480 food-for-peace funds, \$920,000,000; and the Commodity Credit Corporation, \$3,655,742,000.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATION ACT

The Legislative Branch Appropriations Act—H.R. 13763—was highlighted by the debate over the proposed extension of the west front of the U.S. Capitol. The Senate refused to allocate funds for a detailed study of the extension proposal, while the House had allotted \$2 million for that purpose. A compromise was reached in conference that approved of the \$2 million sum but this was to be allotted only after a study was completed at the cost of \$250,000 for restoring the Capitol west front. The total appropriation for the Architect of the Capitol was \$24,036,100.

Joint expenses for the Congress amounted to \$13,233,322 which was composed of such costs as the education of House and Senate pages, joint committees, Capitol Police, and mail. Funding for the Senate, which came to \$54,837,660, included increases in senatorial staffing and also travel allowances for Senators and their staff members. The House of Representatives received \$104,813,635 for 1970 expenses. This grant was \$941,180 below the administration budget request while the Senate's disbursement was \$11,416 below.

Other appropriations in H.R. 13763 went to the Botanic Garden, \$599,800; the Government Printing Office, one of whose many services include the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, \$39,950,000; the General Accounting Office, which assists Congress in providing legislative control over the receipt, allocation, and application of public funds, \$63,000,000; and the Library of Congress, which not only serves as the research agency for Congress, through the Legislative Reference Service, but also includes the Nation's Copyright Office, \$43,856,300.

The total legislative appropriation for 1970 was \$344,326,817 for new budget authority and \$407,000 for liquidation of contract authorizations. This was more

than \$29 million below the administration estimate.

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, AND THE JUDICIARY APPROPRIATIONS ACT AND THE MARITIME ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATION

This is the second year that the Maritime Administration has been required to obtain annual authorization. This was accomplished by H.R. 4152, Public Law 91-85, which authorized a total of \$384,600,000 for various activities including operating differential subsidies, \$212 million; research and development, \$12 million; and ship construction subsidies, \$145 million. The latter authorization for ship construction largely caused the discrepancy between the total congressional authorization and the Presidential request of \$262,996,000.

Appropriations for the Maritime Administration were granted in the 1970 Appropriations Act for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the judiciary branch—H.R. 12964. These amounted to \$54,385,000, as requested by the administration. A greater allocation for ship construction was referred to the supplemental appropriations since the increased authorization of \$145 million for ship construction had been passed after the House had completed its appropriations. Also included in this appropriations act was \$195,815,000 to liquidate the Maritime Administration's contract authority for ship operating-differential subsidies.

Congress voted \$404,132,100 for the State Department, \$4,250,000 less than the budget request, \$9,500 more than the House version and \$3,040,000 less than the Senate sum. The conference dropped both the Senate's extra funding for international commissions from \$8,047,500 to \$6,505,000 and the Senate-approved allocation for educational and cultural exchanges from \$38,185,000 to \$36,685,000. Also accepted for the State Department were \$224,974,600 for administration of foreign affairs, and \$135,967,000 for contributions and missions to international organizations and conferences.

H.R. 12964 appropriates \$808,169,000 to the Justice Department, including \$100,607,000 for legal activities and general administration; \$232,855,000 to the Federal Bureau of Investigation; \$93,750,000 to the Immigration and Naturalization Service; \$87,640,000 to the Federal Prison System; and \$25,317,000 to the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. The allocation to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which is responsible for financial assistance to the State and local law enforcement agencies, was increased from the 1969 appropriation of \$59,407,000 to the 1970 appropriation of \$268 million a compromise figure between the House provision for \$250 million and the Senate funding of \$275.5 million.

Moneys granted to the Commerce Department for 1970 operations totaled \$778,018,000 as compared with the administration's request of \$812,486,000. In addition to the grants to the Maritime Administration, other agencies financed in the Commerce appropriation include: the Bureau of the Census, \$160,037,000;

the Environmental Science Services Administration, \$156,992,000; the Patent Office, \$44,500,000; and the National Bureau of Standards, \$37,500,000.

The conference accepted a \$5 million, instead of the Senate-approved \$9.1 million increase in the allotment for economic development assistance which amounted to \$271 million. A drastic cut was made by an inflation-wary Congress in the funding for the Office of State Technical Services, which had received \$5,300,000 in 1969 appropriations but received only \$250,000 in 1970 funds. A sum of \$24,558,000 was disbursed for international activities by the Department of Commerce.

The judiciary branch received \$121,026,200 for 1970 activities which encompass such operations as the customs court, \$1,870,000; the Court of Claims, \$1,872,000; the Supreme Court of the United States, \$3,332,200; and the courts of appeals, district courts, and other judicial services, \$112,775,000.

Thirteen other agencies or commissions of the Government were appropriated for in H.R. 12964: American Battle Monuments Commission, \$2,639,000; Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, \$9,500,000; Commission on Civil Rights, \$2,650,000; HEW, Office of Education, civil rights activities, \$14,000,000; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, \$12,500,000; Federal Maritime Commission, \$3,715,000; Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, \$650,000; National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, \$300,000; Small Business Administration, \$18,257,000; Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, \$482,000; Subversive Activities Control Board, \$344,400; Tariff Commission, \$3,900,000, and the U.S. Information Agency, \$174,150,000.

Total new budget authority appropriated in H.R. 12964 was \$2,550,247,700 including the disbursement to liquidate the Maritime Administration's contract obligations. This 1970 appropriation was \$121,271,900 less than the Administration request but \$288,089,800 more than the 1969 funding.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION ACT

Appropriations for 1970 were granted the District in H.R. 14916. A sum of \$104,169,000 was provided in Federal funds to the District of Columbia general fund. Additional Federal grants raised the Government's total contribution to the District to \$108,097,000. Federal loans were authorized in the amount of \$60,263,000 with appropriations from the District of Columbia revenues contributing the balance of funds which brought the total appropriation to \$650,249,600.

Within the District of Columbia appropriated funds were \$129,556,000 allocated to public safety which included grants for the construction of new police stations, the establishment of new programs for the treatment of narcotic addicts and the planning of a new city jail. Yet, since the congressional allotment was \$4,343,000 below the budget estimate for public safety, a decrease in personnel requests was necessitated. This situation held as well for additional personnel in the District's health and recreation de-

partments, whose apportionments were decreased \$8,086,000 and \$3,086,000, respectively, from the administration's request. Funds for the metropolitan area's rapid transit system were released after the District renewed construction on its freeway system, a decision arrived at after disputatious public debate.

MILITARY PROCUREMENT AUTHORIZATION; DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Military spending bore the brunt of an economy-minded Congress as the Defense Department expenditure policies underwent close scrutiny. This detailed analysis delayed the final approval of defense funding—H.R. 15090—which, in turn, caused delays in the other appropriations. After its time-consuming efforts the House committee—House Report 91-698—noted 1969 as “the year of the cost overrun” and noted further that there were duplications in certain training programs, questionable reliability in weapons systems, excessive public relations, and uncontrolled proliferation of data procession and communications facilities. In its recommendation the House committee did point out that cutbacks were necessary in “otherwise attractive programs” because of the fact that “without a healthy economy and a reasonably sound dollar, the probability of maintaining our military superiority would be greatly jeopardized.”

The final Defense allocation by the House was \$69,960,048,000 while the Senate allotted \$69,322,656,000. The conference compromise figure for the 1970 appropriation bill, H.R. 15090, was \$69,640,568,000. This sum constituted a \$5,637,632,000 reduction from President Nixon's revised request of \$75,278,200,000 and ranked as the second largest cut in a military appropriations bill, the largest being a \$6.3 billion decrease in fiscal 1954.

The actual appropriation for military procurement in H.R. 15090 consisted of \$17,841,848,000, which was \$250,300,000 less than the House bill and \$387,030,000 more than the Senate version. The conference agreed to the Senate reduction of \$10 million in the MBT-70 main battle tank program. The Senate-approved \$8.5 million advance procurement of F-14 fighter aircraft in fiscal year 1971 was dropped, and the House proposal was accepted that no congressional commitment of funds be made in support of production runs for F-14 aircraft. The Senate provision of \$10 million toward the procurement of the Air Force's short-range attack missile—SRAM—was agreed to in conference.

The chief compromise was the allocation of \$354,700,000 for the conversion of four Polaris submarines to the Poseidon configuration. The House had approved of the administration request for funds to convert six submarines during fiscal year 1970, but the Senate allowed only two questioning the advisability of converting a proven strategic missile system to one whose reliability had not been completely demonstrated.

A total of \$110 million was allocated for advance procurement of five SSN-688 class high-speed submarines in fiscal year 1971, as opposed to the Senate-ap-

proved grant of \$90 million for four submarines. The Navy also received \$126,300,000 for the MK-48 torpedo program. This was the sum proposed by the Senate and \$27,800,000 more than the House provision.

The total procurement appropriation was \$3,044,952,000 below the final administration request of \$20,886,800,000.

The allocation for research, development, test and evaluation amounted to \$7,368,820,000—a decrease of \$853,580,000 from the President's revised request. The conference urged the discontinuance of the Army's Project Mallard, an international program for the development of a tactical communications system for the field armies of the four participating countries. The Senate proposals of \$10 million for the underwater long-range missile system and \$8 million toward the Navy's Condor air-to-surface missile were accepted. Also the conference agreed to a \$2 million grant for the development of the Air Force's A-X close air support aircraft, as proposed by the Senate. The entire research and development disbursement was \$171,220,000 above the House-approved amount and \$12,277,000 below the Senate-accepted figure. In addition, the conference agreed to the Senate language that limited availability of multiyear appropriations, and prohibited the use of funds to finance the introduction of U.S. ground combat troops into Laos and Thailand.

The disbursement toward military personnel of \$20,834,800,000 was \$807,100,000 less than the administration request but reflected additional troop withdrawals from Vietnam and criticism of military social programs and excessive Pentagon staffing. The conference action represented a \$3,500,000 increase over the Senate version and a \$222,400,000 decrease from the House bill. Retired military personnel were allotted the budget estimate of \$2,735,000,000.

The conference compromised on a \$20,860,100,000 allocation to the Defense Department operation and maintenance. This figure represented \$932,000 less than the administration request, \$18,000,000 less than the House sum and \$60,341,000 less than the Senate amount. The Senate acceded to the House provision of \$30.4 million for international military headquarters. The Senate had earlier rejected this allotment on the grounds that the Defense Department's appropriations bill was not the proper vehicle for these funds.

The President requested \$21,963,660,000 for procurement of military weaponry. Congress authorized less than that in Public Law 91-121, S. 2546, H.R. 14000. The amount authorized totaled \$20,723,202,000, a compromise figure between the authorization of \$21,347,860,000 by the House and \$20,001,586,000 by the Senate.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Public Law 91-142, H.R. 13018 authorized \$1,650,597,000 for construction of military and related facilities during 1970. This amount was \$266,669,000 below that requested by the administration. New construction funds in the authorization were \$1,626,920,000 while the remaining \$23,677,000 covered the higher

costs of previously authorized projects. The total authorization was \$103,382,000 over the House version and \$5,410,000 above the Senate bill. The conference restored a number of items previously deleted because of the administration's announced plan to defer 75 percent of the construction program for an indefinite period. A Senate provision was accepted that required reports on construction cost overruns and promoted competition for construction projects among a number of Government agencies; \$279,988,000 was authorized for the Army, \$306,305,000 for the Navy, and \$268,994,000 for the Air Force. Military family housing received authorization of \$689,518,000.

Actual 1970 appropriations for military construction were granted in H.R. 14751—approved late in the session. Considerable care was given to these appropriations which totaled \$1,560,456,000. They were \$90,141,000 below the authorization figure and \$356,844,000 below the Nixon budget request of \$1,917,300. Military family housing was allotted \$688,476,000 providing 4,800 units of new family housing. Army military construction grants amounted to \$287,228,000, while Navy construction disbursements were \$300,028,000 and the Air Force construction allotments totaled \$284,327,000.

COAST GUARD AUTHORIZATION, DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATIONS ACT

The President requested \$2,143,738,630 to finance 1970 activities by agencies within the Department of Transportation, including the Coast Guard which receives an annual authorization. The Congress cut this request by \$53,265,000 in passing DOT's 1970 appropriations. First, however, it authorized funds for the Coast Guard.

The President requested \$82.8 million for procurement of Coast Guard vessels and facilities. As it emerged from Congress, H.R. 4153, Public Law 91-49 increased that sum by \$60 million, or 72.4 percent. The increased authorizations were provided in view of the additional responsibilities of the Coast Guard and the advancing age of its fleet. Three new high-endurance cutters were added, instead of the one requested, as well as nine new helicopters, instead of six. The total authorization of \$142.8 million included \$55,584,000 authorized for procurement of vessels and improvements on other vessels; \$17,188,000 authorized for procurement of nine medium-ranged helicopters; \$57,378,000 authorized for facility construction and modernization; and \$12,650,000 authorized for alterations at railroad and public highway bridges to improve navigation. Of the \$2,143,738,630 provided in H.R. 14794, \$200 million was funding for fiscal 1971. The remainder will finance 1970 operation of the Department of Transportation and related agencies.

The Coast Guard received \$55,518,630, including \$386 million for operating expenses. The provision of \$66.5 million for the procurement of vessels and construction and improvement of facilities constituted a decrease of \$10.8 million from the administration request. Also within the Coast Guard appropriations was \$57,750,000 for retirement pay, \$25,-

900,000 for reserve training, and \$14,500,000 for research, development, test, and evaluation.

The Federal Aviation Administration was granted \$1,178,550,000, including \$767 million, the full budget estimate, for FAA operations which would permit the hiring of 3,800 air traffic control personnel. Aviation safety was again the overriding factor in the consideration of raising the allocations for FAA facilities and equipment from the revised Budget estimate of \$134 million to \$224 million. A great deal of controversy arose over the \$95,958,000 President Nixon requested to build two prototypes of a supersonic passenger transport aircraft—SST. The House appropriated the full administration request because the SST was considered to be not only viable but important to U.S. foreign trade and balance of payments. The final allocation amounted to \$85 million, a compromise figure in view of the \$80 million approved by the Senate. In addition, an amendment was approved by both House and Senate which restricted the use of funds for the construction of any airport in certain parts of the State of Florida until such time as a joint study by both the Department of the Interior and Transportation indicates that such an airport will not have an adverse environmental effect on the ecology of the Everglades.

The Federal Highway Administration was appropriated \$38,600,000, including \$29,550,000 for highway safety, \$2,300,000 for motor carrier safety, and \$1,100,000 for highway beautification. The Federal Railroad Administration received \$16,400,000, of which \$11 million was to support research and development of high speed ground transportation. Urban mass transportation grants for fiscal 1971 were funded at \$214 million. This sum constituted a \$34 million decrease from the Budget request and the reduction was directed toward research programs in an effort to shift the Urban Mass Transit Administration toward action.

The National Transportation Safety Board was allocated \$5,050,000, while \$43,700 was allotted to the Civil Aeronautics Board. The full amount of the revised budget estimate was disbursed to the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority as the Federal portion of the funding for a rapid rail transit system in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Also \$4,526,279,000 was granted for liquidation of contract obligations, most of it for the Federal aid to highways trust fund.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATION AND PEACE CORPS AUTHORIZATION ACTS

Three actions usually are taken by the Congress in authorizing and appropriating funds for foreign aid. A foreign aid authorization must be passed as well as a separate authorization required for the Peace Corps. Then actual funds must be appropriated.

Congress authorized \$98,450,000 to finance the 1970 operations by the Peace Corps in Public Law 91-99, H.R. 11039. This sum represents a conference split of the difference between the House-approved administration request of \$101,100,000 and the Senate-accepted figure

of \$95,800,000. A House provision was accepted in conference that prohibited the use of any Peace Corps funds to bring volunteers from other countries under the volunteer to America program or any other such program. The Senate bill has authorized the use of the Peace Corps funds for this purpose. The House acceded to the Senate authorization to contribute up to \$300,000 for an international register of volunteers, which would advise interested organizations or governments of the availability of volunteers.

The foreign assistance authorization H.R. 14580 amounted to \$1,972,525,000 for fiscal 1970 with the same amount authorized for fiscal 1971. For the first time in the foreign aid program's 22-year history, the aid authorization fell below \$2 billion. Precedent was also set in that all assistance authorizations were made for a 2-year period. This procedure will allow Congress and the President to spend more time on the study of new long-range policies. The authorization for each year constituted as \$738-million decrease from the President's request for fiscal 1970. The Senate authorized \$1,970,650,000 while the House had authorized \$223,250,000 more, amounting to \$2,193,900,000.

Included within the bill was authorization for the Overseas Private Investment Corp. whose efforts are directed toward the encouragement of private enterprise in developing countries. The House-approved authorization for an Inter-American Social Development Institute was accepted in conference. The purpose of the Institute would be to stimulate the use of people-to-people channels for aid in social and economic development of Latin America.

The amount of \$404,500,000 of the authorization funds were for military assistance. An authorization of \$54.5 million to purchase for the Republic of China a new squadron of fighter aircraft and \$50 million in additional military assistance to South Korea was passed by the House. The Senate would not agree to this specific authorization and it was deleted in conference. The China military aid issue proved to be the stumbling block for the completion of the foreign assistance appropriations for fiscal 1970 in H.R. 15149.

The House once again passed the \$54.5 million aid to the Republic of China, this time in its appropriations bill. This House provision prevailed in conference but became the sole point of contention in the Senate's rejection of the conference report. The Senate refused to allocate the military funds to the Republic of China by instructing its conferees to insist that no earmarking of funds for particular countries be specified for military assistance. Nevertheless, maintaining a contrary view of the significance of this military assistance to the Republic of China, the House agreed to the conference report on H.R. 15149 and rejected a motion that would have deleted the \$54.4 million provision. The conference report's total appropriation for foreign aid was \$2,558,910,000, including a \$1,847,000 reappropriation to the Ryukyu Island administration. This allocation represents a de-

crease of \$1,120,654,000 from the President's request of \$3,679,564,000. The portion of the foreign aid appropriation for economic assistance amounted to \$1,462,530,000. Included within this sum were funds allocated for the following: technical assistance, \$353,250,000; worldwide technical assistance, \$166,750,000; Alliance for Progress, \$81,500,000; multilateral organization technical assistance, \$105,000,000; U.N. Children's Fund, \$13,000,000; prototype desalting plant in Israel, \$20,000,000; Alliance for Progress, development loans, \$255,000,000; development loans, \$300,000,000. Other foreign assistance included the \$98,450,000 appropriation to the Peace Corps, the same figure as proposed by the Senate and \$3,450,000 more than the House-approved sum.

Total military assistance amounted to \$404,500,000 as a result of a conference compromise between the \$454,500,000 approved by the House and \$350,000,000 accepted by the Senate. Within military assistance was the \$54.4 million allotment for fighter aircraft to the Republic of China. Inasmuch as the Senate and House could not reach an agreement on this issue both Houses adopted a continuing resolution as an amendment to the supplemental appropriations bill (H.R. 15209) which will maintain the current level of expenditures into the second session of the 91st Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS ACT

At the time the House considered the appropriations act for the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) in bill H.R. 13111, the administration requested \$16,495,000,000. The House approved an allocation of \$17,573,602,700. The amount represented an increase of around \$1,078,000,000. When the measure was considered in the Senate significant items were added that had not been taken up by the House because they were not authorized. The largest of these items was a \$2,048,000,000 Presidential request for the Office of Economic Opportunity. This sum together with the administration request for advanced funding for education—\$1,226,000,000, aging—approximately \$28,000,000, and public broadcasting—\$15,000,000, added an approximate \$3.3 billion to the budget request considered by the Senate.

The Senate passed a total appropriation of \$21,363,391,700, which included a \$1,117,580,000 advanced allotment for fiscal 1971, as opposed to the administration estimate of \$19,834,125,700, of which \$1,226,000,000 was advance funding for fiscal 1971.

The conference compromise figure came to \$19,747,153,200 for fiscal 1970 operations, an increase of \$1,139,027,500 over the administration's request of \$18,581,020,700 for definite fiscal 1970 appropriations and \$27,105,000 for indefinite appropriations. This increase consisted of approximately \$1.078 billion for education, and approximately \$96 million for the National Institutes of Health.

President Nixon had expressed to the Senate his intention to veto the Labor-

HEW-OEO appropriations act. He maintained that it was fiscally irresponsible for the Senate to add \$0.6 billion more to the \$1 billion increase already added by the House to his request. Even in the face of a congressional reduction of \$5.6 billion in Defense appropriations, he stated that he could not "at this critical point in the battle against inflation approve so heavy an increase in Federal spending."

To prevent a pocket veto the Senate leadership declined to pass the appropriations bill this session. A continuing resolution was added to the supplemental appropriations bill (H.R. 15209) which will maintain the current level of expenditures into the second session of the 91st Congress.

The House, however, did approve the conference report for H.R. 13111. Total appropriations for the Department of Labor came to \$980,446,000, including: \$833,583,000 for the Manpower Administration; \$12,335,000 for the Labor-Management Services Administration; \$98,126,000 for wage and labor standards; \$22,420,000 for the Bureau of Labor Statistics; and \$1,332,000 for the Bureau of International Labor Affairs.

Total appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was \$16,724,805,200. Major activities financed by these allocations include: Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service, \$242,522,500; Health Services and Mental Health Administration, \$1,154,339,000; National Institutes of Health, \$1,549,699,500; Office of Education, \$3,265,302,700; Social and Rehabilitation Service, \$8,400,920,500; Social Security Administration, \$2,014,564,000; special institutions, including Gallaudet College, Howard University, American Printing House for the Blind and the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, \$62,723,000; and departmental management, which entails the Office for Civil Rights, Office of Community and Field Services, Office of the Comptroller, and Office of the Secretary, \$34,734,000.

The largest appropriation for a related agency was \$1,948,000,000 to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Other allotments included \$36,880,000 for the National Labor Relations Board, \$8,412,000 for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and \$1,475,000 for the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

SUPPLEMENTALS, 1970

The final appropriations action by both Houses in the first session of the 91st Congress was on H.R. 15209, Supplemental Appropriations for 1970. Two continuing resolutions were added to this bill maintaining the 1969 expenditure levels for the operation of foreign assistance programs, and for the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and their related agencies. In addition, this supplemental provides those funds not granted in regular appropriations, often because Congress has enacted legislation during a session which increases expenditure for an agency.

The House had recommended appropriations of \$244,225,933 when considering an administration budget estimate

of \$298,547,261. The Senate had considered budget estimates of \$314,597,852 and consequently allocated \$296,877,318 in supplemental funds. The Senate had amended this bill to reaffirm the authority of the Comptroller General, who had questioned the constitutionality of the Philadelphia plan. This would in effect have rejected this plan which sought an increase in the number of nonwhite construction workers on Federal contracts by means of a federally imposed quota system. This amendment became the point of disagreement to the measure. On December 22, the Senate withdrew the amendment and cleared the conference bill for the White House.

The conference compromise amount was \$278,281,318 for supplemental funding in fiscal year 1970. Among the supplemental disbursement to independent offices were \$300,000 for Federal Labor Relations Council, salaries and expenses, and \$700,000 for the Commission on Government Procurement, salaries and expenses. Operations within the grants to the Department of the Interior included Bureau of Land Management, \$1,250,000; Office of the Territories, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, \$7,500,000; Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, management, investigation of resources and construction, \$2,610,000—including \$105,000 for preservation of steamboat *Bertrand* and its cargo; National Park Service, management and protection, \$50,000; Indian health services, \$2,048,000; and construction of Indian health facilities, \$1,952,000.

One million dollars was disbursed to the Wage and Labor Standard Administration, under the Department of Labor. Other major allocations were \$1,040,000 for Department of Commerce, Environmental Science Services Administration, facilities, equipment, and construction; \$1 million for the U.S. Coast Guard; and an additional \$24,966 for the Office of the Vice President.

CIVIL RIGHTS

VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENTS ACT

On December 11, 1969, the House voted to terminate the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and voted instead to accept a bill that proposes a nationwide approach to the problem of voter discrimination. The new measure would suspend literacy tests for voters in all 50 States until January 1, 1974, in contrast to the 1965 law, which moved against literacy tests only in States where fewer than 50 percent of the eligible voters were registered in the 1964 presidential election. Further, this measure would establish a uniform, nationwide residency requirement for voting in presidential elections, and create a new Voting Rights Study Commission to study laws and practices that affect registration and voting, and to recommend legislation on other action to protect the right to vote. The 1969 amendments differ from the 1965 law in that the trigger provision, which applied only to seven Southern States, is eliminated, along with the requirement that State election law changes receive prior approval from the Attorney General.

The importance of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was underscored by Mayor

Charles Evers, of Fayette, Miss., in a recent address to the Democratic Study Group. Since the enactment of the 1965 civil rights measure, great strides have been made in registering voters with one result being, for example, that over 500 black officials now hold public office in the South compared with less than 50 before the 1965 bill was passed.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Since 1966, Congress has given considerable attention to the needs of the American consumer. The important Auto Safety Act which set higher standards in the production of automobiles was passed in the 89th Congress. Additional consumer protection legislation was adopted during the 90th Congress including the establishment of the National Commission on Product Safety, the flammable fabrics amendments, and the Federal Meat Inspection Act. Nearly a decade of debate was ended in the 90th Congress with the passage of the Consumer Credit Protection Act which includes the Truth-in-Lending Act requiring the disclosure of credit costs and annual rates of finance charges in both percentages and dollar costs.

The 91st Congress has continued to insure the protection of the American consumer through the extension of the National Commission on Product Safety and by the passage of the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act of 1969.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY EXTENSION ACT

In extending the life of the National Commission on Product Safety through June 30, 1970—S. 1590, Public Law 91-51—Congress has recognized the importance of the contributions made by the Commission as a result of its studies of hazardous merchandise and its subsequent recommendations to Congress for additional consumer-protection legislation.

TOY SAFETY ACT

In February of this year the Commission issued a report recommending to Congress the consideration of legislation which would broaden the Federal Hazardous Substances Act to protect children from all hazards. In response to this recommendation, the 91st Congress has passed the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act of 1969 (S. 1689, Public Law 91-133) which amends the existing act to include protection of children from toys which are hazardous due to electrical, mechanical, or thermal hazards. The procedures incorporated in this bill for removing dangerous toys from the marketplace, including permission for the Secretary to remove any article which he considers an "imminent hazard" either before or after an informal or formal proceeding, will protect children from unnecessary dangers and will provide procedural safeguards for the industry.

The prompt action taken on this legislation together with the extension of the Commission proves Congress' continuing concern for the welfare of the consumer.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Despite increasing responsibility on the part of the Government and residents of the District of Columbia, as evidenced in the school board elections this past

November, Congress maintains primary responsibility for the District. This past session Congress enacted two bills of major importance to the residents in and millions of visitors to the Nation's Capital.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REVENUE ACT

The 91st Congress recognized the problems facing the District from mounting financial needs and dwindling sources of revenue by authorizing an additional \$15 million for fiscal 1970 and by approving increased and additional sales and excise taxes. The estimated additional annual revenue yield to the District of Columbia, from this act together with increases in real and personal property taxes already approved, is \$48 million.

Public Law 91-106 (H.R. 12982) specifically authorizes \$105 million in Federal payments to the District for fiscal 1970. This is an increase of \$15 million over the 1969 authorization of \$90 million. Congress also provided for \$5 million to be appropriated to the District of Columbia, in addition to any other amounts appropriated, to enable the District to undertake new law enforcement programs authorized by law or to otherwise increase the effectiveness of law enforcement within the city.

The District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1969 also enables the city to collect necessary funds through increased taxes on cigarettes, beer, liquors, and groceries. The act authorizes new taxes to be placed on nonprescription drugs, laundry and drycleaning, and admission to theater and sports events, as well as increasing the excise tax on automobiles and raising the fees for motor vehicle permits and inspections. In order to lessen the impact of the increased sales tax on groceries on low-income residents of the District, Congress provided for a sales tax credit for those with incomes less than \$6,000.

Other sections of the revenue act abolished the position of Public Safety Director in the District, limited the number of new government employees to 3,500, and prohibited the use of the District's funds to bus students to schools outside the District.

The impact of this legislation will allow the District of Columbia to continue to provide necessary and desirable services to its residents and many visitors without encouraging inflationary trends.

NATIONAL CAPITAL TRANSPORTATION ACT

The second major piece of legislation affecting the District of Columbia passed by Congress was the National Capital Transportation Act of 1969. This act, Public Law 91-143 (S. 2185), authorizes up to \$1,147,044,000 in Federal funds for the construction of a rapid rail transit system in the Washington metropolitan area. The passage of this legislation signaled the end of a controversy almost 4 years old. In 1965 Congress passed the National Capital Transportation Act which approved a basic 25-mile subway system and authorized \$100 million in Federal funds and an additional \$50 million in District funds.

In ensuing years, the construction of a mass transit system became enmeshed in a dispute over the construction of additional freeways within the city and of the Three Sisters Bridge across the Po-

tomac which were opposed by the District government and by several groups in the city. Federal funds for the transit system were held up until the controversy was resolved early in 1969 when the city agreed to begin construction of the freeways and the bridge. The construction of the first line of the rapid rail system was begun on December 9 following the President's signing of the National Capital Transportation Act of 1969.

Other major provisions of Public Law 91-43 include authorization of \$216.5 million in District funds to be provided out of the District's authority to borrow funds from the U.S. Treasury, and \$150,000 for a study of the feasibility of extending the transit system to Dulles Airport.

By substantially increasing both District and Federal funds and by extending the system from 25 to 98 miles to include the metropolitan area, the National Capital Transportation Act of 1969 signifies a major step in Congress' constant attention to the progress of the District of Columbia.

EDUCATION

During 1969, Congress, and particularly the House of Representatives, considered and passed several bills in the field of education which illustrate Congress' continuing concern. Federal involvement in education began in 1862 with the passage of the Morrill Act, but grew slowly until more than 100 years later. In 1965, Congress enacted the Elementary and Secondary Education Act having previously passed the Higher Education Act. These acts were respectively the first general aid to education program and the first attempt to provide a college education for needy students. Since 1965, major revisions and extensions have been made in these two acts, and in 1969 additional legislation was considered.

INSURED STUDENT LOAN EMERGENCY AMENDMENTS OF 1969

This act (H.R. 13194, Public Law 91-95), signed into law by the President on October 22, authorizes special interest allowances for lenders, with respect to insured student loans under title IV-B of the Higher Education Act of 1965, in order to assure that students will have reasonable access to such loans for financing their education. This amendment was considered necessary in that the number of students receiving loans under the program by the end of 1968 was approximately 750,000 whereas the goal for the first year alone had been 950,000. The 1970 authorization of \$20 million is expected to result in loans to an additional 85,000 students and the 1971 authorization of \$40 million in loans to another 100,000 students.

Public Law 91-95 also requires that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare adopt guidelines or revise existing guidelines with respect to discrimination against student borrowers if a substantial number of students are denied a fair opportunity to obtain an insured student loan.

A third provision of the act increases authorizations for the national defense student loan program from \$275 million to \$300 million in fiscal 1970 and from \$325 million to \$375 million in fiscal 1971; the educational opportunity grant pro-

gram from \$100 million to \$140 million in fiscal 1970 and from \$125 million to \$170 million in fiscal 1971; and the work-study program from \$250 million to \$285 million in fiscal 1970 and \$275 million to \$320 million in fiscal 1971. This final provision was added to the House bill, H.R. 13194, by the conference committee.

Through this legislation, thousands of students will have an opportunity to further their educations and thus to help realize one of the basic goals of our society.

NATIONAL CENTER ON EDUCATIONAL MEDIA AND MATERIALS FOR THE HANDICAPPED

Public Law 91-61 (S. 1611), to establish a National Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped, was adopted to expand the scope of educational opportunities available to America's handicapped children. Congress began to assume the initiative in this area in 1958 with Public Law 85-926 which provided for teacher training and continued it with the creation of the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped and the passage in 1968 of the Handicapped Children's Early Assistance Act.

This act authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enter into an agreement with an institution of higher education for the establishment and operation—including construction—of a National Center which will provide a coordinated program of activities and services for the handicapped. This center will be permitted to contract with private and public agencies for demonstration projects and is required to make annual reports to Congress. Action by the House of Representatives, agreed to by the Senate in conference, lifted the restriction requiring that the center be located in the District of Columbia metropolitan area.

This legislation, together with prior legislation, is expected to aid the estimated 60 percent of the five and one-half million handicapped children who do not now receive adequate educational programs.

NLRA, EMPLOYEE SCHOLARSHIPS AND DAY CARE CENTERS

Public Law 91-86 (S. 2068) recognizes the vital need for private action in the fields of education and day care and clarifies that the Federal Government will not inhibit voluntary labor-management cooperation in these areas. The bill permits employer contributions, under the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, to jointly administered trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions and for the establishment of child care centers for preschool and school age dependents of employees. This act requires neither the use nor the appropriation of any Federal moneys.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1969

Early in the 91st Congress, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 514, extending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for 2 years, consolidating certain programs of this act and of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, and extending the impacted areas aid

program to children living in Federal-aid public housing. At the end of the first session, the House was still awaiting action by the Senate on two companion bills.

A major amendment adopted on the floor changed the proposed 5-year extension of programs to a 2-year extension in order to provide the present administration with time to prepare revisions after a review of the programs. The programs are to be continued for fiscal 1970 and 1971 at the present rate of expenditure. It is hoped that the Senate will act on their pending legislation early in the next session enabling the important provisions of this bill to go into effect as soon as possible.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION EXTENSION ACT

The House of Representatives also passed H.R. 13630 which would extend until June 30, 1972, six worthwhile vocational education programs which were first authorized by the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. The programs to be extended include special programs for the disadvantaged, grants to the States for residential vocational schools, interest subsidies for residential schools, grants for the improvement and development of vocational education curriculums, and teacher training provisions. There is no increased authorization in this bill and the programs to be extended were unanimously approved by Congress in 1968.

Although these programs do not expire until June 30, 1970, it is hoped that the Senate will act quickly in the next session in order to permit the States much needed latitude in planning to meet their individual problems.

DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION ACT

On October 31, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 14252 which authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants and contracts in order to educate the public on the problems of drug abuse and to provide for the training of personnel and for community educational programs. The bill also establishes an Interagency Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and an Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse Education.

It is hoped that the Senate will act promptly on this legislation which will assist in alleviating a serious social problem which affects many Americans.

GIFTED AND TALENTED CHILDREN EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE ACT

H.R. 13304, as passed in the House on October 6, broadens the authority now contained in title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to authorize the Commissioner of Education to make grants to State educational agencies to enable them to provide local agencies with services and assistance to provide programs for gifted and talented children. The act also amends the Higher Education Act to include fellowships for teachers pursuing or planning to pursue careers in the special education of these children. A third provision of the bill directs the Commissioner to study and evaluate existing programs and determine the need for new programs.

This legislation will, when enacted into law, allow for better programs to develop the resources of these children and will afford them with the appropriate opportunities for learning which we provide other citizens with special needs.

CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIC LEARNING DISABILITIES ACT OF 1969

Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, enacted in 1966, authorized the use of Federal funds to assist the States in the education of mentally and physically handicapped children. It was expanded in 1967 to improve the recruitment of personnel and to establish regional resource and model centers. On October 6, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 13310 to amend this title to include children with specific learning disabilities and to include these children in other special programs for the handicapped. This bill also authorized \$6 million for 1970, \$12 million for 1971, and \$18 million for 1972. The National Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children specifically recommended this action and it is hoped that the Senate will follow the leadership of the House.

SCHOOL LUNCH AND CHILD NUTRITION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1969

The National School Lunch Act of 1946 permanently authorized Federal matching cash grants to the states for nonprofit school lunches, while the school breakfast program of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 approved appropriations for grants to States to provide breakfast at reduced costs or no cost for needy children. H.R. 515 was passed by the House of Representatives this year to establish eligibility requirements for children selected for both these programs and to require the States to provide at least 4 percent of their matching requirements from State tax revenues. The bill also authorized advanced funding up to 1 year.

MILK PROGRAM AMENDMENT

H.R. 5554 amends the special milk program, a section of the Child Nutrition Act, in order to extend permanently this program which encourages the consumption of milk in schools. The bill, as passed by the House of Representatives on May 6 also increases the authorization from \$120 million to \$125 million.

TEMPORARY EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE FOR CHILDREN

The House of Representatives also passed legislation aimed at increasing the funds available for child nutrition programs. H.R. 11651 amends the National School Lunch Act by authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer \$100 million of section 32 funds to provide food services for needy children. These funds would be in addition to agricultural appropriations for child nutrition programs.

ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES—IMPORTATION OF ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

This act amends and supports the Endangered Species Act, passed by the 89th Congress, which directed the Secretary of the Interior to take special action to protect animals which would otherwise become extinct. The purpose of Public Law 91-135 is threefold. First, it pro-

hibits the importation into the United States of any species which the Secretary of the Interior determines is threatened with extinction on a worldwide basis. Second, the legislation makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly put into interstate or foreign commerce any such species captured contrary to Federal, State, or foreign law. Third, the Secretary is authorized to acquire privately owned lands within the boundaries of any area administered by him for the purpose of conserving and protecting such species. These provisions will aid the States and foreign nations in preserving endangered species and in reducing the traffic in these animals.

GREAT PLAINS CONSERVATION PROGRAM

Public Law 91-118 extends for 10 years the Plains Land Conservation Act of 1956 and authorizes \$300 million for contracts through December 31, 1991. The Secretary of Agriculture is allowed to make 10-year contracts until 1981 with farmers who agree to retire land in order to stop soil erosion in the 10 Great Plains States. A major goal of this program is to convert land unsuitable for continued cultivation to grass cover to conserve moisture and stop soil erosion.

While drought, winds, floods, and other natural disasters cannot be prevented, their damaging effects can be minimized. The Great Plains conservation program is an important part in the reduction of these effects.

MARINE RESOURCES AND ENGINEERING DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS

Congressional approval of H.R. 8794 extended the life of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development until June 30, 1970. The Council was established by the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 to be a coordinating body for all governmental activities in the development of long-range marine science activities by the Federal Government. The authorizations for fiscal 1970 are for no more than \$1.2 million, a reduction from the 1969 authorizations of \$300,000.

In the report issued by the council in 1969, the establishment of a permanent Federal agency to oversee marine science activities was recommended.

SALINE WATER CONVERSION AMENDMENTS

In 1952, the Federal saline water conversion program was begun with Congress authorizing \$2 million in appropriations for a 5-year program of research on converting sea and brackish water into fresh water. Administration of the program was assigned to the Secretary of the Interior who created an Office of Saline Water within the Department.

Public Law 91-43, signed by the President on July 11, authorized appropriations of \$26 million to carry out the provisions of the Saline Water Conversion Act. The act also provided for a 10-percent limit on the fund transfer between the various sections of the act.

CLEAN AIR ACT OF 1969

In 1963, Congress passed the Clean Air Act which provided for an expanded and strengthened program for the control of air pollution, including the authorization of grants for improving and establishing programs of air pollution control and prevention. The Air Quality Act of 1967

greatly expanded the existing Federal responsibility for air pollution control. One of the major provisions of this act authorized an expanded research and development program for the control of pollution from fuel combustion and automobiles, including authority for research grants to nonprofit organizations, with specific authorizations of \$35 million in fiscal year 1968 and \$90 million in fiscal year 1969.

Public Law 91-137, as passed by the 91st Congress amends this provision of the 1967 act to extend the research and development program through fiscal year 1970 and authorizes \$45 million for this period. The other sections of the Air Quality Act of 1967 will expire in 1970, and for that reason only a 1-year extension was provided. In this way all the programs will expire at the same time and Congress will again have an opportunity to evaluate the research effort.

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT OF 1969

S. 1075, as agreed upon by the conference committee and as passed by both the House and the Senate, is one of the most important and far-reaching environmental and conservation measures acted upon by Congress in recent years. This measure is vital because it provides four new approaches to dealing with environmental problems on a preventive and anticipatory basis.

Title I of this act states that:

It is the continuing policy of the Federal Government, in cooperation with State and local governments, and other concerned private and public organizations, to use all practicable means and measures, including financial and technical assistance, in a manner calculated to foster and promote the general welfare, to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony, and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations of Americans.

It also declares that, consistent with other essential considerations of national policy, the activities and resources of the Federal Government shall be improved and coordinated in order that the Nation may attain certain broad national goals in the management of the environment. Section 102 of this title authorizes and directs all Federal agencies to the fullest extent possible to administer their existing laws, regulations, and policies in conformance with the policies set forth in this act. It also directs all agencies to assure consideration of the environmental impact of their actions in decisionmaking.

Title II of the act establishes the Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President. This Council will provide an organizational focus at the highest level for the concerns of environmental management. It will provide the President with objective advice and a continuing and comprehensive overview of the fragmented Federal jurisdictions involved with the environment. The Council shall be composed of three members appointed by the President with one member to be designated as Chairman. This title also requires that the President submit to the Congress and to the Amer-

ican people an annual environmental quality report. The purpose of this report is to provide a statement of progress, to review the programs and activities of the Federal, local, and State governments, and to propose a program, together with recommendations for legislation.

The Environmental Quality Act of 1969 is a significant starting point in the task of renewing our environment. It makes clear that Congress is responsive to the needs of present and future generation of Americans.

WATER QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1969

Congressional concern with water pollution dates back to 1947 when Public Law 80-845, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, was adopted. This law authorized the Attorney General to assist in and encourage State studies, interstate compacts, and the creation of uniform State laws to control pollution in surface and underground waters. It also authorized him to support research in water pollution and established the Water Pollution Control Advisory Board. In 1965, Congress significantly strengthened this act with the passage of Public Law 89-234 which amended the Water Pollution Control Act to require the States to establish and enforce water quality standards for all interstate waters within their boundaries. This legislation was further reinforced by the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966 and the Water Pollution Control Act amendments of 1967.

In 1969, both the House of Representatives and the Senate passed legislation, entitled the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969, amending the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

The House version, similar to a bill passed in the House in the 90th Congress which failed to reach the Senate floor, is designed to protect public waters from pollution by oil, sewage, and other matter and authorizes grants for water quality research and education. Specific provisions of H.R. 4148 include prohibiting the discharge of oil or any other polluting matter in U.S. waters and requiring the immediate removal of the polluting material by the owner or operator; directed the Secretary of the Interior to set Federal standards for marine sanitation devices; authorized a \$15 million demonstration program for the elimination or control of mine water pollution; authorized \$62 million in educational grants over a 3-year period for training programs in waste treatment; provided for a Great Lakes water control demonstration; and authorized appropriations totaling \$348 million for 1970-72.

On October 8, the Senate passed an amended version of H.R. 4148 which incorporated the provisions of an amended Senate bill, S. 7. The Senate version strengthened the House bill through provisions forbidding any Federal agency to pollute the Nation's waters, extending the provisions regarding the Great Lakes, and in other ways.

These two versions of the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969 are now in conference committee and final action is expected in the second session.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE VIETNAM

The United States, though still engaged in the bitter war in Vietnam, is beginning the process of reducing our military commitments in that part of the world under a troop withdrawal plan announced by President Nixon. In a televised address to the Nation on December 15, 1969, President Nixon announced a third round of American troop withdrawals, reducing military strength in Vietnam by an additional 50,000 men by April 15, 1970, a total decrease of approximately 110,000 men since the Nixon administration took office. President Nixon's conclusion about these most recent troop withdrawals was: "It marks further progress in turning over the defense of South Vietnam to the South Vietnamese. It is another clear sign of our readiness to bring an end to the war and achieve a just peace." The House shares Mr. Nixon's goal of achieving peace in Vietnam.

NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

The U.S. Senate on March 13, 1969, ratified the Nonproliferation Treaty. The treaty bars the nuclear countries from giving possession or control of atomic weapons to nations which do not already possess them, and prohibits non-nuclear nations accepting its terms from receiving or producing such weapons. As President Lyndon B. Johnson stated in 1968:

I believe history will look on this treaty as a landmark in the effort of mankind to avoid nuclear disaster while insuring that all will benefit from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. This treaty will be a testament to man's faith in the future.

I am sure I speak for all Members of the House in congratulating the Senate for ratifying this important treaty.

RESOLUTION TOWARD PEACE WITH JUSTICE IN VIETNAM

On December 2, 1969, the House approved House Resolution 613 endorsing President Nixon's efforts to secure a "just" peace in Vietnam. Speaker JOHN McCORMACK stated that the passage of this resolution gave additional support to the principle of free elections in Vietnam. Another important provision of this resolution called upon the North Vietnamese Government to abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949 in the treatment of prisoners of war.

NATIONAL COMMITMENTS

On June 25, 1969, the U.S. Senate adopted Senate Resolution 85 which invited the Executive to reconsider its excesses, and the legislature to reconsider its omissions, in the making of foreign policy, and in the light of such reconsideration, to bring their foreign policy practices back into compliance with the division of responsibilities envisioned by the Constitution. The resolution amounts to a declaration that the Senate will henceforth insist upon its constitutional prerogatives. The House supports this reassertion of Congress role in foreign affairs.

CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

President Nixon announced on November 25, 1969, that the United States would never engage in germ warfare and

renounced all but defensive uses of chemical warfare weapons. The President stated:

Mankind already carries in its own hands too many of the seeds of its own destruction. By the examples we set today, we hope to contribute to an atmosphere of peace and understanding between nations and among men.

President Nixon urged Senate passage of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, prohibiting the first use of "asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and of bacteriological weapons of warfare." The House, in my judgment, supports the President's recommendation.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION
ACT AMENDMENT

Public Law 91-14 was approved on May 23, 1969. This measure provided for U.S. participation in the amount of \$480 million over 3 years in the second replenishment of funds of the International Development Association. By its passage the United States will meet its international obligations in the community of nations by aiding underdeveloped countries. This measure helps insure peace by giving underdeveloped nations hope that their condition will improve and that the advanced industrial nations are concerned about them.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

On November 26, 1969, President Nixon signed into law a change in the Selective Service System, allowing the institution of a draft lottery plan. This was made possible by congressional action that removed a provision from the old draft law forbidding the President to institute, by Executive order, a Selective Service System based on the principle of random selection. The draft lottery, the first since 1942, affects every man in the country between the ages of 19 and 26 who has not served in the military. Beginning in January 1970, potential draftees will be called in the order in which their birthdays were drawn on December 1, 1969, the date of the lottery.

ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

On October 3, 1969, the House officially approved, as the Senate did earlier on September 18, 1969, the military procurement bill which contained authorization for President Nixon's Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile (ABM) system. On December 8, 1969, the House approved fiscal 1970 appropriations for the Defense Department; the measure contained funds necessary for deploying the ABM system and additional moneys for research and development on the system.

EXPORT CONTROL ACT

The Export Control Act, which furnishes the basic authority for control of U.S. exports to Communist-bloc countries, was temporarily extended three times during the first session of the 91st Congress. On the day of adjournment, we gave final approval to legislation which modified the present law and extended the export control authority through June 30, 1971. As approved, the Export Administration Act of 1969 removes the reference to "economic potential" in present law, which should alleviate some of the confusion that has arisen in the implementation of the law,

and states the policy that the United States will restrict the export of goods or technology which would make a significant contribution to the military potential of any other country to the detriment of our national security. Another important change from present law makes clear the intent of Congress that an item which is available from certain nations other than the United States, shall be freely exportable from the United States without licensing requirements, unless overriding national security considerations still require that the item be controlled. Passage of the law will enable American businesses to compete more freely in the world market, while continuing to restrict trade where it would be contrary to the national security interest of the United States.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT
ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

Legislative interest in electoral college reform, growing since the 1960 election, reached its zenith with the passage by the House of Representatives of House Joint Resolution 681 on September 18. This resolution proposes the abolishment of the electoral college and substitutes the direct popular election of the President and the Vice President with the requirement that 40 percent of the popular vote must be secured for election. It also provides that if no presidential ticket obtains at least 40 percent of the vote, a runoff election would be held between the two tickets winning the greatest number of votes.

Other provisions of House Joint Resolution 681 authorize Congress to provide a method for filling vacancies caused by the death, resignation, or inability of presidential candidates before the election and a method for filling postelection vacancies caused by the death of either the President-elect or the Vice-President-elect, and permit Congress to establish uniform national residence requirements for voting in presidential elections while leaving to the States the power to regulate the times, places, and manner of holding presidential elections.

In order for this resolution to become an amendment to the Constitution, it must be approved by a two-thirds majority in the Senate and then ratified by three-fourths of the States.

Only twice since 1804 has the House of Representatives considered basic electoral reform, and this resolution is the first to receive favorable action. The 91st Congress has begun action on what may become one of the most significant proposals of modern times.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

House Joint Resolution 89, as passed by the House of Representatives, amends the Rules of the House of Representatives to change the name of the House Un-American Activities Committee to the Committee on Internal Security, and to clarify the mandate of the committee. The resolution authorizes the committee to make investigations into Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States and to report to the House the results of any such investigation together with any recommendations it deems advisable.

CENSUS REFORM

During this session, the House of Representatives passed and sent to the Senate a bill, H.R. 12884, revising certain laws governing the decennial census. This bill would amend title 13 of the United States Code.

H.R. 12884 requires citizens to answer census questions, but replaces the present jail penalties for failure to do so with a provision for fines for noncompliance. Additional study on voluntary versus mandatory response to census questions will be undertaken by the Bureau of the Census.

Other provisions of the bill include a congressional review of the content of the census questionnaires after the 1970 census, additional safeguards against improper disclosure of census information, and replacement of the language in title 13 which restricted census questions to housing and unemployment with language authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to obtain such other census information as necessary.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT AMENDMENTS OF
1969

Final action was taken by Congress October 7, 1969, on H.R. 9825, the Civil Service Retirement Amendments of 1969. October 7, 1969, on H.R. 9825, the Civil Service retirement amendments of 1969. As approved by the President, Public Law 91-93 provides for an increase in the employee and agency retirement fund contributions for civil service employees to 7 percent, for congressional employees to 7½ percent, and those of Members to 8 percent. All contribution increases are effective January 1970.

Annuities will now be computed on a high-3-year average, rather than a high-5-year average. Service credit for unused sick leave will be included in the annuity computation. Formerly, no credit was given for unused sick leave.

The act requires the Federal Government to pay into the civil service retirement and disability fund each year the interest due on the current unfunded liability of the program, and to amortize over a period of 30 years unfunded liabilities created in the future by further changes in the program. This will have the effect of putting the retirement system on a much more solid financial basis.

The cost-of-living raises in annuities are to be increased by 1 percent more than the increase in the cost of living. This is to offset a 6-month lag between the cost-of-living surveys and the actual increase in annuities. The act grants a 5-percent increase to over 900,000 retirees on the rolls at the time of approval and extends it to anyone retiring by October 31. Several thousand employees retired this fall to take advantage of this provision.

The act also provides for several increases in survivor benefits.

EXTENSION ON EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT

In his first message to Congress, President Nixon asked that the Executive Reorganization Act be extended to allow him to transmit to the Congress plans for reorganization of departments and agencies within the executive branch.

The authority had expired December 31, 1968. Through Public Law 91-5, the reorganization authority was extended through April 1, 1971, and under its authority one reorganization plan has already taken effect.

SALARY INCREASE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Public Law 91-1, signed by President Johnson January 17, 1969, provides for an increase in the President's salary from \$100,000 to \$200,000. This is the first raise in Presidential income since 1948.

COMMISSION ON GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT

Public Law 91-129 (H.R. 474) establishes a Commission on Government Procurement composed of 12 members to study and investigate the present statutes affecting the procurement policies, rules, regulations, procedures, and practices followed by the departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the executive branch, and the organizations by which procurement is accomplished to determine to what extent these facilitate the policy set forth in this act. The purpose of the Commission is to achieve economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in procurement policies throughout the Federal Government.

HEALTH AND HEALTH INSURANCE

PUBLIC HEALTH CIGARETTE SMOKING ACT OF 1969

On June 18, 1969, the House passed the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act which has as its purpose the extending of public health protection with respect to cigarette smoking. This bill continues the requirement for annual reports to the Congress from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on smoking and health developments, and from the Federal Trade Commission on cigarette labeling and cigarette advertising. In addition, both the Secretary and the Commission are authorized to make recommendations for legislation to Congress. Further, the measure postpones the termination date on preemption of certain aspects of regulation of cigarette advertising from July 1, 1969, to July 1, 1975.

In summary this bill extends the present controls on limiting the advertising of cigarettes and places a new health warning on cigarette packages for another 6 years. The new warning reads:

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Injurious to Your Health and May Cause Lung Cancer and Other Diseases.

MEDICAL FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION AMENDMENTS OF 1969

The House passed on June 4, 1969, H.R. 11102, which extended for 3 years the present program of matching grants to the States for construction and modernization of health facilities. It also established a new program of Federal guarantees for loans made for construction or modernization of public or nonprofit private hospitals and other health facilities, with an added provision for an interest subsidy on such loans. With a present need for an additional 85,007 acute care hospital beds, 893 public health centers, 164,430 additional long-term beds, 872 diagnostic and treatment centers, and 388 rehabilitation facilities, in addition to the modernizing and replacing of

health facilities, this legislation will stimulate increased construction and modernization that will aid the ill in our society.

COMPREHENSIVENESS OF MEDICAID

Public Law 91-56 was approved on August 9, 1969. The bill amended title XIX of the Social Security Act which provides grants to the States for medical assistance programs. The first amendment suspended until 1977 the application of section 1903(e) of the act, which required the States to have in operation comprehensive medical assistance programs by July 1, 1975. The adoption of this amendment now gives an opportunity to further consider this requirement by taking into consideration the experience gained thus far under the medical assistance program.

The second amendment relates to section 1902(c) of the Social Security Act. The intention of section 1902(c) was to prohibit the States from reducing cash payments to public assistance recipients at the time they adopted their medicare assistance plans and diverting the funds to pay for medical care. The amendment clarifies this congressional intention.

The third amendment adds a new provision to title XIX in the form of section 1902(d), which would require that whenever a State desires to reduce the scope or extent of care and services provided under its medical assistance plan, such modification must be obtained on the basis of an application submitted by the Governor of the State and approved by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The adoption of these amendments allows the States freedom in determining the dimensions of their own programs in the light of their own individual needs and resources.

FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION HEALTH AND SAFETY

The House passed on June 4, 1969, H.R. 10946 which eventually became Public Law 91-54, approved on August 9, 1969. This law adds to the Contract Work Hours Standards Act a provision, applicable to any contractor or subcontractor contracting for any part of the work, assuring that any laborer, mechanic, or other employee shall not be required to work in any place or under any working conditions, which are unsanitary, hazardous, or dangerous to a man's health or safety. Only construction financed in whole or part by Federal loans or grants is within its scope.

According to the National Safety Council, over 20 percent of the workers who are killed each year in accidents are killed in construction work. Last year there were 2,800 construction workers killed on the job, the highest death rate for any industry. Congress has acted to reduce this tragic loss by passing H.R. 10946.

MEDICAL LIBRARY ASSISTANCE

The House passed on July 10, 1969, a bill amending the Public Health Service Act to improve and extend for 3 years the provisions relating to assistance to medical libraries and related instrumentalities. Because of the flood of new information, medical libraries were unable to handle the great increase in

publications. Accordingly, Congress has acted to increase new construction in the library field, thereby helping to make medical literature available to all medical and paramedical practitioners throughout the country. If there is to be equal opportunity for health, there must be equal access to health information.

FEDERAL COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1969

This bill deals with a vital issue of concern to miners and mine operators. The bill grants authority for the promulgation of mandatory health and safety standards to the Secretary of the Interior. At long last, it has been recognized that the heavy concentrations of coal dust in the large mines has been a cause of the disease known as "black lung." Title II of the bill establishes interim mandatory health standards, while title III establishes interim mandatory safety standards for underground coal mines—to help protect the lives and limbs of those who work in the mines. Further, the bill gives the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare the authority to carry on health and safety research, and requires the Secretary to expand programs for the education and training of miners and mine operators in accident control and healthful working conditions. It would give to the Secretary of HEW the authority to develop health standards, and the authority to develop safety standards to the Secretary of the Interior; the latter would be empowered to promulgate all mandatory standards. Finally, title IV of the bill provides for the payment of benefits for death or total disability due to pneumoconiosis—or black lung. All sections of this bill are designed to gain one goal—greater health and safety for the coal miners.

HOUSING

The major accomplishment of the 91st Congress in the field of housing was the passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 (S. 2864). This act broadens and extends the existing programs as well as providing a 1-year authorization, for fiscal 1971, of \$4.8 billion.

One of the most significant provisions of this act stipulates that housing tenants shall pay no more than 25 percent of their income for shelter. In order to lessen the burden of this requirement on local housing authorities, the act also authorizes \$75 million a year in subsidies to these authorities.

A second provision of the legislation which also will benefit local housing authorities raises the basic construction cost limits per room from \$2,400 to \$2,800, or slightly more than 16 percent. It also raises the allowance for high-cost areas from \$750 to \$1,400, thus permitting a per-room cost for family housing in high-cost areas of up to \$4,200. The basic per-room cost for housing for the elderly was also increased from \$3,500 to \$3,900. It also substantially increases construction-cost limits for Federal Housing Administration programs. These new ceilings will aid in meeting spiraling construction costs and will be particularly beneficial in high-cost areas where many

projects have been blocked by high construction costs.

The 1969 act also endorses the principle of replacing low- and moderate-income housing torn down as a result of urban renewal with an equivalent number of units within the political jurisdiction. Greater flexibility in planning and executing projects is given to the local housing authorities by not requiring new units within the renewal project area exclusively.

Other important provisions in S. 2864 are: authorization for a new Federal Housing Administration insurance program for mobile homes; increasing the maximum mortgage amounts under FHA programs—permits insuring mortgages on single family homes up to \$33,000; extension of the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to fix ceilings on interest rates; expansion of the rural housing program of the Farmers Home Administration; and specific authorization for the use of new technologies in experimental programs.

The new authorizations together with the revisions of existing programs are designed to aid the Nation in reaching the housing goal of 26 million new housing units within 10 years.

MORTGAGE CREDIT

Public Law 91-151 (S. 2577; H.R. 15091) is a bill designed to fight inflation and to provide a boost for small business and housing—the two areas most severely hurt by the current tight money, high interest, and policies.

The bill, as finally passed, gives the President the broadest range of standby authority to prevent inflation from being fueled by an excessive use of credit. The bill would allow a selective use of these controls in any area of the economy where inflationary trends develop. For example, the President could use the controls to prevent excessive amounts of credit from being used to finance unnecessary and inflationary plant expansion.

The legislation gives the President full standby credit control authority as well as the right to encourage voluntary agreements to restrain credit. Basically, the law gives the President the broadest possible set of alternatives in fighting inflation, curbing unnecessary extensions of credit, and channeling credit into housing and other essential purposes.

The legislation helps dampen inflation by providing the Federal Reserve with important new controls over commercial paper and Euro-dollars. Under the legislation, the Federal Reserve can apply reserve requirements to these funds.

It authorizes the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to borrow up to \$4 billion from the Treasury to aid the housing industry. The funds would then be made available to the various savings and loan institutions on a loan basis for relending to home buyers.

The law provides that the Small Business Administration shall make available \$70 million to the small business investment companies for lending to small businesses across the Nation. The money would be released from funds now available and appropriated for this pur-

pose in the SBA business loan and investment revolving fund.

The law increases the deposit insurance from \$15,000 to \$20,000 in commercial banks and savings and loan institutions. It also extends until March 22, 1971, the authority of the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to set flexible interest rate ceilings on time deposits.

LABOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

The House passed H.R. 14705 on November 13, 1969, a bill whose purpose is to extend and improve the Federal-State unemployment compensation program. It does this by several amendments to current law: coverage is extended, a permanent program of extended benefit coverage is provided to assist those unemployed who have exhausted their regular coverage; judicial review is provided for a review of decisions of the Secretary of Labor; and the tax which funds the Federal share of the program is increased. A key provision is the extension of coverage. Today, approximately 58 million jobs are protected by the unemployment compensation system. This bill will provide coverage for the first time to about 4.5 million additional jobs beginning, generally, as of January 1, 1972.

FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT TAX

Public Law 91-53 was approved on August 7, 1969. The measure provides for the collection of Federal unemployment tax in quarterly installments during each taxable year; makes the status of the employer depend on employment during the preceding as well as current taxable year; excludes from the computation of the excess the balance in the unemployment security administration account as of the close of fiscal years 1970 through 1972; and raises the limitation on the amount authorized to be made available for expenditure out of the employment security administration account by the amounts so excluded. The bill was amended on the Senate floor to include a provision extending the 10 percent income surtax until the end of 1969. The Senate amendments were then accepted by the House.

HOURS OF SERVICE, RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

The House passed H.R. 8449 on October 9, 1969, amending the Hours of Service Act of 1907. The purpose of this bill is to bring up to today's safety requirements and operating conditions the provisions established in 1907 prohibiting railway employees engaged in or connected with the movement of trains from being required or permitted to be or remain on duty beyond a maximum of 16 hours, and specifying certain hours they must have off duty.

The current law has remained unchanged since 1907. It provides that an employee may be required to work up to 16 straight hours. This bill sets the maximum consecutive hours of work at 12, and makes it unlawful to require a railroad employee to go on duty if he has not had at least 8 consecutive hours off duty during the preceding 24 hours. This measure represents a great step forward in bringing working conditions

in the railroad industry in line with other industries.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE— CRIME INVESTIGATIONS: SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE

A select committee to study crime in the United States was created by the House on May 1, 1969. Seven Members of the House of Representatives, designated by the Speaker, are authorized to conduct a full and complete investigation of all aspects of crime in the United States. With a growing crime rate that amounts to a national disgrace, it is fitting that the group which handles the legislation on this subject—the Congress—should conduct its own studies and recommend corrective measures.

GUN CONTROL

For congressional action modifying the recordkeeping provisions of the 1968 State Firearms Control Assistance Act on the sale of ammunition, see the summary of action on the interest-equalization bill (under Monetary, Banking, Tax and Fiscal Policies).

MANPOWER TRAINING, JOB OPPORTUNITY, AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1969

On December 20, 1969, both Senate and House agreed to the conference report on S. 3016, to extend and amend the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The amount of \$2,195,500,000 is authorized for fiscal 1970 and \$2,295,500,000 is authorized for fiscal 1971. The sum of \$328,900,000 has been reserved for the purpose of local initiative programs. There is a limit of 10 percent on the amount by which the funds of any program or activity may be increased through transfer of funds by the Director. The 10-percent limit will continue until July 1, 1970, when it will be raised to 15 percent.

Several new programs have been initiated. "Mainstream" involves enabling the chronically unemployed or persons with poor employment opportunities to participate in community projects which contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State and local government parks, highways, and other lands, to the rehabilitation of housing and to the improvement and expansion of health, education, day care, and recreation services. Another program, "New Careers," will provide unemployed or low-income persons with jobs leading to career opportunities in programs primarily involved with community public service and which include on-the-job training and advancement opportunities.

Because of the effectiveness of the Headstart program, we are providing for an intensive followthrough education for primary school children. Followthrough provides for parental and home involvement. The emergency food and medical services program, designed to insure that the present surplus foods and free meals programs be restructured so as to have effective impact on needy children and families, will emphasize improved delivery services, increased family food subsidies, and emergency family medical services.

Two additional new programs are the alcoholic counseling recovery program, structured to assist the individual and his family in discovering and treating the disease of alcoholism and a drug rehabilitation program for the purpose of discovering the causes of drug abuse and addiction, treating narcotic and drug addiction and the dependence associated with drug use, and rehabilitating the drug user and addict.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS AND THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1969

Regional economic development was strengthened through the enactment of amendments to the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Approved November 25, 1969, Public Law 91-123, extends the Appalachian Redevelopment Act for 2 years, until June 30, 1971, and authorizes for that period, exclusive of highway funds, \$268.5 million. New emphasis in the demonstration health program is placed on intensive early childhood care, nutrition, and the early detection, diagnosis and treatment of black lung and other coal miners' occupational diseases. Also stressed are comprehensive manpower training programs including rehabilitation and training of coal miners.

Authorizations totaling \$695 million, over a 4-year fiscal period, were approved to facilitate completion of the Appalachian Development Highway System. This system is considered vital to economic growth in the region.

The provisions of the Public Works and Economic Development Act have also been extended for 2 fiscal years with a total authorization, for that period, of \$255 million. Regional commissions are accorded direct control over their own program development and the present authority for technical assistance is broadened to include innovative demonstration projects and training programs. Alaska is to be treated as a development region within the meaning of the act. The 1965 act was expanded to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make grants, enter into contracts, or otherwise provide funds for any demonstration project within a redevelopment area which he determines are designed to foster regional productivity and growth and prevent outmigration.

MONETARY, BANKING, TAX, AND FISCAL POLICIES—TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969

The conference report on the Tax Reform Act of 1969 (H.R. 13270) was agreed to by both Houses December 22, 1969. The final version will provide \$9.1 billion in relief, \$6.6 billion in revenue gained and a net revenue loss of \$2.4 billion. These figures do not include added revenues of \$4.3 billion in 1970 and \$800 million in the 2 succeeding years from extension of the income tax surcharge at 5 percent through next June and postponement of scheduled cuts in telephone and auto excise taxes.

Personal income tax relief is manifested in several ways. Personal exemptions will be raised to \$650 next July 1—this will amount to \$625 over the entire

1970 tax year—and to \$700 on January 1, 1972, with the increase to \$750 in effect as of 1973.

A new low-income allowance plus the new exemption levels are designed to remove 5.5 million of the poor and near-poor from the Federal tax rolls. A third relief device will raise the standard deduction, presently at 10 percent with a ceiling of \$1,000, to 13 percent and a ceiling of \$1,500 in 1971, to 14 percent with a \$2,000 ceiling in 1972, and in 1973 to 15 percent maintaining the \$2,000 ceiling.

One of the most controversial issues in the tax-reform package has been the proposed increase in social security benefits. The 15-percent increase, effective January 1, 1970, will benefit 25 million Americans and will cost \$4.4 billion a year. The minimum payment for a single retired worker will rise from \$55 to \$64 a month. The average payment for an unmarried person will increase from \$100 to \$115, for a couple from \$170 to \$196, for a widow with two children from \$254 to \$296, and \$113 and \$130 for a disabled worker.

The depletion allowance for the oil and gas industry is reduced from 27½ percent to 22 percent. Allowances for other minerals were slightly reduced, with the exception of metal molybdenum which was raised from 15 percent to 22 percent. The depletion allowance for foreign operations of oil companies has been retained at its current level.

Other sections of the act provide tax relief for single persons by establishing a lower tax schedule; levy on foundations a 4-percent tax on investment income and require them to pay out to charity at least 6 percent of their assets a year; and establish a ceiling of \$50,000 on the amount of capital gains on which an individual may pay the present tax of 25 percent—the rate then rises to a high of 35 percent on capital gains exceeding this ceiling.

Also affected by the act will be the real estate depreciation rate. Double depreciation is restricted to new housing only. Other new construction can be depreciated at a 150-percent rate and used construction will be confined to straight line depreciation, with some exceptions.

When an individual's extraordinary income in a single year exceeds 120 percent of an ordinary 5-year income average, lower rates can be applied to determine the tax. Income from capital gains and wagering are to be included. A minimum income tax of 10 percent is imposed on presently sheltered income exceeding \$30,000. Taxes are increased on mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, and commercial banks. The act also places limitations on a company's use of the lower corporate rate for the initial \$25,000 of income for each of its subsidiaries.

These are but the major highlights of a very involved Tax Reform Act. It is to be hoped that the President will see his way clear to sign it into law.

INCOME TAX SURCHARGE EXTENSION

The House, on June 30, 1969, passed H.R. 12290 to continue the income tax surcharge at the 10-percent rate until January 1, 1970 and the 5-percent rate

until June 30, 1970, to continue the excise tax on automobiles and communications services for temporary periods, and for other purposes. The bill was reported in the Senate but no action was taken.

Subsequently, the 10-percent surcharge was extended to January 1, 1970 through the provisions of Public Law 91-53, the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. The Tax Reform Act of 1969, which passed the Congress December 22, 1969, extends the surcharge until June 30, 1969 and reduces the rate to 5 percent. It also continues the excise taxes on automobiles and communications services.

INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX

Public Law 91-128 (H.R. 12829) extends the interest equalization tax until March 31, 1971. The tax, which technically expired September 30, 1969, reduces the outflow of dollars by increasing the cost to foreigners of raising capital in the United States and decreasing the desirability of foreign securities to Americans, exclusive of direct investment in foreign businesses. The act also authorizes the President to reduce the tax on new foreign securities without reducing the tax on outstanding securities. Certain exemptions are specified.

An amendment to the act repeals sections of the Gun Control Act of 1968 which require recordkeeping of .22-caliber, and shotgun and rifle ammunition.

FEDERAL CREDIT UNION AGENCY ACT

Any organization or agency which affects over 20 million Americans is of major importance and should be accorded appropriate status in the governmental network. Therefore, we have passed the Federal Credit Union Agency Act (H.R. 2) which would dissolve the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and create the National Credit Union Administration as a separate agency. The Administrator and Board of Governors are to be Presidential appointees. Since the first Federal credit union was established in 1934 the number has risen to 23,563 and this growth has taken place with a minimum expense to the taxpayer. The credit unions pay their own way through chartering, supervision and examination fees. During the 35-year lifespan of the Federal credit union program the regulation of the program has been shifted from one agency or department to another. This shifting is chaotic and expensive and should cease. H.R. 2 passed the House July 28 and has been reported in the Senate. Passage is expected early in the next session.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSION PLANS

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1969

The House passed, December 15, 1969, H.R. 15095 to provide a 15-percent, across-the-board increase in social security benefits. The need for the increase was pressing due to the 9.1 rise in the cost of living since the last such increase in February 1968. The provisions of this bill were included in the Tax Reform Act of 1969 which Congress enacted during the last week of the session. A summary of those provisions may be found in the "Monetary, Banking, Tax and Fiscal Policies" section of this report.

RAILROAD SUPPLEMENTAL ANNUITIES

On September 30, 1969, the House passed H.R. 13300 to extend supplemental annuities under the Railroad Retirement Act. The supplemental annuities will be financed by an excise tax imposed on every employer subject to the Railroad Retirement Tax Act. The payment of supplemental annuities will be extended beyond October 31, 1971, with current rates to be preserved until June 30, 1975, and thereafter, unless changed.

H.R. 13300 also provides for the mandatory retirement of all railroad employees initially at age 70 and by January 1, 1976, at age 65. An employer may retain, at his option, an employee beyond the mandatory retirement age if he determines that safety or efficiency would not be endangered.

TRANSPORTATION

AVIATION FACILITIES EXPANSION ACT OF 1969

On November 6, 1969, the House passed and sent to the Senate an administration proposed bill (H.R. 14465) which recommends a 10-year \$5 billion program of improvement and expansion of the U.S. airport and airway network. Costs of the program would be financed largely by new taxes on airway users.

The bill establishes a nine-member National Air System Guidelines Commission, which must make its final report by January 1, 1971, after studying and formulating guidelines for land uses surrounding airports, for ground access to airports, and for airways and airports. Following the Commission guidelines, the Secretary of Transportation must formulate a national airport system plan within 2 years.

Airline safety is of personal concern to all of the millions who take advantage of air transportation each year, therefore, we have required Federal certification of air carrier airports to insure that they meet minimum safety standards. To provide for the maximum satisfaction and well-being of the citizens who reside near airport facilities, we included those provisions which require public hearings on proposed airport location and that no construction of an airport be authorized if found to have an adverse effect on natural resources and the environment.

NATIONAL TRAFFIC AND MOTOR VEHICLE SAFETY ACT OF 1969

Due to the slaughter on our highways today, it is imperative that every conceivable effort be made to provide safer vehicles and equipment. Toward this end we have authorized funds through fiscal 1972 for the administration of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966. H.R. 10105, which passed the Senate with amendments December 2, 1969, is now in conference. Recently, the public was made aware of the inadequacy of the existing system of testing tire quality. We have, therefore, amended the original act to provide for the alteration of existing research and test facilities and the planning, designing, and construction of facilities suitable to conduct tire research and development, and in other ways to test for traffic safety.

To protect the consumer against the

possibility of operating a vehicle on defective tires, we have provided that tire manufacturers maintain a file of distributors and first owners in the event that recall becomes necessary. We have further stipulated that there be an age limit imposed on tire carcasses suitable for retreading.

Other portions of the bill will require a uniform standard of protective headgear regulations for motorcycle operators. To lessen the number of casualties in farm accidents we have required minimum standards for tractor safety which will include the use of roll bars and harnesses.

VETERANS

Thus far in the 91st Congress, the House has passed three major bills concerning veterans and their survivors. These bills pertain to pension eligibility; increased compensation for veterans' survivors; and veterans' education and training.

Because we all are deeply concerned with assisting those Americans who serve their country so ably in the military, bills are in the mill which affect home loan financing, personal insurance, nursing home care, and increased Federal payments to States for the care of veterans in State soldiers' homes. Passage of some or all of these is likely in the second session.

VETERANS EDUCATION AND TRAINING ASSISTANCE AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1969

The reorientation of veterans to their society depends to a great extent on their education. To assist our young men in achieving the levels of education which they desire, the House, through the Veterans Education and Training Assistance Amendments Act of 1969, increased the benefits for Vietnam war veterans by 27 percent over existing levels. The Senate amended H.R. 11959 to provide for a 46-percent increase in those benefits. A conference has been requested to arrive at a figure agreeable to Members of each House.

Among the benefit categories included in the legislation are increased vocational rehabilitation payments to disabled veterans; increased educational assistance payments to veterans and to war orphans, widows, and wives of permanently disabled veterans; payments and loans to veterans engaged in flight training; and financial assistance to veterans engaged in on-the-job training in farm cooperatives. The legislation also establishes a new "outreach" service to seek out recently discharged veterans to advise them of the benefits to which they are entitled.

PENSION ELIGIBILITY

H.R. 372, passed by the House and now pending in the Senate, would restore veterans' survivor benefits to remarried widows upon the termination of their remarriage; eliminate the annual reporting of income by veterans who have reached the age of 72 years and have been paid pensions for 2 calendar years; permit the exclusion of certain additional types of income for pension purposes; and confer upon veterans of the 1916-17 Mexican border campaign benefits similar to

wartime veterans. Another section of the bill prohibits requiring a veteran, who is 70 or older, to swear inability to pay costs in order to obtain VA hospital care.

INCREASED COMPENSATION FOR VETERANS' SURVIVORS

Public Law 91-96 (S. 1471) increases dependency and indemnity compensation for widows and children of veterans. With this increase monthly payments now range from \$167 to a widow of a recruit to \$457 to the widow of a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

WELFARE

FOOD STAMP AUTHORIZATION

The President approved, November 13, 1969 (Public Law 91-116) H.J. Res. 934 which authorizes \$610 million for the food stamp program. This law does not change the program itself, but provides Secretary of Agriculture Hardin with funds to deal with the problems of hunger and malnutrition. Congress is considering other legislation to alter the food stamp program so that it may more efficiently eliminate these problems which plague too many Americans.

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Two legislative areas are embodied in Public Law 91-41 (H.R. 8644). The first is the elimination of duty on crude chicory roots. The duty has been suspended, temporarily, for several years with no adverse effects on the market. This being the case, and because no crude chicory roots have been produced in this country since 1954, it is only logical to enact permanent suspension.

The most vital part of Public Law 91-41 repeals that provision of the Social Security Amendments Act of 1967 which imposed a freeze on Federal funds for the aid to dependent children program. That freeze was enacted in an effort to stimulate and obtain results under the work incentive program, also contained in the 1967 amendments. But that purpose would not necessarily be served by a freeze and since children of families in which the father is deceased or totally disabled would suffer as well from the consequences of the freeze, the House concurred with the Senate amendment for repeal.

OTHER

OLDER AMERICANS ACT AMENDMENTS

The Older Americans Act of 1965 has provided persons over 60 years of age with the means by which they may meaningfully participate in community programs. Public Law 91-69 (H.R. 11235) extends the provisions of that act and authorizes \$62 million for fiscal 1970, with \$85 million and \$105 million for fiscal years 1971 and 1972, respectively.

Title III of the act which provides for grants for community planning, services and training, has resulted in service to over 600,000 older persons by home and health-aid services, recreation and leisure time programs, and special transportation services. The 1969 amendments act authorizes such programs on a regional basis. The research and development projects' provisions of the original legislation have been expanded to include the promulgation of conferences to facilitate the exchange of information.

A significant aspect of Public Law 91-69 creates the National Older Americans Volunteer Program. Within the framework of this program falls the retired senior volunteer programs—RSVP—which will recruit individuals aged 60 or over to provide services needed in their own communities, without compensation other than for transportation, meals, and other out-of-pocket expenses incident to their services. The other component of the volunteer program is the foster grandparents program. All new participants must be older persons of low income who are no longer in the regular work force. The reports on the current program, now under OEO, show that children who have been classified as "unmanageable" are now well behaved, that young people with motor defects have learned to perform such functions as self-feeding and communication, and that physical examinations of the foster grandparents indicate marked improvement after they had participated for a few months. This is a program that benefits the participants as well as those they care for.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, only last month, the Senate voted to increase the appropriation for the water pollution control facilities grant program to the level authorized under the Clean Waters Act of 1966. This is a truly significant step in the Nation's efforts to control water pollution.

I can remember my own disappointment when the administration elected to request only \$214 million of the \$1 billion authorized for the next year. This would have continued the pattern of the past 2 years, which resulted in the Congress appropriating sums substantially less than were authorized by the Clean Waters Act.

I was disappointed because I can remember the hopes that were raised by the act. Many States took effective steps to enable their local communities to participate in the program. Some States, New Hampshire is one of them, voted to cooperate in the program to the extent of supplementing Federal funds with up to 40 percent of the total cost of the projects.

But over the past 3 years, appropriations have been scarcely one-third of the level authorized by the act, one-third of the level that the States had prepared to accommodate. Some States maintained their commitment by prefinancing local grants and by passing bond issues. New Hampshire again was one of these States.

But there is a limit to what the States can do alone. I believe that fiscal year 1970 was crucial to the continued success of the clean waters grant program. Most States had looked forward to expanding their programs as the level of funding

authorized by the act increased. In the next 2 fiscal years, the funding levels were to have peaked. Most States had a backlog of applications which would be approved as the funds became available.

Yet the administration's request called for the lowest percentage of funds authorized in the history of the program. Certainly this was a promise unfulfilled. I feel that a failure to raise this level of funding would have resulted in a crisis of confidence, seriously jeopardizing any further State and Federal cooperation in this field.

Because of this, I was one who raised my voice in support of a higher level of funding when the appropriation was considered. I would like to congratulate my colleagues, Senator RANDOLPH and Senator MUSKIE, for their guidance of the appropriation bill through the Committee on Public Works. Though a House-Senate conference subsequently reduced the figure passed by the Senate to \$800 million, this figure was almost four times as large as that requested by the administration.

During the time since the appropriation was passed, I have had the opportunity to view some of the progress that this program has engendered. I am aware that there have been some failures, as the recent report by the Government Accounting Office has indicated. But I also agree with the conclusion of that report that the successes outweigh the failures. I also agree with their conclusion that the failures can be rectified by a more coordinated planning effort. But it is only with a viable, properly financed program that the States and Federal agencies can take those steps that would insure projects broad enough to meet the goals set forth in the GAO report.

Despite occasional failures, however, there has been substantial success. One such instance came to my attention last week. A new pollution control facility became operational in Lincoln, N.H. This project is a substantial step in cleaning up the waters of the Pemigewasset River, one of the most scenic and polluted rivers in the State.

Lincoln, located near its headwaters, had been a major source of pollution for many years. Municipal sewerage and industrial wastes from the Franconia Paper Co. contributed large amounts of pollution to the river each day. But these people were concerned. Almost a decade ago, farsighted members of the town government, and directors of the Franconia Paper Co., decided to do something about the problem.

Now, 10 years and \$4½ million later, a pollution control plant is in operation which treats both municipal sewerage and the industrial wastes from the paper company. This is a tremendous gain for the State and residents of the area. The project has some aspects that are significant beyond the State of New Hampshire, however.

This project was financed under Federal water pollution programs and under State programs to supplement Federal assistance. This project is also a singular example of the results that can be obtained by cooperation between local,

State, and Federal governments working with industry. This project is also significant because it will raise the quality of the water in the river to such an extent that towns downstream may now be encouraged to implement their own programs knowing that the water that flows through their communities is of high quality.

I congratulate all of those involved with this project, especially the local government of Lincoln and the directors of the Franconia Paper Co. for their farsighted efforts. They undertook to correct a pollution problem long before the pressure of public opinion became a motivating force.

I regret that I could not join with the citizens of Lincoln in celebrating the beginning of the plant's operation. The press of Senate business during the month of December prevented my leaving Washington, but my brother John, who shares my deep concern about water pollution, kindly consented to represent me.

At this time, therefore, I wish to add my praise for those involved in this project. I ask unanimous consent that the following articles from the December 15 and 19 editions of the Laconia, N.H., Evening Citizen be printed in the RECORD. These were deserved tributes to those who made this project possible.

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

NEW POLLUTION CONTROL PLANT AT LINCOLN TO BE UNVEILED—\$4.25 MILLION PROJECT

LINCOLN.—A decade and \$4¼ million dollars later, residents of this paper-making community of 1,200 persons will be given an opportunity this Thursday to see in operation what their foresight, time and money have produced.

Proud officials of the town term the project a "prototype for the nation" because of the cooperation between the townspeople and the Franconia Paper Company, which they describe as "the industrial backbone of Grafton County" in solving the pollution problems associated with paper-making.

Thursday's activities take the form of an "open house" and Gov. Walter Peterson will head a group of dignitaries saluting citizens of Lincoln, the company and its 550 employees. The company, producers of bond paper, generates a total annual payroll of some \$3,000,000, Lincoln officials say.

The ceremonies start at noon. Open house, meaning guided tours of the gleaming new apparatus designed to cleanse both air and water, start two hours earlier on the company property. In addition to Governor Peterson, other dignitaries at the State level, employees of the mill and townspeople, plus officials affiliated with the paper-making industry from as far away as the midwest, and town fathers from other paper-making communities, will be present to find out, first-hand, "how Lincoln did it." An open invitation is extended to all members of the New Hampshire Legislature.

The Lincoln story is much too complex to relate in a comparatively few paragraphs. Actually it goes back somewhat more than a decade but certainly a major first step was to go before the 1969 Legislature to start the ball rolling towards the 90 per cent federal and state aid it was entitled to for its abatement program.

The unique feature of the Lincoln story was solving the problem of the very substantial financial outlay Franconia Paper had to make to take care of its own pollu-

tion problem. It positively couldn't shoulder the burden without assistance, the company said. Treading the very narrow line between public and private interests, the town fathers received authority from the voters to request state guarantee of the bonds for the total project, thereby reducing interest rates. Also the eventual costs will be less since the bonds for industrial treatment costs will be amortized over a ten year period. On four key votes by the citizenry over a period of a half-dozen years the maximum number of ballots against financial backing which aided the company was a mere seven and it had dwindled to but two by the time the final vote was taken. Somewhat more than 60 "yes" votes were recorded in each instance which implies, in the final vote, the citizenry backed support of its bread and butter industry by better than a 30-1 margin.

New Hampshire has seen nothing official to contradict its understanding that it has "the cleanest air in America." The new treatment plant at Franconia Paper will add substance to the claim. The mill will now emit a plume of smoke somewhat bluish in color and completely odorless. Exit gas sulfur dioxide will be less than 0.002 per cent; far below any air pollution regulation specification.

Additionally the pulp waste from the paper company, as well as sewage from the mill and the community, will be treated in separate facilities. By the time the treated water is returned to the East Branch of the Pemigewasset River its purity will rate a B-plus classification, good enough, and some to spare, for recreational uses including swimming.

An interesting side factor is that the town has offered to connect a prominent and popular State Parks property, Franconia Notch's celebrated Flume, into Lincoln's spanking new sewage system. It comes in the nick of time since the Flume is confronted with a sewage problem of major proportions.

George M. McGee, Sr., is a Lincoln selectman and has lived with the ambitious abatement program day and night since it was launched. He has a special interest in pure water since he is chairman of the State Water Resources Board. He is a former legislator, whose seat in the General Court has been taken by his wife. McGee heads a committee planning the Dec. 18 open house.

Rightfully, Lincoln feels it has made a very substantial contribution to a better environment—not just for the "paper town" itself, but also for the state and the nation.

**NEW POLLUTION CONTROL PLANT OPENED—
DEDICATION HELD AT LINCOLN**
(By Lynn Sweet)

LINCOLN.—The Pemigewasset and Merrimack rivers, once called "the dirtiest in New England" have taken on new life with the installation of Lincoln's \$4 million pollution control plant.

Franconia Paper Co. at the headwaters of the Pemigewasset dedicated the new pollution control facilities yesterday. The installation was financed through federal, state and local government funds and more than one-half million of private funds from the paper company.

Representatives from all of these sectors rose to speak in praise of the new installation.

"This river will carry the message that something can be done, that something has been done, as it flows in its new form through the downstream towns," said Gov. Walter Peterson.

The governor said that his administration is doing all that is possible to see that recent Federal cutbacks on funds for projects like this are restored.

John Palazzi, Chairman of the Water Supply and Pollution Control Commission said that, as of next spring, it was hoped that

the entire Pemigewasset could be raised to Class B (recreational) waters. He added that the Fish and Game Department had informed him that 50,000 trout will be stocked in the stream.

Dedication ceremonies began in the morning with tours of the new installations. Anti-pollution processes take place at three different sites: the White Water plant which removes sludge, the Copeland Process plant which disposes of sulfite liquor and the sewage treatment plant.

The White Water plant forces the paper sludge to settle and then strips it from the water by two huge vacuum rollers. Dried sludge is carried away in trucks.

The Copeland process by an evaporation system releases sulphur from the sulfite liquor wastes as sulfur dioxide. An acid recovery system strips the sulfur dioxide from the exit gases and returns it as usable acid to the mill. Although this general process is in use in other paper mills, George Copeland, inventor of the idea, said that special adaptations were made for the Lincoln installation making it unique.

The town sewage treatment facilities consist of two five-acre stabilization ponds. About 4.5 miles of interceptors and 2.5 miles of lateral sewers were installed to provide sewer service to previously unserved areas.

Following the tours at noon, a short ceremony was held at the mill and then the 200 guests moved to the Loon Mountain Lodge for a luncheon meeting.

Former Governor Sherman Adams served as master of ceremonies for the luncheon.

Governor Peterson was first to speak. He called the Lincoln installation "a first in that it brings together citizens, government and industry in a combined assault on one of our society's most depressing aspects." Peterson went on to say "... it must not be an isolated first in pollution control. It must be a "prototype."

Peterson's comments served as a keynote as other speakers rose to praise the town of Lincoln in its undertaking. George M. McGee, selectman of Lincoln and chairman of the Water Resources Board was lauded for his successful efforts in moving the town to action.

John McIntyre came as a representative of his brother, Sen. Thomas McIntyre, who was tied up in Washington. He said jokingly, that he wanted to make sure that his "little brother got all the credit he deserves."

Others speaking at the dedication were McGee, Palazzi, former Governor Wesley Powell, State Rep. Thomas Urle of New Hampton, a long-time advocate of pollution control measures, Roland P. Burlingame, one of the consulting engineers, Dr. Copeland and Robert L. Marcalus, president of the Franconia Paper Co.

**FAVORITE HALL OF FAME CANDI-
DATE—HOWARD CLEVELAND**

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the names of the players and coaches who will be voted on for selection to the National Football Foundation Hall of Fame will bring back many memories to the Members of the Congress. It is for that reason that I felt impelled to include the names of these great players and coaches in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Many of us will remember Ed Dooley, who served as a

Member of the House. Each Member undoubtedly will have memories of at least one of the players or coaches on this list. I have a very vivid memory of Howard Cleveland of Kansas State. Howard was a classmate of mine. He was a complete football player in every sense of the word. He had a fine physique, perfect coordination, and all of it added up to a triple-threat halfback who kept the Wildcats of Kansas State in contention for the Big Six crown throughout the time he played. After playing professional football with the Saskatchewan Rough Riders and the Los Angeles Bulldogs, Howard went into the business world and has been very successful. He is now vice president, manufacturing, of the Douglas Aircraft Division, McDonnell Douglas Corp., Long Beach, Calif. The other Members will have their favorite Hall of Fame candidate. Mine is Howard Cleveland.

**REPORT TO VIRGINIA EIGHTH
DISTRICT**

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, for the fourth time, I have prepared and am sending to each home in the Eighth District of Virginia an annual questionnaire on matters which will be before the Congress during the coming session. A copy of this questionnaire, together with a newsletter which accompanies it, prepared in the closing hours of our first session of the 91st Congress, is being inserted in the RECORD for the information of the membership:

CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS

(January 1970, vol. IV, No. 1)

INFLATION

The President, in a recent message to Congress, expressed concern that the amounts of his budget requests were being increased and stated, "When government spending gets out of hand, consumer prices go out of sight." Of course, we are all aware of high prices, tight money and high interest rates. The President indicated that high quality bond issues could be marketed only at interest rates in excess of 9%, and that savers and managers of money more insisting on rates high enough to give them a worthwhile return on their investment. The Nixon budget requests total \$192.9 billion but his message stated that Congressional increases in aid to education, government employees' salaries, Social Security and Veterans' benefits among other things were contributing to the inflationary pressure. These, of course, are meritorious items as is almost every proposal that is presented to the Congress. However, Congress needs to pay heed to the Presidential message of holding down prices and this means that some of our most cherished programs cannot be increased any more even have to be reduced. Inflation hurts us all and especially those on a fixed income, particularly elderly people living on annuities.

REAPPORTIONMENT

The news media has commented recently regarding the wide difference in population between the various Virginia Congressional districts. However, it is unlikely that any reapportionment will take place until after

the census of population is tabulated next fall. The House of Representatives has 435 members and under the Federal Constitution is divided among the states on the basis of the decennial census. Virginia now has ten seats in the House and is expected to retain the same number after the census. Therefore, the number of people in our district should be one-tenth of 4,750,000, the approximate number of people presently living in Virginia. Since we have the most populous district, about 600,000 people, 125,000 of them will be transferred to other Congressional districts. This transfer, however, will not take place until after new census figures are tabulated and the State legislature meets and redesigns the districts. No changes can be effective earlier than the November 1972 election of the 93rd Congress.

VOTING RIGHTS

In 1965, Congress adopted a temporary five-year Voting Rights Act. The act suspended literacy tests and similar devices and new voting regulations without federal review in those states in which less than half of the adult population was registered or in which less than half of the persons registered voted in the 1964 elections. The law also provided for assignment of federal registrars to compile lists of qualified voters and for federal observers to monitor the conduct of elections in states subject to the act. In practice, this law only applied to seven southern states and portions of Arizona and Hawaii. The House Judiciary Committee presented a proposal for the extension of the law for five additional years without any change and this would have meant that a determination as to whether a state would come within the provisions of the act would be based on facts existing in 1964 and not take into account any changes in circumstances since that date.

Of course, Virginia never had any federal registrars or observers sent into the state and no allegation made of denial of the right to vote of any person because of race, as guaranteed by the 15th amendment to the Federal Constitution. In a close roll-call vote of 208 to 203, the House passed a substitute measure proposed by the Administration placing a temporary nation-wide ban on literacy tests and similar devices, nation-wide authority to assign registrars and observers and to establish a Commission to study the effects of literacy tests and corrupt practices on voting, with instructions to report back to the President and the Congress prior to the expiration of the temporary law. This substitute act served to remove a stigma against Virginia and the other southern states in the field of voting rights and applied the principle that federal law should be equally applicable to all states. It seems reasonable that if literacy tests are banned in one state, they should be banned in all. Certainly, I hope that we have arrived at the time when no otherwise qualified individual will be denied the right to vote in any state on the basis of his race.

TAX REFORM

The Congress has passed and sent to the President the Tax Reform Act of 1969. This measure substantially rewrites the federal tax law and even a report of a Conference on it between the House and the Senate contained 346 pages. Of course, no attempt can be made in this brief newsletter to discuss many individual items. However, the act endeavors to close loopholes under which a number of high-income persons were able to escape taxes altogether or to pay what the Ways and Means Committee considered to be less than their fair share of the tax burden, eliminates the 7% investment income credit, continues the surtax at 5% until June 30, 1970, and freezes certain excise taxes at the present level for another year. It is anticipated that these features will re-

sult in substantially higher tax receipts by the government and justifies tax benefits in other portions of the bill. The most prominent item of relief is gradually raising the personal exemption for individuals over a period of years from \$600 to \$750 and increasing Social Security benefits by 15%. While the bill will result in increased government revenue this year, as deductions and benefits increase it will ultimately mean a net loss in revenue. Many of the Senate provisions which would have resulted in further loss of revenue were omitted from the compromise bill. I believe the President will sign the measure into law and am hopeful that the entire federal budget can be adjusted so that we will live within the income produced by our tax laws.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Please let us know the names of any of the following government bulletins you would like to receive. Home Planting by Design; Selecting Shrubs for Shady Areas; Money Saving Main Dishes; Growing Azaleas and Rhododendrons; Mini-gardens for Vegetables; House Construction—How to Reduce Costs; How to Buy Lawn Seed; Meat and Poultry—Wholesome for You; Clothing Repairs; Spring Flowering Bulbs.

LORTON PENAL INSTITUTIONS

Hearings were held last month on the proposal to transfer jurisdiction over the District of Columbia correctional institutions to the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The bill was introduced and hearings requested so that Congress could investigate charges made by constituents and determine the validity of the complaints. It does seem that during confinement efforts should be made to prepare inmates to re-enter society and to abide by its rules. However, testimony before the Committee indicates that the permissive attitude at the institutions is not helping to accomplish this purpose. Broadly speaking, the charges are that top management does not have adequate training in prison administration and that the general attitude is permitting, if not encouraging, militancy and lack of discipline. In all probability, a provision for transfer of the institution to the Bureau of Prisons will be included in the general crime control bill to be considered by the House later this winter.

OPINION POLL

Our fourth annual questionnaire is being sent with this newsletter to all homes in the District. Knowing your views helps me to be a more effective Representative and is persuasive in determining how to vote on proposed legislation. The results will be tabulated, shared with other Members by insertion in the Congressional Record, and reported in a later newsletter. So I hope you will take time to thoughtfully answer and return the enclosed questionnaire.

Sometimes constituents suggest that we have more frequent opinion polls. However, a considerable amount of time is spent in tabulating the results, responding to the additional mail generated, and a questionnaire sent to each home costs approximately \$1,400 in private funds. In all probability, I am also able to learn your views by an annual poll almost as well as if one was taken more frequently.

While this mail is going to all postal patrons in the district, monthly newsletters are sent only to constituents now on the mailing list and those who ask that their names be added. You may want to use the following form for that purpose. However, if you have been regularly receiving the newsletter and the address is correct, no further action is necessary.

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

1. If the cost of living continues to rise, would you favor—

- a. General cut-back of government programs?
- b. Freezing all government annuities such as Social Security and Veterans' payments at the present level?
- c. Federal wage and price controls?
2. Do you favor—
 - a. Providing food stamps at low cost to needy families?
 - b. Federally guaranteed minimum income?
 - c. Requiring all able-bodied adults to be available for work before receiving welfare aid?
3. Do you favor Social Security—
 - a. Payments tied to cost-of-living?
 - b. Deduction increases to obtain higher payments?
 - c. Amendment to allow higher earned income by annuitant?
4. If the draft is continued, do you believe the present law is adequate?
5. Do you believe the Space Program financing should be—
 - a. Continued at the present level?
 - b. Increased?
 - c. Decreased?
6. Do you favor reducing the penalty for first offense use and possession of marijuana?
 7. To reduce crime, would you favor—
 - a. Denying bail to persons previously convicted of a felony or presently on bail who are again arrested for a felony?
 - b. Making a felony all crimes involving a gun and the use or threat of force?
 8. Do you favor U.S. recognition of Red China?
 9. To deal with air and water pollution, do you favor—
 - a. Federal laws governing industrial pollution?
 - b. Permitting states to exercise control?
 - c. Federal funds and state control?
 - d. Tax credit to private industry?
 10. Some Members of Congress feel the President should consult with the Congress and receive its approval prior to any future commitment of troops to combat abroad. Do you agree with this position?
 11. Do you believe the Federal government should share a fixed percentage of tax funds with the states?
 - If an answer is "yes", should it be—
 - a. Based on population?
 - b. Based on percentage of funds collected in a state?
 - c. Based on formula whereby higher percentage be given to poor states?
 12. Do you believe Federal assistance should be denied colleges which—
 - a. Fail to have a plan to deal with campus disorders?
 - b. Terminate ROTC programs?
 - c. Refuse to do important government research?

GRAZING FEE—PART V

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on December 12 I asked a series of questions of Secretary of the Interior Hickel about grazing and received a reply on December 17. I ask unanimous consent that these letters be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

If the Secretary foregoes increasing grazing fees the general fund of the Treasury will lose \$1,476,000 in fiscal year 1971. Given the often expressed views of the administration on fiscal matters, I will leave to them the consideration of

whether this revenue loss can be justified.

The range improvement fund will lose \$877,000. At a cost of \$6 per acre for range reseeding this loss is equal to foregoing treating 146,166 acres. According to Interior Department data these acres now would support 7,308 cows and if reseeded would support 48,722 head of livestock. Failure to increase the fee will deny ranchers a chance to put an additional 41,414 head of livestock on the public range.

I hope that the Secretary will take this damage to ranchers into consideration as he weighs what his action ought to be.

Ranchers who seek to graze more livestock likewise will want to consider the results.

Payments to States and local government will be \$373,000 less if the grazing fee is not increased. Ranchers who find their local taxes up ought to recognize that an increased grazing fee helps support local government needs.

I hope the Secretary of the Interior has at his command data which shows that States and local governments cannot use the additional payments they would have received.

Ranchers and those concerned with watershed conservation and wildlife have long supported programs of range improvement. For a cost of \$6 per acre or \$120 per 20 acres that previously supported one cow can be improved so that seven can graze on these 20 acres.

I hope the Secretary can explain why he should deny western ranchers this opportunity for a sevenfold increase in grazing.

The Department set forth some startling figures on rangeland condition. Only 16 percent of the public range is in good or better condition while 31 percent is poor or bad. Only 15 percent of the range is improving while 14 percent is still declining. The Department says it is noteworthy that in 1936, 95 percent of the public lands were declining and only 2 percent improving. The fact is that 1936 was 34 years ago and there was no real program of range conservation, the Taylor Act was but 2 years old and the whole concept of soil and water conservation was just getting on a sound footing. Here we are on the eve of 1970 with 22,400,000 acres of public range still declining and even worse, 49,600,000 acres is in poor or bad condition.

I hope the Secretary finds this noteworthy when he considers whether we should move 146,166 acres from the "bad" condition category to the "excellent" condition category.

I hope he will take note that only 1,600,000 acres of range is rated as "excellent" while five times as much 8,000,000 acres is rated "bad."

The current grazing fee is 44 cents and if the scheduled increase were made it would climb to around 55 cents. However, if a rancher puts livestock on the public range in trespass he is charged \$2 per animal unit month or the commercial rate if it is higher. That is the charge for a grazing trespass not deemed to be clearly willful.

I hope the Secretary will also take notice of this fact.

In 1969, sportsmen accounted for 10,372,150 visitor days on the public lands.

I was curious about the cost of a "HUD," or hunter unit day cost for his license alone based on actual use.

In Alaska a cow can graze for a whole month for 44 cents. A resident hunter's license cost is 66 cents a day and a non-resident's cost is 95 cents a day.

In Montana a cow grazes a whole month for 44 cents but a hunter's license cost equals 50 cents a day and a non-resident's cost of \$30 per day.

In virtually every State in the West the license cost per day for a hunter or fisherman exceeds the cost per month to graze a cow. Wyoming has a low fee for birds and rabbits but then since one cow AUM equals five sheep the small game hunter can readily see his fee per day is still more costly than a months grazing license for a sheep.

I think the millions of sportsmen of the Nation will find this table extremely interesting. This data ought to give the Secretary of the Interior a little food for thought. He can ruminate on this as he chews his cud of 44 cents range grass.

In my earlier remarks I noted the excellent analysis made by the Department of Agriculture on the question of a grazing fee increase. It showed that the fee increase schedule was justified. Perhaps if the public lands were in another Department the total need of the Federal Treasury, State, and local governments, ranchers and sportsmen would be better recognized.

As of December 17, I have not a single piece of evidence from any source in the executive branch, or from private sources, ranchers, sportsmen, or conservationists, which even remotely suggests that there is a case for not increasing the grazing fee.

In fact all the data I have indicate that the group that will benefit the most from a fee increase is the ranchers.

I hope the Secretary of the Interior Hickel, will examine these points as he decides on January 4, 1970, what he ought to do with his proposal.

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

DECEMBER 12, 1969.

HON. WALTER J. HICKEL,
Secretary of the Interior,
Department of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY HICKEL: This will refer to previous correspondence on grazing fees on public lands. I will appreciate having the following information by 16 December 1969:

1. Present grazing revenue; present allocation of revenue to rangeland; present allocation to state and local governments;

2. Amount of additional revenue if fees were increased on schedule; additional allocation of revenue to rangeland; additional allocation to state and local governments;

3. Average cost per acre to reseed rangeland for grazing and resultant increase in grazing based upon recent experience;

4. Data on current condition by classes of public land and trends for recent years. Are soil and watershed conditions static, improving or declining?

5. Number of sportsmen who use public lands.

6. Cost of resident and non-resident hunting and fishing licenses in the 11 western States; the best estimate available of the cost per day of hunting and fishing (listed separately). Specifically, I want the cost shown as follows: if non-resident hunting license costs \$25, and the average hunter uses it for five days, his costs would equate at \$5 per hunter day.

7. When persons graze livestock in trespass on public land, what is the charge assessed and how is it computed?

Very truly yours,

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D.C., December 16, 1969.

HON. LEE METCALF,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR METCALF: This refers to your correspondence of November 26 and December 12 with respect to the proposed rule making procedure on grazing fees.

I have expressed on many occasions my intention to carefully evaluate recommendations of the Public Land Law Review Commission relating to grazing fees. It was with this in mind that on December 4 I published a notice of proposed rule making. I have studied numerous documents and, as you know, I have met with representatives of the grazing industry, conservation organizations, and Members of Congress to discuss the grazing fee rate structure controversy. This Department participated with the United States Forest Service in a study entitled Western Livestock Grazing Survey. Certainly I intend to continue to evaluate the additional information relating to this matter before accomplishing any major revision of the grazing fee structure.

In your letter of December 12, you raised several questions. Attached for your information are the question and the answers. If I can provide you with any additional information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER J. HICKEL.

1. Question: Present grazing revenue, present allocation of revenue to rangeland; present allocation to state and local governments;

2. Question: Amount of additional revenue if fees were increased on schedule; additional allocation to revenue to rangeland; additional allocation to state and local governments.

Answer:

GRAZING RECEIPTS
[In thousands of dollars]

	Constant 44 cents, fiscal year 1970	Previous increase schedule, fiscal year 1971	Difference
Total receipts.....	\$5,788	\$8,547	+\$2,759
Distribution:			
Range improvements fund (available in following fiscal year).....	1,841	2,718	+877
Reclamation fund.....	69	102	33
General fund of the Treasury.....	3,097	4,573	+1,476
Payments to States and counties (paid in following fiscal year).....	-781	1,154	+373

3. Question: Average cost per acre to reseed rangeland for grazing and resultant increase in grazing based upon recent experience;

Answer: The average cost of reseeding, when livestock forage production is the primary reason for investing, is approximately \$6.00 per acre. The type of land treated results in a grazing capacity conversion from about 20 acres per AUM (to support one cow for one month) to 3 acres per AUM.

4. Question: Data on current condition by classes of public land and trends for recent years. Are soil and watershed conditions static, improving, or declining?

Answer: In 1936 it was determined that forage production of the Western range region was less than half its potential as a result of livestock grazing. Only five percent of the entire region was in good or better condition.

Currently, 16 percent of the public rangelands are in good or better condition. This situation is depicted in the following table.

[Thousand acres and percent of total]

Condition class:	
Excellent (1,600)	1
Good (24,000)	15
Fair (84,800)	53
Poor (41,600)	26
Bad (8,000)	5
Trend:	
Improving (24,000)	15
Static (113,600)	71
Declining (22,400)	14

The 14% in a declining trend equals 22.4 million acres; currently, we estimate that 20.5 million acres are declining which indicates an overall improvement.

It is noteworthy that in 1936 95% of the public lands were declining, and only 2% of the public lands improving.

5. Question: Number of sportsmen who use public lands.

Answer: Sportsmen accounted for 10,372,150 visitor days in 1969. There were 5,662,150 hunter days and 4,710,000 fisherman days.

6. Question: Cost of resident and non-resident hunting and fishing licenses in the 11

western States; the best estimate available of the cost per day of hunting and fishing (listed separately). Specifically, I want the cost shown as follows: if non-resident hunting license costs \$25, and the average hunter uses it for five days, his costs would equate at \$5 per hunter day.

Answer: (See attached sheet).

7. Question: When persons graze livestock in trespass on public land, what is the charge assessed and how is it computed?

Answer: Regulations (43 CFR 9239.3-2(c)(2)) pursuant to the Taylor Grazing Act provide that damage to the Federal range and the value of the forage consumed will be paid by the trespasser.

Where the trespass grazing is not deemed to be clearly willful, the forage value and damage to the Federal range are computed at the rate of \$2.00 per animal unit month, or at the commercial rate if such rate is higher. If the trespass is deemed clearly willful, grossly negligent or repeated, the charge assessed is \$4.00 per animal month or twice the commercial rate if such amount is higher.

	Hunting				Fishing		
	Licenses big game ¹	Small game if different	Average number of days	Cost per day ²	License	Average number of days	Cost per day ³
Alaska:							
Resident		\$7	10.6	66 cents	\$5.00	9.8	\$0.50
Nonresident		10					
Arizona:							
Resident		5	12.7	39 cents	5.00	11.1	.27
Nonresident		20					
California:							
Resident		4	15.0	27 cents	5.00	9.4	.53
Nonresident		(9) 25					
Colorado:							
Resident		25.62	4.7	\$5.44	6.00	8.7	.69
Nonresident		(9)					
Idaho:							
Resident		3	4.6	\$65 cents	4.00	19.2	.21
Nonresident		100					
Montana:							
Resident		2.50	5.0	50 cents	4.00	(9)	(9)
Nonresident		150					
Nevada:							
Resident		5 \$5	4.0	\$1.25	5.00	16.8	.30
Nonresident		35 \$25					
New Mexico:							
Resident		15	15.1	\$1.00	5.50	7.6	.72
Nonresident		63					
Oregon:							
Resident		5	9.0	55 cents	6.00	12.0	.50
Nonresident		35					
Utah:							
Resident		5	5.5	90 cents	5.00	9.0	.56
Nonresident		(9)					
Washington:							
Resident		5.50 \$5	10.0	55 cents + 50 cents	5.50	10.0	.55
Nonresident		35 \$35					
Wyoming:							
Resident		5 \$2 birds, \$1 rabbits	5.0	\$1.00-40 cents + 20 cents	\$3.00	5.0	\$0.60
Nonresident		125 \$20 birds, \$5 rabbits					

¹ Excludes tags, permits, trophy fees.

² Cost of license only. Excludes permits, tags, equipment, transportation, etc.

³ Resident only.

⁴ Average of all big game animals.

⁵ For only some animals.

Note: Statistical methods vary.

ERNIE PYLE COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, all of us either remember or have heard of the late Ernie Pyle, the famous World War II correspondent. He was one of America's greatest and most beloved personalities.

Two bills have been introduced that authorize the issuance of a commemorative stamp honoring Ernie Pyle. Knowing of the interest of Congress in hon-

oring him, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues several articles on Ernie Pyle and the efforts by a citizen of Ohio, Mr. Nunzio Calvo, to have a commemorative stamp issued.

Under unanimous consent, I include the following articles in the RECORD:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 1, 1969]

COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

ON THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:
On April 18, 1970, it will be 25 years since one of America's greatest and most beloved personalities was lost. Ernie Pyle has not only won a permanent place in the hearts of Americans as evidenced by the thousands who visit his grave in Honolulu, but he has won for our war correspondents the trust and respect of the American people and their

fighting men. The memory of Ernie Pyle will continue to inspire today's war correspondents who are again bravely accompanying our fighting men into the swamps and jungles of Vietnam.

Ernie Pyle was responsible in World War II for combat infantrymen and medics receiving an extra \$10 a month in pay—he was responsible for the wearing of overseas bars on the left sleeve of uniforms. He was beloved by the men in combat, as well as the people back home.

The late General Eisenhower said of Ernie Pyle, "we have lost one of our best and most understanding friends," and in the words of President Truman, "no man . . . has so well told the story of the American fighting man as American fighting men want it told. He deserves the gratitude of all his countrymen." These remarks are a lasting tribute for a great person.

Ernie Pyle still has our gratitude, and next April will be the month to remember him. What better way could this be done than to have a commemorative stamp issued to honor this outstanding individual? Next year will be the 25th anniversary of his death. This would be the ideal time to pay homage to him. All former GIs who knew him and served with him, as well as those back home to whom he reported, should entreat the Post Office Department and the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee in Washington now to authorize the issuance of a commemorative stamp for Ernie Pyle.

N. R. CALVO.

CLEVELAND.

[From the Ohio VFW News, Oct. 1969]

ERNIE PYLE STAMP CONSIDERED

Veterans organizations are being asked to support a proposal which has led to bills being introduced in Congress to provide for the issuance of a commemorative stamp honoring World War II correspondent Ernie Pyle.

Having been referred to the committee on Post Office and Civil Services, one of the bills calls for date of issuance on April 18, 1970, the 25th anniversary of the death of Ernie Pyle.

Pyle has not only won a permanent place in the hearts of Americans, as evidenced by the thousands who visit his grave in Honolulu, but he has won for our war correspondents the trust and respect of the American people and their fighting men. The memory of Pyle will continue to inspire today's war correspondents who are again bravely accompanying our fighting men into the swamps and jungles of Vietnam.

Pyle was responsible in World War II for combat infantrymen and medics receiving an extra \$10 a month in pay and he was responsible for the wearing of overseas bars on the left sleeve of uniforms.

The late General Eisenhower said of Pyle, "We have lost one of our best and most understanding friends," and in the words of President Truman, "No man . . . has so well told the story of the American fighting man as American fighting men want it told. He deserves the gratitude of all his countrymen."

The original proposal for the stamp was the idea of N. R. Calvo of Cleveland—a veteran of World War II. He has contacted members of the House and Senate in Washington, and received written approval from several. Postmaster Gen. Winton M. Blount also has been contacted. The proposal has been placed on the agenda for consideration by the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee.

Calvo is urging veterans organizations and all former GIs who knew Pyle and served with him, as well as "those back home" to whom he reported, to contact the Post Office Department and the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee in Washington to authorize the issuance of the commemorative stamp.

Calvo is a life member of VFW Post 5799 of Cleveland, and serves as commissioner of Soldiers Relief for Cuyahoga County in that city. He is active in veterans affairs and a member of other veterans organizations.

[From the Union, Oct. 10, 1969]

ERNIE PYLE COMMEMORATIVE STAMP BOOSTED
(By Nunzio Calvo)

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—An all-out effort is underway for the issuance of a commemorative stamp for Ernie Pyle. The project is spearheaded by Nunzio Calvo of Cleveland, Ohio, a member of Avanti Amerita Lodge No. 133.

Bills have been introduced in Congress to provide for the issuance of the stamp to honor the World War II correspondent. Having been referred to the committee on Post Office and Civil Service, one of the bills

calls for date of issuance on April 18, 1970, the 25th anniversary of the death of Ernie Pyle. On that date, it will be twenty-five years that one of America's greatest and most beloved personalities was lost. Ernie Pyle has not only won a permanent place in the hearts of Americans as evidenced by the thousands who visit his grave in Honolulu, but he has won for our war correspondents the trust and respect of the American people and their fighting men. The memory of Ernie Pyle will continue to inspire today's war correspondents who are again bravely accompanying our fighting men into the swamps and jungles of Vietnam.

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The late General Eisenhower said of Ernie Pyle, "we have lost one of our best and most understanding friends," and in the words of President Truman, "no man . . . has so well told the story of the American fighting man as American fighting men want it told. He deserves the gratitude of all, his countrymen." These remarks are a lasting tribute to a great person.

Ernie Pyle still has our gratitude, and next April will be the month to remember him. What better way could this be done than to have a commemorative stamp issued to honor this outstanding individual? Next year will be the 25th anniversary of his death. This would be the ideal time to pay homage to him.

The original proposal for the stamp was the idea of Nunzio Calvo of Cleveland, he himself a veteran of World War II. He has contacted members of the House and Senate in Washington, and received written approval of the idea from several, two of which introduced the legislation. He has received some national publicity on the project and received enthusiastic replies from individuals throughout the country. Postmaster General Winton W. Blount has also been contacted. The proposal has been placed on the agenda for consideration by the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee.

Calvo is urging all former GIs who knew Ernie Pyle and served with him, as well as "those back home" to whom he reported, to contact the Post Office Department and the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee in Washington by letter now to authorize the issuance of a commemorative stamp for Ernie Pyle.

Nunzio Calvo serves as commissioner of Soldiers Relief for Cuyahoga County in Cleveland, Ohio, where he is active in veteran affairs and a member of veteran organizations.

SPECIAL END-OF-SESSION LEGISLATIVE REPORT TO PENNSYLVANIA CONSTITUENTS, FIRST SESSION, 91ST CONGRESS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the first session of the 91st Congress has been spoken of rather disparagingly in recent months. I have joined, upon occasion, in some criticism. It is true that the session just concluded did not accomplish all I had hoped it would. It is also true that vital appropriations legis-

lation was delayed in Democratic-controlled committees past an excusable period. Nevertheless, there was a lot of qualitative progress—massive tax reform and tax relief, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the reassertion of the Senate's prerogatives in foreign affairs, a strong coal mine safety law, and a new emphasis on the environment, to name only a few. After the myriad of legislation flowing from the 89th and 90th Congresses, it was a time to retrench and to rethink some of the ways we have been doing things. This was a year which I feel set the stage for more massive reforms which Congress must act on this year. These include reform of the draft system, the welfare system, the complicated Federal-grant programs, postal service, and much more. The objective will be to make government more responsive and efficient.

As minority leader I am anxious and hopeful that we will be able to speed up the enactment of President Nixon's reform program. Following is a more detailed breakdown of my own record of legislative activity during the past year, prepared by my staff. I hope you will be able to look it over and to agree with me that although much was accomplished, much more remains to be done.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

AGRICULTURE

Current farm program expires with 1970 crop year—hearings have been held in House and Senate—will move with the Administration to greatly reform and improve this area during the coming months.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Led battle against southern-bloc efforts to forbid use of federal funds for school desegregation—*Scott Amendment* defanged "Whitten" Amendment by adding words "Except as required by the Constitution."

Carried through Senate the President's plan to assure fair minority employment in construction industry.

Voted to deny to any state Governor an item veto power over operation of an OEO legal services program within a state.

Supported establishment of commission on Afro-American History and Culture to foster better understanding and knowledge of the contributions of Black Americans.

Primary co-sponsor of amendment increasing funding of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from \$11.5 million to \$16 million.

Sponsor of amendment adding \$8 million to appropriations for enforcement of Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Led battle for Yarborough-Scott Amendment to allow foundations to use funds for voter registration education.

Scott legislation pending

S. 818, to extend 1965 Voting Rights Act for 5 years.

S. 2029, Omnibus Civil Rights Act.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Co-sponsored and developed strategy to pass bill exempting federally licensed sellers of ammunition from requirement of keeping records of shotgun and rifle ammunition (Bennett-Scott bill).

Voted against confirmation of Carl J. Gilbert to be Special Representative for Trade Negotiations because of record as "free-trader"—Scott supports import quotas for

shoes, textiles, flatglass, steel, electronic products, etc., to protect basic Pennsylvania industries.

Voted not to cut \$130 million construction in U.S. Maritime (Merchant Marine) program greatly aiding our Commonwealth's major ports.

Voted—

To increase trade in peaceful goods with all nations except those against our national interests, but to restrict exports of goods with significant military potential.

To grant tax incentives to industries utilizing pollution-control facilities.

To authorize the President to impose import quotas and restrictions (to protect domestic industry).

Scott legislation pending

S. 1072, to extend the vital *Appalachian Regional Development Act* to 1971—affects 50 Pennsylvania counties and 6 million people.

S. 915, to authorize financial assistance to small businesses impaired by Philadelphia Port work stoppage.

S. 1520, to assist, preserve struggling newspapers.

S. 2004, to establish orderly reform system of broadcast re-licensing.

S. 3018, to repeal present public utilities exemption from truth-in-lending provision (to treat all fuel dealers equally).

S. 2143, to encourage foreign travelers to see U.S., particularly historic Pennsylvania.

S. 15, *Rural Job Development Act* providing incentives for industries to locate in rural areas.

CONSERVATION AND OUTDOORS

Co-sponsored, worked to enact *Water Quality Improvement Act*—includes "Scott Amendment" providing for training of wastewater treatment plant operators, strict new liability for tankers and off-shore drilling companies polluting water rights and institutes tough water pollution controls (Public Law 91-144).

Co-sponsored, testified on Endangered Species Preservation Act protecting fish and wildlife in danger of extinction (Public Law 91-135).

Led battle for repeal of burdensome ammunition registration requirements in Gun Control Act of 1968.

As new member of Subcommittee on Energy, Natural Resources, and the Environment, instrumental in obtaining hearings on the effects of insecticides and pesticides on our national fishery resources.

Strongly opposed Tydings bill (S. 977) to establish a national system of firearms registration and Dodd Certificate Bill (S. 2433) to require every gun-owner to procure a "certificate" and recommendations of the Violence Commissioner which would confiscate 90% of all handguns.

Testified in support of various flood control projects including Rowlesburg, Stonewall Jackson, and Foster Joseph Rayre Dams; Raystown Reservoir; and Presque Island Beach Erosion Project.

Voted—

For increased recreational facilities for National Park Service and co-sponsored measure to continue *Golden Eagle Passport* program.

For top level Council on Environmental Quality to review national resources and environment.

For amendment of *Clean Air Act* to extend research activities to curb air pollution from motor vehicles (Public Law 91-137).

For full \$1 billion for clear water programs—final appropriation of \$800,000,000 is almost four times last year's and should guarantee funds for all 73 pollution-control projects pending in Pennsylvania.

Voted—

For guidelines and controls over chemical and biological weapons which endanger our environment.

For tax incentives to industries utilizing pollution-control facilities.

Worked with Department of Interior and others to safeguard growing Koho salmon industry in Lake Erie area from destruction by insecticide pollution.

Called for review of needs for flood control, recreation, etc., for Schuylkill River Basin.

Obtained \$3.25 million for purchase of additional property to complete Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park.

Scott legislation pending

S. 2311, to channel Federal taxes collected from the sale of handguns into the Wildlife Restoration Fund. Approximately \$5 million a year would be added to fund—money now goes into general revenues with no direct benefit to Pennsylvania sportsmen.

S. 1079, calling for federal fiscal participation in the Susquehanna River Basin Compact.

Consumer Affairs

Co-sponsored, voted for *Child Protection and Toy Safety Act* to assure proper warnings on toys or articles for children (Public Law 91-113).

Voted for funds for Wholesale Meat and Poultry Products Acts assuring all meat and poultry meet federal standards.

Voted to confirm Pennsylvania's Virginia Knauer as President's Assistant for Consumer Affairs.

Scott legislation pending

S. 861, to assist states in establishing and strengthening consumer protection programs.

S. 3097, to establish new Office of Consumer Affairs.

CRIME CONTROL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Co-sponsored repeal of burdensome ammunition registration requirements and new law requiring mandatory penalties for federal crimes committed with a gun (Mansfield-Scott bill).

Voted to expand crime control program including \$268 million for Administration program to aid state and local law enforcement agencies—amount is 9 times last year's funds.

Called for Senate action early this year on S.30, Organized Crime Control Act; and new federal narcotics, pornography legislation.

Scott legislation pending

S. 3099, permitting the Eastern District Federal Court to sit at Allentown, Easton, Reading, and Philadelphia.

DRAFT REFORM

Voted to authorize random selection system for draft reducing period of draft vulnerability from 7 years to 12 months (Public Law 91-124).

Supported Presidential Commission now studying possibility of an all volunteer Army—will report this year.

Scott legislation pending

S. 1433, to amend Selective Service Act (general, in-depth draft reform).

EDUCATION

Voted—

For increased student loan program (NDEA) and educational opportunity and work study grants (Public Law 91-95).

For tax credits for expenses of higher education.

To extend program for improving Educational TV and Radio facilities (Public Law 91-97).

Scott legislation pending

S. 1788, to assist persons in securing post-secondary education.

S. 2422, to permit HEW Secretary to prescribe maximum interest rate for student loans (rather than colleges or banks).

S. 2545, to authorize Commissioner of Education to arrange for community service programs seeking solutions to national and regional problems.

S. 2579, to authorize Commissioner of Education to make vocational education opportunity grants.

S. 2827, to give college Presidents power to obtain federal injunctions to stop campus disorders at federally assisted institutions of higher education.

S. 3850, to provide emergency assistance to medical and dental schools.

ELECTIONS

Supported reform of outmoded Electoral College system.

Scott legislation pending

Senate Joint Resolution 147, constitutional amendment extending right to vote in federal elections to persons 18 years or older.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Introduced and obtained commitment for action on Scott-Mansfield resolution supporting President Nixon's plan for peace in Vietnam, also calling for a mutually observed ceasefire.

Voted—

For "National Commitments resolution" declaring that U.S. military or financial response to events in other nations shall be subject to action by both the executive and legislative branches.

To ratify *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty* denying the possession of nuclear weapons to nations who now do not have them.

To limit U.S. support of local forces in Laos and Thailand to the provision of supplies, material and training except where protection of U.S. personnel is involved.

To declare that U.S. diplomatic recognition of foreign governments does not mean U.S. approval of that government.

Urged on several occasions direct Israel-Arab negotiations, criticizing the four-power approach to Mid-East peace; met with top Administration and Israeli officials.

Scott legislation pending

S. 2846, authorizes State Department to develop a prototype desalting plant in Israel.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 37, prisoner of war resolution appealing for humane treatment and immediate release of American POW's.

HEALTH AND HUNGER

Co-sponsored and pushed through Senate historic, strong *Coal Mine Health and Safety Act* containing first dust-control standard special Federal compensation for black lung disease.

Voted to revise, expand the food stamp program permitting wider coverage and better service to low-income families; increased appropriation (P.L. 91-116).

Called for action next session on drugs and drug education programs.

Scott legislation pending

S. 1865, to establish causes and effects of malnutrition.

S. 2789, to eliminate poverty-related hunger and malnutrition.

S. 1997, to provide more effective prevention and treatment of alcoholism.

S. 2311, to improve hunter safety programs by expanding Wildlife Restoration Fund (see Conservation).

S. 2562, to establish state drug listing to encourage physicians to prescribe most economical drugs under federal health programs.

S. 2037, to construct Neighborhood Health Centers in rural and urban areas.

S. 2716, to investigate causes of power failures.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Voted to increase funds for federal Urban Renewal and Model Cities commitments by \$587 million over present appropriation of \$1 billion—28 Pennsylvania communities await funding.

Asked HUD Secretary Romney for full report on future urban renewal fund needs—

promised to lead fight for supplemental appropriations.

Strongly supported and voted for \$4.8 million housing bill which sets far-reaching precedents—it requires housing demolished for urban renewal to be replaced, permits insuring of loans up to \$10,000 for purchase of mobile homes, and gives authority to test new building techniques.

Scott legislation pending

Senate Joint Resolution 113, directing Federal Trade Commission to investigate unfair methods of competition or deceptive practices in the home improvement industry.

S. 3025, to authorize federal incentive grants to state and local governments to strengthen their capacity to utilize and plan the use of land more productively.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Co-sponsored legislation to share portion of federal tax revenue directly with state and local governments.

JOB OPPORTUNITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Fought attempts to cut funds for Office of Economic Opportunity—voted to extend program for 2 years.

Supported Administration minority employment plan (see Civil Rights).

Co-sponsored Appalachia Rural Job Development bills (see Commerce and Industry).

LABOR

Voted for health and safety standards for workers at federally financed and assisted construction projects (Public Law 91-54).

Voted for revision in hours railroad employees must work each week.

Co-sponsored and pushed through Senate historic strong Coal Mine Health and Safety Bill (see Health).

SCOTT LEGISLATION PENDING

S. 2838 (co-sponsor), to establish comprehensive manpower development program to assist persons in overcoming obstacles to suitable employment.

S. 2769, Human Investment Act to provide tax credits to train employees, especially hard-core unemployed.

MILITARY SPENDING

In a year of shocking exposure of military waste the Senate re-affirmed its Constitutional prerogatives in this area.

Co-sponsored Schweiker Amendment requiring Defense Department quarterly reports on major contracts for development and procurement of weapons systems and to authorize independent audits of major contracts.

Voted—

For control of chemical, biological warfare. To trim military research, development, test, and evaluation programs by \$45.6 million.

To require a comprehensive study and investigation of cost and projected costs and effectiveness of aircraft carriers.

To place a monetary cutoff on military funds used for independent research and development by contractors.

For a study of profits of certain defense contracts and contracts not subject to competitive bidding.

To place a ceiling on number of active duty armed service personnel and to require that for every man withdrawn from Vietnam, ceiling must be reduced one man.

Reluctantly voted for lower-cost ABM system to modestly proceed with our defense capacity. If arms limitations talks with Russia proceed as well as they have been going, there will be no need for the expenditures Congress authorized. Strongly opposed Sentinel system.

MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY

Voted for additional mortgage credit during periods of tight money so nation's housing shortage will not become worse.

Voted—

To lessen restrictions in real estate with respect to rental housing and rehabilitation expenses to ease housing shortage.

To cut oil depletion allowance from 27½% to 23%.

To increase personal income tax exemption on a gradual basis for \$600 to \$750. Tax bill conferees adopted moderate "Percy-Scott" approach.

To require foundations to distribute greater percentage of their assets to charity.

Scott legislation pending

S. 1285, establishing a National Economic Conversion Commission which would study ways to return, without economic difficulty, to peacetime economy.

S. 2259, to provide federal credit union facilities for low-income neighborhoods.

S. 3077, to provide tax credit for higher education expenses.

POSTAL EMPLOYEES AND OPERATIONS

Scott legislation pending

S. 309, to improve employee-management relations in Postal service.

PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Called for public hearings early next year on constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in public schools.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSION PLANS

Voted—

For 15% across the board increase in Social Security benefits and automatic cost-of-living increase.

Not to restrict criteria for eligibility under Civil Service Retirement Amendment.

For provision to encourage optional early retirement for federal employees (Public Law 91-93).

Scott legislation pending

S. 1896, to include dental, eye, and hearing aids among benefits provided by the insurance program.

S. 2184, to include prescribed drugs under coverage of the supplementary medical insurance program for aged.

S. 2518, to liberalize conditions governing eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits.

TRANSPORTATION

Voted to extend and improve 1966 Auto Safety Law.

Obtained FAA speedups for air safety equipment for Pennsylvania airports.

Supported expansion of federal aid for airport facilities.

Called for more attention to high-speed rail service for nation.

Scott legislation pending

S. 2581, to provide safety improvements for highway grade crossings for high-speed rail passenger trains.

S. 1070, to establish a Commission on Air Traffic Control.

S. 2050, to provide for increased and improved air navigation policies to increase safety of U.S. airways.

VETERANS

Sponsored and supported expansion of veteran's education and training assistance.

Sponsored and voted to make permanently and totally disabled veterans eligible for outpatient treatment for entire life (Public Law 91-102).

Voted to provide more equitable compensation formula and increased payments for veteran's widows (Public Law 91-96).

Proposed new Senate Committee on Veteran's Affairs to alleviate current haphazard approach to veteran's legislation.

Introduced bills to incorporate Jewish War Veterans, Catholic War Veterans.

Scott legislation pending

S. 2813, to increase Veteran's burial allowances to \$400.

S. 700, to provide additional national cemeteries in Pennsylvania—the need is critical.

WELFARE

Scott legislation pending

S. 2986, chief sponsor of Nixon Administration Family Assistance Act designed to replace present wasteful, inefficient, and degrading welfare system with bold reform.

S. 2470, authorizes elderly to exchange food stamps for meals prepared and served by private non-profit organizations.

TIMBER YIELD

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Agriculture has approved a bill, H.R. 12025, aimed at increasing the timber yield in our national forests. This legislation has given rise to considerable comment throughout the country, including editorial comment in the press. The Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky., carried an editorial in its November 4, 1969, issue which clearly sets forth one side of the controversy which H.R. 12025 has engendered. So that my colleagues may be aware of The Courier-Journal's comments, I include the text of the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

A LICENSE TO PLUNDER OUR FORESTS

One trouble in keeping up with efforts to destroy the country's natural beauty is the tricky way the destroyers have of putting innocent names on the destructive bills they introduce in Congress. For example, the lumber lobby is pushing through Congress a thing called the National Timber Supply Act. That sounds reasonable, doesn't it? And it is one of the most dangerous pieces of anti-conservation legislation to come before Congress in years.

Taking advantage of a temporary shortage that sent lumber prices soaring last spring the lumber companies are trying to get permission to loot the nation's forests. This bill would let them do just that. It would let them step up the present rate of cutting, which is geared to tree re-growth and replacement, and would give them the right to cut timber in all national forest land not now set aside for recreation. It would give them the right to plunder practically all of Kentucky's Daniel Boone Forest, and possibly the area around and including the Red River Gorge.

WOULD UPSET THE BALANCE

In 1964 Congress passed the Multiple-Use and Sustained Yield Act for the specific purpose of protecting the national forests against just the type of activity proposed in this bill. It protects the forests to insure continued healthy growth of timber, and to balance the use of forests for wood, water, wildlife and recreation.

This bill would tilt the balance in favor of timber-cutting, and endanger or destroy the value of the forests for recreation, water and wildlife purposes.

The bill would not only let loggers cut timber areas now preserved as wilderness, but would create a "high yield timber fund" which would be devoted to "increasing the yield" of the forests. This does not mean that the fund would necessarily be spent on replanting; it could be used to build logging roads through scenic sections of the national forests that are now roadless. And it would permit the Secretary of Agriculture to allow practices that would assure yearly increases in the amount of timber cut.

Under the guise of relieving a lumber

shortage, it would give the cutters the right they have long been denied to raid the national preserve. It is not only a bad bill, but an unnecessary one. More than 90 per cent of all public forest is already open to cutting; this would simply let lumbermen cut more and faster without regard to the health of the forests or the demands of sensible conservation.

Furthermore, the private lumber industry is now exporting more than 4 billion board feet of logs and lumber a year, enough to meet shortages in domestic needs. Even with this huge export, the domestic shortage of which they speak has already been materially reduced. Lumber price increases are already down to almost half of what they were six months ago.

Wood is not the only material involved in the problem of providing housing for Americans, and it is not necessary to pillage the few remaining protected areas of national forest in order to solve the housing problem. What is being attempted here is a steal, at a hideous potential cost to future Americans. The cost is too high. Kentuckians are fortunate that Senator Marlow Cook, who has shown an awareness of the needs of conservation, is on the subcommittee considering this bill. He should help to kill it.

TECHNICAL SERVICES PROGRAM

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, it was disappointing to learn that the supplemental appropriations conference committee did not approve the Department of Commerce's request for a supplemental appropriation of \$5 million for the State technical services program for fiscal year 1970. After the original budget this year requested \$5.3 million to continue this very worthwhile program the new administration this spring reduced the request to \$290,000 for salaries and administrative expenses. The rationale expressed at that time was that the Commerce Department was awaiting an evaluation by an independent consulting organization which had been provided for in an earlier authorization bill. In September, I joined with the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH) and the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) in writing to the Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration to question the cutbacks of technology transfer activities that had taken place in both agencies.

As a result of a very favorable report by the consultant, the A. D. Little Co. of Boston, it was decided that the State technical services program should be continued. Accordingly, on November 24, funds were sought to continue the program by way of a supplemental appropriation.

Mr. President, the Senate approved this request in full, but the House would not approve any portion of it, and the House prevailed in conference. I feel this is a serious mistake. The failure to grant this supplemental appropriation request will result in crippling, if not the abandonment, of any extremely valuable program. Because only administrative funds

were requested through regular appropriations, the supplemental appropriations were counted on to provide funding for the cooperative State-Federal programs which are planned in nearly all the 50 States and four territories.

The State Technical Services Act was passed in 1965, and authorized appropriations of \$10, \$20, and \$30 million for the first 3 years. In 1969 the legislation was extended by Public Law 90-422 with another \$10-, \$20-, and \$30-million authorization.

Although appropriations have fallen short of these targets, at least the program has been kept going until this year. Now it faces collapse.

This would mean that many potential benefits of the money spent thus far would be lost. The State technical services program involves State agencies, educational institutions, and business advisory groups which have worked closely together to bring the benefits of the billions of dollars of taxpayer-financed research within reach of everyone in their parts of the country. It has taken much effort, including the concurrence of Governors and State legislatures to set up these operating mechanisms. The start-up costs incurred thus far would be lost. In addition, the failure of the Federal Government to support a program which it initiated would create considerable ill will among people who have made commitments to this program.

ADVANTAGES OF THE STATE TECHNICAL SERVICES PROGRAM

I would like to mention some of the benefits of this program.

First, the State technical services program offers a systematic method of offsetting some of the competitive bias resulting from the high concentration of Government contracting.

Much of the technology resulting from Federal research and development activities has great national value beyond its original purpose. Because of this, technology transfer programs have been encouraged by the Congress and have now been developed in NASA, AEC, DOD, and the Small Business Administration.

The firms that regularly engage in Government contracts usually do not receive proprietary benefits from federally financed research. But where research has commercial relevance, they receive other benefits. These are an intimate association with new technology before others are aware of it and an experienced technical staff. These are obvious competitive advantages.

Firms that gain firsthand knowledge of new technologies through research contracts and other Government businesses do not need the State technical services or other technology transfer programs. In fact, when these firms use technology gained through profitable Government business to compete in the private sector they create the need, and what appears to be the moral obligation for the Government to provide programs which would help to equalize competitive positions. This obligation can only be discharged through programs which concentrate on small business and those businesses that do not have regular busi-

ness relations with the Federal Government.

It should also be noted that a great deal of money is being spent by many Federal agencies to make results of publicly financed research and development available to industry. Unfortunately, there is a great difference between making technology available and having it used. State technical services programs, because of their State and regional orientation have the variety and flexibility to meet a wide range of unique needs that would otherwise inhibit the effective transfer and use of commercially relevant technology.

Second, the State technical services program is helping many industries learn to look outward for more efficient and effective solutions to problems which previously were solved internally.

Much of the Nation's industry, particularly in the older parts of the Nation, had its beginnings in an era when a large body of taxpayer-financed technology did not exist. But even then, trade secrets were jealously guarded because of the competitive advantage it provided. In prior eras, the only place where solutions to technical problems could be found was within the firm. Naturally, a tradition of looking inward developed, and is still a sound business principle in many contexts.

However, the explosion of available technical information outside the firm has created a new environment that is almost the reverse of that in which much of American industry experienced its greatest growth. This massive change has taken place over a very short time-span, basically since World War II. Is it any wonder that many businesses are not yet fully aware of the value of public technology or are not giving thoughtful consideration to ways of using it?

The program brings the awareness of the value of public technology to inner directed firms for the business of State technical services programs. In doing this, the program accomplished much more than can be demonstrated by a cost-effectiveness analysis. It reorients the attitudes of many firms in a way that will produce immeasurable benefits far into the future.

Third, the State technical services program is a positive tool at the disposal of the Federal Government to fight inflation.

Federal anti-inflationary actions are generally negative because they must curtail existing demand or consumption in order to be effective. Manipulation of the money supply and credit changes in taxes and interest, and even reducing Federal expenditures can, at best, only temporarily alleviate the pressures that cause inflation. Some of these actions, and especially those involving reduced expenditures through the elimination of effective programs, can actually perpetuate inflationary pressures. The decision not to fund the State technical services program is an example of such an action.

The only real cure for inflation is to encourage a climate of competition and dynamism where goods and services can be produced at lower costs and in greater abundance. Such increases in efficiency

can be accelerated through the application of new technology. To meet the ever increasing demands which cause inflationary pressures, the rate which the technology is applied must be increased, and the extent to which it is applied must be broadened. The State technical services program has demonstrated the ability to profitably affect the rate and scope of technical application. The continuation of this process is so vital to long term price stability that the proper anti-inflationary position of the Federal Government should be to expand the program instead of withdrawing support.

Fourth, technology transfer programs are becoming increasingly important in world trade. The transistor was invented in the United States. But what country do you associate with the transistor radio? Some of our greatest competition for world markets is in fields related to technology developed in the United States, but other countries have well established technology transfer programs. The program in Holland was started in 1910. Japan has had great success in its emergence from World War II because of its wise use of technology. In Japan, as in any other country, small businesses have not been able to acquire new technologies without assistance. The national government has become an active partner in providing new technology to the country's industries. Our business community will lose not only export opportunities, but sales in the domestic market if we do not provide equivalent opportunities to use the technology that has largely been developed through the use of their taxes.

It should be noted also that this program embodies the best attributes of Federal-State-local-private cooperation. To allow a successful program of this kind, with so many advantages, to die will be a serious blow to many of the values of democracy and free enterprise that sustain this Nation.

We must not allow the impression to be given that the Federal Government retains a lack of faith in the abilities of the States and the small business community to fully participate in innovative programs in the public interest.

My distinguished colleague from Vermont (Mr. PROVY), recently made an excellent statement on this floor in support of this program.

In the course of the material he presented he included statements from the governments of nearly a dozen States setting forth the merits of the program and the need for its full funding.

One of these was from Mr. Zandy Taft, the coordinator of Federal funds for the State of New Hampshire. I will not ask to reprint this statement of Mr. Taft again, but I would call his fine argument in favor of the STS program to the attention of my colleagues. It appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 23, 1969, at page 41119.

Accordingly, I would strongly recommend that a further supplemental appropriation be proposed. I will actively support such efforts to gain adequate funding for the STS program.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE LESSON OF PEARL HARBOR

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the cost to the Nation of preparedness is high but the cost of nonpreparedness is higher still and could be fatal.

That is a lesson of Pearl Harbor. But that lesson notwithstanding there are those today who would permit or even encourage that we forget history, forget Pearl Harbor.

The Post Advocate of Alhambra, Calif., however, has not forgotten and in its editorial of December 6, 1969, performs a distinct service by reminding us that the Nation emerged from Pearl Harbor "with the resolve that it would never again be vulnerable to surprise attack."

Today there is every reason to restate that resolve and for us to maintain and strengthen our country's vigilance and defenses. As the editorial correctly states, "the basic lesson of Pearl Harbor is as valid today as ever."

I take this opportunity to commend for the reading of every Member the editorial which follows, entitled "Forgetting Pearl Harbor?"

FORGETTING PEARL HARBOR?

Americans whose memories reach back to the first Sunday in December 28 years ago will never forget the shock and anger that swept the nation with news of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The United States of America emerged from that national trauma with the resolve that it would never again be vulnerable to surprise attack.

Since that time the lesson of Pearl Harbor has been the basis for the vigilance and military preparedness that has kept U.S. military forces on duty in Europe and the Far East for a turbulent quarter of a century.

It is true that the world has changed significantly since 1941. Once the Japanese had decided to attack the United States it still required months of planning in utmost secrecy to reach the point where planes were droning toward Hawaii on that peaceful Sunday morning.

Today, however the time lapse between the decision by one nation to attack another and the explosion of the first missile warhead could be measured in minutes.

But the basic lesson of Pearl Harbor is as valid today as ever.

There are those who have argued for a quarter of a century that nuclear weapons have so utterly changed the nature of war that conventional ideas of armed strength and preparedness are out of date.

But Korea proved them wrong. Vietnam has proved them wrong. The Middle East is proving them wrong. Countless "mini-wars" erupt and subside to prove them wrong.

The United States is now embarked on a drastic reduction in the size of its military forces and curtailment of the military commitments abroad which have served as an underpinning of strength in areas of the world subject to Communist pressures. This anniversary is a time to ask whether we are now turning our backs on the lesson of Pearl Harbor.

Japanese warlords calculated in 1941 that the United States was so vulnerable, so ill-prepared for war that we could not recover

from a sudden, devastating blow on our defenses. They were almost right.

Japanese thrusts at Hawaii and the Philippines left our Pacific forces in woeful condition. Only the tenacious spirit of units that survived to keep fighting and the support of an aroused American people carried us through the dark period that ensued.

Today the United States of America and her allies face hostile threats as menacing in their intent as the thirst for conquest that possessed the Axis powers a generation ago. What has prevented World War III is the combined strength of free world alliances that stands against the probing for weakness which has characterized every twist of Communist strategy since World War II.

It was weakness that invited the attack on Pearl Harbor to be sure, weakness can still invite a comparable disaster.

That is the lesson of Pearl Harbor, and it should be studied again and again for a simple reason: our enemies have studied it, too.

JEWISH FEDERATION ANSWERS
SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish Federation and Council of Greater Seattle has prepared a statement on the speech by Secretary of State William Rogers on U.S. policy in the Middle East.

The Federation regards the Secretary's recent remarks as a material retreat from the previously firm position.

For the information of my colleagues, the statement of the Federation and Council appears at this point of the RECORD:

STATEMENT ON SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE
WILLIAM ROGERS ON U.S. POLICY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST

The Jewish Federation and Council of Greater Seattle views the recent speech by Secretary of State Rogers as a material retreat from the previously firm position of our country that the terms for peace in the Middle East must be arrived at by direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states.

The statement by Secretary Rogers concerning "new formulas" discussed with the U.S.S.R. indicates for the first time that our country is deviating from its previously sound approach to the problem of Middle East peace. In view of Soviet unwillingness to seriously consider limitation of arm supplies to Egypt and its other middle East allies, Secretary Rogers' statement constitutes a unilateral concession to Soviet-Arab interest.

This position is contrary to our country's best interests, as it encourages Arab intransigence, and convinces both the Arab nations and the Soviet Union that a continued uncompromising attitude will yield further benefits.

We therefore urge Secretary of State Rogers to reaffirm our country's long-established policy of encouraging direct negotiation between the parties involved. We further urge that so long as there is continued massive Soviet economic, military and political aid to the Arab states, it is to the United States' best interest to continue economic and military support to Israel.

DEDICATION OF NEW ALBANY, IND.,
LIBRARY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the speech I gave upon dedicating the New Albany, Ind., public library on December 7, 1969:

The Public Library is going through a boat-rocking time.

Once upon a time, libraries were monuments of marble and stone, symbols of civic and cultural pride, designed to impress the public with the wealth and the dignity of knowledge and learning. As working institutions, however, they often were more like mausoleums.

As a young boy I can remember frequenting public libraries in several communities where my family lived. They were uncomfortable. Often there was no space for chairs and tables, lighting levels drove me half blind. Clicking heels, a whisper, a falling book made me feel as if I was an intruder, in a private sanctuary.

It was a refuge for children, for old folks with leisure time on their hands, and for a small band of scholars who resented the interference of anyone else. I had the feeling that libraries were primarily for books, then for librarians, and only finally for my benefit and enjoyment.

If that is the way you think of a library today—then may I politely suggest, you are not "with it". Your generation gap is showing.

Libraries are becoming creatively responsive to the needs of people. These venerable institutions know today that to serve patrons they must do more than quietly dole out the books:

Story reading sessions are under way, using non-professional aids to bring enrichment to children.

Mobile units make their rounds sometimes stopping at a shopping area with library aides reading to children in a warm carpeted mobile unit while the mothers shop.

Community coordinators go to social, religious, service, and business groups to encourage to use the libraries' special services.

The local library is becoming a real asset to the local businessman, storing scientific, technical and management information that can save him time and money.

A library hostess may greet you and offer friendly, personal assistance.

Data processing machines and complicated electronic equipment cope with problems of information retrieval and subject indexing.

Special telephone lines link groups of libraries together, enabling a person to have access to materials beyond those in his local library.

Libraries are no longer warehouses for books and librarians are not guards. Libraries are being designed to display their books attractively and make them available, like a department store displays its wares, to catch the customer's eye and make access to them easy.

Today the library is well located convenient to the office worker, school children and the shopper. It is comfortable, with upholstered furniture and carpeting in all but the most heavily trafficked areas for comfort and to absorb sound. Available space is used flexibly, for small and large groups. Glass and color and interior decorating are used to make it attractive and inviting. Natural light is encouraged; glass walls attract the passerby; even a smoking lounge is permitted for adults and special facilities are arranged for children.

The library is becoming a focus for community pride, unique in appearance and function—a force for culture in the community. Today, libraries often are an educational asset to a community, offering reading classes for illiterates, English courses for adults, and foreign language courses. They come equipped with sophisticated sound systems, record libraries and rooms for listening to music.

In urban centers the library helps immigrants orient themselves to American life, and establish health and consumer education classes for welfare recipients. In suburbia, libraries offer great books, discussions, art galleries, American heritage programs.

Community groups are often found meeting in the library and the building is designed to accommodate them without keeping the entire library open.

The purpose is to make the library a familiar, comfortable, inviting place, providing much needed activity space and insuring maximum use of an expensive building.

All of these efforts are made to convert non-users into users. The result has been such that today the modern library is becoming as busy as the local supermarket.

We have come a long way since only the rich could afford books, as was true in early America. Benjamin Franklin and his friends who founded the Library Company in Philadelphia in 1736, and pioneered group buying and subscription libraries, would be amazed and pleased.

So would Andrew Carnegie, who gave more than \$42 million to build over 2800 public libraries in communities across the nation, including one in New Albany.

Surely the poets—who have spoken of a library as "medicine for the soul," a "hospital for the mind," a "diary of the human race," the "memory of the human race," a "duke-dom large enough," a "place to beguile your sorrow"—would applaud the modern library.

There are those who suggest that libraries of the future will have no books in them at all—all the books will be placed on microfilm and the reader will have the world's knowledge at his fingertips. Model photographic and electronic library systems are already in use.

Libraries face formidable challenges in the years ahead with growing populations, rising educational standards, and the information explosion; 100,000 librarians are needed today and we are short hundreds of millions of dollars in library construction funds. Undoubtedly automation will solve many problems, but for the immediate future, the book is not about to go out of existence and will only increase in numbers.

We live, of course, in a time of an explosion in knowledge. Man's accumulated knowledge doubles every ten years. One man simply cannot keep up with the developments a decade has seen. Thirty-seven new nations in Africa have become independent. We have lasers, masers, DNA, RUA, the new mathematics, and the exploration of the moon in the sciences. I am told that a graduate from Purdue University in June of 1970 will find that one-half of everything he learned will be obsolete in eight years.

Even my dictionary reflects the growth of human knowledge. Think of the new words that have come upon us in recent days: Viet-cong, telestar, splashdown, LSD, hippie, Watasi.

The other day I was flipping through my children's set of World Book Encyclopedia. Described for them were such things as Vostok 1, Gemini 5, radioisotope biochemical probes, bioastronautics, advanced methods of heart surgery, implantation of artificial organs.

And with the explosion of knowledge has come an explosion in books. Total sales in publishing in 1954 amounted to \$700 million. This year it will come to 2½ billion dollars.

Just to pick out the volumes to put in a library is a task for a professional.

But this vast explosion of knowledge is not without danger. It is like fire—an invaluable blessing and an agent for destruction.

Its benefits are obvious: it will increase the yields from our fields and multiply the fruits of the earth. It makes time and space collapse. For 5000 years of recorded history, the only way man could travel faster than a horse was to fall out of a tree. Today in space he travels 25,000 miles per hour.

It causes the family of man to live in a shrinking house. Population, science, technology, industrial output, consumption—all accelerate at fantastic speeds. The impact of technology is upon us. In a few years, supersonic aircraft will fly from New York to Paris in a little over two hours. Today, satellite communications bring us knowledge of events half a world away instantaneously, and electronic computers store vast amounts of information gathered from far flung corners of the world.

The benefits from the explosion of knowledge come to us from abroad, too. The United States does not have a monopoly on brains. It was the Russians who put the first satellite into orbit and a South African who transplanted the first human heart.

Do you recall Astronaut Frank Borman's statement about his flight to the moon? He said, "We truly stood on the shoulders of giants." And then he mentioned them: Newton, an Englishman; Galileo, an Italian; Copernicus, a Pole; Kepler, a German; Jules Verne, a Frenchman; Oberth, a German; Tsiolokovskiy, a Russian; Goddard, an American; Konovak, a Russian; Grissom, White, and Chaffee, Americans.

Borman concluded: "And if Apollo 8 was a triumph at all, it was not an American triumph, it was a triumph of all mankind."

We will benefit from the wit and wisdom of all mankind—provided, of course, we have access to it. The library is the institution charged with the task of storing it and indexing it so that we can use it.

The dangers from the explosion of knowledge are not as generally recognized. If we are not careful, these benefits can come to us at a fearful price. It can place around our necks the yoke of highly specialized learning. It can bind us to the whims of a few who have access to the knowledge explosion.

You and I cannot become conversant with all there is to know. There is a tendency to rely upon specialists for the truth because we have little or no total understanding.

Specialization can breed ignorance in those who are not specialists. Ignorance can lead to excessive reliance upon those who have knowledge or to indifference. The specialist can become arrogant, or thirsty for power and control. He can easily persuade himself that only he and his colleagues should participate in the decision-making process.

The solution to these risks is to preserve, make available, and distribute the knowledge of mankind. Some institution must do this for us, and be charged with the task of preserving the heritage of rational and spiritual inquiry. Several institutions serve that vital purpose in a free society—the schools, the churches, and, pre-eminently, the library.

This library, then, serves as an institution to preserve and disseminate the spirit of balanced inquiry, to reconcile those who seek to know how and those who seek to know why. This spirit has guided the world from the days of ancient Greece to the present.

This building is dedicated because it is among the most important buildings in the community.

It is open to all persons.

It stores and categorizes the wit and wisdom of the world.

It is staffed by persons who follow a noble pursuit—helping people to expand their knowledge and to enjoy their leisure as they read for pleasure.

It is an essential part of your educational system.

It is one among over 70,000 libraries in the U.S., forming an invaluable educational and recreational resource for us all.

It makes available to all persons in this community a comfortable and pleasant place to read, to meet friends, and to discuss matters of urgency and importance to the people of this community in the finest traditions of a democratic society.

It reminds us of what some few people in this community have done by the application of intelligence, energy, skill and time to enhance their community.

It serves a noble purpose: the free access to and exchange of information without which the democratic system would be, in the words of Ezekiel, a valley of dry bones.

And, it stands in the city as a symbol of hope that all mankind will be guided by reason and human wisdom in our common efforts to enhance and enrich the quality of our lives.

For these purposes, then, this building of grace and distinction is dedicated. May God richly bless all who read and study and meet here.

COLLISION AVOIDANCE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, my interest in air safety extends back to World War II when I was flying bombers in the Pacific. Today, with more and more planes spending more and more hours in the air, aircraft safety must be one of the most important considerations of our technological society.

Since coming to Congress in 1959, I have endeavored to improve air safety through such means as the cockpit voice recorders which are now standard equipment on all commercial air carriers, through increased funds for airport improvements, and through specialized technological developments to assist pilots in every way possible.

One of the major concerns of all airlines is the development of a foolproof collision avoidance system—a device that will warn pilots in time to avert a disaster. Despite the world-renowned skill of American aviators, the crowded sky has become far too hazardous for any crew to navigate without substantial assistance and support. One of the men devoting a great amount of time to the subject of collision avoidance is Frank C. White, an electrical engineer on the management staff of the Air Transport Association. Mr. White's intense dedication to the realities of air safety and his determination to seek every avenue to continually improve that air safety ranks him among those outstanding men who enjoy solving difficult problems undeterred by the staggering challenge of those problems. Mr. White's experience and his persistence in striving to obtain maximum effort from the

aircraft industry to improve their technology are well known throughout the air industry. He deserves the highest praise of civilians as well.

Recently, Business and Commercial Aviation described Mr. White and his efforts for its readers. I recommend this article to my colleagues, for it proves again what one indispensable man can add to the improvement of our highly complicated society. The article follows:

MAN OF THE MONTH: FRANK C. WHITE—
Mr. COLLISION AVOIDANCE

If and when an airborne collision avoidance system becomes a reality, all the aviation world will very likely owe a debt of gratitude to a quietly dynamic 53 year old electrical engineer on the management staff of the Air Transport Association of America. For 13 years, Frank C. White has been the prime mover behind the scheduled airlines' search for an airplane-installed anti-collision device. Hundreds of aspiring inventors, egg-headed scientists, practical engineers and contract-seeking salesmen have brought him their verbal ideas, paper sketches, mathematical analyses and breadboard prototypes—all eagerly hoping that he would open the first doors for airline acceptance.

White personally examined every proposal, sometimes impatiently, often dogmatically, but always expertly. Few men in the aviation world have had a better understanding of the midair collision problem with all its complex parameters. No one has been more dedicated to its solutions.

White has persisted in his search for a way out of the collision threat dilemma during a decade when airline management interest in an airborne anti-collision device was waxing and waning. Emphasis was continually shifting from an airborne method to placing full reliance on better ground-based air traffic control.

White and the airlines have been bitterly criticized by many potential contractors for their reluctance to release any study or development contracts and their insistence that the contractor first build his better mousetrap for the airlines to evaluate—and, possibly, buy. This was a 180-deg twist for most of the technical companies which had the capability of contributing to collision avoidance development. They had been accustomed to dealing with the military where studies and development work were funded by the agencies involved. White and ATA adamantly felt the airlines should buy a CAS just the way they purchased other avionics—even though this device required a research breakthrough.

B/CA also criticized White and ATA for their frugality in allocating funds toward the solution of this vital problem. It pointed out that the airlines had spent far more for in-flight movies, for example, than they had for collision avoidance. Nevertheless, neither B/CA nor any of White's critics could fault the man for his unrelenting search for the answer.

Largely through his efforts, four major firms in the electronics industry have produced flying prototypes of a so-called time frequency CAS which appears to have the capability of providing a reasonable solution. ATA has committed some \$2 million for a flight test program scheduled to be completed by the end of this month.

White has been an airline-man since 1938 when he went with National as superintendent of communications. His one hiatus from airline servitude was in World War II when he lent his technical talents to the Navy, for which he was commended with the Legion of Merit. White still holds a lieutenant commander rank in the Naval Reserve.

Officially, Frank White is listed as manager of communications and data processing for ATA. However, the job has spilled over to include many other facets of airborne electronics—for example, CAS, proximity warners and airborne weather radar. White was largely responsible for the fleet-wide installation of weather radar among the airlines. This, in turn, inspired its adoption by thousands of aircraft in general aviation. Last year, Flight Safety Foundation presented him with its annual award for his contribution to the development of airborne weather radar.

The ATA superintendent is married and the father of two and grandfather of three. Though generally unknown, except to his confidantes, White spends part of his vacation each year in Brazil where he works for a mission supported by his parish church in Maryland.

Another avocation is ham radio. White has a sizable radio station in his home and is part of the military/amateur Mars network.

While suave and voluble lobbyists like its president Stuart Tipton typify the ATA to business flyers, dedicated men such as Frank White have made the organization the viable and valuable asset it is not only to the airlines but to all facets of civil aviation as well.

—J.H.

A CHAIN OF SHIPS—TRIBUTE TO MSTS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, many persons think of the MSTS as another shipping line, used to transport our men and materials wherever needed. In the November 1969 issue of the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, there is an article written by Capt. Edward F. Oliver of the U.S. Coast Guard, which gives detailed information on the splendid work of the MSTS in delivering the goods to Vietnam, not just port to port, but to the area where needed, despite numerous obstacles and dangers. Because this is a matter of great interest and concern to all Members of Congress, I am inserting it in the RECORD for their information and careful reading:

A CHAIN OF SHIPS

(Photography by Chief Journalist Byron S. Whitehead, Jr., U.S. Navy; text by Capt. Edward F. Oliver, U.S. Coast Guard)

The ships and the know-how. Today, as always, these elements of seapower are essential to the success of the logistic support of a major military effort being conducted far from our shores.

Today, as in years, and wars, past, this basic seapower truth continues to be demonstrated in Vietnam, where, for four years, the Navy-operated Military Sea Transportation Service (MSTS) has moved approximately 97 per cent of the materiel of war in what has become, probably, the longest military sealfit in history.

While the story of MSTS operations has been chronicled on various occasions, such accounts usually overlook a significant aspect of that support effort—the beyond-the-beach delivery accomplished by the MSTS Office in Vietnam (MSTSOV) through its shallow-draft operations in moving a high percentage of in-country cargo from the point of initial off-loading to the ultimate customer-user, the combat unit.

Because even the professional observer tends to regard the MSTs as something of a military-type "Moore-McCormack/American-Isbrandtsen Lines" that operates between the world's major ports, presented here is another view of the "chain of ships" which serves to deliver the nation's instruments of war wherever they are needed.

The MSTs ship "links," now about 150 in number and extending halfway around the world, move an unending stream of military supplies to the Republic of Vietnam. Thirty-six million measurement tons of cargo were consigned to MSTSOV from 1965 through 1968, averaging nine million tons per year. At the height of the military buildup in 1967, there were over 300 ships engaged in the sealift. The freighters making up this supply line are mostly World War II ships, owned by the U.S. Government and controlled by MSTs. Today, there are 101 in service. The rest are privately-owned ships, each one time-, space-, or cargo-chartered to the Military Sea Transportation Service.

The Vietnam office of MSTs is headquartered in an old building on the banks of the Saigon River in the heart of Saigon. Small, six-man sub-units are located at Da Nang, Qui Nhon, Cam Ranh Bay, Chu Lai, Nha Trang, Phan Rang, Tuy Hoa, and Vung Tau.

The Port of Saigon, located 38 miles inland from the South China Sea, is the main deep-draft port in South Vietnam. There are two other principal deep-draft ports, at Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang. One-third of all logistic support cargo is off-loaded at Saigon. The long quay on the muddy Saigon River, and the docks at the recently constructed new port (called "Newport") at the edge of the city, an addition to Saigon Port, can accommodate 35 deep-draft ships.

Although the river is congested with sampans, junks, and barges, there is a mooring area that can accommodate another 12 large freighters.

From Saigon Port, cargo is transhipped by shallow-draft craft to "upcountry" and "down-country" ports.

An ammunition discharge terminal at Cat Lai, six miles from downtown Saigon, near the junction of two rivers—the Saigon and the Dong Nai, is considered to be part of the port. Here, ammunition-laden vessels off-load cargo into waiting barges in an around-the-clock operation. As quickly as one vessel is emptied and slips her moorings, another vessel is upbound from Cape St. Jacques (Vung Tau) on the South China Sea to take her place in the line.

To reach Saigon, ships must transit the twisting Long Tau River, in a trip that takes four hours and requires the services of a Vietnamese pilot who is familiar with the tricky currents and shifting sandbars. The Long Tau bisects the Rung Sat Special Zone ("Assassins' Forest"), long a haven for anti-government forces. Each morning U.S. Navy minesweepers (MSBs) clear the main channel—then sweep the river continually during the day for contact and influence mines.

Because the Long Tau is the main shipping channel between Saigon and the South China Sea, it must be kept open for the 20-odd ships which transit the river each day. If a large ship should be sunk in the narrow channel, the only access to Saigon would be blocked. Two large freighters, the American *Baton Rouge Victory* and the Panamanian *Eastern Mariner*, were sunk by mines, but did not block the channel. In the past year, the tempo of Viet Cong attacks, by rockets, recoilless rifles, mines, and small arms fire has increased. Since 1965, there have been attacks on 102 vessels, and in the past two years 38 vessels have sustained hits with some loss of life and varying degrees of damage.

High in importance in MSTs operations is

the movement of petroleum, oil, and lubricant (POL) products to Vietnam, where the unprecedentedly high rate of aircraft employment has required a tremendous quantity of jet fuel (JP-4).

As a result, a small fleet of MSTs-contracted tankers—approximately 10 per cent of the world-wide MSTs tanker operation—has been engaged since 1966 in providing two massive fuel lifts to Vietnam, one from the Persian Gulf, and the other from the U.S. Gulf Coast. In 1968, 28 million barrels of POL were moved to Vietnam in this manner, 24 million barrels of which were JP-4. Sixty per cent of POL brought to Vietnam in support of the war effort has been carried in commercial tankers.

The two principal discharge ports for MSTs-operated tankers are at DaNang and Cam Ranh Bay, where there are floating storage tankers under MSTs control. Three small MSTs T-1 tanker provide for the intra-country movement of POL.

Once the sealift freighters off-load cargo at the major ports of Saigon, Cam Ranh Bay, and DaNang, intra-country operations begin. The poor condition of South Vietnam's highway and railroad systems require that supplies for combat units be delivered either by water or air. Since the country has an excellent waterway system, it is ideally suited for shallow-draft vessel operations.

Of the nine million measurement tons of military supplies landed in South Vietnam in 1968, three and one-half million tons were transhipped by the MSTSOV shallow-draft division. The division is made up of Alaska Barge and Transport Company (AB&T) tugs, and United States Naval Ships (USNS) tank landing ships (LST). The LSTs move approximately 65 per cent of the in-country cargo and AB&T vessels carry most of the remainder.

Alaska Barge and Transport Company gained its expertise in unorthodox cargo operations in the Arctic Ocean during the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line.

The AB&T mission is to off-load cargo from ocean freighters and move it to up- or down-country destinations in an effort that involves 15 oceangoing tugs, five harbor tugs and a large fleet of flat barges, all manned by civilians. In 1968, over one million measurement tons of military supplies were moved in this manner.

AB&T has its base of operations in Saigon, with operating facilities at Vung Tau, Phan Rang, Cam Ranh Bay, Nha Trang, Qui Nhon and DaNang, and the familiar Indian Head insignia on its vessels can be seen almost anywhere in Vietnam where there is water. The tugs have operated within sight of the Cambodian border and up the coast as far north as Hue.

The ubiquitous tugs and their cumbersome tows have often transited the rivers of the Delta unescorted and with only a small contingent of military police on board for security. On numerous occasions they have been under Viet Cong rocket and recoilless rifle attack. Following the Tet offensive in early 1968, the tug *Michael* was hit in the wheelhouse by five rockets. The master and mate were killed.

In addition to barge-towing, the tugs engage in salvage operations, in fire fighting, in providing lighterage and stevedore services, and when required, support combat operations. In this latter role, nondescript tugs, on several occasions, have landed combat troops on some isolated stretch of beach.

The 24 civilian-manned LSTs, all of World War II vintage, are well suited for operations in the shallow waters of coastal inlets along Vietnam's coast, and in the Mekong Delta and Rung Sat Special Zone. They operate the entire length of the 1,000-mile

South Vietnamese coastline to serve some 38 in-country berths, ramps, and beaching sites.

In addition to the 24 USNS LSTs under continuous MSTSOV control, there are several U.S. Seventh Fleet LSTs under temporary MSTSOV operational control.

The LSTs have also performed ably as troop transports. During 1968, an average of 4,000 troops were lifted each month by LSTs. Every large-scale military operation requiring the movement of troops in-country, such as Operation Oregon, has depended on a sealift by USNS LSTs. Another example was the relocation of U.S. Army Forces south to the Delta during October 1968. All movements of Free World forces between Thailand, the Republic of the Philippines and South Vietnam have been made by LSTs.

Besides the movement of millions of tons of logistic supplies in the traditional break-bulk freight method, MSTs has been instrumental in the development of one of the most advanced techniques of cargo movement in military history—the use of container-ships. The MSTs-contracted container-ship shuttle between the U.S. West Coast and Vietnam has demonstrated the feasibility of moving military supplies to a beach enclave and then transshipping the supplies inland with maximum security and a minimum of handling.

To accomplish this, in 1967, MSTs contracted with Sea-Land Service, Inc., to provide container-ships, together with their vans or containers. The first containership, the SS *Bienville*, arrived at DaNang in July 1967 with 226 vans. These 35-foot vans contained 7,221 measurement tons of cargo, and the off-loading was completed in 15 hours, compared to the five days that conventional off-loading would have taken. Since that date, a containership has arrived every two weeks at both DaNang and Cam Ranh Bay.

Sea-Land now has eight containerships operating as part of the Vietnam sealift: three converted C-2s, which are equipped with their own cranes for off-loading, shuttle between the Oakland, California, Terminal and DaNang, each carrying 226 vans; four jumboized C-4s, each carrying 609 vans, call at Cam Ranh Bay, and another C-4 containership runs a fast shuttle service between Cam Ranh Bay and Saigon with reefer vans and high priority cargo. The C-4s are not equipped with gantries, so the vans must be unloaded by shore equipment. To facilitate the operation, a towering gantry crane was constructed on the DeLong pier at Cam Ranh Bay. Today, in less than 24 hours, these cargo containerships turn around and head east, back across the Pacific.

In 1968, a total of 60,181 vans, containing over two million measurement tons of supplies, were landed in Vietnam. The pattern of logistic support established by this sealift operation will be closely studied for future military use.

In addition to the dry cargo and POL brought to Vietnam by the MSTs-operated sealift, an unpublicized aspect of the overall support operation has been the transportation of troops by sea.

A massive movement of military personnel commenced in 1965 with the augmentation of U.S. forces from 50,000 men to over half a million. All military dependents' travel by sea was canceled, and the six MSTs transports operating between Europe and the United States were reassigned to move troops to Vietnam.

The USNS *Darby* and USNS *Patch* made the longest U.S. troop lift in military history—they transported 4,000 soldiers from Boston to Vung Tau, a distance of 11,272 miles. Two out of every three of the original half-million U.S. troops sent to Vietnam were transported there by MSTs transports. During 1968, the USNS *Upshur* and *Geiger*

carried over 100,000 Republic of Korea (ROK) troops between Korea and Vietnam.

Three of the large transports, the *Upshur*, the *Geiger*, and the *Barrett*, now serve in Far East waters, two in an operational status, one in a standby status. Thirteen transports have been placed in reserve.

That MSTs has successfully fulfilled its mission of controlling the movement of shipping engaged in the logistic support of U.S. and Free World forces in Vietnam was evidenced earlier this year when the Secretary of the Navy presented MSTSOV the Navy Unit Commendation—the first time in the 20-year history of the Military Sea Transportation Service that one of its units earned such an award.

As in no other way, perhaps, the citation recognizes the unusual nature of the MSTs effort in Vietnam, where its traditional function of "maintaining security through sealift" has now been extended to include "to the beach—and beyond."

TWO MARYLANDERS KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Raymond O. Novosad and Seaman E. Leon Goodman were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their courage and to honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD.

GI, SEAMAN FROM MARYLAND ARE LISTED DEAD IN VIETNAM

The Pentagon released the names yesterday of two more Maryland servicemen who have died in Vietnam. They are:

PFC. Raymond O. Novosad, 19, of 600 block Oella avenue, Ellicott City. He died in action October 15 in Central Vietnam.

Seaman E. Leon Goodman, 19, of 28 Bunche Street, Annapolis. He died aboard his ship October 15 after having had a tropical disease.

Private Novosad was a native of Howard County. He attended parochial schools and graduated from Catonsville High School in 1968.

LETTER OCTOBER 11

Before entering the Army in January, 1969, he worked as a letter carrier in the Ellicott City Post Office and also attended the Community College of Baltimore, where he took business courses.

His family received a letter from him October 11, in which he wrote about his experiences in Vietnam. In an earlier letter he wrote about his plans to enroll in college under the GI bill after completing his military service.

Private Novosad, who had been in Vietnam since late August, is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Nicolaus Novosad, of Ellicott City.

Seaman Goodman was a native of Baltimore, where he attended School No. 57, Lombard Junior School. When his father, Robert Goodman, who lived at 1522 East Eager street, died four years ago, he moved to Annapolis to live with an uncle.

Before entering the Navy in November, 1968, he worked at the Naval Academy in Annapolis as a custodian.

Seaman Goodman is survived by his uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Tuddles of Annapolis. He has also an aunt living in Richmond.

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THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 91st Congress is now recorded in the annals of history. Although important decisions remain to be made in the second session, actions taken in the first session are of great import to all Americans.

The temper of the American people has penetrated this body. Questions of national priority have been of great concern to Members of the House. Hence, we witnessed during the first session a diligent scrutiny of military spending and reassessment of expenditures in the domestic arena. Our legislative record reflects these twin concerns.

The 1969 session faced the reality of inflation and spiraling increases in the cost of living.

We have acted to correct many of the inequities in our Nation's present tax structure. The mood of the country has expressed clear evidence of discontent over high taxes and inflation. Certainly, spending and tax reform then were basic issues in the first session of the 91st Congress. With the Vietnam war still going on, inflation is an even more serious problem than it was in 1968. Probably no other item of legislation has received as much attention in Congress this session than the Tax Reform Act.

In the aggregate, the act reduces taxes over the next several years, and more specifically contains \$9.1 billion in tax relief directed primarily at low- and middle-income Americans. Relief would be provided to the over 5 million persons with income below the poverty line, nearly all of whom would be fully relieved of tax liability in 1970. Relief would also be provided to those who use the standard deduction—primarily those who live in rental housing—to single persons. High-salaried persons would benefit from a provision limiting the marginal tax rate on earned income to 50 percent.

Another relief provision raises the personal exemption to \$650 next July 1, to \$700 in 1972, and to \$750 in 1973. All taxpayers would benefit from proposed reductions in bracket rates ranging from 1 percentage point in the lowest taxable income brackets to 50 percentage points and more at upper levels.

We have included a variety of curbs on tax shelters, which mainly affect those Americans with more than \$100,000 in income. These include a minimum income levy that would insure that no wealthy American would escape taxation, reduction of deductions in proportion to excluded income, higher taxes for financial institutions, limitation on the use of accelerated real estate depreciation, tougher treatment of capital gains, the first taxation of private foundations in history plus stricter regulation of them, curbs on deductions for hobby

farm losses, stricter rules on charitable contributions, and a number of others.

With the \$9.1 billion in relief, and \$6.6 billion in reform there is a net revenue loss of \$2.5 billion. However, this figure does not include added revenues estimated at \$4.3 billion next year and \$800 million in each of 1971 and 1972 from extension of the income tax surcharge at 5 percent through next June and postponement of scheduled cuts in telephone and auto excise taxes. These added revenues will reduce the loss incurred by relief provisions in the Tax Reform Act.

The House acted to modernize the process by which the American people elect their President and Vice President. In a historic action, the House voted to abolish the electoral college, which has elected the President since the beginning of the Republic. The amendment adopted in the House provides for a direct, popular election. Passage marked the first time that either House had ever approved direct election of the President. Only twice since 1804, when the 12th amendment revised the electoral college system, had the House considered basic electoral reform. Both times, in 1826 and 1950, it rejected change.

Under the proposed amendment, if no candidate received at least 40 percent of the popular vote, the winner is determined in a runoff election between the top two candidates.

Termination of the present system will prevent the possibility of a contingent election in the House in case no candidate receives a majority of electoral votes. The new system would also end the possibility of an elector, unknown to most voters of his State, casting his electoral vote for someone other than his party's candidate. It would end the winner-take-all rule by which the winner of the popular vote of a State, even if only by 0.1 percent, receives all the electoral votes of that State.

By eliminating some of the inherent threats in our present electoral system, the House has enacted one of the most far-reaching proposals to affect the democratic process in our Nation.

Congress has taken cognizance of the complex domestic problems facing our country in this past year. We have strengthened incentives for urban renewal by extending for 1 year most major housing programs in the authorization of \$4.8 billion. This amount provides an additional thrust to current Federal efforts to make more housing available to low-income families by requiring that displaced families be provided decent housing. Each slum home or apartment unit razed by an urban renewal project is now to be replaced by a new or rehabilitated low-income dwelling unit within the city or county.

A major criticism of urban renewal over the years has been the replacement of slums with luxury apartments and shopping centers with little done to help the poor find better housing. The new program does provide for a stronger relocation program to provide more low-income housing within a community, if not direct relocation to a new building.

This new housing could be provided under any of a number of Government-aided programs ranging from public housing to a new program providing interest subsidies for poor families buying homes.

The measure sets a ceiling on public housing rents at 25 percent of a tenant's income. There has been no ceiling in the past and rents have at times exceeded 50 percent of income. Language was also approved directing Federal housing officials to do all possible to eliminate restraints against the rise of technological advances in housing.

We have continued to meet the challenge of providing an adequate assistance to education in America, with extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. By extending the 1965 provisions, the House approved a 2-year continuation of \$5.3 billion to fund all ESEA programs of those programs of aid to federally impacted areas. It maintains through fiscal 1972 the authorization level for fiscal 1970, which amounted to \$4,368,500,000 for all ESEA programs, \$702,407,000 for existing impact aid programs, and \$235,000,000 for the new public housing impact aid programs. A provision also allows a State education or other public agency to take over programs of education for institutionalized, neglected, and delinquent children if the State determined a local educational agency not to be performing adequately.

There is pressing need for this Federal assistance to education in the United States. These amendments are consistent, in theory, with the historic concepts of educational responsibility, for they were passed—in the main—to meet a monetary need beyond the capacity of local and State resources. Congress has recognized that local authorities require significant outside assistance in order to provide disadvantaged students with the educational equipment they must have to become participating, contributing citizens in our society. Without the 2-year extension, local and State authorities would be denied the program continuity and advance funding required for proper financial planning.

The House approved subsidies to State and local school districts to provide free or reduced-cost breakfast and lunch programs in elementary and secondary schools. Passed as amendments to the National School Lunch Act of 1946 and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966, the measure made three major changes: it established eligibility standards by which children would be selected for free or reduced-price lunches; it authorized advance funding for the school lunch programs; and it changed the requirements on State matching funds to require additional contributions from the States.

While local authorities are to determine eligibility, a systematic plan is to be applied to all families, to be based on criteria which include level of family income, number of members in the family, and number of children from the family attending school. With the wide variations across the country in the problems of undernutrition among children and in the operation of child food programs local districts and the States are the logical focus for the development of

eligibility standards. For fiscal years 1971 and 1972, States must provide funds for the school lunch program from State tax revenues in amounts equal to at least 4 percent of the matching requirement. Tax resources are to provide an additional 2 percent in each succeeding fiscal year until such revenues equal 10 percent of the matching requirement.

In the area of civil rights, the House approved a modification of the Federal Government's powers to send voting registrars and examiners into areas with a history of racial discrimination, by permitting assignment of Federal registrars nationwide rather than just to certain Southern States as the 1965 Voting Rights Act does in practice. The measure also suspends literacy tests in every State in which they exist and provides that anyone moving into a State not later than September 1 before a November election shall be eligible to vote for President. Several States at present require residence of a year or more.

Recognizing the plight of our older citizens whose fixed incomes are being ravaged by inflation, we have provided for an across-the-board increase of 15 percent in social security benefits. Since social security payments were increased, a year and a half ago, the cost of living has increased 10 percent. However, the token increase at that time left the majority of social security recipients living on incomes below the subsistence level. At present there is no provision in their benefits for escalation in line with the steady increase in the cost of living. Meanwhile, the sources of income for older Americans are limited and full-time employment exceedingly difficult to find.

These citizens cannot be blamed for their plight and they should not be required to suffer as they do now. At present there are 1.2 million elderly social security recipients who must rely on old-age assistance. The average social security benefit is less than one-third of the \$3,900 which the Bureau of Labor Statistics says is necessary for a modest standard of living. The 15-percent increase means that the approximately 25 million people benefiting from social security payments can enjoy a more adequate standard of living. These include not only our senior citizens, but widows with minor children and disabled veterans as well.

Congress also extended programs for grants to community planning and training for the elderly for a total of 3 years. Authorizations were increased to a total \$252 million for activities under the 1965 Older Americans Act which has led to a more creative life for elderly, retired citizens.

Under title III, for example, approximately 1,100 projects have been funded in all States and territories except for the four which do not have approved plans. Under these projects 83,000 older Americans were served through home maintenance; 41,000 benefited from special transportation services for those without available public transportation; 47,000 received personal counseling services; 290,000 participated in recreation and leisure-time programs; and thousands of

older Americans received services appropriate to their needs.

In all, it is estimated that over 600,000 older Americans are being served under title III. However, at the present time in the United States, out of a population of 203 million, 20 million persons are 65 or over. With extension of assistance to State agencies in coordination and planning of services and training programs, volunteer service grants, research grants, we are on the way toward forging an active program to realistically meeting the needs of our senior citizens.

In an effort to aid those families with dependent children, we removed the present limitations on Federal participation in the grant program to States for financial aid and services to needy families with children. The repeal of the provisions limiting Federal matching and the number of children eligible for assistance aid which was included in the Social Security Amendments of 1967, reflected concern for responsibility to insure aid to those dependents in families with no father and no income to alleviate the neglect and lack of adequate food and shelter. With Federal aid assured, the burden on the States will be lifted and the threat of lowered benefit payments due to lack of adequate funds in the States will be alleviated. It would be virtually impossible for the State and local governments to assume 100 percent of aid-to-dependent-children payments. It is undoubtedly clear that had we not removed the freeze provision of the 1967 act, most States would have been required ultimately to have reduced benefit payments for all recipients and, probably on top of that, to increase their eligibility standards, thereby making it more difficult for individuals to qualify for assistance under the program. This is most definitely a positive attempt to cure the serious welfare problem to help alleviate the extreme hardships encountered by great numbers of innocent and blameless children.

With the acceptance of public responsibility for new health services, the House extended for 3 years the present program of matching grants to the States for construction and modernization of health facilities. We also established a new program of Federal guarantees for loans made for construction or modernization of public or nonprofit private hospitals and other health facilities, with an added provision for an interest subsidy on such loans. Appropriations of \$937.3 million over the 3-year period were authorized to include \$405 million for hospital construction grants, \$165 million in modernization grants, and \$300 million for construction of facilities for long-term care, diagnosis and treatment, and rehabilitation.

Since the inception of this program, over \$3 billion in Federal funds have been matched by slightly over \$7.2 billion in non-Federal funds, leading to the construction and expansion of over 9,800 facilities. These projects have provided 425,000 inpatient care beds in hospitals and nursing homes, and have provided approximately 2,800 other health facilities such as public health centers, diagnostic and treatment centers, and rehabilitation facilities.

At present there is however need for an additional 85,000 acute care hospital beds, 893 public health centers, 164,430 additional long-term beds, 872 diagnostic and treatment centers and 368 rehabilitation facilities, at a total estimated cost of \$5.3 billion. There is no question of the continuing need for correcting these serious deficiencies in the area of health and patient care, at which this legislation is aimed.

While it is of utmost necessity to improve and expand our construction and modernization programs, it is imperative to maintain a qualified, responsible public health personnel. We have provided an extension for 3 years of formula grants to schools of public health to assist graduate training to upgrade our professional public health personnel training. The common objective of these formula grants, project grants, and traineeships is to increase the supply of well-trained public health personnel. For many years agencies concerned with community health programs have been faced by shortages of professional personnel with such training. Approximately 5,400 positions in State and local health departments are currently vacant or filled by individuals lacking appropriate training. This represents one-third of the total positions that require advanced training in public health.

To meet the need for training, grants are awarded on a formula basis which provides that one-third of the total appropriations be divided among the schools equally. The remaining two-thirds is divided among the schools according to the number of federally sponsored students enrolled. To meet this challenge of training the professional personnel required for our expanding community and environmental programs we have then authorized for the next 3 fiscal years the sums of \$7, \$9, and \$12 million.

Realizing the gravity of the narcotics and drug addiction problem in the United States, the House authorized grants to conduct special educational programs and activities concerning the use of drugs. Grants are available to education institutions and private and public organizations for dissemination of information on the use and abuse of drugs. To be included in the grant program appropriations of \$7 million in fiscal 1971, \$10 million in fiscal 1972, and \$12 million in fiscal 1973, are community education programs and training programs for teachers and law-enforcement officials, as well as courses for schoolchildren. Drug abuse in the United States is reaching alarming proportions with young people—whether living in our urban slums, in our affluent suburbs, or in small towns—experimenting with drugs ranging all the way from marijuana to heroin.

One of the best ways to combat the problem is through a frank and straightforward presentation of the facts. No solution is more reasonable than education, through Federal grants and contracts to local educational agencies. We have approved such a program to be devised and funded to train teachers, lawmen, and other officials who, in turn,

will carry truth about drug misuse to children and their parents.

In the first session, Congress took a strong step to strengthen protection for the health and safety for the lives and health of the more than 144,000 coal miners in the United States. Previously legislation has been passed, but only on a piecemeal basis which has failed to provide the Bureau of Mines with the enforcement power it needs. Clearly, if we are to have any impact on the high accident rate, we need a law that gives the broader enforcement powers to the inspector and thereby provides stronger incentives for management and labor to think of safety at all times. Legislation passed by the House imposes immediately a dust ceiling of 4.5 milligrams per cubic meter of air and requires that it be reduced to 3 milligrams in 6 months. By setting limits on the amount of coal dust permitted in a mine, we have curtailed the threat of black lung disease, incurable and a major cause of death.

Another key provision permits further development of health and safety standards by administrative action without further legislation and provides for a panel of Federal officials to hear requests from coal operators for more time to comply with health and safety standards. At the same time, we have provided for liberal compensation for miners suffering this incurable disease.

As passed by the House, the bill ended legal distinctions between gassy and non-gassy mines and required all mine to install nonspark electrical equipment to guard against explosions. The 4,500 mines now classified as nongassy have been given 6 years to install nonspark equipment.

Expressing concern for health protection in yet another area, the House took action to provide protection for the consumer by passing the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act, requiring a stronger health warning on cigarettes than in existence now. Under a preemption clause in the 1965 Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, the regulatory agencies were prohibited from requiring warnings in advertising.

We have approved legislation that will enable us to continue and expand the continual fight against mental illness in the United States. Significant progress has been made in the past by our efforts to prevent mental illness, to cure those who suffer, and to rehabilitate them to become useful and productive citizens again. We intended for 3-year programs of assistance under the Community Mental Health Centers Act for staffing and construction of community health centers and facilities for the treatment of alcoholics and narcotic addicts. Basically authorizations fund construction and staffing the centers at the existing grant level of \$70 million a year for fiscal years 1971, 1972, and 1973. The program of grants for paying a portion of the cost of professional and technical personnel and technical personnel staffing was extended also for 3 years.

While we have not changed the basic concepts and goals of the community mental health service programs, important operational changes have been ap-

proved. For alcoholic and narcotic treatment facilities, we authorized \$15 million for 1970, then \$20 million, \$25 million, and \$30 million for fiscal years 1971, 1972, and 1973. Changes in the present law also include new provisions for initiation and development grants for centers in poverty areas, a further means to improve the capability of these areas to apply for and to use Federal aid for their community mental health services.

We believe that these provisions, plus the preferential funding for construction and staffing grants in these areas will provide the assistance needed to equalize the availability of services to all Americans. They seek to liberalize Federal assistance for all communities and add incentives for programs directed to the special mental health problems of the underprivileged, the alcoholic, the drug addict, and the emotionally disturbed child.

In the continual fight on poverty, we extended programs for regional development, in Appalachia and for five other regional development commissions for fiscal 1970-71. A total of \$1,219,000,000 was authorized: \$268.5 million for non-highway programs; \$275 million for the other five regional commissions; and \$525 million for other economic development programs administered under the Economic Development Administration. In the apportionment of funds to the five other regional developments, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to apportion at least 10 percent but not more than 25 percent to any one commission.

The Appalachian experiment, in operation 4 years, has proved to be a success: employment has increased; unemployment has declined; and outmigration is subsiding. The Commission serves as an example model of intergovernmental cooperation. Once a system of coordinating available Federal grant-in-aid programs is established, State and local agencies can begin to make use of the funds authorized in those programs in order to compensate for lesser local financial capacities. The supplemental grant program, first envisaged for Appalachia, has been adapted to the needs of the other developmental regions. A most persuasive proof that the program is working is the significant increase in private investment in the region. For instance, the act stipulated that Appalachian Regional Commission funds could be used in conjunction with other Federal grant funds to raise to 100 percent the Federal share of Appalachian child health and nutrition programs. It is allowed in addition to use the funds allocated to supplement Federal grant-in-aid funds to raise the Federal share to 80 percent.

Under the new provisions the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is authorized to assist nonprofit organizations in Appalachia to construct, rehabilitate, and operate housing units. Funds under title III of the Public Works and Economic Development Act were increased from \$25 million to \$50 million for fiscal 1970 for demonstration grants and technical assistance, and \$20 million authorized for a study of regional transportation systems by the five commissions and the Secretary of Commerce.

New emphasis in the demonstration health program was placed on intensive early childhood care, nutrition, and early detection and treatment of black lung disease and other coal miners' occupational diseases. Approval was given to comprehensive manpower programs including rehabilitation, training and retraining of coal miners, and for special Federal financial aid to assist the area build health centers and vocational schools to serve as a base for economic expansion.

The war on poverty was continued by extension of the Economic Opportunity Act for 2 years. At present, about 25,400,000 persons, representing 13 percent of the population, live in virtual poverty. Of this large poverty population, 42 percent are children, under 18, and 18 percent are elderly, over 65. This estimate is based on a newly established level of \$3,553 per year as the minimum income needed by a nonfarm family of four to live above the poverty level. We recognize the need for strong governmental action to attack the problems of poverty, and we have shown awareness of the need for substantial resources that must be committed to the fight. In the last 6 years, we have achieved much in eliminating the threat of poverty by authorizing action programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity to confront the complex problems of poverty in the rural as well as urban centers of our Nation.

Sufficient success has been achieved by OEO in its experimental operation in the coordination of Federal agencies, by serving as an advocate of the poor within these agencies. Its services were never designed to be all inclusive and long-range in the war on poverty, but to initiate programs which would immediately lift poor people out of poverty—programs which require governmental subsidies. These subsidies total \$2.195 billion for fiscal 1970 and \$2.295 billion for fiscal 1971. Programs to which funding applies are Headstart, Follow Through, legal services, comprehensive health, emergency and food and medical program, family planning, senior opportunities, alcoholic recovery, and drug rehabilitation.

We have responded to public demands to alleviate the threat of pollution, both water and air. As a result Congress has appropriated triple the administration request funding water pollution control grants, including sewage treatment plants administered by the Interior Department. The omnibus clean water bill establishes standards for cleaning up the Nation's waterways and preventing further water pollution by upgrading water quality standards across the Nation and setting controls on sewage emanating from vessels which foul many of the Nation's marinas, harbors, and ports.

Congress acted on the problem of air pollution control and abatement by authorizing \$45 million, fiscal 1970, for extension of the Clean Air Act of 1967. Pressed by the Nation's need for practical solutions to the very serious air pollution problems, renewed emphasis has been given to research concerning the effects of fuel combustion and motor vehicle

exhaust. The future success of air pollution abatement depends on the development of adequate control technology, essential not only to reduce the atmospheric emissions from existing sources, but also to counteract the increasing number of new sources.

There is already knowledge to reduce air pollution by a significant degree, but there are many control problems for which long-term solutions do not exist. In particular, the effective control of air pollution emissions from motor vehicles and fuel combustion will require intensive research and development over the next several years. To implement research and development the legislation provides for Federal payments to public and private groups; testing of air pollution control research to develop new or improved processes and designs which can be demonstrated on a practical scale; and establishment of demonstration plants for such new processes.

In the first session, we took further steps to strengthen safety design in highway travel. To implement the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, we authorized \$23 million for fiscal 1970 and \$40 million for fiscal 1971 for research in safety standards and sound planning and design of traffic safety test facilities. Motor vehicle accidents constitute one of the major causes of death in the United States today. In 1968 alone, over 55,000 Americans died on the highways, while it is estimated that 2 million persons are seriously injured each year in motor vehicle collisions.

The amendments incorporated in this authorization reflect concern that the critical motor vehicle safety program has been receiving inadequate priority in both past budget proposals. We have stressed the importance of a greater budgetary emphasis to our traffic safety program, and have attempted to take steps toward providing the Department of Transportation with an independent and substantial motor vehicle research capability.

Of the amount authorized, \$10 million is designated for planning and design of traffic safety, research and test facilities, including engineering studies and site surveys.

Congress took necessary steps to strengthen laws limiting the importation and sale of endangered species threatened with extinction both in the United States and abroad. Importation of such species—animals, fish, and amphibians—is prohibited, as is the shipment in interstate commerce of these species if obtained in violation of any Federal, State, or foreign law. The act revises enforcement procedures and requires the Federal Government to seek a multinational conference by June 30, 1971, to draw up a binding international convention on the conservation of endangered species. Recognizing the diminishing property available for preserves and protection for a rapidly decreasing number of animal life, Congress provided \$4.5 million for the acquisition of privately owned land on preserves and for the acquisition of new property for refuges.

The House extended one of the primary

goals of the Nation's banking laws to the single-bank holding companies—separation of the sources of capital, the banks, from the users of capital, other commercial enterprises. To do so, the single-bank holding companies were placed under the regulating authority of the Federal Reserve Board and extended the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 to apply to single-bank companies. The Federal Reserve Board was also authorized to rule on types of nonbanking business interests that bank holding companies were permitted to acquire. Among changes on the House floor were provisions to force the Nation's largest single-bank holding companies to divest themselves of their nonbanking interests and to bar all bank holding companies from acquiring certain types of nonbanking businesses.

This action clearly separated the business of banking from nonbanking and assured thousands of small businessmen protection from unfair competition. With more than 40 percent of all the commercial bank deposits in the entire United States today held by one-bank holding companies, we have simply brought all bank holding companies under the same type of regulation to provide protection not only to the insurance companies, but also small enterprise and other nonbanking businesses.

The conflict in Vietnam, of course, dominated congressional thinking in the area of foreign affairs. Congress provided the necessary tools for our fighting forces in Vietnam while cooperating with the President in his efforts to conclude the war. The defense appropriations measure for fiscal year 1970 totaled \$69.64 billion, a substantial reduction in the administration budget, but still the largest money bill of this session. This total represents the biggest cut in defense appropriations since the Korean war.

These funds will enable our military forces to maintain national security. The reductions made will, at the same time, support the fight against inflation.

The House approved a resolution calling for the negotiation of a just peace in Vietnam, a gesture of further support for the President's efforts in this area.

Criticism of the draft system led the President to request that Congress remove the prohibition against a draft lottery. This we did. Under the random-selection method, each eligible young man enters a lottery pool during his 19th year. If he is not drafted that year, it is very unlikely that he ever will be. By utilization of the lottery system, we have eliminated one of the major criticisms of the present draft system—the extended period during which a young man has been kept in doubt about probable induction into the military.

Congress has also acted to benefit our veterans who have sacrificed for us all. We increased by 30 percent educational allowances for veterans. These increases reflect the sizable increases in education costs which have occurred in recent months. The first-year cost of this program is \$206,500,000 while the 5-year total is estimated at \$1,130,200,000.

Allowances authorized affect not only veterans, but also their widows or orphans attending school under the several educational benefits programs administered by the Veterans' Administration. An increase of 15 percent in aid to service-connected disabled veterans was provided under the vocational rehabilitation program and a 27-percent increase for assistance to veterans under the GI bill and for widows and orphans under the War Orphans Educational Assistance Act. With more than 70,000 veterans discharged each month from active service, faced with the spiraling cost of living and education, these increased allowances will make the entire educational assistance program more meaningful and responsive.

Congress supported and continued assistance to foreign countries. While the foreign aid authorization was approved in the amount of \$1.972 billion, the two Houses failed to agree on the actual appropriations of funds. As passed by the House, appropriations for military and economic assistance totaled \$1,649,380,000. The Senate, however, rejected \$54.5 million for funding fighter planes for Nationalist China. The differences between the House and Senate appropriations must be resolved in the second session.

With concern for balance in international trade, Congress provided for the continuation of authority for the regulation of exports by defining a broader trade policy. The existing Export Control Act of 1949 was replaced by the new Export Administration Act of 1969 containing less restrictive legislation. In a new approach to export control, the act basically retains U.S. control over exports to Eastern European countries, while retaining the President's flexibility to administer the controls. At the same time, it updates the controls to respond to important changes in the international trade picture and to the needs of the American businessman. The new program, to terminate June 30, 1971, places encouragement on the expansion of trade with all countries with which the United States maintains diplomatic or trading relations.

While the present policy in the United States is to formulate and apply export controls in cooperation with all nations with which the United States has defense treaty commitments, the new act accentuates a national policy of encouraging trade in peaceful goods while restricting trade in goods of significant military import.

THE RETIREMENT OF DWIGHT PINION

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, although we are caught up in the rush to adjourn, I do want to take a few minutes to draw the attention of my colleagues to the excellent service record of Mr.

Dwight Pinion, who, as my colleagues know, recently retired after serving as director of the office of legislative counsel in the Senate.

During many of his 27 years of service to the Senate, Dwight Pinion worked very closely with the Foreign Relations Committee; and, speaking as chairman of that committee, I can only say that it was our good fortune to have his expert advice and counsel readily available. I think back particularly to some of the long and stormy sessions on foreign aid. Without his able assistance, many of those sessions would certainly have been longer and stormier; and on one or two occasions, we might still have been there yet.

But this is not to say that Dwight Pinion's talents were in any way limited to a particular legislative field. Indeed not—he served the Senate and the committee in all matters of legislation and, in this sense, distinguished himself as "a man for all seasons."

Thus, as Senators know, he provided this body with the kind of services that makes things tick around here. In the organized confusion that often prevails, he was always there to help us keep matters on an even keel, and I am sure his example will not be lost on those who follow in his footsteps. In short, his service was worth its weight in gold.

I am sure that all of my colleagues join with me in wishing the very best for Dwight and his family in the coming years, with one final request on our part—please pay us a visit whenever possible.

THE REAL SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of a new year—a new decade—it is natural and appropriate that we look back and evaluate our accomplishments and failures during that time from both a national and an individual standpoint.

So much was wishfully expected of the 1960's—peace, prosperity, and unprecedented educational and scientific opportunities and accomplishments. Much has been accomplished in some areas, but we, as a nation, have witnessed internal turmoil, controversy, and the greatest divisiveness our people have experienced during the past century. Riots, demonstrations, draft card burnings, student protests, moratoriums—many of which have been paraded under the banner of peace—have caused deep concern among the American people.

The great publicity that has been given these so-called peace demonstrations and peace protests has given an unfair and false impression of the true character of the American people and their feeling toward the war in Vietnam. In reality, those participating in such activities constitute only a tiny—albeit

vocally strident—segment of our population. While many of these demonstrators and protesters may sincerely believe in what they are doing, the cost of their actions to our Nation must be considered. They are greatly encouraging the enemy by creating in their minds the belief that the American people are weak and lack the moral fiber necessary to fight for our principles and honor our commitments—and our dead—in Vietnam. It is sadly ironic that the actions of this misguided minority cannot help but give false hope and encouragement to the enemy and thereby prolong the war.

Much has been said and written in recent months about the "silent majority" in America. This group is composed of the great majority of the American people who, like their forefathers, believe in the principles upon which our Nation was founded and feel that these principles should and must be defended. These are the Americans who possess true courage and the patience and dedication necessary to support and take pride in their Nation's struggle to defend the principles of democracy both here and abroad. While devoutly desiring peace—but a peace with justice and honor—they are nonetheless willing to sacrifice their personal comfort and, if necessary, even their lives for their country.

I recently read a letter written by Mr. William G. Woolard, Sr., of Manchester, Ohio, to the President of North Vietnam which eloquently expressed the feelings and beliefs of many of us. Mr. Woolard and his family experienced a tragic loss when their son, James Harry Woolard, was killed in Vietnam, but their resolution and pride in their son and what he was fighting for gives us reassurance that the American people as a whole still possess the moral values and the essential fiber necessary if we are to continue as the greatest nation in the world. As long as America is populated by families like the Woolards with sons like Jim, we need not fear for the future of our country.

I would like to insert Mr. Woolard's letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that you will be able to join with me in extending deepest sympathy to this family in its great loss and share my pride in their courage, resolution, and quiet patriotism which is in the best American tradition.

The letter follows:

THE MANCHESTER SIGNAL,
Manchester, Ohio, December 21, 1969.
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
Hanoi, North Vietnam.

DEAR SIR: As we approach the holiday season, supposed to be a time of joy and rejoicing all over the world, there's nothing but sorrow in our home. You see this is the first Christmas in the Woolard home dating back 20 years that our son, Sp/4 James Harry Woolard, won't be with us to share in the gift giving and other happiness that has always been tradition with us.

Earlier this year one of your soldiers caused the death of our son, a boy that we loved better than our own lives. That's probably pretty difficult for you to understand, but it's a true statement. Before he left for Vietnam, on numerous occasions and letters I had tried to volunteer and save him from

facing war, something he knew little about. During World War I his grandfather served in the trenches in Europe to stop the threat of the Kaiser. During World War II, I did a tiny part during the three years in the U.S. Army to wipe out the world domination plans Hitler had fantastically dreamed about.

What your side doesn't seem to realize, you can never win. For every Jim your soldiers are able to kill, there's a hundred American boys being raised in small communities, just like Manchester. Like Jim, their Dads and Moms will offer them all the opportunities in the world to stay out of this war. They can attend college, hoping in time the hostilities will cease by the time their studies are completed; they can become members of the National Guard, with better than even odds they'll never see foreign soil. But, of the hundreds mentioned, most will choose, just like our son, to respond when their Government calls, to undergo the change from a peace-loving young man to one who is willing to slay those who oppose the type of world in which he has been reared.

We know it must give your government heads satisfaction to read and be informed about the peace moratoriums, see published articles and pictures of those who gain publicity by burning their draft cards, or refusing to bathe. I admit they cause some concern within the borders of the United States, but what you apparently don't realize, those type of individuals are actually boys without a country to call their own, and constitute such a tiny segment that their presence in America should afford you very little hope or comfort. In fact, I know you wouldn't want that type individual, even in your North Vietnam society. And, after a few days under your type of rule, it's a certainty in my mind, they'd be glad to wash, shave, put your flags in trash cans and start a sincere appreciation of the freedom we and they enjoy under our democratic system of government.

So, by killing young American soldiers like my son, Jim, you actually accomplish nothing to further your cause. You wiped out a life that was precious, one of a young man who like every other true American boy, dreamed of driving a brand new car when he fulfilled his military obligation; possibly meeting a girl in the future, marrying, and rearing children who also would have been taught how precious freedom really is.

For every soldier like Jim slain, there'll be a dozen to step into the boots, willing to spill life's blood in South Vietnam or any other place in the world where some group or organization threatens to thrust a type of government on people that isn't of their own choosing.

In the short time that Jim read about the Vietnam War, both while in high school and before he went into the service, he knew anyone who would treat prisoners of war and members of their families the way your side has chosen to do, couldn't be a government controlled by persons with any feelings at all for mankind. Permitting hundreds of families in the United States to spend sleepless days and nights, wondering if their sons, husbands and relatives are alive or dead. It's difficult to realize even during wartime persons exist who are so inhumane. This, also, doesn't do a single thing to advance your cause. It merely has helped unite Americans to eliminate people and heads of government who can be so barbaric.

As we close this letter, we repeat when your side killed our son, Jim, it was an act that just merely made the present happy holiday season in our home one of sadness. But, also, a time of fierce pride that we were able to rear a boy that was

willing to forfeit his life and all the bright dreams he had for the future in the cause of freedom.

By this time, a dozen young men, bright-eyed and full of the same hopes he had, have filled his boots, and will respond to the call, if and when they're asked to climb on a plane which will take them to Vietnam. Like Jim, once there, they'll follow orders of their superior officers, and even sacrifice their lives, also, if it becomes necessary.

America is full of Jim's. Don't be misled by the metropolitan news media whose front pages and television cameras devote more time to the tiny segment of trouble-makers than they do the average young man from the country who knows it's his duty to protect and preserve the cause of freedom.

You can never win.

Jim's dad,

WILLIAM G. WOOLARD, Sr.

A PLEA FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, we are all too painfully aware of how much the Vietnam war has cost our Nation. The 40,000 lives lost, the hundreds of thousands of maimed, the 120 billions of dollars expended, the grievous wounds to our spirit of community—these are elements in the accounting. Understandably, we are less conscious of the appalling price that the people of Vietnam have had to pay for a conflict that was thrust upon them utterly against their will. We shall never be able to calculate the total price: our numbers do not run that high. I do not think we could bear to face it if we could.

Americans most conscious of the horrors that have been inflicted upon Vietnam are those who went there not to wage war but to help war's victims—doctors, nurses, missionaries, among others. Recently 43 of them sent a letter home pleading for peace. That eloquent, disturbing document was printed as an editorial in the Plain Dealer, of Wabash, Ind., another great public service by a fine newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that the December 16, 1969, editorial, entitled simply "Vietnam," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

VIETNAM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following letter was signed by 43 Americans in Vietnam, employed as doctors, nurses, physical therapists, teachers, social workers, journalists, agriculturists, and missionaries. The letter is dated October, 1969.)

For those of us here in Vietnam there is no forgetting the war nor escaping our complicity in it. At every turn there are grim reminders that this war is neither over nor slackening.

All of us have had considerable experience in Vietnam and speak the language with some facility. All of us have had deep personal relationships with Vietnamese people and feel we have insight into their plight. Our intent is not to balance the acts of

one side against the other but to point out what war does to human beings.

What then do we know of the war in Vietnam?

We know the Vietnamese as fellow humans because we have touched their flesh, known their friendship, felt their hatred and shared their laughter. We have also in our various ways cried with them. We have witnessed war.

All of us have experienced the sense of rage, then futility that comes when a personal friend has died in this war, from one side or the other, brown, yellow, black or white. There is no greater meaning to war than the loss of one loved within the clanking impassive machinery of it.

Each of us has known one or more of the hundreds of thousands uprooted, buffeted and cast-about homeless here, whether they be broken, seemingly lifeless old men ripped from their soil with nowhere to die in peace, or screeching prostitutes, painted and cynical but gentle enough to slip a street urchin 10 cents to eat.

We have visited hospitals and know them to be too often overcrowded and spilling patients into every available space. We have watched people die there, while knowing that many, many more do not even reach the hospitals. We watch the steadily mounting numbers of maimed, the legless, the armless, the scarred and bent as they appear on the streets as beggars. We haven't enough nickels and dimes to go around.

One of our number inquired about a friend in Da Nang, a 13-year-old shoeshine boy who had fled from the war engulfing his home in the countryside. "Xu is a cripple now. He went home to visit his family and got caught in a bombing attack."

Recently one of us visiting in Da Lat was approached by an old woman in the city's market place who begged through tears to intercede with the government in her two sons' behalf. They were in prison as political offenders for advocating peace in Vietnam. He could do nothing—even as an American.

We have tried to care in an individual way for the physical and mental needs of our fellow humans but find ourselves being swallowed by the immensity of the task.

One of our number, a medical doctor, chanced upon a Viet Cong "suspect" in the company of a police guard. Going down a street in Saigon she had been stopped, questioned and taken into custody even though her papers were complete. The woman had been brought into a clinic during transit from one prison to another to be examined.

"I took her into a private examining room and found her to have bruises on the head, face, body and in the mouth," the doctor wrote home. "She had multiple fractures of the small bones of the hand, a result of having her hands, palms down, beaten with a heavy stick. There were several marks on her back which she stated were a result of electric shocks. When I asked her if most of the prisoners were treated this way, she nodded tearfully. She was worried about her husband and children. During her three day interrogation she was not allowed to notify them."

"I felt myself overcome with a combination of grief and anger but realized I dare not comment to the policeman about her situation as it might further jeopardize her health, so I wrote a statement saying I did not believe she could tolerate further interrogation and left the room. As I stepped back into my car, the thought continually haunted my mind of what lay ahead for that woman."

Many of us have sat late and hushed with friends as they described their secret activities in pressuring for peace and have tried to explain the foreign movement for peace. We have listened to their words of belief and hope for continued moral support from

those who struggle for peace outside Vietnam.

We scoff at reports of "progress" because we witness the fruits of the claims: the rich who are getting richer, the poor who are getting poorer, the children not in school rather than those who are, the few who return to their villages in "secure" areas versus the hundreds of thousands who can't or won't. We witness the continuing humiliation of a proud people and do not believe the claim that it is all coming to an end. We witness the lie.

What do we know of the war in Vietnam?

We know that the war goes on and that it is more than shooting and bombing. We know that the vast majority of the Vietnamese are tired, deathly tired of this fratricide and maiming, hungering only for peace. We know that even among our closest friends a common wrath is being turned on us foreigners just as though we were not human individuals. For too many years we foreigners, we Americans, wouldn't believe them human.

We know that rhetoric can never solve nor justify this war for the Vietnamese, nor ourselves. We know that this war will not be over nor our individual complicity in its continuation be absolved until the last shot is fired.

Many of us have returned to Vietnam after visits in the United States and can speak with authority about a gap of knowledge existing between the two places. On that side we were humiliated and frustrated, on this side we are furious with the urgency. This war must be stopped.

It is easy to deride the efforts claimed by the American government to end the war; it is painful to watch the dwindling efforts and even counter-productive efforts of our antiwar friends around the world. We try to understand the problems elsewhere but the urgency here overwhelms both our desire and need to excuse it.

Destructive attacks by one peace group upon another must be stopped. Ideological differences must be put aside. There must be a new centering of attention upon the matter of life and death this war screams. The issue here is not "why the war?" nor "how to stop the war" but the bald statement that "This war must be stopped!"

We ask you to join with us and our Vietnamese friends, to join with your friends and neighbors, to join with anyone who opposes this war and demand that the American government end this war.

For peace!

THE NATIONAL ACCELERATOR LABORATORY, BATAVIA, ILL.

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there is some confusion in our country today about the value and goals of science and technology. Many would have us believe that technology has outpaced good sense and good practice and we had better stop to regroup. Some would like to have us return to the "good old days" by putting the technology genie back in the bottle. But this will never happen, and we know it. What we must do is to make sure that everybody benefits from advancing technologies. I would like to cite the 200 Bev National Accelerator Laboratory at Batavia, Ill., as a

basic research facility that will not only enhance the prestige of the United States in the scientific world, but also as a facility under construction which is enhancing the status of many blacks and other minority people by involving them in the construction phase now, and in the operating phase in the future.

Those of you who were present at the time of site selection for the National Accelerator Laboratory will recall the strong fight that I and my colleagues on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy made to have the State and local governments guarantee that the civil rights of all groups would be respected—and this meant open housing as well. The State and local governments guaranteed cooperation—and they have cooperated, more strongly at the local level where it really counts.

But what good is open housing for blacks if they cannot afford to rent, let alone buy? The directorate of the Laboratory has done much and gone far to mitigate this problem. I would like to read a promulgation of Drs. Wilson and Goldwasser, director and deputy director, respectively, of the Laboratory. It is a "Policy Statement on Human Rights," dated March 15, 1968:

It will be the policy of the National Accelerator Laboratory to seek the achievement of its scientific goals within a framework of equal employment opportunity and of a deep dedication to the fundamental tenets of human rights and dignity.

We have seen the creation of NAL near Chicago in a year of social tension and urban unrest, and we have observed the destiny of our Laboratory to be linked to the long history of neglect of the problems of minority groups. We intend that the formation of the Laboratory shall be a positive force in the progress toward open housing in the vicinity of the Laboratory site. We intend that it shall also make a real contribution toward providing employment opportunities for minority groups. For this, the principle of equal opportunity is not enough. Special opportunity must be provided to the educationally deprived if they are to be able to exploit their inherent potential to contribute to and to benefit from the development of our Laboratory. This is a matter of personal conviction as well as of practical necessity. We expect to create conditions for special opportunity by adopting aggressive employment practices and by instituting special educational and apprentice training programs.

Prejudice has no place in the pursuit of knowledge. Perhaps this is why most scientists are sensitive to discrimination in any form. The National Accelerator Laboratory is in a position to attract to its program some of the greatest physicists, not only of this country but of other nations as well. Thus the Laboratory will be, in a very real sense, one of the windows through which the United States will be viewed by the rest of the world. Foreign visitors, laymen as well as scientists, will come to the Laboratory for short periods of time to participate in our work. These men will come from varied backgrounds with a variety of beliefs. It is essential that the Laboratory provide an environment in which both its staff and its visitors can live and work with pride and dignity.

In any conflict between technical expediency and human rights we shall stand firmly on the side of human rights. This stand is taken because of, rather than in spite of, a dedication to science. However, such a conflict should never arise. Our support of the rights of members of minority groups in our Laboratory and in its en-

virons is inextricably intertwined with our goal of creating a new center of technical and scientific excellence. The latter cannot be achieved unless we are successful in the former.

ROBERT RATHBUN WILSON.
EDWIN L. GOLDWASSER.

The extent to which this policy on human rights has been followed is spelled out quite clearly in an article by Dr. Goldwasser, "Science and Man: Breaking New Ground at Batavia," in the October 1969 issue of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. I would like to insert this article in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

I point to this great effort being put forth at the National Accelerator Laboratory to enhance the status of minority people as a serendipitous result, from a basic research program, which could be lost because of congressional actions. The President's budget for fiscal year 1970 requested \$96 million in construction funds for the accelerator laboratory. The House committee voted to appropriate \$64 million, the Senate committee voted for \$89 million, and they compromised on \$70 million. If this \$26 million reduction is not put back into the next Presidential budget in addition to the already projected \$80 million for fiscal year 1971 and the total \$106 million appropriated by Congress, the construction schedule will slip badly—by something like a year—and will eventually cost \$30 million over the now projected total of \$250 million. Each additional 1 year's slippage will cost another \$30 million.

As I have stated on the floor of this House before, the kind of cut made in this year's laboratory construction budget is false economy, because in the final analysis the facility could cost more due to the rescoping and stretchout that might be required. The request for such large sums, like \$96 million, was to provide the authority to obligate for the expensive, long leadtime articles at today's prices, while still doing the normal day-to-day business of local construction. If funds stay in critically short supply—like they most certainly will with a \$26 million shortage—it is the small day-to-day businessman who will be discriminated against—the very person the laboratory directorate is trying to protect.

The magazine article referred to follows:

SCIENCE AND MAN: BREAKING NEW GROUND AT BATAVIA

(By Edwin L. Goldwasser)

Scientists are restless in these days of social strife. As a group, they tend to be concerned humanitarians. They believe in the intrinsically human value of basic research, yet they are repeatedly confronted by its military applications. At the same time, they find their science to be relatively dissociated from major social problems. As a result some are seeking ways to involve themselves more directly with the problems of our society and our cities. Such re-dedication of purpose must certainly be respected, but the constructive pursuit of science should not be abandoned. It has played a dominant role in the emergence of man from darker times than these, and it can still contribute crucially to further cultural, social and technological progress.

At the National Accelerator Laboratory (NAL), we have found it possible to pursue scientific objectives and, at the same time,

to be more than mere spectators of the crises which grip our society. We have been able to channel our recruitment, purchasing and contracting policies in ways that contribute to the solution of some of these problems. This is possible, in part, because we are a large and influential scientific enterprise.

Our experience, however indicates that all scientists, in the pursuit of their research, may have a real opportunity not only to contribute, through their science, to the intellectual and cultural achievements of mankind, but also to lead the way in demonstrating that any business enterprise can make a significant contribution to improving the plight of the under-privileged, the under-educated and the under-employed.

THE ISSUE IS JOINED

The directorate of the National Accelerator Laboratory would in any case have been dedicated to an active program in support of the principles of minority rights in and around our laboratory. However, early in our history, in the summer of 1967, we had the issue thrust sharply upon us through the refusal of the Illinois State Legislature to pass an open-housing statute.

In response to that action Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. sponsored a tent-in at the newly chosen accelerator site near Batavia, outside of Chicago. This was his protest against the location of a national laboratory in a state whose legislature had almost defiantly refused to enact any open-housing legislation. In the course of that controversy, we had to face a critical decision. We were urged to clarify our position on minority rights by refusing to work on the project at the Illinois site. After much careful thought we decided to ignore this advice and elected to press ahead with the project.

Chicago, like other major American cities, was in a state of crisis. There was an urgent need for jobs, education and housing, particularly for the Negro population. We believed that with a project as large and potentially influential as ours we could make important contributions, not by turning our backs upon the area and its problems, but by consciously conducting our affairs in a manner which would help to solve some of those problems.

One of our first actions was to promulgate to members of our staff and to many of our outside contacts the "Policy Statement on Human Rights," reproduced here. Each new employee receives this document, and it is displayed prominently throughout the laboratory. As part of that policy, at the time of the open-housing fight, we supported Dr. King in his protest. In addition, we petitioned members of the State Legislature with an urgent—though futile—plea for passage of a strong open-housing statute.

STAFF ACTION

Of course, our activities in these matters have gone beyond the simple enunciation of strong words. These are not what really count. Rather it is the substantive action of the laboratory staff. This action is bound to be closely tied to the working-level understanding of the depth and seriousness of the commitment of the administration to its stated policies. We, therefore, believe that we must play an active role in implementing the policies that we espouse. Rather than delegating total responsibility to people with expertise in these areas, the directorate of the laboratory has acted to implement its philosophy. As this is given public exposure, it exerts influence not only outside the organization, but inside as well. We believe that it has a strong impact on our recruiting, purchasing, contracting and all other facets of the life of our laboratory.

During the last two years, we have made personal contacts with leaders of minority organizations as well as with many Chicago area and national experts on minority problems. We have appeared as witnesses at several town council meetings, supporting the

adoption of urgent open-housing legislation.

Certainly the most important single step we have taken is the establishment within our laboratory of an Equal Opportunity Office, headed by Kennard Williams. It has received enthusiastic assistance from the joint venture known as DUSAF, our architect-engineering firm.

TRAINING UNEMPLOYED

One of the first programs in which we participated was the training of 100 young, hard-core unemployed. Two 10-week, pre-apprenticeship training sessions in the operation of heavy earth-moving machinery were sponsored by Local 150 of the International Union of Operating Engineers. Of the initial 100 trainees, 86 completed the course. Of these, six achieved full journeyman standing while the remaining 80 qualified as apprentices. Of the total, 72 are still known to be working as operating engineers. Many have worked or will work on NAL construction jobs.

In another pilot program, a group of young men between the ages of 18 and 30 were recruited from the inner city and trained for skilled technical jobs. After an initial orientation course at NAL, the men were sent to Oak Ridge, Tenn., where they were enrolled in the Training and Technology Program conducted by Oak Ridge Associated Universities. Representatives of NAL's Personnel Office, acting as guidance counselors, kept in close touch with the trainees, who compiled an outstanding record in the training program. On completion of the 30-week course, the men returned to NAL to take up positions as mechanists, draftsmen and mechanical and electronic technicians.

In the screening process, overriding emphasis was placed on the apparent motivation of the interviewees. No criteria were imposed concerning previous school or job achievement, police or prison records.

BLACK INDUSTRIES

NAL has also developed a list of "Black Industries," consisting of minority-group contractors and suppliers who operate businesses relevant to the Laboratory's present and future needs. This effort has been most successful where contracts below \$10,000 are involved. Approximately 40 per cent of such contracts for work in the old village of Weston, awarded during the past six months, have gone to Black contractors.

Where larger contracts are involved, there are relatively few minority-group contractors willing to undertake the jobs. For these contracts NAL presents to the bidders, at a pre-bid conference, a sample plan of an affirmative action program for establishing training and jobs for members of minority groups. Bidders are then required to submit, with their bids, their proposed affirmative action programs. Each proposed program is considered together with other features of the bid. Unless it represents a strong positive selection of program elements from the Laboratory's sample plan, the bid may be rejected. Furthermore, when a contract is awarded, the proposed program becomes a part of the contract, and failure to implement that program may be interpreted as breach of contract. So far we have found that contractors, although in some cases reluctant to institute such programs on their own initiative, welcome the opportunity to do so under the external pressure represented by our contracting procedures.

We have not had uniform success in staffing our laboratory with minority-group employees. Among our non-professional employees more than 20 per cent are Black. Two of the four persons who interview prospective employees are Black. Nevertheless, the more specialized the job bracket, the smaller is the representation of Black applicants. We believe that this is not a shortcoming of our recruiting procedures but rather a reflection of inequities that have been operating for decades.

CAREER GUIDANCE

In an effort to remedy this situation—to stimulate a flow of inner-city school students into curricula and training programs that will later qualify them for highly skilled technical jobs and professional scientific positions—the Laboratory has initiated a joint program with the Council for the Bio-Medical Sciences. That group has been remarkably successful in guiding qualified Black students into careers in the bio-sciences. We hope for similar success in the preparation of young people for careers at NAL in engineering and the physical sciences.

The National Accelerator Laboratory clearly provides a unique opportunity to contribute to one of the most important activities of man—the discovery of the true nature of the world in which he lives. In the pursuit of that activity, however, we must not ignore, and have not ignored, other urgent problems which are pressing upon our society today. The traditional stance for an organization such as ours, attempting to do a difficult job on a tight schedule, is to "play it safe." On a matter like open housing, for example, it is tempting not to antagonize the anti-open-housing interests. In large construction projects, it is tempting not to impose a stiff non-discrimination policy and thus risk the loss of potential contractors. In purchasing it is easier to use only the well-established and better known vendor. In employment it is tempting to hire the trained rather than to train the ready and eager under-employed.

But the condition of our society demands a longer-range view, and in fact we have found that this is also the best short-range approach. We have been willing to accept whatever incremental cost might have been associated with the implementation of these programs, but we believe, in fact, that such a cost has not materialized. In any case, we are convinced that the cost to society of solving these problems through adaptation of its normal activities to these goals is ultimately much less than the cost of initiating special activities, ad hoc, to provide crash solutions which are likely to be of only temporary value.

Although the Illinois General Assembly has continued to resist passage of a strong open-housing statute, local ordinances have been adopted in more than 30 communities surrounding the laboratory. Construction is proceeding at the laboratory site. Black workers are involved. Recruitment for technical jobs is proceeding. Black citizens are being hired and trained. Procurement of technical components is underway. Black industry is contributing. It is more appropriate to say "because of" than "in spite of" these actions, our design and construction are on schedule and we have had no significant delays.

It is in part the size of our project which has made it possible for us to achieve some success in these early programs. It is because we are large that we can justify the employment of a staff with a full-time responsibility to discover opportunities through which the laboratory can contribute to the solution of social problems.

But our position as a large enterprise is not unique in the scientific community. In fact, basic science in the United States has become a large enterprise. Its managers control the hiring of many people. They have great influence in educational institutions. They supervise the spending of research funds in excess of a billion dollars annually. They have some influence over the expenditure of development funds at 10 times that annual level.

Yet most individual scientists are members of relatively small research groups or university departments, which can not justify an "opportunity" staff. How can a scientist in a small research group make a contribution?

INFLUENCE FOR SOCIAL ENDS

Perhaps the most effective way is to use his prestige and influence in the university or industrial organization of which he is a part to establish and to enforce strong policies with respect to minority rights, education, training and employment opportunities. But scientists may wish, in addition, a more direct involvement—one which bears the stamp of their profession. This might best be done through united action as a national community of scientists. As such they could support a major investment of funds and effort. These could be used to establish a national office and perhaps regional clearing-houses where expert advice could be available on matters of recruiting, training and employment of minority-group members, on methods of purchasing and contracting in a manner that will stimulate minority-group involvement in our industry and economy. Any scientist who wished to channel his activities in such a way as to make a positive contribution in this area could avail himself of these services. In this way, fundamental science, which has certainly been one of the most rewarding enterprises of mankind, could not only continue to contribute to the intellectual and technical growth of our society but could simultaneously implement imaginative programs reflecting the dedication of scientists to the precepts of human rights and dignity.

SENATE DISTRICT COMMITTEE
MEETS ITS RESPONSIBILITIES
AGAINST CRIME IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, I dedicated the major efforts of that committee during 1969 to the fight against crime in the Washington metropolitan area. We intend to continue that battle in 1970 and for as long as it takes to meet the crime crisis we face.

I am proud of the record our committee established this year in providing the police and prosecutors the tools they need. I am grateful for the outstanding service of my fellow committee members and their staffs who worked long and hard to perfect the legislation we reported.

Our committee secured Senate passage of every bill in the President's crime program for the District of Columbia. We were the first committee in either House to report and gain passage of any Presidential crime bill. We were the only committee in either House to process the entire Presidential crime program before the end of the session in December.

The District of Columbia Committee will shortly make its annual report to the Congress on its activities in 1969. That report will show that our committee not only completed the President's crime program, but also secured Senate passage of every other item in the President's program for the District of Columbia submitted to us in 1969, including legislation to provide the Federal cost share of the Washington metropolitan area mass transit system and home rule

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legislation for the District of Columbia. In the interim, however, I would like to have reprinted at the conclusion of these remarks a brief summary of the committee's activities this year.

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

PARTIAL SUMMARY OF ANTI-CRIME ACTIVITIES OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

I. Court reform to cut the backlog of criminal cases

Feb. 18.—Senator Bible introduces S. 1066 and S. 1067 on court reform in the District of Columbia.

Feb. 28.—Senator Tydings introduces S. 1214 and S. 1215 on court reform in the District of Columbia.

Mar. 25-26.—Court reform hearings cancelled because Administration bill not ready. Committee begins hearings on drug abuse in Washington area instead.

Mar. 27.—Senator Tydings introduces S. 1711, an additional court reorganization measure.

May 19, 20, 21, and 22.—Planned hearings on Administration bill cancelled as President's bill still not ready. Committee hears testimony on court reform proposals—S. 1066, S. 1067, S. 1214, S. 1215, and S. 1711.

June.—Planned court proposal hearings again postponed because Administration has not yet submitted its bill.

July 1.—Chairman Tydings warns in speech to Board of Trade: "I have made every effort possible to wait for the Administration. But I cannot postpone the final court hearings any longer. The Committee will conclude its court hearings the week of July 17 and will proceed in due course to report a bill. I hope the Administration can be ready by mid-July. But we can have no more delays."

July 11.—President submits his "D.C. Crime Bill" to Congress. S. 2601 pertains to court reorganization in the District of Columbia.

July 15, 16, and 17.—Hearings on President's bill, S. 2601, and other court reform proposals.

Aug. 7-Sept. 4.—Committee orders court reform portions (80% of President's bill (S. 2601) reported. [On Sept. 9, Chairman Tydings reintroduces remaining portion (20%) of President's original proposal as S. 2869.]

Sept. 16.—S. 2601 reported to Senate in lieu of S. 1066, S. 1067, S. 1214, S. 1215, and S. 1711.

Sept. 18.—President's court reform bill, S. 2601 as amended, passes Senate.

II. Amendments of criminal law and procedure

July 11.—President submits his "D.C. Crime Bill" (S. 2601) to Congress.

Sept. 9.—Senator Tydings reintroduces 20% of President's original bill S. 2601 pertaining to criminal law and procedure as S. 2869 and states Committee's intention to report bill to Senate by November.

Sept. 18-25.—Hearings on S. 2869.

Oct. 2-Nov. 3.—Committee orders bill reported with amendments.

Nov. 18.—S. 2869 reported to Senate.

Dec. 5.—Senate passes S. 2869.

III. Strengthening the bail agency to reduce pretrial crime

Jan. 22.—Senator Tydings introduces S. 545 to amend D.C. Bail Agency Act.

Feb. 1.—Hearings on S. 545.

Apr. 22.—Department of Justice declines to comment on the bill.

July 3.—S. 545 reported to Senate.

July 8.—Senate passes S. 545.

July 11.—President submits his own proposals as part of his "D.C. Crime Bill."

Sept. 16.—Committee reports President's proposal to Senate.

Sept. 18.—Senate passes S. 2601, the President's court reform bill containing the Administration's Bail Agency recommendations.

IV. Juvenile crime

Feb. 18.—Senator Bible introduces S. 1066 regarding juvenile court procedures.

May 19, 20, 21-2.—Committee hears testimony on S. 1066.

June 5.—Senator Tydings introduces S. 2335 to provide for extradition of juvenile delinquents.

Aug. 8.—Hearing on S. 2335.

Aug. 11.—S. 2335 ordered reported with amendment.

Sept. 4.—S. 2601, containing juvenile procedure provisions, ordered reported in lieu of S. 1066.

Sept. 16.—S. 2335 and S. 2601 reported to Senate.

Sept. 18.—Senate passes S. 2335 and S. 2601.

Sept. 26.—President's Juvenile Court bill, promised last spring, is sent to Congress, and is introduced on October 1 as S. 2981.

Oct. 1.—Senator Spong opens hearings on violence in D.C. public schools.

Nov. 18, 20.—Hearings on S. 2981.

Dec. 17.—Committee orders bill reported with amendment.

Dec. 18.—S. 2981 reported to Senate.

Dec. 22.—Senate passes S. 2981.

V. Narcotics

Feb. 11.—Senator Tydings asks courts and Bail Agency to institute addiction tests on criminal defendants.

Mar. 2.—Senator Tydings asks President to support creation of Metropolitan Washington Regional Narcotics Treatment facility.

Mar. 25-26, April 9, 10, 11-June 17.—Hearings on Drug Abuse in the Metropolitan Washington Area.

Mar. 26.—Senator Tydings calls for Grand Jury to indict major narcotics traffickers.

Apr. 17.—Senator Tydings urges HEW to implement provision of Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966.

Apr. 23.—Senator Tydings asks Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments to establish task force to coordinate area anti-narcotics program.

July 16.—President's national narcotics bill, S. 2637, introduced and referred to Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

July 29.—Narcotics Law Enforcement Conference called by Senator Tydings meets to plan regional narcotics crackdown. Law enforcement officials from Maryland, Virginia, and D.C. participate.

Aug. 30.—*Staff Study on Drug Abuse in the Washington Area* published. Based on testimony at extensive Committee hearings, this 40-page study describes narcotics situation in region and reasons for it.

Oct. 27.—Senator Tydings introduces S. 3071, a comprehensive D.C. narcotics bill, providing toughest narcotics laws in the nation, cracking down on traffickers, detaining addicts, treating drug users, and creating new tools for police and prosecutors in handling drug-related crime.

Nov. 25.—Hearing on S. 3071.

VI. Pretrial detention

July 11.—President's national preventive detention bill, S. 2600, introduced and referred to Senate Judiciary Committee.

Oct. 15.—Senator Tydings introduces S. 3034, to provide in the District of Columbia for 30-day pretrial detention of certain dangerous persons.

Nov. 6-7.—Committee hearings on S. 3034.

VII. Strengthening the Public Defender Agency

July 11.—President submits as part of his "D.C. Crime Bill" S. 2602, to enlarge and improve the Public Defender Agency.

Sept. 18-25-Oct. 2.—Hearings on S. 2602.

Nov. 3.—Committee orders S. 2602 reported with amendments.

Nov. 19.—Bill reported to Senate.
Nov. 21.—S. 2602 passes Senate.

COMMITTEE ACTION ON OTHER PARTS OF THE
PRESIDENT'S DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PROGRAM

I. Mass transit development

May 16.—Administration bill, S. 2185, to authorize federal payment for transit system introduced with full committee sponsorship.

June 10-11.—Hearings on S. 2185 held.
July 1.—S. 2185 ordered reported.
July 3.—S. 2185 reported to Senate.
July 8.—Senate passes S. 2185.
Dec. 9.—President signs bill. (P.L. 91-143)

II. Home rule

Apr. 25.—Committee member bills on home rule introduced. (S. 1971, S. 1972, and S. 1991).

Apr. 30.—Hearings on Committee home rule bills.

May 13.—President sends his home rule proposals to Congress. (S. 2163 and S. 2164).

Sept. 17.—Committee orders S. 2163 and S. 2164 reported in lieu of S. 1971, S. 1972, and S. 1991.

Sept. 25.—S. 2163 and S. 2164 reported to Senate.

Oct. 1.—Senate passes President's home rule legislation.

III. Revenue

Aug. 11.—D.C. Revenue Bill (H.R. 12982) passed by House.

Aug. 12-13-Sept. 3-5.—Hearings on H.R. 12982.

Aug. 13.—Senate formally refers bill to Committee.

Sept. 17.—Full Committee orders H.R. 12982 with amendments reported to Senate.

Sept. 24.—H.R. 12982 is reported to Senate.

Oct. 3.—Senate passes H.R. 12982 with amendments, calls for a conference, and appoints conferees.

Oct. 22, 23, 27.—Conferences on bill.

Oct. 30.—House and Senate agree to conference report.

Oct. 31.—President signs bill. (P.L. 91-106).

REPORT TO MICHIGAN'S SIXTH
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with my annual custom, the following report on the first session of the 91st Congress has been prepared for the information of the citizens of Michigan's Sixth Congressional District.

Mr. Speaker, the first half of the 91st Congress is now history. Overall it has been a very uneven performance. Some highly significant steps have been taken. However, many more urgent problems are still awaiting action by the Congress.

The year 1969 has been one of transition, a time in which a nation, torn by dissension and nearly overwhelmed by the problems and challenges of the sixties—Vietnam, inflation, crime, urban blight, poverty, pollution, an overpromising and underperforming Federal Government, and many others—has struggled to regain its self-confidence, its sense of balance and purpose.

The inauguration of a new administration in Washington at this critical juncture in our history has signaled not

only a reaffirmation in the ability of our time-tested representative institutions to respond to change, but also the beginning of a new era of reform in government with fresh ideas and approaches to our problems.

As the President stated in a recent message to Congress:

The legislative program of this Administration differs fundamentally from that of previous administrations. We do not seek more and more of the same. We were not elected to pile new resources and manpower on the top of old programs. We were elected to initiate an era of change. We intend to begin a decade of government reform such as this nation has not witnessed in half a century.

While we have new leadership in the White House, it must be kept in mind that the control of the legislative process has remained in essentially the same hands throughout the past decade. At adjournment, the party division was as follows—House: 245 Democrats, 189 Republicans, 1 vacancy; Senate: 57 Democrats, 43 Republicans. This was one of the longest sessions ever. There were 21,553 bills introduced and the floor proceedings of both Houses filled 30,894 pages in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Some 169 public bills were enacted into law. Of the 353 rollcalls I was present and answered to 98 percent of the 177 record votes.

NEW DIRECTIONS: VIETNAM

Despite the mountain of problems the President inherited upon taking office last January, understandably Vietnam has been his principal concern. After years in which American involvement has constantly increased, the trend of the conflict has been reversed and over 100,000 U.S. servicemen have been ordered home. During 1969 the level of casualties dropped markedly and draft calls were significantly cut back. Even with the lack of success toward a negotiated settlement, the progress of the Vietnamization program enabled the President to put into effect an orderly timetable for the withdrawal of American combat forces.

In recognition of this the House, on December 2, passed by an overwhelming vote of 333 to 55, a bipartisan resolution affirming support for the President in his efforts to achieve a just peace in Vietnam. Heavy majorities in both parties approved the President's new initiatives.

U.S. troop levels in Vietnam

December 31:	
1960	900
1961	3,200
1962	11,300
1963	16,300
1964	23,300
1965	184,300
1966	385,300
1967	485,600
1968	536,100
1969	474,400
1970 (Apr. 15, authorized)	434,000

FREE WORLD SHIPPING TO NORTH VIETNAM

In connection with efforts to convince the Hanoi regime of the free world's determination for an end to hostilities, I have continued to follow closely the aid and comfort derived by North Vietnam from the chartering of free world

registered ships in order to help carry on its vital trade especially with Red China and the Soviet Union.

During 1969 there were a total of 99 free world flag ship arrivals in North Vietnam as compared to 149 in 1968. This downward trend is indeed encouraging, but more can and should be done. To deny supplies to the enemy and hasten peace I have urged the administration to make a still greater effort to prevail upon the British Government with respect to the North Vietnamese trade of Hong Kong-based vessels.

Here is a 2-year breakdown of these arrivals by flag of registry:

Flag	1968	1969
British	114	74
Cyprus	14	9
Somalia	9	8
Singapore	6	4
Japan	1	3
Malta	1	1
Italy	1	0
Kuwait	1	0
Lebanon	2	0
Total	149	99

NEW DIRECTIONS: DEFENSE POLICY

During its first year, the new administration also conducted a searching review of our worldwide military strategy. This has already resulted in the setting of explicit guidelines for planning our defense posture in order to reduce and stabilize our defense spending over the next 5 years.

Moving early, the President cut the \$81.5 billion Defense budget recommended by the last administration to \$75.2 billion, and accepted further reductions made by Congress of an additional \$5.6 billion. This was accomplished along with the approval by Congress of the initial construction of an anti-ballistic-missile system designed to protect our deterrent capability and to defend the American people against accidental nuclear attacks or nuclear blackmail by third countries; new efforts to build a modern navy in the face of the growing Soviet challenge on the high seas; the elimination of the manned orbital laboratory program; and the cutting back on hundreds of defense installations.

On related fronts, the President signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty; succeeded in opening talks on the limitation of strategic arms with the Soviet Union in Helsinki; and implemented a new policy on the use of chemical and biological weapons.

NEW DIRECTIONS: DOMESTIC POLICY

With all the pressing demands of Vietnam, the Mideast crisis, and other international matters, the President's ambitious legislative program clearly demonstrates his collateral determination to push for basic reforms and innovative concepts to deal with our urgent domestic problems.

Of prime concern has been inflation. Here the legacy of the sixties hangs heavy—during that time we saw Federal spending soar some 96 percent, the Federal debt jump 23 percent, and the cost-of-living rise 18 percent.

Rejecting wage and price controls or

ineffectual guidelines, the President has undertaken to restrain Federal spending in order to get at the root causes. At the end of fiscal 1968 there was an incredible budget deficit of over \$25 billion. Last June, 12 months later, we had a surplus of more than \$3 billion and the President has promised another balanced budget for fiscal 1970.

Of course, it would be politically more expedient just to go on increasing spending regardless of its impact on inflationary pressures—to promise everything to everybody. However, all across the Nation we are already suffering the long-term effects of such a policy. I am satisfied that a return to more prudent fiscal management is essential even though there will continue to be many difficulties.

Recognizing that simply throwing tax dollars at a problem will not necessarily solve it, the President, in a series of 46 separate messages to Congress, outlined a wide range of proposals, including a new welfare system with positive incentives for recipients to want to work; social security reforms; new initiatives for more housing, such as Operation Break-through; a new federalism to revitalize State and local governments through the sharing of Federal tax revenues; electoral college reform; a 10-year airport improvement program; a 12-year mass transit program; new laws to combat organized crime, pornography, and drug abuse; new steps to protect the consumer from harmful pesticides and food additives; postal reform; action to end discrimination in the job market; and a major effort to revive our badly decaying merchant marine.

NEW COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

As a result of my appointment on March 5, 1969, to the Ways and Means Committee, I had the opportunity to share in the initial consideration of both the tax reform and social security bills that passed. While these measures accounted for much of the committee's work, also under study was the President's welfare proposals, new taxes to help finance airport development; unemployment compensation revisions, changes in narcotic laws, Federal debt adjustments, and numerous minor import regulation bills. Our Constitution provides that only the House shall originate legislation for raising Federal revenue. It is this committee, first established in 1802, which has been entrusted with this broad power. To share the responsibility for legislation that so vitally affects our citizens and our economy provides a unique opportunity for service.

TAX REFORM

Looking to the positive side of this first session, the passage of the Tax Reform Act certainly will be recorded as a major achievement of this Congress. This is the most comprehensive revision of our tax system since the income tax became law in 1913. I am sure that without the prodding of the new administration it could not have been accomplished.

When fully operable in 1973 the bill will represent an estimated \$6.6 billion in added annual Federal revenues due to

loophole-closing and some \$9.1 billion in tax cuts. In order to minimize the possible adverse impact on the Federal budget and anti-inflation efforts it was finally agreed to adjust reform and relief provisions so that there would be no revenue loss until 1972.

The bill reduces the 10-percent surcharge to 5 percent on January 1, 1970, and eliminates it completely on June 30 of this year. In addition it provides for the repeal of the 7-percent investment tax credit. Here are some of the other main provisions of this 585 page tax bill:

Personal exemption: Beginning in 1970, it is raised in four annual steps from the current \$600 to \$750 by 1973.

Standard deduction: Beginning in 1971, it is raised in three annual steps from the current 10 percent or \$1,000 to 15 percent or \$2,000 by 1973.

Low income allowance: Beginning in 1970, Federal taxation is ended on incomes at or below the Federal poverty line standard.

Minimum tax: Beginning in 1970, a new tax is imposed on certain types of currently untaxed "preference income."

Maximum tax: Sets a new maximum tax rate of 50 percent on earned income.

Single persons: Current tax rates are reduced by as much as 50 percent to achieve greater parity between taxes paid by single and married persons.

Foundations: A new 4 percent tax on investment income is imposed along with certain restrictions on foundation operations.

Depletion: The current 27½ percent oil allowance is cut to 22 percent and the allowance on hard minerals is reduced.

Other features include easier rules for income averaging; more liberal deductions for moving expenses; cut-in allowable depreciation of nonresidential buildings; tax on business income of charitable institutions; end of tax advantage for corporations with many subsidiaries; and a crackdown on treatment of some conglomerates.

The following chart gives an indication of the size and timing of projected tax reductions:

WHO GETS HOW MUCH TAX CUT
MARRIED COUPLE, TWO CHILDREN

Annual income	1969 tax (old law)	1970 tax	1971 tax	1972 tax	1973 tax
\$5,000	\$290	\$294	\$206	\$170	\$140
\$8,000	849	776	688	635	586
\$10,000	1,225	1,122	1,019	962	905
\$20,000	3,201	2,957	2,860	2,810	2,760

SOCIAL SECURITY

Added to the final version of the tax reform bill was an across-the-board, 15-percent increase in social security benefits effective January 1, 1970. I also supported this proposal when it previously was before the House as a separate measure. Such action, I believe, was imperative in view of the inflation that has occurred since the last cost-of-living adjustment some 2 years ago. Not to act would simply mean that we were requiring 25 million Americans, the elderly, the disabled, widows and

orphans, to accept monthly benefit reductions in terms of real income.

Unfortunately time limitations did not permit the Ways and Means Committee to act on other reforms in the social security system that are badly needed. However, we have been assured by Chairman WILBUR MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas, that early consideration will be given to further remedial action next session.

I would particularly hope that the administration's request for automatic cost-of-living adjustment would be approved in order to end the problem of benefits unduly lagging behind the rest of the economy. Changes should also be made in the retirement test to minimize as much as possible the present limitations which stifle incentive to work. Our senior citizens who are able to work should not be penalized for wanting to supplement their modest incomes.

This session we made a good start but we should make these and other concerns the first order of business next year and finish the job.

DRAFT REFORM

Finally responding to the President's repeated requests for authority to institute a fairer Selective Service System, Congress, on November 19, approved legislation permitting the first draft lottery since 1942.

Under the new random selection plan, much of the uncertainty of the previous system will be eliminated by the reduction of the period of prime draft vulnerability from 7 years to 1 year. Young men at age 19 will now have some indication of the likelihood of their being drafted and can plan accordingly. The President has also initiated a new policy of bringing youth advisers into the system, and is making an intensive review of other major aspects of the draft law. Congressional hearings on these matters are scheduled to be held next session.

OTHER COMPLETED ACTIONS

Even with the long session, the list of other major bills cleared in the first session is remarkably short:

Housing: A \$4.8 billion, 1-year extension of major housing laws was passed with an amendment requiring that a new low-income home be built for each one torn down by urban renewal.

Poverty program: A 2-year extension was approved after a House effort to decentralize OEO was narrowly defeated.

Environmental quality: A special Council was established to mount a comprehensive research effort to fight pollution and safeguard our natural environment.

Food aid: The President's request for doubling the food stamp program to \$610 million was approved.

Mine safety: New health standards and compensation for "black lung" victims was cleared.

Student loans: Administration plan for an incentive fee system to encourage private loans to students was adopted.

Export control: The law restricting trade with Communist countries was extended, with new authority to permit the President, if he determines it is in the national interest, to permit sales of nonmilitary goods if available to Com-

munist countries from other free world nations.

Water pollution: \$800 million was included in public works appropriation bill for grants to build waste treatment plants.

Air pollution: The Clean Air Act research program on fuels and vehicles was extended and \$45 million authorized.

APPROPRIATIONS BACKLOG

The failure to act on appropriation bills in an orderly and timely fashion as required by law has subjected the Congress to substantial criticism, much of which is clearly deserved. While this is not a new problem, it has been getting worse each year. By the time the new fiscal year began last July 1, not one of the 13 major money bills had cleared Congress, and by November 1 only two had passed. Even at adjournment two were left pending. The passage of emergency continuing resolutions just to keep the Government from closing up is a poor way to conduct the Nation's business and works a real hardship on our State and local governments in planning their federally supported activities. In an effort to alleviate this situation, I joined in sponsoring legislation that would make the fiscal year coincide with the calendar year. This way Congress would have, instead of 6 months, a full year to consider the important legislative function of making appropriations.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

During the first session I introduced a number of bills to prompt action in many areas. These included proposals that would—

Urge House adoption of resolution supporting President's efforts for a just peace in Vietnam;

Call on North Vietnam to honor the Geneva Convention concerning the treatment of prisoners of war;

Provide an escalator clause to make future cost-of-living increases of social security benefits automatic;

Raise the outside earnings allowance without loss of social security benefits;

Raise the personal income tax exemption;

Make available a Federal aid bonus incentive allotment to States actively fighting water pollution;

Provide a "plowback allowance" program of tax adjustment to assist small businesses;

Prohibit the mailing of pornographic material to minors, and broaden the present laws protecting against the unsolicited mailing of pornography;

Establish a system of sharing Federal revenues with State and local governments;

Extend the same tax exemption treatment allowed U.S. soldiers in Vietnam to those in Korea; and

Provide for a coordinated national safe boating program.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

At adjournment a quick check of the legislative calendar revealed that numerous bills and most of the President's proposals were still awaiting action. Here is just a partial list with what has been done to date indicated.

Labor-HEW Departments appropriation bill: In conference.

Foreign aid appropriation bill: In conference.

Electoral college reform: House passed direct, popular presidential election plan; no Senate action.

Federal revenue sharing with State and local governments: Senate hearings only.

Voting Rights Act extension: House passed President's proposal broadening and revising 1965 law; no Senate action.

Welfare reform: Hearings only.

Postal reform: Hearings only.

Airport development: House passed; approved by Senate committee.

Merchant marine development: No action.

Drug traffic control: Hearings only.

Antiobscenity bills: Hearings only.

Organized crime control: Hearings only.

Water Quality Improvement Act: Final version still pending in conference.

Unemployment compensation revision: House passed; no Senate action.

Comprehensive Manpower Act: No action.

Gun crime penalties: Senate passed; no House action.

Federal employee pay increase: Final version still pending.

Cigarette advertising: Final version still pending in conference.

Urban mass transportation: Senate hearings only.

GI bill, increasing education and training benefits to Vietnam veterans: Still pending in conference.

Drugs: A 3-year, \$29 million program in drug abuse education passed the House; no Senate action.

With reference to drug problems, I have obtained from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a supply of four pamphlets which factually discuss marijuana, LSD, amphetamines, barbiturates, and narcotics, and will be pleased to make these available upon request.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CLAI- BORNE PELL ON THE HIGH EFFI- CIENCY AT QUONSET POINT NAVAL AIR REWORK FACILITY

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I recently completed a tour of the Quonset Point Naval Air Rework Facility at Quonset Point, R.I., and I would like to bring to the attention of the Senate the quality and efficiency of the work being undertaken at that facility.

At a time when we are becoming increasingly aware of the high cost of military contract work in the private sector, I think it is important that we take note of the high quality and efficient work being undertaken within the Department of the Navy's civilian branch.

As a Senator from Rhode Island, I am particularly proud to report that the

Naval Air Rework Facility in my State has been saving the taxpayer many dollars by its high quality work at a minimum of cost.

The product certification program at the rework facility is one of the key reasons why the naval rework facility is one of the most cost effective in the Nation. I would ask that a recent article by Mr. John R. Folloni describing that excellent program be inserted in the RECORD at this point in order that my colleagues would have the opportunity to gain a more detailed understanding of Quonset Point's fine effort.

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

[From Quality Insurance, December 1969]
CERTIFICATION—CORNERSTONE OF SUCCESSFUL
MOTIVATION AT NARF

(By John R. Folloni, Quality Management Division Head, Naval Air Rework Facility, Quonset Point, R.I.)

(NOTE.—The Naval Air Rework Facility (NARF), located at the Quonset Point, Rhode Island, Naval Air Station is the Navy's primary overhaul depot for anti-submarine aircraft, various jet engines, and thousands of aircraft components systems. The NARF has joint military/civilian administration and employs nearly 3,300 civilians. Work inducted into the NARF necessarily has strict requirements for both quality and adherence to schedule within targeted costs in order to supply the Fleet with reliable aircraft and related logistics support.)

How would you like to reduce your customer complaints and in-process defect rates by 25%?

This goal was not only achieved but exceeded by Edward Castagna, NARF's quality assurance director, with his new and unique Product Certification Program.

In less than two years, in-process deficiencies have been slashed 40%, while customer complaints fell 42% in aircraft programs and 88% in engine overhauls.

Moreover, this enviable record was accomplished without additional staffing of an already compact quality assurance department which numbers only 3.4% of the total work force.

Key factor in Quonset's approach to assist Navy industrial workers in regaining their pride and feeling of importance lies in the ability of its Product Certification Program to make effective use of the basic instincts of human behavior. Certification is not only a hardware program but also a motivational program based on the principle of individual responsibility and recognition for job accomplishment.

The NARF program stresses from the first contact with the worker that he is the most important part of the quality team; that he is responsible not only for doing his job, but for doing it right. It is emphasized that he is the key person who can make the Navy proud of Quonset's products.

The importance of each job is highlighted through every stage of processing by requiring that each artisan certify his own work. Accomplishment of a job assignment in accordance with the applicable maintenance quality standards is documented by affixing a certification stamp to the appropriate work documents.

To avoid confusion, to control quality and simultaneously increase productivity, a gradual but positive transition was made from traditional inspection methods to the Certification Program. Results were gratifying to both production and quality.

Fig. 1 graphically depicts the relationship between the development of the program and the quality of the outgoing product. It also

shows the decline of rework costs and in-process defects (quality index). Not shown, however, was the fact that as the Certification Program expanded, the overall production manhour requirements were also reduced while production schedules continued to be met.

CHANGES IN RESPONSIBILITIES AND FUNCTIONS

Effectiveness of Certification also attributed to basic changes in the responsibilities and functions of both quality and production personnel. For example, the inspector . . . formerly the old policeman armed with a rejection stamp . . . has a new and different job; now his job is to help the artisan whenever the latter's desire to do the job right is being frustrated by conditions beyond his control.

The former inspector, who in the past only required a good trade background and a rejection stamp, has had to go back to school to learn some space age skills. He has studied statistical quality control to understand and use sampling plans; he has had to become acquainted with control charts, report writing techniques, methods of analyzing causes of defect trends, and many other tasks never expected of the old-time inspector.

Of equal importance, the inspector has had to develop skills in psychology and human relations to gain cooperation from members of other departments.

The new man is a detective, a troubleshooter, a father confessor, and a skilled analyst who warns of potential problems before they become real problems. The new man in quality . . . the Quality Specialist . . . is truly a skilled professional.

Similarly, the production worker has changed. The old production worker, who tried to see if "anything goes" or who would depend on the inspector to tell him what else had to be done to make the job acceptable, has disappeared from Quonset. The program has restored a sense of pride in workmanship.

GUIDELINES TO SUCCESS

To assure a successful program, Quality Assurance Director Castagna devised the following policy guidelines:

Obtain total support from top management. The most easily overlooked, yet actually most important factor in introducing any new quality improvement programs, is obtaining all-out support from all levels of management, especially top management.

Due to the critical nature of NARF products . . . aircraft, engines, and survival equipment . . . management has always recognized that product quality is essential. However, NARF management was also well aware that the nature and complexity of processing was such that defective materials or processes could be undetectable once the processes or assembly operations were completed. In many cases, the only way of determining the quality of the product was to have inspection check every process and sub-assembly. Of course, this was economically prohibitive due to the larger number of inspection personnel required for 100% inspection. Additionally, even with so-called 100% inspection, defective material still has a way of getting out.

The NARF program was launched early in 1968 with the full support of top management beginning with Captain J. C. Kemp, USN, then commanding officer, and channeled through all levels of middle management to the shop foremen. Captain T. R. Rhee, USN, present NARF commanding officer, has continued to assure that vigorous top management support is provided to maintain the Certification Program's momentum.

Train the inspection force. Training of the new role began at Quonset several years ago with an "in-house" course in statistical quality control conducted by members of the

quality department. A continuous training program encompassing new quality techniques has been conducted ever since and has become a way of life. The Inspector at Quonset Point has been supplanted by the Quality Specialist, a professional whose training continues throughout his career.

The new approach toward defect prevention, coupled with the flexibility of using quality specialists in lieu of single trade-oriented inspectors, has been a major factor in this NARF's ability to produce reliable aircraft products with a production-worker-to-quality verifier ratio of 28 to 1.

Involve production in planning the program. Establish a harmonious relationship with production workers, supervisors and union leaders by allowing them to participate in planning the program. There is no better way to sell a certification program.

Development of the ground rules for the NARF Product Certification Program required many manhours of research. A detailed analysis of other certification programs was made to determine what elements contributed to their success or failure.

"Brainstorming sessions" were held with both production and quality personnel before specific program policies were established. The program went through several stages of evolution, starting with certification restricted to only the most expert workers performing very selected functions, and finally evolving to the present basic policy of certifying anyone recommended by his supervisor.

To insure full acceptance of the program, production workers, production management and the unions were kept informed or planned policy changes . . . and they were continually solicited for comments and suggestions. Many very useful suggestions from the production department were incorporated into the final version of the certification policy directive. This team approach has yielded large dividends, greatest of which was the ready acceptance of the program by production.

Thousands of question-and-answer pamphlets describing the program in simple terms and amplifying the rules of the certification policy directives were distributed to all certifiers and their supervisors. Certification stamps were issued only after the individual signed a pledge to conform to quality specifications whenever he affixed a stamp to a document.

At Quonset, Automatic Data Processing Equipment is used to provide continuous up-to-date listings of certified individuals by name, stamp number, parent shop, and those shops in which his certification authority is valid.

Use positive approaches. Reinforce the quality motivation by continually praising good work.

This positive approach taken at Quonset has been highly successful. Both internal and external feedback information is used as prime sources of material to praise the production departments for continued good performance. Letters of appreciation/complimentation from customers are printed in station newspapers and other plant communication media. Credit for high quality product is always given to the production worker.

Quality assurance reports always highlight quality progress made in a shop. When quality improvement in any area does not meet established goals, the shop simply is not praised or the shop is informed that their quality index could be raised by concentrating on certain types of defects, products or processes.

Quality investigations performed as a result of adverse feedback data are always focused on assisting production to locate the source of the problem. Production personnel are rarely reprimanded for poor quality work. Instead, the cause of the poor qual-

ity work is determined, and the worker is given the necessary training, tools or facilities to do the job right.

Direct problems to proper personnel. Establish procedures which call problems to the attention of the person or department that can take corrective action.

At Quonset, periodic internal quality reports are forwarded to all levels of management. Other quality reports and quality requests for action are forwarded as necessary.

When statistical data from internal or external sources indicate that the production department is experiencing quality problems, the statistical branch notifies the quality engineering division or the appropriate quality verification branch to perform an investigation and to report the results. When statistical data indicates any breakdown in the Certification Program, the production supervisor is immediately alerted.

The statistical branch provides production with data on the prevailing defect and the certifiers associated with these defects. The production supervisor is then given the first opportunity to correct the situation; however, he must advise the quality department of corrective action taken.

If abuse of the certification privilege is noted, the certification stamp may be recalled by the quality assurance department. Prior to recalling any certification stamp the case is fully investigated by quality personnel to insure that the certifier has been given the proper training, tools, work instructions, and facilities to permit him to comply with the job specifications.

Ensure effective follow-up. Procedures must be established to ensure corrective action is taken.

Whenever corrective action has been taken or promised at NARF to eliminate the cause of a quality problem, continued follow-up actions are utilized to assure the action is initially taken, is of a continuing nature, and that such action has, in fact, been effective in eliminating the problem.

Measure progress. A means of measuring the progress of the Certification Program is necessary.

Quonset utilizes traditional methods of pinpointing quality problems such as control charts and defect summaries. Periodic reports are issued by the quality statistical and analysis branch to monitor progress of shop and certifier quality performance. Summaries of the quality specialists' findings are used to quantitatively measure the Product Certification Program.

CONGRESSMAN ST. ONGE REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom ever since I came to Congress in 1963 to submit a report to the people of the Second Congressional District at the conclusion of every session of Congress. This is the seventh annual report. In this way I endeavor to present a summary of the session, the major issues, my own views and actions. I do not expect everyone to agree with everything I have said or done, nor with every decision of the Congress. My primary purpose is to keep my constituents informed on these matters. This report is not reprinted at Government expense.

THE 1969 SESSION

The 1969 session is the first year of the 91st Congress; the 1970 session, starting on January 19, will conclude this Congress. It was one of the longest in our Nation's history. The session began on January 3, 1969, and ended on December 23. Today, being a Member of Congress is a year-round responsibility. Gone are the days when Congress would meet for only 6 or 7 months in the year.

It is difficult to describe the 1969 session in a single phrase, but it is worth remembering that much of the work begun in 1969 will be concluded during 1970. Nevertheless, some people are hasty in their judgments. Thus, some will speak of a "confused Congress," while others maintain it has been "a year of innovation and great initiative."

Having been on the scene day in and day out, I would say that the truth lies somewhere in between these two views. I prefer to agree with Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD who termed it a "responsible" session. It does not really matter how long a Congress sits or how many bills are passed, but what is important to the Nation's well-being is the quality of the legislation passed. What the 1969 session lacked in quantity, it more than made up in quality. In addition, Congress has grappled with major problems in a responsible manner and I feel certain that important legislation to deal with those problems will emerge from the 1970 session. In short, I would characterize it as a moderate Congress, cautiously leading the way in a period of turmoil and confusion throughout the world.

A MOST ACTIVE YEAR

Aside from the length of the session, 1969 has been a most active year for me because of the important legislation handled by the two full committees and several subcommittees on which I serve. On the Judiciary Committee we dealt with such problems as electoral college reform, voting rights, crime prevention, pornography, immigration, and judicial procedure, while on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee we discussed oil pollution, U.S. merchant marine, oceanography, the Coast Guard, conservation, and environmental problems.

During the year I introduced a total of 115 bills and resolutions. In the 2 years of the previous Congress I introduced a total of 107 bills, and that was a record. In 1969 my total was greater than the previous 2-year record, which in itself is an indication of the volume of my activity, and the wide scope of my interests. Of the 115 bills, 94 dealt with public issues and 21 were primarily immigration cases. Many of these were enacted or included in modified form in measures enacted by Congress, others remain for the 1970 session.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Turmoil, confusion, and frustration continued to dominate the world scene. The war in Vietnam, campus unrest, racial problems in the cities, demonstrations, and mobilizations continued throughout the year. Dissatisfaction with the war and the growing number of losses of American lives finally prompted

our Government to begin to curtail participation in Vietnam and a gradual withdrawal of our troops.

Many showed signs of impatience at the slowness of these withdrawals, while the Senate showed its determination to avoid future involvements by passing a resolution against foreign commitments by the President without the approval of Congress. The House passed a peace with justice resolution but some Members, myself included, saw this as another Gulf of Tonkin resolution and opposed it. I am very pessimistic, as I have stated in the past, about the willingness of the South Vietnamese to fight without the support of American combat troops and firepower. Since we will have withdrawn more than 110,000 troops by April 15, 1970, and apparently abandoned the possibility of military victory, it appears to me we are endangering the remaining American troops should the Vietcong initiate a strong offensive because they will have then become convinced that they can achieve a military victory.

Other actions by Congress in the field of foreign affairs include: participation by the United States in the International Development Association, control of exports to Communist countries, continuation of the foreign aid program, unfortunately at a lower level, a call for humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war held by North Vietnam, extension of the Peace Corps. I also cosponsored a resolution to ban bacteriological warfare but the administration subsequently ruled out such practices by the United States. I cosponsored a resolution to commend our servicemen and veterans of Vietnam for their efforts and sacrifices.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND VETERANS

If any one point has been made clear in 1969 it is that the American people want to spend less on military activities and more on domestic problems. These include crime prevention, elimination of hunger, the needs of the core cities, education, pollution control, and health. However, Congress is well aware of the need for and has provided a first-rate defense effort, but it refused to accept without reservation all the requests for funds from the Pentagon.

The budget request for defense expenditures in the current fiscal year was over \$75 billion, but after careful deliberation the Congress reduced it to \$70 billion, a cut of \$5.3 billion in military programs. It was generally agreed this would suffice and that it was a wise decision in the light of diminishing U.S. participation in Vietnam.

An act of major importance for the Nation was taken by Congress in amending the Selective Service System by authorizing the lottery draft. The new system goes into effect as of January 1, 1970, and will reduce the period of draft vulnerability for young men and remove the uncertainty which made the old system so unfair.

Several bills were passed to aid veterans and their dependents, such as more equitable compensation and increased payments for widows of vet-

erans, increased educational allowances to Vietnam veterans attending college, housing loans, vocational rehabilitation, hospital and nursing home care.

TAX REFORM

At the start of the 1969 session I was one of the first Members to call for tax reform and tax relief for millions of our citizens in the lower income groups. On February 25, I cosponsored a 13-point tax reform bill which would close tax loopholes benefiting special interests, would bring in an additional \$9 billion in revenue, eliminate the 10-percent tax surcharge, and provide tax relief for several million low-income taxpayers. Major points of the bill were: cut the oil depletion allowance from 27½ to 15 percent, tax capital gains presently untaxed at death, repeal the 7-percent investment tax credit, limit hobby farmers' use of farm losses, and eliminate accelerated depreciation on real estate.

Several of these provisions were included in the bill passed by Congress, though in amended form. For example, the oil depletion allowance was cut to 22 percent, the privilege accorded capital gains was tightened, a minimum tax will now be applied to income from real estate depreciation and other sources of sheltered income. At the same time, some 5.5 million low-income taxpayers will be completely removed from the tax rolls, while another 9 million low- and middle-income taxpayers will benefit through the increase in the personal exemption, the higher standard deduction, and other provisions.

In addition to the tax bill which I introduced in February, I also sponsored several bills to deal with specific tax problems. Some were subsequently included in the final version, among these the proposal to extend "head of household" benefits for single taxpayers; deductions for moving expenses incurred by employees; increase in personal income tax exemption from \$600 to \$750—this figure will have to be revised upward in the near future.

All in all, the tax bill approved by Congress is a massive reform and relief measure of vital interest to millions of Americans. It provides some \$9 billion in tax relief and adds about \$6 billion in new revenue on a more equitable basis. No doubt there are many weaknesses which can be corrected in time. I regard it as the most important piece of tax legislation in the last 25 years.

Congress also passed several other bills of interest in this field, that is, interest equalization tax to keep the balance-of-payments problem under control; Bank Holding Company Act requiring one-bank holding companies to sell their banks or their nonrelated businesses—passed by House; interstate taxation, of which I was a cosponsor, providing for taxation by States of corporations involved in interstate commerce.

OTHER MAJOR LEGISLATION

Among the more important bills enacted are the following:

Social security. An increase of 15 percent across the board for some 25 million beneficiaries, effective January 1, 1970. The President proposed a 10-per-

cent increase to take effect next April. I had introduced several bills to increase social security benefits. One bill called for an increase in benefits of 50 percent plus a cost-of-living adjustment. When I realized there was no chance for passage, I revised my figures and on May 15, 1969, introduced a bill which called for a 15-percent increase. It was this latter version that the Congress adopted.

Housing. This is a \$4.7 billion measure extending various housing programs, including more low-income housing, rent supplements, urban renewal, Government-backed housing insurance, model cities, and neighborhood development.

Hunger. To alleviate hunger in various sections of the country, Congress appropriated \$610 million for the food stamp program in the current fiscal year, compared with only \$280 million last year. Its purpose is to help the poor obtain an adequate diet. In addition, provisions are being made for free meals to needy children.

Education. In this field action remains unfinished. Congress approved programs for guaranteed loans to college students, education of the handicapped, Federal grants to build educational TV and radio facilities, and labor-management cooperation in educational scholarships and day care centers. The major education bill remains unfinished business, however, Congress approved an increase of \$1.1 billion in education funds, including aid to schools in impacted areas, but because of a threatened veto by the President this measure was delayed until 1970.

Health. A law passed by Congress requires that States receiving money under the medicaid program use it for that purpose. It was found that some States merely reduced their contributions for other programs when they received medicaid funds from the Federal Government. Passage of the Coal Mine Safety Act was finally achieved. Other health measures to be completed in 1970 are: the public health cigarette smoking bill, modernization and construction of hospitals and medical facilities, construction of community mental health centers, and the Drug Abuse Education Act.

Environmental pollution. Notable progress was made in this field when Congress approved several vital measures. Most important is the appropriation of \$800 million to combat water pollution and to provide aid to States and communities in building sewage treatment facilities. I fought for providing \$1 billion for this program, but the administration urged only \$214 million. Others are: establishment of a top-level Council on Environmental Quality to review national policy on natural resources and environmental control; research to curb air pollution from motor vehicles; saline water conversion program. The next session will consider a bill, which I cosponsored, to control oil pollution.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

I have already mentioned several items of unfinished business scheduled for the 1970 session. One of the most important is action on crime prevention. One thing is sure: the Nation is tired of studies and research, the demand is for

action now. There is also a demand for tightening the laws on mailing of obscene material. As a member of a subcommittee which is studying the problem of pornography, I expect our committee will come up with a constructive proposal.

The House approved an amendment to the Constitution, which I cosponsored, to abolish the electoral college and to provide for direct election of President and Vice President; it remains to be acted upon in the Senate. Civil rights was dealt a heavy blow, however, when the House voted to repeal the 1965 Voting Rights Act and to replace it with an administration measure which would permit the South to revert to old practices for curtailing the Negro vote. The Senate has not acted on this yet.

Other unfinished business includes proposals on welfare reform, postal reform, unemployment insurance coverage for another 5 million workers, consolidation of all job training programs under the Labor Department, consumer protection, a new U.S. merchant marine program.

SERVICES TO THE PEOPLE

One of my primary duties in Washington is to assist the people of my district, including individuals, groups, businesses, schools, towns, and the region as a whole. My office in Washington and the district offices are open at all times and ready to help in every way possible. A call or a letter will bring an immediate response.

During 1969 I was successful in obtaining grants, loans, and contracts for many communities, including New London, Groton, Norwich, Middletown, Willimantic, Rockville, and others, for housing, water, and sewer facilities, hospital expansion, urban renewal, open-space land for recreation areas, post offices. For business firms it involved Federal contracts for goods and services providing employment for thousands of people. For colleges and school districts it meant grants to carry on their educational and research activities. Federal funds were also obtained for pollution control projects, urban planning, anti-poverty programs, manpower training, and for such Federal installations as the naval submarine base, the underwater sound laboratory, the Coast Guard Academy, and others in the New London-Groton area and elsewhere.

Many citizens came to me with their personal problems, such as military hardship cases, social security, welfare aid, employment, immigration matters, veterans problems, student loans, housing, and numerous others. Tours to Washington for families and school groups were arranged. Such requests are always welcome, and so are your letters on legislation and your views on national issues.

My thanks to all those who have sent me encouraging letters of support during the past year. I shall continue to represent all the people of my district to the best of my ability. It is an honor to serve the people and I pray that 1970 will see our beloved country secure, united, and at peace.

Address all correspondence to: Congressman William L. St. Onge, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

VOTING RECORD IN FIRST SESSION OF 91ST CONGRESS

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I insert an account of my voting record for all rollcall votes during the first session of the 91st Congress. I am confident that this report will be of interest to the residents of the 12th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent.

More importantly, my constituents are entitled to this accounting.

The itemization of the rollcall votes of a Member of Congress is only one part of his total record of service. Many other factors must be considered in evaluating his stewardship of his office.

I cast many votes which were not recorded; however, the recorded votes are a representative first-hand account of my activities as their Representative on important legislative proposals considered by the House which recently adjourned.

I would be the first to recognize that every one of my votes will not please every one of my constituents. My objective is to make the best judgment possible at the time based on the facts and circumstances that I can ascertain, in the best interests of the individual citizen, our district, and our Nation.

If more detailed information is desired concerning any particular bill, I will be pleased to furnish that through correspondence.

I also wish to take this occasion to call attention to the fact that I am using the new form supplied by the Joint Committee on Printing. It required only that I indicate the position I took on a particular bill by typing the appropriate symbols as recommended for use by the joint committee.

The format of the voting record, including the succinct bill title and abridged description, is readymade for all Members' use.

This new form is easy to use, and permits enormous savings in personnel, time, space, and printing costs. I hope and recommend that other Members of the Congress avail themselves of this format and procedure. I am not completely satisfied with every description of the bills, but the identification is adequate.

By using this format and procedure, the impact on the personnel and equipment necessary to compose, edit, and print the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be greatly reduced. This format also permits an easy review of a Member's voting record and greatly reduces the space required.

Itemization of quorum calls was omitted for several good reasons. Most quorum calls are irrelevant, useless, and reveal practically nothing concerning a Member's record as a legislator and very little concerning his actual attendance at sessions of the House. I answered more than 90 percent of the quorum calls and was absent only for constituent or committee business.

My report follows:

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

		Yes—For	No—Against	NV—Not voting	NVA—Not voting, paired against	NVF—Not voting, paired for					
Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result			Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result			Vote
2	Jan. 3	To elect the Speaker. (McCormack 241; G. Ford 187; "Present" 2)			Ford	69	May 27	H.R. 11582: On passage: to appropriate fiscal 1970 funds to the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and Independent Agencies. (Passed 326 to 6)			Yes
3	Jan. 3	H. Res. 1: Previous question: to permit Mr. Powell to take the oath of office. (Failed 176 to 248)			No	72	June 2	H.R. 763: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide for a study of State laws and regulations governing the operation of youth camps. (Failed 151 to 152)			No
4	Jan. 3	H. Res. 1: Second attempt to order the previous question. (Failed 172 to 252)			No	73	June 2	H.R. 693: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide VA hospital care for veterans 72 or older without their having to declare inability to pay, and for other purposes. (Passed 302 to 3)			Yes
5	Jan. 3	H. Res. 1: MacGregor amendment to establish a special committee to investigate Mr. Powell's right to take the oath and to his seat. (Failed 131 to 291)			Yes	76	June 4	H.R. 11102: On passage: to amend the Public Health Service Act relating to construction and modernization of hospitals and other facilities. (Passed 351 to 0; "Present" 1)			Yes
6	Jan. 3	H. Res. 2: Previous question: that Mr. Powell take the oath, be fined \$25,000 and that his seniority begin as of the 91st Congress. (Passed 249 to 171)			Yes	78	June 10	H.R. 11271: On passage: to authorize appropriations for N.A.S.A. for research and development, construction of facilities, research and program management, and other purposes. (Passed 330 to 52)			Yes
7	Jan. 3	H. Res. 2: On passage: that Mr. Powell take the oath, be fined \$25,000 and that his seniority begin as of the 91st Congress. (Passed 254 to 158, "Present" 6)			Yes	80	June 11	H.R. 1035: On passage: to prohibit encampments, sit-ins, or overnight use of parks or other public property in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. (Passed 327 to 51)			Yes
9	Jan. 6	Counting electoral votes. Objection to N.C. vote for George Wallace and Curtis LeMay in that they did not win a plurality in that state. (Failed 170 to 228)			No	85	June 18	H.R. 6543: Recommittal motion: to extend public health protection regarding cigarette smoking. (Failed 138 to 252; "Present" 3)			Yes
14	Feb. 5	H. Con. Res. 124: To adjourn until February 17, 1969. (Passed 240 to 125)			Yes	87	June 24	H.R. 12167: On passage: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 406 to 3)			Yes
16	Feb. 18	H. Res. 89: Previous question: to change name of Committee on Un-American Activities to Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 262 to 123)			Yes	89	June 24	H.R. 12307: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for independent offices and for H.U.D. (Passed 388 to 6)			Yes
17	Feb. 18	H. Res. 89: On passage: to change name of Committee on Un-American Activities to Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 307 to 80)			Yes	91	June 25	H. Res. 357: On passage: to provide an additional clerk for all Members. (Passed 204 to 195)			No
20	Mar. 12	H. R. 33: Recommittal motion: to increase U.S. participation in the International Development Association. (Failed 155 to 241)			No	93	June 25	H.R. 7906: On passage: to foster and regulate interstate commerce by providing system for taxation thereof. (Passed 311 to 87)			No
21	Mar. 12	H. R. 33: On passage: to increase U.S. participation in the International Development Association. (Passed 247 to 150)			Yes	95	June 27	H.R. 8644: Adoption of conference report to make permanent temporary suspension of duty on chicory roots, and to relax limitations on aid to families with dependent children. (Passed 269 to 65)			Yes
23	Mar. 18	S. 1058: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to extend authority of the President to submit reorganization plans. (Passed 335 to 44)			Yes	97	June 30	H.R. 12290: On passage: to continue the surtax and excise taxes on automobiles and communication services temporarily; to terminate investment credit; to provide low-income allowances. (Passed 210 to 205; "Present" 2)			Yes
25	Mar. 18	H.R. 2171: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish a Commission on National Observances and Holidays. (Failed 164 to 213)			Yes	99	July 8	H.R. 11249: Recommittal motion: to amend John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds. (Failed 162 to 217)			Yes
27	Mar. 19	H.R. 8508: On passage: to increase the public debt limit. (Passed 313 to 93)			Yes	100	July 8	H.R. 11249: On passage: to amend John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds. (Passed 210 to 163)			No
31	Mar. 27	H. R. 7757: On passage: to authorize fiscal 1969 supplemental military appropriations for aircraft procurement and modification. (Passed 341 to 21)			Yes	102	July 9	H.R. 11400: Adoption of conference report to make supplemental fiscal 1969 appropriations. (Passed 348 to 49)			Yes
33	Apr. 1	H. Res. 270: Recommittal motion: to authorize expenditure of certain funds by the Committee on Internal Security. (Failed 74 to 283)			No	103	July 10	H.R. 11702: On passage: to extend and improve provisions relating to medical libraries and related instrumentalities assistance in the Public Health Service Act. (Passed 370 to 3)			Yes
34	Apr. 1	H. Res. 270: On passage: to authorize expenditure of certain funds by the Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 305 to 51)			Yes	104	July 10	H.R. 4284: On passage: to authorize appropriations for the Standard Reference Data Act. (Passed 365 to 2)			Yes
37	Apr. 16	H. R. 4148: On passage: to amend Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended. (Passed 392 to 1)			Yes	106	July 15	H.R. 4018: On passage: to renew and extend certain sections of the Appalachian Regional Development Act. (Passed 273 to 103)			Yes
46	Apr. 23	H. R. 514: Green substitute amendment, as amended: to extend the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act for two years, to consolidate Titles II and III of ESEA and III(a) and IV(a) of NDEA. (Passed 235 to 184)			NVF	109	July 17	H.R. 7491: Recommittal motion: to clarify tax liability of national banks. (Failed 123 to 227; "Present" 7)			NVF
47	Apr. 23	H. R. 514: On passage: to extend programs of elementary and secondary education assistance, and for other purposes. (Passed 400 to 17; "Present" 1)			NVF	110	July 17	H.R. 7491: On passage: to clarify tax liability of national banks (Passed 345 to 4; "Present" 7)			NVF
51	Apr. 29	H. R. 4153: On passage: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for Coast Guard vessels, aircraft, and construction of shore and off-shore establishments. (Passed 384 to 2)			Yes	112	July 21	H.R. 11609: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to amend act of Sept. 9, 1963, authorizing entrance road to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. (Passed 341 to 3)			NVF
53	May 1	H. Res. 17: On passage: creating a select committee to investigate all aspects of crime in the U.S. (Passed 345 to 18)			Yes	113	July 21	H.R. 11651: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to amend National School Lunch Act to provide free and reduced-priced meals to needy children not being reached. (Passed 352 to 5)			NVF
55	May 6	H. R. 5554: On passage: to extend indefinitely the special milk program of the Child Nutrition Act. (Passed 384 to 2)			Yes	115	July 22	H.R. 12781: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Department of Interior and related agencies, as amended. (Passed 399 to 6)			Yes
58	May 21	H. Res. 414: On passage: waiving all points of order against H.R. 11400 to make supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1969, and other purposes. (Passed 326 to 53)			Yes	119	July 23	H.R. 9825: Derivinski recommittal motion with instructions: to eliminate provision that benefits be calculated on basis of high-three-year average salary and that provision liberalizing benefits for Congressional employees. (Failed 129 to 281; "Present" 1)			Yes
59	May 21	H. R. 11400: Scherle amendment: to prohibit the use of funds in the bill for subsidizing interest on college construction loans to any institution not complying with the law which directs institutions to deny federal aid to students found guilty of participating in campus disorders. (Passed 329 to 61; "Present" 2)			Yes	120	July 23	H.R. 9825: On passage: to strengthen the financing of the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund and liberalize some of its benefits. (Passed 359 to 48)			Yes
60	May 21	H. R. 11400: On passage: fiscal 1969 supplemental appropriations. (Passed 349 to 40)			Yes	122	July 24	H.R. 12964: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations to Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies, as amended to provide additional funds for E.E.O.C. (Passed 366 to 31)			Yes
64	May 27	H.R. 11612: Conte amendment: to prohibit crop support payments in excess of \$20,000 per annum to any producer, except for a sugar producer. (Passed 225 to 142)			No	124	July 28	H.R. 9553: On passage: to amend D.C. Minimum Wage Act to authorize computation of overtime for hospital employees on a 14-day work period. (Passed 220 to 141)			Yes
65	May 27	H.R. 11612: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations to the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. (Passed 322 to 50)			Yes	125	July 28	H.R. 255: Recommittal motion: to authorize banks and other regulated lenders in D.C. to charge or deduct interest in advance on installment loans. (Passed 356 to 14; "Present" 2)			Yes
66	May 27	H. Res. 424: On passage: to waive all points of order against section 502 (suspending the employment ceiling specified in P.L. 90-364) of H.R. 11582 making fiscal 1970 appropriations to the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and Independent Agencies. (Passed 345 to 12)			Yes	126	July 28	H.R. 2: On passage: to amend Federal Credit Union Act to provide for independent agency to supervise federally chartered credit unions. (Passed 357 to 10)			Yes
68	May 27	H.R. 11582: On Smith of Iowa amendment: to limit to \$20,000 the total cost, exceeding revenues to the P.O. Dept., for providing postal service to any distributor of second-class mail. (Failed 100 to 239)			No						

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—Continued

Voting Record				Voting Record			
Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
129	July 30	H.R. 13080: On passage: to temporarily extend surcharge for 15 days. (Passed 307 to 105)	Yes	202	Oct. 6	H.R. 14127: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to carry out recommendations of the Joint Committee on Coinage. (Failed 205 to 148) [2/3ds vote required]	No
131	July 31	H.R. 13111: On Joelson of N.J. amendment: to increase by \$894,547,000 the funds in the bill for various aid-to-education assistance programs. (Passed 294 to 119)	Yes	203	Oct. 6	H.R. 13304: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide educational assistance to gifted children. (Passed 352 to 0)	Yes
132	July 31	H.R. 13111: On Sikes-Smith amendment: to prohibit monetary assistance to any individual involved in campus disorders and to any college or university which fails to cut-off aid to anyone convicted of disruptive campus activity. (Passed 316 to 95)	Yes	204	Oct. 6	H.R. 13310: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide programs for children with learning disabilities. (Passed 350 to 0)	Yes
133	July 31	H.R. 13111: On passage as amended: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Depts. of Labor, H.E.W., and related agencies. (Passed 393 to 16)	Yes	205	Oct. 6	H.R. 372: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish new income exclusions for veterans and their widows, liberalize bar on payments to remarried widows, and liberalize oath requirement for hospitalization of veterans, as amended. (Passed 352 to 0)	Yes
136	Aug. 4	H. Res. 509: Agreeing to resolution: to concur in Senate amendments to H.R. 9951 to extend tax surcharge until Dec. 31, 1969. (Passed 237 to 170)	Yes	207	Oct. 7	H.R. 10878: On passage: to authorize appropriations for National Science Foundation. (Passed 384 to 5)	Yes
138	Aug. 4	H.F. Res. 764: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to authorize appropriations for President's Council on Youth Opportunity. (Passed 396 to 7)	Yes	209	Oct. 8	H.R. 14159: Previous question: to make fiscal 1970 public works appropriations for water, pollution control, and power development. (Passed 215 to 187)	Yes
139	Aug. 4	S. 1611: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish National Center on Educational Media and Material for the Handicapped. (Passed 365 to 22)	Yes	210	Oct. 8	H.R. 14159: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 public works appropriations for water, pollution control, and power development. (Passed 396 to 3)	Yes
142	Aug. 5	H.R. 13018: Recommittal motion: to strike provision making picketing of military installation or personnel a crime. (Failed 87 to 323)	No	212	Oct. 9	H.R. 11612: Motion to table: a motion instructing House conferees to insist on Conte amendment to fiscal 1970 Department of Agriculture appropriations [see Roll Call 64 for amendment]. (Passed 181 to 177)	Yes
143	Aug. 5	H.R. 13018: On passage: to authorize construction at military installations. (Passed 376 to 30)	Yes	213	Oct. 9	H.R. 8449: On passage: to reduce from 16 to 12 the working hours of railroad crew employees. (Passed 370 to 0)	Yes
145	Aug. 6	H. Res. 513: On passage: to consider H.R. 13270 to reform income tax laws. (Passed 264 to 145)	Yes	214	Oct. 9	H.R. 7737: Recommittal motion: with instructions to reduce from \$20 to \$10 million the 1970 authorization for the Public Broadcast Corporation. (Failed 131 to 170)	Yes
146	Aug. 7	H.R. 13270: Recommittal motion: to reform income tax laws. (Failed 78 to 345)	No	215	Oct. 9	H.R. 7737: On passage: to amend Communications Act of 1934 to provide grants for construction of educational television and radio facilities and relating to support of Corporation of Public Broadcasting. (Passed 279 to 21; "Present" 1)	Yes
149	Aug. 7	H.R. 13270: On passage: to reform income tax laws. (Passed 395 to 30)	Yes	218	Oct. 14	H.R. 13000: Gross amendment: to provide that both Houses must approve within 60 days the rates of pay increases recommended by the Federal Salary Commission as submitted by the President in order for them to take effect. (Passed 191 to 169)	Yes
153	Aug. 12	H. Res. 269: On passage: to authorize the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to conduct investigations. (Passed 196 to 132)	No	219	Oct. 14	H.R. 13000: Recommittal motion: to implement a Federal employee pay comparability system, Federal Salary Commission and Board of Arbitration. (Failed 81 to 281; "Present" 1)	Yes
155	Sept. 3	H.R. 10105: On passage: to amend National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Act to authorize fiscal 1970 and 1971 appropriations. (Passed 321 to 0)	NV	220	Oct. 14	H.R. 13000: On passage: to implement a Federal employee pay comparability system, Federal Salary Commission and Board of Arbitration. (Passed 310 to 52; "Present" 1)	Yes
157	Sept. 4	H.R. 7621: On passage: to amend Federal Hazardous Substances Act to protect children from hazardous mechanical, electrical, or thermal toys and other articles. (Passed 327 to 0)	Yes	221	Oct. 14	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 99 to 210; "Present" 1)	No
158	Sept. 4	H.R. 12085: On passage: to amend Clean Air Act to extend research program relating to fuel and vehicles. (Passed 332 to 0)	Yes	224	Oct. 14	Motion to adjourn. (Passed 112 to 110)	NV
161	Sept. 8	H.R. 11039: Recommittal motion: to amend further Peace Corps Act. (Failed 144 to 186)	Yes	228	Oct. 15	H.R. 14127: On passage: to carry out recommendations of the Joint Commission on the Coinage. (Passed 257 to 65)	No
162	Sept. 9	H.R. 11039: On passage: to amend further Peace Corps Act. (Passed 282 to 52)	Yes	231	Oct. 16	H.R. 13194: Agreeing to conference report: to amend Higher Education Act of 1965 to assure students will have access to insured loans for education. (Passed 326 to 10; "Present" 2)	Yes
164	Sept. 9	H.F. Res. 247: On passage: relating to administration of the national park system. (Passed 334 to 55)	NV	233	Oct. 16	H.R. 4293: On passage: to continue authority for regulation of exports. (Passed 272 to 7)	Yes
169	Sept. 15	H.R. 13194: On motion to suspend rules and pass: to amend Higher Education Act of 1965 to assure that students have reasonable access to loans for education. (Passed 322 to 60; "Present" 3)	Yes	235	Oct. 20	H.R. 14195: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to revise laws governing contested elections of Members of the House. (Passed 311 to 12)	Yes
176	Sept. 18	H.J. Res. 681: Recommittal motion: to propose amendment to the Constitution for direct election of President and Vice President. (Failed 162 to 245)	Yes	241	Oct. 23	H.R. 13763: On motion to table motion to instruct conferees: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for legislative branch. (Passed 199 to 165)	Yes
177	Sept. 18	H.J. Res. 681: On passage: to propose amendment to the Constitution for direct election of President and Vice President. (Passed 339 to 70)	Yes	243	Oct. 23	H.R. 13827: On passage: to amend and extend laws relating to housing and urban development. (Passed 339 to 9; "Present" 3)	Yes
179	Sept. 19	H.R. 13763: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for the legislative branch. (Passed 177 to 94)	No	248	Oct. 29	H.R. 13950: On passage: to provide protection of health and safety of persons working in coal mining industry. (Passed 369 to 4)	Yes
181	Sept. 23	H.R. 12549: On passage: to amend Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act to establish a Council on Environmental Quality. (Passed 372 to 15)	Yes	252	Oct. 30	H. Res. 586: Previous question: to consider H.R. 14001, to amend Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to modify selection of persons into Armed Forces (draft lottery). (Passed 265 to 129)	Yes
183	Sept. 24	S. 574: On passage: to authorize Secretary of Interior to investigate water resource developments with respect to feasibility. (Passed 364 to 16)	Yes	253	Oct. 30	H.R. 14001: On passage: to amend Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to modify selection of persons into Armed Forces (draft lottery). (Passed 382 to 13; "Present" 1)	Yes
188	Sept. 29	H.R. 13369: On passage: to extend authority to set interest rates on mortgages to veterans. (Passed 338 to 21)	Yes	254	Oct. 31	H.R. 14252: On passage: to authorize Secretary of H.E.W. to make grants for educational programs concerning drug use, and for other purposes. (Passed 294 to 0)	Yes
189	Sept. 29	H.R. 4314: On passage: to permit joint labor-management funds for scholarships and child care centers. (Passed 354 to 1)	Yes	255	Oct. 31	H.R. 4244: Recommittal motion: pertaining to the Administrative Conference. (Failed 130 to 134)	Yes
193	Sept. 30	H.R. 13300: On passage: to amend Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Retirement Tax Act. (Passed 372 to 17)	Yes	256	Oct. 31	H.R. 4244: On passage: pertaining to the Administrative Conference. (Passed 133 to 127)	No
195	Oct. 1	H. Res. 561: On passage: to consider H.R. 14000, to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for military procurement. (Passed 324 to 61)	Yes	260	Nov. 5	H.R. 6778: Recommittal motion: to amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. (Failed 124 to 245; "Present" 11)	Yes
198	Oct. 3	H.R. 14000: Previous question: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for military procurement, and to prescribe the personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces. (Passed 223 to 141)	NV	261	Nov. 5	H.R. 6778: On passage: to amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. (Passed 351 to 24; "Present" 12)	Yes
199	Oct. 3	H.R. 14000: Recommittal motion: by O'Konski with instructions to eliminate from the bill appropriations for research, development, and deployment of the AEM. (Failed 93 to 270; "Present" 2)	NV	264	Nov. 6	H.R. 14465: On passage: to expand and improve the Nation's airport, airway system, and for the imposition of user charges. (Passed 337 to 6)	Yes
200	Oct. 3	H.R. 14000: On passage as amended: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for military procurement, and to prescribe the personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces. (Passed 311 to 44; "Present" 1)	NV	267	Nov. 12	H.R. 2777: On passage: to enable potato growers to finance a research and promotion program. (Failed 171 to 198)	No

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—Continued

Voting Record of Burt L. Talcott				Voting Record of Burt L. Talcott			
Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
268	Nov. 12	H. Res. 603: Previous question: to consider H.J. 589, a joint resolution expressing the support of Congress, and urging the support of the Federal agencies, for the international biological program. (Passed 230 to 100)	Yes	320	Dec. 12	H.R. 12321: Recommittal motion: with instructions to make Anti Poverty Act into a State program. (Failed 163 to 231)	Yes
270	Nov. 13	H. Res. 677: On passage: to waive points of order against H.R. 14751 making fiscal 1970 military construction appropriations for Dept. of Defense. (Passed 326 to 43)	Yes	321	Dec. 12	H.R. 12321: On passage as amended: to provide continuation of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and for other purposes. (Passed 276 to 117)	Yes
271	Nov. 13	H.R. 14751: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 military appropriations for Dept. of Defense. (Passed 343 to 33)	Yes	323	Dec. 15	H.R. 15095: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to increase Social Security benefits by 15 percent. (Passed 397 to 0)	Yes
272	Nov. 13	H.R. 14705: On passage: to extend and improve Federal-State Unemployment Compensation Program. (Passed 337 to 8)	Yes	324	Dec. 15	H.R. 14646: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to grant consent of Congress to the Connecticut-New York railroad passenger transportation compact. (Passed 352 to 49)	No
273	Nov. 17	H. Res. 675: On passage: agreeing to conference requested by Senate on H.R. 12829 providing for extension of interest equalization tax. (Passed 316 to 31)	Yes	325	Dec. 15	H. Con. Res. 454: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to call for humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war by N. Vietnam and Vietcong. (Passed 405 to 0)	Yes
274	Nov. 17	S.J. Res. 121: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to authorize appropriation for National Council of Indian Opportunity. (Passed 316 to 31)	NV	327	Dec. 16	S. 740: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish a Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking People, and for other purposes. (Passed 314 to 81; "Present" 2)	Yes
277	Nov. 18	H.R. 14794: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Dept. of Transportation and related agencies. (Passed 362 to 25)	Yes	328	Dec. 16	H.R. 14213: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide for 2 additional members on the Smithsonian Institution Board of Regents. (Passed 273 to 119)	Yes
281	Nov. 19	H.R. 11612: Previous question on agreeing to conference report: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Dept. of Agriculture. (Passed 214 to 172)	Yes	331	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: Patman amendment: to strike provisions authorizing Federal Reserve Board to purchase federally guaranteed mortgages. (Passed 231 to 171; "Present" 1)	Yes
282	Nov. 19	H.R. 12829: Agreeing to conference report: to extend interest equalization tax. (Passed 334 to 47)	Yes	332	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: Patman amendment: to strike provisions authorizing purchase by Federal Reserve Board of \$6 billion in federally guaranteed mortgages. (Passed 233 to 170; "Present" 1)	Yes
284	Nov. 20	H.R. 14580: Sikes amendment: to amend fiscal 1970 Foreign Aid Authorization Act to provide an additional \$54,500,000 in military assistance to Nationalist China. (Passed 176 to 169)	NV	333	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: Recommittal motion: with instructions to report back bill with language provided in S. 2577, a Senate-passed bill. (Failed 193 to 206; "Present" 1)	Yes
285	Nov. 20	H.R. 14580: Recommittal motion: with instructions to reduce development loans by \$50,000,000. (Passed 185 to 158)	NV	334	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: On passage: to provide additional mortgage credit, to authorize standby presidential authority to institute selective credit controls, to authorize lending authority to the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes. (Passed 259 to 136; "Present" 3)	No
286	Nov. 20	H.R. 14580: On passage as amended: fiscal 1970 Foreign Aid Authorization Act. (Passed 176 to 163; "Present" 4)	NV	335	Dec. 17	S. 2917: Recommittal motion: with instructions that House conferees insist on House-passed provisions relating to compensation for black-lung disease. (Failed 83 to 258)	No
288	Nov. 24	H.R. 11193: Gross amendment: to strike \$150,000 for feasibility study of extending transit line to Dulles Airport. (Failed 52 to 256)	No	336	Dec. 17	S. 2917: Agreeing to conference report: to improve health and safety conditions in coal mines. (Passed 333 to 12)	Yes
289	Nov. 24	H.R. 11193: On passage: to authorize a Federal contribution toward the D.C. transit development program. (Passed 285 to 23)	Yes	338	Dec. 18	H.R. 14944: On passage: to authorize adequate police protection for the White House and foreign embassies. (Passed 394 to 7)	Yes
290	Nov. 24	H.R. 14916: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for the District of Columbia. (Passed 305 to 9)	Yes	339	Dec. 18	H.R. 13111: Motion to lay on the table the motion: to instruct House conferees to accept Senate amendment which adds the words "except as required by the Constitution" to the Whitten amendment prohibiting the expenditure of Federal funds for busing to force racial integration of schools. (Failed 180 to 216)	No
292	Nov. 25	H.R. 14741: On passage: to revise due date of cost estimate for Interstate Highway System, to amend law relating to highway safety, and for other purposes. (Passed 342 to 1)	Yes	340	Dec. 18	H. Res. 572: On passage: to authorize Members and staff of the Committee on Education and Labor to make certain studies abroad. (Passed 224 to 153)	No
294	Dec. 1	H. Res. 722: Previous question: to provide for consideration of H. Res. 613, "Toward Peace With Justice in Vietnam." (Passed 225 to 132)	Yes	342	Dec. 19	H.R. 14580: On agreeing to conference report: to authorize appropriations for fiscal 1970 Foreign Assistance. (Passed 208 to 166)	No
295	Dec. 1	H. Res. 722: Agreeing to rule: to consider H. Res. 613. (Passed 251 to 100)	Yes	343	Dec. 19	S. 2577: On agreeing to conference report: to provide additional mortgage credit, to authorize standby presidential authority to institute selective credit controls, to authorize lending authority to the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes. (Passed 358 to 4; "Present" 2)	Yes
299	Dec. 2	H. Res. 613: Recommittal motion: with instructions to amend H. Res. 613 to urge the President to press N. Vietnam to abide by Geneva Convention in treatment of prisoners of war. (Passed 392 to 0)	Yes	345	Dec. 20	H.R. 15149: Recommittal motion: to instruct House conferees to accept Senate amendment eliminating funds for fighter planes for Nationalist China. (Failed 136 to 220)	No
300	Dec. 2	H. Res. 613: On passage: "Toward Peace With Justice in Vietnam [in support of President]." (Passed 333 to 55; "Present" 1)	Yes	346	Dec. 20	H.R. 15149: Agreeing to conference report: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Foreign Assistance. (Passed 181 to 174)	Yes
306	Dec. 8	H.R. 15090: On passage as amended: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Dept. of Defense. (Passed 330 to 33)	Yes	347	Dec. 20	S. 3016: Agreeing to conference report: to continue programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. (Passed 243 to 94)	Yes
309	Dec. 9	H.R. 15149: Broomfield amendment: to add \$50,000,000 in military assistance for Nationalist China and S. Korea to fiscal 1970 appropriations for Foreign Assistance. (Passed 250 to 142)	Yes	350	Dec. 22	H.R. 13111: Previous question on conference report: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for H.E.W. and related agencies. (Passed 261 to 110)	No
310	Dec. 9	H.R. 15149: On passage as amended: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Foreign Assistance. (Passed 200 to 195; "Present" 2)	Yes	351	Dec. 22	H.R. 13270: Adoption of conference report: to reform income tax laws. (Passed 381 to 2)	NV
312	Dec. 10	H.R. 4293: Agreeing to conference report: to provide continuing authority for exports regulation. (Failed 157 to 238)	No	352	Dec. 22	H.R. 15209: On conference report: to agree to Senate amendment continuing appropriations at the fiscal 1969 level for agencies not yet provided their fiscal 1970 appropriations. (Passed 276 to 99)	Yes
316	Dec. 11	H.R. 4249: G. Ford substitute amendment: nationwide to suspend literacy tests; nationwide to extend Atty. General's authority to oversee elections and initiate voting rights lawsuits; to establish uniform residency requirements for presidential elections; to establish presidential commission to study voting practices. (Passed 208 to 204)	Yes	353	Dec. 22	H.R. 15209: On conference report: to agree to Senate amendment to limit application of the so-called Philadelphia plan to eliminate job discrimination. (Failed 156 to 208; "Present" 1)	No
317	Dec. 11	H.R. 4249: On passage as amended: to extend 1965 Voting Rights Act. (Passed 234 to 179)	Yes				
318	Dec. 11	H.R. 15209: Recommittal motion: with instructions to eliminate funds for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts from fiscal 1970 supplemental appropriations bill. (Failed 142 to 243)	Yes				

SENATOR HARTKE CALLS FOR AN
ALL-VOLUNTEER MILITARY**HON. VANCE HARTKE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I am pleased today to join my distinguished friend, the senior Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD), in cosponsoring S. 503, entitled the Voluntary Military Procurement Act.

The goal of any effective military recruitment system must be to afford this country maximum security with the greatest efficiency and economy, while at the same time preserving as large a degree as possible of individual freedom. By these standards, our present system of conscription has largely failed us. It is inefficient; it is uneconomic; and it is grossly violative of the rights of free men.

Nor has the new lottery system lessened these faults to any significant degree. The alternatives open to a young man facing the draft are no different from what they were a year ago. And the economic and operational inefficiencies of a conscript Army remain unchanged.

Let us consider first the economics of the case. At present we spend over \$6,000 just to train each inductee. But after we have made this heavy investment, 93 percent of those inducted leave the armed services after 2 years. All told, our annual training costs run to some \$3 billion, much of which must be regarded as waste.

A closely related point is that, under present conditions, the 2-year conscript simply cannot be given the amount of technical training that a space-age military force requires of its members. Nor is the conscript likely to use to best advantage the training he does receive, for there is little or no incentive for him to do much more than put in his time until discharge. By contrast, the professionally oriented volunteer knows that the way to achieve success in his chosen career is to do the best he can with the training he gets. In time of war, of course, the American draftee has proved himself to be as brave and resourceful as any fighting man in the world. But we are talking here about a peacetime army, in which the sources of motivation are no different from those of employees in any large bureaucratic enterprise. I wonder how many great corporations would want to depend on conscript labor for their work force.

Admittedly there would be an initial cost increment in establishing an all-volunteer military. The bill now before us, S. 503, provides for \$100 per month pay increases for enlisted men, with the price tag coming to about \$3.7 billion at present force levels. And in time we would want to offer other inducements to attract and retain military personnel. Estimates as to the additional cost of an all-volunteer service have now been put at \$2 to \$4 billion, according to a soon-to-be-released Presidential commission study. The question we need to ask ourselves, is it worth it?

Here we must consider the whole great question of individual freedom. Surely there is no more shocking violation of the principles of the American political system than involuntary servitude in the peacetime Armed Forces. It was the threat of just such servitude in their native lands that brought so many of our ancestors to this country. And yet, for more than 20 years the American people have quietly accepted this imposition on their lives on the part of a government that lacked either the will or the imagination to find a substitute for the draft. But the fault is not the Government's alone. How long would either we in Congress or the President have withstood a storm of public protest against peacetime conscription? How long would we have dared ignore the demands of our constituents that we find some reasonable alternative to involuntary servitude for their sons?

But there were no such protests, no such demands. Somehow the people had been talked into believing that we could not afford our national defense except through conscripting our sons. And so, in order to save perhaps \$4 billion a year—less than one-seventh the amount we are spending in Vietnam—we have for two decades tolerated an offense against freedom that our forefathers would have been unwilling to accept at any price.

The time is long overdue for facing up to the moral as well as economic consequences of conscription in peacetime. Even the \$4 billion we think we save under the present system turns out upon examination to be illusory. For that figure is largely offset by the amount of forced labor we are extracting from our conscripted sons. The real economic costs of the draft have to be calculated by taking into account the difference between what the half million draftees receive in the services and what they would earn as civilians. Forcing men into the military, we are at the same time requiring them, in effect, to subsidize their own service out of lost wages. What we are doing, in other words, is shifting the financial burden from the 75 million civilian taxpayers to the half-million conscripts. And that only compounds the injustice we inflict upon these young men.

But the question has been asked, Can we possibly attract enough people into the Armed Forces to permit us safely to do away with the draft? The most authoritative study we have—by the economist and manpower consultant Prof. Walter Oi—assures us that we can. Even without increasing existing pay scales, volunteers would account for all but 75,000 of the personnel we require for a peacetime force of 2.65 million. By improving pay and other benefits we could unquestionably attract the 75,000 additional men and women we would need.

One other argument frequently advanced against proposals to create an all-volunteer military derives from the belief that such a force would constitute a threat to our civilian institutions. This belief is supported neither by history nor by logic. Through virtually the entire

history of this Nation we have had a professional Military Establishment without its ever becoming a danger to our form of government. And in any case, military coups are made by the upper echelons of a nation's armed forces—where there are no draftees—not by the rank and file. Whether the latter is made up primarily of enlistees or draftees, the officers over them are products of the American culture, of the American way of life, with all that that connotes in the way of love and respect for our constitutional system. We have never, thank God, bred militarists in this country. Nor will we do so by returning to the volunteer concept that has always stood us in such good stead.

Removing the injustice of peacetime conscription can only strengthen, not weaken, American democracy. We should undertake to do so just as soon as our lessening involvement permits. The essential first step, Mr. President, is enactment of S. 503. I hope we can move speedily to that end.

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE
EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
OF WISCONSIN—XXIII**HON. JOHN W. BYRNES**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin on my voting and attendance record for the first session of the 91st Congress.

The report includes all rollcall votes taken during the first session. Its purpose is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through about 31,000 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The description of the bills and the amendments or motions in the report are for purposes of identification only; no attempt is made to describe the legislation completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved. The descriptions used were prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Upon request, I will be pleased to furnish more complete information concerning any particular bill as well as a summary of the issues involved and the reasons for my vote.

The furnishing of this report continues a service I began in the first session of the 80th Congress. This is the 23d report of my voting and attendance record. These 23 reports show how I voted on 3,307 questions in the House of Representatives. Based on quorum calls and record votes, they also show an attendance record of 93 percent.

In addition to the votes shown in this report, there were 178 quorum calls in the House which are omitted to conserve space. This accounts for the nonconsecutive numbering of the rollcalls. I was absent for 19 quorum calls and I was present for 157 quorum calls.

VOTING RECORD OF HON. JOHN W. BYRNES OF EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

Yes—For No—Against NV—Not voting

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
2	Jan. 3	To elect the Speaker. (McCormack 241; G. Ford 187; "Present" 2).....	Ford	69	May 27	H.R. 11582: On passage: to appropriate fiscal 1970 funds to the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and Independent Agencies. (Passed 326 to 6).....	Yes
3	Jan. 3	H. Res. 1: Previous question: to permit Mr. Powell to take the oath of office. (Failed 176 to 248).....	No	72	June 2	H.R. 763: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide for a study of State laws and regulations governing the operation of youth camps. (Failed 151 to 152).....	No
4	Jan. 3	H. Res. 1: Second attempt to order the previous question. (Failed 172 to 252).....	No	73	June 2	H.R. 693: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide VA hospital care for veterans 72 or older without their having to declare inability to pay, and for other purposes. (Passed 302 to 3).....	Yes
5	Jan. 3	H. Res. 1: MacGregor amendment to establish a special committee to investigate Mr. Powell's right to take the oath and to his seat. (Failed 131 to 291).....	Yes	76	June 4	H.R. 11102: On passage: to amend the Public Health Service Act relating to construction and modernization of hospitals and other facilities. (Passed 351 to 0; "Present" 1).....	Yes
6	Jan. 3	H. Res. 2: Previous question: that Mr. Powell take the oath, be fined \$25,000 and that his seniority begin as of the 91st Congress. (Passed 249 to 171).....	Yes	78	June 10	H.R. 11271: On passage: to authorize appropriations for N.A.S.A. for research and development, construction of facilities, research and program management, and other purposes. (Passed 330 to 52).....	Yes
7	Jan. 3	H. Res. 2: On passage: that Mr. Powell take the oath, be fined \$25,000 and that his seniority begin as of the 91st Congress. (Passed 254 to 158, "Present" 6).....	Yes	80	June 11	H.R. 1035: On passage: to prohibit encampments, sit-ins, or overnight use of parks or other public property in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. (Passed 327 to 51).....	Yes
9	Jan. 6	Counting electoral votes. Objection to N.C. vote for George Wallace and Curtis LeMay in that they did not win a plurality in that state. (Failed 170 to 228).....	Yes	85	June 18	H.R. 6543: Recombital motion: to extend public health protection regarding cigarette smoking. (Failed 138 to 252; "Present" 3).....	No
14	Feb. 5	H. Con. Res. 124: To adjourn until February 17, 1969. (Passed 240 to 125).....	Yes	87	June 24	H.R. 12167: On passage: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 406 to 3).....	Yes
16	Feb. 18	H. Res. 89: Previous question: to change name of Committee on Un-American Activities to Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 262 to 123).....	Yes	89	June 24	H.R. 12307: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for independent offices and for H.U.D. (Passed 388 to 6).....	Yes
17	Feb. 18	H. Res. 89: On passage: to change name of Committee on Un-American Activities to Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 307 to 80).....	Yes	91	June 25	H. Res. 357: On passage: to provide an additional clerk for all Members. (Passed 204 to 195).....	No
20	Mar. 12	H. R. 33: Recombital motion: to increase U.S. participation in the International Development Association. (Failed 155 to 241).....	No	93	June 25	H.R. 7906: On passage: to foster and regulate interstate commerce by providing system for taxation thereof. (Passed 311 to 87).....	Yes
21	Mar. 12	H.R. 33: On passage: to increase U.S. participation in the International Development Association. (Passed 247 to 150).....	Yes	95	June 27	H.R. 8644: Adoption of conference report to make permanent temporary suspension of duty on chicory roots, and to relax limitations on aid to families with dependent children. (Passed 269 to 65).....	Yes
23	Mar. 18	S. 1058: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to extend authority of the President to submit reorganization plans. (Passed 335 to 44).....	Yes	97	June 30	H.R. 12290: On passage: to continue the surtax and excise taxes on automobiles and communication services temporarily; to terminate investment credit; to provide low-income allowances. (Passed 210 to 205; "Present" 2).....	Yes
25	Mar. 18	H.R. 2171: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish a Commission on National Observances and Holidays. (Failed 164 to 213).....	No	99	July 8	H.R. 11249: Recombital motion: to amend John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds. (Failed 162 to 217).....	Yes
27	Mar. 19	H.R. 8508: On passage: to increase the public debt limit. (Passed 313 to 93).....	Yes	100	July 8	H.R. 11249: On passage: to amend John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds. (Passed 210 to 163).....	No
31	Mar. 27	H. R. 7757: On passage: to authorize fiscal 1969 supplemental military appropriations for aircraft procurement and modification. (Passed 341 to 21).....	Yes	102	July 9	H.R. 11400: Adoption of conference report to make supplemental fiscal 1969 appropriations. (Passed 348 to 49).....	Yes
33	Apr. 1	H. Res. 270: Recombital motion: to authorize expenditure of certain funds by the Committee on Internal Security. (Failed 74 to 283).....	No	103	July 10	H.R. 11702: On passage: to extend and improve provisions relating to medical libraries and related instrumentalities assistance in the Public Health Service Act. (Passed 370 to 3).....	Yes
34	Apr. 1	H. Res. 270: On passage: to authorize expenditure of certain funds by the Committee on Internal Security. (Passed 305 to 51).....	Yes	104	July 10	H.R. 4284: On passage: to authorize appropriations for the Standard Reference Data Act. (Passed 365 to 2).....	Yes
37	Apr. 16	H. R. 4148: On passage: to amend Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended. (Passed 392 to 1).....	Yes	106	July 15	H.R. 4018: On passage: to renew and extend certain sections of the Appalachian Regional Development Act. (Passed 273 to 103).....	Yes
46	Apr. 23	H. R. 514: Green substitute amendment, as amended: to extend the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act for two years, to consolidate Titles II and III of ESEA and III(a) and IV(a) of NDEA. (Passed 235 to 184).....	Yes	109	July 17	H.R. 7491: Recombital motion: to clarify tax liability of national banks. (Failed 123 to 227; "Present" 7).....	Yes
47	Apr. 23	H. R. 514: On passage: to extend programs of elementary and secondary education assistance, and for other purposes. (Passed 400 to 17; "Present" 1).....	Yes	110	July 17	H.R. 7491: On passage: to clarify tax liability of national banks (Passed 345 to 4; "Present" 7).....	Yes
51	Apr. 29	H. R. 4153: On passage: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for Coast Guard vessels, aircraft, and construction of shore and off-shore establishments. (Passed 384 to 2).....	Yes	112	July 21	H.R. 11609: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to amend act of Sept. 9, 1963, authorizing entrance road to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. (Passed 341 to 3).....	Yes
53	May 1	H. Res. 17: On passage: creating a select committee to investigate all aspects of crime in the U.S. (Passed 345 to 18).....	No	113	July 21	H.R. 11651: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to amend National School Lunch Act to provide free and reduced-priced meals to needy children not being reached. (Passed 352 to 5).....	Yes
55	May 6	H. R. 5554: On passage: to extend indefinitely the special milk program of the Child Nutrition Act. (Passed 384 to 2).....	Yes	115	July 22	H.R. 12781: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Department of Interior and related agencies, as amended. (Passed 399 to 6).....	Yes
58	May 21	H. Res. 414: On passage: waiving all points of order against H.R. 11400 to make supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1969, and other purposes. (Passed 326 to 53).....	Yes	119	July 23	H.R. 9825: Derwinski recombital motion with instructions: to eliminate provision that benefits be calculated on basis of high-three-year average salary and that provision liberalizing benefits for Congressional employees. (Failed 129 to 281; "Present" 1).....	Yes
59	May 21	H. R. 11400: Scherle amendment: to prohibit the use of funds in the bill for subsidizing interest on college construction loans to any institution not complying with the law which directs institutions to deny federal aid to students found guilty of participating in campus disorders. (Passed 329 to 61; "Present" 2).....	Yes	120	July 23	H.R. 9825: On passage: to strengthen the financing of the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund and liberalize some of its benefits. (Passed 359 to 48).....	Yes
60	May 21	H. R. 11400: On passage: fiscal 1969 supplemental appropriations. (Passed 349 to 40).....	Yes	122	July 24	H.R. 12964: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations to Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies, as amended to provide additional funds for E.E.O.C. (Passed 366 to 31).....	Yes
64	May 27	H.R. 11612: Conte amendment: to prohibit crop support payments in excess of \$20,000 per annum to any producer, except for a sugar producer. (Passed 225 to 142).....	No	124	July 28	H.R. 9553: On passage: to amend D.C. Minimum Wage Act to authorize computation of overtime for hospital employees on a 14-day work period. (Passed 220 to 141).....	Yes
65	May 27	H.R. 11612: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations to the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. (Passed 322 to 50).....	Yes	125	July 28	H.R. 255: Recombital motion: to authorize banks and other regulated lenders in D.C. to charge or deduct interest in advance on installment loans. (Passed 356 to 14; "Present" 2).....	Yes
66	May 27	H. Res. 424: On passage: to waive all points of order against section 502 (suspending the employment ceiling specified in P.L. 90-364) of H.R. 11582 making fiscal 1970 appropriations to the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and Independent Agencies. (Passed 345 to 12).....	Yes	126	July 28	H.R. 2: On passage: to amend Federal Credit Union Act to provide for independent agency to supervise federally chartered credit unions. (Passed 357 to 10).....	Yes
68	May 27	H.R. 11582: On Smith of Iowa amendment: to limit to \$20,000 the total cost, exceeding revenues to the P.O. Dept., for providing postal service to any distributor of second-class mail. (Failed 100 to 239).....	No				

VOTING RECORD OF HON. JOHN W. BYRNES OF EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN—Continued

Yes—For				No—Against				NV—Not voting			
Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
129	July 30	H.R. 13080: On passage: to temporarily extend surcharge for 15 days. (Passed 307 to 105).....Yes	Yes	202	Oct. 6	H.R. 14127: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to carry out recommendations of the Joint Committee on Coinage. (Failed 205 to 148) [2/3ds vote required].....Yes	Yes				
131	July 31	H.R. 13111: On Joelson of N.J. amendment: to increase by \$894,547,000 the funds in the bill for various aid-to-education assistance programs. (Passed 294 to 119).....No	No	203	Oct. 6	H.R. 13304: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide educational assistance to gifted children. (Passed 352 to 0).....Yes	Yes				
132	July 31	H.R. 13111: On Sikes-Smith amendment: to prohibit monetary assistance to any individual involved in campus disorders and to any college or university which fails to cut-off aid to anyone convicted of disruptive campus activity. (Passed 316 to 95).....Yes	Yes	204	Oct. 6	H.R. 13310: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide programs for children with learning disabilities. (Passed 350 to 0).....Yes	Yes				
133	July 31	H.R. 13111: On passage as amended: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Depts. of Labor, H.E.W., and related agencies. (Passed 393 to 16).....No	No	205	Oct. 6	H.R. 372: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish new income exclusions for veterans and their widows, liberalize bar on payments to remarried widows, and liberalize oath requirement for hospitalization of veterans, as amended. (Passed 352 to 0).....Yes	Yes				
136	Aug. 4	H.Res. 509: Agreeing to resolution: to concur in Senate amendments to H.R. 9951 to extend tax surcharge until Dec. 31, 1969. (Passed 237 to 170).....Yes	Yes	207	Oct. 7	H.R. 10878: On passage: to authorize appropriations for National Science Foundation. (Passed 384 to 5).....Yes	Yes				
138	Aug. 4	H.S. Res. 764: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to authorize appropriations for President's Council on Youth Opportunity. (Passed 396 to 7).....Yes	Yes	209	Oct. 8	H.R. 14159: Previous question: to make fiscal 1970 public works appropriations for water, pollution control, and power development. (Passed 215 to 187).....Yes	Yes				
139	Aug. 4	S. 1611: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish National Center on Educational Media and Material for the Handicapped. (Passed 365 to 22).....Yes	Yes	210	Oct. 8	H.R. 14159: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 public works appropriations for water, pollution control, and power development. (Passed 396 to 3).....Yes	Yes				
142	Aug. 5	H.R. 13018: Recommittal motion: to strike provision making picketing of military installation or personnel a crime. (Failed 87 to 323).....No	No	212	Oct. 9	H.R. 11612: Motion to table: a motion instructing House conferees to insist on Conte amendment to fiscal 1970 Department of Agriculture appropriations [see Roll Call 64 for amendment]. (Passed 181 to 177).....Yes	Yes				
143	Aug. 5	H.R. 13018: On passage: to authorize construction at military installations. (Passed 376 to 30).....Yes	Yes	213	Oct. 9	H.R. 8449: On passage: to reduce from 16 to 12 the working hours of railroad crew employees. (Passed 370 to 0).....Yes	Yes				
145	Aug. 6	H. Res. 513: On passage: to consider H.R. 13270 to reform income tax laws. (Passed 264 to 145).....Yes	Yes	214	Oct. 9	H.R. 7737: Recommittal motion: with instructions to reduce from \$20 to \$10 million the 1970 authorization for the Public Broadcast Corporation. (Failed 131 to 170).....Yes	Yes				
148	Aug. 7	H.R. 13270: Recommittal motion: to reform income tax laws. (Failed 78 to 345).....No	No	215	Oct. 9	H.R. 7737: On passage: to amend Communications Act of 1934 to provide grants for construction of educational television and radio facilities and relating to support of Corporation of Public Broadcasting. (Passed 279 to 21) "Present" 1).....Yes	Yes				
149	Aug. 7	H.R. 13270: On passage: to reform income tax laws. (Passed 395 to 30).....Yes	Yes	218	Oct. 14	H.R. 13000: Gross amendment: to provide that both Houses must approve within 60 days the rates of pay increases recommended by the Federal Salary Commission as submitted by the President in order for them to take effect. (Passed 191 to 169).....Yes	Yes				
153	Aug. 12	H. Res. 269: On passage: to authorize the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to conduct investigations. (Passed 196 to 132).....NV ¹	NV	219	Oct. 14	H.R. 13000: Recommittal motion: to implement a Federal employee pay comparability system, Federal Salary Commission and Board of Arbitration. (Failed 81 to 281) "Present" 1).....Yes	Yes				
155	Sept. 3	H.R. 10105: On passage: to amend National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Act to authorize fiscal 1970 and 1971 appropriations. (Passed 321 to 0).....Yes	Yes	220	Oct. 14	H.R. 13000: On passage: to implement a Federal employee pay comparability system, Federal Salary Commission and Board of Arbitration. (Passed 310 to 52; "Present" 1).....No	No				
157	Sept. 4	H.R. 7621: On passage: to amend Federal Hazardous Substances Act to protect children from hazardous mechanical, electrical, or thermal toys and other articles. (Passed 327 to 0).....Yes	Yes	221	Oct. 14	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 99 to 210; "Present" 1).....No	No				
158	Sept. 4	H.R. 12085: On passage: to amend Clean Air Act to extend research program relating to fuel and vehicles. (Passed 332 to 0).....Yes	Yes	224	Oct. 15	Motion to adjourn. (Passed 112 to 110).....Yes	Yes				
161	Sept. 8	H.R. 11039: Recommittal motion: to amend further Peace Corps Act. (Failed 144 to 186).....No	No	228	Oct. 15	H.R. 14127: On passage: to carry out recommendations of the Joint Commission on the Coinage. (Passed 257 to 65).....Yes	Yes				
162	Sept. 9	H.R. 11039: On passage: to amend further Peace Corps Act. (Passed 282 to 52).....Yes	Yes	231	Oct. 16	H.R. 13194: Agreeing to conference report: to amend Higher Education Act of 1965 to assure students will have access to insured loans for education. (Passed 326 to 10; "Present" 2).....Yes	Yes				
164	Sept. 9	H.S. Res. 247: On passage: relating to administration of the national park system. (Passed 334 to 55).....Yes	Yes	233	Oct. 16	H.R. 4293: On passage: to continue authority for regulation of exports. (Passed 272 to 7).....NV ²	NV				
169	Sept. 15	H.R. 13194: On motion to suspend rules and pass: to amend Higher Education Act of 1965 to assure that students have reasonable access to loans for education. (Passed 322 to 60; "Present" 3).....Yes	Yes	235	Oct. 20	H.R. 14195: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to revise laws governing contested elections of Members of the House. (Passed 311 to 12).....Yes	Yes				
176	Sept. 18	H.J. Res. 681: Recommittal motion: to propose amendment to the Constitution for direct election of President and Vice President. (Failed 162 to 245).....No	No	241	Oct. 23	H.R. 13763: On motion to table motion to instruct conferees: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for legislative branch. (Passed 199 to 165).....Yes	Yes				
177	Sept. 18	H.J. Res. 681: On passage: to propose amendment to the Constitution for direct election of President and Vice President. (Passed 339 to 70).....Yes	Yes	243	Oct. 23	H.R. 13827: On passage: to amend and extend laws relating to housing and urban development. (Passed 339 to 9; "Present" 3).....Yes	Yes				
179	Sept. 19	H.R. 13763: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for the legislative branch. (Passed 177 to 94).....Yes	Yes	248	Oct. 29	H.R. 13950: On passage: to provide protection of health and safety of persons working in coal mining industry. (Passed 389 to 4).....Yes	Yes				
181	Sept. 23	H.R. 12549: On passage: to amend Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act to establish a Council on Environmental Quality. (Passed 372 to 15).....Yes	Yes	252	Oct. 30	H. Res. 586: Previous question: to consider H.R. 14001, to amend Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to modify selection of persons into Armed Forces (draft lottery). (Passed 265 to 129).....Yes	Yes				
183	Sept. 24	S. 574: On passage: to authorize Secretary of Interior to investigate water resource developments with respect to feasibility. (Passed 364 to 16).....Yes	Yes	253	Oct. 30	H.R. 14001: On passage: to amend Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to modify selection of persons into Armed Forces (draft lottery). (Passed 382 to 13; "Present" 1).....Yes	Yes				
188	Sept. 29	H.R. 13369: On passage: to extend authority to set interest rates on mortgages to veterans. (Passed 338 to 21).....Yes	Yes	254	Oct. 31	H.R. 14252: On passage: to authorize Secretary of H.E.W. To make grants for educational programs concerning drug use, and for other purposes. (Passed 294 to 0).....Yes	Yes				
189	Sept. 29	H.R. 4314: On passage: to permit joint labor-management funds for scholarships and child care centers. (Passed 354 to 1).....NV ²	NV	255	Oct. 31	H.R. 4244: Recommittal motion: pertaining to the Administrative Conference. (Failed 130 to 134).....Yes	Yes				
193	Sept. 30	H.R. 13300: On passage: to amend Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Retirement Tax Act. (Passed 372 to 17).....Yes	Yes	256	Oct. 31	H.R. 4244: On passage: pertaining to the Administrative Conference. (Passed 133 to 127).....No	No				
195	Oct. 1	H. Res. 561: On passage: to consider H.R. 14000, to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for military procurement. (Passed 324 to 61).....Yes	Yes	260	Nov. 5	H.R. 6778: Recommittal motion: to amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. (Failed 124 to 245; "Present" 11).....Yes	Yes				
198	Oct. 3	H.R. 14000: Previous question: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for military procurement, and to prescribe the personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces. (Passed 223 to 141).....Yes	Yes	261	Nov. 5	H.R. 6778: On passage: to amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. (Passed 351 to 24; "Present" 12).....Yes	Yes				
199	Oct. 3	H.R. 14000: Recommittal motion: by O'Konski with instructions to eliminate from the bill appropriations for research, development, and deployment of the AEM. (Failed 93 to 270; "Present" 2).....No	No	264	Nov. 6	H.R. 14465: On passage: to expand and improve the Nation's airport, airway system, and for the imposition of user charges. (Passed 337 to 6).....Yes	Yes				
200	Oct. 3	H.R. 14000: On passage as amended: to authorize fiscal 1970 appropriations for military procurement, and to prescribe the personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces. (Passed 311 to 44; "Present" 1).....Yes	Yes	267	Nov. 12	H.R. 2777: On passage: to enable potato growers to finance a research and promotion program. (Failed 171 to 198).....No	No				

VOTING RECORD OF HON. JOHN W. BYRNES OF EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN—Continued

Yes—For No—Against NV—Not voting

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
268	Nov. 12	H. Res. 603: Previous question: to consider H.J. 589, a joint resolution expressing the support of Congress, and urging the support of the Federal agencies, for the international biological program. (Passed 230 to 100).....	NV ²	320	Dec. 12	H.R. 12321: Recommittal motion: with instructions to make Anti Poverty Act into a State program. (Failed 163 to 231).....	No
270	Nov. 13	H. Res. 677: On passage: to waive points of order against H.R. 14751 making fiscal 1970 military construction appropriations for Dept. of Defense. (Passed 326 to 43).....	Yes	321	Dec. 12	H.R. 12321: On passage as amended: to provide continuation of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and for other purposes. (Passed 276 to 117).....	No
271	Nov. 13	H.R. 14751: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 military appropriations for Dept. of Defense. (Passed 343 to 32).....	Yes	323	Dec. 15	H.R. 15095: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to increase Social Security benefits by 15 percent. (Passed 397 to 0).....	Yes
272	Nov. 13	H.R. 14705: On passage: to extend and improve Federal-State Unemployment Compensation Program. (Passed 337 to 8).....	Yes	324	Dec. 15	H.R. 14646: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to grant consent of Congress to the Connecticut-New York railroad passenger transportation compact. (Passed 352 to 49).....	Yes
273	Nov. 17	H. Res. 675: On passage: agreeing to conference requested by Senate on H.R. 12829 providing for extension of interest equalization tax. (Passed 316 to 31).....	Yes	325	Dec. 15	H. Con. Res. 454: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to call for humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war by N. Vietnam and Vietcong. (Passed 405 to 0).....	Yes
274	Nov. 17	S.J. Res. 121: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to authorize appropriation for National Council of Indian Opportunity. (Passed 316 to 31).....	Yes	327	Dec. 16	S. 740: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to establish a Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-speaking People, and for other purposes. (Passed 314 to 81; "Present" 2).....	Yes
277	Nov. 18	H.R. 14794: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Dept. of Transportation and related agencies. (Passed 362 to 25).....	No	328	Dec. 16	H.R. 14213: Motion to suspend rules and pass: to provide for 2 additional members on the Smithsonian Institution Board of Regents. (Passed 273 to 119).....	No
281	Nov. 19	H.R. 11612: Previous question on agreeing to conference report: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Dept. of Agriculture. (Passed 214 to 172).....	Yes	331	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: Patman amendment: to strike provisions authorizing Federal Reserve Board to purchase federally guaranteed mortgages. (Passed 231 to 171; "Present" 1).....	Yes
282	Nov. 19	H.R. 12829: Agreeing to conference report: to extend interest equalization tax. (Passed 334 to 47).....	Yes	332	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: Patman amendment: to strike provisions authorizing purchase by Federal Reserve Board of \$6 billion in federally guaranteed mortgages. (Passed 233 to 170; "Present" 1).....	Yes
284	Nov. 20	H.R. 14580: Sikes amendment: to amend fiscal 1970 Foreign Aid Authorization Act to provide an additional \$54,500,000 in military assistance to Nationalist China. (Passed 176 to 169).....	NV ²	333	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: Recommittal motion: with instructions to report back bill with language provided in S. 2577, a Senate-passed bill. (Failed 193 to 206; "Present" 1).....	Yes
285	Nov. 20	H.R. 14580: Recommittal motion: with instructions to reduce development loans by \$50,000,000. (Passed 185 to 158).....	NV ²	334	Dec. 17	H.R. 15091: On passage: to provide additional mortgage credit, to authorize standby presidential authority to institute selective credit controls, to authorize lending authority to the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes. (Passed 259 to 136; "Present" 3).....	No
286	Nov. 20	H.R. 14580: On passage as amended: fiscal 1970 Foreign Aid Authorization Act. (Passed 176 to 163; "Present" 4).....	NV ²	335	Dec. 17	S. 2917: Recommittal motion: with instructions that House conferees insist on House-passed provisions relating to compensation for black-lung disease. (Failed 83 to 258).....	Yes
288	Nov. 24	H.R. 11193: Gross amendment: to strike \$150,000 for feasibility study of extending transit line to Dulles Airport. (Failed 52 to 256).....	No	336	Dec. 17	S. 2917: Agreeing to conference report: to improve health and safety conditions in coal mines. (Passed 333 to 12).....	Yes
289	Nov. 24	H.R. 11193: On passage: to authorize a Federal contribution toward the D.C. transit development program. (Passed 285 to 23).....	Yes	338	Dec. 18	H.R. 14944: On passage: to authorize adequate police protection for the White House and foreign embassies. (Passed 394 to 7).....	Yes
290	Nov. 24	H.R. 14916: On passage: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for the District of Columbia. (Passed 305 to 9).....	Yes	339	Dec. 18	H.R. 13111: Motion to lay on the table the motion: to instruct House conferees to accept Senate amendment which adds the words "except as required by the Constitution" to the Whitten amendment prohibiting the expenditure of Federal funds for busing to force racial integration of schools. (Failed 180 to 216).....	No
292	Nov. 25	H.R. 14741: On passage: to revise due date of cost estimate for Interstate Highway System, to amend law relating to highway safety, and for other purposes. (Passed 342 to 1).....	Yes	340	Dec. 18	H. Res. 572: On passage: to authorize Members and staff of the Committee on Education and Labor to make certain studies abroad. (Passed 224 to 153).....	No
294	Dec. 1	H. Res. 722: Previous question: to provide for consideration of H. Res. 613, "Toward Peace With Justice in Vietnam." (Passed 225 to 132).....	Yes	342	Dec. 19	H.R. 14580: On agreeing to conference report: to authorize appropriations for fiscal 1970 Foreign Assistance. (Passed 208 to 166).....	Yes
295	Dec. 1	H. Res. 722: Agreeing to rule: to consider H. Res. 613. (Passed 251 to 100).....	Yes	343	Dec. 19	S. 2577: On agreeing to conference report: to provide additional mortgage credit, to authorize standby presidential authority to institute selective credit controls, to authorize lending authority to the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes. (Passed 358 to 4; "Present" 2).....	Yes
299	Dec. 2	H. Res. 613: Recommittal motion: with instructions to amend H. Res. 613 to urge the President to press N. Vietnam to abide by Geneva Convention in treatment of prisoners of war. (Passed 392 to 0).....	Yes	345	Dec. 20	H.R. 15149: Recommittal motion: to instruct House conferees to accept Senate amendment eliminating funds for fighter planes for Nationalist China. (Failed 136 to 220).....	No
300	Dec. 2	H. Res. 613: On passage: "Toward Peace With Justice in Vietnam [in support of President]." (Passed 333 to 55; "Present" 1).....	Yes	346	Dec. 20	H.R. 15149: Agreeing to conference report: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Foreign Assistance. (Passed 181 to 174).....	Yes
306	Dec. 8	H.R. 15090: On passage as amended: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Dept. of Defense. (Passed 330 to 33).....	Yes	347	Dec. 20	S. 3016: Agreeing to conference report: to continue programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. (Passed 243 to 94).....	NV ¹
309	Dec. 9	H.R. 15149: Broomfield amendment: to add \$50,000,000 in military assistance for Nationalist China and S. Korea to fiscal 1970 appropriations for Foreign Assistance. (Passed 250 to 142).....	Yes	350	Dec. 22	H.R. 13111: Previous question on conference report: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for H.E.W. and related agencies. (Passed 261 to 110).....	No
310	Dec. 9	H.R. 15149: On passage as amended: to make fiscal 1970 appropriations for Foreign Assistance. (Passed 200 to 195; "Present" 2).....	Yes	351	Dec. 22	H.R. 13270: Adoption of conference report: to reform income tax laws. (Passed 381 to 2).....	Yes
312	Dec. 10	H.R. 4293: Agreeing to conference report: to provide continuing authority for exports regulation. (Failed 157 to 238).....	No	352	Dec. 22	H.R. 15209: On conference report: to agree to Senate amendment continuing appropriations at the fiscal 1969 level for agencies not yet provided their fiscal 1970 appropriations. (Passed 276 to 99).....	Yes
316	Dec. 11	H.R. 4249: G. Ford substitute amendment: nationwide to suspend literacy tests; nationwide to extend Atty. General's authority to oversee elections and initiate voting rights lawsuits; to establish uniform residency requirements for presidential elections; to establish presidential commission to study voting practices. (Passed 208 to 204).....	Yes	353	Dec. 22	H.R. 15209: On conference report: to agree to Senate amendment to limit application of the so-called Philadelphia plan to eliminate job discrimination. (Failed 156 to 208; "Present" 1).....	No
317	Dec. 11	H.R. 4249: On passage as amended: to extend 1965 Voting Rights Act. (Passed 234 to 179).....	Yes				
318	Dec. 11	H.R. 15209: Recommittal motion: with instructions to eliminate funds for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts from fiscal 1970 supplemental appropriations bill. (Failed 142 to 243).....	No				

¹Absent. If present, would have voted "no".
²Absent. If present, would have voted "yes".

EXPLANATION OF TERMS USED IN PRECEDING PAGES RE THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

Of necessity the report contains parliamentary and legislative terms with which the reader may not be familiar. An explanation of some of these terms may, therefore, be helpful:

A. A *quorum call* consists of a calling of the roll of Members to determine whether or not a quorum—a majority of Members—is present. No business may be conducted when it is found that a quorum is not present.

B. *Recommittal*: Generally, on all important bills, a motion to recommit the bill to a committee, with or without instructions, is voted upon by the House before it votes upon passage of the bill. If such a motion is adopted, it means that the bill will be changed, delayed, or even killed. However, when a motion to recommit is accompanied by instructions, the vote generally indicates whether the Member is in favor of or opposed to the change in the legislation proposed by the instructions and does not necessarily indicate his position on the bill as a whole. A motion to recommit with instructions, if adopted, does not kill the bill.

C. The type of bill can be determined by the letters which precede its number. All bills that originate in the House are designated by an "H," those that originate in the Senate by an "S." There are four main types:

(1) *H.R. (S.)* designates a bill which, when passed by both Houses in identical form and signed by the President, becomes law.

(2) *H.J. Res. (S.J. Res.)* designates a joint resolution which must pass both Houses and be signed by the President before becoming law. It is generally used for continuing the life of an existing law, or in submitting to the States a constitutional amendment, in which case it does not require the signature of the President but must be passed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses.

(3) *H. Con. Res. (S. Con. Res.)* designates a concurrent resolution. To become effective it must be passed by both the House and Senate but does not require the President's signature. It is used to take joint action which is purely within the jurisdiction of Congress. Many emergency laws carry the provision that they may be terminated by concurrent resolution, thus eliminating the possibility of a Presidential veto.

(4) *H. Res. (S. Res.)* designates a simple resolution of either body. It does not require approval by the other body nor the signature of the President. It is used to deal with matters that concern one House only, such as changing rules, creating special committees, and so forth.

D. *Rule*: Important bills, after approval of the committee concerned, go to the House Committee on Rules where a rule, in the form of a House resolution (H. Res.) is granted covering the time allowed for debate, consideration of amendments, and other parliamentary questions.

E. *Conference*: Representatives from both Houses of Congress meet in conference to work out differences existing in the legislation as passed by the two bodies. Upon conclusion of their conference, a report is submitted to each House setting forth the agreements reached. Each House then must act by way of adopting or rejecting the report in whole or in part.

F. *Ordering the previous question*: A motion to order the previous question, if adopted, shuts off further debate on the question before the House and prevents further amendments to such proposition.

REPORTER IN HANOI

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, a distinguished American newspaper, recently presented three reports from Hanoi on official North Vietnamese views of the Vietnam war.

The correspondent who reported from Hanoi was Richard J. Barnet, author of the recently published "The Economy of Death," and codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

It is important that we understand better the atmosphere in the North Vietnamese capital if we want to understand how Hanoi reacts to events like President Nixon's November 3 statement on our Vietnam policy. It is also very pertinent to understand the historical perspective of the North Vietnamese who see, Barnet reports, the present hostilities as a continuation of a 25-year war for an independent Vietnam.

The three articles follow:

HANOI VIEW OF NIXON SPEECH

(By Richard J. Barnet)

(Richard J. Barnet, who served with the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the Department of State in the Kennedy Administration, wrote the following article after interviewing in North Vietnam Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and other Hanoi and National Liberation Front officials.)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM.—North Vietnamese leaders interpret President Richard M. Nixon's Nov. 3 speech as the toughest statement yet on continuing American involvement and a less than subtle pledge to win the war.

In a series of interviews, North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front officials continually raised two principal points: The United States is not really interested in negotiations, and the Nixon policy is a direct continuation of the Lyndon B. Johnson policy with the objective of permanent American domination of South Vietnam politics.

"Your President is foxy, but I don't think he really knows what he is going to do tomorrow," a Cabinet minister commented. Said another: "The Americans are stronger than the French, but they are not as clever."

North Vietnam leaders are convinced that Mr. Nixon has no interest in the Paris talks. Some of the most highly placed sources in Hanoi assured me that there have been no substantive negotiations at all, either public or private. They pointed to the Nov. 3 speech as a clear signal that the United States is not interested in changing the nature or the substance of the Paris talks.

NIXON'S "BRAZEN CHALLENGE"

Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, in a rare interview, said in referring to Mr. Nixon's speech: "The Vietnamese people have taken note of this brazen challenge."

This "challenge of Mr. Nixon's is viewed by North Vietnamese as an American strategy of maintaining steady pressure on the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars. Mr. Nixon's goal, the officials were sure, remains a military victory through a war of attrition.

Mr. Nixon's political goal, Hanoi leaders believe, is to force them and the National Liberation Front to submit to an election

organized by the Thieu regime. And they repeatedly assured me that this they would never accept.

An election under Thieu's direction is seen by North Vietnamese leaders as an American-controlled election. Even if someone other than Thieu should win in an election managed by the present Saigon leadership he, too, officials said, would be sure to be an American agent. As one high official put it: "The marionettes may change but the play remains the same. Uncle Sam continues to pull the strings."

In North Vietnamese eyes, a Saigon-directed election would abandon everything that the North Vietnamese leaders have been fighting for for the last 25 years. It would legitimize a permanent South Vietnamese state. It would legitimize the present constitution, which makes it illegal for Communists or neutralists to hold office.

"JOHNSON CONSTITUTION"

And, by legitimizing what the North Vietnamese continually refer to as the "Johnson Constitution," the election would legitimize the American presence in Vietnam, while insuring its continuation. National Liberation Front participation in the Thieu-sponsored election, they say, removes none of these objections.

Only with a new structure for elections, developed by a "very broad coalition," leaders told me, is there a chance that the outcome would be truly representative. And, they contend, there is nothing to suggest in the last Thieu election that he has any conception of a free election.

They say that in 1966 Thieu scratched one formidable opponent from the ballot while jailing another. They say that battalions of troops were sent to villages to vote for their commander in chief. They say that frequently these troops voted several times. North Vietnamese officials maintain that all this is so obvious to observers in the United States that Mr. Nixon's insistence on Thieu-style free elections shows that the President has no real interest in a compromise solution.

The North Vietnamese analysis of the Nov. 3 speech points up what they consider the real issue; Mr. Nixon's credibility. Does he really intend to get out of Vietnam? At this moment, they are firmly convinced that the answer is no.

"Nixon's Vietnamization is Johnson's de-Americanization all over again," one official said. "How can it work?" North Vietnamese leaders see Vietnamization as a strategy designed to enable the President to fight a war of attrition indefinitely—at a level acceptable to a majority of the American people.

AIR AND ARTILLERY POWER

Although North Vietnamese officials believe that Mr. Nixon will continue to withdraw combat troops, they see him relying more heavily on air power and heavy artillery. Even if the entire force of 300,000 combat troops is pulled out, Hanoi officials say, there would still remain 200,000 support troops in Vietnam itself—backed up by almost 500,000 U.S. troops elsewhere in the Pacific.

North Vietnamese officials see Mr. Nixon returning to the "special war" of the Kennedy era, 1960 through 1965, when American "advisers" did the planning, training and supplying, but the Vietnamese did most of the fighting. That strategy, North Vietnamese claim, led to the rout of the South Vietnamese army in the spring of 1965, a defeat stemmed only by a rapid and massive introduction of U.S. troops.

Today the National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese forces insist that they are far stronger than they were in 1965, and assert that the forces of the Saigon regime are weaker—politically, militarily and economi-

cally. And, they say, the National Liberation Front has already demonstrated that it can withstand far greater punishment than what is currently facing them. They said that in 1965-66, for example, the U.S. launched an offensive with 80,000 troops and failed. And, by the end of 1967, with 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, the Americans were no longer able to carry out a strategic offensive, Hanoi officials say.

REDS SEARCH AND DESTROY

North Vietnam officials say it is their troops who must now go looking for the enemy. The U.S. has curtailed its "search and destroy" missions to minimize casualties, while stationing the bulk of its forces in defensive positions around Saigon, Hue and Da Nang.

North Vietnamese believe that the 1968 Tet offensive was primarily responsible for Johnson's first move towards de-escalation. Although they say they are increasingly impressed by the American antiwar movement, they continue to put their primary faith in their own efforts on the battlefield.

All of the foregoing changes in U.S. strategy convinced Hanoi officials that the U.S. has lost the war of attrition—but they are under no illusions that they have yet won. They are preparing for a long war.

Mr. Nixon's threat to take "strong and effective measures" did not go unnoticed in Hanoi. They believe that the Vietnamization policy implies a distinct possibility of a re-escalation, including the resumption of the bombing of the North.

Most of the children are back in Hanoi from the evacuation centers in the country; but the new Polytechnical Institute, the only really modern building in the city, stands empty. Factories are still dispersed in hundreds of caves and grottos throughout the countryside. The shelters one sees every few feet along each street of Hanoi are kept in readiness. Little has been done to repair the considerable damage to the residential areas of the capital.

"We are very much on the alert," an elderly former mandarin, now a deputy in the National Assembly, told me.

North Vietnamese leaders believe that no one, even Mr. Nixon, takes seriously the prospect of South Vietnamese completely taking over the fighting. They point out that in the first week of November the National Liberation Front launched a series of attacks, as many as 68 on a single day, against positions held by the South Vietnamese forces. In a number of such engagements, such as at Dar Lac, they overran the South Vietnamese positions and caused other units to flee, the North Vietnamese say.

SAIGON WOULD FALL

Mr. Nixon must know, they reason, that if he really withdraws the U.S. combat units, the Saigon regime would fall. Therefore, they suspect that he is merely attempting to set an elaborate stage for some sort of re-escalation when the failure of the present strategy becomes evident. North Vietnam leaders see Mr. Nixon as attempting to gain public support for intensifying the war by cutting down the draft and moving toward a professional army, by emphasizing Hanoi's alleged intransigence at the negotiating table, and by fanning the flames of nationalism in the United States. This Mr. Nixon will do, Hanoi officials believe, by continuing to evoke the prospect of mass reprisals if the U.S. would leave Vietnam and by making emotional appeals to preserve the national honor.

If Mr. Nixon's present strategy is premised on National Liberation Front restraint on the battlefield, it is bound to fail, these officials say. There is no lull on the battlefield even now, officials contend. Nor is there any understanding for a future lull.

A Viet Cong leader explained, "The battlefield has a rhythm of its own."

Reduction of military activity at one time or another are temporary. They have not renounced the initiative on the battlefield, nor do they lack the capacity. Pham Van Dong told me, to step up the war if necessary. Their analysis of Mr. Nixon's speech has convinced them that it may be necessary.

U.S. DEFEAT EVIDENT, HANOI IS CONVINCED

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM.—I went to North Vietnam sure that its leaders would seek to convince me of their unshakable determination to carry on the war if their minimum political objections were not met. The United States and all other foreigners must be out of Vietnam, bag and baggage. Not only must the troops go, but more important, the foreign political control which those troops represent must be ended.

In the course of my recent talks with high officials in Hanoi, including Premier Pham Van Dong, these minimum objections were emphasized again and again. North Vietnamese leaders told me that they were eager for a political settlement along these lines but were prepared to fight indefinitely if the United States would not agree.

"Our will is stronger than ever," Dong stated with quiet assurance.

The determination of Vietnamese leadership to resist American military pressure is, of course, their principal weapon. In a war of attrition, staying power makes the crucial difference. I therefore expected to hear expressions of self-confidence. What I was completely unprepared for was the depth and obvious sincerity of their conviction that they are winning.

"The United States defeat is already evident," Dong declared in the course of an interview. They are certain that they will drive the foreigners from their land and they hold this belief with all the tenacity of a religious faith.

No American can comprehend Vietnamese thinking on the war unless he tries to see their history and tradition as they do.

Vietnamese officials gently remind American visitors that they have arrived in the middle of the play. Again and again the high officials to whom I talked spoke of the 2000-year history of Vietnam, its single culture, its one language.

Many of these leaders, including Premier Dong, were born in the South (just as South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky was born in the north).

They see their national history as a 2000-year successful struggle to keep their land free from successive waves of foreign invaders, all far more powerful than themselves—Chinese warlords in the eleventh century, the Ming Dynasty in the Fifteenth Century, the Sung in the Eighteenth Century, and the French in this century.

The U.S. efforts that began in 1954 to create and maintain a separate state in South Vietnam is for them merely one more such effort. It is a brief interlude in the long history of a united Vietnam.

North Vietnamese leaders are not prepared to let the United States dismiss the Geneva settlement as ancient history. The state created below the Seventeenth Parallel under Ngo Dinh Diem after the Geneva Conference of 1954 they see as nothing more than a U.S. political device for keeping a foothold in Southeast Asia.

The meaning of the Geneva settlement, they say again and again, is that Vietnam is one country. It will take a long time, they admit, to achieve reunification, but the fundamental right of the Vietnamese themselves to bring this about by peaceful means must be recognized.

The Seventeenth Parallel, according to the

Geneva settlement, was "a temporary military demarcation line" and not a political boundary.

"The United States began to sabotage that settlement the day it was signed," a Cabinet minister who had been a delegate at Geneva told me. The passionate belief that they have law and history on their side goes far to explain their extraordinary determination to win their minimum demands.

What do they believe will enable them to carry on the fight against the world's strongest power "for another twenty-five years or more, if necessary?"

First, they know that in the severe trials to which they have been subject they have shown that they can take punishment and even thrive on it.

One high official pointed out that North and South Vietnam had received the equivalent of one-megaton hydrogen bomb apiece. More than 600 sections of dikes have been bombed, they say, and they have been able to contain the floods. (They showed me a number of pictures in corroboration.)

The wide use of defoliants and toxic gases has caused some chemical change in the soil, but the rice crop is up. I saw entire towns where as many as 40,000 had lived with nothing left but a dozen fragments of charred wall, but the survivors do not appear intimidated.

North Vietnamese officials concede that more horrors may lie ahead of them. Some fully expect it. But they feel that they have been tested and that they have emerged from the trial with greater strength than ever.

Second, there is abundant evidence of economic growth in the years of escalation, they assert. There are 20,000 more university students this year than in 1965. The yield per acre in the rice crop, despite periodic setbacks, has almost doubled. Under the pressure of war, age-old public health problems have been solved. Malaria, plague, cholera and yellow fever have been virtually eliminated.

Each year new dispensaries and hospitals are built in villages and districts. Since 1965, an entire new industrial network has been established. Hundreds of small workshops, machine tool factories and light industry have been built into the sides of mountains and in grottos. I saw one workshop inside an enlarged cave where men and women were huddled over simple lathes turning out pistons for trucks and other spare parts.

Under the pressure of war the Vietnamese have decentralized their education, medical services, agriculture, as well as industrial production. The administrative head of a province emphasized that the radical reforms the Vietnamese had carried out under the bombings should more accurately be characterized as "divided responsibility" rather than "decentralization." Their economy, he pointed out, is still centrally managed. Whatever the term, there is no doubt that the changes are popular and have raised morale.

The third source of strength is the increasing sense of unity of the people. For this, Vietnamese leaders give the U.S. Air Force much of the credit.

"When the first wave of planes came over the North," one of the country's leading intellectuals told me, "some Catholic priests openly applauded." These long-time foes of North Vietnam's Communist government led their flocks into the local churches certain that they would be the last places the Americans would bomb. But Catholic churches have been bombed in great number. The official count is 465. (I counted more than 10 in a short visit to a single province.)

The result has been to unite dissident ele-

ments in the society in the common struggle against the outside attacker.

Commenting on Gen. Curtis E. LeMay's famous strategy to bring their country to its knees by "bombing it into the Stone Age," a high party official remarked: "If you get a chance to see the general when you return to your country, tell him that it's all right with us if he wants to go back to the Stone Age. As for us, we are going forward."

I kept asking everyone from a high school student to the Premier to explain the extraordinary spirit of determination and even lightheartedness I saw wherever I went.

While they are quite ready to concede that there is a special toughness to the Vietnamese, a product of history and culture, they point out that other countries have also found added strength in adversity. The classic case is Britain during the bombing of London.

"Your country, too," a top Hanoi official observed, "experienced an extraordinary growth in the Second World War."

But perhaps the crucial source of strength of the Vietnamese, as they see it, is their very backwardness. I was shown movies of the Viet Cong at work, navigating streams in rafts, obtaining food, shelter and protection from the forest.

"Look how little we need for fighting," was the message constantly impressed upon me. It is clearly a message they believe themselves.

Another point they make is symbolized by the giant bomb craters I saw scarring the countryside in Thanh Hoa province. They seemed irrelevant. At their edge new huts had been built or a new rice crop planted.

Although province officials were concerned that the craters were becoming breeding grounds for mosquitos, the bombings had not disrupted the social system. Many had been killed and wounded, but life went on much as it always has. Vietnam appears to be one of the countries in the world least vulnerable to massive air bombardment.

While conceding that the advanced Chinese and Soviet military equipment I saw on the highway had something to do with their survival, Vietnamese officials constantly repeated, "We are a primitive country." They said it triumphantly. "Our people don't need much to eat. We can get along on rice, fish and a little meat, if it is available. Ten meters of cloth and one pair of shoes a year is more than enough."

The kind of house to which most of the population is accustomed can be put together in short order with a minimum of easily available materials.

One of the most important exhibits in the Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi shows Ho Chi Minh's small straw suitcase with his sandals and tunic, the total possessions he carried with him in the long months of World War II. It is a pointed symbol of the national capacity for making do.

TIME ON THEIR SIDE, HANOI LEADERS BELIEVE

(By Richard J. Barnet)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM.—The top leadership in Hanoi believes that time is on their side. "Mr. Nixon is in no hurry to withdraw the troops. He thinks he has plenty of time, but he doesn't," one of Hanoi's most authoritative political figures told me in an extended discussion. "As for us, time is something we have in great supply."

I questioned the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front officials closely on two factors which, according to United States military sources, are seriously weakening their capacity to continue the war: The supposedly serious decline in morale in the North, and the unacceptably high casualty rate in the South. When I asked Premier

Pham Van Dong about morale, he replied, "After the death of our president, Ho Chi Minh, we are closing ranks." He was referring specifically to speculation about rivalry among the leadership, and he spoke with the authority of a man in charge.

When I asked whether the bombing halt had not produced a psychological letdown in the North, another speculation popular in Washington, I received this answer: "The country is still at war and the people still feel part of the struggle." I understood these words better when I heard a class of kindergarten children singing songs about shooting down American planes.

Wherever I turned, I saw small groups of Vietnamese preparing for the long war they see ahead. In the early morning, I walked alone in Hanoi's Unity Park and watched classes of young women assembling rifles among neatly planted flower beds. Several mornings at 4 o'clock I heard the clatter of militia marching in shouted cadence below my bedroom window.

When I questioned National Liberation Front leaders about the crippling losses the U.S. Army claims to have inflicted on the Viet Cong, they said that after reading the U.S. figures they did not understand how they themselves could still be alive. They produced a complete list of the annual estimates of U.S. military leaders on the demise of the Viet Cong dated back to 1965, then noted their offensive operations that followed these premature death notices. The Viet Cong do not deny that they have suffered heavy casualties but, as a National Liberation Front official just back from the front told me: "We are now operating far more effectively in the cities than ever before. The National Liberation Front has a major military headquarters operating within the city limits of Saigon itself."

Every high official with whom I talked spoke with contempt about the United States' Vietnamization program. "It is Nixon's grand design," said one top political figure, "but it will turn out to be a nightmare for him." There is no assurance, they insist, that any temporary lull will continue. They were visibly angry at what they regard as the Nixon Administration's attempts to use their restraint on the battlefield as a political weapon against them. Another top leader said, "Mr. Nixon wants to tell the American public, 'I have succeeded in doing this. I am able to do that. Give me your confidence. Don't bother me. Leave me alone.' When he has to request more appropriations he will say something different."

Although the Hanoi leaders believe that they are more than holding their own on the battlefield, they see two favorable political trends.

The rising opposition to the war in the United States has plainly surprised them, but they have a realistic estimate of its strength. Above all, they rely on their own will and strength. They believe that U.S. policy will eventually change enough to permit a negotiated settlement because the United States is willing to accept considerably fewer losses to protect a distant imperial outpost than they themselves are prepared to accept to rid Vietnam of foreign domination. "Some day the United States must come to see its own interest," said one Hanoi official.

The second trend to which they attach considerable importance is the deterioration of political strength of the Saigon government. (President Nguyen Van) Thieu, (Vice President Nguyen Cao) Ky, and Premier Tran Thien Kham are in a very bad way," a Cabinet minister told me. "And there is no way out for them." Another official suggested, "They have their bags packed. Hanoi officials believe that it is highly sig-

nificant that Gen Duong Van Ming and Gen. Tran Van Don are now willing to oppose Thieu openly.

Much attention is being paid to the economic crisis in Saigon. One of the ministers in charge of economic matters, reading from the Saigon press, analyzed what he called the runaway inflation in the South. The steep rise in the cost of living over the last several months has encouraged a mounting tide of opposition to Thieu's Minister of Economics. "Members of the middle class are co-operating more and more and more with the National Liberation Front," he said, "because of the Saigon government's failure to manage the economy."

Although impressed with signs of political movement independent from the Thieu-Ky government in Saigon, top Hanoi officials are wary of what will happen. "Everything depends on Washington," one minister declared. "In the old days the Americans could change horses in midstream. Although the situation is now more difficult for them, perhaps even now they are readying a new horse."

Their over-all conclusion about developments in Saigon is highly optimistic. A high level official noted: "The situation in Saigon is developing in our favor. It is an irreversible process. It is quite possible that this process will take place under extremely favorable conditions, and rapidly."

Top Hanoi officials are convinced that the day is not too far off when the people in the South will demand a "government of peace" to talk seriously with the National Liberation Front with a view to "setting up a very broad coalition government". The central question, as they see it, is: When will the United States permit this inevitable evolution to take place? When Washington is ready to accept such a development, North Vietnamese leaders indicate, the road to serious negotiation will be open.

"There are many things in our 10-point program," a leading Hanoi political figure told me, "if people will only look."

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI FOR 1969

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, as we approach the end of calendar year 1969 and the conclusion of the first session of the 91st Congress, I have been reviewing the direction and scope of my principal efforts during the year and what has been accomplished. I do so in part because I believe it is well in any field of endeavor to retain a knowledgeable view of the recent past, for it helps in maintaining a good perspective and in anticipating future problems.

Also, however, I hold in trust from the people of Mississippi a responsibility which I respect and treasure. I owe to those fine people of my State a report of my stewardship of that trust for the year 1969. This I will undertake to do now, as this session draws to a close.

First, I will say that my review indicates that there are many to whom I owe my thanks. Foremost are my constituents, for their continued assistance,

support, and encouragement. I am indebted to the entire congressional delegation of Mississippi, for their unflinching cooperation and assistance. I thank all my colleagues in the Senate for their many courtesies, for the wisdom with which they have approached the problems we have dealt with during the year, and for their support in many matters important to my State. My staff, and the staffs of the committees with which I am associated have worked hard and effectively, and are deserving of the confidence I place in them. My friends and family have been at my side, and when burdens seemed heavy I have been blessed with faith and spiritual solace. It has been a good year, and one for which I am grateful.

It has not been an easy year. As we all know, there is much divisiveness in our country these days, on many scores. The wise, equitable, and prudent action is not easily discerned. Our country is engaged in an honorable but saddening war, fought in defense of a beleaguered people—a war from which we all seek a just, honorable, and early peace. Our people are struggling with inflationary pressures, and our Nation is sorely taxed by responsibilities of world leadership. It has been a year of fiscal restraints, where we have not had the means to meet all the problems as we would have liked. Nevertheless, much has been done, of a very constructive nature, and I take pride in presenting this report, under the following headings, to the people of Mississippi.

AGRICULTURE

The Agriculture Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, of which I am a member, had a number of matters before it which were of great importance to our farm programs in Mississippi.

The agriculture appropriations bill contained a provision under which payments under all price support programs to any one producer would be limited to \$20,000. Such a measure would work a great hardship on our agricultural program and would have severe economic repercussions. In the Senate subcommittee we deleted this provision, and the deletion was sustained by a vote of the Senate. I was designated as one of the Senate conferees, to reconcile differences between the House and Senate bills. We were able to have our view prevail, and the payment limitation was excluded from the bill in its final form, as it was sent to the President. Congressman JAMIE WHITTEN rendered his fine services on this appropriations bill as usual.

In the Senate subcommittee I proposed the addition of funds in a number of categories, over and above the amounts in the House bill or in the budget request. I was able to obtain an extra \$500,000 each in the production cost-cutting research program on cotton and on the cooperative fire ant eradication program. Added for payments to agricultural experiment stations was \$1,335,000, and \$1,615,000 for extension service payments to States. Retained in the bill for grants for facilities was \$1 million. Under the Farmers Home Administration grants for rural water and waste disposal grants,

I was pleased to be able to retain an added \$6 million, the full amount of my amendment.

PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS

This year, besides serving on the Public Works Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, and meeting with the full committee on the public works bill, I was also designated by the Senate as a member of the conference committee, to resolve differences between the House and Senate versions of the public works appropriation bill. This gave me an excellent opportunity to set forth the merits of our Mississippi projects, and to obtain for them a level of funding with which I am quite pleased, considering the budgetary limitations with which we were dealing.

Among the projects funded for fiscal year 1970 are the initiation of the comprehensive study of the lower Mississippi region, \$500,000; the continuing engineering design of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, \$500,000; Biloxi Harbor, \$330,000; flood control work on the Tombigbee River and tributaries, \$650,000; beach, harbor, and channel repairs after Hurricane Camille, \$5,000,000; and survey reports at Gulfport Harbor, Hancock County beaches, Pascagoula River Basin, and Tombigbee River, \$212,000.

The Mississippi River and tributaries project is concerned with flood control and navigation on the main stem of the river and in the backwater areas. I supported an increase of \$12,440,000 for this project, to a total of \$87,040,000, the increase to be used for levees, channel improvement, maintenance in the Big Sunflower River, and examinations and surveys. In conference we were able to hold a half of this increase. I also supported funds for starting work on the Upper Auxiliary Channel, Ascalsmore-Tippo, and O'Possum Bayou, in the Yazoo Basin. These funds originated in the House bill and were approved in conference.

I am particularly pleased that I was able to get approved an amendment in the Senate bill \$200,000 to initiate engineering and design of Tallahala Reservoir in Jasper County. This item was not among the budget approved items. This dam, authorized in the 1968 Flood Control Act, will provide much needed flood control, water supply, water quality control, recreation, and fish and wildlife improvements. In conference and in the final bill, with the able help of my colleagues in the House, these funds were retained, and we have taken an important step toward the construction of this project.

TVA projects are also considered in the public works bill, of course. I supported the inclusion of the Yellow Creek Port project, in Tishomingo County, even though it had active opposition. It was supported by the Mississippi delegation in the House, and in conference, and we were able to retain \$450,000 in the final bill, to begin design and dredging of the port. This project will be a fine development and will develop barge tonnage and industrial development by taking advantage of the presence of Pickwick Lake and the Tennessee River at the northeastern tip of Mississippi.

In the present fiscal year we have \$500,000 for engineering and design for the Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway. I have been working hard to help to obtain a construction start on this vast project, in the new budget being prepared for fiscal year 1971. I do not yet know whether it will be in the budget, but I do know that the national and regional benefits of the project, as well as those in eastern Mississippi, are tremendous, and should no longer be foregone. It is time to begin actual construction of this Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway. I am going all out for at least \$3 million construction money for fiscal year 1971.

I have high hopes for the authorizations that may develop from the comprehensive studies of the Pearl River and Pascagoula River basins, now nearing completion. The coming year will develop what we can expect from these very thorough examinations of potential water resource developments in Mississippi.

RURAL WATER AND SEWER SYSTEMS

I am a very strong believer in the rural water and waste disposal systems of the Farmers Home Administration. In my judgment they have a key role in economic development and revitalization of our rural areas and smaller towns. As I indicate elsewhere in this report, under the discussion of the agriculture appropriations bill, I successfully supported this year an increase of \$6,000,000 in the grant program for this purpose, raising the total to \$46,000,000.

As I look back over the period of less than a year since the first of January, 1969, I am quite impressed and proud of what has been accomplished by Mississippians under this program. During that period 46 associations in 34 different counties of Mississippi participated in the program. There were 31 water systems, three waste systems, and 12 associations with both water and waste systems.

For these systems, grants from the FHA were made to a total amount of \$682,990. Direct loans to associations by FHA totaled \$1,929,000, and insured loans totaled \$4,785,520. This makes a grand total of \$7,397,510.

Considering the relatively short period of time involved, this is a very substantial investment, and it is money used to the best advantage, in a way that benefits entire communities, individual families, and the economy as a whole. I intend to again give vigorous support to this program next year and hope to get it doubled in 1970. It is one of the most useful means we have of encouraging industrial development and placing rural areas in a more competitive position with larger cities. The most of this money is repaid, with interest.

WATERSHED PROJECTS

One of the highly effective programs in Mississippi is the watershed development program of the Soil Conservation Service. I have been an active supporter of the program since the passage of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act in 1954.

This year in the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, I supported an increase of \$6 million for watershed

works of improvement, to a total of \$63,873,000, and I am glad to say that this figure prevailed in conference and was included in the final bill for fiscal year 1970.

We have a number of authorized watershed projects in Mississippi that are awaiting funding. Under the fiscal constraints that have been imposed this year, with the administration impounding as an economy measure a part of the funds already appropriated, it has been difficult to obtain the money for construction. Nevertheless, I am glad to say that funds were provided in calendar year 1969 to 12 watershed projects in Mississippi: Big Creek, Box Creek, Browns Creek, Chunky River, Eutacutaches Creek, Five Creek, Richland Creek, Roberson Creek, Silver Creek, Tri-County Hopson Bayou, Upper Leaf River, and Whitesand-Greens Creek. The total Federal share of the costs amounts to \$26,732,780.

This is a commendable showing for Mississippi, all in all, and a reflection of the willingness of Mississippians to raise the large sums which must be invested locally in these projects. I intend to help in every way possible in the coming year to see that the watershed program in our State continues to grow.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Since the establishment of the Economic Development Administration by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, I have advocated and supported its programs. Its purpose is long-range economic development by developing and expanding enterprises through a program of public works grants and loans, loans for industrial or commercial facilities, and technical research assistance.

In the last 4 years this program has been highly successful in Mississippi. I am glad to say that in 1969 there was a still greater increase of EDA activities in our State. Since January 1, EDA funds have been made available for 43 projects at 33 different locations in Mississippi. The money involved is a total of \$8,434,930.

The types of projects funded this year include street, water, and sewer systems, water and sewage treatment plants, industrial parks, airports, shops and classrooms, port reconstruction, expansion of industrial enterprises, and grants for long-range planning.

There are 15 other projects pending in Mississippi, at the end of the year. The funds which will be involved in these total about \$4,589,000.

Thus the total EDA funds committed or pending in Mississippi this year is the imposing amount of \$13,023,930. This is a commendable indication of the progress that is being made in this one program of economic development in our State.

APPALACHIAN PROGRAM

My successful efforts in 1967 to have 20 counties of northeast Mississippi included in the area covered by the Senate version of the Appalachian Regional Development Act continue to pay dividends in the form of approved projects aimed at economic development. Fortu-

nately, I serve on the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, and this affords me an opportunity to participate in establishing the level of funding for the program, and to have an active voice in the relative distribution of the funds, by State and project.

The program is supervised by a Commission made up of the Governors of the 13 member States, together with a Federal member who is a cochairman. Activities are focused upon stimulating the economy of the area by a wide variety of types of projects. These include work in the field of roads, water resources, land treatment, health and sanitation, vocational education, low-income housing, and public facilities of many kinds.

I am pleased to say that in calendar year 1969, Appalachian funds in a total amount of \$5,356,602 have been provided for 33 projects in 16 counties in Mississippi. These include access roads, airports, water and sewer facilities, vocational schools, hospitals, libraries, and academic facilities.

The Appalachian regional development program has much to offer northeast Mississippi. I intend to see that approved projects not yet funded are given careful attention in the coming year, and that authorization processes continue for additional projects.

EDUCATION

I have a strong and lasting interest in doing everything possible for the improvement of education, from elementary through higher education. The opportunities we provide our young people will be reflected in the accomplishments of our State and its people in the years to come.

The providing of modern educational systems has grown to be a very expensive undertaking. Consequently, the importance of Federal funds for educational purposes has become vital. I am fortunate to serve on the Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, where I can have a direct hand in the establishment of funding levels for educational activities.

This year, although constrained by overall fiscal considerations, we gave educational matters such a high relative priority that increases were provided in many categories, over and about the budgeted amounts. We considered all of the following fields: elementary and secondary education, federally impacted areas, teacher development, vocational training, and higher education, including construction of community colleges, 4-year colleges, and graduate and technical schools. We reviewed grants and loans for students and teachers, and fellowships. We gave careful attention to libraries, including financial aid for construction of public libraries, for library services, for college library resources, and librarian training.

I am glad to say that in the Senate bill all educational categories of strong interest to Mississippi are being adequately funded, and that several are receiving substantial increases. Among the programs provided additional funds by the Senate are grants for public libraries,

school library resources, federally impacted areas, elementary and secondary facilities and equipment, college construction, vocational education, library training, teacher training, and student loans. Our Mississippi educational system will benefit markedly from these increases.

HURRICANE CAMILLE

The devastating effect of Hurricane Camille on the gulf coast of Mississippi left us all with heavy hearts, and with a long and difficult task of rebuilding and restoring the stricken area.

I made trips through the area to assess the situation, and the problems that would be involved in recovery. I accompanied the Vice President on his inspection trip, and met the President there at the time of his visit.

Immediately after the hurricane I initiated preparation of disaster relief legislation, and introduced a bill. Various provisions of my bill, together with parts of other bills prepared by the delegations from Mississippi and other States hit by Camille, were considered by a conference committee of the House and Senate and incorporated into the Disaster Relief Act of 1969. With unprecedented speed the bill was approved by both the House and Senate. It was signed into law by the President on October 1, 1969.

In the interim, existing legislation permitted certain more limited Federal assistance to proceed. I worked very closely with the Office of Emergency Preparedness, which was charged by the President with coordinating the activities of all Federal agencies in the area. I have received regular reports from OEP, and have taken such steps as were necessary to bring to the attention of that office matters that needed attention. I have assisted in the Senate to insure that necessary funds were provided the OEP and the Federal agencies to carry out this work.

My office has handled literally thousands of individual requests for assistance or advice as a result of Hurricane Camille. We have dealt directly with a large number of Federal agencies and with the Red Cross, to expedite or otherwise assist in the emergency. I have worked with the Governor's emergency council, with the State agencies, with local authorities, with delegations of businessmen, and with individuals. I have spared no effort to assist in every possible way in this terrible blow to the people of our State. The assistance given the Camille area by the Federal Government was sorely needed and much deserved. All concerned wish more might have been done, and accomplished more quickly. However, as a whole, it has been a fine response to a tremendous disaster, and I am happy that my efforts have contributed to this response.

Although much has been done so far in the Camille disaster area, a long and difficult task remains. It is probable that additional legislation will be needed. Soon a Subcommittee of the Senate Public Works Committee will hold hearings in Mississippi, to evaluate what remains to be done. I intend to follow this entire problem vigorously, and dedicate my continued effort to the premise that our

gulf coast is going to be rebuilt, and that one day it will be fully restored, as a finer place than ever to live and work, and a greater attraction than ever for those who live elsewhere to come and visit.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

As is well known to the people of our State, one of the most distressing problems with which we must deal these days is the disruption and threatened destruction of our public school system. This is brought about by the impractical haste with which our school districts are being required to attain desegregated status. This is being required by court decree and by administrative fiat from officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I oppose this arbitrary and harmful dislocation of our schoolchildren. It is not a matter of arguing the question of civil rights. This has been decided by the law and the courts. It is, however, a matter of saving the neighborhood school and the public school system. I believe strongly that the public schools must be made to survive—that private schools cannot provide a full answer. The community school is the backbone of the educational system for all children, white and black, and it is entitled to the consideration and protection of the law and of administrative agencies.

My position and my long fight here in 1969 on the school situation in Mississippi is well known and will not be repeated in detail here. Through intensive research I obtained the actual official figures on the school student population by races in northern States—Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. These figures showed that in large areas of those States, school students were segregated by races as much, and in many instances more, than in the South. As an illustration, Chicago alone has 104 schools in which 100 percent of the students are Negro, and over a hundred more schools that are 95 to 99 percent Negro. Many such illustrations were found in other States like New Jersey, Indiana, Ohio, and New York. I made 10 Senate speeches exposing this double standard which showed there is no policy of application, that the enforcement is confined to the South with no real effort to enforce integration outside the South. These exposures of the double standard and double talk on school integration helped get votes in the Senate for Congressman WHITTEN's amendment—on which he worked long and hard in the House and I did in the Senate. This amendment would have given a measure of freedom of choice so far as the money in the HEW appropriations bill was concerned, and would have been helpful in other ways. I was able to get this amendment passed by the Senate Subcommittee of Appropriations by a vote of 10 to 1, and by the full Senate committee by a vote of 13 to 8. On the Senate floor we got 38 votes on a recorded rollcall vote. This was not enough votes to hold the amendment intact and later the amendment failed in the House on a recorded rollcall vote which was close. However, this left us

powerless to follow up in the conference committee.

These substantial votes in the House and in the Senate are encouragement to continue the fight. That was about twice as many recorded votes in the Senate as we had been able to muster on a school integration question in many years. The facts and argument brought out in both the House and the Senate helped our cause, I am sure greatly.

I shall keep pressing vigorously for a change of the policy as to us, or an application of the same rule in the North and the East. I believe this pressure will finally bring results. They are not willing to take a dose of their own medicine so I believe they can be forced to yield to a modified form of freedom of choice, which is of course fairer and is desired by the parents of all children, white and colored.

I pitched my fight on the grounds that I was trying to save the community school, the neighborhood public school. This strikes a responsive chord with parents, north, south, east, and west.

I believe in the public school system and know it must be preserved to care for the needs of a great majority of the children. Private schools have a legitimate place but cannot take care of the children of all families.

During 1969, and before, I made several speeches in Mississippi to statewide audiences strongly advocating the retention of our public school system. I shall vigorously renew this school battle in Washington at every chance where my judgment dictates that we can help our position. Our schools are being used, wrongfully, not for education but as instruments of social change. This is a fundamental error and I believe a remedy can be found.

FORESTRY

In view of the fiscal restraints in effect this year, I was pleased that funds for the Forestry Service in Mississippi were appropriated at a level slightly greater than in the previous year, about \$9,100,000. As a member of the Interior Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, which passes on these funds, I submitted and supported an amendment to provide additional money in the general forestry assistance program, because of Hurricane Camille. The problem of salvage of downed timber was a very serious one, and I am glad to say that an additional \$200,000 was obtained for Mississippi for this purpose.

In areas where timber has been blown down, there is a significant increased danger of serious forest fires, during the period November to April. With this in mind I joined with State representatives in initiating contingency planning for action by elements of the Gulfport Seabee Center, in the event of such fires. I pray that the season of maximum danger from such fires can be passed without any great fires, but there is no doubt that the danger was greatly increased by the effects of the hurricane.

Also, I have continued my interest in and support for our National Forest Service, including long range research and cooperative effort with State forestry

commissions and State university schools of forestry.

FEES FOR USE OF RESERVOIRS

A bill was considered by the Senate which would have applied a fee system, called the golden eagle program, to Corps of Engineers reservoirs in Mississippi. I supported an amendment that retained the present policies in this respect. That is, no fees can be charged for the use of these waters, nor can fees be charged at federally operated picnic areas, launching ramps, or similar facilities.

Federal reservoirs are constructed with taxpayers' money, and I do not think it proper that taxpayers should be required to pay an entrance fee to have access to these waters for purposes of fishing.

FLOOD INSURANCE

One of the most difficult problems in rebuilding in the area devastated by Hurricane Camille results from the fact that it is practically impossible to obtain flood insurance. This applies to river valleys, as well as hurricane induced flooding along the coast, and it is true countrywide, as well as in Mississippi.

The National Flood Insurance Control Act of 1968 provided a means whereby communities could obtain flood insurance, but this required that flood plain studies be made first. This is a very time-consuming process, and so far there are only four communities in the United States that actually have flood insurance.

I have had discussions with the Federal Insurance Administrator, of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It has been developed that an amendment to the HUD authorization bill which was offered in the House may provide a means by which a federally sponsored flood insurance program could become available. The amendment provides authority to the Secretary, HUD, to implement the authority of the 1968 act for 2 years on an emergency basis, without waiting for flood plain studies to be made. With this authority the Federal Government could then underwrite a program of commercial companies to offer insurance at a reasonable premium.

I worked actively for the adoption by the Senate of this House provision, and am pleased to say that it has been approved by the Senate this month. I am very hopeful that this will help the people of Mississippi in solving one of the very serious problems in rebuilding our gulf coast.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

Under the Water Quality Act of 1965, and the Water Pollution Control Act of 1966, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration assists States and municipalities in improving the quality of water in rivers and lakes. In doing so this agency is authorized to make grants for planning, training, and research in connection with water quality control. Grants for construction of waste treatment works are also authorized, usually in the amount of 30 percent of the total cost.

The funds for this program are established in the Appropriations Committee by the Public Works Subcommittee, of

which I am a member. In recent years these funds have been very substantial in amount, as it becomes apparent that pollution of the Nation's water is one of the most serious problems facing us today.

We are fortunate that in Mississippi we have, in most areas, abundant water. Further, in comparison with the vast metropolitan and highly industrialized areas of the country, our water is of relatively high quality. This is a condition that could deteriorate rapidly, however, if care is not taken to construct treatment plants at a rate that will take care of population growth and industrial development.

In Mississippi, during calendar year 1969, I am glad to say, Federal funds have been provided by the Water Pollution Control Administration to finance 30 percent of the costs of 24 waste treatment installations, in 23 different countries. The total cost of all of these installations is \$7,662,340. This is a substantial investment by Mississippians in clean water, and also a sizable contribution by the Federal Government.

I know that this relatively new Federal program is going to continue to grow in Mississippi, and I will try to see that it is adequately funded. We must maintain the quality of our water if we are to retain our desirable natural environment, including some of the finest fishing in the United States, and at the same time provide clean and healthy water for our children and to attract commerce and industry into our State.

HIGHWAYS

In addition to the work on the highway program accomplished in my capacity as chairman of the Transportation Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, I have been engaged in special efforts related to Hurricane Camille.

A key factor in the rebuilding in the Camille area, and in economic recovery and growth, will be the completion of Interstate 10 and its connecting routes. Highway 90 must be rebuilt, and work is underway. However, I-10 will be the backbone of the transportation system, and a basic element of the long range regional plan.

The previously established time frame for work on I-10 will be too slow for our post-Camille purposes. Accordingly, I have urged the Federal Highway Administration to accelerate the schedule of I-10. I am glad to say that I have been able to obtain for the State Highway Commission authority for increased advance obligations. Presently I am engaged in an effort to have the Biloxi access highway to I-10 incorporated into the interstate system. This also would serve to expedite the attainment of a fine network of top quality modern highways in the gulf coast area.

PREPAREDNESS

I continued to serve as chairman of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services during 1969 because I foresaw the desirability of utilizing the subcommittee staff and its resources in support of the full committee's consideration of and action upon the fiscal year 1970 military authorization bill. Members of the subcom-

mittee staff gave general support in the authorization hearings, during the debate on the bill on the Senate floor, and during its consideration in the conference with the House of Representatives when the differences between the Senate and House versions were ironed out.

In addition, arrangements were made for the assignment, on a reimbursable basis, of two competent men from the General Accounting Office to assist in our effort to exercise and maintain surveillance over the larger and more important defense programs authorized by the Congress and oversight of the manner and method by which funds authorized and appropriated for defense purposes are obligated and expended. As a part of this, shortly after I became chairman of the full committee in January I established a reporting system under which the Department of Defense is required to furnish quarterly reports indicating any significant changes in cost estimates production schedules, performance characteristics, and other significant items connected with major defense programs and contractual obligations with respect to them.

This is a valuable system and a valuable program. It enables us to keep both the Committee on Armed Services and the Congress as a whole informed of the progress of these major defense programs and to identify cost overruns, degradation of performance characteristics, and slippages in production schedules at an early date. It is very important that an arm of the Congress maintain such a surveillance on a permanent and systematic basis, and this will be continued in 1970. I shall pursue with vigor my concept that the bone and muscle of our military program must be preserved but all the fat taken out. I propose to hold the military to a high degree of accountability in the spending of the taxpayers' dollars. We must have the most modern weapons, and they are expensive, but this shall never be used as a license for useless spending.

CONCLUSION

I have summarized briefly some of the more important matters with which I have been dealing during this past year. There are many other legislative matters which I have not singled out for discussion, but which demand and are entitled to attention. My committee assignments take time and hard work, but they are rewarding in that they permit me to accomplish more for Mississippi and the Nation. I chair a major committee, Armed Services, and the Preparedness Subcommittee. I serve on the Aeronautics and Space Committee. As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I serve on seven subcommittees, and as chairman of one, dealing with a wide spectrum of the interests and well-being of our people. This enables me to make a direct and substantial input at the early stages of many actions important to Mississippi.

The year 1969 has been my most active and perhaps the most productive year in the Senate. The work has been demanding and exacting, but never too severe. It is a privilege to be a Member of the U.S. Senate, especially representing the

people of Mississippi, who expect you to use your own judgment but are demanding in expecting your utmost effort. This is as it should be.

I expect a heavy work year indeed in 1970, but look forward to the challenges and opportunities that go with our times. Further, I seek the counsel and continued interest and inspiration of the people of Mississippi.

JIM FARLEY

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, an old friend made his appearance in the columns of the Washington Post on December 20, 1969, when Jim Farley was interviewed in a column by Michael Kernan. It was a pleasure to hear from Mr. Farley again and to realize that he is hale and active and in full possession of his formidable array of talents. As usual his statements made sense and this achievement is in itself somewhat unusual among public figures today.

I am happy to place the Kernan article in the RECORD as a tribute to an old friend and a great citizen of our country whose patriotism and devotion to its fundamental ideals have been proven over the years.

The article referred to follows:

F. D. R.'s MAN

(By Michael Kernan)

"May I say very, very modestly that if Roosevelt hadn't run in '40, I would have been elected President?"

Jim Farley leaned back in his big leather chair and spelled it out on his fingers: a formula long since become as familiar to him as his name.

"I was the best known cabinet member," he said. "The Gallup polls showed Hull topping Roosevelt, and even if I'd run with Hull I could have succeeded him. I was in control of that third-term convention. I was running it. If Roosevelt had stayed out—there's no doubt about it. But if I had been elected I wouldn't be here talking to you, either."

James Aloysius Farley, the great political tactician of the Roosevelt era, the former postmaster general and National Democratic party chairman the man who called the shot on the amazing 1936 election, is 81 years old now, and possibly he would be a little disappointed if not surprised at how many people are around today who don't know who he is.

But for anyone who remembers the Roosevelt years, the name conjures up an image of the prototype politician, the big genial Irishman with a bit of a stomach, heavy jowls and a Roman senator's laurel wreath of white hair, the man who never forgot a name or a face, who could steer a convention, nudge a Congressional committee, cajole a candidate; the master of possibilities who made the art of the possible really look like an art.

And for anyone who had met him in those days, even after Roosevelt brushed aside Secretary of State Cordell Hull to run for a third term, and after this politician's politician had quit to become chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., Jim Farley was much more man than his newspaper photos showed.

For one thing, he was tall: nearly 6 feet 3. What had appeared to be stomach turned out to be simply the solidity of a big man. The cigar one half-expected wasn't there; Farley never smoked or drank. And the voice was clear and strong and big.

Today, still working hard for Coca-Cola (he would have attended 60 banquets this year had he not been slowed down by a prostate operation), he keeps trim and hale, his voice is as vigorous as ever and his replies incisive as he answers the constantly ringing phone, and the tight-skinned oval of the famous face has been agreeably softened by wrinkles.

Farley has called his nomination for the Democratic candidacy for President in 1940 the high point of his life, the moment when his opposition to the idea of a third term overrode his decades of faultless (enemies called it doglike) loyalty to "the Boss." He rose above the possible, though at the time it must have seemed possible enough considering Roosevelt's assurances that he wouldn't run.

A drive for acclamation by the FDR inner circle under Harry Hopkins and James Byrnes (who coincidentally occupied Suite 308-9 in Chicago's Blackstone Hotel, the original "smoke-filled room") left Farley high and dry. Even Ambassador Joseph Kennedy was phoned in London and pressured to get his son Joseph Jr., a delegate, to switch, but the elder Kennedy stayed out of it. Farley recalls in his memoirs his emotion as he heard "that resolute young voice calling 'James A. Farley' when the Massachusetts delegation was polled."

A connoisseur of the averages and never a romantic believer in long shots, Farley moved for unanimous nomination of Roosevelt after the overwhelming first ballot. Characteristically, he was surprised when Wendell Willkie took the GOP nomination from the party regulars, and much later, in 1967, he predicted confidently, that Lyndon Johnson would run and win in 1968.

There are no surprises in Farley's Madison Avenue office: photos of the seven Presidents he had known, large pictures of Roosevelt and Churchill, portraits of three Popes and Cardinal Spellman, crowded formal scenes of banquets and cabinet meetings and the 80th birthday party at the Biltmore, two busts and a painting of himself in his prime, a samurai sword, a model ricksha under glass, plaques and citations and, in the corner, a magnificent old console radio with shoulders.

"The techniques are changing, of course," he said. "TV is the big thing. A candidate used to be able to get on the train in Albany and make a speech, go to Syracuse and make the same speech and do it again in Buffalo. Every stop, he could bring on the local candidates and be seen with them.

"Today, they all hear the speech on the news, and you have to have a different one for each place. The panel shows are hard, too. You can tell by a man's expression if he's lying; he just can't hide it."

But even if television has become an election factor ("that debate cost Nixon the '60 election, no doubt about it") and the airport speech has replaced the whistle-stopper, he believes certain fundamentals will never change.

"You've got to make every effort to get your voters registered," he said, "and keep them apprised during the campaign, and then get 'em to the polls. They're no use unless they vote."

Remembering names is of course a standard device though Farley admitted that his own legend gives him trouble sometimes. People challenge him—"Bet you don't know who I am!"—and he is expected to recall a handshake 30 years ago. He still can link up more names and faces than half the hostesses in Washington put together.

There also is the matter of closing ranks

after the nomination. "In '32 Roosevelt had his enemies around him: Hague and Reed and McAdoo, who came over at the convention. Reed said, 'I don't like the s.o.b., but I'm going along.'"

The 1968 McCarthy rebellion and the youth rebellion that fueled it baffled Farley. "I just don't understand the attitude of the youth today," said this product of a strong Catholic home where the Rosary was recited daily. "You have to have discipline in the home. My own grandchildren—thank God, their parents are doing a good job with them."

There are 10 grandchildren, parceled out among his three children, Betty, Ann and James Jr. Farley's wife Elizabeth died in 1955. He still lives in the apartment at the Waldorf that he has occupied since 1943, shortly after leaving Washington and the political scene.

Though he visits Washington several times a year, most recently for the Boys Club of America dinner and soon probably for the Gridiron dinner—the banquet, like the diplomatic cocktail party, being another venerable method of politicking—his ties as always have been strongest in New York State. Born in Grassy Point, on the lower Hudson, he discovered the hall-fellow male world of local politics in his teens (his father had been killed by a horse when James was 9), and at 20 he was named a Democratic committeeman of nearby Stony Point.

"They elected me chairman of the town committee because the other members weren't speaking to each other," he chuckled. "Two years later I was elected town clerk, the first Catholic to hold the job."

Rising steadily, he entered bigtime politics, as he put it, in 1918 as Democratic chairman of Rockland County, hitched his star to Al Smith's wagon and four years later was elected to the State Assembly, the second Catholic ever named to that group, at a salary of \$1,500.

As a devoted party stalwart he encountered Franklin Roosevelt early in the game, even though FDR had something of a reputation as a rebel, having tried to buck the party's choice, James Gerard, for the State Senate in 1914. ("My vote went to Gerard because I was an organization man and strongly opposed to party rebels.")

To give an idea of Farley's value to his party as an organizer, Roosevelt's margin in winning his first term as New York governor was 25,564 votes; on his re-election in 1930 two years later, with Farley as state chairman, the plurality was 725,001. It was a key factor in the march to the Presidency.

It is easier for Farley to talk about the Roosevelt years than about the violent, kaleidoscopic politics of today. Even Washington—where he used to do his thinking on long nocturnal walks by the Reflecting Pool, sometimes with a friend like Joe Tumulty and sometimes alone, his stride short and quick—is a different city to him. At the 1956 convention his right eye was damaged by a flying placard.

"I don't feel 81," he said. "I go to the Biltmore Turkish bath twice a week. I watch my weight. I eat very little at those banquets, just the meat, maybe, but I always eat the ice cream. I walk to the office when I can."

PAY-TV AND THE THEATER INDUSTRY

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, at the present time, there is much controversy over subscription television, known as

pay-TV. For many months an ardent campaign has been waged by such interests as the National Association of Theater Owners—N.A.T.O.—to convince the public that the advent of pay-TV is prejudicial to a basic right, that of unrestricted access to the airwaves, and would deprive large segments of the American people, particularly those in the lower income brackets, of quality television programming. Unless the Supreme Court reverses a decision by the U.S. circuit court of appeals, subscription television will become a fully legal development of commercial television broadcasting.

It is significant that not every theater owner believes pay-TV will put movie theaters out of business. Barry B. Yellen, president of Cinecom Corp., which owns 78 theaters and plans further theater acquisitions, is philosophical about the advent of pay-TV and has some interesting advice for his colleagues. In a speech delivered to the Indiana chapter of N.A.T.O., December 1, 1969, Mr. Yellen, who at 36 has built a \$20 million corporation—including interests in education and communications, as well as entertainment—made the following remarks, which I ask unanimous consent be printed in the RECORD.

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

SPEECH BY BARRY B. YELLEN, BEFORE INDIANA CHAPTER OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THEATRE OWNERS, DECEMBER 2, 1969

As we approach 1970 and a new decade, we had all better fasten our seat belts because we don't know how rough the landing will be. Also, some think we'd better not look back because—as Satchel Paige said—"something might be gaining on us." Although I am a distributor as well as an exhibitor, I am not going to suggest that that something is allowing a distributor to participate in our concession income.

Most of you are already convinced that that "something" is the big ogre on the little screen . . . pay-TV. After a campaign extending over two decades, and a great deal of money spent to block the Federal Communications Commission's jurisdiction to authorize subscription TV licensing, it would appear at the moment that the National Association of Theatre owners and some of its allies may be losing its fight. The decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia to uphold that authority was a severe blow to many NATO members. The decision, of course, might be reversed when the appeal reaches the Supreme Court. But that is something that lies in the hands of eight good men and true.

That is also something that no amount of funds, marquee signs, huddles, campaigns, tactical maneuvers or anti-pay-TV publicity is likely to affect.

The question I'd like to raise today is—just what effect this whole campaign is having against pay-TV?

Is it a fight we can win? Win or lose, is it worthwhile?

I do not suggest that one should never fight unless one can win. Sometimes an individual or a group has to fight as a matter of honor and principle. But I don't think the questions of honor or principle are involved here. The agonizing wringing of hands and the fears and panic that are evident in many sectors of our industry are engendered by what happens to our pocketbooks; not our honor or principle.

It is a situation with plenty of precedent. Through the years our incomes and our busi-

ness have been threatened frequently, some might say almost continuously.

Back in the days of the Great Depression, everybody thought all movie theatres were going to die of malnutrition. What died instead were the forecasts. The theatres prospered in the depression.

And as if a depression and a world war wasn't enough to plow the exhibitors under, along came that little idiot box. I think I remember signs on New York subway walls, "Help Stamp Out TV." But of course, we didn't and couldn't. And that hurt for a while, but the healthy parts of our industry weathered the storm.

The tiny screen proliferated. And pretty soon still another menace appeared to add to our fears: color TV. Suddenly everybody was rushing to buy color sets so they could see their favorite puppets in full, natural colors, like orange, green and purple. Just as with TV shows in the old days, it didn't matter how awful the thing was—it was new and, in this case, colorful.

Well, color TV came right on, even "improving to the point where not all the faces were green or fuchsia. But, to the surprise of many doomsayers, when the public looked up from the boob tube, most theatres were still going strong at the same old stands and there were even a number of new ones.

And now, like a double Frankenstein-Dracula bill, we have the so-called pay-TV menace, sending shudders and terrified shrieks throughout the industry.

The unknown is always frightening, to civilized people as well as primitives. Let's disregard Satchel Paige's warning and look back over our shoulder to see if something is gaining on us and if it is, what then?

First of all, is pay-TV really coming? I'm quite convinced that it is. I doubt that it will burst upon us in full bloom as pay-TV. Rather, it will gradually sneak up on us in some other form—such as cablevision. Cable TV is now including live program material, notably sporting events, and they also intend to originate their own programs.

So pay-TV is gaining on us.

Next, can it hurt us? Maybe. Will it kill us? My answer is definitely "no".

I say maybe it will hurt us simply because I do not want to be dogmatic, but hurting is a matter of degree—from a pin prick to an amputation. I look for the pain meter to register definitely on the pin-prick side, and I'll explain why. Pay-TV is not seriously competitive unless it runs a full program of films and of the 833 CATV systems now originating programs only 11 are originating motion pictures. I do not believe first run films will be an important part of pay-TV or CATV.

Free TV today is not giving us any competition with first run pictures, or even second run or third run. There is more reason for this than meets the eye. The fact is TV needs for its motion pictures the kind of promotion, publicity and excitement the theatres have already given these motion pictures. They need it to attract their audiences and keep up their ratings. They're better off leaving the first runs to the theatres and they know it. The situation is analogous to the paperback book publishers and the hard cover publishers. The paperbacks sell huge quantities but they must first depend on the interest and advertising generated by the hard cover, or first run, publishers. I don't see where that situation would be altered in the least by pay-TV. They need the theatres! They too will do better with pictures the theatres have already exhibited. If they don't know that, they'll soon find out the hard way.

Furthermore, it's inconceivable to imagine either free TV or pay-TV competing with us for the sophisticated films that today's adults want to see. Pay-TV, like free TV, is going to have to stick pretty close to the "G" classification, suitable for the en-

tire family, and I think the FCC and Congress will make sure of it. "Heidi" to the new generation can't really compete with "The Graduate" or "The Fox" or "Last Summer."

I firmly believe and the U.S. Supreme Court has stated that adult or "X" rated films make a definite contribution to a newly matured generation and a newly adjusted society that is neither shocked nor alarmed by a frank treatment of sex, a subject that largely governs the lives of all of us. Which is not to imply that I convinced the Supreme Court or they convinced me. I happen to be part of the generation that is reshaping and expanding a great many attitudes, including the Supreme Court's.

Theatres, and only theatres, can show the today trend in films. In certain sections of the country, this sometimes takes guts, but it's the guts we need in the face of pay-TV, not fear.

We have been running scared and the public is beginning to sense it. People are beginning to think that if we're this insecure, it must be because we're promoting a product that is inferior to what pay-TV can offer.

The NATO campaign against pay-TV has taken a high moral tone, championing the American people's right to free broadcasts. "Pay-TV breaks faith with the American people. The FCC fails to protect the public." These are the banner lines the anti pay-TV campaign has flaunted.

Whom do we think we're kidding? Does anybody educated enough to sign his name to a petition without making an "X" believe that we're so wrought up about anybody's rights to free television? They know what we're afraid of and you and I know, although I don't know why. I just can't believe pay-TV is that fearsome, even though I think it's inevitable. When it comes, we theatre owners ought not to be in the position of the scared rabbit, or the poor loser fighting "progress." It's bad merchandising and bad for our own morale.

I trust that I'm not pushing any new panic button when I tell you that there's a little device scheduled to go on the market next year that can give theatres additional competition. It's called EVR for electronic videotape recording. It's an electronic playback machine on which is placed a cartridge containing 780 feet of miniaturized film. All you do is attach a single wire to the antenna terminals of any TV set, push a button and see on the TV screen whatever films you can rent from CBS, which announced the device.

RCA has a similar playback—and—cartridge device called selectavision and definitely plans to go after the home entertainment market in 1972.

That sounds pretty awful, doesn't it? Yet, if you rule out sabotage, I don't know of a damned thing you can do about it. You can't legislate it away, you can't regulate it away, and you can't public relations it away!

So what do we do? Run for the bomb shelters?

I don't know what you're going to do, but I know what my company is going to do. We're going to buy more theatres.

Most owners acquired their theatres before any of these electronic demons started haunting the lobbies and the inner offices. But that's not the case with us. We acquired our theatres with our eyes wide open, fully aware of the bogey man with the 17-, 21- or 25-inch glass eye.

At the beginning of this year, my company, Cinecom Corporation, didn't own a single theatre. Today, we have seventy-seven, acquired singly or in chains and will be opening 3 more in December in various parts of the country. By the end of 1970 we expect to have 200 theatres. By April, we plan to be opening at least three theatres per month in shopping centers. Cinecom is a diversified company with interests in the fields of educa-

tion, communications and entertainment, yet our biggest investment today is in theatres—motion picture theatres—and we want, and plan to get, more!

When we were first considering theatre ownership on a large scale, one of our executives came to me with warnings about pay-TV and some early reports about the film attachments for TV sets. He urged us to reconsider going into the theatre business. We reconsidered all right, then we went on buying up theatres.

Why? Because you can't apply the same standards of behavior evaluation to the public of the seventies that you could to the public of the fifties or anything before or even after in the early sixties. This is a restless generation, dominated by young people, and unwilling to stay home glued to the boob tube, even if it becomes a boon tube. They want to get out, they are gregarious, especially on weekends.

We're going to have the most convenient and most entertaining places for them to go. We are making our theatres as un-homelike as possible.

We are making them as attractive and comfortable as possible, places where people will want to gather; the "in" place to be; where the crowd goes; where the fun is. We provide convenient parking and many other conveniences. And we will show our crowds the films only theatres can show. Whether first run or revivals, they will be theatre, not TV shows. They will be promoted as only theatre shows can be, presented in color that people can enjoy and on screens where audiences can read that vital-to-the-plot letter John leaves for Mary, every word of it, instead of straining their eyes wondering what it says. Films meant for a wide screen will be shown on a wide screen and films meant for adult audiences will be available to adults uncut at any time they want to see them, without having to wait until the kiddies are in bed.

We've come a long way from the Hayes Office and dish night. We're entering the 1970's, a decade we can make pretty much what we want it to be.

If that means closer cooperation with film makers and distributors, well and good. If it means more local theatrical promotion, that's to our advantage because TV films can't be promoted theatrically as ours can. If it means taking a long range view, we should. Cinecom is signing long term leases with shopping centers. Even if it means eventually getting involved in cable TV—who knows? We might wake up and find that it's all part of the same business after all. I'll tell you, I have no prejudices against TV. And if Cinecom sees a good opportunity, we'll be in that too.

Before I conclude, let me tell you one story if only to relieve the seriousness of my talk thus far. It's a story that was told around Hollywood about the great Cecil B. deMille after his death.

They said he went right up to heaven in the most splendiferous chariot he could find in the Paramount warehouse. But he was kept cooling his heels outside the Pearly Gates and was becoming more and more impatient. He'd been so used to passing through into the Paramount lot while absorbed in a script or something that he didn't like it a bit, being kept waiting—finally, St. Peter appeared and said, "Come this way, Mr. deMille."

He followed in bad grace, grumbling, and again was left waiting, this time in an outer office on a marble bench. As he waited, Mr. deMille got madder and madder. Finally, a great brass door creaked open and an angel with huge wings waved him in. He got up and walked into the room inside, which turned out to be a replica of his own office on Earth—a tremendous room with a long carpet and a presence at the end on a dais behind a vast desk and with a light shining all around him.

As he moved forward toward the dais, a vast voice thundered: "you wanted to see me?"

Mr. De Mille walked fearlessly up the long red carpet toward the dais, looking the presence straight in the eye and said,

"Listen—I made you—and I can break you!"

(Pause.)

As the seventies approach, we find ourselves in a diametrically different situation than the apocryphal position of Mr. De Mille. TV isn't very Godlike in the first place. We didn't make TV, and we can't break it, although, like De Mille, we may not all know it yet. We have to realize and appreciate that anyone who stands in the way of progress gets run over. Progress has a divine right of way.

The trick is to keep ahead of it. Motion picture theatres can do that. I'd bet on it. I already have.

SUMMARY OF PUBLIC WORKS LEGISLATION IN FIRST SESSION OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following summary of public works legislation and various actions taken by the Committee on Public Works during the first session of the 91st Congress.

GENERAL STATEMENT

May I first express my appreciation for the efforts of the committee during a long and difficult session. Particularly, I want to say that the majority and the minority have been helpful in the operations of the committee and in consideration of the legislation the committee handled this first session of the 91st Congress.

The committee had 272 bills referred to it during the first session. These dealt with a multitude of subjects covering many fields including river basin monetary authorizations; the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969, revising and extending the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and amending the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; the California Disaster Relief Act of 1965 which later became the nationwide Disaster Relief Act of 1969; additional funding for the John F. Kennedy Center; limiting the use of publicly owned or controlled property in the District of Columbia and requiring posting of a bond for the use of such property; provide the municipal use of storage water for Benbrook Dam, Tex.; the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1969; that design and construction of facilities constructed under Federal law be accessible to the physically handicapped; authorize adequate force for the protection of the Executive Mansion and foreign embassies; provide better facilities for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws; and amending Public Law 89-260 to authorize additional funds for the Library of Congress James Madison Memorial Building.

The committee adopted 42 navigation,

flood control and beach erosion resolutions proposed by individual Members of Congress which require only committee action. The civil works resolutions authorized review survey studies by the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, that will ultimately result in the submission of project reports to Congress if the projects are found feasible and are approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers.

The committee adopted 32 watershed resolutions, approved pursuant to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act—Public Law 566, 83d Congress, as amended—which requires major watershed projects having not more than 12,500 acre-feet of flood control capacity to be approved by the Committee on Public Works.

The committee approved 31 construction projects, eight lease projects, and four alteration projects, making a total of 43 projects approved under the Public Buildings Act of 1959.

In addition, subcommittees made three special inspection trips to investigate flood, storm and oil pollution damage in California; tornado and flood damage in northern Ohio; and Hurricane Camille damages in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Subcommittees also held hearings in Texas on the Sabine River Basin; in Oklahoma and Arkansas on projects in the Arkansas River Basin; in Montana and Alaska on water resource projects in those States and on the proposed future development and use of the Alaska highway; inspected the Savannah River Basin and held hearings on its future development, as well as conducting a survey of the Tennessee Valley Authority installations in northern Alabama and Tennessee.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

The Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway program during the 91st Congress, first session, continued to monitor the practices, policies, and procedures involved in the administration of the highway program. Special attention was directed to those areas which previous inquiries and hearings identified as containing deficiencies and weaknesses. Corrective measures have been taken by the responsible Federal agencies and individual States, but the need for continuous oversight is apparent.

Concerned with the tragic accident toll that continues to mount on the Nation's highways each year, the subcommittee also carried forward its broad inquiry into the subject of highway safety, design, and operations. Opening phases of this study had analyzed roadside hazards and freeway signing and resulted in significant changes in design and construction practices.

Hearings, commenced in 1969, opened the third phase of the overall safety study, the nationwide lack of uniformity of traffic control devices, signs, signals, and markings and their effectiveness. Highway users must depend upon such devices for information, warning and guidance to such an extent that uniform, high quality devices are necessary to the

productive use and public acceptance of any highway regardless of its excellence in design. Consequently, the subcommittee considers this a subject of extreme importance and is pursuing the matter.

Attention has also been devoted to the subject of wet weather performance which includes the vitally important relationship between pavement surfaces and the steady growth of highway casualty statistics. During 1968, 14.6 million highway crashes in this country killed 55,200 Americans, while some 2 million others suffered disabling injuries, an intolerable new high. Of the fatal accidents, 16.3 percent or 7,628, occurred when the road was wet. Beyond that, wet-road accidents injured some 402,000 persons. These facts and figures, representing what appears to be a wholly disproportionate segment of the whole accident record, clearly merit special and expeditious attention in the judgment of the subcommittee. Preliminary study has already indicated that real improvement can be had in this critical area.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The Special Subcommittee on Economic Development Programs during the 91st Congress, first session, was directed to begin a full-scale in-depth study of the economic programs that have been enacted into law through legislation developed by the full Committee in recent years. These programs include such acts as the Public Works Acceleration Act, the Area Redevelopment Act, the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 including the Regional Commissions that have been established under title V of this act.

As an initial step in undertaking such a comprehensive study, the subcommittee decided it would be helpful to hear from those individuals directly in charge of administering these programs. Testimony was received from the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Development, the Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Commission, and the Federal Cochairmen of the Regional Commissions established under title V of the Economic Development Act.

These witnesses supplied the subcommittee with the studies and findings on the effectiveness of the programs that they have made as well as their own judgment and evaluation of the effectiveness of the programs under their jurisdiction. The committee was also advised of the problems that have been encountered by the administrators in attempting to evaluate the programs and received suggestions and recommendations as to how the subcommittee could most effectively discharge its own responsibility in carrying out its study.

Subsequent to these hearings, a random selection of completed projects was made from some of these programs to be evaluated through an in-depth examination by the subcommittee. The evaluation of some of these projects have now been completed; however, it will be some time before the subcommittee's task is finished.

In addition to these activities, the subcommittee made an inspection of the newly completed tourism facilities of the pipestem addition of Bluestone State Park located near Hinton, W. Va. These projects were funded with the assistance of the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Economic Development Administration. The subcommittee met with the businessmen and officials of Hinton, W. Va., to discuss the effect that these projects have had in increasing the economic growth of this community.

The subcommittee expects to continue the evaluation of these projects, as well as look into problem areas to the effective administration of these programs during the next session.

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS ENACTED INTO LAW TO AUTHORIZE FUNDS TO CARRY OUT THE PURPOSES OF THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965, AS AMENDED, AND TITLES I, III, IV, AND V OF THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965, AS AMENDED

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TITLE I, THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1969—PUBLIC LAW 91-123

Section 101: Short title, citing title I as the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1969.

Section 102: Administrative expenses of the Commission. Amends section 105 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965—hereinafter referred to as "the act"—to authorize the appropriation of \$1,900,000 to the Commission for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1971, including \$475,000 for expenses of the Federal Cochairman, his alternate, and his staff. Commission administrative expenses are shared equally by the Federal Government and the States. The expenses of the Federal Cochairman, his alternate, and his staff are borne solely by the Federal Government.

Section 103: Appalachian highway program. Amends section 201 of the act as follows:

First, authorizes the appropriation to the President of \$175,000,000 for each of fiscal years, 1970, 1971, and 1972, and \$170,000,000 for fiscal year 1973. This represents a 2-year extension of the highway program and an increase of \$150,000,000 in the authorization, bringing the total authorization for the program to \$1,165,000,000; and

Second, makes provisions in sections 106(a) and 118 of title 23, United States Code, relating to the obligation, period of availability, and expenditure of Federal-aid highway funds applicable to the Appalachian development highway and local access road programs. This amendment makes clear that Appalachian highway funds allocated to the States by the Commission can be obligated in advance of appropriations in a manner similar to the regular Federal-aid highway programs.

Section 104: Demonstration health projects. Amends section 202 of the act as follows:

First, adds a specific reference to nutrition and child care projects to emphasize the need for increased attention to these elements of comprehensive health care;

Second, increases, from 50 percent to 75 percent, the Federal percentage payable in operating grants for demonstration health projects in the third, fourth, and fifth years of project operation;

Third, makes clear that grants for operating expenses may be made entirely from section 202 funds or in combination with grants from other programs assisting in the operation of health-related facilities or the provision of health services to the maximum percentage authorized by section 202; and

Fourth, adds language providing for emphasis to programs and research for the early detection, diagnosis, and treatment of "black lung" and other occupational diseases arising from coal mining.

Section 105: Mining area restoration. Amends section 205 of the act to make clear that the Secretary of the Interior may make grants to the States for planning and executing mine fire projects. Previously, the law had been interpreted as requiring Federal contracting and supervision on all such projects.

The existing maximum 75-25 Federal-State matching ratio for mining area restoration projects is continued for fiscal years 1970 and 1971.

Section 106: Assistance for planning and other preliminary expenses of proposed housing projects under sections 221 and 236 of the National Housing Act. Amends section 207 of the act to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide, directly or through contract with private or public organizations, including the Commission, technical assistance to encourage the establishment of nonprofit and limited dividend groups, including State housing corporations, and to stimulate the construction, rehabilitation, and operation of housing for low and moderate income families in the region. Previously, the law had been interpreted to permit the use of section 207 funds only in connection with specifically identifiable housing projects.

Section 107: Supplemental grants. Amends section 214 as follows:

First, makes Federal grant-in-aid programs authorized on or before December 31, 1970, which assist in land acquisition or the construction or equipment of facilities, eligible for supplemental grants. The previous cutoff date was December 31, 1967; and

Second, permits supplemental grants for sewage treatment projects constructed, in advance of appropriations, under section 8(c) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

Section 108: Local development districts and demonstrations and training. Amends section 302 of the act to eliminate the 3-year limitation on financial assistance for administrative expenses of multicounty organizations certified as local development districts. The 3-year limitation is retained for State agencies certified as local development districts.

Section 109: Authorizations. Amends section 401 of the act to authorize \$268,500,000 for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1971, to carry out non-highway programs under the act, as follows:

Sec. 202: Demonstration health projects.....	\$90,000,000
Sec. 203: Land stabilization, conservation, and erosion control.....	15,000,000
Sec. 205: Mining area restoration.....	15,000,000
Sec. 207: Housing assistance.....	3,000,000
Sec. 211: Vocational education.....	50,000,000
Sec. 214: Supplemental grants.....	82,500,000
Sec. 302: Administrative expenses of local development districts and research....	13,000,000

Section 110: Upper New York study. Amends section 403 by adding a new provision authorizing a study by the President to determine which, if any, portions of upper New York State should be added to the Appalachian region or the New England region, established under title V of the Economic Development Act of 1965. Study results and recommendations are to be made to Congress no later than June 30, 1970.

Section 111: Amends section 405 of the act to conform to the amendment in section 201 continuing the Appalachian highway program beyond July 1, 1971.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TITLE II, AMENDMENTS TO TITLE V OF THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965, OF PUBLIC LAW 91-123

Section 201: Short title, citing title II as the Regional Planning Commission Amendments of 1969.

Section 202: Regional boundaries. Amends section 501 of Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965—hereinafter referred to as "the act"—to provide that the Secretary of Commerce, upon request of the Public Works Committee of either House of Representatives or the Senate, will study the advisability of changing the geographic area of any economic development region established under such section.

Section 203: Regional, technical, and planning assistance; and administrative expenses of commissions. Amends section 505 of the act as follows:

First, confirms that regional action planning commissions' administrative expenses after the first 2 years of operations will be shared 50-50 by the Federal Government and the States, except that the Federal Government will continue to pay the full cost of the administrative expenses of the Federal Cochairmen and their staffs.

Second, expands the authority for technical and planning assistance under section 505 of the act to permit broader use of funds for planning, studies, investigations, training programs, and demonstration projects—including high-speed ground transportation and marine research activities, and so forth—as follows:

Commissions are given independent authority in subsection 505(a)(2) to engage in activities which will further the purposes of the act, after programs are approved by the Secretary of Commerce. These activities are to be carried out through the Federal departments or agencies or by contract with private individuals or institutions, or through grants-in-aid to State or local government agencies. Demonstration projects and training programs, to the maximum extent possible, are to be carried out through public agencies or institutions.

The Secretary has separate authority under subsection 505(a)(1) to assist the

commissions by undertaking planning, investigations, studies, training programs, and demonstration projects which would be useful in aiding the commissions to carry out their functions. Such assistance may be provided through members of his staff or through contract with public agencies or private institutions or firms, or through grants-in-aid to the commissions.

Third, subsection 505(c) limits the total expenditures by the Secretary for assistance under subsection 505(a)(1) and for administrative expenses of the commissions under subsection 505(b) to a maximum of 10 percent of the funds appropriated for any fiscal year under subsection 509(d) of the act.

Section 204: Headquarters of Federal Cochairmen. Amends section 506 of the act to direct the Federal Cochairman of each regional action planning commission to maintain his headquarters office in the District of Columbia.

Section 205: Supplements to Federal grant-in-aid programs; title V authorization: Amends section 509 of the act as follows:

First, supplemental funds:

Provides additional funds for Federal grant-in-aid programs authorized on or before December 31, 1970, which assist in land acquisition or the construction or equipment of facilities.

Permits section 509 funds to be used for all or any portion of the basic Federal grant for any project authorized by an eligible grant-in-aid program, where funds are not available within the region from the national program for that purpose. The responsible Federal official administering the basic grant-in-aid program must certify that the project meets the requirements of that program and could be approved for a Federal contribution under that program if funds were available.

Continues present authority for supplemental grants under which the total Federal share may be increased to a maximum of 80 percent of the project costs. The degree of supplementation is determined by the applicant's ability to provide matching funds.

The Commission can approve grants for a program under section 509 only if it determines that the level of Federal and State financial assistance for the same type of program in that portion of the State within the region will not be diminished in order to substitute section 509 funds.

Second, title V authorization: Authorizes the appropriation of \$255,000,000 to the Secretary to carry out title V for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1971. Provides that the Secretary, after deducting funds authorized for his technical assistance activities and for administrative expenses of the commissions under subsections 505(a)(1) and 505(b), shall apportion the remainder of the sums appropriated for any fiscal year to the regional commissions. Not less than 10 percent nor more than 25 percent of such remaining amounts shall be allocated to any one regional commission. All available funds must be apportioned to the regional commissions prior to the end of the fiscal year for which appropriated.

Section 206: Coordination; Alaska; regional transportation systems. Amends title V of the act by adding at the end three new sections as follows:

First, section 511 requires the Secretary and the Federal Cochairmen to coordinate their respective activities under titles I, II, and V of this act;

Second, section 512 authorizes the appropriation of \$500,000 to the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1971, to plan economic development programs and projects in Alaska in cooperation with the State of Alaska. This section does not preclude the establishment of a regional commission for Alaska.

Third, section 513 authorizes the Secretary of Transportation, acting jointly with the regional commissions, to conduct and facilitate investigations and studies of all types and modes of transportation relevant to the needs of the economic development regions, to carry out demonstration projects incident to such activities, and to report the results, together with his recommendations and those of each regional commission, to Congress not later than January 10, 1971. An additional \$20 million is authorized to carry out this section. This section does not preclude the use of other funds available under any title of the act for authorized transportation projects.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TITLE III, AMENDMENTS TO THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965, OF PUBLIC LAW 91-123

Section 301: Amends section 101(c) of title I of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965—hereinafter referred to as "the act"—as follows:

First, permits the Secretary in the case of grants to Indian tribes to reduce or entirely waive the required non-Federal share below the minimum of 20 percent otherwise required; and

Second, amends section 105 to extend the annual authorization of \$500 million to June 30, 1970, for direct and supplementary grants for public works and development facilities.

Section 302: Amends section 301 of the act to authorize the Secretary to make grants for any demonstration project within a redevelopment area or areas which he determines is designed to foster regional productivity and growth, prevent outmigration, and otherwise carry out the purposes of this act.

Section 303: Amends section 302 of the act to increase the authorization for title III of the act for the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1970, from \$25 million to \$50 million.

Section 304: Amends section 401 of the act as follows:

First, requires the Secretary to designate as redevelopment areas those areas selected for assistance under part D of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and authorizes the Secretary to designate as redevelopment areas those areas which he determines meet the purpose of section 150 of part D of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and otherwise meet the requirements of the Economic Development Act. The purpose of section 150 of the Economic Opportunity Act is to establish special pro-

grams for the solution of critical problems in particular communities or neighborhoods—defined without regard to political or other subdivisions or boundaries—within those urban areas having especially large concentrations of low-income persons, and within those rural areas having substantial outmigration to eligible urban areas. These areas that the Secretary designates are exempt from the population and boundary limitations in section 401(b)(3) and (4) and are not considered a redevelopment area for the purposes of determining the continued eligibility of an area designated in accordance with section 401(d) which requires the designation of at least one redevelopment area in each State.

Second, the areas that the Secretary designates under this amendment would not be eligible to meet the requirements for establishing an economic development district in accordance with section 403(a)(1)(B) of the Economic Development Act.

DISASTER RELIEF ACT OF 1969—PUBLIC LAW 91-79

This act provides additional assistance for the reconstruction of areas damaged by major disasters occurring after June 30, 1967, and on or before December 31, 1970.

Throughout our history, nature has struck devastating blows to the United States and to the citizens through floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, fires, and other disasters.

In the early days of the Republic, the Federal Government's responsibility to assist communities in times of great disaster was recognized. For example, in the early 1800's, the Congress extended the time for discharging customhouse bonds of the sufferers from the great Portsmouth fire.

However, it was not until 1947 that the framework for a general policy for disaster relief came into being. In that year Congress empowered the President to make surplus wartime supplies available in disaster areas.

The policy for disaster relief was established by the Federal Disaster Act of 1950, Public Law 875 of the 81st Congress, which gives the President broad powers to provide an orderly and continuing means of assistance by the Federal Government to States and local governments in carrying out their responsibilities to alleviate suffering and damage resulting from major disasters.

Today, there are fully half a hundred Federal agencies, bureaus, and offices which have statutory responsibility for providing disaster assistance either under the provisions of the Federal Disaster Act or under other statutes which give them specific authority in certain areas.

The continuing disasters which have struck with lightning fury in various sections of our Nation just since the beginning of this year have further emphasized the importance of the entire program of Federal participation in disaster relief. The Congress has firsthand knowledge of all of these disasters and several in particular were of major proportions including the catastrophes suffered by the State of California in January, the State of Ohio in July, the Southeastern

States devastated by Hurricane Camille in August, and the Midwestern States on several occasions during the year.

On July 9 of this year, this body passed and sent to the Senate H.R. 6508, the California Disaster Relief Act of 1969. This bill was a comprehensive relief bill necessitated by extensive property loss and damage in the State of California as a result of storms, floods, and high waters during the winter of 1968-69 and the spring of 1969, and the need for special measures to assist in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of these devastated areas. This was a good bill. The House on that day was alerted to several other disasters which had occurred and we specifically pointed out that the Subcommittee on Flood Control would be going out to Ohio to investigate the extensive damages which had just occurred there.

The Senate later amended H.R. 6508 so as to change the bill into a general relief bill—the Disaster Relief Act of 1969—with application throughout the United States.

The House and Senate conferees met in August in an attempt to resolve differences in the legislation. The House conferees, although generally convinced that the Senate provisions had a great deal of merit, insisted at that time that additional hearings on a general bill should be held. However, during the period of our discussions, additional disasters occurred which convinced the House conferees that we could not wait for additional hearings. All the conferees were convinced that legislation was needed now—not at a later date. However, the conferees agreed that H.R. 6508 should have an expiration date of December 31, 1970, and that the affected interested committees of the Congress should hold hearings and act as expeditiously as possible upon legislation designed to be of permanent application with respect to the Federal aid and assistance for areas suffering major disasters.

The experience gained as a result of the administration of the provisions of this legislation will unquestionably be of value in making the determination of the type and content of permanent legislation.

Following is a discussion of several specific sections:

Section 2 authorizes the President to allocate funds to States affected by a major disaster for the permanent repair and reconstruction of permanent street,

road, and highway facilities which are not on a Federal-aid highway system and which are destroyed or damaged as a result of a major disaster. Those funds are to be allocated on the condition the State pay at least 50 percent of the cost of the repair or reconstruction.

Section 6 of the conference substitute provides that in the administration of the disaster loan program under section 7(b)(1) of the Small Business Act the Small Business Administration to the extent the loss or damage is not compensated for by insurance or otherwise would, at the borrower's option, be required to cancel up to \$1,800 of interest, principal, or any combination thereof, and, in addition, would be authorized to defer any or all interest or principal payments during the first 3 years of the term of the loan without regard to the borrower's ability to make these payments. In addition, the SBA will be authorized by paragraph (2) to grant loans to repair, rehabilitate, or replace lost or damaged property without regard to whether the financial assistance is otherwise available from private sources, except that, first, a loan made under this authority would bear interest at a rate equal to the average interest rate on all interest-bearing obligations of the United States having maturities of 20 years or more and forming a part of the public debt computed at the end of the fiscal year next preceding the date of the loan and adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 percent; second, any such loan would not be eligible for cancellation or deferral as otherwise authorized in paragraph (1) of this section. In addition, the SBA is authorized by paragraph (3) in the case of total destruction or substantial property damage of a home or business concern to refinance mortgages or liens outstanding against the destroyed or damaged property if the refinancing is for the repair, rehabilitation, or replacement of that property with any such refinancing loan subject to the provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this section.

Section 7 authorizes in the administration of the emergency loan program under subtitle C of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 the same benefits subject to the same conditions and limitations as are provided in section 6 in the case of SBA loans.

Section 10 of the conference substitute

authorizes the President to provide dwelling accommodations for individuals and families displaced by a major disaster. These accommodations are to be made available only to individuals or families certified as having occupied as owner or tenant a dwelling destroyed or damaged to such an extent as to make it uninhabitable as a result of a major disaster. These accommodations are to be provided on a temporary basis and the President is authorized to provide these accommodations by first, using unoccupied housing owned by the United States; second, arranging for the use of unoccupied public housing; third, acquiring existing dwellings through leasing; or, fourth, acquiring mobile homes or other readily fabricated dwellings, through leasing, and placing them on sites furnished by the State or local government or by the owner-occupant upon condition that no site charge be made. Rentals for these accommodations are to be established by the President under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe and these rentals are to take into consideration the financial ability of the occupant. In the case of financial hardship rentals may be compromised, adjusted, or waived for not more than 12 months. However, no individual or family is to be required to incur a monthly housing expense—including any fixed expense relating to the amortization of debt owing on a house destroyed or damaged in a major disaster—in excess of 25 percent of the individual's or family's monthly income.

Section 12 authorizes the President to provide assistance to an individual unemployed as a result of a major disaster. This assistance is not to exceed the maximum amount and the maximum duration of payments under the State unemployment compensation program and that any amount of assistance to an individual under this section will be reduced by any amount of unemployment compensation or of private income protection insurance available to him for that period of unemployment.

Section 15 defines a major disaster as one which has been determined by the President pursuant to the act of September 30, 1952, as amended—42 U.S.C. 1855-1855g—with respect to those disasters which occurred after June 30, 1967, and on or before December 31, 1970.

Following is a list of major disasters declared by the President from July 1, 1967, to date:

Date of declaration	State	Type of disaster	Allocation through September 1969	Date of declaration	State	Type of disaster	Allocation through September 1969
June 15, 1968	New Jersey	Heavy rains, high winds, and flooding	\$3,000,000	June 6, 1969	Illinois	Flooding	\$500,000
July 5, 1968	Texas	Severe storms, high winds, and flooding	300,000	July 11, 1969	Tennessee	Severe storms and flooding	200,000
July 30, 1968	Indiana	Heavy rains and flooding	220,000	Do	Wisconsin	do	200,000
Aug. 4, 1968	Iowa	do	650,000	July 15, 1969	Kentucky	do	200,000
Aug. 15, 1968	Minnesota	do	500,000	Do	Ohio	Tornado, severe storms and flooding	2,000,000
Sept. 9, 1968	do	do	260,000	Do	Kansas	do	500,000
Sept. 13, 1968	Hawaii	do	300,000	Aug. 5, 1969	Minnesota	Heavy rains and flooding	150,000
Nov. 7, 1968	Florida	Hurricane Gladys	750,000	Aug. 14, 1969	Iowa	do	500,000
Jan. 26, 1969	California	Severe storms and flooding	38,000,000	Aug. 15, 1969	California	Flooding	250,000
Feb. 15, 1969	Arkansas	do	350,000	Aug. 18, 1969	Mississippi	Hurricane Camille	1,000,000
Apr. 18, 1969	Minnesota	Flooding	2,500,000	Aug. 19, 1969	Louisiana	do	1,000,000
Do	North Dakota	do	3,700,000	Do	Pennsylvania	Severe storms and flooding	400,000
Do	South Dakota	do	1,000,000	Aug. 23, 1969	Virginia	Severe storms (Camille) and flooding	1,000,000
Apr. 19, 1969	Nevada	do	150,000	Aug. 26, 1969	New York	Heavy rains and flooding	250,000
Apr. 25, 1969	Iowa	do	1,250,000	Aug. 30, 1969	Illinois	do	500,000
May 1, 1969	Wisconsin	do	500,000	Do	Vermont	Severe storms and flooding	200,000
May 19, 1969	Colorado	Severe storms and flooding	2,500,000	Sept. 3, 1969	West Virginia	Severe storms (Camille) and flooding	220,000

JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER—
PUBLIC LAW 91-90

Public Law 91-90, amended section 8 of the John F. Kennedy Center Act by increasing the authority for direct appropriations from \$15,500,000 to \$23 million, an increase of \$7.5 million provided, as in the basic act, that this increase is matched by an equal amount of money, securities, and other property from other sources. In addition, Public Law 91-90 amended section 9 of the John F. Kennedy Center Act by authorizing an increase in the amount of bonds authorized to be issued to pay for the cost of the underground parking facilities by \$5 million from the original \$15,400,000 to \$20,400,000.

The original authorization of \$15,500,000 has been matched by an equivalent amount of gifts as required by present law. It is the committee's understanding that approximately \$5.5 million worth of additional gifts have also been received by the Trustees and may be applied toward matching the additional appropriations authorized by this legislation.

BILLS REPORTED BY COMMITTEE AND PENDING
ON HOUSE UNION CALENDAR
CONSTRUCTION OF CUSTOM AND IMMIGRATION
FACILITIES—H.R. 12795

The purpose of H.R. 12795 is to increase the existing limitation of \$100,000 to a limitation of \$200,000 on the total amount of funds which may be expended to provide facilities for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws where no suitable facilities exist, such monetary limitation for any one project to include the cost of the site.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS JAMES MADISON MEMORIAL
BUILDING—S. 2910

In 1965 the Congress enacted into law Senate Joint Resolution 69, authorizing the construction of the third Library of Congress building. By the terms of that act, the building is to be constructed on the federally owned property adjacent to the Cannon House Office Building. It is to contain a suitable memorial hall honoring the fourth President of the United States for his many and brilliant achievements as one of the Nation's Founding Fathers.

On September 17, 1965, this committee reported legislation, which shortly thereafter became law without further amendment. The committee's report, House Report 1024, 89th Congress, set forth in substantial detail the urgent need for this additional Library of Congress facility. We do not propose to repeat that report here, other than to state that the urgency of need described herein has been increasingly aggravated during the ensuing 4½ years. The Public Works Committee strongly recommends that the Members of the House review that September 17, 1965, report.

The resulting law—Public Law 89-260—stated clearly the purposes for which the Madison Memorial Library Building is to be used, and authorized the appropriation of not to exceed \$75 million to construct the building, including the preparation of necessary designs, plans, and specifications.

In 1965, \$500,000 was appropriated

“for preliminary plans and designs and cost estimates.” It is worth noting that when Senate Joint Resolution 69 was under consideration, the Public Works Committee was informed by the General Services Administrator that a realistic estimate of cost for “fully completed design of the building, including preparation of working drawings and specifications, which would enable proceeding with construction,” would be \$3 million.

In June 1968, as part of a supplemental appropriation request, and again in the budget for fiscal year 1969, \$2.8 million were requested by the Architect of the Capitol so that design work might proceed. The Appropriations Committee denied both requests.

The Architect's budget request for fiscal year 1970 included \$18,410,000 to cover final plans and specifications, contracts for excavation and foundation work, and the ordering of the masonry for the exterior of the building.

The Librarian of Congress has informed this committee as follows:

During hearings on this item before the Subcommittee on Legislative Appropriations of the House Committee on Appropriations, the Architect testified that because of delays in the construction of the building for lack of funds and because the associate architects estimate that 54 months will be required for construction under a three-phase construction program, escalating construction costs would increase the cost of the building. The current annual rate of escalation in the cost of construction work is 10 percent, whereas 2 years ago it was between 3 and 4 percent. On the premise that the escalation rate will level off to an average of 7 percent over the next 4 years, the associate architects estimate that the cost of the project, as originally envisioned, would total \$90 million. I have discussed this matter recently with the associate architects and they have confirmed this figure.

The House Committee on Appropriations, in reporting the bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal year 1970 approved an appropriation of \$2.8 million for final plans and specifications, but added a provision which says:

The availability of these funds for obligation shall be contingent upon enactment of legislation adjusting the limit of cost of the project (fixed by section 3 of such act) to reflect an accurate Cost Estimate plus any projected escalated construction costs required to complete the project on the basis of the preliminary plans heretofore approved by the committee and commissions designated in such act.

The Senate has concurred in the action of the House and has appropriated \$2.8 million based on the contingency's being enacted into law during this fiscal year.

Three points need to be made absolutely clear. First, the exact estimate of costs and the escalation in the estimated cost to build this third Library facility is due solely to the continuing rise in construction costs. This committee has considerable experience in dealing with programs involving federally financed construction, and we are finding that all public buildings are costing more.

Second, this facility is a library building. It is not intended to be used as an office building of any kind except to the extent that working space must obviously be provided for the employees who service the Library in its numerous functions. S. 2910 here reported with amendment specifically so states.

Third, the Library of Congress is presently paying close to \$2 million a year for rental space scattered—most inefficiently, it should be noted, though that is no fault of the Library—over the city. This rental cost will be eliminated when the Madison Memorial Library is completed.

Delay in appropriating the funds necessary to complete this facility has therefore substantially increased its cost and at the same time forced significant costs for makeshift rental space.

The appropriation of the \$2.8 million for final plans and specifications, contingent upon legislative action making an adjustment “to reflect projected escalated construction costs required to complete the project,” is, in effect, the forcing of a legislative reauthorization which very possibly would not have been necessary if timely appropriations for this unquestionably essential facility had been made.

BILLS PASSED BY HOUSE AND PENDING IN
SENATE COMMITTEE
LIMITATIONS ON USE OF PUBLIC PROPERTY—
H.R. 1035

PUBLIC GROUNDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Subsection (a) of the first section of the bill as passed the House prohibits the issuance of any permit, authority, or other permission to use any real property in the District of Columbia owned by the United States, and under its control or under the control of the District of Columbia, for camping, sleeping, sitting in, or other overnight occupancy or for constructing or erecting any temporary building or structure on such property. This is a complete prohibition against the use of these public grounds for these specified purposes. Nothing in this act, however, is to be construed as prohibiting any governmental activity.

Governmental activity referred to is official activity by the Federal Government and the government of the District of Columbia. The committee intends this to cover all forms of legitimate activity on a Federal or District level. Specifically this would cover such examples as the stationing of military personnel in public buildings or on public grounds or as need be in the District of Columbia, the use of such property in connection with providing emergency medical care to a person who has come to the District to participate in a march or other category and who while here is injured or becomes ill, and the use of such property in connection with the inauguration of a President of the United States. This does not mean that sponsorship of essentially private activities by a department or agency of the District or Federal Government is to be deemed to be a governmental activity exempting the private organization from restrictions of this bill.

The issuance of any permit or other license in connection with any demonstration or related activity is not to be

construed as authority to engage in any camping or other activity expressly prohibited by this act.

Subsection (b) of the first section provides that in issuing permits or granting permission to use such property for any other purpose if the officer or employee issuing that permit or giving that permission has reason to believe that damage may occur he must require the furnishing of surety in an amount reasonable to indemnify the United States for such damage and to save the United States harmless from any injury to persons or property caused by such use. The committee has determined that recent demonstrations within the District of Columbia are requiring substantial Federal expenditures to repair damages resulting from the use of public property for these demonstrations. It is the committee's belief that all of the costs of these demonstrations should be borne by those who participate in them.

Subsection (c) of the first section revokes any outstanding permit, authority, or other permission, including any renewal or extension of an original permit which is in existence on the date of enactment of this act, if that permit, authority, or permission could not be issued after such date under the terms of this act.

The title of the bill is amended to more accurately reflect the text of the reported bill.

PROVIDING FOR MUNICIPAL USE OF STORAGE WATER IN BENBROOK DAM, TEX.—H.R. 5278

The purpose of H.R. 5278 is to authorize the Secretary of the Army to contract with the Benbrook Water and Sewer Authority for the beneficial use of a portion of the waters now impounded by the Benbrook Dam and Reservoir, Tex., for municipal water supply purposes.

ACCESSIBILITY TO PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED OF CERTAIN PUBLIC FACILITIES—H.R. 14464

In the second session of the 90th Congress the Committee on Public Works reported out legislation which would make the design and construction of buildings financed by Federal funds accessible to the physically handicapped. Public Law 90-480 made it incumbent upon the Federal Government to insure that all public buildings constructed with Federal funds or constructed on behalf of the Federal Government be constructed in such a way that they are accessible to all people. This much-needed public law has received enthusiastic support in all sections of the country from all those concerned with providing our handicapped citizens with an opportunity to fully participate in all activities of public life. The committee, however, was informed on some further problems dealing with the implementation of this legislation and for this reason H.R. 14464 was introduced, reported, and passed by the House.

Congress has authorized a complete subway system for Washington and the metropolitan area. The question arose as to whether the provisions of Public Law 90-480 were applicable to the construction of this particular public facility. By virtue of the unique Federal-State rela-

tionship created through the compact and otherwise, in this instance, doubt has been cast as to whether this metro facility was in fact subject to this law. This legislation will resolve that doubt to make it clear that the construction of the subway stations, entrances, exits thereto and all other related facilities necessary for this metro system will in fact be subject to the requirements of this law. Specific exemption has been made, however, with respect to the buses, subway cars, trains, and other rolling stock.

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT OF 1969—H.R. 14741

H.R. 14741, reported to the House November 14, 1969, and passed and sent to the Senate on November 25, 1969, covered those matters which, as a result of its hearings, the subcommittee and the full committee believed warranted legislative action this year. In summary, H.R. 14741 required the submission of a complete cost estimate on the Interstate System by no later than April 15, 1970; extended the applicable date of the penalty clauses of the Highway Beautification Act from January 1, 1968, to January 1, 1971; authorized a \$26 million Federal share demonstration program for the elimination of grade crossings on the high-speed rail route in the north-east corridor—recognizing that a nationwide program to deal with this safety problem will ultimately be required; revised the formula for allocation of funds to the States under the Highway Safety Act; and authorized the Department of State to enter into serious negotiations with the Government of Canada to work out proposed methods of reconstructing the Alaska Highway. Substantial legislation guidance was included in the committee's report on H.R. 14741 with respect to policy and procedures under the Highway Safety Act.

HEARINGS HELD BY SUBCOMMITTEE ON ROADS

The Subcommittee on Roads held extensive hearings on pending highway matters and conducted an intensive overview of progress and problems under the Highway Safety Act of 1966.

Included in the subcommittee hearings were a request for the extension of the Interstate System to include U.S. Highway 52 in West Virginia; proposals to delay the penalty date and otherwise amend the Highway Beautification Act of 1965; the planning and coordination of the Lewis and Clark Trail Highway; revised sizes and weights of vehicles operating on the Interstate System; the reconstruction of the Alaska Highway; continued cooperation by the United States in the construction of the Darien Gap Highway; the need for a complete cost estimate for completion of the Interstate System, on which to base both future authorizations for that system and as a foundation for how to deal with the Nation's highway construction needs during the coming 10 to 15 years; a revised formula, required by law, for allocation among the States of funds under the Highway Safety Act; and a program for the elimination of grade crossings along the high-speed rail line between Washington, D.C., New York City, and Boston, Mass.

In addition to the hearings held by the subcommittee in Washington, hearings were held on the proposed reconstruction of the Alaska Highway in Montana, Canada, and Alaska.

The subcommittee continued to work, on an informal basis, with other concerned House committees, the Department of Transportation and the government of the District of Columbia, to resolve the conflicts which had been strangling the continued development of an adequate and coordinated transportation system for the Nation's Capital.

EXECUTIVE PROTECTIVE SERVICE—H.R. 14944

H.R. 14944, with amendments, will change the name of the White House Police to the Executive Protective Service, which more adequately describes the functions already assigned to it as well as the function to be added here. In addition, this legislation will extend the jurisdictional area within which the Service may function to the metropolitan area surrounding the city of Washington itself. Some embassies are already located outside the city limits, and it may reasonably be assumed that other embassies will so locate in the future. To carry out its function, the Service must be able to protect these embassies as well as those located within the city proper.

Foreign representatives are accredited to the President; they necessarily must be so situated physically as to be in relatively close proximity to the central seat of this Government. The authority for embassy protection is limited to the metropolitan area itself, except as the President otherwise provides, on a case by case basis. Where embassies are located in Maryland or Virginia, to the extent those States comprise a part of the metropolitan area, the same cooperation with local police forces would apply as now applies with respect to the Metropolitan Police Department. In this regard, the embassy protective function cannot, and is not intended to, assume the local police department's responsibility—whether it be in the District of Columbia, Maryland, or Virginia—to conduct criminal investigations involving embassy personnel but to furnish police officers in adequate numbers to control major demonstrations and other large disturbances occurring in close proximity to foreign diplomatic missions.

With respect to the authority granted the President to utilize the Executive Protective Service for the protection of "foreign diplomatic missions located in such other areas in the United States, its territories and possessions, on a case-by-case basis," this authority extends only to situations of extraordinary gravity, where the local police force is totally incapable of providing a level of protection deemed essential to the international integrity of the United States, or where the protection of the President himself, for example, would be involved. This additional authority is not, and may not be construed to be, a substitute for the responsibility of local police forces to provide protection for consulates, the United Nations, and similar foreign delegations within the United States. The increased protection to be provided by the Execu-

tive Protective Service is designed primarily as a preventive measure within the Washington metropolitan area. It is not intended that this new Service assume the responsibility of other police departments to provide protection to persons and property within their respective jurisdictions.

The number of personnel assigned to the Service will be increased from the present 250 to not more than 850. Not all of this authorized increase in personnel, of course, is attributable to embassy protection. The need for increased protection for the President accounts for part of the added personnel. The direction of the Executive Protective Service will be a responsibility of the Director of the U.S. Secret Service, and it is contemplated that the members of the Service will be recruited under the civil service laws and regulations on a nationwide basis. It is not anticipated that the local police forces of the metropolitan area will be a primary source of recruitment. To emphasize this point, the bill as reported by the committee was further amended on the floor to highlight the fact that recruiting for this Service will not in any way hinder recruiting efforts of the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police.

RIVER BASIN MONETARY AUTHORIZATIONS FOR CERTAIN RIVER BASIN PLANS—H.R. 15166

This legislation authorizes an increase in the monetary authorization for 13 comprehensive river basin plans previously approved by Congress, authorizes the completion of the Chesapeake Bay Basin comprehensive study and modifies the flood control projects on the Scioto River, Ohio, and the multiple purpose project at Tocks Island Dam and Reservoir, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Following is a discussion of the sections of the bill, H.R. 15166:

SECTION 1

Section 1 provides increased authorizations for the prosecution of river basin plans for flood control and related purposes under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Engineers. The appropriations intended to be covered by the increased and completion authorizations are those necessary for the scheduled funding requirements through calendar year 1971. Allowance is made for the amount of monetary authorization presently available in the various basins. The necessity for these increased authorizations is explained below.

Monetary authorizations first were put into effect by the Flood Control Acts of 1936 and 1938. They limit authority to appropriate and expend funds within specified basins or specified major projects to levels below the total costs of the authorized basin or project developments. In this way they give the Congress opportunity to review and control the rate of accomplishment of the basin plans and major projects to which they apply.

In these plans, the Congress has approved an entire plan for development of a river basin in the interest of flood control, navigation, power, and allied water uses, but limited the amounts of

funds to anticipated appropriations for a specified period of years, allowing accomplishment of only part of the plan. Subsequently the Congress has augmented some of the previously approved plans, by authorizing additional projects, or modifications of projects, and increased the monetary authorization to provide for additional appropriations. When the monetary authorization limit of a plan is approached, legislation is required to provide additional authorization so that appropriations can be made to permit the plan to continue. If such legislation is not forthcoming when needed, construction of projects in the basin plan cannot proceed, even if funds have been included in appropriation acts for this purpose.

In addition to projects comprising these basin plans subject to monetary authorization, Congress has authorized other projects in the basins for which full monetary authorization for appropriations has been provided under the terms of the authorizing act. Projects in this category require no further monetary authorization action by the Congress.

At the present time there are 22 basin development plans subject to basin monetary authorization limitations. Authorizations provided to date, including the most recent provided by legislation in 1968, are adequate for work to be performed in most of the basins through calendar year 1969. However, there are 12 basins whose monetary authorizations will be exhausted in calendar year 1970, unless further authorization is provided and there is a 13th basin which will run out of authorization in calendar year 1971 unless additional authorization is provided.

The following table furnishes for the basins shown in section 1 of the bill the dates of original authorization and the amount of increased authorizations needed for the work to be performed through calendar year 1971:

Basin	Act of Congress	Monetary authorization required through calendar year 1971
Alabama-Coosa River.....	Mar. 2, 1945	\$45,000,000
Arkansas River.....	June 28, 1938	89,000,000
Brazos River.....	Sept. 3, 1954	5,000,000
Central and Southern Florida.....	June 30, 1948	20,000,000
Columbia River.....	June 28, 1938	263,000,000
Lower Mississippi River.....	May 15, 1928	167,000,000
Missouri River.....	June 28, 1938	109,000,000
Ohio River.....	June 22, 1936	69,000,000
Ouachita River.....	May 17, 1950	18,000,000
San Joaquin River.....	Dec. 22, 1944	18,000,000
South Platte River.....	May 17, 1950	21,000,000
Upper Mississippi River.....	June 28, 1938	2,000,000
White River.....	do	4,000,000
Total.....		830,000,000

SECTION 2—CHESAPEAKE BAY BASIN COMPREHENSIVE STUDY

Chesapeake Bay is the largest estuary on the Atlantic coast of the United States and one of the most important estuaries in the world. Rivers having combined drainage areas totaling 74,000 square miles flow into the estuary, including the Susquehanna, Potomac, Rappahannock, and James Rivers.

Section 312 of the River and Harbor Act of 1965 authorized and directed the

Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, to make a complete investigation and study of water utilization and control of the Chesapeake Bay Basin, including navigation, flood control, fisheries, control of noxious weeds, water pollution, water quality control, beach erosion, and recreation and to construct, operate, and maintain in the State of Maryland a hydraulic model of the Chesapeake Bay Basin and an associated technical center, in order to carry out the purposes of the study. Not to exceed \$6 million was authorized to carry out the study.

A reevaluation of the study with a view to reducing the cost was made during fiscal year 1969 upon request of the House Appropriations Committee. The Corps of Engineers prepared plans and estimates for each feature of the study using its Chesapeake Bay Study Advisory Group, and its six task groups, representing the affected States, interested agencies, and a wide variety of disciplines. The reevaluation considered various alternative methods of study including several less costly programs which the Corps of Engineers found would not satisfy the broad objectives of the authorizing act and could not insure success of the study. Without the hydraulic model the study would not provide data for many facets of the water quality, sedimentation, and ecological problems. These are urgent and challenging problems; they require a sound foundation of knowledge for planning and managing the development needed by an exploding population, balanced with the need for conservation of the complex estuarine environment of Chesapeake Bay.

The plan developed is estimated to cost \$15 million as compared with the original \$6 million authorization. The authorized hydraulic model of Chesapeake Bay, shelter and associated technical center would be constructed, operated, and maintained at Matapeake, Md., to be utilized by any department of the Federal Government, the States of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania in connection with their research, investigation, or study of the Chesapeake Bay Basin. The study also provides for multidisciplinary research in the technical center for hydraulic and ecological studies to obtain definitive answers to many bay problems.

The benefits resulting from the investigations are estimated to be at a high level relative to the estimated costs. The well-organized Chesapeake Bay Study Advisory Group and its task groups, representing a broad spectrum of the expertise of many State and Federal agencies assisted the Corps of Engineers in preparing the plan of study and they are available and prepared to participate in the authorized investigations.

This comprehensive study, when completed, will project economic development within the bay area and the consequent resources demands. It will serve as a viable management guide to maintaining the environmental integrity of the Chesapeake Bay while encouraging beneficial resource use and enjoyment. In view of the importance of this study, language was included in the bill which would permit completion of the Ches-

peake Bay Basin comprehensive study at an estimated additional amount of \$9 million.

SECTION 3—SCIOTO RIVER, OHIO

This section modifies the flood control project for the Scioto River, Ohio, authorized in section 203 of the Flood Control Act of 1962 and modified by section 205 of the Flood Control Act of 1965, so as to authorize construction of the local protection works at Chillicothe, Ohio, prior to commencement of construction of the Big Darby Reservoir. The section also authorizes such revisions to the plan for the local protection works as are necessary to provide, without the Big Darby Reservoir, a degree of protection substantially equivalent to that provided for Chillicothe by the overall project as originally authorized.

The project for the Scioto River, authorized in 1962, consisted of a combination of upstream reservoirs and local protection works at Columbus and Chillicothe, Ohio. The works at Chillicothe were designed to accommodate the reduced flows resulting from the proposed upstream reservoirs. For this reason, the project provided that the works at Chillicothe would not be constructed until the reservoirs on Alum, Mill, Big Darby, and Deer Creeks were completed and in operation for flood control. The 1965 amendment provided that construction of the works at Chillicothe could proceed at such time as these reservoirs were under construction.

The reservoirs on Alum, Mill, and Deer Creeks are proceeding as planned, but the committee understands that construction of the Big Darby Reservoir has been delayed, and may not be started for several years. The committee feels that under these circumstances the construction of the urgently needed local protection works at Chillicothe should be allowed to proceed prior to construction of the Big Darby Reservoir, with such revisions as are necessary to provide substantially the same degree of protection as contemplated by the overall plan.

SECTION 4—HYDROELECTRIC POWER DEVELOPMENT AT THE TOCKS ISLAND DAM—DELAWARE RIVER BASIN

The purpose of this section is to modify the congressional authorization for the Tocks Island Dam and Reservoir, to be located in the Delaware River, between Pennsylvania and New Jersey, to clarify the authority of appropriate Government agencies to consider an application providing for the use of Tocks Island project water releases as part of a proposed comprehensive pumped storage hydroelectric power development by certain New Jersey electric companies.

The existing Tocks Island authorization provides for use of those releases by a conventional Federal powerplant. The modification clarifies the authority of the licensing agencies to consider a proposal that such releases be used by New Jersey companies, instead, as part of a comprehensive pumped storage development.

ANALYSIS BY SUBSECTIONS

Subsection (a): Modifies the provisions of the Flood Control Act of October 23, 1962, Public Law 87-874, relating to the Tocks Island Dam and Reservoir, Dela-

ware River Basin, to permit the head and water releases of that project to be utilized as part of a comprehensive pumped-storage hydroelectric power project by certain New Jersey electric companies having an application now pending before the Delaware River Basin Commission. Language in this subsection makes the use of such releases as part of the aforesaid proposal subject to the provisions of this section, the Delaware River Basin compact and the Federal Power Act. In the event the DRBC and the FPC license the combination power proposal, this subsection provides that the annual payment required by section 10(e) of the Federal Power Act to be made for the use of Government property at Tocks Island shall be not less than \$1 million. Exact amount of such annual payment will be determined by the Federal Power Commission.

Subsection (b): This subsection effectively prohibits use of Sunfish Pond, a small pond atop Kittatinny Mountain, as an upper reservoir of the comprehensive pumped-storage project. It incorporates by reference those provisions of the Delaware River Basin Commission amendment of its comprehensive plan for the Delaware River Basin which provide that Sunfish Pond shall not be so used and its recreation values not significantly impaired, that construction of the alternate upper reservoir be accomplished with minimum disruption of the natural environment, that the project penstocks, powerhouse, and transmission lines extending therefrom on the western slope and top of Kittatinny Ridge be underground, and the area restored and landscaped.

Subsection (c): This subsection provides that power equivalent to that which would have been available to preference customers from the presently authorized Federal conventional plant, if built, will be made available to them by the licensee. The Delaware River Basin Commission is considered a preference customer for this purpose. The Secretary of the Interior is to allocate such power as may be available under this subsection not taken from the licensee by the Delaware River Basin Commission for pumping of water, for pumping, collecting, and treating sewage, and for purposes associated with the Delaware Water Gap National Recreational Area on an equitable basis among the other preference customers.

Subsection (d): This subsection directs the licensee to furnish power to the United States free of cost for operation and maintenance of the Tocks Island Dam.

Subsection (e): This subsection requires the Tocks Island project and, if built, the companies' proposed combination power development both to be constructed in a manner that will not preclude Government installation of the authorized conventional powerplant at any time.

Subsection (f): Pending a decision as to the development of the hydroelectric features of the project, and in order that there will be no delay in the prosecution of the Tocks Island project, the Corps of Engineers will proceed with planning and construction of the proj-

ect so as to permit either Federal or company development of the conventional power potential. This subsection provides that the companies and the Government shall enter an agreement or agreements as necessary providing that, in the event a license is issued to the companies for combined power development, the companies shall pay the cost incurred by the United States to preserve the suitability of Tocks Island Dam for installation of both the combined power development and the authorized powerplant; and that in the event a license is not issued for the combined power development, the companies shall pay the cost incurred by the United States to preserve the suitability of Tocks Island Dam for installation of the combined power development. The subsection further provides that in the event the companies and the Government fail to reach timely agreement regarding the amount of such payment to be made by the companies, the amount shall be set by the Secretary of the Army subject to review by the Federal Power Commission.

SECTION 5

This section identifies the bill as the River Basin Monetary Authorization Act of 1969.

BILL IN CONFERENCE BETWEEN HOUSE AND SENATE

WATER QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1969— H.R. 4148

The committee held hearings on H.R. 4148 and other related bills on February 26 and 27, and March 4, 5, and 6, 1969, and as a result of these hearings, H.R. 4148 was reported to the House. This legislation as it passed the House included the following:

OIL AND OTHER MATTER POLLUTION

The bill would—

Apply to discharges of oil and matter into the navigable waters, the contiguous zone, and the high seas from vessels and onshore and offshore facilities;

Provide for notice of discharges by individuals in charge of a vessel or onshore or offshore facility;

Prohibit oil discharges from vessels except in emergency situations;

Establish civil penalties of up to \$10,000 for willful or negligent oil or matter discharged from vessels;

Direct that the United States remove oil or matter discharged where there is a pollution hazard;

Authorize the United States to remove or destroy a vessel when a marine disaster creates a substantial pollution threat to the United States;

Require the owner or operator of the vessel or onshore or offshore facility to remove the discharged oil or matter immediately;

Provide a limitation of liability for U.S. costs of removal of vessel discharges up to a maximum of \$10 million or \$100 per gross registered ton, whichever is the lesser;

Provide an \$8 million limitation of liability for U.S. costs of removal in case of onshore or offshore facilities within the States, with an exception for onshore facilities;

Establish a \$20 million revolving fund for cleanup; and

Provide for a system of financial responsibility for vessels.

CONTROL OF SEWAGE FROM VESSELS

The bill would—

Direct the Secretary of the Interior to issue Federal standards of performance for marine sanitation devices for all vessels except vessels not equipped with installed toilet facilities, and it would direct the Coast Guard to issue regulations relative to the design, construction, installation, and operation of the devices on board vessels;

Apply to existing vessels, construction of which is initiated prior to issuance of the standards and regulations;

Apply to new vessels, the construction of which is initiated after issuance of the standards and regulations;

Provide that the initial standards shall be effective for new vessels 2 years after promulgation, but not earlier than December 31, 1971, and for existing vessels 5 years after promulgation;

Authorize the Secretary of the Interior and the Coast Guard to distinguish between classes, types, and sizes of vessels and permit waivers of the applicability of the standards and regulations for such classes, types, and sizes of vessels.

Provide that the standards and regulations shall apply to Defense Department vessels, but such regulations and certifications shall be issued by the Secretary of Defense and not the Coast Guard.

Provide for coordination with various Federal and State agencies and other interested persons and require that section 4 of the Administrative Procedures Act apply to the issuance of standards and regulations;

Provide that after the effective date of the standards and regulations, no State can adopt or enforce any statute or regulation with respect to the design, manufacture, or installation of a marine sanitation device on a vessel except that the State or subdivision of a State may prohibit discharges of sewage whether treated or not from a vessel within all or part of intrastate waters of the State if discharges from other sources are likewise prohibited in such waters;

Provide for a system of certification by the Coast Guard of marine sanitation devices;

Provide that it be unlawful for a manufacturer to sell or distribute for sale or resale any vessel that is not equipped with a device once the standards and regulations are effective;

Provide that a vessel subject to the standards and regulations cannot operate on U.S. waters unless it is equipped with an operable marine sanitation device;

Provide for the issuance of injunctions;

Provide for the establishment of civil penalties after notice and opportunity for a hearing; and

Provide that provisions of this section shall be enforced by the Coast Guard.

ACID MINE POLLUTION

The bill would—

Authorize the Secretary of the Interior

to enter into agreements with any State or interstate agency to carry out research and demonstration projects designed to eliminate or control within all or part of a watershed acid or other mine water pollution resulting from active or abandoned mines;

Require that the State or interstate agency pay at least 75 percent of the project cost; and

Authorize appropriations of up to \$15 million for this purpose.

TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

The bill would—

Authorize the Secretary to make grants or to enter into contracts with institutions of higher education to assist them in planning, developing, strengthening, improving, or carrying out programs or projects to prepare undergraduate students entering into occupations involving the design, operation, and maintenance of waste treatment works;

Provide that these grants or contracts may be used to pay the compensation of students employed in connection with the operation and maintenance of treatment works;

Authorize the award of scholarships for undergraduate studies for periods up to 4 academic years and the making of stipends;

Provide that the Secretary by regulation will require that any person awarded a scholarship must enter into an agreement in writing to enter and remain in an occupation involving the design, operation, or maintenance of treatment works for such period as the Secretary determines appropriate after the completion of the student's studies; and

Authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1970 of \$12 million and for fiscal years 1971 and 1972 of \$25 million annually.

CONTROL OF POLLUTION FROM FEDERAL ACTIVITIES

The bill would—

Require that every Federal agency having jurisdiction over real property or a facility shall within available appropriations and consistent with U.S. interests insure compliance with applicable water quality standards in the administration of such property or facility;

Require that any applicant for a Federal license or permit—for example, from the Corps of Engineers, Federal Power Commission, Atomic Energy Commission, and so forth—to conduct an activity which may discharge into the navigable waters of the United States provide the Federal agency issuing the license or permit with a certification from the affected State or States or interstate water pollution control agency that the activity will be conducted in a manner that will not reduce the quality of the water below applicable water quality standards;

Provide that where water quality standards are issued by the Secretary under the Water Quality Act of 1965 or where a State or interstate agency lacks authority to issue certification, the Secretary shall provide the certification;

Provide that in the case of multiple licenses or permits by one or more Fed-

eral agencies for the same project, if the applicant receives a certification by one agency, he need not obtain a certification from the other agency or for succeeding permits or licenses unless the Secretary or the State, upon receipt of notice, objects; and

Provide that no Federal license or permit may be issued until certification is received.

RESEARCH

The bill would—

Authorize grants and contracts for the prevention, removal, and control of lake pollution;

Authorize grants and contracts relative to research and development on the prevention and control of oil pollution;

Authorize the Secretary to engage in studies, research, experiments, and demonstrations relative to discharges from recreational vessels and the equipment installed thereon with the requirement of a report to Congress;

Authorize the Secretary to acquire lands and interests therein for field laboratories and research facilities and in connection with demonstration projects;

Extend the appropriation authorization provisions of sections 5 and 6 of the act 2 additional years at the current level of appropriation authorizations; and

Provides a Great Lakes demonstration program.

CHANGE OF NAME

The bill would change the name of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to the National Water Quality Administration.

The Senate amended the bill on October 8, 1969, and this measure, H.R. 4148, is now in conference. Several meetings have been held by the House and Senate conferees in an attempt to resolve the differences. Other meetings of the conferees will be held early in the second session of the 91st Congress, and it is anticipated that a bill will be reported out to both Houses of Congress shortly after the second session of the 91st Congress convenes.

MAJOR LEGISLATION ON WHICH HEARINGS WERE HELD—NO COMMITTEE ACTION TAKEN

UNIFORM RELOCATION ASSISTANCE AND LAND ACQUISITION POLICIES APPLICABLE TO FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM

The Committee on Public Works held hearings on December 2 and 4, 1969, on H.R. 14898, H.R. 14899, S. 1, and related bills providing for uniform relocation assistance and land acquisition policies in Federal and federally assisted programs.

The committee has been concerned for a number of years about the growing number of complaints to the Congress questioning the fairness of Government agency land acquisition practices, the sufficiency of traditional standards of compensation, and the adequacy of assistance for persons adversely affected by public improvement programs undertaken by the Federal Government, or with the aid of Federal funds. There have been reports of many persons suffering severe hardships and financial losses and of others being overpaid. There has been particular concern about the lack of uniformity in the various pro-

grams, with citizens apparently receiving varying amounts of compensation or assistance, depending on the program involved rather than the actual loss suffered.

The Select Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition under the leadership of Congressman Clifford Davis was created in 1961 by this committee to make a comprehensive, impartial, and nonpartisan study in order to determine whether owners, tenants, and other persons affected by the acquisition of real property in Federal and federally assisted programs received fair and equal treatment and adequate compensation, considering the value of their property and the losses and expenses they incurred on being required to move from their homes, farms, or business locations. The product of this effort was a staff report entitled "Study of Compensation and Assistance for Persons Affected by Real Property Acquisition in Federal and Federally Assisted Programs" and was published as Committee Print No. 31, 88th Congress.

Additional exhaustive studies and reports on this general subject have been made by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and on the specific question on highway relocation assistance by the Secretary of Transportation pursuant to section 12 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1966.

In the last several years considerable legislation dealing with uniformity of acquisition and relocation assistance has been considered by the Congress. In the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968, reported by this committee, the Congress enacted landmark legislation as to highway relocation assistance.

At the committee hearings held in December 1969, the committee heard testimony from Members of Congress, and it is the committee's intention to hold additional comprehensive hearings early in the second session of the 91st Congress to afford all interested parties an opportunity to present testimony and to examine carefully the entire subject and recommend to the House of Representatives appropriate legislation.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL POLICY AND COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL PROGRAM FOR THE MANAGEMENT, BENEFICIAL USE, PROTECTION, AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAND AND WATER RESOURCES OF THE NATION'S ESTUARINE AND COASTAL ZONE—H.R. 14845

Section 201(b) of the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to undertake a comprehensive study of the effects of pollution in the estuaries and estuarine zones of the United States. This legislation, which originated in the Committee on Public Works, directed that in conducting the study, the Secretary should assemble, coordinate, and organize all existing pertinent information on the Nation's estuaries and estuarine zones; carry out a program of investigations and surveys to supplement existing information in representative estuaries and estuarine zones; and to identify the problems where further research and study are required.

The Secretary was directed to submit to the Congress by November 3, 1969, a final report of this study. The report was required to include, but not be limited to—

First, an analysis of the importance of estuaries to the economic and social well-being of the people of the United States and of the effects of pollution upon the use and enjoyment of such estuaries;

Second, a discussion of the major economic, social, and ecological trends occurring in the estuarine zones of the Nation; and

Third, recommendations for a comprehensive national program for the preservation, study, use, and development of estuaries of the Nation, and the respective responsibilities which should be assumed by Federal, State, and local governments and by public and private interests.

Accordingly, the committee held hearings on this report which consists of three volumes submitted by the Department of the Interior entitled "The National Estuarine Pollution Study," which was submitted to the Congress and referred to this committee; as well as on H.R. 14845, a bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide for the establishment of a national policy and comprehensive national program for the management, beneficial use, protection, and development of the land and water resources of the Nation's estuarine and coastal zones. Testimony was taken from the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Walter Hickel, on this matter. Additional hearings will be held by the committee early in the second session of the 91st Congress and it is anticipated that legislation will be reported to the Congress during this next session on this subject.

As one of the leaders in the field of protecting environment as can be seen from the committee's long history in the field of water pollution, as well as in its implementation of proper use of the environment in the Federal-aid highway program and the Corps of Engineers projects, along with other programs under its jurisdiction the committee has been vitally concerned during this period of time with legislation which will provide proper use of the environment for the benefit of all citizens in the development of public works projects.

The committee's record in this field is a well-known one and during the second session of the 91st Congress the committee intends to pursue with vigor full-scale implementation of environmental quality protection as it fits in with the various programs under the jurisdiction of the committee.

My sincere appreciation for their splendid cooperation goes to the committee members, particularly the subcommittee chairmen. Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman of the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors and the Federal-Aid Highway Program Subcommittee; Congressman ROBERT E. JONES, chairman of the Subcommittee on Flood Control, and Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Appalachia; Congressman JOHN C. KLU-

CZYNSKI, chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads; Congressman KENNETH J. GRAY, chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds; Congressman JIM WRIGHT, chairman of the Subcommittee on Watershed Development; and Congressman ED EDMONDSON, chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Economic Development Programs.

To Congressman WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida, the ranking minority member of the committee, as well as the other able members of the minority side who have done much to further the work of the committee, I wish to extend my deep and sincere appreciation also. To all the staff of the committee and subcommittees may I thank you sincerely for a job well done.

SUMMARY

Following is a summary of the bills and resolutions acted upon by the committee in the first session:

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS ENACTED INTO LAW

Public Law No.	Bill No.	Date approved	Title
79.....	H.R. 6508	Oct. 1, 1969	California Disaster Relief Act of 1969 (Disaster Relief Act of 1969).
90.....	H.R. 11249	Oct. 17, 1969	John F. Kennedy Center additional funds.
123.....	H.R. 4018	Nov. 25, 1969	Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1969 and Regional Action Planning Commission Amendments of 1969.

BILLS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE AND PENDING ON THE HOUSE UNION CALENDAR

Bill No.	Date reported	Title
H.R. 12795.....	Dec. 12, 1969	Better facilities for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws.
S. 2910.....	Dec. 22, 1969	An Act to amend Public Law 89-260 to authorize additional funds for the Library of Congress James Madison Memorial Building.

BILLS PASSED BY THE HOUSE AND PENDING IN SENATE COMMITTEE

Bill No.	Passed House	Title
H.R. 1035.....	June 11, 1969	Limit use of publicly owned or controlled property in the District of Columbia and require posting of a bond for the use of such property.
H.R. 5278.....	Dec. 1, 1969	Benbrook Dam, Tex., municipal use of storage water, provide.
H.R. 14464.....	Dec. 15, 1969	Facilities constructed under Federal law, design and contract to be accessible to the physically handicapped.
H.R. 14741.....	Nov. 25, 1969	Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1969.
H.R. 14944.....	Dec. 18, 1969	Adequate force for the protection of the Executive Mansion and foreign embassies.
H.R. 15166.....	Dec. 15, 1969	River Basin Monetary Authorization Act of 1969.

BILL IN CONFERENCE BETWEEN HOUSE AND SENATE

Bill No.	Passed House	Passed Senate	Title
H.R. 4148.....	Apr. 16, 1969	Oct. 8, 1969	Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969.

SUMMARY OF THE 91ST CONGRESS,
FIRST SESSION

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, 1969 was a year of transition, the last year of a turbulent decade and the first year of a new administration. For President Nixon and the 91st Congress, the guiding principle of 1969 was reform—reform in economic policy, in foreign affairs, in domestic programs, and in the balance of national priorities.

One measure of success was a Federal budget showing a 10-percent shift since the last year of the Johnson administration in the proportional relationship between military and civilian spending.

For the first time in nearly a decade, Defense appropriations were reduced below the level of the previous year. Although still more needs to be done in this regard, this reordering of financial priorities reflected the first steps toward disengagement from Vietnam and toward a deeper engagement in the effort to solve the problems afflicting our domestic life.

These larger themes of commitment shaped literally hundreds of specific legislative undertakings considered by the Senate in 1969. Without attempting to list all of them, I want to report to the people of Maryland on some of the most important issues on the agenda of this congressional session.

TAX BILL

On December 22, the Senate passed the most significant reworking of the Federal income tax since its inception in 1913. Offering both reform and relief, the bill will cut taxes paid by individuals by about \$9.1 billion when fully effective in 1973, while increasing annual revenue by some \$6.6 billion.

Title X of the bill increases social security payments by 15 percent, effective January 1970. To allow for computerization, the first checks reflecting the new increase will not be received until early April, together with a separate check covering the increase for January and February.

I voted for the final version of the bill which passed the Senate 71 to 6 and was signed by the President on December 30. Highlights of the 255-page measure include the following:

Increased personal exemption: The personal exemption is increased to \$625 for calendar year 1970, to \$650 for 1971, to \$700 for 1972, and to \$750 for 1973 and thereafter.

Increased standard deduction: The present standard deduction of 10 percent with a \$1,000 ceiling is increased to 13 percent with a \$1,500 ceiling in 1971, to 14 percent with a \$2,000 ceiling in 1972, and to 15 percent with a \$2,000 ceiling for 1973 and thereafter.

Single taxpayers: A new rate schedule for single persons of all ages provides a tax that is no more than 20 percent in excess of that paid on a joint return with the same amount of taxable income.

Capital gains: The current 25-percent

rate on capital gains will be gradually increased on such income in excess of \$50,000, reaching an eventual figure of 35 percent for 1972.

Oil depletion and production payments: The percentage of foreign and domestic oil and gas well income that can be written off for tax purposes under the depletion allowance is reduced from 27½ to 22 percent. Other special benefits for the oil industry are also reformed.

Real estate depreciation: Special accelerated depreciation rules for real estate are tightened considerably except with respect to urgently needed new residential construction.

Minimum tax: For the first time the principle is established that every citizen above the poverty level should pay some tax. Items of special "tax preference" such as accelerated real estate depreciation and the untaxed one-half of capital gains are subjected to a 10-percent tax if they total over \$30,000 after subtraction of regular income tax payments. Treatment of municipal bonds, however, was not changed.

Foundations: Standards are set to prevent use of foundations for financial activity unrelated to their tax-exempt purposes. Undue accumulation of income and other abuses of tax-exempt status are prohibited and rules are specified for nonpartisan voter registration activity.

Charitable contributions: Rules are enacted to eliminate undue tax advantages such as the special unlimited deduction which chiefly benefits the very highest income contributors to charity. On the other hand, the general charitable deduction limit is raised from 30 to 50 percent.

Financial institutions: Present tax advantages of banks and thrift institutions are reduced, with the result that they will be taxed more like other businesses.

Farm losses: Changes are made designed to insure that tax provisions favorable to agriculture are limited to legitimate farming and livestock operations.

DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

Beyond the tax bill, the theme of reform was basic to President Nixon's most important messages to the Congress and the American people on domestic problems. The President's recommendations for revenue sharing and welfare reform, for example, constitute the most significant such initiatives in over a generation. His proposals in other fields such as the draft, manpower training, and consumer affairs reveal a refreshing and constructive commitment to improving the quality of American Government and making national programs responsive to the needs of American society in the 1970's.

DRAFT REFORM

Fundamental reforms of our military manpower system are long overdue. This year President Nixon achieved at least interim goals by securing passage of an act which enabled him to institute a draft lottery, reduce the period of a young man's draft liability to 1 year, and reverse the order of draft calls so that a youth's primary liability will come when he is 19 or has completed his undergraduate education.

Additional steps remain. Nationwide standards for induction and deferment should be established, as I have urged for several years. The Congress should review carefully the report which will be forthcoming from the Presidential commission studying the feasibility of ending the draft in favor of all-volunteer Armed Forces.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

This year the Senate made significant progress toward a more rational alignment of national priorities and a more adequate commitment to meeting basic national needs. For example, while reducing defense spending by \$5.6 billion, the Congress approved a major expansion of aid for education and for health care and research. A bill expanding and improving our attack on hunger and malnutrition was passed by the Senate and sent to the House. A 2-year extension of the Office of Economic Opportunity was approved. Funds were provided for the important urban development and housing programs enacted in 1968.

High on the agenda of unfinished business are the President's proposals for welfare reform and revenue sharing. I am cosponsoring both measures. The welfare bill proposes a new family security plan to replace the current, 35-year-old public assistance programs which have consigned millions of Americans to a bog of dependence and despair, eroded the social fabric of our cities, and drained the resources of State and local governments.

The revenue-sharing measure, equally far reaching, would turn over an increasing portion of Federal revenues to States and localities without the strings, red-tape, and restrictions which have hampered so many narrow, specific Federal-aid programs. The bill is based on the principle that, while Federal financial resources and revenue sources far exceed those of the individual States, State and local government is often best equipped to establish priorities for action in a given jurisdiction and to respond effectively to local needs.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Crime and the fear of crime have become pervasive influences over American life. Two of the committees on which I serve, the Judiciary and District of Columbia Committees, focused their attention on legislation to improve law enforcement and strengthen the administration of justice.

The Judiciary Committee, for example, has reported to the Senate a drug control bill which, in line with the President's recommendations, modifies Federal penalties for the sale and possession of marijuana and narcotics. This bill also strengthens Federal efforts to curb the widespread traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs, and is complementary to the steps already taken by the administration in this area. A bill to control organized crime has also been reported by the Judiciary Committee. Both measures are awaiting floor action.

The District of Columbia Committee, after a series of intensive hearings on the critical problem of crime in the Washington metropolitan area, has completed work on legislation to improve the

criminal laws, to modernize procedures for dealing with juvenile delinquents, and to reorganize the District of Columbia court system and reduce the long delays which currently snarl the administration of justice. These bills have been passed by the Senate and sent to the House.

FARM LEGISLATION

In spite of the enormous impact of the current revolution in our farm economy, the Congress passed no major farm legislation in 1969. I regret this omission, which will have a serious impact on the future of the Nation. The cost of the agricultural subsidy program has grown during my service in the Congress from a relatively modest \$600 million in the last Eisenhower budget to the current \$4.6 billion. Much of this huge sum is concentrated in a few Southern States and is of minimal assistance to either Maryland farmers or to the rural and urban taxpayers who foot the bill for it.

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the late Republican Senate leader, and I cosponsored a farm bill that is now pending in the Senate Agriculture Committee. The bill would phase out the current program of farm subsidies and controls by 1975, establish a long-term land retirement program, and initiate retraining, relocation, and loan programs to open new opportunities to farmers who now struggle along on marginal incomes.

It was my privilege, as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to recommend to the full Senate the confirmation of President Nixon's nomination of Judge Warren Burger to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The committee was impressed by the nominee's candor and ability when he appeared before us, and by his prior record as a judge and legal officer. I was gratified by the Senate's overwhelming acceptance of the committee report.

I was, therefore, regretful to observe the gradual accumulation of evidence during the subsequent hearings on the nomination of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., which made it increasingly dubious that confirmation would be in the best interest of the Court or the country. I made no commitment until all the evidence was in. A review of all the facts indicated that Judge Haynsworth had repeatedly given credence to charges that he violated the fundamental principle that "no man shall be the judge of his own case." With great reluctance, I concluded that I must vote against confirmation.

CONSERVATION

The sorry state of our environment has justifiably become an issue of National and State concern. In Maryland, as in other States, we can see the full impact of an exploding population and advanced technology on our national resources and heritage. Our greatest natural asset, the Chesapeake Bay, is endangered, as are the Potomac River and most of our smaller streams. Our atmosphere is often foul in metropolitan areas and impure even in rural regions. The beauty and health of the land is at stake.

This Congress has already taken several

important steps toward protecting our environment. A National Environmental Policy Act has been passed and signed by the President. More adequate funds were granted for water pollution control projects. The Senate has approved important water quality legislation designed to combat the problems of oil spills and thermal pollution. One important portion of that measure will require all federally licensed projects and facilities to conform to State water quality standards. I secured Senate adoption of my amendment to insure that the public interest and citizen opinion will be heard in all such cases, including new nuclear powerplants. I am also pleased that the Secretary of the Interior announced his intention to develop new policies on the location of oil processing facilities to minimize adverse effects on the environment.

This year the Senate will be considering other environmental bills and the President has promised to submit new recommendations. In addition to working on national legislation, I intend to press for Senate action on my bills to provide sufficient funds for an hydraulic model of Chesapeake Bay, and to establish the C. & O. Canal National Historic Park along the Potomac.

OTHER ITEMS

In addition to the bills mentioned above, the Senate this year will be considering many other significant questions: improvement of mass transit systems; air safety and airport development; consumer protection; increases in railroad retirement benefits; and aid to higher education, including community colleges.

In the Judiciary Committee, I plan to press for action on measures I have sponsored to extend the Voting Rights Act for 5 years, to abolish the electoral college in favor of direct popular election of the President, and to reduce the voting age to 18.

LOOKING AHEAD

The second session of the 91st Congress promises to be busy and challenging. The Senate, in cooperation with the President, will bear major responsibility for shaping new foreign and domestic policies as we enter a new demanding decade. If the principle of reform continues to guide us in 1970 as in 1969, significant progress is likely.

All our undertakings will be overshadowed by two great related problems, inherited by the new administration and courageously engaged by it but still by no means overcome. One is Vietnam and the other is inflation. Inflation demoralizes all our working citizens, inflicts a special penalty on those on low or fixed incomes, erodes our balance-of-international payments, and distorts and distends the national economy. The Vietnam war, which deeply contributes to inflation, also works its special demoralization on the Nation's youth, distorts our foreign priorities, and envenoms the national spirit with bitter disputes irrelevant to the new challenges of the seventies.

With regard to inflation, I believe that we have little choice but to support the

prudent fiscal policies of the Nixon administration. The obvious need for restraint imposed many difficult choices on the President and Congress in 1969, for example, during consideration of the tax-reform bill and individual appropriations bills. In most such cases, I did vote to uphold the President's position.

Although progress toward more stable economic growth is slow, the President's commitment to fiscal responsibility is most heartening. Especially reassuring is the appointment of Dr. Arthur Burns, one of the most brilliant and responsible of the Nation's economists, as the new Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In regard to Vietnam, the President's responsibility is paramount, both in his role as Commander in Chief and in his role in shaping our negotiating position. He deserves our support in his effort to disengage our forces from the distant quagmire of Vietnam. At the same time, the President should not be expected to bear alone the great political burden of extricating America from the war. Not only the administration but also the Congress should replace the old Johnson policies with a rational plan for ending this national tragedy.

In this spirit, I introduced on December 8, with the cosponsorship of Majority Leader MANSFIELD and the encouragement of Minority Leader SCOTT, a comprehensive foreign policy resolution designed to give the President congressional support for his program of accelerated troop withdrawals from Vietnam and to reorient American foreign policies in order to avoid similar disasters in the future. Among the purposes of the measure is to clear away the clutter of previous congressional resolutions, some enacted nearly 20 years ago, which collectively grant the President broad powers to intervene militarily around the world.

I will be discussing this resolution further in the months to come, beginning with my testimony in early February before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. My purpose is not to propose a new isolationism, but to engage the Senate in the foreign policy reappraisal required by the changing conditions of our involvement in world affairs.

Substantial steps have already been taken by President Nixon, with congressional support and encouragement, in the direction of international cooperation and concord. Among the most important advances of 1969 were the opening of preliminary talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations; the ratification and signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty; the proclamation of a new American policy renouncing the first use of weapons of chemical and biological warfare; a new posture toward the nations of Eastern Europe and greater cooperation with our NATO allies; and a series of recommendations for reforms in foreign aid and trade.

In line with these initiatives, the Nixon administration has undertaken a comprehensive review of our world-

wide military strategy and defense policies. At the same time, the Senate in 1969 devoted over a month to floor debate on individual weapons systems, in the most intensive review of such defense projects undertaken by the entire Senate in many years. The product of these executive and legislative reassessments was a significant reduction in defense spending for fiscal 1970.

I felt that further cuts could have been made without endangering our national security. For instance, I voted against any deployment of an anti-ballistic-missile system this year, in the belief that further research and development were essential, and that massive spending on an ABM at this time would be inflationary and unproductive.

CONCLUSION

Since January 1969, thousands of Marylanders have shared with me their thoughts on the vital and often difficult issues before the Senate. This advice and counsel, from all parts of the State, and reflecting all shades of opinion, has been invaluable in helping me to represent the interests of the Free State and reach informed judgments. As we move into a new decade, bringing unresolved national problems with us and facing additional challenges, I will need and solicit the suggestions, the thoughts and the participation of every Marylander.

RENEWAL AT GETTYSBURG

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, my friend, Barbara Joy Henderson, of Washington, D.C., has prepared a most interesting and enlightening composition interpreting Lincoln's famed Gettysburg Address. Mrs. Henderson has been inspired by the various translations of this historic, literary work and she comments meaningfully on the translations of Lincoln's words into the Swedish, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French languages. She calls attention to the fact that translations of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address are also available in Russian and Greek at Gettysburg.

I am pleased to include Mrs. Henderson's article for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

The idea of translating Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address into other languages came in response to requests by many visitors from abroad who wished to gain deeper insight into Lincoln's irresistible proclamation of the infinitely equal value of every individual. The following article was written because, as the work of translation proceeded, it became obvious that some of the basic ideas in the address were being either misunderstood or resisted. (It should be recognized that references to a particular language are merely a metonymic device to describe a cultural attitude.)

Most notable was an apparent reluctance in Romance thought to distinguish between spiritual creation and human birth. The claim that all men are *born* equal is open

to question; but the truth of Lincoln's perception of the equality of their *creation*, with its endowment of intrinsic spirituality common to all men, is undeniable.

The cornerstone on which this country's unique structure has rested is a sense of individual freedom coupled with the respect due to equals by equals. We have seldom achieved this ideal practically, nor do we fulfill it adequately now; but we have the ideal, and a great many of us try to live it out in our daily round.

It therefore seems important to recognize the deep contemporary validity of Lincoln's insights, not only for the rising tide of independent thinkers in this country, but for all men the world over who are striving to realize outwardly the full stature of their innate manhood. Between equals need there—can there—be aught but peace?

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

So begins the Gettysburg Address, that great requiem and reveille which tolls like a bell down the decades. A beginning, not an end, was Lincoln's vision, even in the midst of battle, even when remembering the nearly 15,000 men in gray who swept across the fields into the blazing guns of men in blue steadfast on a ridge named Cemetery. Equality of creation is the ringing message—a new nation, conceived, brought forth, and dedicated to actualize a new ideal.

What word-clothing to choose in publishing this very ethos of our nation to other lands? For our Swedish fellows, whose thought—and therefore whose tongue—marches at the same crisp pace as our own, translation is simple, pure, identically forceful:

"Vara fäder frambringade för attiosju ar sedan på denna kontinent en ny nation, uppgjord i frihet och tillägnad pastaendet att alla människor äro skapade jämlika."

German echoes, a shade more ponderously: "Siebenundachtzig Jahre ist es her, dass unsere Vorfahren auf diesem Kontinent eine neue Nation ins Leben riefen—eine Nation in Freiheit begründet und dem Grundsatz geweiht, dass alle Menschen gleich geschaffen sind."

Perhaps a gentler interpretation of the conception metaphor here, with "called into being" instead of "brought forth"; but the meaning is manifest.

But what of the Latin-rich languages? Spanish, besides "founding" a nation (a re-creation from "Founding Fathers", perhaps), had to be guided from "the principle of equality between men", through "all men are born equal", to final recognition of the immense essential difference between creation and birth:

"Hace ochenta y siete años, nuestros padres fundaron en este continente una nueva nación concebida en la Libertad y consagrada al principio de que todos los hombres son creados iguales."

Italian visualized our fathers as "building" a new nation, but was fairly easily persuaded to adopt equality of creation:

"Ottanta e sette anni or sono i nostri padri edificarono su questo continente una nuova nazione, concepita nella Libertà, e dedicata al principio che tutti gli uomini sono creati uguali."

Portuguese, too, "founded" our nation, but dedicated it to the principle by which "all men are created upon conditions of equality" lest (it was said) the implication be that of the lowest, rather than the highest, common denominator:

"Há oitenta e sete anos nossos antepassados fundaram neste continente uma nova nação, concebida em liberdade e dedicada

ao principio segundo o qual todos os homens são criados em condições de igualdade."

And French—that loveliest of modulations, that flute-like transmutation of Latin—many are her versions of Lincoln's ageless eloquence, but in all of them men are "born equal". A theological crux, of course, with Genesis 1 at issue. So we made a new translation:

"Il y a de cela dix-sept lustres et deux ans, nos pères ont mis au monde sur ce continent une nation nouvelle, conçue dans la liberté et consacrée à la proposition que tous les hommes sont créés égaux."

Thus creation, not birth, sets the spirit of this nation resounding throughout the world.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

Lincoln's uniquely ambiguous participle causes a slight difficulty for Swedish: "Vi äro nu engagerade i ett väldigt inbördeskrig förövande . . ." Without the comma it can be taken either way. But German attributes the testing to us: "Wir stehen jetzt inmitten eines grossen Bürgerkrieges. Es ist an uns, zu beweisen, dass diese Nation . . ." ("it is for us to prove").

Italian gets out of it neatly by using an identical construction: "Ora noi ci troviamo impegnati in una terribile guerra civile, mettendo alla prova . . ." French takes a slight liberty in deference to the main idea: "Nous sommes actuellement engagés dans une grande guerre civile, en train de vérifier . . ." ("by way of testing").

But Spanish insists that it is the war itself "which will decide" the question: "Estamos ahora empeñados en una gran guerra civil que decidirá . . ." Portuguese is almost identical: "Estamos agora empenhados numa grande guerra civil que demonstrará . . ." ("which will prove").

So we question. Did Lincoln consciously choose a cloudy form? Or, in the course of drafting his "few words", did he assume public understanding of what must have been of such terrible trenchancy in his own thought? Surely the latter—"Now we are engaged"; and now, here, in this place, at this time, we do not know the outcome. We can only trust God, not to give "our side" the victory, but to lead us all to a pinnacle of resolve never before reached in our history.

"We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that this nation might live."

A second theological question arises: Portuguese and German both equate "final" with "eternal". Does this negate resurrection? From nearly twenty centuries ago the inspired teaching has traveled down the generations that no lodging in the ground, however final for the body, can hold man in eternal nothingness. There is a triumph to be enjoyed, for "the last enemy" shall inevitably be destroyed. Perhaps Italian recognizes this least clearly, with its "ultima dimora" ("final dwelling"); the others agree on "resting place"—a more temporary implication.

Spanish and Italian at first insisted that a nation has no life as such and therefore can only "survive", not "live". Persuaded to examine the essence of "nation" (from "nascire," "to be born"), they agreed that individual lives might indeed be given to the end that a collective life be saved: "quienes aquí dieron su vida para que esa nación pudiera vivir"; and "coloro che qui diedero la loro vita affinché quella nazione possa vivere." But Portuguese was adamant for "survive", thus losing the measured gift: "da-

queles que aqui deram suas vidas para que esta nação pudesse sobreviver." And German blurs the sharp equivalent of the English life-for-a-life by wordiness: "jene, die hier ihr Leben liessen, damit die Nation am Leben bliebe" ("those who here sacrificed their life so that the nation might continue in life"). But Swedish—"dem, som gav sina liv här så att denna nation måtte leva"—and French—"ceux qui ont donné ici leur vie afin que cette nation puisse vivre"—speak true. The bravest love, the hardest love, the ongoing love.

"It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this."

Redundance? Repetition? No. This is unequivocal conviction, spoken in heritage-words whose meaning was set centuries ago: "fitting (1535)—becoming, suitable; that fits exactly." "Proper (1449)—strictly belonging or applicable; accurate, exact, correct; esp. appropriate to the circumstances." Altogether so!

Swedish uses "helt och hallet" ("wholly, totally, completely") "tillbehörigt och passande" ("fitting and proper"). German weakens it into: "Es ziehmt sich für uns, so zu handeln" ("it becomes us so to act"). Do the southern cultures feel the weight? Italian uses "perfettamente congruo e giusto" ("perfectly adequate/fair and right"). Spanish says "nada más propio y justo" ("nothing more proper and correct"). Portuguese finds it "de todo natural e apropriado" ("altogether natural/normal and fit"). But French makes it a matter of logic: "Il est tout à fait juste" ("appropriate" in the sense of "right") "et raisonnable" ("rational", and only thus "proper")—the heart's command subdued to the mind's choice.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract."

With only the subtlest of differences in interpretation, Swedish likes "comprehensive, large-scale" ("omfattande"), while Spanish prefers "larger" ("Más amplio"); Italian, Portuguese, and French all go for "wider" ("più lato"; "mais lato"; "plus large"). German is odd-man-out, with special perception, perhaps: "and yet, if/when we consider it rightly" ("und doch, wenn wir es recht bedenken").

"Dedicate . . . consecrate . . . hallow"—an ascending arpeggio of tribute to man-wide devotion and courage, whether those calling it forth be termed "valiant" (Spanish), "gallant" (Italian), or "brave" (the other four). And, although Spanish elaborates with "tan to los sobrevivientes como los muertos" ("those who survive as well as those who are killed"), and Germanic exactitude—"mögen sie leben, oder gefallen sein" ("be they living or killed")—seems to ignore the essential unity of the brothers who fought there, in the others' understanding death itself makes no final difference: "levande OCH döda"; "vivi E morti"; "vivos E mortos"; "vivants ET morts."

For Lincoln, always the fact, never the symbol-substitute. Words and gestures are superfluous; consecration has already taken place, the sprinkling done not with holy water but with blood, not with ritual tool but with the immanent spirit of self-sacrifice. It is a simple concept, literally stated by Spanish, Italian, and French. Both Portuguese and German like "exalt or minimize" ("elevar ou reduzir"; "zu erhöhen oder zu mindern"); Swedish says "contribute or lessen" ("bidraga eller förringa"). But all are true to the idea.

"The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."

Wrong, Mr. Lincoln. Your voice will still speak strong even when Gettysburg becomes a place to visit among other places. But you used an interesting word: "heed". Swedish and German interpret it as "heed" ("världen kommer föga"; "die Welt wird . . . kaum aufhorchen"). Italian has a slight variant: "scarcely be aware of" ("accorgerà appena"). Spanish and Portuguese are both literal: "apenas advertirá"; "pouco notará". French likes "retain" and "recall" ("le monde retiendra peu et ne se rappellera pas longtemps").

Agreement in the thought is total. Let "Taps" be sounded.

Now sound Reveille! Sound the call to look forward, to invest with continuing meaning and substance what has been done at such great cost:

"It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us"—

Dedication is not for the past, an act over and done with; it is for all time, never to be quite finished. All tongues echo the simple charge almost identically. It continues:

"that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion"—Spanish calls it "the final proof of love" (a suprema prueba de afecto); Swedish, "the last full measure of sacrifice" ("det sista fulla måttet av uppoffring"); the others are literal. Love—sacrifice—devotion—all are understatement of a gift "pressed down, and running over."

"that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain"—

"Highly resolve" is difficult in all but Swedish: "att vi här högéligen föresätta oss." German uses "auf das wir feierlich bezeugen" ("that we solemnly attest"). French says "que nous prenions ici la résolution solennelle" ("that we take here the solemn resolution"). Italian prefers "solemnly resolve"; Spanish, "firmly resolve"; and Portuguese phrases it "adopting here the high purpose." But—have all nations had so many die "in vain" that there is casual historical acceptance of this tragic phrase? Italian uses "fallen," Spanish says "perished"; otherwise it comes off almost glibly, with practically no variation.

But Lincoln will not have it so.

"that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom"—

Ah! We return now, not to death, but to birth—to a nation remade, through reliance on God, in a new freedom of spirit, "a new baptism" (as the Spanish sees it) by which it can take up a hitherto unknown leadership in the world. French and Spanish agree that Lincoln's inspired interpolation, "under God", means "with God's help"; Italian and Portuguese place our nation "under God's protection". Swedish says clearly "under Gud"; German prefers "God willing". But (like Nicodemus) German denies the possibility of a second birth: "auf dass diese Nation, nach Gottes Willen, den Weg zu einer neuen Freiheit finde" ("find the way to a new freedom"). Is there a metaphysical oversight here?

Now the climax, the very goal itself, for then and for now:

"and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Our English "of" can be devastating for translators, and Swedish has a variant—possibly more accurate, possibly not—"över", "av", "för" ("government over the people, of the people, and for the people"). German uses "des", "für", and "durch" ("of",

"for", and "by"). All others follow Lincoln's choice. No matter; the point is not the phrase, but the warning:

If this nation dies, true government will go into the shadows for long decades to come; another Middle Ages will spread its darkness over millions. But if this nation lives, the light with which it shines will become clearer and clearer in the minds of men—of "all men, created equal", equally able to govern themselves, by themselves, and for themselves and for each other.

Law, yes; order, yes; but wrought out by self-discipline, not by whip or coin or color.

From within, not from without, comes the kingdom.

HOOSIER ENERGY READY TO PRODUCE MUCH NEEDED ELECTRICITY

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I invite the attention of my colleagues to a series of two articles which have appeared in the Indiana Rural News, the official monthly publication of Indiana State-wide Rural Electrical Cooperative, Inc., which has a readership of more than 700,000 rural Hoosiers. These articles appeared November 1969 and December 1969.

The articles detail factually the complete story of the much needed Hoosier Energy generating plant at Petersburg, on the banks of White River in Pike County, Ind. More and more, America is finding the need for electricity as we hear of brownouts and blackouts. Here, in beautiful southern Indiana is a modern, well-equipped electrical generating plant, which, incidentally, has been furnished with Federal moneys under a loan from the Rural Electrification Administration. But, today, because of court orders and legal battles, the plant still stands idle. It is ready to operate and to produce electricity—a commodity much needed in Indiana to further the economy of not only our State but also of America.

I ask unanimous consent that the two articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

HOOSIER ENERGY—A 20-YEAR STRUGGLE FOR RURAL POWER

More than 20 years have slipped by since Hoosier Cooperative Energy was incorporated by nine of Indiana's rural electric cooperatives.

It has been 20 years of trials and triumphs. The two decades have been years of fulfillment, frustrations, and faith.

The formal organization of Hoosier Energy on June 9, 1949, was the first step taken by Indiana's rural electric leaders along a difficult road leading to a rural electric generation and transmission system, a new source of much needed electric power for REMCs in southern Indiana.

The huge Hoosier Energy power plant located on the White River near Petersburg and the network of transmission lines are the results of Indiana's rural electric leaders who joined together 20 years ago to seek better ways to obtain an adequate and secure source of electricity and to determine the

best means of achieving reductions in the cost of wholesale electric power.

When Hoosier Energy was incorporated at Rushville in June of 1949, nine REMCs formed the nucleus of the new cooperative. Today, 17 REMCs, who together serve the electric power needs of nearly 380,000 Hoosiers in 44 southern Indiana counties, are members of Hoosier Energy. In addition to the original nine incorporators—Bartholomew, Decatur, Fayette-Union, Johnson, Morgan, Rush, Shelby, and Wayne County REMCs and Southeastern Indiana REMC—other members of Hoosier Energy are Daviess-Martin, Harrison, Knox, Orange and Sullivan County REMCs, Utilities District of Western Indiana REMC, and Dubois and Southern Indiana RECs.

The history of Hoosier Energy can be traced back to the very first years of rural electrification in Indiana.

For years, since the beginning of cooperative rural electrification in the Hoosier State when Boone County REMC at Lebanon began electric service to its first consumer-owner on May 22, 1936, Indiana REMCs have negotiated with the state's five commercial power companies for assurances of adequate and dependable supplies of wholesale power under acceptable conditions and reasonable rates. These negotiations have been, and continue to be, critical to REMC management.

The cost of wholesale power is the largest single factor in a rural electric cooperative's overall operating expenses. If wholesale rates are high, retail rates must also be high. Apart from costs, REMCs find they must be concerned with restrictive terms and conditions in wholesale contracts which handicap them in serving new consumers and improving operating efficiency.

Efforts in the early years of Hoosier Energy to achieve power supply arrangements compatible with the legitimate business interests and responsibilities of the REMCs were not successful. It was decided that the possibilities of power supply through self generation and transmission began to be explored.

The results of the exploration led to Hoosier Energy's application to the Rural Electrification Administration for a \$42-million loan to build a 198,000-kilowatt steam generating plant near Petersburg in southwestern Indiana, plus construction of 950 miles of transmission line to serve the wholesale power requirements of the nine member distribution cooperatives. The application for the loan was filed with REA on May 10, 1957, eight years after Hoosier Energy's inception.

Seven months later, however, the application was withdrawn for further study. On August 24, 1959, Hoosier Energy filed a revised proposal with REA, requesting a loan of \$53,872,000. This called for construction of a power plant of the same capacity as in the first application, but a larger 1,400-mile transmission network to serve an expanded Hoosier Energy membership which had grown to 17 REMCs.

Throughout the long period the Hoosier Energy loan application was under consideration—slightly more than four years—the commercial power companies had numerous opportunities to make new offers to meet the needs and requirements of Hoosier Energy's member systems. During this period the companies' offers still were not satisfactory.

Approval of the Hoosier Energy loan was announced by REA on June 15, 1961. Indiana's rural electric leaders met the REA Administrator, Norman Clapp, in Washington, D.C., to sign a loan contract. Because the second application for loan funds had been further revised a year earlier, the loan provided for \$60,225,000 to finance a 198,000-kilowatt generating station 1,552 miles of transmission lines, and 125 substations for delivering power to Hoosier Energy's mem-

ber REMCs, then serving more than 290,000 Hoosiers.

An exhaustive analysis of Hoosier Energy's loan application had convinced REA officials that the member REMCs would realize significant savings in wholesale power costs if the Hoosier Energy system was built. The savings were based on what the REMCs would have paid under the best offers of the commercial power companies for wholesale electricity. An additional consideration was that the loan would assure the rural electricians an adequate supply of power for existing and anticipated needs.

Southern Indiana REMCs by this time were rapidly approaching the day when it would not be possible for them to meet their service responsibilities.

On December 7, 1961, Hoosier Energy applied to the Public Service Commission of Indiana for a certificate of convenience and necessity which would formally authorize construction of the facilities provided for in the loan.

Immediately, all the power companies in the state—Public Service Company of Indiana, Southern Indiana Gas and Electric Company, Indianapolis Power and Light Company, Northern Indiana Public Service Company, and Indiana and Michigan Electric Company—petitioned the Public Service Commission for permission to intervene and oppose the granting of the certificate.

In an effort to shorten the course of threatened litigation, Hoosier Energy and Indiana Statewide Rural Electric Cooperative, the central service association of the state's REMCs, agreed to transfer the generating plant loan to Statewide in order to expedite plant construction. This action was based on the legal opinion that Statewide had been granted the necessary authority to generate and transmit power by Indiana's Rural Electric Membership Corporation Act of 1935. Consequently, through action of the REA Administrator, the loan was transferred to the Statewide organization on April 26, 1962. The Hoosier Energy Division was created within the Indiana Statewide Rural Electric Cooperative. A motion to withdraw the Hoosier Energy application for a certificate was granted by the Public Service Commission.

Ground-breaking ceremonies for the Hoosier Energy plant drew a large crowd of Indiana's rural electric leaders to the Petersburg site on May 14, 1962.

Then began a series of almost unbelievable legal maneuvers by the commercial power companies. They were determined to prevent the Hoosier Energy group from preventing its project.

First, Indianapolis Power and Light Company filed a complaint in the Pike County Circuit Court at Petersburg seeking an injunction against construction of the plant. The suit, filed four days after the ground-breaking ceremonies, alleged that the Indianapolis utility had long planned a generating plant on the White River a few miles above the site of the proposed Hoosier Energy site. The power company asked the Court to determine who had the right to use the water in White River.

Less than a week later, on May 23, 1962, the Southern Indiana Gas and Electric Company at Evansville filed suit in Marion County Circuit Court at Indianapolis—also seeking an injunction against construction of the Hoosier Energy plant. SIGECO contended the Statewide association would have to obtain a new certificate of convenience and necessity from the Public Service Commission. The Evansville utility also alleged duplication of facilities and argued that the certificate vested in the Statewide organization in 1935 by the state legislature had expired through non-use.

A third suit was filed on June 1, 1962.

This suit also was filed in the Marion County Circuit Court on essentially the same grounds as SIGECO presented. This time the protesting party was Public Service Company of Indiana.

In the face of these suits, and in anticipation of others by the remaining Indiana commercial power companies, Statewide moved to bring all the power companies into the complaint filed by Indianapolis Power and Light. This was done to accelerate existing and potential litigation. The motion was granted by the Pike County Circuit Court.

The commercial power companies appealed this decision to the Indiana Supreme Court and on August 23, 1963, the state's highest court ruled against joining the lawsuits. Each case would have to be heard separately.

Tactics of the power companies to delay construction of the REMC generating plant were proving successful. Although reports issued by the Federal Power Commission showed a serious shortage of electricity in Indiana, not a pole had been set nor any line built to bring Hoosiers their own rural electric power. Two and one-half years would elapse from the time REA had approved the Hoosier Energy loan until the first of the court cases actually would come to trial.

A NEW SOURCE OF STRENGTH FOR INDIANA

Hoosier energy was incorporated as a power supply cooperative 20 years ago by Indiana's southern REMCs. The goal of the rural electric leaders who met at Rushville in June of 1949 to formally organize Hoosier Energy was to provide much needed electricity at reasonable rates to thousands of rural families living and working in the southern half of Indiana.

Although the need for a new source of electric power for southern Indiana had long been recognized, Indiana's rural electric leaders worked more than 12 years to make detailed plans for meeting that need.

It was not until June of 1961 that the Rural Electrification Administration, the federal lending agency, approved Hoosier Energy's plans for a generating plant on the White River near Petersburg and a network of transmission lines which would connect the plant to the 17 REMCs which are members of Hoosier Energy.

Soon after the loan application had been approved, Indiana's commercial power companies began a series of legal maneuvers to delay or prevent construction of the Hoosier Energy plant. In December of 1961, Hoosier Energy's request before the Public Service Commission for the certificate of convenience and necessity required to build and operate a power plant, was opposed by several of the commercial utilities. This opposition was overcome by transferring the loan to Indiana Statewide Rural Electric Cooperative, the association of Indiana's REMCs, which had been given such a certificate by the Indiana REMC Act.

Consequently, in May of 1962 ground-breaking ceremonies for the Hoosier Energy plant were celebrated at the plant's site in Pike County. It was a celebration of the beginning of a new era and new strength for Indiana.

The ground-breaking ceremonies also signaled the beginning of a new round of legal battles with Indiana's commercial power companies which were determined to prevent Hoosier Energy from accomplishing goals.

Separate legal suits filed by the commercial companies alleged that Hoosier Energy's generating plant and transmission system would use water from the White River it had no right to use, that the plant would represent a duplication of existing facilities, and that Indiana Statewide's certificate for operating the plant had expired because it had not previously been used.

The three suits were filed separately in two

different Indiana Circuit Courts. Indiana Statewide asked the Pike County Circuit Court, where the first suit had been filed, to join the separate suits together in order to accelerate the existing and threatened litigation which was delaying construction of the Hoosier Energy power supply plant.

Indiana Statewide's request was granted by the Pike County Court, but the Indiana Supreme Court was to reverse the decision in August of 1963, forcing Indiana Statewide and Hoosier Energy to spend several more years struggling for the right to build their plant.

Attorneys for Indiana Statewide and Hoosier Energy were to spend many weeks in several county courthouses during the next several years fighting the lawsuits brought against the rural electric cooperatives. In the meantime, construction work was put off pending the outcome of the litigation.

The first Hoosier Energy courtroom victory came in 1964 when the Hancock County Circuit Court at Greenfield ruled that Indiana Statewide's certificate of convenience and necessity was valid.

Hoosier Energy won its second court-room victory in 1965 when the Hancock County Circuit Court again upheld its decision that Statewide's authority to generate and transmit electric energy was a legislative grant of power not subject to forfeiture for non-use.

Consequently, on the basis of these two court decisions in August of 1965, four years and two months after it had approve Hoosier Energy's loan application, the Rural Electrification Administration began advancing funds to Hoosier Energy for construction of its plant.

A second loan to Indiana Statewide's Hoosier Energy Division for \$11.2-million was approved by REA in December, 1965. This loan supplemented Hoosier Energy's original loan for \$60.2-million. The additional \$11.2-million reflected increases in construction costs and the increased need for wholesale power of the member REMCs—increases which occurred during the delay forced on Hoosier Energy by the power companies' litigation.

The revised plans for Hoosier Energy called for a 200,000-kilowatt generating plant, 1,786 miles of transmission lines, and 133 substations throughout southern Indiana.

The new year of 1966 seemed to be a rebirth of a bright, new era for Indiana's southern REMCs. The giant Hoosier Energy plant and transmission system was under construction. Only the day-to-day problems of building such a huge power plant seemed to be delaying the arrival of that time when REMCs could "turn on the lights the country" in southern Indiana with power they had generated themselves.

The only major courtroom activity in 1966 saw the Indiana Appellate Court confirm the second Hancock County Circuit Court decision. This represented yet another legal victory for Hoosier Energy.

Throughout the following months of 1966, 1967, and 1968, the building site near Petersburg was the scene of much activity as steel and concrete began to take on the shape of a generating plant. Towers for the transmission system were being erected.

In January the Indiana Appellate Court split 3-3 when it ruled on the appeal of the first Hancock County Circuit Court case. This meant the case automatically went up to the Indiana Supreme Court.

This did not stop construction of the Hoosier Energy plant, however, and work continued at the building site. Near the end of 1968, the completion of the generating plant was in sight.

The lamp of hope was burning brightly, but then it flickered and almost went out on December 10, 1969. In a 3 to 2 decision, the Indiana Supreme Court reversed the lower court decision, ruling that Indiana

Statewide Rural Electric Cooperative's original authority to generate and transmit electric power had lapsed because the right had not previously been used. This reversal of the lower court decision, which had been made four years earlier, was an unanticipated body blow to Indiana's rural electric leaders.

The Supreme Court ruling made it necessary for Indiana Statewide to obtain a new certificate of convenience and necessity from the Indiana Public Service Commission. A petition has subsequently been filed, and, expectedly, the commercial power companies opposed the application.

On December 28, 1968, eighteen days after the unexpected Supreme Court ruling, REA assumed temporary ownership of the Hoosier Energy project. REA then signed an agreement with Indiana Statewide, employing its Hoosier Energy Division as an agent of the United States government to complete construction of the Petersburg plant, energize the system, and operate it for a period not to exceed five years.

Commenting on the government's decision to acquire Hoosier Energy properties, Norman Clapp, then REA Administrator, said:

"The Indiana Supreme Court has not ruled on the merits of Indiana Statewide's generation and transmission project. The court has only ruled that the cooperative's original authority to generate and transmit electricity has now lapsed and that it must go to the Public Service Commission for a new certificate of convenience and necessity. We have no reason to assume that the Statewide will not get its certificate. In the meantime, the United States is taking title to facilities and will take the steps to complete and put them on a revenue-producing basis to give maximum protection to the government's investment in the project"

The light was burning brightly again, but not for long. Two of the commercial power companies successfully sought a federal court injunction which prevented REA from operating the Hoosier Energy power plant. The Federal District Court for Southern Indiana granted the injunction in March of this year, thus stopping REA and Hoosier Energy from putting the power plant "on the line."

This past summer has been a long, long summer for Indiana's southern rural electric cooperatives, but on September 18, 1969, the United States Court of Appeals in Chicago reversed the Federal District Court decision announced in March. The light was again shining through.

Removal of the injunction against the REA Administrator enables him today to secure revenues to preserve and protect the security of the government's loan to Hoosier Energy.

At the generating plant on the White River, Hoosier Energy officials are anxiously awaiting the decision of the United States Supreme Court which is being asked by the commercial power companies to reverse the U.S. Court of Appeals decision.

As this was being written, it was not known exactly when the Supreme Court would act, but some indication of the future of the Hoosier Energy plant was expected sometime this month.

Indiana's rural electric leaders are convinced that Hoosier Energy's brightest days are ahead.

WHY INDIANA NEEDS HOOSIER ENERGY

A continuing supply of wholesale power at reasonable rates is very important to Indiana's REMCs. Wholesale power costs represent the largest part of any REMC's annual budget, averaging around 42 percent of all expenses.

If wholesale rates are high, the retail rates charged each REMC member will be correspondingly high.

Many years ago the managers and elected officials of southern Indiana's REMCs became increasingly concerned about the price they had to pay for wholesale power.

REMC studies indicated that the members could save large amounts of money over a period of time if the REMCs had the means to generate and transmit their own electricity. REA analysis of Hoosier Energy's studies and plans confirmed the fact that the members of the REMCs in Hoosier Energy would realize significant savings if the proposed plant were built.

While the Hoosier Energy loan was under consideration by REA, a period of four years, the commercial power companies had many opportunities to make new offers to meet the needs and requirements of the rural electric cooperatives, but they did not extend a satisfactory offer.

Besides the dollar costs of wholesale power purchased from the commercial power companies, the REMCs were equally concerned with the other terms of the wholesale power contracts offered to them. Some of the terms were restrictive and would have handicapped the REMCs in serving new consumers and in improving operating efficiency.

The commercial power companies at one time claimed Hoosier Energy's plant would be a duplication of facilities. Experience, however, has shown that the consumption of electricity has been doubling almost every ten years. This growing need for more and more electrical power is expected to accelerate even faster in the immediate future. Use of electricity is expected to double every six to eight years.

The addition to Hoosier Energy to the economy of southern Indiana is expected to provide the region with a much needed source of new power.

Indiana's southern REMCs, which are distribution cooperatives, combined with Hoosier Energy, which is a power supply cooperative will be able to provide Indiana with an effective "yardstick" of the state's electric power industry.

When an effective amount of electricity in this state is generated, transmitted, and distributed to the ultimate consumer without any profit added on, the public will be in a position to judge how much profit is being included in the rest of the industry's prices. This is the way the consumer's "electric yardstick" works. It is the best protection against excessive power costs.

Indiana REMC leaders believe the "yardstick" will be dramatically demonstrated in the Hoosier state as it has been in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Kentucky—the four states bordering Indiana and which all have cooperative power supply systems in operation.

Using the "yardstick" that Hoosier Energy will provide, Indiana's consumers will find out just how much, in dollars and cents, a kilowatt of power should cost.

DEFECTS IN THE 1970 CENSUS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that the pending 1970 census will not count very important segments of our population: primarily, minority groups, the urban poor, the foreign born, and, in some lesser degree, the handicapped; this allegedly due to defects in the methods and procedures to be used.

The able, distinguished gentleman

from California, our friend Congressman BURTON, has brought this matter to my attention and has ably summarized the causes of his concern about this matter.

He states generally that census taking in densely populated urban areas, in which high concentration of the classes of people referred to above reside, will rely primarily on mailings rather than personal interviews.

This is true, notwithstanding the fact that many people in these areas share mailing addresses, an incredibly large number of units and apartments are inhabited by more than one family, and that many will not respond, out of fear, ignorance, or physical disability to a lengthy, impersonal, and complex form.

It is also pointed out that the census forms and accompanying instruction sheet will be printed only in English, notwithstanding the fact that millions of people, mainly Spanish-speaking, orientals, and other foreign born, can neither read nor write English.

There is apparently no official or standard translation of the census questionnaire, instruction sheet, or census taker handbook in Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, or any language other than English.

There is also no requirement that the census takers in a bilingual area be bilingual, or reside in that area, or must pass standardized, objective, hiring tests.

These census takers will receive low pay, so I am advised, a maximum of \$2 an hour and, in most cases, a mere 50 cents per interview piece rate. For this, it is almost impossible to find qualified, trained, and bilingual census takers.

There are apparently no other plans or funds for assistance and information centers with well-trained and well-paid staffs, and little prospect for volunteer centers or community educators.

Several serious gaps in canvassing these people have emerged and the census field offices do not have the funds, power, or discretion to conduct effective recruitment programs to hire required employees that meet the unique residential and population situations of their localities.

As we all know, the census data are extremely useful not only to Federal programs but to other programs of governmental agencies and private groups.

Obviously, we need to take immediate action toward this situation for extreme intensification and I have advised Director of the Census, Dr. George H. Brown, of my views in this matter and hope he will move as soon as possible to try to rectify these drawbacks, maladjustments, and lack of personnel in order to obtain an efficient, helpful census which is very important to the country and to many people.

LEGISLATIVE REPORT OF SENATOR
RALPH YARBOROUGH: FIRST SES-
SION OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it is my privilege to report to the people

of Texas upon the activities and accomplishments of the first session of the 91st Congress. The year 1969 can best be described as a period of challenge and change in the history of America. January not only marked the beginning of a new year but also the change of administration. With the change of administrations came not only a change in personnel but also a change in emphasis and, more importantly, a change in priorities.

The new administration, in the name of economy, began 1969 by making large cuts in the budgets of our vital health and education programs while at the same time advocating costly new military weapons programs. This development brought the predominantly Democratic Congress into direct conflict with the administration over the question. Congress, and particularly the Senate, accepted the President's challenge and conducted the most thorough review of our military spending in history. In addition Congress refused to retreat from the progress we have made in the past 8 years on the domestic front and restored funds for many vital domestic projects which the administration had eliminated. These problems were time consuming and consequently this was an unusually long session of Congress. However, this first session of Congress did complete a program of legislation that maintained domestic progress while still dealing with the problems of ever-increasing inflation.

The first session of the 91st Congress was also a period of personal change and challenge for me.

At the beginning of this session, I became chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This is one of the most important committees in Congress because its jurisdiction covers subjects which touch the lives of all Americans. Its jurisdiction includes—

First, all labor laws and labor-management relations;

Second, all Federal education laws and programs;

Third, all health legislation needed to provide the research, manpower, and care within financial reach of all Americans;

Fourth, the economic opportunity program which is the basic instrument for the war on poverty;

Fifth, veterans readjustment to civilian life under the GI bill, and medical care for veterans;

Sixth, the problems of migrant workers;

Seventh, railroad retirement benefits; Eighth, the special needs of Indian education;

Ninth, the needs of the arts and humanities;

Tenth, the operation of the National Science Foundation; and

Eleventh, the problems of aging.

In addition to my new duties a chairman of the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I became chairman of the Health Subcommittee so that I could continue my efforts to pass legislation that improves the health of all our people.

Although my responsibilities with the Labor and Public Welfare Committee greatly increased upon becoming chair-

man, I retained my position as the ranking majority member of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee and also my position on the all important Senate Appropriations Committee.

The challenge of new responsibility that became mine in the first session of the 91st Congress was one I welcomed because it increased my opportunity to work for legislation that directly benefits the people of Texas and the country as a whole. I cannot say that Congress or I accomplished everything that was needed, but I believe that very commendable progress was made in solving the perplexing problems of our State and Nation. In the following report, I wish to highlight the accomplishments of this session of Congress for the people who I am grateful to serve and represent.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Upon adjournment in December, the committee had just completed action on a massive, 4-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Its major provisions include the payments to school districts that are heavily impacted by Federal employment and activities, the big title I section that provides additional money for districts serving large numbers of children from low-income families, grants for bilingual education so that children may learn in Spanish as well as in English, changes in adult education to help more people who have not finished high school, grants for libraries in elementary and secondary schools, and institute a new special program for children with learning disabilities.

The Senate will take up this bill early next year.

Also in the field of education, we enacted my bill, S. 1611, creating a National Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped. It is Public Law 91-61, and will provide a national center where the latest devices and techniques for teaching the physically handicapped can be brought together.

A National Commission on Libraries and Information Science will be created when the House of Representatives acts on another of my bills, S. 1519. It was passed by the Senate on May 23, 1969. The Commission will keep track of national needs for library science and services, and make proposals for meeting them.

The significant support for science research in colleges and universities through the National Science Foundation was extended in Public Law 91-120. It authorized \$477 million in 1970 for research and education in science and engineering in furtherance of American leadership in these fields.

The alarming rise in the cost of medical care and the shortage of sufficient care and facilities for those in need prompted me to take the chairmanship of the important Subcommittee on Health.

We have already recommended six measures, all of them passed by the Senate. A major one, S. 2264, authorizes grants to control dangerous communicable diseases. It is a 3-year program, providing money to State and local governments to control contagious diseases, in-

cluding those susceptible to control through vaccination and immunization. Tuberculosis, German measles, venereal disease, polio, diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, and Rh disease are targets of the bill.

Vaccination against German measles can prevent mental and physical disorders in thousands of unborn children, who are jeopardized when this disease strikes a pregnant woman.

The Senate passed this bill October 20.

It has also acted on a second major health measure, S. 2523, expanding the community mental health centers program. Mental illness strikes more Americans than all physical illnesses combined. We could not cope with mental disease under old-fashioned methods of mass hospitalization. Instead, we are learning to treat these people in their home communities, usually without hospitalization.

This bill will stimulate the organization of these centers by providing a longer period of Federal support for their operation and by increasing the Federal share where they established in low-income communities. The House has passed a similar bill, and we should complete action on it early next year.

The growing problem of hazards in the environment is approached in a bill of mine passed by the Senate December 11. It extends until 1975 Federal support for schools of public health and the training of professionals in the field. The addition of a new school of public health by the University of Texas in Houston brought to 16 the number of such schools in the country. They provide the qualified people to staff essential public health positions in State, local, and Federal governments. The bill will help them improve their course material, expand enrollments, and encourage organizations of more schools of public health.

Of further help to the Public Health Service will be S. 2452, passed on October 20. It will equalize the retirement benefits of Federal Public Health Service officers with those of the uniformed military services. The commissioned corps of the Public Health Service is the oldest medical service in the Federal Government. Its officers deserve equal treatment with military officers, and this improvement will help attract and keep qualified people in the Public Health Service.

The special health programs of migratory farmworkers are treated in my bill, S. 2660. It extends until 1973 the health services program for migratory agricultural workers and increases the funds that may be spent for them. One million migrants and families have great difficulty obtaining medical care in communities where they reside only a few weeks and have no familiarity with local doctors or hospitals. Many communities are reluctant to treat them. Consequently, migrants have the Nation's highest rates of many infectious diseases and the lowest per capita health expenditure. This program deserves to be expanded, as called for in my bill. It was passed by the Senate on December 19.

My bill to create regional medical libraries is also through the Senate. It

is S. 2549. It would help construct and equip health medical information facilities.

The committee will take up in January the expansion of hospital construction and modernization under the Hill-Burton program. My bill, S. 2182, extends the program for 5 years and raises Federal funding to over \$5 billion over the 5-year period.

There is urgent need for construction of new health facilities that would total \$6 billion now, and need for modernization at an estimated cost of \$10.5 billion. In Texas alone, new health facilities costing \$383 million are needed. There is no way to expand health care without expanding physical plant and equipment, as this measure will do.

During 1969, the Health Subcommittee, and the Alcoholism and Narcotics Subcommittee, also began work in other fields. We held hearings on drug abuse and alcoholism, on mental retardation, and public health hospitals. We will resume work on legislation in these fields next year, and we plan hearings on the whole important subject of health insurance.

To fund the vital domestic programs administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the congressional conferees have agreed to appropriate \$17.7 billion for 1970. This is an increase of approximately \$1.3 billion over the administration's request. Of this \$1.3 billion increase, approximately \$1.1 billion is for education.

In particular, we have more than tripled the funding level for bilingual education, which is so important for Texas. I also was successful in adding \$14 million for construction of much needed new medical school construction.

We have added \$400 million for educational aid to impacted areas; the administration is attempting to reduce this program to \$200 million. I fought successfully for full funding of the migrant health program, which will double the funds available in 1970.

VETERANS

During the first session of the 91st Congress, a number of important bills were introduced and passed that are vital to the lives and well-being of America's veterans. I am particularly pleased with the work of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare's Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs for considering and reporting out a record number of veterans bills. As the ranking majority member of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, I was able to work directly for these important measures.

In one area that the Senate made great progress this past year was veterans education. In January of 1969, I introduced S. 338, which would increase the education and training allowances under the cold war GI bill by 46 percent. This 46-percent increase is necessary to bring the benefits paid to veterans of Vietnam and the cold war era in line with the benefits paid to Korean war veterans.

The allowances presently paid under the cold war GI bill cover only 67 percent of the cost of education. Under the Korean GI bill, the allowances paid to veterans accounted for 98 percent of the

average tuition board and room costs, at public and private institutions of higher learning. Therefore, if the present veterans are to be placed on equal footing with the veterans of the Korean war, it is necessary that the allowance rates be increased by at least 46 percent. This is what my bill, S. 338 is aimed at doing.

Another important problem that my bill, S. 338, is designed to remedy is low participation in the education and training programs provided by the cold war GI bill of 1966. Of the over 6 million eligible veterans, only 1,303,977, or 20.7 percent, have used their education and training benefits. This rate of participation is shocking when compared with the 50 percent participation rate under the World War II GI bill and the 42 percent under the Korean conflict GI bill. The major cause of this lack of participation is unrealistically low allowances paid veterans under the present law. These allowances have not kept pace with the rapidly rising cost of living and cost of education. The 46 percent increases provided by my bill will provide the stimulus to increase participation in this important program.

In addition to the rate increases, my bill also includes a new addition to the veterans flight program which would permit a veteran to obtain a low interest loan for the purpose of receiving a private pilot's license.

After careful study and consideration by the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, my bill was unanimously reported to the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare as title I of H.R. 11959. Also included in title I of H.R. 11959 is another of my bills, S. 1998, which establishes a new and broader farm cooperative training program designed after the program provided under the Korean conflict GI bill. This bill is designed specifically to encourage young men to go into farming as their life's vocation. The bill also eliminates the requirements that the veteran own his farm to be eligible to take the training and also the restrictive classroom requirement under the present law. I firmly believe that this new farm training program with its increased allowances and less restrictive requirements will greatly stimulate interest in agricultural education.

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare unanimously approved my bills and on October 23, 1969, the Senate, despite the threat of a Presidential veto, passed H.R. 11959 by 77 to zero in an unusual display of bipartisan support.

Prior to the passage of the Senate version of this bill, the House passed a measure that would have provided an increase of only 27 percent in the education and training allowances. Such a small increase was in the opinion of the Senate a mere token and would not accomplish the two major purposes of my bill: First, to increase veteran participation in these programs; and, second, to make the cold war GI bill benefits equal to those paid under the Korean conflict GI bill. The bill that finally passed the Senate, presents a reasonable and thoughtful solution to these two problems. This bill received careful study during the public hearings which were held on it from

June to August. The testimony received at these hearings comprised three volumes of over 630 pages. Every major veterans organization in America has enthusiastically endorsed the Senate version of this bill.

I was hopeful that the House would accept the Senate version of H.R. 11969 and pass it swiftly so that our veterans could start receiving their increased benefits before the end of the current academic semester. Unfortunately, the House took no action on this important bill until the final week of the session and then the House rejected the Senate's bill and passed a much more limited measure. The new House bill provides for only a 31-percent increase in education and training allowances instead of the 46-percent increase contained in the Senate bill. In addition the House bill eliminated the new flight program, the farm cooperative training program, and certain other measures contained in the Senate version of the bill which were designed to aid the educationally disadvantaged veteran. The Senate rejected the new House bill and immediately asked for a conference between the two Houses so that a fair and effective compromise could be reached. The House rejected the Senate's request for a conference and thus put this matter over until the new session. Although I shared the disappointment of thousands of veterans throughout the country that the House would not come to conference on H.R. 11959 prior to the close of this session, I shall continue to work for the passage of this important bill early in the new session.

In addition to H.R. 11959, which is an omnibus bill composed of nine separate veterans education bills, the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs considered and reported favorably six veterans health and medical care bills. The full Labor and Public Welfare Committee gave prompt approval to those bills and the Senate passed them unanimously.

Briefly summarizing these bills: First, create a rebuttable presumption that disabilities suffered by former prisoners of war are service connected; second, eliminate the humiliating requirement that a veteran who is receiving a VA pension sign a paupers' affidavit to receive hospital care for a non-service-connected disability; third, authorize community nursing home care for unlimited periods of time for veterans suffering with service-connected disabilities; fourth, authorize medical care to veterans with service-connected disabilities regardless of whether the care is for that particular disability or some other; fifth, raise the Federal per diem pay for each veteran hospitalized in a State veterans home from \$3.50 to \$7.50 and authorize \$5 million in matching funds for remodeling of State veterans homes; and sixth, authorize the VA to enter into sharing agreements with other private and public hospitals for the use of vital medical resources.

Two of these bills have already been signed into law. One is now before the President for his signature and the other three bills are pending in the House for

that body's action. I am proud of the record of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs and also the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for the diligent work that has been done in the area of veterans legislation. I am looking forward to another productive period during the coming session of Congress.

For some time I have been concerned by the plight of many of our World War I veterans. These brave men may not be forgotten veterans but they certainly have been neglected by Congress. The average age of the World War I veterans is now 74. A great majority of these veterans can no longer work and therefore must depend on various retirement programs such as social security for their income. It is time that these veterans be provided a general pension which is not tied to welfare programs. Consequently, in July of 1969, I introduced S. 2658 which would provide World War I veterans with the same general pension as the veterans of the Spanish American War. In dollars and cents, this would mean that a veteran who served 70 days or more would be entitled to a pension of \$67.73 a month. If the veteran served 90 days or more, he would be entitled to a pension of \$101.59 a month. This bill is presently being considered by the Senate Finance Committee.

This session I also introduced two measures which will greatly benefit the lives of those veterans who are drawing pensions under our present law. These bills, S. 2665 and S. 2666, would entitle these veterans to the rent supplement and food stamp program. These bills will assure that any veteran whose income is so small as to make him eligible for the present meager pensions will also receive the same Federal benefits as others who are in the low-income bracket. I shall continue to work for the passage of these bills in the coming session.

In 1969, we witnessed one of the most serious cutbacks in the housing industry in recent history. A combination of the administration's tight-money policy and high bank interest rates has forced many small homebuilders out of business and has seriously limited the veteran's ability to obtain a veterans home loan. To provide a measure of relief to those two embattled groups, the small homebuilders and the veterans, I introduced S. 3008, which would authorize the investment of \$5 billion, over a 5-year period at the rate of \$1 billion a year, of the funds in the national service life insurance fund, in veterans home loans. This bill would not only stimulate home building but it would also increase the income for the national service life insurance fund. The Senate Finance Committee held public hearings for this bill in November and I hope that it will be reported favorably to the Senate next session.

During the first session of Congress, funds were appropriated for two important veterans hospitals in Texas. The independent offices appropriation bill for 1970 contains \$25 million for the construction of a veterans hospital in San Antonio, Tex. I worked for over 12 years to obtain a veterans hospital for the south Texas area and this year I was successful in obtaining the funds so that

construction can begin. I shall urge the President to release these funds so that work on this vital hospital can be started in 1970. The bill also contains funds for air conditioning the veterans hospital in Waco, Tex. This work has been needed for a long time, and I am glad that we were successful this year in obtaining the necessary funds for it.

In summary, 1969 has been a significant year for veterans legislation. However, there is still much to do in this important field; therefore, I shall continue to work for laws that will better lives of all our veterans during the next session of Congress.

TEXAS PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS

During the first session of the 91st Congress, landmark legislation was passed which provides funds for vital Texas public works projects. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I have had the opportunity to work for these projects which are so vital to people of Texas, and I am pleased to report that during this session of Congress I was successful in obtaining funds for many of them.

The public works appropriations bill, H.R. 14159, that passed the Senate and the House, provides for total appropriations of \$4,756,007,500. This sum includes \$250,561,000 more than the House bill. Of this total amount, over \$32 million has been designated for Texas projects.

Included in this amount are funds for new Texas projects which have been delayed much too long. These new projects include: First, \$150,000 preconstruction money for Aubrey Reservoir. These funds will be used to start this reservoir which will be a future source of water for the heavily populated Dallas and Denton area; second, \$15,000 preconstruction money for the Cedar Bayou navigation district in Chambers County. When completed the Cedar Bayou navigation district will service the growing industrial area in Chambers County; third \$35,000 preconstruction money for deepening the Corpus Christi ship channel. When this important project is completed, 15,000,000 tons of commerce can be shipped through the Corpus Christi ship channel each year.

In addition to these new projects, appropriations for certain Texas projects were increased by the Senate over the original amounts appropriated by the House. They include an additional \$300,000 for the construction of the Sabine-Neches Waterway bringing the total appropriations for this project to \$5,000,000; an additional \$150,000 for land acquisition on the San Gabriel River tributary to the Brazos River; and an additional \$150,000 for the Lake Whitney Reservoir. These increases are essential if progress is to be made on these vital projects.

In addition to these projects that I have already mentioned the Senate and House, working together, appropriated funds for many projects which were omitted from the budget entirely or which insufficient amounts were requested. These projects include:

Project	Budget request	Allowance by Congress
Belton Reservoir.....	\$100,000	\$200,000
Cooper Reservoir and channels.....	500,000	1,580,000
El Paso flood project.....	300,000	350,000
Highland Bayou flood project.....	100,000	300,000
Lavon Reservoir.....	2,500,000	3,750,000
Colorado River jetty project.....	0	75,000
San Antonio channel improvement.....	900,000	1,200,000
Taylor's Bayou project.....	0	250,000
Trinity River Bridge.....	1,300,000	1,400,000
Palmetto Bend Reclamation project.....	0	200,000

In the Senate I was successful in obtaining \$200,000 preconstruction money for the proposed Millican Dam and Reservoir project which would be built on the Navasota River, approximately 7 miles north of Navasota, Tex., despite the fact that the administration had not requested funds for this project. Unfortunately, in conference, between the Senate and the House, these funds were lost. Because of the importance of this project to the people of southeast Texas, I have requested the Bureau of the Budget to include it in the 1971 budget. I am hopeful that during the second session of the 91st Congress we will be able to appropriate the funds necessary to get this project underway.

Another project which is vital to the people of the Rio Grande Valley is the lower Rio Grande flood project. This is a project which is the joint responsibility of the United States and Mexico, and it is designed to protect the people of the lower Rio Grande Valley from the dreadful affects of floods such as the one that struck the area in 1967 as a result of Hurricane Beulah. In that terrible flood, property damage amounted to \$12 million and countless numbers of families were driven from their homes.

To prevent this type of disaster from ever occurring again, it is imperative that the lower Rio Grande flood project be completed soon. Despite the administration's action in deleting funds from this project, I was able to obtain \$1,500,000 in the State, Justice, Commerce, and related agencies appropriations bill to start construction work on this important project. Unfortunately, in conference, the House deleted these funds.

Because of the great potential danger from future floods, that confronts the lower Rio Grande Valley, I shall do all I can to obtain the funds necessary to continue construction on this flood control project.

In summary, 1969 has been a significant year for public works in Texas. In months ahead, I shall continue to work for these projects which are so vital to the people and industry of Texas.

TAX REFORM

The 91st Congress will be known as the tax reform Congress. With the passage of the landmark Tax Reform Act of 1969, we have made an important beginning in an effort to redistribute the tax burden more equitably among all our people.

I am proud to have contributed two very important amendments to this measure—amendments which made it a better bill.

First, I joined with Senator GORE in his successful effort to increase the personal exemption. Throughout the 12 years I have been in the Senate, I have worked for a significant and meaningful increase in the personal exemption. I had favored an exemption of \$1,200 as provided for in my bill, S. 1717, and my amendment to the tax bill. The compromise measure, worked out on the floor of the Senate, provided for an increase to \$800 over a 2-year period. The House-Senate conferees further reduced this figure to \$750 to be reached in four steps from 1970 to 1973. This amount is still too small, but I supported it as first step in increasing the personal exemption to a more realistic level.

Second, Senator HARRIS, of Oklahoma, and I introduced an amendment, which was accepted by the Senate, which would assure that those citizens drawing State welfare would receive the benefits of the 15-percent increase in social security. In some States, Texas included, the State government sets a ceiling on the amount of welfare any one person can receive. Social security payments are not welfare and should not be included in this figure. In conference our amendment was modified; however, it still guarantees these citizens a portion of the increase in social security benefits which they had not been able to obtain in the past.

Unfortunately the failure to tax excess war profits still remains, one of the most shocking inequities in our tax structure, despite the attempt which Senator McGOVERN and I made to eliminate it. Many large war contractors have been making tremendous profits—far above their normal profit margin—on the manufacture of weapons and other materials to fight the war in Vietnam. It strikes me as being grossly unfair that some people make tremendous excess profits from the war which escapes taxation while the tax burdens on the average taxpayer grow steadily heavier. Even worse, a large portion of the tax increases in recent years has been necessitated by the war—the very war which has provided so much untaxed excess profits to a few large war contractors.

Along with Senator McGOVERN and several other Senators, I introduced S. 2277, the Excess War Profits Tax Act of 1969. Had this bill been enacted, it would have recovered a share of the excess profits which have not been taxed and thus lighten the burden of many millions of taxpayers. It would have provided almost \$9 billion in additional revenues for the Government in fiscal year 1970 alone money which could have been put to use solving some of our grave domestic problems. Though my effort was not successful this year, I shall continue it in the coming year and for as long as the war lasts and excess profits are made while the average man bears the heavy financial burden imposed by the struggle.

AGRICULTURE

The first session of the 91st Congress passed legislation that is of direct benefit to the many Texans who live on farms and ranches. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, I had the opportunity to work di-

rectly with critical funding problems for many vital agricultural programs.

One of the most significant agricultural programs to pass Congress this session was H.R. 10595, which extends the Great Plains conservation program for 10 years. This program which was first enacted in 1956 is specifically designed to meet the drought and soil erosion problems which have plagued the Great Plains region of the United States for years. Under this program, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to enter into 10-year cost-sharing assistance contracts with farmers and ranchers who are willing to install and maintain complete conservation treatment and practices on this property. This program covers the counties in a 10-State area that are most subject to the adverse effects of wind erosion. In Texas, 99 counties are included in the Great Plains conservation program.

The bill that passed Congress this session provides for a 10-year extension of the Great Plains conservation project and authorizes a total of \$300,000,000 for this program. Because of my experience during the 1930's with the terrible "dust bowl" conditions which existed in many parts of Texas, I am convinced that the Great Plains conservation program is one of the best pieces of agricultural legislation to be passed in recent years. Therefore, I am proud I was able to take an active part in seeing that this landmark conservation act was extended and improved in this session of Congress.

The Department of Agriculture and related agencies appropriations bill for 1970 provides the funds necessary to carry out many programs which are vital to Texas farmers and ranchers and their families. More specifically the bill appropriates \$340 million for the Rural Electrification Administration. This represents an increase of \$120 million over the original House bill. Since Texas is the largest REA user in the United States, these additional funds are especially significant to me. In addition, the bill includes \$133,595,500 for consumer protective marketing and regulatory programs which provide protection to consumers through mandatory meat and poultry inspections.

One of the most significant pieces of farm legislation in recent years was introduced during the first session of the 91st Congress. This is S. 3068, the Agricultural Stabilization Act of 1969, which I introduced together with Senator GEORGE McGOVERN on October 23, 1969. This bill represents the combined efforts of 22 different farm organizations who are working in unity for the passage of a farm bill that will guarantee economic equality to all farmers.

In summary, S. 3068, would renew and extend the Agriculture Act of 1965 with the following improvements: First, it improves the class I base plan for milk; second, it extends the present cotton program; third, it continues the present corn and feed grains programs with a new price floor based on 90 percent of parity; fourth, it extends the voluntary wheat certificate program and adds a certificate on exported wheat to

bring total returns on that portion of the crop to between 65 and 90 percent of parity; fifth, it permanently extends the present cropland adjustment program and rice programs; sixth, it authorizes a price support program for soybeans and flaxseed with a guarantee of at least 75 percent parity; seventh, it authorizes an emergency or consumer protective reserve of cotton feed grains, wheat and soybeans to protect against crop failure and the harsh effects of price-dressing sales of commodity credit corporation stocks; eighth, it continues on a permanent basis the 1964 food-stamp program; and, ninth, it extends and broadens the Agricultural Marketing Agreements Act to authorize market orders on any farm commodity when requested by the producer.

In summary, S. 3068 embodies my belief that the average farmer and his family should be assured a fair return for his work and investment. I intend to continue to work for Senate approval of S. 3068 during next session.

Adlai Stevenson once said:

A society can be no better than the men and women who compose it. The heart of any farm policy must therefore be the life of those who work the farms. Our objective is to make that life full and satisfying.

Like Adlai Stevenson, I, too, am dedicated to that objective and shall continue to work for legislation that betters the lives of our citizens who live and work on the farms and ranches of America.

NATIONAL PARKS FOR TEXAS

President Kennedy once said:

It is our task in our time and in our generation to hand down undiminished to those who come after us, as was handed down to us by those who went before, the natural wealth and beauty which is ours.

In this spirit I introduced several bills during the 91st Congress which would preserve the various natural wonders of Texas for future generations and also provide the people of our State with new recreational facilities.

In March of 1969, I introduced S. 1688, which would establish the Dinosaur Trail National Monument on the Paluxy River near Glen Rose, Tex. In this beautiful area over 30 dinosaur tracks may be seen today in the limestone bed of the Paluxy River. The Department of the Interior has designated this site as a national landmark. However, registration as a national landmark does not provide the protection necessary to insure that this area will be adequately preserved. In the 90th Congress, I introduced a similar bill; however, no action was taken on that bill. Therefore, I reintroduced this measure and am hopeful that the Senate will act upon it next session.

In July of this year I introduced a bill, S. 2627, which would create a national recreation area at the Amistad damsite along the boundary between the United States and Mexico near Del Rio, Tex. I first introduced this measure in the 89th Congress in 1965. Since that time the proposal has gained considerable public and private support. In 1966, the Department of the Interior in a formal report endorsed this project. During that same year, President Johnson emphasized the

importance of this proposed recreational area by saying that Amistad Dam would "enable development of a great inland water recreational facility for the benefit of this region in two countries."

On September 8, 1969, Amistad Dam was formally dedicated with ceremonies attended by President Nixon and President Ordaz of Mexico. During this trip to the area, President Nixon and various members of his Cabinet were introduced to the many possibilities of the Amistad area. I am hopeful that now that the President has seen the Amistad area that he will give his support to my bill which would mean so much to the people on both sides of the border.

The time for action on this bill is now. With every day that passes, the threat that this unspoiled area will be marred by undesirable commercial establishments, I am hopeful the Senate will act on my bill during the next session.

In addition to these two bills, I introduced in October of this year, S. 3044, the National Open Beaches Act. This bill would restore to all Americans the use of beaches of this country which are now fenced up and barricaded. More specifically, this bill declares that the public shall have free and unrestricted right to use the beaches of the United States and that Congress shall constitutionally protect this right.

One important feature of this bill is its provision for a joint Federal-State effort to protect public beaches. Under this plan, the Federal Government would furnish, if requested by the State, up to 75 percent of the funds necessary for the State to acquire easements and rights-of-way to beaches. The State would be required to furnish only 25 percent of such financing. This bill was first introduced in the House by Congressman ECKHARDT, of Houston, Tex.

I am hopeful that the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will give favorable consideration to my bill next session.

On January 15, 1969, I reintroduced my bill, S. 4, to create a 100,000-acre Big Thicket National Park in southeast Texas. I first introduced this bill in the 89th Congress and have reintroduced it in every Congress since then. It has given me great pleasure to see the evergrowing interest in my bill by people and groups from all over America. Numerous conservation, civic, and other public-spirited organizations have endorsed my bill.

The Big Thicket has been the subject of articles which have been published in newspapers and national magazines. I firmly believe that the climate of public opinion and interest in the Big Thicket is reaching such a high point that the Senate will hold public hearings on S. 4 next session.

The establishment of a national park is one of the most difficult and challenging tasks a Member of Congress can undertake. It cannot be done overnight. On the contrary, it takes steady and relentless effort to generate the momentum necessary to pass a national park bill. I believe my efforts and those of the many people interested in the Big Thicket are beginning to bear fruit and I am optimistic that the Senate will move this important bill into an active status

next session. I am dedicated to seeing the natural beauty and the unique wildlife of the Big Thicket preserved; therefore, I shall continue to work for my bill until it is passed.

Of particular significance to the people of Texas, was the action of Congress in appropriating funds necessary to complete land acquisition for Texas' newest national parks, Guadalupe Mountains National Park and Padre Island National Seashore. The interior appropriations bill which passed Congress this session contained \$1,130,000 for the acquisition of substantially all the lands for Guadalupe Mountains National Park. These funds assure that the scenic grandeur of the Guadalupe Mountains will be preserved forever. These appropriations of these funds also represent a fulfillment of a dream of mine that started in 1963 when I first introduced the Guadalupe Mountains National Park bill. My bill was passed by Congress and enacted into law in 1966. However, obtaining the funds to purchase the land for the parks has been a long struggle. With the appropriations of these funds the long struggle to preserve the scenic wonders of the Guadalupe Mountains region, which covers part of Culberson and Hudspeth Counties, is almost over.

Also contained in the Interior appropriations bill is over \$12 million to pay in full the cost of the land acquisition for Padre Island National Seashore. These funds will complete the work I started over 11 years ago when I first introduced the Padre Island National Park bill. With these funds, the Government can purchase full title to the lands that constitute the park.

In addition to these important achievements, with regard to Guadalupe Mountains National Park and Padre Island National Seashore, I was also successful in obtaining an appropriation of \$360,000 for the purpose of constructing a wildlife habitat and silviculture laboratory for the College of Forestry at Stephen F. Austin University at Nacogdoches, Tex. This laboratory will be of great use and value to the scientists who are working on methods of preserving and improving the pine forests of the Southern United States.

The Interior appropriations bill also contains \$100,000 for the proposed San Marcos Fishery and the Port Aransas Fishery.

In summary, the first session of the 91st Congress has been one of accomplishment and progress in the area of national parks and nature protection for Texas.

THE ENDANGERED SPECIES BILL

During the first session of the 91st Congress, both Houses of Congress passed H.R. 11363, the endangered species bill. With the passage of this important conservation measure, a struggle which began for me in the 90th Congress came to a successful end. During that Congress, I introduced the first endangered species bill after I learned of the serious dangers that face this Nation's unique and rare forms of wildlife. Never has the need for this legislation been greater. In the United States alone 14 mammals, 36 birds, six reptiles and amphibians, and 26 types of fish are on the verge of be-

coming extinct. Included among these endangered species, are the grizzly bear, the bald eagle, the whooping crane, the American alligator. My original bill, S. 2984, was reported favorably by the Commerce Committee but was not voted on by the Senate prior to adjournment of the 90th Congress. Therefore, in January of 1969 I reintroduced my bill as S. 335 and in November both Houses of Congress passed the endangered species bill, H.R. 11363, which incorporated the most important features of my two bills.

This bill represents a dramatic step forward in the area of fish and wildlife conservation. I am proud that I was able to contribute to the passage of this landmark legislation.

COMPENSATION FOR INNOCENT VICTIMS OF CRIME

For several years, I have been seeking congressional action on my proposal to create a commission which would be empowered to compensate innocent victims of crime. In September of this year, I introduced a modified version of my proposal in the form of S. 2936, a bill to provide for the compensation of innocent victims of crime in the District of Columbia. On December 17, 1969, the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia held a hearing on my bill at which the proposal received the endorsement of legal scholars from a number of the Nation's leading schools of law. The chairman of the committee, Senator TYDINGS, expressed the hope that the bill would be cleared for floor action by late winter.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

As a member of the Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, I was able to work for the funds necessary for the construction of vital housing, hospital and other projects on Texas military installations. The military construction appropriations bill, which was passed by both Houses of Congress prior to adjournment, contains \$69.5 million for military construction projects in Texas. More than \$22 million of these funds were added in the Senate. As the bill was originally passed by the House, it contained only \$47 million for Texas projects. However, as a member of the Senate subcommittee and as a conferee in the deliberations with the House, I was able to obtain funds for several new projects.

One of these projects of which I am particularly proud is \$9,891,000 for the Medical Field Service School at Brooke Army Medical Center in San Antonio, Tex. This school trains the medical personnel who care for our wounded servicemen in Vietnam. These funds which the Senate added to the bill will be used to update and modernize the school facilities so that our Army medical personnel will continue to receive the best training possible.

In addition to the funds for the medical field service school, I was also successful in obtaining \$2,004,000 for a guided missile maintenance building at Fort Bliss, Tex., \$7,789,000 for recruit training and housing facilities at Lackland Air Force Base; \$791,000 for a radar transmitter and receiver facility and for land acquisition at the naval air station

at Chase Field in Beeville; and \$2,681,000 for an aircraft maintenance hangar at the naval air station in Kingsville.

These funds that the Senate added to the bill and which the House accepted where necessary and responsible expenditures. I am pleased that I was successful in obtaining these funds for Texas.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Next to Vietnam, no other problem concerns the American people more than that of air and water pollution. Most scientists who have looked into this serious matter are in agreement that our biosphere is in the process of decay. Unless action is taken soon to control pollution, the survival of man on this planet may become impossible.

In the first session of the 91st Congress, an important step was taken toward the goal of controlling pollution by the passage of H.R. 4148, the Water Quality Improvement Act. This bill provides for control of the discharge of sewage from vessels into the navigable waters of the United States. It also provides for the identification control and cleanup of all discharges into our inland waters and the 9-mile zones off our shores. I am proud to have been one of the original cosponsors of this important measure. At present this bill is in conference between the House and the Senate. I am hopeful that it will obtain approval by both Houses soon after the start of next session.

The problem of pollution is not confined to the United States alone. It is a worldwide problem which requires cooperation among the nations to solve. In an effort to encourage and promote international cooperation in the area of pollution control, I introduced in October Senate Joint Resolution 156, which calls for the creation of an interagency commission for the planning and coordination of this Nation's participation in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which will be held in 1972. This resolution has been cosponsored by 19 of my fellow Senators, and I am hopeful of approval of this resolution early next session.

Furthermore, the Senate took another significant step in the fight against pollution by appropriating \$1 billion in the public works appropriations bill for Federal grants to fight water pollution. The House had only appropriated \$600 million for this important work. In conference between the House and Senate, this \$1 billion was cut back to \$800 million; however, this amount represents an increase of \$200 million over what the House had previously appropriated. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I worked for the full \$1 billion because I believe in the necessity of making an all-out effort to win the pollution battle. It is my intention to continue to work for full appropriations for antipollution projects during the next session of Congress.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY LEGISLATION

The first session of the 91st Congress will be remembered for the major advancements that were made in the area of occupational and industrial safety legislation. I am proud to report that the Labor and Public Welfare Committee

played a major role in shaping two important bills that will greatly benefit millions of workers throughout America.

During this session, Congress passed the historic coal mine health and safety law. This law is designed to eliminate many of the conditions which have maimed and killed coal miners for centuries, including the dread "black lung" disease. The law directs the Secretary of Labor to promulgate health and safety standards for this Nation's coal mines and to enforce these standards. Furthermore, the law establishes the administrative framework for assuring continued improvement of conditions and practices in coal mining to assure that miners can work their entire adult lives without the fear of mine hazards.

I am proud of the work of my committee on this important measure. Senators from coal-producing States and those who were not, labored long and hard to produce this landmark legislation. I am proud to have been a cosponsor of this law and to have had the opportunity of contributing to its passage.

Another important measure in the area of occupational and industrial safety which passed Congress this past session and became law was the Contract Work Hours and Safety Act, Public Law 91-54. The law is designed to provide safety standards to protect workers on Federal construction projects.

Construction work is one of this Nation's most dangerous occupations. In 1968 alone, 2,800 construction workers were killed in on-the-job accidents. Department of Labor statistics reveal that since 1959 there have been at least 209,000 construction workers disabled each year.

Despite the seriousness of this problem, there have never been nationally recognized safety standards for the construction industry. With the enactment of this law, a major step toward improving conditions in this hazardous industry was taken. This law prohibits a contractor or subcontractor under a Federal or federally financed construction contract to require his employees to work in any place or under any conditions that are unsanitary, hazardous, or dangerous to his health. To implement these directives this law requires the Secretary of Labor to establish and enforce health and safety standards.

These two important laws represent an excellent example of Congress responding to the needs and problems of our people. They are humane laws and I am proud to have cosponsored them and to have helped write them in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. There still remains much to be accomplished in the area of occupational and industrial safety; however, these two important laws are tangible evidence of the progress Congress is making in this field. Through my position as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I shall continue to work for laws that will assure America's workers safe and healthy working conditions.

POVERTY AND HUNGER IN AMERICA

Poverty still remains one of America's most pressing problems. In these times of unprecedented affluence, we cannot continue to tolerate conditions which subject 25 million of our fellow citizens,

or 13 percent of our total population, to a life of poverty. Poverty does not discriminate with regard to its victims. It affects every race and ethnic group in America in some way. Neither is poverty confined to any one city, State, or region of the country. In short, poverty is everyone's problem.

With the enactment in 1965 of the Economic Opportunity Act, this country fired the first shot in the war on poverty. During its brief history, OEO has experienced amazing success with its programs to help the poor help themselves. One program which has had a significant impact in Texas has been Project Headstart. This program has helped many disadvantaged children to get an equal start in school. The complete impact of this program on these children's education development is still not completely known.

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare conducted an exhaustive nationwide study of the poverty program which covered a 2-year period. The findings of the committee's investigation are compiled in 15 volumes. As a result of this study, the committee reported out a comprehensive bill which extends the OEO program for 2 more years. I have supported OEO legislation since its inception of this program. I realize that we have not yet achieved our ultimate goal of eliminating poverty for America; however, I believe that we are making progress. Therefore, in the coming session, I intend, through my committee, to continue to seek solutions to the riddle of poverty.

In addition to the three permanent Senate committees on which I serve, I am a member of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs chaired by Senator McGOVERN. This committee has carried on an investigation of the problems of hunger in America and of the governmental attempts to solve this problem.

Perhaps the most important achievement in the fight against hunger this year has been the amendments to the Food Stamp Act which the Senate passed on September 24, 1969. The effect of these amendments will be to make food stamps more easily available to more people. Though this bill has not yet passed the House of Representatives, I hope that final action will be taken sometime early in the second session of the 91st Congress.

COMMITTEE ON AGING

In December of 1969, the Committee on Aging held 2 days of hearings in Washington on Federal programs designed to assist elderly Mexican Americans. It was my privilege to chair these hearings.

My concern for the problems of elderly Mexican Americans is a long standing one and I was able to chair hearings in Texas in 1968 on this very important but often forgotten group of our citizens. What the December hearings revealed was that the Federal Government is making some progress in its effort to bring the benefits of programs to the elderly Mexican Americans whose linguistic and cultural uniqueness may deprive them of the full benefit to which they are entitled.

The Social Security Administration is now publishing some of its literature in Spanish as well as in English. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is now taking into account the housing styles familiar to elderly Mexican Americans in designing housing to be used by them.

But it should be stressed, as I emphasized at the hearings, that what has been done so far is only a first step. In order to insure that the progress which has been made so far is not temporary, I left open the possibility that I may reconvene these hearings later in the year.

MEXICAN AMERICANS

There are more Mexican Americans living in Texas than in any other State in the Union except California. Over 15 percent of our State's population is Mexican American. But in spite of this fact and in spite of the many contributions which the civilizations of Spain and Mexico have made to our culture in the Southwest and Texas, the Mexican American has often been forgotten and his problems have not been dealt with.

In my own opinion, one of the milestones of my legislative career has been passage of the Bilingual Education Act which as passed in the 90th Congress and signed into law by President Johnson. This year I was able to obtain congressional approval of \$25 million to be spent on this program.

Early in 1968, I cosponsored Senator MONTROYA's bill to establish a permanent Interagency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. There had been a Commission on Mexican American Affairs which functioned under an Executive order. This bill gave the committee permanent authority under law. It passed Congress on December 19, 1969, and became Public Law 91-181 with the President's signature on December 30, 1969.

I think that the most important thing which can be done to improve the lot of our Mexican American minority is to provide them with opportunity for economic advancement. On May 13, 1969, I introduced S. 2151, a bill to amend the Economic Opportunity Act to create a Southwestern Human Development Commission. This Commission would function as the Appalachian Regional Commission does to develop new economic opportunities for Mexican Americans in the entire Southwest. Although this bill has not yet passed Congress, I think it should be high on the agenda for action in the second session.

RAILROAD SAFETY AND WORKING CONDITIONS LEGISLATION

In recent years the number of railroad accidents in America has reached an all-time high. Recent alarming statistics reveal that nearly 100 railroad accidents occur each day in this Nation. In 1968 alone, there were 8,028 railroad accidents and 2,359 deaths that resulted from them. This is a 93.5-percent increase since 1961. In addition to the deaths and personal injuries, there was also millions of dollars of property damage that resulted from these accidents.

One of the principal causes of the rapid rise in the accident rate in the railroad industry are the out-of-date safety laws that are now in effect. These

antiquated statutes, most of which were passed 50 years ago, apply only to a limited number of hazards and are riddled with loopholes in their coverage.

To remedy this deplorable situation, I cosponsored S. 1933, the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1969. This bill would provide Federal regulations of the major causes of railroad accidents—faulty equipment and faulty tracks and roadbeds. This bill represents a great step forward in the area of industrial safety and its passage is of utmost importance. I am hopeful that Congress will approve it next session.

In the first session of the 91st Congress, we were successful in passing a bill which amended the Hours-of-Service Act for the first time since 1907. This bill, H.R. 8449, of which I am a cosponsor, reduces the maximum hours a railroad employee can be compelled to work from 16 to 12. This bill is a humane and necessary piece of legislation and one that has been needed for a long time. I am proud that I was able to take a part in its passage.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

The first session of the 91st Congress is now behind us. History will ultimately be the judge of the work of this Congress. However, in my opinion this session in a thoughtful and exacting manner accomplished a great deal, particularly for the average American citizen. Many tasks, however, still lie ahead.

In the new session, Congress must renew its efforts to find solutions to the pressing problems of hunger and poverty in America. We must continue our search for programs that will meet the ever-growing needs of our cities. We must develop programs that will revitalize our rural communities and stimulate the growth of our agricultural economy.

In the coming session of Congress, it is imperative that we launch an all-out attack on air and water pollution in our country and throughout the world. If man is to survive, we must act now. Continued inaction in this area is much too dangerous.

During the coming year, I expect to continue my efforts to develop programs to improve the health and education of our people through my work in the Subcommittee on Health and as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. There is still much to be done in these areas and I am impatient to push ahead. I also will continue my efforts to establish a Big Thicket National Park and an Amistad National Recreational Area. I shall seek to obtain the enactment of my Innocent Victims Compensation Act.

In addition, I shall strive to obtain passage of the comprehensive farm bill, S. 3068, and to obtain final approval of a just and equitable increase in the education and training allowance for our veterans under the cold war GI bill.

Above all else, I shall try, through my position as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, my positions on the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and the Special Committees on Aging and Hunger, to make the interests, needs, and well-being of all

of the American people Congress' first and most important priority. I firmly believe that the 1970's should be the "decade of the people," and therefore I shall work for that goal.

I am grateful for the privilege of serving the people of Texas as their senior U.S. Senator. It is a particular pleasure to be able to work with the other distinguished members of the Texas congressional delegation in solving the problems of our great State. I look forward to 1970 in the firm belief that this year will mark the beginning of a new decade of progress and achievement for Texas and the Nation.

OIL IMPORT QUOTAS NECESSARY

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, those of us from oil-producing States who are acutely aware of the dangers of arbitrary tampering with oil-depletion allowance or the oil import program are distressed at reports that increasing quantities of foreign oil might be permitted to flood our domestic markets.

This—at least according to the press—is the thrust of the recommendation by the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Imports.

Recently the Star-Tribune, the daily newspaper of Casper, Wyo., the city we refer to as the "oil capital of the Rockies," ran an editorial entitled "Oil Import Quotas Necessary."

The argument is summed up in the lead paragraph:

Any program which would eliminate the mandatory quota system on crude oil imports is certain to have an adverse effect on the economy of Wyoming and other oil producing states.

The editorial continues:

The attractive bait in all this campaign (to eliminate quotas) is created on the assumption that American consumers will be able to get cheaper gasoline or cheaper fuel oil. The oil industry is either too polite or too vulnerable to say that this is hogwash, but that is what it amounts to under any long-range consideration.

Middle East oil, for instance, will be cheap only so long as American domestic sources are in a competitive position. Shut down the marginal wells, curtail the expensive drilling of wildcats, and permit the political leaders of foreign countries to have their way. Once they find a demand in America, it is a foregone conclusion that they will hike the price.

Mr. Speaker, I include thought-provoking and factual editorial from the Casper, Wyo., Star-Tribune in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with my remarks:

OIL IMPORT QUOTAS NECESSARY

Any program which would eliminate the mandatory quota system on crude oil imports is certain to have an adverse effect on the economy of Wyoming and other oil-producing states. When the recommendation of President Nixon's task force was made known a few days ago—a proposal which would substitute preferential tariffs for quotas—there was an immediate reaction of dissent of the part of Wyoming spokesmen.

The oil industry has been the target of numerous attacks, and there has been a hue and cry that it takes unfair advantage of so-called tax loopholes. Part of that argument may be stilled with the reduction of the income tax depletion allowance from 27½ per cent to 22 per cent, depending on whether the President signs the tax measure.

The depletion allowance is a broad subject in itself, just as is the issue of intangible drilling costs. The more immediate question has to do with the proposal to abandon import quotas. It is a bad proposal, ill conceived and not taking into consideration either the problems of the industry or the financial well being of the interested states.

This may have come about from the New England campaign for a free international trade zone at Machiasport, Me., so that a refinery could be built there and supplied with foreign oil exempted from the established quotas. Whether it was that situation or whether it was merely a wave of criticism, is beside the point. The oil industry is not objecting to the Machiasport project in toto, except that it feels the removal of the quota limitation would be unrealistically high. It also has some concern as to whether this would set a precedent and would open the dikes for other areas to go and do likewise. The dikes most assuredly would be opened under a preferential tariff system.

The attractive bait in all this campaign is created on the assumption that American consumers will be able to get cheaper gasoline or cheaper fuel oil. The oil industry is either too polite or too vulnerable to say that this is hogwash, but that is what it amounts to under any long-range consideration.

Middle East oil, for instance, will be cheap only so long as American domestic sources are in a competitive position. Shut down the marginal wells, curtail the expensive drilling of wildcats, and permit the political leaders of foreign countries to have their way. Once they find a demand in America, it is a foregone conclusion that they will hike the price.

The point has been raised that the abandonment of import quotas might force the closing of the Little America refinery in Casper and also of some others in Wyoming. It is a valid point and it represents an ever-present danger.

This is all beyond the question that the Wyoming purchaser of gasoline for highway use is paying 11 cents in state and federal taxes, a cost which can by no means be chargeable against the industry.

Neither does it take into consideration the fact that the oil industry in Wyoming pays 37 per cent of ad valorem taxes on a statewide basis and that there are 6,000 persons directly employed.

The curtailment of both exploratory and development drilling, the threatened shut-down of refineries, present no hypothetical questions. The inevitable reduction in state tax revenues, the loss of jobs, are realities.

President Nixon's task force should take another look.

FARMWORKERS: THEY DESERVE EQUALITY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the important items of unfinished business which we must act on in 1970 relates to protection for the farmworker under the National Labor Relations Act.

Los Angeles Times staff writer Harry Bernstein, who specializes in labor reporting, has written an excellent article delineating the current situation. In the end, he concludes:

The family farm is no longer economically or socially feasible, and as it continues to diminish in importance, the large industrialized farms which remain cannot expect to be treated differently from other industries much longer.

And this nation's farm workers do not deserve to be treated differently.

The fact that the family farm is disappearing does not mean that farming is not still big business. It is even bigger business, and there is no justification for our failure to enact legislation which will give the farmworker the protection and the right to organize which the carpenter or the factory worker has.

Mr. Bernstein's article follows:

FARMWORKERS: THEY DESERVE EQUALITY

(By Harry Bernstein)

The bitter, prolonged strike-boycott against California table grapes has evoked a smattering of interest in the problems of America's farm workers.

But the fact remains that today, as in years past, those deep-seated problems of farm worker poverty have been shamefully ignored by almost every segment of the community, and that includes the government, organized labor, the growers and other business interests.

Only now there are a few signs of possible change, sparked by men like farm union leader Cesar Chavez and some attorneys.

Industrial relations experts in the universities have long discussed the question, but they are still talking about the "terrible complexities" of agricultural labor-management relationships. This is used as an excuse for inaction at all levels.

Farm workers, as a group, are on the lowest rung of the nation's economic ladder but they are excluded from most of the laws designed to protect employes in other industries.

Until recently, they were excluded from minimum wage laws, and they are still not covered by unemployment benefit programs or by a host of other measures Congress and the various state legislatures have adopted to assist most workers.

One such exclusion is in the National Labor Relations Act, which gives most Americans the right to vote by secret ballot in government-supervised elections to decide whether they want collective bargaining.

This exclusion came in 1935, when the NLRA was adopted, and was put into the law as a result of pressure from powerful farm state congressmen. It is generally agreed however, that farm workers were excluded with the consent of union leaders who felt the NLRA could pass only with the support of the farm bloc.

Organized labor is probably to be the most severely criticized, for, by definition, unions are supposed to be vitally concerned with the welfare of all workers. Yet, other than the sporadic and sometimes heroic efforts of a relatively few men and women, the labor unions have given almost no attention to farm workers.

This is true on a historical scale, although in the past few years, the unions have joined in support of Chavez and his AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, giving both money and manpower to a cause that still seems a long way from its goals.

Some unions not only have refused to help farm workers organize in the past; they have used proposals for helping them as bargaining weapons for other legislative ideas.

IMPROVEMENTS DEMANDED, THEN BARGAINED AWAY

Labor lobbyists in Sacramento, for instance, have demanded state laws giving collective bargaining rights to farm workers and including them under unemployment benefit programs.

But, as the legislative "collective bargaining" process grinds on, the labor lobbyists said, in effect, "All right, let's drop these proposals for farm workers, but instead give us a damn good piece of safety legislation for nonfarm employes already in our unions."

Government usually responds only to pressures from voters and the farm workers of America are not regarded as a significant voting bloc.

There are, however, two forces which now seem to be trying to do something about the situation and have what appears to be a chance of success.

One is the legal profession, or at least a small segment of it as exemplified by California Rural Legal Assistance, a legal aid society funded by the federal government.

CRLA lawyers are now doing what union lawyers have done fairly well in other industries for years: finding ways through established legal channels to help their clients.

In 1965, for instance, the California Legislature passed laws to protect the health and safety of farm workers, to force growers to provide workers with toilets, fresh drinking water and a place to wash.

But the law has seldom been enforced.

The "good" growers usually provided such amenities, even without the power of law. Others, who didn't provide them before the law was enacted, still don't.

CRLA filed suits on behalf of farm workers to enforce the law. Unfortunately, most of the suits are still pending, but CRLA lawyers are trying.

And as the debate about the kind of farm labor legislation this country wants goes into its 35th year, CRLA attorneys have moved in on this issue, too.

Most significant, perhaps is CRLA's action challenging the exclusion of farm workers from unemployment benefits.

A three-judge federal panel is now studying the argument from CRLA that the federal government should be required to collect jobless fund contributions from farmers, and to pay farm workers benefits when they are out of work.

Failure to do so, the CRLA argues, deprives farm workers of their constitutional right to equal protection under the law. If other American workers are entitled by law to unemployment benefits, farm workers should have the same benefits of that law, CRLA says.

This is a long-neglected frontier of the legal battle which should have been waged on behalf of farm workers; namely, the use of the Constitution to make sure farm workers have equal protection under the law.

Perhaps the idea has just not occurred to anyone before. Or perhaps it is an indication that the legal profession, too, hasn't really taken an interest in the problems of farm workers.

If a steel mill owner can be made to bargain in good faith with the union chosen by his employes, then how can the law exclude farm workers from that system without depriving them of equal protection under the law?

The second force trying to change the farm labor picture is Chavez and his union, which now has a few union contracts with California wine growers.

The grape strike-boycott started in 1966, growing slowly until today the impact of that relatively small labor dispute has been felt around the world.

One of the most obvious changes brought about by the strike-boycott is that farm workers' wages have gone up significantly on California farms. This has had a slow but

noticeable impact on the rest of the country, since about 10% of the nation's 3.5 million to 4 million farm workers are employed in California.

There have been several factors in the decisions to boost California farm wages, which have long been higher than farm wages in other parts of the nation. One factor was the threat of unionization, which sometimes can be fought off by management with higher wages.

A second obvious change that has occurred as a result of the strike-boycott is the reversal of the growers' position on farm labor legislation.

Today, growers all over the country are saying there is a need for such legislation after fighting every attempt to get farm labor laws for more than three decades.

It is true that the growers would like to restrict the proposed law in a way that would make it less than acceptable to organized labor since they want to outlaw strikes at harvest time, when strikes could be effective. But the point is that, at last, growers do want laws on the subject, and not just the "laws of the jungle" which have so long prevailed in agricultural labor relations.

In fact, the growers have hired the public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter of San Francisco and given it at least \$1 million (some say \$3 million) to publicize the need for a federal farm labor law, among other things.

The simplest way to bring about a rule of law in farm labor relations would be to amend the present National Labor Relations Act to delete the three words, "except agricultural employees" from its provisions.

Unions once accepted this proposal, but now they say it does not give farm workers enough protection, especially to carry on boycotts, which are limited by the present federal law. And growers say it doesn't limit strikes or boycotts enough.

If farm workers were included under present law, they could, like other workers, vote by secret ballot for or against union representation in government-run elections.

Some growers fear that this would move Chavez and his union ahead very rapidly, and it is true that the union has lost no election so far. But that test is inconclusive, since there have been so few elections.

GROWERS HAVE OPPOSED SECRET-BALLOT ELECTION

Growers generally have opposed any secret-ballot election, saying now that they will participate in one only after Congress adopts legislation on the subject.

Chavez might win such elections on a wide basis partly because the union is centered around an ethnic base of Mexican-Americans who make up 67% of California's farm labor work force.

With this kind of ethnic base, the union might win a majority of the elections. And even if the union were to lose all elections, that, too, would only be part of a system which seems essential in a society which believes in order, not chaos.

Since just 7% of all farms in California employ 75% of the farm workers, application of industrial-type laws to such firms might be easier than imagined. The law need not involve small, family farms.

The big farms themselves are going through a period of rapid industrialization which requires a stabilized work force, one which is not torn by constant labor strife of the kind so obvious in the table grape industry now.

Legislation to help bring labor stability to agriculture might well force a sharp reduction in the size of the work force, but at the same time it would raise the average farmworker family from the present \$3,500-a-year average income which puts it in the below-poverty category.

The family farm is no longer economically or socially feasible, and as it continues to diminish in importance, the large industrialized farms which remain cannot expect to be treated differently from other industries much longer.

And this nation's farm workers do not deserve to be treated differently.

THE TRAGEDY OF JUVENILE CRIME

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, since becoming a Member of Congress, one of my major concerns has been the alarming increase in the number of crimes committed by juveniles. Juvenile crime, I am convinced, is the single most pressing and threatening aspect of the crime problem. Arrests of juveniles for serious crimes increased by 78 percent from 1960 to 1968, while the number of persons in the under-18 age group increased during that same period by only 25 percent.

The interest and concern of young people in problems involving other young people are very important and encouraging. Recently I received a letter from one of my younger constituents, Keith Hermann, an eighth grader from Williamsfield, Ill. Keith is a good example of a concerned young person.

He has asked me to let my colleagues in the House read an editorial which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star. The following editorial should be read by everyone who believes, as I do, that action must be taken to update the system as far as juvenile delinquency is concerned:

THE TRAGEDY OF JUVENILE CRIME

When a child is gravely ill, money is no object.

Let a 14-year-old boy come into St. Francis Hospital clinic and be diagnosed as having a brain tumor, no matter how little hope there is of his recovery, nobody questions the cost.

Anything that might possibly be done to save him is done, and whatever can be done to ease his pain is done. Somehow the community finds a way to meet the cost—which can run up to \$10,000—and when he dies our only regret is that we did not cure him.

This is as it should be.

Now let another 14-year-old boy come into the Peoria Police Station in a police car, arrested after a robbery attempt. It's his second serious bout with the law, and he's headed down hill for a life of crime, with no hope left for making probation at home succeed.

For this youngster we do—nothing.

Oh, we are humane and civilized about the nothing we do for this child. Nothing so crude and primitive as the State of Florida which recently made national headlines by sending two such boys to the state penitentiary—not in Illinois.

We send him to Charlestown—St. Charles State School—or Sheridan State School, where he spends a few months learning the fine points of crime and sexual perversion, and comes back home. Then he sins again, and we send him back, and so on, until he is 17—and then we send him to state prison.

Don't blame the Illinois Youth Commission, which runs our children's prisons, because there is hardly one reputable authority in the field who will say children's prisons are the way to rehabilitate children.

Don't blame "the system" because there are places in this country with juvenile problems as bad or worse than ours where "the system" is doing something for the children whose problems are behavioral rather than physical.

Don't blame state and county officials—despite their apparent attitude of penny-pinching callousness toward these youngsters whose misdeeds are so often only a pitiful cry in the night of "help me—nobody cares about me." These officials are sincerely following what they believe is the mandate of the electorate.

The people, they say, are concerned with keeping the tax rate down. Start them talking, and perhaps they'll allow that something should be done about these kids—like get tough with them.

How tough can we get?

A child picked up for even a relatively minor law violation in Peoria County today—if he has a material record of prior offenses—is either taken to County Jail and placed alone in a cell or taken to Gift Avenue Home until a hearing can be held. Gift Avenue Home is an aging building, with unheated basement lockups and barred dormitories and private rooms on the first and second floors.

Children can attempt suicide in the upstairs rooms, and if they are quiet enough about it, they will succeed. That none has succeeded thus far is just dumb luck, for plenty have tried.

The building is not fireproof, and a fire at midnight which somehow kept the one matron on duty away from a set of electric controls could end with up to 17 children—boys and girls, some of whom have not even had their day in court—frying in locked rooms, charred fingers gripping newly reinforced window screens.

But don't blame the officials for perpetuating this state of affairs—despite responsible call after responsible call for termination of Gift Avenue Home as a detention facility. Survey committees and consultants don't vote in any number and the consultants likely don't even live in the county.

Gift Avenue Home is your home, if you pay taxes in Peoria County, and the County Board is conserving your tax dollar by running it the way it now does.

The total absence in this county of any public rehabilitation facility for juveniles is the result of massive indifference on the part of the people of this county to the problems of children. We are equally indifferent to the problems of the police we pay to keep these children in line and of the courts we support to shuffle the children out of the county and out of our sight when the police fail.

Robert Perlman, a Journal Star staff writer, has put his mind and heart into an article detailing the situation facing these children who are dying the living death of habitual criminality. It will be published in tomorrow's Weekender magazine and we want no reader to miss it.

"Maybe it has to be the way it is," Perlman says. "After all these are our children, and if we want to let them go it alone, that's our business. Just as long as we know what we are doing."

THE IMPACT OF CUBAN REFUGEES ON THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH FLORIDA

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding representatives of the Cuban refugee community in my congressional

district in Miami is my close personal friend, Dr. Bernardo Benes, vice president of the Washington Federal Savings and Loan Association of Miami Beach. Dr. Benes is a distinguished graduate of the University of Havana where he obtained his education as an attorney and as an accountant, was a partner of one of the most distinguished Cuban jurists before becoming legal consultant to the Cuban Treasury Department. He is the author of two books including one on capital corporations which won him first prize in the competition sponsored by the Cuban Bar Association. He fled Castro's Communist terror in Cuba in late 1960 and began as a \$65-a-week employee of Washington Federal Savings and Loan. He has now advanced to the position of vice president in charge of all branch operations, savings operations, accounting, security, and all mortgage activity for Latin American customers. His success story in the United States has been featured in Fortune magazine as well as in other publications but he considers his U.S. citizenship, obtained August 20, 1969, one of his greatest achievements. Dr. Benes recently spoke to the Economic Society of South Florida. I would like for my colleagues to have the benefit of Dr. Benes' remarks and I am therefore inserting them in the RECORD at this point:

THE IMPACT OF THE CUBAN REFUGEES ON THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH FLORIDA)

(Address by Dr. Bernardo Benes)

I have been present at many talks such as this and I have noticed that one of the ways in which a guest speaker would start his talk is by making one or two jokes; however, with your leave, I am not going to follow this custom which seems to be proverbial in the United States, but I will begin with an idea which I consider very serious and which, unfortunately, is lost in the struggle of every day life.

I wonder how many of those here present have thought of the similarities between Berlin, in the old continent, and South Florida, in this continent. The Wall of Berlin, an artificial barrier created by man, divides Berlin in two. On one side East Berlin, which has gone backwards, has declined under a communist regime. On the other side, West Berlin, which has set an example of what a group of men receiving foreign support were able to do for the economic, political and social recovery of a nation.

As you may all know, this caused late President John F. Kennedy to make, a few months before his assassination, one of the finest speeches the World has heard, when he invited those who thought that a totalitarian and materialistic regime could do more for its citizens than a group of men living under a democratic regime to come to Berlin.

The Straits of Florida created by nature, separate our beloved Cuba from this progressive and beautiful area of Florida.

In Cuba, for the last decade, a dictatorial and materialistic regime has made its people suffer miseries and tragedies beyond human understanding. On this side, 225,000 Cubans have reorganized their lives, both economically and socially, and today they can give you and the World an example of what most qualified independent sources have considered to have been a great contribution to South Florida and to the country—achieved through liberty, love and dedication.

The same analogy exists when comparing the motivation of the Germans in East Berlin and the Cubans who live in Cuba, when the former, risking their lives, jump over the Wall of Berlin where many fall dead

from the bullets of the guards, and the latter who, in the most unbelievable and rudimentary rafts, try to cross the Straits of Florida, only to die, in many instances, from the bullets of the communist patrols, or are drowned at sea; however, some of them, Germans and Cubans eventually reach their ultimate objective: to live in freedom.

The words of President Kennedy may be repeated—with the proper geographical change.

It would be immodest on my part to try to impress you with numbers and statistics which may tire you this afternoon, but I do want to make it known clearly and emphatically that nothing of what we have been able to do in this area would have been achieved without the great sense of humanity, support and comprehension of the majority, not to say all, of the community of South Florida.

We are not too many; we are not too few. We are not all wealthy. Many of us are really poor. But few or many, rich or poor, all of us freely acknowledge the debt we owe to not just America but to the people of America. It is a debt we have begun to repay with our hearts, with our minds and with our labor.

In order to analyze the contribution made by Cuban refugees to the economy of Miami we have to explain that, unlike the majority of other groups of immigrants who have contributed to the formation of this great country, Cubans have come to the United States, and to this area, for political reasons, and, therefore, we have been political exiles. As years have gone by, Cubans have been assimilated by the community and have gradually changed their initial status of political exiles for that of immigrants.

Regardless of the fact that independent sources establish a number of between 2,500 and 6,000 Cuban businesses in Dade County, we consider that the major contribution which we have offered the U.S., and the Miami area specifically, has been the human resources which we have supplied. We find, for example, Cuban doctors practicing in Miami who may very well be compared, as far as their qualifications are concerned, with their American counterparts. To mention only one example, Dr. Manuel Viamonte, a Cuban doctor, less than 40 years of age, is the Chairman of the X-ray department of the University of Miami, Jackson Memorial Hospital and Mt. Sinal Hospital, and is considered one of the most prominent men in the field of radiology.

Another example is the student Rafael Peñalver, who was designated by the "Outstanding American Foundation" as the most outstanding youth in the U.S. How much these human resources have contributed to the economic development of South Florida I leave to your judgment.

I will now like to refer to some of the specific areas to which Cuban refugees have greatly contributed.

1. The opening in this area, especially in the Coral Gables area, of offices of national companies doing business in Latin America is directly due, in addition to the geographical factor, to the existence of bilingual technical and secretarial personnel, which these companies need and are presently hiring.

2. Latin American tourists today come to Miami in greater numbers since the language barrier, which would be a handicap in other cities, does not exist in Miami. It is this fact, and not only its geographical position, which makes the city of Miami the true "gateway" for Latin America.

3. I shall not go deeply into the facts governing the hotel business in Miami and Miami Beach, but I want to mention only that more than 50% of all personnel in hotels are of Cuban extraction.

4. The extraordinary growth experienced by the garment industry, which according to information published by the New York

Times, now ranks as second or third in importance in the United States. The same growth applies to the boat manufacturing industry.

5. The import and export business, not only as regards Latin America, but also with the Far East and Europe, has made of this area a great electronic center as well as an important shoe distribution area.

6. In the building industry, the contribution of Cuban manual workers as well as contractors has been outstanding. We can assure you that foremen who arrived from Cuba only a few years ago are now small contractors and some of them may even show a net worth of more than a quarter million dollars.

7. I won't elaborate on the special sense of identity of Latin culture which our coming has given to the city of Miami, but I do invite you to visit a "mini-gallery" of oil paintings which is located on 8th Street between 22 and 23 Avenues, occupying a space 46 inches wide, listen carefully: 46 inches wide by 19 feet deep, where Cuban artists sell their paintings to North Americans and Cubans alike. Any time you pass by this place you may see what I have just explained.

Another example of what our coming has given to this area is in the Restaurant business. In the Supper Club "Les Violines", where clients from cities as far away as London, Los Angeles and New York make their reservations well in advance, you may spend an evening as if you were in one of the major capital cities of the World. There are truly approximately 10 Restaurants with this cosmopolitan flavor in the area.

8. Going back to our 8th Street, I wish to tell you that the United Fund has on record a list of 386 retail businesses existing on this NEW avenue, and I say "new" comparing it to what it was at the beginning of this decade.

9. In the financial field, most local Banks, Insurance Companies and Stock Brokers are always on the look out for Cuban personnel at managerial level. We have two Cubans who are Presidents of local banks. We could go on and on mentioning examples such as these, but it is not my intention to tire you with them. Today the income of the Cuban population is over \$350 million a year, which is higher than the income of all residents of at least 10 Capital cities in Latin America.

I remember my very dear friend Marshall Wise, then Director of the Cuban Refugee Program, and an outstanding civic and community leader, when he said in October 1966: "the criers of doom of the community in 1962 said that the influx of Cubans to this area would: take away jobs from needy Americans; increase the crime rate; affect South Florida Tourist industry; create slums and depress the real estate market; affect our school system and slow up the education of our own children."

History, and the records of different public and private entities prove that it was not true then and is not true now . . . and I add: if it was not true in 1962 and in 1966 when Marshall Wise said it, it is even less of a fact today in 1969.

What the future will be, only God knows. In the meantime, we can only see the projections of the Dade County Planning Department on population increase in Dade County. By the year 1980 the population of Miami will have increased by 450,000 from today's population, or 40,000 a year. If this is true, Dade County will be the first county in the history of this country, at least in the last century, where the majority of the population increase will be represented by foreigners: Cubans.

The best proof of the impact of the Cubans on this community is the number of politicians who are actively seeking the support of the Cubans in this community. Five years ago we hardly knew the name of the politicians in this country. Today, some of them are so popular with us that sometimes we

feel that we have known them all our lives, and we still believe that politicians have a 6th sense . . . They cannot be wrong.

There is no admission charge to enter into the United States. No one has ever had to buy his way in. And no one has ever really been asked to make any kind of repayment for being allowed to come in. And this has gone for three and a half centuries since 1619.

But in those 350 years, everyone who has come—all of the refugees from all of the places—has made some significant contribution to forming the kind of country in which all of us are privileged to live today.

This is the real repayment—and it is the only one that means anything at all. If you will look around you at just this one community, I think that you will see your Cuban neighbors are making this kind of repayment—to Miami, to Florida and to America.

And I, as an individual, will continue to do everything within my power to work for the betterment of this community, America, and of all mankind.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following report to my constituency on the first session of the 91st Congress and on the results of a public opinion questionnaire I conducted:

DEAR CITIZEN OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT: I am pleased to send you this report on the first session of the 91st Congress, on my activities as your representative, and on the results of the public opinion questionnaire I sent to each household in our congressional district last fall. I hope you will find it interesting and informative.

The response to the questionnaire—the first ever sent out in our district—was particularly gratifying. My office was swamped with over 36,000 replies! The results (which are tabulated on the last page of this report) have been exceedingly helpful to me in my work as your representative. Many of you—thousands, in fact—indicated that you also liked the questionnaire and that it offered a convenient way of expressing your opinions to me.

I have one regret. Thousands of you took the time to expand upon your answers to the questions or to offer additional thoughts and views on other major issues. Unfortunately, the sheer number of these prevented me from sending each person an individual response. I do want to assure those who did write, however, that their additional views were most valuable to me and received my careful consideration.

Because of the favorable response and keen interest shown in the questionnaire, I am making plans to send out another one during the second session of this Congress. The constructive suggestions you offered will, I hope, help us do a better job and we will, of course, be able to cover important issues for which we did not have space the first time.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. BYRNES,
Member of Congress.

REPORT ON 1ST SESSION, 91ST CONGRESS

A host of critical problems—war, crime, urban decay, domestic unrest, environmental pollution, inflation—confronted the 91st

Congress when it convened in January, 1969. The congressional record in cooperating with the new President toward a solution of these problems has been spotty and disappointing.

On the positive side, Congress has acted on tax and draft reform after considerable prodding. It has supported the President's program to end the war in Vietnam. It has passed a much-needed and long-delayed cost of living increase in Social Security benefits. It has begun work on some of the reforms requested by the President—in welfare, voting rights and Presidential elections.

But, the list of unfinished business and ignored problems is long. Nearly 40 Presidential proposals await action. Urgently needed reforms, such as in the postal service, in the grant-in-aid system and in manpower training programs, have not been acted upon. New legislation sought by the President to combat crime and pornography languishes in committee. No action has been taken upon congressional reform. The record on appropriation bills has been dismal. By December only 4 out of 13 appropriation bills which should have been passed by June 30 had been enacted, creating critical problems in operating government programs and in fiscal planning.

In the fight against inflation, the Congress has too often acted irresponsibly. Large increases in some appropriations have been approved and, in the Senate, large revenue losses were voted in action on the tax reform bill—all without regard to the need to curb federal deficits in order to stabilize the value of the dollar. Unless inflation is controlled, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to solve other national problems and, in the meantime, the average American will continue to suffer from a constantly mounting price level.

VOTING RECORD AVAILABLE

For my vote on all of the questions before the House in the first session, including many issues covered in the Questionnaire, you are invited to request a copy of my complete voting record for the first session, now being compiled and printed. Send a postcard to Rep. John W. Byrnes, 2206 Rayburn HOB, Washington, D.C. 20515.

REPORT ON PROGRAM AHEAD

The 91st Congress, in its second session, will have the opportunity to improve its record and to make a solid contribution, through cooperation with the President, toward the solution of our pressing national problems.

Continued support of the effort to end the war in Vietnam with justice, adoption of the vital reforms proposed by the President, action to protect and preserve our environment from all forms of pollution, sound programs to overcome poverty and urban decay, passage of laws to combat crime, pornography and drug abuse—these will be some of the major issues on which the Congress will be judged.

In addition, reform of the present welfare system, in my judgment, must have top priority. This legislation, involving development of a program to put people to work instead of making welfare a way of life, will be before my committee, Ways and Means, as will legislation to improve the Social Security system, including Medicare.

In all of its action, the Congress must keep uppermost the need to curb inflation, through control of spending, elimination of waste and the establishment of priorities. Sound programs, based upon the productivity of a sound economy, must be its goal.

REPORT ON YOUR CONGRESSMAN

My efforts this year were concentrated on a major reform of our tax laws—a fight that proved successful in the face of cries from many quarters that "it couldn't be done."

The correction of the many inequities in our taxes was absolutely necessary, I felt, and my early efforts, at the White House, in public speeches and in committee, led to the decision to hold hearings and to enact the bill this year.

While this complex legislation consumed a great share of my time, including six months of hearings, I was also deeply involved in other legislation before Ways and Means Committee, on which I serve as the senior Republican. Bills which include my name as co-sponsor with the Ways and Means Chairman and which passed the House included; a 15% increase in Social Security benefits, improvements and extension of coverage of unemployment compensation and an increase in interest payable to holders of savings bonds.

I also was active in legislative areas outside the jurisdiction of my committee. I testified on behalf of my bills to curb the kind of pornographic advertisements which have flooded our district and to provide wilderness protection to islands in Door County. I continued my efforts to remove postal appointments from politics—a policy later adopted by President Nixon. I gave strong support to legislation to reform the postal system.

During the year, I cast our district's vote on 177 questions before the House and compiled an attendance record of 95%. I also was able to spend 36 days in the various counties of our district holding office hours, speaking to numerous groups, visiting plants, attending civic functions and just talking with the people back home. I always came back from these many trips home refreshed and with renewed faith in the commonsense and patriotism of the American people.

BYRNES' BILLS

Here is a brief summary of the status of major bills introduced by Congressman Byrnes in the 91st Congress:

Enacted into law.—tax reform; savings bond interest increase; Social Security increase; Tax Court clarification.

Passed by House or Senate.—Resolution protesting POW treatment and supporting President's Vietnam policy; Wisconsin wilderness; removing postmaster appointments from politics; Apostle Islands; unemployment compensation.

Committee hearings begun.—Prohibiting obscene mail to children; curbing pornography; postal corporation; welfare reform.

Pending in committee.—government modernization; dairy and milk imports control; interstate shipment of milk; federal programs catalog; narcotic drugs control; international trade; Social Security improvements; juvenile delinquency institute; congressional reform; extradition of aircraft hijackers; Presidential item veto; milk pesticide indemnities.

REPORT ON RESULTS—1969 QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you believe government employees should have the right to strike?

[Answers in percent]

Yes ----- 18.7
No ----- 71.4
Undecided ----- 9.9

2. Do you support the proposal to replace the present Post Office Department with a government-owned corporation operating on a self-supporting basis?

Yes ----- 70.1
No ----- 17.9
Undecided ----- 12.0

3. Do you favor my bill taking post office appointments out of politics and putting them on a merit basis?

Yes ----- 95.2
No ----- 2.2
Undecided ----- 2.6

4. Do you favor federal action lowering the voting age to 18?

Yes ----- 37.4
No ----- 55.5
Undecided ----- 7.1

5. Do you favor my proposal for automatic cost-of-living adjustments in social security?

Yes ----- 82.0
No ----- 11.0
Undecided ----- 7.1

6. Should the federal government assume greater responsibility for welfare programs?

Yes ----- 31.0
No ----- 58.2
Undecided ----- 10.8

7. Do you believe the federal government should guarantee heads of families a minimum annual income?

Yes ----- 18.7
No ----- 71.4
Undecided ----- 9.9

8. Should adults on welfare be required to accept training and suitable employment if they are capable of working?

Yes ----- 97.1
No ----- 1.7
Undecided ----- 1.2

9. Do you favor President Nixon's recommendation for a limited anti-ballistic missile system?

Yes ----- 46.4
No ----- 29.9
Undecided ----- 23.7

10. Do you believe federal services and spending should be reduced?

Yes ----- 93.8
No ----- 3.1
Undecided ----- 3.1

11. If your answer to the preceding question (No. 10) is "yes", check up the three areas in which you believe spending cuts should be made:¹

Foreign Aid ----- 85.5
Space ----- 64.6
Welfare ----- 44.4
Defense ----- 31.0
Poverty ----- 12.3
Health ----- 3.1
Education ----- 10.2
Agriculture ----- 23.7
Other ----- 12.6

12. If the Paris negotiations to end the Vietnam War fail, should we:

(a) go all-out, short of using nuclear weapons, to achieve a military victory? ----- 22.1
(b) withdraw U.S. troops at once, even if this means a Communist takeover? ----- 14.5
(c) withdraw U.S. troops gradually as South Vietnamese troops are trained and equipped to take over fighting? ----- 48.2
(d) (some combination of alternatives above and others) ----- 11.0
(e) (no response to question) ----- 4.3

13. Which of the following federal actions do you favor in dealing with campus disturbances:¹

(a) cut off federal funds to students guilty of serious violations of college rules ----- 73.5
(b) cut off funds to colleges which fail or refuse to deal firmly with student disorders ----- 54.4
(c) no federal action ----- 10.1

14. What is needed to combat crime?¹

(a) more federal laws ----- 28.2
(b) more police ----- 31.1
(c) better living conditions ----- 42.0
(d) enforce present laws² ----- 12.1
(e) other ----- 19.1

¹ Total percentage is more than 100 due to multiple answers to the question.

² Write-in.

SOCIAL SECURITY IMPROVEMENT

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn that the House Ways and Means Committee has plans for further consideration of improvements of the present social security program. I take it that during these hearings, broad proposals for revising benefits up to date in an orderly but substantial manner can be considered, and this should certainly entail bringing the benefits in line with the cost-of-living index.

I think that there are other phases of the social security benefit program that should be carefully studied by the committee with a view to revision, ranging from the benefits on the highest 5 years of earnings, raising widow's benefits to 100 percent of a deceased husband's benefits, increasing the lump-sum death benefit, adjustment of the disability benefit waiting period, the scraping of outmoded age limitations for disabled widows, more reasonable earning privileges without cutting social security benefits, and most important of all, penetrating study, expert analysis, mature consideration of proposals to bring together privileges and benefits and reclassification and jointure of the various entitlements, benefits, and privileges of current social security programs and reappraisal of functions, the elimination of redtape and administrative practices that stall and delay granting and comprehensive treatment of benefits and the introduction of up-to-date accounting and administrative practices and procedures that result in simplification and more ready comprehension of legal rights provided in social security legislation, and amount of the benefits, the ways and means of securing speediest possible action, the creation, where needed, of additional administrative measures to improve counseling, expeditious handling, and speedy results throughout the entire system.

Admittedly, this is a big and challenging job, but social security and social legislation has become a vital part of this Government's obligation to the American people as well as to the needs of millions of fellow citizens and it is only fitting and just that we should establish the proper priorities to accelerate necessary measures to establish overall bureaucratic organization and functional efficiency that can handle the many problems of our citizens in the entire social security system with a maximum of understanding, speedy procedures, expeditious functional action, and improvements where necessary in current organizations, training, increase in assignment and pay of personnel, the enlistment of highly trained experts all which are essential if we are to render proper service to the American people with regard to these vital social programs.

I would be the last one to minimize the depth, the complexity of our social programs, but nevertheless I believe we must

boldly and aggressively tackle the problems that are contained in this proposal without further delay if we are to prove worthy of the great confidence imposed upon us by the people to make improvements that are required by this growing country and the needs of our fellow citizens and all those who live in this country and in this rapidly moving space-age society of ours with its problems that are so vexing, ponderous, and multiplying at such a rapid rate.

I also hope that as the committee undertakes its labors in this very important field, its able distinguished chairman and members and outstanding staff will also have in mind, as we all should and must, the tremendous contribution through the years and at present, of the leadership and personnel of the Social Security Administration. A day hardly passes that I am not deeply impressed by the honor, respect, sympathetic understanding, persistent attention, and expeditious action and ready assistance that is rendered by this great Government agency and and those associated with it, and I want to express my personal appreciation for this outstanding public service.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 661—
CONGRATULATIONS

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I strongly believe that the efforts and sacrifices of our servicemen in Vietnam have been overshadowed by the debate over our future course in that war-torn land. I am convinced that these servicemen, who, after all, do not formulate American foreign policy, should be judged on their own merits rather than on the wisdom of our overall involvement in Vietnam.

More than 140 of our colleagues joined with me last month to introduce House Resolution 661, a resolution designed to commend these men for their efforts and sacrifices and to reaffirm our commitment to bring this tragic conflict to an end as soon as possible.

I am gratified that this resolution was adopted unanimously earlier this week. I am also pleased that the New Haven Veterans' Council, an outstanding veterans' organization in my congressional district, has taken note of this action. I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD a copy of a letter I received today from the council on this subject:

NEW HAVEN VETERANS' COUNCIL,
New Haven, Conn., December 16, 1969.

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GIAIMO: We the officers and members of the New Haven Veterans' Council wish to convey to you our heartiest and sincerest congratulations in your resolution that you introduced in the House of Representatives, on November 6 and co-sponsored by more than 140 of your colleagues and was passed unanimously on Monday, December 15, 1969 in the House of Representatives, to recognize the sacrifices by

the individual serviceman and veterans of the Vietnam war.

As veterans of previous wars and conflicts as well as of Vietnam, we are well aware that as servicemen and servicewomen we do not make up American policy and therefore should be honored, respected and receive the gratitude and respect from our people in this great Country during periods of war or conflicts.

Again our heartiest and sincerest congratulations in your great interest and welfare and in the betterment of our service men and women, we wish you the joys of a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, filled with health and happiness and continued success in your future endeavors.

Yours in veterans affairs,

GARY GARIBALDI,

Chairman, Public Relations Committee.

AS JIM SCHLEMMER RETIRES

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, it was with regret that I learned of the retirement of that outstanding sports editor—Jim Schlemmer. I, together with most of the citizens of Summit and its neighboring counties, turned daily to his columns in the Akron Beacon Journal.

No one was more knowledgeable about sports than this veteran sports reporter but beyond this expertise was his great sense of responsibility to his readers.

He sought out the truth and shared it with his followers. Those followers came to rely upon him as their ultimate authority in his field.

Never one to pontificate, Jim Schlemmer brought a great human quality to his writing.

Jim Schlemmer is most deserving of some quiet moments. He served in the field of journalism for 56 years—45 years with the Akron Beacon Journal. In 1953, Ohio State University College of Journalism presented him with a diamond-studded journalism key and plaque in recognition of his 50 years of great service in his field.

Two of Jim Schlemmer's sons, Bill and Paul, are following in his footsteps, and have already achieved recognition in the journalistic field.

The following editorial appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal:

AS JIM SCHLEMMER RETIRES

It was a year that started off with Notre Dame's victory over Stanford in the Rose Bowl. Jack Dempsey was the heavyweight champion. Flying Ebony won the Kentucky Derby. It was 1925—Sept. 13 to be exact—when Jim Schlemmer came to the Beacon Journal as sports editor.

He was 25 years old. He had worked for the Times-Press, and before that, while still a student at Ohio State, for the Press.

Our sports department was a two-man operation in those days (compared to 11 today) so versatility was essential. Jim was versatile all right. In addition to being knowledgeable in all fields of sports, he was from the beginning an extremely gifted writer. And on top of that, he was a born promoter. Later, with his friend, Shorty Fulton, he built the Rubber Bowl and started the Soap Box Derby on its way to

becoming the national institution that it is today.

Jim was versatile in another way, too.

He could be nasty. Readers sometimes got so mad they cancelled their subscriptions—and then bought the paper at the drug store because they just had to know what that so-and-so would say next.

He also could be generous and kind, a colleague remembers with gratitude. This man was away at war and his family was quarantined because one of the children had whooping cough. Somehow, Jim found out. He kept the family supplied with food until the quarantine was lifted.

Devoted to his family and loyal to his friends, Jim has suffered his share of sorrow and won many honors. Hanging on the wall behind his desk is a handsome plaque which was presented to him on Akron Area Night at Cleveland Stadium, July 26, 1968. It bears the names of 60 organizations which joined in saluting him as "the dean of Ohio sports writers."

As the years passed and his staff grew, the sports writer for all seasons became more and more a specialist on Cleveland Indians baseball and Ohio State football. But his writing remained as sharp as ever and he never broke the habit of coming to work at 4 o'clock in the morning. Many of the younger men, we might add, tried to imitate his writing style, but none, that we recall, attempted to match his working schedule.

Now 70, Jim retired the day before yesterday. A host of faithful readers will miss him. And of course, his Beacon Journal friends will miss him, too. Only a few remain whose service goes back farther than Sept. 13, 1925: John S. Knight, the boss; John Horrigan, Joe Collins and Harry Hagenbush in the press room; Ray Bartolon and Adeline Ewald, composing room; Ben Weiss, circulation, and Jess Hagenbush, mailing room.

Speaking for these old timers and for hundreds of others, we wish Jim health, happiness and good fishing in retirement. He's one of a kind.

CARL HAYDEN MEMORIAL AWARD
PRESENTED TO CONGRESSMAN
OMAR BURLESON

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague OMAR BURLESON was awarded the Carl Hayden Memorial Award earlier this month. The award was presented by the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN of North Carolina.

The Hayden Award is given for outstanding achievement in the field of Federal Government printing. The selection of the gentleman from Texas is most appropriate as he served as vice chairman of the joint committee from 1955 until July 30 of last year. During this period the chairman was the venerable gentleman from Arizona who was given to referring to him as "my cochairman."

Mr. BURLESON was presented with a plaque on which was inscribed:

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING, CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES, CARL HAYDEN MEMORIAL
AWARD

Presented to Congressman OMAR BURLESON,
of Texas, Vice Chairman of the Joint Com-

mittee on Printing from 1955 to 1968, under Chairman Hayden.

As a highlight in a distinguished congressional career, Congressman Burleson is saluted as a devoted and discerning administrator of the Federal Government's worldwide program.

The citation is signed by Chairman JORDAN, and Vice Chairman SAMUEL FRIEDEL, JAMES B. ALLEN, HUGH SCOTT, JOHN DENT, GLEN LIPSCOMB, members; and John F. Haley, staff director of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The award was made at an impressive dinner in the Rayburn House Office Building on December 10, 1969, with the presentation being made by Public Printer James L. Harrison on behalf of Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN who, with the other Senate members of the Joint Committee on Printing, were not able to leave the Senate floor. A capacity crowd including representatives of the printing industry and the Government Printing Office heard Congressman JOHN H. DENT, Democrat of Pennsylvania, and SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, Democrat of Maryland, honor Mr. BURLESON as they joined the observance of the occasion.

In presenting Chairman JORDAN's text, Mr. Harrison lauded Congressman BURLESON as one who has "compiled an outstanding record of talented dedication to honesty, integrity, unswerving and strong support of worthwhile achievement, all within the scope of sound character and a warm personality which always demonstrated a willingness to reason amicably.

"Contributing forcefully to the launching of the research and development program which led to the creation of the high-speed electronic photocomposition Linotron system and to the joint committee's determination to effect the most far-reaching change in policy direction of the Federal printing program in approximately three quarters of a century, he obviously has been the right man in the right place at the right time."

Having been elected in 1946 in the 80th Congress OMAR BURLESON is compiling an outstanding record of congressional service. From 1954 until 1968 he was chairman of the House Administration Committee. He resigned that position to accept election to the Committee on Ways and Means, a post he now fills with distinction.

Congressman BURLESON, in accepting the 1969 award, paid warm tribute to Senator Carl Hayden, recipient of the original award in 1968, and advised that even though he no longer is a member of the Printing Committee he will maintain his keen interest and will continue to support the future success of the national printing procurement policy which he helped to initiate.

The program ended with the playing of a taped message, especially recorded for the occasion by Senator Carl Hayden, now ending his first year of retirement in Arizona.

Speaking in gratifyingly strong, clear tones, the 92-year-old former President pro tempore of the Senate, Appropriations Committee and Joint Committee on Printing chairman, expressed his obvious pleasure and appreciation at having the

opportunity to join the assemblage in paying tribute to a fine man, Congressman OMAR BURLESON of Texas. He said:

The forward-looking program, now nearing completion, which would bring the Federal printing program into 1970, will be assured of success because of his insistence in pioneering a joint government and private printing industry partnership.

My fondest wish is to see this printing program be a fine success—that will be a singular tribute to him and those who worked with the Joint Committee on Printing to bring about such a fulfillment.

FOOD ENTERPRISES FOR POOR PEOPLE

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's recent White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health brought to light many imaginative and interesting ideas and projects for dealing with the serious national problem of malnutrition and hunger. Some of the most exciting ideas were generated by a new nonprofit organization, the Food Business Center, in a report entitled "Food Enterprises for Poor People."

As the President said in his message to Congress of May 6:

We must therefore work to make the private food market serve these (disadvantaged) citizens . . . by making nutritious foods widely available in popular forms.

The Food Business Center has built on this proposition by seeking to develop imaginative ways for minority group people to cooperate with the food industry in developing food production and distribution enterprises, emphasizing jobs, income, and business ownership on one hand and improved nutrition for low-income families on the other.

The Food Business Center is organized to provide research in food industry partnerships organize imaginative demonstration projects, facilitate the two-way flow of information, promote the acceptance and distribution of new high-nutrition foods, and work for constructive change in the Nation's food supply system.

These are lofty and important goals, combining a dedication to better nutrition, minority business enterprise, and voluntary action to meet social problems. The center hopes to become a highly effective intermediary between poor communities and the food industry and I am sure the food industry will be most interested in the center's programs.

At the request of Dr. Jean Mayer, Chairman of the White House Conference, the Food Business Center assembled a varied group of consultants and food experts to assess the prospects for joint efforts in this area. Assisting in the preparation of the center's report were Radolph Blackwell, a leader in the Negro community; Raul Yzaguirre, a leader of the Mexican-American community; Etoh Edwardson of the Arctic Slope Native

Association of Alaska; Louis Nunez of ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican self-help group in New York; Antoine Perot of the Urban Institute; Harvey Silver of the Freedom From Hunger Foundation; Ruth Sykes of the National Council of Negro Women; and the executive director of the Food Business Center, Lee Fryer.

The report describes four imaginative food production and distribution projects now in the proposal stages, ranging from the distribution of protein-fortified cookies in the rural South to oyster growing in Alaskan waters. In view of the interest these projects should generate, I include a condensed version of the Food Business Center report at the end of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, any attempt to bring together the food industry, Government, and the people of poor and minority communities in a joint effort to combat hunger and malnutrition merits the highest praise. I extend my best wishes to the fledgling Food Business Center, and hope that its efforts may meet with outstanding success.

The report follows:

FOOD ENTERPRISES FOR POOR PEOPLE

(A Report prepared by the Food Business Center, 2100 M Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, for the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health, December 2, 1969, at the request of the Conference Chairman, Dr. Jean Mayer.*)

PREFACE

At the request of Dr. Jean Mayer, the Food Business Center accepted the assignment to assess the potential for involving minority enterprise in the production and distribution of high nutrition foods to low income people of all kinds in cooperation with the food industry and government agencies, and to study and many Conference task force reports from this perspective.

In presenting this report, the Food Business Center wishes to emphasize the following basic premises:

1. When a poor person is successfully employed in a food enterprise (production, distribution, preparation, evaluation research, training, etc.) private or public—the prime cause for his hunger may be removed by the provision to him of a minimum adequate income. We, therefore, advocate an enlarged commitment to employ the minority poor in food programs and to open food business opportunities for such people.

2. The efficiency of food enterprises—public and private—may be significantly improved by a full involvement of poor people, and particularly minority poor people, in the production and distribution of foods. Food selection and consumption are ethnic and cultural—as well as economic—processes. Smart food companies will employ indigenous people of ghettos—and will encourage successful minority enterprises in food fields. Smart food program administrators will employ indigenous people, at all levels of operations, knowing that 50 percent of their duty is to serve the food and nutrition needs of minority people—on their food-cultural terms, and not on the terms of middle class White people.

We are aware that utilizing these premises raises the question of whether—in our highly organized and automated business system—minority poor people can be successful in food production and distribution enterprises, an entrepreneurs and employees.

*This version of "Food Enterprises for Poor People" has been condensed by the Food Business Center from the full document presented to the White House Conference.

We take the position, advisedly, that under-served factors and resources are present for significantly opening such fields of opportunity. In the following assessment and development of recommendations and illustrations, we shall try to make clear some of the conditions for success in such a public and private effort.

3. *The planning and development of food programs at the Federal, state and local levels must involve poor people, especially minority poor people.* The poor must be involved from the beginning in advising on all aspects of food programs. In particular, the poor, and especially the minority poor, must participate actively on all levels of governmental planning, including the state and local levels where they are usually ignored. While many of the panel recommendations provide for the involvement of "consumers" in various advisory roles, it is necessary specifically to mention minority group members in such recommendations.

About half of all hungry Americans are Black, Mexican-American, Indian, Puerto Rican, or Eskimo people. An effective National food and nutrition program must take this special cultural factor into account.

Our pre-occupation with the special situation of minority poor people does not diminish our concern, however, for the equal number of white poor people, of Appalachia, the Northeast, the North Central region and elsewhere in the United States. They, too, can utilize the same basic principles that are expressed in the supplementary statements and recommendations that follow, which link jobs, participation, and business opportunities with the objectives of a National nutrition program.

FOOD DELIVERY AND DISTRIBUTION AS A SYSTEM

The Food Business Center believes that three basic premises underlie the creation of an effective food delivery and distribution system:

Premise No. 1. The public resources, available from Congressional appropriations, will be inadequate at best to fuel a truly effective National food and nutrition program. New business patterns and incentives must be developed, therefore, in order to utilize the resources of the private food industry.

Premise No. 2. The business and civic incentives that may be mounted, in such a National program, must be related to a progressive opening of the market in serving the 25 million Americans who are chronically hungry. Old-style business and public program policies were clearly inadequate for reaching and serving this latent market. It can only be done through coordinate public and private enterprise, under partnership concepts—where public food agencies and private food firms may find mutually acceptable terms for achieving the goals stated in the Introduction to this Section: "to guarantee to all Americans the availability of an adequate diet".

We include within "private food firms", of course, those that are owned and/or operated by minority people; and we find it within the scope of sound policy that many of the partnerships should be triumverates, including the three basic parties: (a) local and regional food enterprises of minority people, (b) major U.S. food firms, and (c) the government, via its food agencies.

Premise No. 3. The public investments can and should be made in patterns that (a) assist in opening the underserved markets of 25 million underfed people, and also (b) utilize the powers of public purchasing for encouraging food business policies that are found to be compatible with the over-all National food and nutrition goals. These include, of course, the policy of opening maximum business and employment opportunities for minority people, in order to increase

the flow of income into the rural and urban ghettos of the Nation, and also improve the food services and supplies for such deprived communities.

It is our belief that many enlightened food companies of the United States will respond to sound challenges made by government agencies in terms of these premises; and that they will assist in developing sound civic and business policies that may be utilized in coordinate public-private efforts to overcome hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

MODELS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF BUSINESS PATTERNS TO ENCOURAGE FULL INVOLVEMENT OF MINORITY PEOPLE IN THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF NUTRITION FOODS

The essential improvements in food production and distribution may be hastened by a more adequate provision in public program and corporate business budgets of funds to support practical pilot and demonstration work.

Take the school lunch programs, for example. It is generally thought that no one can go ahead with the demonstration of new patterns for producing and distributing good breakfasts and lunches until a number of school districts decide simultaneously to provide money and purchase contracts for this purpose.

That they will probably *not do this* is part of the problem; so a paralysis of sound development occurs.

The models and examples of improved ways to produce and distribute new and nutritious foods must—in some instances—be supported by private corporate and non-profit organizations in order to set examples and develop experience that can then be projected into public laws, policies and appropriations.

The Force and Power of Public Purchasing. Further, it should be more clearly recognized that the force and power of public purchasing is vitally involved in the encouragement of desirable new business patterns.

As an analogy, the feasibility of manufacturing certain military and space exploration equipment and supplies is established by the issuance of firm public orders at profitable prices—and the manufacture of such goods would be fantastically impractical for private companies unless such public purchase orders are provided. This is the way the "space sticks" were developed and brought into the new food scene, as an illustration of an interesting new food candy.

We need some of the same approaches in solving the U.S. hunger and malnutrition problem.

In the models and examples that follow, we make the primary assumption that log jams will be broken, and that both public and private resources may become more readily available for vitally needed demonstrations of new business arrangements—public and private—in the provision and distribution of foods.

We recommend, specifically, that food program appropriations should provide specific percentages of funds for use in innovative exploratory and demonstration work, addressed to the central problems in food fields—such as how to deliver on the National commitment that *all U.S. children* should have good foods available in their schools.

We recommend, further, that specific portions of the funds for Federal procurements of foods for military, institutions and food programs uses be "set aside" for purchasing from production and distribution units that are owned and/or operated by minority people. The provisions of the Small Business Act and of the General Services Administration Acts, providing for "set asides" for buying from certain types of small busi-

nesses should be used as examples for similar provisions in food agency appropriation acts.

Encouraging Viable Business Units and Patterns. When the powers of public purchasing and of public investments in demonstrations are adequately utilized, some of the chronic business problems in minority enterprise fields may be overcome.

New and useful food business units need not be developed on Adam Smith economic designs—and predestined to failure—but rather can reflect modern business realism. The leverage of public purchasing and financing can assist in supporting viable modern business designs.

Recent explorations in the food business fields indicate that some kinds of food products lend themselves to decentralized production, under contract with major food firms, and to successful handling by minority business units in ghetto situations. These explorations indicate, further, that the lending executives of many U.S. food firms are willing to undertake innovative food production and distribution projects—particularly in serving the needs of deprived communities and people—if they can get even minimum practical cooperation and essential investments in such projects from the public sector.

The models and illustrations that follow make the assumption that "break-throughs" will be made, and that both public and private business support can be obtained for truly significant pilot and demonstration work.

Model No. 1—The cookie project

The Cookie Project has been designed and activated by Southern Rural Action, Inc., under the leadership of Mr. Randolph Blackwell, with the assistance of the Food Business Center. It is an outgrowth, in part, from the Tallahassee County Emergency Food Program that is described in one of the more interesting documents of this Conference.

The key idea is that a major contribution may now be made in food fields by proceeding directly into the manufacture and distribution of new and fortified foods for the school lunch and other institutional markets. Further, that a national market may be developed for certain products that will assist in the success of the project.

This special factor may account for the name: the Cookie Project, since it is contemplated that one of the initial products will be nutritious fortified cookies and other food confections to be merchandised in a way similar to that used nationally in sale of Girl Scout cookies and mints.

During the development of this phase of the enterprise, work will proceed in developing and distributing new and fortified foods—as well as conventional foods—for school lunch, child feeding, maternity and other program uses.

The directors of this project are fully aware that adequate markets do not exist, initially, and that use of private, public and non-profit resources will be essential in a sound market development. They are equally aware that this food enterprise is "on a power curve in a national trend"—being deeply relevant to overcoming problems that now exist in the paralysis of public food programs and agencies—and they intend to mount various alternative resources in making it successful.

Negotiations are now under way with several major food firms that may find business and civic incentives for becoming related to this interesting Cookie Project. A budget of 460 days of professional-technical services has been prepared to serve the first cycle of development. This will be drawn from the "Technology Bank" that is now being "capitalized" by the Food Business Center with "deposits" from major food firms. The Center will serve as a conduit for moving such resources to Southern Rural Action, Inc., to

help in underwriting the success of the Cookie Project.

Since every package of cookies and other products sold in the national distribution of such products will contain attractive brochure materials about new, fortified and nutritious foods, a collateral educational value will be generated.

Model No. 2—The aquaculture project

Alaska is blessed with a massive resource called "special sunlight". Its light supply, combined with the unique Arctic temperatures, supports a superior production of protein: in plankton, shell fish, algae, salmon, other fishes, seals, whales, walrus and land vegetation.

Historically, the Eskimos and Northern Indians lived fairly well on these high protein foods. The White man has broken their cultures, however, and now threatens to destroy even the environment for fish, birds, and animals with his heedless petroleum and commercial developments.

The Arctic Slope Native Association is interested in a modernization of the food supply for Eskimos and other Alaskan Natives, developed through a constructive control of marine and estuary environment. This is called Aquaculture.

It may be far more significant in values for people—Native and White—than the transient oil boom.

The Arctic Slope Native Association has made contact with the Lummi Indians of Washington State in an initial aquaculture project. The Lummi Indians have improved an estuary near Bellingham, by dikes and other structures, using both OEO and EDA financing. They can now control the salinity level of the water, the movement of fish, their nutrition, and even—to an extent—the water temperature in portions of the controlled area. They have created a balanced ecological system—governed by skilled Native people—that nourishes their crops of fish, worms, algae, oysters, etc. They have been successful, this year, in producing oyster spawn that experts said could come only from Japan. They can feed their fish economically for maximum yields.

Since fish, being cold blooded animals, do not use food energy to keep themselves warm, they are rather efficient in converting foods into their growth and gain of weight.

The Lummi Indian—and the Alaskan—aquaculture projects can eventually produce 3,000 to 4,000 pounds of fish per acre per year. This is an attainable target after sufficient experience and management skills are developed. It raises the possibility that dependent Indian and Native people may eventually produce about \$1 million of gross income per year per square mile of area that is devoted to aquaculture.

Such an achievement—even half of such a production—could (a) provide these people with enough income so they might rise above poverty and hunger, (b) also provide them with a better direct food supply, and (c) make them strong enough to have greatly increased social and political power.

The Arctic Slope Native Association wishes to move the Lummi Indian Aquaculture "model" North and repeat it many times in the estuaries of Alaska where Eskimos and Native people live. Private sector resources will be sought and used, on a partnership basis, for these vital enterprises. Both the oil companies and the newly rich State of Alaska will be among the targets for the vital financing. This does not exempt, however, the conventional public agencies from doing their share.

Model No. 3—The Chicano food project

The desire by Mexican Americans for a piece of the action in food production and

distribution enterprises is not unlike that of other minority people. The reports by Drs. Arnold Schaefer and William McGarity on the nutritional situation in Texas among low income Mexican American people have certainly focussed attention on the need for a better distribution of good foods in these communities.

Certain factors favor success in especially selected food fields, for example these:

1. Many Mexican Americans have advanced skills in farming and husbandry.

2. There is a tendency among people of these communities to patronize their own business units.

3. Many independent small retailers exist, in the scattered Mexican American communities, and they are still served by wholesalers.

4. Some of the traditional Mexican American foods, such as tacos, tortillas, etc., are popular among nonindigenous people and possibility could be marketed successfully in wider areas.

5. The corn-based foods can be fortified with nutritional benefit to the whole community.

6. Many Mexican American communities have small bakeries and producers of confections that lend themselves to arrangements for fortification of the products, supported by public financing.

7. Sufficient land can be purchased or leased in many Mexican American communities—if the financial resources are available—for supporting crop production for fresh or processed food markets.

Careful study is being given at the present time to ways that such factors might be combined for opening new opportunities for Mexican American people in food enterprise fields. A substantial fresh vegetable enterprise in Texas is now being considered for public funding.

The basic design of the Chicano Food Project would be one in which commercial production of selected food crops would be undertaken on land leased or purchased for this purpose. At least part of the products would be processed by canning and/or freezing for sale under the Chicano label. This specialty food line would include indigenous Mexican American foods that might be successfully sold into the broad U.S. markets.

The Chicano brand and merchandising program would also be used, however, for a nutritious and fortified food line that could be sold into Mexican American communities, and would include items for school lunch and other public food program distribution.

A kindred line of products would include confections and items for snack bar and vending machines—if these markets were found to be feasible under the commercial and public assistance arrangements that could be developed.

Foundation funding would almost certainly be needed during the development period of such a specialized enterprise, including funds for underwriting school lunch and related markets that at a later date would come under public support.

Negotiations would be undertaken to form partnership arrangements with several major food companies that might find business and civic incentives for relating to such a project. The Quaker Oats Company has done substantial work in the field of fortifying and developing corn-based food materials for the Mexican American and Latin American communities, for civic as well as business reasons.

Model No. 4—The supermarket project

One of the problems in the successful introduction of meritorious new foods into the main stream of American food demand is a lack of business and educational facili-

ties for doing this—as an alternative to orthodox advertising and product promotion.

When the new food line truly has civic importance—and a potential generic value among U.S. food resources—as will be the case for fortified breads in ghetto and other markets, a combination of public and private business promotion is warranted. Facilities for such promotions are still lacking in the U.S. food system.

This "model" is suggested as part of the answer to this current deficiency.

We propose that business and program arrangements should be made for the establishment in selected supermarkets of special "retail islands", where new, nutritious and especially significant foods may be displayed and offered for sale, with the assistance of smart, uniformed nutritionist-clerks who are of the same race and language as prevails in the community.

These commercial-educational islands can also serve as the focal points for civic education in nutrition and food selection, with tied-in use of television, radio, and newspaper promotion and education that support the operations of the supermarket units. An opportunity may also exist to co-relate these retail islands with the work of nutritionist aides in the same community radius. The retail islands can be places where interested ADC mothers and other people may obtain guidance and literature about care of themselves and their families.

Such innovative business units might be qualified as places where food stamp transactions could be made by needy persons of the community; both to get processed for inclusion in the food stamp program and to buy stamps. The hours for such services could be slack hours in shopping.

The business pattern for such a model would be in a chain-or "cluster" of such units, served by a central wholesale business unit that provided products and all supplies, financing, business services, public program services, personnel, training, and relations with cooperating food companies. The central business units could be operated either for private profit, or as non-profit enterprises.

It is felt that civic and business incentives may exist for the development of innovative enterprises of this kind. Well operated, they might be of sufficient value to a supermarket to warrant provision of free space. From the standpoint of food manufacturers, they might render valuable product and market development work. Their civic value should also be significant. We would foresee that they assist in a simplification of food program research. These nutritionist-clerks should be able, in due time, to have valid answers in food acceptance fields.

THE CIVIC AND BUSINESS DIVIDENDS FROM ADEQUATE NUTRITION IN AMERICA

Project and program planners often overlook the support that may be available for valuable human undertakings from the business community, based upon the direct benefits and incomes that will be generated.

In the case of the Taliaferro County Program, conducted by the Southern Rural Action, Inc., a direct increase in local spending of over \$100,000 was generated. When multipliers were considered, this probably represented an injection of about \$200,000 of financial plasma into the commerce of this impoverished community.

One result was that 18 of the 19 food retailers of the County had incentives to participate in the food and nutrition education work of the project.

An illustration of benefits was that one of the storekeepers had enough increased trade to justify a new floor in his store—something he had been waiting for years to install. This as a side-effect of enabling 300

families in the County to have enough to eat for 6 months.

It is a mistake to think in the dead-level terms that an adequate U.S. food and nutrition program would cost from \$4 to \$6 billion a year. There will also be dividends.

It should be remembered that the public recovers in taxes during the same year about half of the funds invested in salaries and direct expenses of such programs, when both personal and business taxes are considered, at all levels and points of collection.

A step-by-step improvement in the adequacy of the food stamp program, to underwrite "the availability of an adequate diet for all Americans" has a financial implication of from \$1 to \$2 billion of market expansion in areas where it is needed most and may have maximum secondary effects from responding. Poor people spend their money locally, and a maximum of responding occurs. The initial public investment could easily generate an increase in food and non-food trade of \$4 to \$6 billion.

A step-by-step improvement of the school lunch and child feeding programs would have at least equal trade and income impacts. It was estimated in the Senate hearings that to provide school lunches to all children, regardless of income, would require a public investment of \$4 billion annually. Less will be needed, of course, to handle the provisions for low income children.

When all the factors are considered, including the essential expansion of educational and research services, the implications of an adequate U. S. food and nutrition program are of the order of:

An increase of \$4 to \$5 billion in direct spending, mainly in food trade sectors.

Collateral trade expansion in food and non-food fields of \$10 billion due to the economic multiplier effects.

If a "normal" gross business profit of 20 percent is in view from this primary increment in food trade—generated from a vital project in improving the quality of American life—the food industry has a gross business incentive of the order of \$1 billion annually, as a stimulus for relating constructively to improved food and nutrition programs. Taxes and other items must, of course, still be paid.

This potential private sector earning is actually the foundation upon which a general improvement in the U.S. food system needs to be built.

The role of the government is to mobilize this sound business incentive, by judicious investment of its appropriated funds, so they generate maximum food and nutrition improvements per dollar of public funds invested.

It might be mathematically correct for minority people to advance arguments for an investment of about half of such funds in their own communities. This would not, however, be statesmanlike, and it may finally prove to be unsound factually, if America ever gets around to making an accurate food and nutrition census.

Meanwhile, it is appropriate that substantial investments—perhaps of \$100 billion per year—be made in the development of sound new food business enterprises in which minority people may be constructively involved, as owners, dealers, managers, technicians and employees.

The twin benefits will then be created: (a) the root cause of hunger, a lack of money with which to buy foods, will be ameliorated, and (b) the processes of fabrication and distribution will be improved by a better adaptation of those processes to the dynamics and conditions of communities in which minority people—and other poor people—may live, thereby improving the U.S. food system and strengthening the Nation.

DR. BRADFORD'S CHRISTMAS POEM

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very remarkable Christmas poem written by my friend, Dr. Charles Bradford of Boston, one of the outstanding medical doctors of our times.

The eminent doctor is descended from a renowned Massachusetts family that dates back to the early days of the establishment of the Nation.

Its members have made tremendous contributions in many fields of endeavor, and have been Governors and other high-ranking officials of the civil government, business and professional leaders, charitable and humanitarian champions, and preeminent in the care of the sick, the mentally afflicted, and retarded children and overall medical expertise.

Dr. Bradford exemplifies the highest standards of American citizenship and the medical profession, and I am sure that the Members of the House and others will greatly enjoy his very unusual new poem on Christmas and Santa Claus:

GEORGE G. GIFFORD AND HIS ZIG ZAG CHIMNEY: A MERRY TALE OF CHRISTMAS

Now, this is how it happened, as I've heard
From Cape Cod Yankees, and they say
it's true.

A chimney swift, or some such kind of bird
BUILT a nest right in George G. Gifford's
flue.

Smoke filled the living room like a thick
fog,

And choked the family who sat inside,
And half asphyxiated, Pooch, their dog,
While the cat ran to the woodbox to hide.

So, George G. Gifford made a vow, right
then,

He'd build himself a bird-proof chimney
stack,

And no such nonsense would occur again
For neither swifts nor swallows could
come back.

That's how his zig-zag chimney came to
be,

With its bent flue, that twisted left and
right,

Letting the smoke rise upward, nice and
free,

Though none could suck down 'cause it
was too tight.

When swallows come again, they blowed
away

In up drafts that was constantly drawn
through:

And chimney swifts that once more tried to
stay,

Was clean evicted by that criss-cross flue.

This was in May of Eighteen Ninety Three,
And through the summer everything went
well,

Though naturally, no one could foresee
The complications that so soon befell.

Not even Santa Claus anticipated
The problem that a zig zag smoke stack
made,

Not knowing chimneys could get constipated
When strained to bulging with the Christ-
mas trade.

As he descended at the midnight hour,
He stuck where the flue zigged and could-
n't zag;

And it proved utterly beyond his power
To extricate himself or his kit bag.

He wriggled, squirmed, and kicked up with
his knee,

And breathed out hard, and even rubbed
his nose,

Which, other times, had always got him
free,

But here, it seemed to make the chimney
close.

His rapid spasms, like a fever chill,
Convulsed the chimney 'til the whole
house rocked,

And with each turn he was caught tighter
still—

In that crooked contraption: meshed and
locked.

At the time, George G. Gifford was in bed
Enjoying a deep sleep of sweet repose,

When he was roused, and lifting up his head,
He heard strange sounds that from the
stack arose,

"Them birds again!" he muttered sulkily,
But louder still came forth the batterings,
Until he wondered somewhat sleepily

If he was hearing ghosts or ghouls or
things.

Then all at once, he somehow recollected
That this was Christmas, and the racket's
cause

Must be from where the chimney had col-
lected,

And rammed, and jammed, and plugged
in, Santa Claus.

Immediately, the Fire Chief was called,
Arriving soon, with men, and hooks, and
ladders;

But no one in the whole brigade recalled
The slightest clue for handling such odd
matters.

The local ministers were summoned in;
Three church wardens, and five selectmen
too,

But still, they couldn't say where to begin,
Or how, or why, or what on earth to do.

Well, George G. Gifford warnt no common
fool.

He knew as much as any man in town.
In fact, they said that when he was to
school

Even the teacher couldn't spell him down.
So him, and Nathan Nye, whom we called
Nate,

The former captain of the fishing fleet,
Concocted ideas how to extricate

Poor Santa, by the head or by the feet.
"It's like a ship in irons," old Nate said,
"For when a vessel's slow to come about.
No wind from either side takes her ahead
Until she's swung enough to fetch her out.
There aint no way that Santa can get loose
Without we take the stack down, brick
by brick—

Unless we catch his legs in a slip-noose
And winch him out—Yep. That might do
the trick."

"Sure thing!" said Jim, the plumber, "that
would do;

And it would also tear him limb from
limb;

And I'll be busted, fore I'm willing to
Stretch Santa til we've separated him."

Then George G. Gifford had a bright idea,
Knowing the draft itself held Santa there;
And if so, they could prob'ly get him clear
By just reversing round the flow of air.

A vacuum cleaner was at once obtained,
And set compactly in the fireplace,
And when the motor, its full speed attained,
It sucked right into that tight, zig zag
space.

At first, no quick improvement could be
seen

Except that gobs of dusty soot came down,

While scratchy cinders, grating in between,
Was, from the chimney, sucked away or
blown.
Then, sets of rumbling, gurgling sounds ap-
peared
Like water running from a bathtub's drain
When the last bubbles, down its pipe has
cleared,
And it chokes up and swallows hard again.
It gulped as if it had regurgitated,
And gasped like locomotives do at first,
And grunted from the force it generated,
And heaved until the flue seemed like to
burst.
Then finally, the vacuum's power surged,
And plunk, a tumbling mass, the folks
could hear,
And from it, smiling Santa Claus emerged
To wish a Merry Christmas and New Year.
Now this, of course, must have a moral to
it;
And it is plain, without us pondering
long:
If we've a plan, before we go and do it,
Let's think, "What in tarnation might
go wrong?"

—CHARLES BRADFORD.

MARINE WRITES POETIC LETTER
AGAINST PROTEST

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a letter written by a young Knoxvilleian who is now serving in Vietnam. The letter appeared in the November 14, 1969, Knoxville, Tenn., Journal, as follows:

MARINE WRITES POETIC LETTER AGAINST
PROTEST

(By Guy Smith IV)

During this week when the "Silent Majority" is speaking out on the war, civic groups are rallying around the Flag in support of the President, antiwar demonstrators are making the headlines and the news-casts, there is one individual no one has heard from—the GI in the jungles and rice paddies of South Vietnam.

The following note from a Marine stationed in Vietnam this week crossed The Knoxville Journal's city desk:

"Take a man, then put him alone, put him alone 2,000 miles from home.

"Empty his heart of all but blood, make him live in sweat and mud. This is the life I have and live, and why my soul to the devil give, you 'peace boys' rant from your easy chair.

"But you don't know what it's like over here, you have a ball without 'never' trying, while over here your boys are dying.

"Burn your draft cards, march at dawn, plant your signs on the White House lawn. You all want to ban the bomb, there's no real war in Vietnam.

"Use your drugs and have your fun, and then refuse to use a gun. There's nothing else for you to do—and I'm suppose to die for YOU?

"I'll hate you till the day I die, you made me hear my buddy cry. I saw his arm a bloody shred and I heard them say—"This one's dead."

"It's a large price he had to pay, not to live another day. He had the guts to fight and die. He paid the price, but what'd he buy? But who gives a damn what a soldier gives?

"His wife does, and maybe his son—but they're about the only ones."

This letter was written by Marine Lance Cpl. Daniel L. Bradshaw, 21, son of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Bradshaw, 200 Burn Road, and a 1966 graduate of West High School. Cpl. Bradshaw volunteered for the Marine Corps after studying business administration for two years at the University of Tennessee.

Bradshaw's mother said he plans to return to UT when he returns from Vietnam in May, 1970.

She said he joined the Marine Corps in November, 1968. Bradshaw plans to take his R and R (rest and relaxation) in December to see the summer Australian Christmas, his parents said.

THE 194TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
U.S. MARINE CORPS

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, this year the U.S. Marine Corps celebrated its 194th anniversary. Over that span of time the corps has forged a record of loyalty, bravery, and heroism in the defense of their country that is unsurpassed in all of history.

That record is so impressive that the word "marine" conjures up a vision of a tough, leathery combat hardened drill sergeant. However, upon reflection we see that the average marine is the young boy next door—the courageous leather-neck of so many battles is really just another American boy. It is their dedication—their commitment to freedom—their devotion to their country, their family and their comrades, that sets the marine apart.

This "esprit" does not just happen; it is an integral part of the marines' life and training. From the most senior officer to the newest "boot" the pride in being a marine is evident. No individual demonstrates that characteristic more clearly than the Commandant.

Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., is an officer and a gentleman in the highest military tradition. His bearing and manner reflect clearly the love, pride, and dedication he feels for the Marine Corps and his country. In order to understand the corps and its history one need only to look to the "No. 1 marine." General Chapman is a fighter but he is also a father, a husband—a human being.

I am proud to have served as a marine during World War II and now as a member of the Reserve. That pride does not come from my achievements but from knowing that I was a part of such a fine group of men such as General Chapman.

On the Marine Corps birthday last November 10, the Commandant sent a message to all his fellow marines. That message expresses the dedication of all marines. As I would like to share that message with my colleagues; the text follows:

NOVEMBER 10, 1969.

This is a time for remembering. It is a time for detailed inspection of our heritage and a careful review of our history. We can

only know who we are by being certain of who we have been.

This is the 194th anniversary of the founding of our Corps. In these long years we have compiled a proud list of old honors for old battles. But we have fresh honors, too. Honors won in a long, hard war. And somehow, old battles do not seem so ancient when it is remembered that the Marines who fought them were as young as the Marines who fight in Vietnam today. Our motto, "Semper Fidelis," loses the cold air of marble inscription when applied to sacrifice on any battlefield, at any point in history.

As in years past, this anniversary finds Marines serving our country in every corner of the world. And standing four-square behind today's dedicated Marine is his predecessor in the retired ranks and his family on the home front—and in the wings and at the ready, our powerful Marine Corps Reserve.

History proves there is no old or new. We are of one breed. We are Marines.

This is our heritage.

Gen. L. F. CHAPMAN, Jr.,
Commandant of the Marine Corps.

THE APPROPRIATIONS RECORD—
1969

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in preparing to discuss our budget work of the session today, I was reminded of a letter from a young soldier in Germany who wrote to me about the problems of our country. He was disturbed by the news he received and he asked this question:

Has the system grown so large that it is now crumbling under its own weight?

That is a good question for us to ask ourselves today. At the end of the year, we find ourselves wrestling with difficult decisions that should and could have been made last summer. Has the system grown so large that it is no longer possible for Congress to cope with it effectively? Or is there a lack of will to get the job done? These are questions we should ponder before we return here in January to tackle a new budget and a new set of hard decisions.

Everyone knows the Government of the United States is difficult to manage under the best of circumstances. For the past 6 months I have wondered how it is possible to manage it at all in the absence of the fiscal decisions which are the basic guidelines for the operation of every agency. And I have been terribly concerned about the effect of this fiscal indecision upon our entire social and economic structures, so heavily involved as they are with the operations of the Government.

The Congress has the constitutional authority to control the strings of the public purse. With that goes the responsibility to do so efficiently and effectively, without procrastination and delay. In discharging that responsibility in 1969 we have been dilatory at times, we have bordered on irresponsibility at other times, and we have caused many of the always eager congressional critics to

question whether we are capable of doing the job.

NIXON BUDGET CUTS

The President has been firm and forthright in his dealings with the people and the Congress on this budget. His first action was a careful review of the Johnson budget which resulted in an April 15 message reducing by \$4.2 billion the new obligational authority requested by the former President. At the same time Mr. Nixon proposed reductions in actual spending of \$4 billion and established a ceiling on Federal spending of \$192.9 billion. He has held to that figure. The President's spending plans by September estimates would result in a budget surplus for this fiscal year of \$5.9 billion. Congressional action to date would reduce if not eliminate that projected surplus.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Nixon budget review was the proposal for severe cuts in the Defense Department. This constitutes a reversal of a trend that has been giving increasing concern to many Americans. Mr. Nixon ordered and Secretary Laird complied with an initial reduction of \$2.5 billion in the Johnson budget request for Defense. Later on when it appeared that uncontrollable costs in other areas of Government were forcing the President to breach his self-imposed budget ceiling, he ordered another \$3 billion reduction in Defense outlays.

In this area of legislation the Congress has responded to the White House leadership with additional savings, with the result that the final Defense Department appropriation measure is \$7.8 billion below the Johnson budget request and \$5.3 billion below the revised April 15 request.

This is a significant turning point in our national priorities. It represents appropriate concern for our national defense, conditioned only by the most pressing domestic problems and the ominous threat of continued inflation.

The record on some other appropriation items is not as commendable.

UNNECESSARY CHANGES

In the public works appropriation bill the administration requested \$4.2 billion including \$214 million for construction grants for waste treatment facilities of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration program. This was the same amount requested for the purpose by the Johnson budget. What follows is a classical example of mixing politics and emotion with the appropriations process. A massive campaign of propaganda and pressure was launched to increase the \$214 million to \$1 billion even though it was clearly understood by everyone familiar with the program that it would be impossible to spend \$1 billion in fiscal 1970 for this purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I believe your Appropriations Committee acted responsibly when it sought and obtained from the Secretary of the Interior an estimate of the maximum amount that could be used for waste treatment facilities. That figure, given to the Appropriations Committee, was \$600 million and that is the

figure we recommended. However, the other body increased the figure to \$1 billion, the conference cut it to \$800 million, and we now have available in this fund \$200 million at the very least which cannot be put to use. Millions of Americans have a deep interest in pollution control. It is one of the most emotional issues on the domestic scene today. It is a disservice to these sincere and honest Americans to lead them to believe that we are doing great things for pollution control by voting for \$1 billion when the facts are that the money cannot be used and the entire procedure is no more than an empty gesture.

HEW FUNDS INCREASED

Some of our greatest difficulties have come with the appropriations for Health, Education, and Welfare. Enactment of new social programs during the past 8 years have resulted in a tremendous increase in the budget for this Department. It requires great delicacy to balance the demands for these appealing programs against the fiscal facts of life.

The Johnson administration faced the issue squarely when it submitted a January budget that held to reasonable levels the rate of growth of many new HEW programs. President Nixon followed the same principle in his revision of the budget but went beyond the L. B. J. goals to improve overall results by combining under single headings many of the so-called categorical grants-in-aid.

Unfortunately, congressional action on the HEW appropriation has not been as soundly reasoned as the administration's program. Starting with a budget request for Labor-HEW of \$16.5 billion, the Appropriations Committee recommended a modest increase when it reported the bill to the floor. Our recommendation was disregarded as the House itself added \$922.6 million during debate. With this momentum the bill began to snowball. As reported in the Senate, it was increased another \$3.2 billion. The Senate added \$543.7 million during its debate.

HARD DECISIONS

Much has been said in Congress and in the press about the President's threat to veto this bill if it came to him grossly enlarged. The fact is that the President is simply living up to his responsibilities and, to paraphrase Kipling, he has tried "to keep his head when those around him are losing theirs."

My desk has been covered with telegrams the past few days and I have had many telephone calls from people who are sincerely concerned about handicapped children, education, retarded children, cancer research, and a dozen or more equally desirable and necessary programs. I understand and sympathize, but the fact remains that there are a limited number of dollars to spread among all the programs of the Government and we must make some hard decisions. As matters now stand, if the Congress is not willing to make those decisions, the President must make them. His personal commitment to an anti-inflation budget ceiling is reinforced by the congressionally imposed ceiling in Public Law 91-47.

A veto of the swollen HEW budget might be a field day for critics who would

like to portray the President as an opponent of social programs. The fact is that it would be a dramatic demonstration of the need for great responsibility when dealing with fiscal matters no matter what the emotional appeal. The bleeding hearts tell us that much of the trouble among the poor and minority groups in the cities is the result of great expectations unfulfilled. What folly to create more great expectations which cannot be fulfilled.

In this area as in many others in Government, more consideration must be given to the identification and development of alternative means of correcting some of the severe social problems, welfare, health, and education, without increasing Federal spending.

SOME BUDGET CUTS

With regard to other appropriations, a request for \$3.7 billion for foreign assistance was reduced by \$1.1 billion. I believe this reflects our reservations about the use of public funds as an instrument of foreign policy. The narrow margins by which the authorization and the appropriation bills passed the House is fair warning to all concerned that the representatives of the people want to see this old program refashioned and reduced, failing which they will see to it that it is terminated.

For the sixth consecutive year, an unbalanced budget request was received from the District of Columbia. As in the past Congress has acted carefully in attempting to meet priority needs of the Nation's Capital while maintaining a responsible fiscal policy upon which it can build a stable future. Funds are included for the development of a rapid transit system concurrently with completion of the city's network of freeways. The people of this entire area are indebted to the President and to Secretary Volpe for taking a personal interest in ending a stalemate that has prevented this necessary development for the past several years.

The budget for the Department of Transportation and related agencies has been increased by \$53.3 million over the amount requested. It includes a substantial increase for additional air traffic controllers and other measures aimed at improving traffic safety, and provides for the continued development of an SST considered essential to the U.S. leadership in this industry. I can hardly take issue with the importance of air safety, but we must provide for these kinds of requirements by identifying and reducing other activities of lower priority. I continue to believe the SST should be funded by the private sector of our economy.

Budget estimates for the Treasury-Post Office, independent offices, Interior, State-Justice, military construction, and legislative appropriation bills totaled \$24 billion. These were reduced by \$1.2 billion in the House and subsequent Senate and conference action resulted in bills totaling \$23 billion. This is \$956 million below the estimates submitted to Congress.

A supplemental budget request relating primarily to damage from Hurricane Camille has been acted upon within 4 weeks in response to the need for this assistance.

In the waning hours of the session we were confronted by the Philadelphia plan rider, added to the supplemental appropriation bill in Senate action. It was intended to block without hearing or debate a program that the administration believes will have great significance for individuals in our minority groups. The rider had no place on an appropriations measure. The issue should be developed and debated and decided on its merit. My own information is that it is not a quota system as some contend. It does not violate the Civil Rights Act. It is a plan that would encourage in the very best American tradition the cooperation of government, business, labor, and the individuals concerned in our effort to provide opportunity for the underprivileged and underemployed.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the above constitutes an appropriate summary of congressional action on appropriation bills during this session. I trust I have emphasized adequately my concern on the two general issues involved in delaying for so long final action on these money bills:

First, we have forced the Government to operate in a most uncertain and tenuous fashion for one-half the fiscal year, with the result that Government-related programs at the State and local levels and in business have also been forced to limp along in uncertainty.

Second, Mr. Speaker, our President has repeatedly expressed his concern at the threat posed to this Nation by inflation. I believe this problem dictates prudence and reason in meeting our responsibility for the judicious use of public funds. We must be more sensitive to this issue during consideration of the budget next session.

In closing, I do want to express on behalf of the members of the Appropriations Committee who sit on this side of the aisle, our appreciation for the many courtesies and support received from our colleagues during the past year. We join together in expressing greetings and our best wishes of this holiday season to each of you.

**LANCE CPL. JOHN J. CROCE IS
KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION**

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lance Cpl. John J. Croce, a fine young man from Maryland was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

LANCE CPL. JOHN J. CROCE

The son of an associate director of the Patuxent Institution was killed last Saturday in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Marine Lance Cpl. John J. Croce, 19, was killed by small arms fire while at an ambush site in Thua Thien province, the Defense Department said.

BORN IN CARACAS

Corporal Croce was the son of Dr. Giovanni Croce, an associate director of the security facility for defective delinquents in Jessup. Dr. Croce, who lives in Columbia, also teaches psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins University.

Corporal Croce was born in Caracas, Venezuela, and attended high school in Miami. He enlisted in the Marine Corps last October and had been in Vietnam six months.

He will be buried in Caracas, where his mother, who has reassumed her maiden name of Miss Rosario Boulton, has returned to live, his stepmother said today. His parents were divorced in 1955.

Besides his mother and father, Corporal Croce is survived by his stepmother, Mrs. Cynthia Croce, and two half-brothers, Matthew Croce and Christopher Croce.

**LET'S NOT CRIPPLE THE TEACHER
CORPS**

HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest editorial endorsements of the work of the Teacher Corps I have seen is in the following editorial from the October 31, 1969, issue of the Plymouth, Ind., Pilot News, in my own congressional district.

The editorial, entitled, "Let's Not Cripple the Teacher Corps," follows:

LET'S NOT CRIPPLE THE TEACHER CORPS

The nation is experiencing withdrawal symptoms from more than one war.

As Vietnam has turned sour, so has the grand design launched so hopefully at about the same time for a massive assault on ignorance, disease, blight and deprivation here at home.

Willard Wirtz, former secretary of Labor, charged the other day that the war in Vietnam "has created a divisiveness and bitterness in the U.S. that has reduced it to a state of stagnation." As long as the war lasts, he said, it "destroys the national capacity to move ahead with anything."

In large degree, of course, the administration's continuing battle with inflation is a factor in this "stagnation" since gains against inflation depend upon retreats all along the federal spending front, from defense procurement to funding of antipoverty programs.

Yet despite all the talk about what could be done when the war in Vietnam is over, neither the people nor the administration nor the Congress seem to be exactly chafing at the bit to unleash all those looked-for billions and re-direct them at our domestic problems. In some areas of domestic concern we are, in fact, doing less than was true at the height of the Vietnam conflict.

One example of an idea that started out as a bright hope but which is now all but dead is the Appalachian Volunteers, a program under which the Office of Economic Opportunity once sent hundreds of young people into the mountains of Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky to organize and educate the poor with the aim of helping them to help themselves to better their lives. In this case, political reaction as well as budgetary retrenchment has caused the program to be officially abandoned.

Not in such dire straits but still indicative of the waning national enthusiasm for the war on poverty, ignorance, etc. is the Teacher Corps.

Established in 1965, the corps is a country-wide effort to improve educational opportunities for children from low-income families by attracting able college students in two-year programs in which they continue their own educations while serving in poverty area schools.

Some 1,950 men and women college undergraduates and graduates are currently involved in Teacher Corps programs located in 36 states and the District of Columbia and working with 72 institutions of higher learning, 136 school districts and three state correctional institutions.

Since the corps began, more than 5,500 interns and team leaders have been enrolled. Of those interns who completed service in 1968, 86 per cent said they planned to continue their careers in education, 72 per cent of them in poverty area schools. The same patterns seem to be continuing among 1969 interns.

This is especially encouraging in view of other surveys which show that very few of the nation's graduating teachers intend to seek jobs in poverty area schools.

Nevertheless, "The Teacher Corps usually has about as much trouble getting money out of Congress as Eva had crossing the ice," says one official.

This year the House lopped the administration's request for fiscal 1970 appropriations from \$31.1 million to \$21.7 million. Although this is \$800,000 more than was appropriated in fiscal 1969, because of inflation and other factors it will actually support fewer corps members than in the previous year.

The appropriations bill is now in the Senate, where the corps had scaled down its request to \$24.7 million. At this figure, it could enlist 500 more corps members than last year.

This is 1/100th the number of GIs the nation is supporting at immensely greater cost, in Vietnam.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last October, as I had done for several years in the past, I mailed a legislative questionnaire to all of the residents in the Second Congressional District of Arizona. The response of my constituents was most gratifying; 35,480 Arizonans, or about 19 percent of those registered, cast their "votes." I believe my colleagues may be interested in the results, which have just been tabulated.

Let me say at the outset, however, that I do not pretend that the survey responses represent a completely accurate cross section of my district, either from an occupational or a political standpoint. A disproportionate number of business and professional people were among the respondents, for example. And, whereas 62 percent of the registered voters in my district are Democrats, with 38 percent classified as Republicans or Independents, there were actually more Republicans—44 percent—than Democrats—41 percent—who replied to my questionnaire.

Nonetheless, it is reassuring to know that so many Arizonans were willing to take the time to let me know their views

on important questions of public policy. And the questionnaire responses, whatever their limitations, do give a Congressman a much better "feel" for the opinions of the people he represents than any other device I have been able to uncover.

STRONG SUPPORT FOR POPULATION POLICY

Mr. Speaker, one of the most decisive verdicts registered by my constituents in their questionnaire replies resulted from a question I asked on population control.

I pointed out that this Nation's population has doubled since 1917 to 200 million, and that projections indicate we will add another 100 million by the year 2000. While some people may argue that this population growth can be easily accommodated and is good for the economic health of the country, others believe that it will add to our environmental problems and generally reduce the quality of life. Given this difference of opinion, I asked the voters of the Second District to choose which of the following views most closely approximated their opinions:

First. I favor a national policy aimed at stabilizing our population through voluntary means.

Second. I believe this is a strictly private matter and not a proper concern of Government.

Mr. Speaker, 71 percent of my constituents said they favor a national policy aimed at population stabilization. In the past, birth control has always been regarded as an extremely delicate subject, one which Government approached with extreme caution. I recall that it was just 6 years ago that I introduced what I believe to be the first House bill bearing on the topic. And yet today nearly three-quarters of the people in my district apparently favor adoption of a national policy of population control. I find this heartening evidence of a growing awareness of the population explosion and the ever-increasing danger that it poses.

LOW PRIORITY FOR MILITARY SPENDING

Another basic conclusion I have drawn from studying views set forth in the questionnaire responses is that the voters in my district are very concerned about the commitment of so large a percentage of our national wealth to defense projects. This was reflected primarily in a question I posed about the current level of military spending.

Noting that the United States now has 3.4 million men in uniform and that military spending, exclusive of Vietnam, was estimated at \$53 billion, I asked if this level was too low, about right, or too high. Overall, 61 percent of those replying considered the amount of military expenditures to be too high, and this reaction did not vary significantly among age and occupational groups. Democrats—65 percent—were slightly more opposed to defense spending, but their view was shared by a majority of Republicans—55 percent.

Another response which suggested that new military programs would be greeted with scant enthusiasm in the Second District developed from a question on budget priorities. I posed a hypothetical situation in which the Vietnam war had ended and the surtax had been dropped,

but in which other taxes were the same. I then suggested that we would have a Federal budget surplus of \$10 billion and asked in what order of priority the respondent would rank the following possible uses for that surplus:

First. Stepped-up efforts to combat air and water pollution, to acquire and develop park lands, and to protect our environment.

Second. New initiative in attacking the problems of our cities—unemployment, transportation, housing, education, and poverty.

Third. National defense—the building of new weapons systems, missiles, ships, and planes.

Mr. Speaker, we know that the Tax Reform Act of 1969 has slightly altered my hypothetical situation; "other taxes," as I described them, will not be the same. However, recognizing that fact, I think it is nonetheless interesting to see how my constituents assigned priorities to these areas of governmental activity.

I found that just 20 percent of the respondents believed that national defense warranted top priority, while 45 percent ranked it last among the three options.

As might have been expected, persons from 21 to 29 years of age—57 percent—and students—65 percent—were among the groups who felt most strongly that defense should be assigned the lowest priority. More Democrats than Republicans—50 percent to 38 percent—gave a third place rating to national defense and more Republicans than Democrats—24 percent to 17 percent—placed it first on their lists.

More Arizonans polled—42 percent—believed protection of the environment should head the list of priorities than any of the other choices; three-quarters of the respondents placed it either first or second.

A new attack on the problems of the cities was the first selection of 31 percent; 32 percent chose it second and 20 percent third, with the balance not responding.

WHAT POLICY FOR VIETNAM?

As I indicated in the question on priorities, any future budgetary surplus that we may have is likely to be a "peace dividend," a result of the conclusion of the war in Vietnam.

What is the present administration's Vietnam policy? Will it lead to peace? Or will it lead to a prolonged war at a lower level of American involvement?

President Nixon has said he will pull all combat troops out of Vietnam within a certain time period not made public. Many in Washington have concluded this means we will leave noncombat forces in Vietnam. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has testified he believes our involvement there will continue for "several years." And the most commonly held view is that the President intends to leave about 200,000 U.S. servicemen in Vietnam to support the war effort of the South Vietnamese.

I do not know that this is, in fact, the President's policy. I hope it is not. But, in view of the many signs that this is what President Nixon and his advisers have in mind. I thought it would be instructive to know how the people of my

district would vote on such a policy, if given a choice.

What I asked was: Some people say the United States intends to reduce its forces in South Vietnam to perhaps 200,000 and then dig in for a long struggle—perhaps 5 or 10 years—to defend that country from a Communist takeover. Would you favor or oppose such a course?

If this is the plan of the administration, a solid majority of my constituents is opposed to it. The responses were 34 percent in favor, 62 percent opposed, the rest undecided. Opposition was pronounced among students—77 percent—and those in the 21–29 age group—66 percent, but was consistently high among virtually all age and occupational groups.

However, I want to make clear that I do not interpret this as a vote against President Nixon or his Vietnam policy; it is merely a vote against a course of action which might or might not be embraced by the administration, either now or later.

OTHER ISSUES

In addition to the topics I already have discussed, there were five other issues on which I solicited the views of my constituents. Three of the questions already have been answered, at least partially, by the Congress in 1969—those involving the anti-ballistic-missile system, increasing the tax rate on capital gains and direct election of the President—pending in the Senate. Two other hard questions remain, questions which all of us will have to ponder in the weeks and months ahead. Following are the results on these five questions expressed in percentages.

Volunteer Army: It has been proposed that, except in times of a national emergency or a major war, the military draft be ended and that pay and benefits of military service be increased sufficiently to recruit an all-volunteer Army, Navy, and Air Force. Would you favor—67 percent; or oppose—30 percent—such a plan? It is pertinent to mention here that 60 percent of the students and 64 percent of those in the 21–29 age bracket, those most directly affected by the draft, favored the all-volunteer Army concept.

Direct election of the President: The House has passed a constitutional amendment which would abolish the electoral college and have the President and the Vice President elected by direct popular vote. Those in favor argue that the electoral college is dangerous and outdated. Those opposed say that election by popular vote would change our federal system and deprive small States, like Arizona, of some of their voting power. Would you favor—83 percent; or oppose—14 percent—this amendment?

Space program: The United States has now spent about \$50 billion on its space program, nearly half of this in landing men on the moon. NASA plans nine more moon landings in the next 3 years and some believe we must start now on a \$25 to \$40 billion program to put men on Mars. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view: This is a great adventure for man, and we should proceed full speed ahead—28 percent; I support the space program but believe we should cut back on spending and go

more slowly—39 percent; I favor major cutbacks in space spending until we have taken care of our more pressing domestic problems—32 percent. Note that 71 percent of the respondents favor some reduction in our space program.

Capital gains income: At present, income from investment is taxed at rates below income from employment or profits from business. A bill before Congress proposes to increase the maximum rate on investment income from 25 to 35 percent. Would you favor—57 percent; or oppose—36 percent—this increase in the capital gains tax? Democrats approved the rate hike by 65 percent—27 percent; Republicans were less enthusiastic, but a majority still was favorable by 52 percent—42 percent.

Antiballistic missile—ABM: From what you have read and heard, do you think this country should proceed to build the Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system? Yes—50 percent; or no—45 percent. Republicans supported President Nixon's proposal to build the system by 57 percent—37 percent; Democrats were opposed by a slim 49-to-48-percent margin.

COMMUNIST PRESSURE ON SOUTH KOREA

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

December 23, 1969

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, as the year draws to an end, I should like to bring the attention of the House and my distinguished colleagues recent political situations in one of our strongest allies on the other side of the Pacific.

In the Republic of Korea, on December 11, a few trained Communist agents kidnaped a Korean passenger plane, Y.S. 11, with its 47 passengers, and to this date, neither plane nor passengers have returned. Because Korea has been a staunch supporter for America, she is under constant pressures and threats by Communists engaging in various types of subversive activities to create a political chaos and thereby setting the stage for another Vietnam in Korea.

Thanks to the strong leadership of President Chung Hee Park and the resolute will of South Koreans to resist the Communist threats, Korea has successfully remained as the most anti-Communist country in Asia. The determined will of South Koreans, however, is not sufficient. Facing growing power of an aggressive Red China and Soviet Russia, both contiguous with the Korean peninsula, an unyielding U.S. support and readiness for retaliatory action to the Communist provocation are absolutely required for the survival of the Republic and maintenance of political stability.

Miscalculation is one of the most common causes of war. I firmly believed that a weak U.S. policy toward provocative actions committed by the Communists induce North Koreans to commit more aggressive actions. Conversely speaking,

the Communist, through a provocative offense, tries to find out the truthfulness and seriousness of the U.S. commitment as was dramatized by the *Pueblo* incident. It is still vivid in our minds that the infirm U.S. attitude lacking any physical retaliation after the seizure of the *Pueblo* obviously convinced North Korea that they can get away with such offensive acts. The result was more aggressive and vicious acts, the shooting down of an unarmed American plane. It was only after the powerful display of the 7th Fleet Task Force that North Korea began to slow down their series of atrocities. Yet it is not the end or abandonment of their scheme.

The hijacking of a Korean plane is radically different from the cases of hijacking of U.S. planes to Cuba today. The Korean case is evidently premeditated by the North Korean regime and is intended to disturb political stability as well as to test the will of both Korean and American Governments.

This series of illegal and offensive acts must be met with stronger U.S. action. A firmer U.S. stand to the Communist provocations will not only help prevent the recurrence of vicious acts by them but is the only means of deterring another conventional war in Korea and other parts of the world.

Shifting from the enemy to the civil preparedness on our domestic scene, one of our leading newspapers recently carried, on several occasions, a full-page ad concerning the biography of Il Sung Kim, the North Korean Prime Minister, branded by the U.N. and the United States as an aggressor in the Korean war, 1950 to 1953.

Jo-Chong Yon, a political agent for the North Korean Communist regime in Japan, gave a copyright of Kim's biography to a Japanese publishing company, "Miraisha" and commissioned an American advertising agent in Japan with expenses to carry expensive ads in various leading newspapers in the West.

The cardinal design of the ads mentioned is clear: Its prime objective does not lie in commercial objectives but in the political strategic scheme. The ads were intended to plant for Il Sung Kim an image as "another Ho Chi Minh of Korea" who will launch a nonregular warfare in the south at a proper, chosen time.

While we are spending our taxpayers money to assist South Korea to establish a self-sufficient economy and political stability, some of our news media are promoting the man who is directly responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of our boys during the Korean conflict. Even at this very moment, he is frantically trying to destroy whatever progress that has been accomplished in Korea.

The mistakes of this sort in the U.S. domestic politics are tacitly encouraging our enemies to launch such provocative acts as illogical seizure of the *Pueblo*, atrocity of shooting down the EC-121 and the hijacking of the Korean plane with 47 passengers this month. In the long run, however, their provocative acts will not end in a mere provocative act,

but will lead to bigger and more aggressive war activity.

I, therefore, would like to urge my distinguished colleagues and the administration to let the Communist know of our firm stand behind the free people of Korea as well as other parts of the world by manifesting a sterner policy against aggression and acts of provocation.

EATON'S HANOI TRIP HELPS PEACE CAUSE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Vietnam war grinds on. Although the administration points to reduced casualties, to the slain soldier or civilian, and to his family, there is no solace in smaller numbers. Death is absolute, and group statistics do not alter its finality.

It is encouraging to see the increasing number of newspapers and influential media in this country affirming peace. In this regard, I commend to my colleagues an editorial by John S. Knight, which appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal on December 21, and in other newspapers in the Knight chain. This editorial pays tribute to Cyrus Eaton, the Ohio industrialist, who, in the words of Mr. Knight, "in his way and with remarkable courage obeyed the Biblical injunction to live peaceably with all men." The editorial follows:

EATON'S HANOI TRIP HELPS PEACE CAUSE (By John S. Knight)

At this season of the year, as we pray for peace and the safety of loved ones in Vietnam, it seems appropriate to talk of a man who has dedicated his wintry years to ending a cruel and senseless war.

I speak of Cyrus S. Eaton, the 86-year-old Ohio industrialist, who in recent weeks has visited Paris, Moscow and Hanoi in the quest for a solution to the impasse between the United States and North Vietnam.

But first, as a noted editor is fond of saying, "Let me give you the background."

Cyrus Eaton is an atypical capitalist. Though he presides as chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway and has served on dozens of corporate boards, his interests range from cattle breeding to membership in the Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

He is the founder of the famed Pugwash seminars where world leaders of government, science, education and philosophy gather each Summer in Nova Scotia to exchange views and explore common problems.

What distinguishes Eaton from his fellow tycoons of the business world is his long held conviction that Russia and the United States must reach accommodations on trade and other questions at issue if we hope to have a peaceful world.

He was largely responsible for arranging the visits to this country of Nikita Khrushchev, Alexei Kosygin and Anastas Mikoyan. It all began some 15 years ago when a group of Russian journalists wanted to see the home of an American industrialist. The State Department requested Cyrus Eaton to undertake this responsibility because of his contacts with the Russians during World War I.

Eaton's advocacy of the need for better relations with Russia has not contributed to

his popularity. He has been called a Communist and worse by the business establishment. The general public has shown but little sympathy for his views.

To such criticism, Eaton replies: "I am a dedicated capitalist, both in theory and practice. The Soviet Union exists, so let's meet them halfway—let's know the top people and work with them. As long as we carry on warfare, we just make them fanatics—they go to extremes. So let's see if we cannot compromise with them."

In an interview with Merriman Smith of United Press International, Eaton added: "We need to export our food products in great quantities and extend credit. We also ought to supply backward countries with machinery and equipment. At a profit, of course. This is better than sending military missions to police them."

Eaton observes that "it used to be fashionable to be anti-Communist and denounce anything of that kind. Now, half of the world is Communist—that's a hell of a lot."

He thinks, too, that the United States was wrong in placing an embargo on Cuba. "We thought an embargo would bring an end to the Castro regime, but the things Cuba needs of American origin can be obtained from our allies—Canada, Great Britain, France—and, of course, from the Communist countries."

As Merriman Smith has written, "Cyrus Eaton is not only a capitalist, he is a highly pragmatic capitalist."

There are overtones of Eaton's pragmatism in his just concluded eight day discussions with the leaders of North Vietnam in Hanoi. For he feels that to prolong the war is to invite serious economic consequences in our own country.

The main obstacle to peace, as Eaton sees it, is Hanoi's conviction that President Nixon's peace gestures are not sincere and that he really wants to continue the war.

In a Hong Kong talk to foreign correspondents, Eaton expressed the view that he thought he had made "some progress" in convincing North Vietnamese leaders to the contrary.

Another hang-up is the refusal of Premier Pham Van Dong and Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh to have any dealings with the present Saigon government. They are still demanding the complete withdrawal of American troops and formation of a provisional government to replace President Thieu and Vice President Ky.

Even so, Eaton said he has "discovered enough give; and enough good will in Hanoi to indicate that compromises are possible to end the war." In this connection, he mentioned assurances from the North Vietnamese that American prisoners would henceforth receive better treatment including mail from home and dispatching of letters to the United States.

None of the above is intended to have you believe that Mr. Eaton will succeed where two Presidents have failed.

As the old saying goes, it is easier to get involved in wars than to get out of them.

Yet Mr. Eaton has performed a useful mission. As he told me, "I wanted the Communist world to see an American capitalist who is opposed to the war. North Vietnam has the notion that our industrialists are interested only in profiting from the war."

This vigorous man of 86, the object of derision in the past, may have made an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace by providing a better understanding of the barriers of peace.

Cyrus Eaton will hear that he has been brainwashed, and be scorned as a Russian lover by those whose hatred of the Soviet Union paralyzes the ability to reason.

But never mind. Cyrus Eaton has in his way and with remarkable courage obeyed the Biblical injunction to live peaceably with all men.

BLACK LUNG BENEFITS

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important that the black lung benefit provision of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act be clearly understood. Therefore, I have prepared the following analysis.

This new program provides a congressional recognition of the debt owed by this Nation to those who work—or have worked and are now retired—in the Nation's coal mines and their families.

The black lung benefit payments represent some financial recognition of the decreased earning capacity, shortened lifespan, and physical pain and suffering inflicted on many miners—and their families—by the dreaded black lung disease.

This program is not a welfare program. Payments to those found eligible is a matter of right, written into Federal statute. There is to be no "means" or "assets" test of any kind whatsoever. The law does provide certain limited "offset" provisions that I shall mention later.

Congress intended that this black lung provision be construed in a manner that will assure accomplishment of the purposes of the title and will provide benefit payments to the greatest number of eligible persons possible.

The material referred to follows:

EXPLANATION OF BLACK LUNG BENEFIT PROVISION—GENERAL PROCEDURE TO FOLLOW IN THE FILING OF BLACK LUNG CLAIMS

Claims should be filed at the local Social Security office which will provide the forms to be filled out and assistance in filling them out.

The Social Security Agency will reimburse all claimants for reasonable medical expenses incurred in the filing of their claims. In other words, a miner (active or retired), or his widow who files a claim for black lung benefits, will have that claim processed by the local Social Security office in the same way as claims are filed for total disability under the Social Security system. But also, in the case of a black lung claim, the Social Security will reimburse the claimant for reasonable medical costs.

COAL MINER'S WIDOW'S BENEFITS

1. See Black Lung Benefit Chart for varying amounts, according to family size.

2. Benefits Are Payable to Widows—If eligible—from the date the claim is filed. So, all widows should immediately file with the local Social Security office a claim for Black Lung Benefits.

3. What coal miner's widows are eligible? Answer: A wife living with or dependent for support on the miner at the time of his death, or living apart for reasonable cause, or because of his desertion, who has not remarried, is entitled to payments if—

(a) Her husband died due to pneumoconiosis (there is a rebuttable presumption that any coal miner who worked in the mines for at least 10 years and died of a respiratory disease that the miner died of pneumoconiosis); or

(b) Any miner who died with (need not be from) complicated pneumoconiosis, his widow is automatically entitled to benefits; or

(c) The miner was receiving Black Lung Benefits at the time of his death. (Currently there are no miners receiving this payment—because of the newness of the law.)

COAL MINERS BENEFITS

1. See Black Lung Benefit Chart for varying amounts, according to family size.

2. Benefits are payable to a coal miner (active or retired) if eligible—from the date the claim is filed. (Because of the limit on earnings (see Benefit Chart)—an active miner should consult with the union representative—and the local Social Security office before filing a claim.)

3. What coal miners (active or retired) are eligible?

Answer: 1. Active and retired coal miners who have "complicated" pneumoconiosis are automatically eligible (subject to offset provision) for Black Lung Benefits.

2. Active and retired coal miners who are found by the Social Security Administration to be "totally disabled" due to pneumoconiosis.

4. What is pneumoconiosis?

Answer: Congress defined pneumoconiosis as "a chronic dust disease of the lung arising out of employment in an underground coal mine."

Partial list of chronic dust diseases of the lung arising out of employment in an underground coal mine (e.g. pneumoconiosis):

Coal workers pneumoconiosis.

Anthracosis.

Silicosis (sometimes referred to as Grinders Rot, Miners Consumption; Miners Phthisis; Potters Asthma; Stone Masons Phthisis).

Diatomite pneumoconiosis.

Talcosis.

5. Can a coal miner (active or retired) be found eligible for Black Lung Benefits even though social security found him not eligible for disability under social security?

Answer: This question must be answered in 2 ways.

One, if Social Security has found that the miner was not "totally disabled"—the miner is not eligible for Black Lung, unless he has "complicated" pneumoconiosis. However Social Security has eased its rules recently and it would be advisable for a miner whose previous claim was denied by Social Security to file a Black Lung Benefit claim.

On the other hand, if Social Security found that the miner was "totally disabled" but denied his claim on other grounds—such as being over 65 years old, not having current earnings—or other non "disability" grounds, that miner would be eligible for Black Lung Benefits (a large number of miners—over 65 years old are eligible for Black Lung Benefits—even though they do not receive Social Security Disability because of the age limit of 64 years old in that program).

6. How will active miners know if they have pneumoconiosis?

Answer: The new Coal Mine Health and Safety Law requires the Federal government to provide free x-rays to the miners. (The coal operators must pay for the x-rays).

Although the new law does not require that active coal miners take or submit to an x-ray—it will always be in the coal miner's interest to accept x-ray examination.

BLACK LUNG BENEFIT CLAIM CHART

Although coal miners (active and retired) and widows have until December 31, 1971 to file claims; all claims by retired miners and widows should be filed immediately because the benefits are payable from the date the claim is filed. (Active miners should consult with the union before filing a claim).

An eligible single miner (active or retired) is entitled to \$1,635 a year.

An eligible miner with a wife is entitled to \$2,452.50 a year.

An eligible miner with a wife and one child is entitled to \$2,860.25 a year.

An eligible miner with a wife and two children is entitled to \$3,270 a year (the maximum).

An eligible widow is entitled to \$1,635 a year.

An eligible widow with one child is entitled to \$2,452.50 a year.

An eligible widow with two children is entitled to \$2,860.25 a year.

An eligible widow with three children is entitled to \$3,270 a year (the maximum).

An eligible miner with no wife and one child is entitled to \$2,452.50 a year.

An eligible miner with no wife and two children is entitled to \$2,860.25 a year.

An eligible miner with no wife and three children is entitled to \$3,270 a year (the maximum).

OFFSETS, REDUCTIONS IN AMOUNTS OF BLACK LUNG BENEFITS

1. There is no reduction in black lung benefit payments for any Federal Workmen's compensation, or Social Security payments (disability or retirement).

2. There is no reduction in black lung benefit payments for any union pension received by the Claimant.

3. There is no reduction in black lung benefit payments for any earnings of a coal miner's wife or widow. Therefore, the wife of a living coal miner, and the widow of a deceased coal miner can earn an unlimited amount of money with no reduction in Black Lung Benefit Payments.

4. There is no reduction in any social security payment for any black lung benefit payment.

5. Any payments received by a miner or a widow under *State* (there is no offset to any Federal payment) unemployment insurance, disability insurance, or workmen's compensation have their black lung benefits reduced by the amount of such payments.

It is the Congressional intention that these offsets (reductions) due to State social insurance programs be attributable to the miner's—not his wife or widows, as the case may be—earnings, disability or death.

Any workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, or disability payments due to the earnings, death or disability of the wife or widow are not intended to reduce Black Lung Payments amounts.

6. However, the miner (active or retired) can only earn \$1,680 per year. Any amount he earns more than that will cause an automatic dollar-for-dollar reduction in the amount of the black lung payment.

7. Any public welfare being received by a claimant *will be reduced* by the amount of the Black Lung Benefit. However, in virtually all cases the Black Lung Benefit is much higher than the public welfare amount.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. Black Lung payments are not subject to the Federal Income Tax.

2. There is an automatic escalator (cost of living-like) clause in the Black Lung Benefit structure.

3. There are conditions under which claims may be filed after December 31, 1971. These provisions are less favorable than claims filed on or before December 31, 1971.

4. The Black Lung Benefits discussed in this article are not intended to be considered Workmen's Compensation payments and therefore not to be so treated for purposes of Section 224 of the Social Security Act.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be the author of the black lung benefit provision.

From the early days of John L. Lewis—until the present, there has been an effort to bring added dignity, safety, and a decent standard of living to those who "toil in the bowels of the earth." The passage of this year's health and safety

law comes too late to help the thousands who have been crippled, maimed, and killed in past years. It will, however, make coal mining a much safer and healthier job.

It is my fervent hope that the black lung benefit provision will, in some small way, ease the suffering and lift the weight of loneliness inflicted on the miners and their widows by this dreaded disease.

PRESIDENT NIXON GIVES ADDRESS AT NATIONAL FOOTBALL FOUNDATION AND HALL OF FAME DINNER

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, for the edification and entertainment of our colleagues who follow football, as we near the end of the game's 100th season, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD the remarks of the President of the United States at the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on December 9, 1969:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE NATIONAL FOOTBALL FOUNDATION AND HALL OF FAME DINNER

Mr. Chairman and Mr. Toastmaster, Your Eminence Cardinal Cooke, all of the distinguished guests at the head tables and all of the distinguished award winners and all of those who are here on this very momentous occasion:

It would be momentous because of this organization meeting to honor the man that you have honored and I speak of others, of course, than myself and it would be momentous too because it is the 100th year of a very great game.

I was trying to think of something that would appropriately describe how I feel in accepting this award. I would have to be less than candid if I were not to say that because of the offices I have held I have received many awards.

But I think Archibald MacLeish, in that perfectly eloquent tribute to football, quoting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, put it very well. He said, "The honors you don't deserve are the ones you are most grateful to receive."

I simply want to set the record straight with regard to my football qualifications. This is a candid, open Administration. We believe in telling the truth about football and everything.

I can only say that as far as this award is concerned that it is certainly a small step for the National Football Foundation and a small step for football but it is a giant leap for a man who never even made the team at Whittier.

I have looked around that wall. Whittier is not up there I can assure you. I didn't hear the Whittier song either a moment ago. In fact only the coach from Loyola knows where Whittier is. We used to play Loyola.

I got into a game once when we were so far behind it didn't matter. I even got into one against Southern California once when we were so far behind it didn't matter.

Just to tell you a little about Whittier so the record will be straight it is a school with very high academic standing. We had a very remarkable coach.

Today as we pay tribute to the players, I am glad that one of those who made the Hall of Fame is a coach, Bud Wilkinson.

I pointed out in my acceptance address in Miami that one of the men who influenced me most in my life was my coach and I think that could be true of many public men.

My coach was an American Indian, a truly remarkable man and a great leader. I learned more about life from him than I did about football; but a little about football.

One of the reasons he didn't put me in was because I didn't know the plays. There was a good reason for that. It wasn't because I wasn't smart enough. I knew the enemy's plays. I played them all week long. Believe me, nobody in the Southern California Conference knew Occidental's or Pomona's plays better than I did, because I was on that side.

I learned a lot sitting by the coach on the bench—learned about football and learned about life.

Incidentally, since this is a night for confession, I want to tell you one thing about Chief Newman. He played for Southern California. He played on their first Rose Bowl team and that first Rose Bowl team beat Penn State in the only game Penn State ever played in the Rose Bowl.

Now, because Governor Shafer is here and because I had an uncle who taught at Penn State and had a very distinguished record and because somebody suggested that some day I might want to visit the campus—after I have left the Presidency—I can only say that they have a great football team.

As a matter of fact, I was going to suggest that we have a super college bowl after the November or January 1 games and then I thought I was in deep enough already because look what could happen: Southern California could beat Michigan and they would claim they were Number One; Notre Dame might beat Texas and they would claim they were One; and, of course, you never know what would happen with Penn State and Missouri. I understand they are pretty good.

So I can only say this: I understand that Penn State certainly is among those that should be considered for One in the United States of America.

Now, could I share with you for a moment, in a somewhat serious vein, what football means to me? I think that is what the man who receives this award, particularly one who really doesn't deserve it because of his football prowess, that is something he is expected to do.

First, without talking about those factors that are tremendously important that Archibald MacLeish touched on, the character, all of the great spirit that comes into individuals who are either participants in the game, participate in it or watch it, I look back on football and have many pleasant memories: I just enjoyed playing it, watching it, reading about it over the years.

Among all of the people who have been honored tonight, let me just say a good word about sports writers. After all, I must say that this is not an unselfish statement, most sports writers become political writers in the end—"Scotty" Reston, Bob Considine, Bill Henry. So I am just planning for the future.

But, in any event, thinking of sports writers for the moment, they have made football live before the days of television and even now for many who never got to the games.

My first recollection of big-time college football was Ernie Nevers against Notre Dame in 1925. I see Ernie Nevers here and I sat in the stands with Father Hesburgh when Southern Cal played and lost to Notre Dame and I know the great spirit between those two schools. But I remember that game. I remember the score. I think it was 25 to 10 or four touchdowns to a touchdown and a field goal and I remember that the sports writers, Bill Henry of the L.A. Times, and others, were writing about the game, wrote about one play where Nevers went through

the line close to the goal and there was a dispute about whether he went over and was pushed back.

I wonder whether or not, with the replays we have on television, the game might have turned out differently if we had had television in 1925. I am not saying it would, Father Hesburgh. I have enough trouble with Penn State. I don't want any with Notre Dame.

Then my memory goes on, just to share them with you, and interestingly enough I remember performances by men who lost as well as who won. That is rather natural, I am sure you can understand.

The first Rose Bowl game I saw was between one of the great Howard Jones teams of the early '30s and Jock Sutherland's Pitt teams. Pitt was overmanned. They had a fine quarterback in Warren Heller; a good passer. And Howard Jones had a team that beat them 35 to nothing.

But my memories of that team was not of the awesome power of Howard Jones' team moving down with the unbalanced single wing going down, down the field and scoring again and again with that tremendous blocking, but of two very gallant Pittsburgh ends, Stedani and Dalley.

For the first half, I remember they plowed into that awesome USC interference and knocked it down time and time again and held the score down. The game was lost, but I remember right to the last they were in there fighting and that spirit stayed with me as a memory and the years go on.

I think of another game, Southern Cal and Duke, 1938. I had attended Duke University for law school and I remember that Duke came there undefeated, untied, unscored upon. The score was three to nothing going into the last few minutes of the game. So out came a fourth string quarterback, not a third string, Doyle Nave, and he threw passes as they throw them today, one after another, to Al Kreuger, an end from Antelope Valley, Southern California scored. It was seven to three.

I must say that I was terribly disappointed, of course, but the woman who was to be my future wife went to Southern Cal and that is how it all worked out. We met at that game.

The years go on and I am not going to bore you with more of my own recollections, except to give you a feel of what football has meant to me as a spectator, and college football particularly.

I remember some Ohio State games. I recall going to Ohio State to a football game, and until you have been to Columbus to see an Ohio State game—in fact, until I went to Fayetteville, Arkansas, I thought the Columbus crowds were the most exciting. But in any event, that year, I think it was about 1958, I went there with Senator John Bricker. Iowa had a great team. They were a favorite over Ohio State.

They led going into the last quarter. Woody Hayes—in those days, it was just three yards and a cloud of dust. They didn't have the passers. But he had a great big fullback by the name of White and he ran him, starting at the 35 yard line of Ohio State, ten different times over the same hole in the Iowa line, going off the left side, until they scored, and they won the game 17 to 14.

If you think enthusiastic crowds developed in other places, you ought to see an Ohio State crowd when they beat anybody.

But in any event, on through the years, I come to more recent years, years that these younger men here will remember and recall with the same zest and enthusiasm, I am sure, that I do.

This year, 1969, certainly of all the hundred years of football none could be more exciting. There were never so many great teams, never so many Saturdays when the favorite could not be sure that he was going to come

through, never so many times when a team that was behind came on to win or tie in the last quarter.

I am referring, of course, to Southern Cal, what they did to UCLA.

If you talk to somebody from UCLA they say it should not have happened. So, watch out, Michigan, for SC, it could happen. I am not predicting now. I have had enough trouble with Penn State. I don't want any with Michigan. Before I get through I will only have friends in Texas and I didn't carry Texas. So let's not talk any further about that.

But now, one serious moment. Archibald MacLeish did say what I wish I could have written about what football means to this country, what it means to me as an individual, what it means to me as one who is serving as President of the United States. I can only tell you that in the Cabinet Room there are the pictures of three men who I consider to be great Presidents: President Eisenhower, President Woodrow Wilson, President Theodore Roosevelt. There were other great ones, but these three in this century, I consider to be among the great Presidents.

All of them had one thing in common. They were very different men; Eisenhower, the great general; Theodore Roosevelt, the tremendous extrovert, explorer, writer, one of the most talented men of our time in so many fields; Woodrow Wilson, probably the greatest scholar who has ever occupied the Presidency, a man with the biggest vocabulary of any President in our history in case you want to put it down in your memory book.

But each of them had a passion for football. Woodrow Wilson, when he taught at Wesley and used to talk about the spirit of football, and later on when he was President of Princeton, he insisted on scholarship, but he recognized and tried to encourage football. T. R. was dictating a speech one day, a very important one. He got a call telling of two of his sons participating in a prep school game which they had won. He dropped the speech and ran shouting for joy to his wife and said, "They won, they won."

I remember President Eisenhower talking to me after his heart attack. He said one of the things he hated to give up was that the doctor said he should not listen to those football games because he got too excited and became too involved.

What does this mean, this common interest in football of Presidents, of leaders, of people generally? It means a competitive spirit. It means, also, to me, the ability and the determination to be able to lose and then come back and try again, to sit on the bench and then come back. It means basically the character, the drive, the pride, the teamwork, the feeling of being in a cause bigger than yourself.

All of these great factors are essential if a Nation is to maintain character and greatness for that Nation. So, on the 100th year of football, as we approach the 200th year of the United States, remember that our great assets are not our military strength or our economic wealth, but the character of our young people and I am glad that America's young people produce the kind of men that we have in American football today.

I close on a note that will tell you why I think Texas deserved to be Number One. It was not because they scored the second touchdown, but it was because after the first touchdown when they were ahead (behind) 14 to 0, the coach sent in a play. They executed the play and they went for two. When they went for two and the score was 18 (8) to 14, they moved the momentum in their direction. They were not sure to win because Arkansas still had a lot of fight left and I remember the great drive in those last

few minutes. But Texas, by that very act, demonstrated the qualities of a champion, the qualities to come back when they were behind and then when they could have played it safe just to tie, they played to win.

This allows me to tell a favorite anecdote of mine in the world of sports. In another field, one of the great tennis players of all time, of course—the first really big tennis player in terms of the big serve and the rest, in our time—was Bill Tilden.

When he was coaching, after he completed his playing years, a young player had won a match in a minor tournament and won it rather well. He came off the court and expected Tilden to say something to him in words of congratulation, and Tilden didn't.

The player said, "What is the matter, I won it, didn't I? Tilden said, "Yes, you won, but playing that way you will never be a champion, because you played not to lose. You didn't play to win."

That is what America needs today. What we need in the spirit of this country and the spirit of our young people is not playing it safe always, not being afraid of defeat—being ready to get into the battle and playing to win; not with the idea of destroying or defeating or hurting anybody else, but with the idea of achieving excellence.

Because Texas demonstrated that day that they were playing to win, they set an example worthy of being Number One in the 100th year of college football.

Thank you.

EROSION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State Rogers held a news conference today in which he discussed United States-Israeli relations. He stated:

I can understand why Israel is concerned, and why they don't necessarily agree with everything we do. But we have to conduct our foreign policy in a way that we think is best for our national interests.

I cannot fault the Secretary on his basic premise—we must be guided by our national interests. But its practice, so far as the Mideast is concerned is, in my view, seriously in error. This administration's posture toward Israel is undermining the possibilities of a viable peace being achieved between Israel and the Arab States pledged to destroy her. And this posture is thereby seriously endangering the viability—even existence—of Israel.

Yet it is essential to our national interest that Israel survives and thrives, just as a stable peace in the Mideast is essential. In fact, there cannot be one without the other. The President himself has said as much. On September 8, 1968, then candidate Richard Nixon stated:

The United States has a firm and unwavering commitment to the national existence of Israel, repeated by four Presidents, and after Inauguration Day next year, it will be repeated by another President.

America supports Israel because we believe in the self-determination of nations; America supports Israel because we oppose aggression in every form; America supports Israel because it is threatened by Soviet imperialism;

and America supports Israel because its example offers long range hope to the Middle East.

We recognize Israel's predicament; its enemies can afford to fight a war and lose, and come back to fight again. Israel cannot afford to lose once. America knows that. And America is determined that Israel is here in the family of nations to stay.

Since the Nixon administration took office, U.S. policy toward Israel has, in fact, changed, attempting to force dangerous compromise on Israel in an effort to curry unwarranted favor with the Arab States of the area. This signals a departure from the consistent commitment to Israel expressed by four Presidents of the United States—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

Following the 6-day war, in June of 1967, President Johnson stated, on June 19, 1967, this country's "commitment today—to a peace that is based on five principles: first, the recognized right of national life; second, justice for the refugees; third, innocent maritime passage; fourth, limits on the wasteful and destructive arms race; and fifth, political independence and territorial integrity for all."

In the same speech, President Johnson made clear that the peace would have to be reached by the parties themselves. He said:

Clearly, the parties to the conflict must be the parties to the peace. Sooner or later, it is they who must make a settlement in the area.

President Johnson's speech of September 10, 1968, somewhat amplified his June 19 speech by adding reference to the Jerusalem question and to the issue of borders. Jerusalem was recognized as "a critical issue of any peace settlement," and the parties were urged "to stretch their imaginations so that their interests, and all the world's interests in Jerusalem can be taken into account in any final settlement." In discussing the question of borders, the President said:

We are not the ones to say where other nations should draw lines between them that will assure each the greatest security. It is clear, however, that a return to the situation of June 4, 1967, will not bring peace. There must be secure and there must be recognized borders.

In also discussing the refugee problem, President Johnson urged Israel and her Arab neighbors to "participate directly and wholeheartedly in a massive program to assure these people a better and a more stable future."

Thus, until January 20 of 1969, the United States was committed to the parties themselves making the peace. It urged the general principles on which such a peace should be based, and considerations—such as Jerusalem—which should be taken to account. It supported border changes which would achieve security. It opposed unilateral withdrawal by Israel.

This changes with the inauguration of the Nixon administration. First, four power talks became a cornerstone of U.S. strategy. And by his March 4 news conference, President Nixon expanded the notion of these talks to include the idea of four power guarantees:

(F)rom the four power conference can come an absolute essential to any kind of peaceful settlement in the Mideast, and that is a major power guarantee of the settlement.

At the same press conference, the President maintained that the four power talks could indicate those areas where they believe the parties directly involved in the Mideast could have profitable discussion.

Israel maintained consistent opposition to any idea of an imposed peace; on March 31 it announced that it opposed any settlement and any procedure that is not agreed upon by the governments concerned.

While not rejecting the idea of direct negotiations, the Nixon administration continued to undermine the Israeli position by seeking to involve other parties in the settlement. Thus, on April 8, Secretary of State Rogers reiterated the idea of guarantees, except now he said:

What we are thinking of principally are some guarantees, probably by the United Nations.

Throughout this period, the United States was making proposals through diplomatic channels—chiefly to the Soviets—for suggested peace plans. The administration was still committed, according to an article in the Christian Science Monitor of May 22, to no Israel withdrawal without prior agreement between Israel and the Arab States on all elements of a peace settlement, and to the signing of a contractual, reciprocally binding, legally documented peace treaty between the conflicting parties.

But by November 13, there were reports that the newest U.S. proposal spoke of an Israel-Egypt border based on the 1949-65 line, whereas previous proposals in the spring had been more general in stating that that line should not be excluded—that is, it was just one possibility for border settlement.

On December 9, Secretary Rogers made the major speech on U.S. policy vis-a-vis the Mideast peace issue. Again, there were subtle changes from previous positions. Now, he stated the Nixon administration's policy thusly:

(It) is to encourage the Arabs to accept a permanent peace based on a binding agreement and to urge the Israelis to withdraw from occupied territory when their territorial integrity is assured as envisaged by the Security Council resolution (of November 22, 1967).

Thus, whereas previously the United States had been committed to a contractual, reciprocally binding, legally documented peace treaty, the Secretary of State was now calling only for some undefined binding agreement to achieve what he later in his speech referred to as a state of peace.

Any border changes were to be confined to insubstantial alterations required for mutual security, whereas the Johnson speech of September 10, 1968, spoke of not returning to the situation of June 4, 1967, and of "secure and recognized borders." In fact, the Secretary of State's speech of December 9 called for complete withdrawal from occupied Egyptian territory to the pre-6-day war lines.

On December 20, reports appeared in the press about an Israel-Jordan peace settlement proposal made by the United States. Whereas, previously there was ostensibly a commitment on the part of the United States that the parties to the peace would make the peace—a commitment stated as early as June 19, 1967, by then President Johnson—with outside parties merely providing assistance, the new U.S. proposal made specific suggestions which appeared to leave the Israelis little maneuvering room. In the view of the Israelis, "the U.S. proposals do more than to undermine the principle of negotiation; they preempt its very prospect. For there can be little meaningful left for the parties to negotiate once outside powers decide on each and every item for solution. Certainly, the Arabs are not going to give an inch on anything that has already been decided upon in their favor by the powers."

Apart from this change in concept, the Israel-Jordan proposal also signaled more changes in substance. As reported in the New York Times on December 22, the proposal called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from substantially all of Jordan's west bank. This differed from the Israel-Egypt settlement proposal, which Secretary of State Rogers had first discussed publicly in his December 9 speech, by at least acknowledging the possibility of some border changes. On the question of refugees, the proposal called for giving them the choice of repatriation or reparations along with resettlement in Arab countries, whereas the U.S. position previously was much more general, and thus enabled more flexibility.

The following interview on December 22, reported by James Feron in the New York Times today, with Premier Golda Meir of Israel presents the Israel reaction:

Mrs. Meir spoke of the stream of proposals that have been presented to the major powers by Washington. Under President Johnson Israel apparently was consulted beforehand; now, it appears, some were submitted to Israel as late as 11 weeks after they were presented to the big powers.

"They've submitted I don't know how many papers—10, maybe 15—since 1967, and the Russians have presented one," she said.

"If I were the Russians I would do exactly the same. They sit there and say nothing, or at best, 'This is too pro-Israel. This we can't accept.' O.K. In another month or even two weeks there's another paper and the Russians say, 'This?' and turn it back."

"I don't think it's Washington's intention," the Premier continued, "but each new proposal encourages the Arabs to increase their military activity across the borders. Things are going good for them. They just have to shoot more."

"How can this lead to peace?" she asked.

"But procedure is one thing," she said. "What we are especially concerned with is substance. There are matters of peace and borders and refugees and Jerusalem." * * *

At one point, she said, an American proposal stated that "the international boundary is not necessarily excluded". The next document read "the international boundary is not excluded." Now, she went on, it is "the international boundary should be the boundary." * * *

Where American proposals once spoke of peace agreements they now speak of final

accords, she said, and there are references now to a final document or "documents" instead of the "binding, contractual" pacts suggested earlier.

Mrs. Meir maintained that even beyond the changes in references to border adjustments, "which now leave us very little to negotiate," the more basic issues are being ignored or eroded.

"Nothing says there should be formal recognition of Israel," she said. "There's no recognition of statehood in these documents."

On the refugee problem she said there was a time when "there was a limit, then they were talking of an annual quota, when we had a veto of sorts."

"Now they want to take us back to the geography of 1967," she continued, referring to the proposed "insubstantial" border changes proposed in the US paper, "and the demography of 1947."

"We are supposed to absorb I don't know how many refugees," she said. "The principle outlined is that the refugees of the 1948 war be returned, including all those ever under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Administration."

This formulation, Mrs. Meir said, was intended to include the many thousands of refugees who "never stepped into a refugee camp, who have established themselves, who live in Cairo, Damascus and Beirut."

She said the thrust had also changed, so that instead of Israel and Jordan negotiating a refugee settlement, all they had to do was agree to the "procedures" for repatriation of those refugees who declined resettlement.

The Premier spoke of the United States proposal for Jerusalem, a divided city the Arab part of which was taken by the Israelis in the 1967 war and annexed a month later. The Arabs insist that they have a say in the city.

"The only positive element in the American plan is that it's agreed that Jerusalem should remain united," she said. Then she spoke of how Washington's position had changed on this issue in the face of what she termed Arab intransigence.

An earlier document, she said, spoke of Jordan's "having a defined role, civic, economic and religious, in Jerusalem, which would remain a unified city; arrangements would be made to insure the interests of all religions."

The latest proposal, she added, contains this formulation: "Arrangements for the administration of the unified city should take into account the interests of all its inhabitants and of international"—"Jewish, Islamia and Christian communities."

"It doesn't say that Jerusalem should be internationalized," she commented, "but if this isn't internationalization I don't know what it means."

Mrs. Meir, thumping a fist on the table, said:

"Look, Israel won't accept this. We're not going to commit suicide. We didn't survive three wars in order to commit suicide so that the Russians can celebrate victory for Nasser."

"That isn't what we're living here for and what thousands have died for. Nobody in the world can make us accept it. What can happen is that life can be made difficult for us."

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. position so far as Israel is concerned is one of continual retrogression. It has gone from the commitment under the Johnson administration to, first, a peace made by the parties to the conflict; second, adjustment of borders to insure security; third, maneuverability in resolving the refugee problem, and fourth, flexibility on the question of Jerusalem; to now calling, under the Nixon administration, for, first, the parties merely to fill in the

details of specific proposals made by this Government; second, Israel to totally withdraw from former Egyptian territory, and "insubstantial alterations" in other borders; third, repatriation of 1.4 million Palestinian refugees into an Israel with less than twice that many people right now; and fourth, a unified Jerusalem under, apparently, dual Jordanian-Israeli control.

I do not contend that the Nixon administration is made up of men of ill will, bent on selling Israel down the river. It is commendable that the Government is seeking a peaceful resolution of the tragic Mideast conflict—a conflict in which the victims have been suffering for 20 years now. But I do contend that the U.S. shift toward what Secretary of State Rogers has termed a "balanced policy" is misplaced, dangerous, and does violence to Israel's national interests, and, thereby, to the national interests of the United States. The shift wrought by the Nixon administration has undercut Israel's insistence on direct negotiations and, should such negotiations finally occur, Israel's flexibility in them.

If nothing else, the grim record of the past 20 years should have made clear that, until the Arab States and Israel negotiate directly, there will be no viable peace. Twenty years of resolutions by the United Nations, 20 years of statements by the United States and by Russia and by England and by France have been unavailing in bringing peace to the Mideast. Yet, perversely—in the face of this history—the Nixon administration continues to develop a policy inconsistent with a directly negotiated peace.

Permanent peace in the Mideast will not be achieved by a policy which sacrifices the interests of a beleaguered democracy—a democracy which alone in the Mideast has brought life to the desert; a democracy which has had the courage to fight its own battles; a democracy which embodies and upholds those very traditions upon which this Nation is founded.

THE YEAR 1969—A YEAR OF TRANSITION FOR CONGRESS AND THE NATION

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, 1969 was a year in which Congress and the Federal Government shifted gears to begin moving in new directions in basic new ways.

It was a period of transition in which Congress gave more than usual attention to national priorities, to reexamining and questioning old objectives and methods, and to setting new goals for the 1970's. It was also a year for rethinking our role as a world superpower.

For the first time in decades, Congress raised serious questions about military spending and cut it substantially. Con-

gress reasserted some of its dormant authority in the shaping of foreign policy and gave unprecedented priority status to the problems of pollution and environmental quality. In addition, it tackled such vital, far-reaching issues as tax reform, the draft, and our method of electing Presidents.

It was a frustrating and confusing process that made action on ordinarily routine legislation difficult and kept Congress in Washington until the closing days of 1969—one of the longest sessions in congressional history.

By June 30 when the Government's fiscal year began and when all appropriation bills technically should be passed, not a single one had cleared Congress. As late as November only four of the 13 basic money measures were approved and two remain to be completed when Congress reconvenes this month.

A new President presented a fresh and forthright approach to the overriding problem of Vietnam and began outlining a new foreign policy aimed at reducing U.S. presence and influence to rational limits throughout the world.

The President's Vietnam policy won broad endorsement from Congress and, according to most polls, from the majority of the American people.

At home, President Nixon proposed basic innovations or reforms in virtually every major area in which the Federal Government is involved. These proposals were made in more than 40 speeches and special messages to a Democratic-controlled Congress often inclined more toward delay than prompt action.

These included recommendations for reform of the Federal tax structure, the welfare system, Federal-State relationships, the draft, social security, transportation programs, our approaches to hunger and poverty, the Post Office, foreign aid, presidential election procedures, efforts to control and reduce crime, drug abuse, and pornography, population control projects, shipbuilding, and consumer programs.

Important action was taken in the areas of tax reform and relief, revision of the draft law, and presidential election procedures. In others, such as social security, consumer programs, hunger and poverty reform, a promising start was made. Congress moved hardly at all in other areas, especially those involving the most innovative changes, such as welfare and postal reform and revenue sharing with the States.

Inflation, with its roots deep in Vietnam spending, continued to cast a shadow on efforts to deal more meaningfully with domestic problems. One of the principal weapons the President employed against it—the creation of a budget surplus by reducing Government spending—cut directly into those efforts. Congress cooperated in the economy effort in some instances, reducing domestic as well as military programs. Despite the tremendous success of the Apollo moon landing program, Congress trimmed \$250 million from the space spending authorization. But in other areas, especially those involving education and environmental programs, Congress went ahead with spending increases which the Presi-

dent has threatened to veto because he believes they will heighten the inflationary spiral.

Following is a summary of some of the major proposals of the new administration along with their status at midpoint in this term of Congress and an indication of my views and votes on them. Particular emphasis is placed on action taken by the House of Representatives.

VIETNAM

The war continued to affect directly or indirectly most of the major decisions faced by Congress. Vietnam was the focal point of the President's new policy of reduced U.S. involvement throughout the world. The war also helped trigger a fundamental reappraisal of defense spending and the role of Congress in foreign policymaking.

After years of frustration in Vietnam, the President's plan to Vietnamize the war and withdraw U.S. troops in an orderly fashion was welcomed by Congress as the most responsible and reasonable approach to a complicated problem. The President demonstrated his determination to stick to the withdrawal plan by reducing U.S. military strength in Vietnam by about 65,000 men through December and promising to bring back another 50,000 by April.

Formal congressional approval came in early December when the House of Representatives voted 333 to 55 to approve a resolution calling for "peace with justice in Vietnam." This was generally interpreted as an expression of support for the President's efforts. As a ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I was pleased to help draft and sponsor the resolution.

The measure gives the President no new powers. Its intent is to make clear to Hanoi that the President has the broad support of Congress and a majority of the American people in his determination to end the war responsibly and reasonably. Hopefully, it will help hasten that day. A majority of the Members of the Senate offered similar backing for the President in letters and public statements.

MILITARY SPENDING

Congressional concern over our ill-directed policies in Vietnam during the past several years was manifested in a number of other ways during 1969.

As in the past, Congress found that its control of the national pursestrings provided the most direct and effective means of influencing military policy. For the first time since World War II Congress took a close, critical look at military spending requests and by year's end had cut nearly \$6 billion.

It was the largest cut in defense spending since 1954 when a \$6.3 billion reduction followed the cease-fire in the Korean war.

Unlike those in 1954, the reductions of the past year were prompted more by concern about the large proportion of our national wealth earmarked for defense and the inefficient and wasteful use of that money than by developments on the battlefield.

Congressional investigations which preceded the cuts revealed wasteful or

deceptive policies and practices within the Defense Department and excessive cost overruns in the procurement of some military equipment. One result was the creation of a Commission on Government Procurement made up of 12 Members of Congress to investigate present procurement policies, practices and procedures with the goal of making them more effective and efficient.

The attack on military spending also was fueled by less clear-cut considerations—the hope that the war in Vietnam would continue to cool, that the draft would gradually be reduced as a result, and that nuclear arms limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union would begin to ease militant East-West relations.

ABM DEBATE

The year-long debate over the future of the proposed anti-ballistic-missile—ABM—system turned to a great extent on the latter hope. President Nixon moved soon after taking office to scale down the previous administration's plan for installation of 25 to 50 ABM sites at an eventual cost estimated by some as high as \$100 billion. President Nixon's modified plan called for 12 sites to be built over a period of 5 years at a cost under \$10 billion. None of the installations would be located near populated areas.

Following that fundamental change the ABM debate centered mainly on estimates about the future course of United States-Soviet relations. I supported an amendment on the floor of the House which would have provided money for continued research and development, but not deployment. Unfortunately, a vote on this amendment was not permitted and I voted for the modified deployment plan. The former approach would permit us to stay abreast of the Soviets in technology while strategic arms limitation talks proceed. It would avoid any provocative move on our part which might upset the progress of the talks. At the same time, it would leave us the option of deploying at a later date if the talks fail to produce meaningful agreements.

The assault on military spending also involved some considerations not directly related to our defense posture or our foreign policy. The general effort to curb inflation by cutting Federal spending was reflected in the House Armed Services Committee report on one large military spending bill. It said in support of reductions:

Without a healthy economy and a reasonably sound dollar, the probability of maintaining our military superiority would be greatly jeopardized.

POLLUTION AND ENVIRONMENT

Still another factor was the growing concern that we must begin diverting more of our resources to solving fundamental problems at home. Programs to improve the general quality of our environment were among the major beneficiaries of this shift in priorities.

A prime example was congressional handling of legislation authorizing funds for water pollution control, principally to build sewage treatment plants.

President Johnson's 1970 budget recommendations, approved by President Nixon, called for spending \$214 million—about the same amount authorized in each of the immediate past years. But Congress in a series of actions more than tripled the President's request, finally recommending an \$800 million authorization—easily the largest amount ever approved for water pollution control. Although I am deeply concerned about the inflationary effect of such actions, I supported the increase in the belief that pollution control is an area we can afford to neglect no longer.

New Federal water quality standards were approved in differing versions by the House and Senate with a final draft still to be agreed upon. Included are provisions affecting oil and sewage pollution, sewage discharge from shipping and pleasure boats, special efforts to reduce contamination in the Great Lakes, and grants for research to end mine water pollution, and for training programs in waste treatment.

For the long range, the National Environmental Policy Act passed by the Congress may be among the most important environmental and conservation measures adopted in recent years. It creates a Council on Environmental Quality within the White House to provide the President with a continuing overview of the problems of our environment and the fragmented Federal jurisdictions affecting it. It also establishes for the first time a Government commitment to the problems of environment and calls on all Federal agencies to weigh each of their actions in light of this commitment.

The Clean Air Act, first adopted in 1963, was extended and an additional \$45 million was authorized for expanded research and development into programs for control of air pollution from automobiles and fuel combustion during 1970.

Additional safeguards for the protection of endangered wildlife, legislation which I cosponsored, were approved along with a 3-year extension of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, the coordinator for all long-range marine science activities of the Federal Government. A program to minimize soil erosion in the Great Plains States through payments to farmers was extended, as was a project to further research into methods of purifying salt water.

EDUCATION

Another signal of shifting national priorities came in congressional efforts to add more than \$1 billion to the President's requests for spending on education. President Nixon has warned he will veto the increase if Congress fails to trim it during final consideration of the huge Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bill later this month. The President points out that while Congress last summer imposed an overall spending ceiling on him in the interests of curbing inflation, it has in instances such as this ignored its own limitation.

About half the increase would go to continue badly needed innovative and research programs and to assist the ed-

educationally disadvantaged. These are vital programs worth some economic risk taking. An equal amount, paid out in grants to federally impacted areas, is totally unjustified. Impacted aid is a program which in 1968 paid \$5.8 million to Montgomery County, Md., a Washington suburb often described as the Nation's richest county. At the same time, the program provided a total of only \$3.2 million to the country's 100 poorest counties. In many cases these payments exceed the costs to local schools of educating children of Federal workers. In other instances the program enables wealthy school districts to levy lower taxes than other, often poorer districts, in the same State.

A major pruning of the impacted aid program would go a long way toward meeting the President's legitimate concerns about inflation and the Congress' real concerns about national educational needs.

The basic authority for dispensing whatever Federal aid is appropriated for local schools, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was extended for 2 more years by the House but still awaits Senate approval. Programs to assist gifted and talented children as well as those with handicaps and special learning disabilities, vocational training assistance programs, and the school lunch and milk programs were similarly extended by the House but as yet not by the Senate.

Legislation to provide an interest subsidy to banks and lending institutions to encourage them to make student loans was given final approval. A general rise in interest rates coupled with a Federal ceiling on student loan interest rates discouraged many banks from participating last fall. As a result many young people faced an unexpected crisis in financing higher education.

Additional aid for handicapped children was provided through the establishment of a National Center on Educational Media and Materials for the Handicapped. It is designed primarily to serve the estimated two-thirds of the Nation's 5½ million handicapped children who do not now receive adequate educational programs.

TAX REFORM AND RELIEF

The desire for greater efforts at solving domestic problems, already entangled with inflation and the Vietnam war was further complicated by demands for tax relief.

In April, President Nixon recommended to Congress the most comprehensive set of tax reforms in decades. Before the year ended Congress had approved a huge package containing not only sweeping tax reforms, but also an estimated \$9 billion in long-range tax relief and a 15 percent increase in social security benefits.

While I voted for the package, I continue to have reservations about the bill's inflationary aspects. The act demonstrates the difficult choice Americans must make in coming years about the high costs of some very worthwhile domestic programs. In my judgment we must determine to pay as we go for

whatever programs we approve, avoiding wherever possible a return to the deficit financing of the past decade.

Despite these reservations, I was especially pleased that the bill provided some relief for the middle- and low-income taxpayer by an increase in the standard \$600 personal exemption. I sponsored a bill to double that exemption.

Under the act the exemption goes up to \$625 this year, \$650 in 1971, \$700 in 1972, and \$750 in 1973. Further relief is provided by an increase in the standard income tax deduction to 13 percent with a \$1,500 ceiling 1971, to 14 percent with a \$2,000 ceiling in 1972, and 15 percent with a \$2,000 limit in 1973.

The income tax surcharge was reduced from 10 percent to 5 percent on January 1 and will be eliminated next June 30. The 7-percent investment tax credit was repealed with a number of exceptions including certain investments in depressed areas and the first \$20,000 of investment in eligible property by small businessmen.

The law reduces the oil depletion allowance from 27½ percent to 22 percent, sets a tax on income of foundations and stricter rules governing their tax status, and also establishes taxes on specific types of income of charitable, social, and religious organizations.

A new low-income allowance will remove many of the elderly, the poor, and working students from the tax rolls entirely, and the burden of single taxpayers will be lightened.

A new minimum tax is established to be paid regardless of deductions. The 6-month holding period for capital gains was retained as was the tax-exempt status of State and local government bonds. In addition to these highlights, a great many more detailed changes in tax law were made in the several hundred pages of the act, easily the single most ambitious work of the 1969 Congress.

SOCIAL SECURITY

In an emergency effort to ease the oppressive burden of inflation which falls most heavily on the elderly and retired, Congress approved a 15-percent increase in social security benefits in the closing days of the session. The increase will benefit 25 million Americans and help those on fixed incomes offset the 9.1 percent increase in the cost of living since February 1968 when benefits were last raised. Costing an additional \$4.4 billion a year, the increase will be retroactive to January 1, 1970, although increased payment checks will not arrive until April due to the time required to convert social security records.

The minimum payment for a single retired worker will rise from \$55 to \$64 a month. The average payment for an unmarried person will increase from \$100 to \$115, for a couple from \$254 to \$296, and from \$113 to \$130 for a disabled worker.

The House Ways and Means Committee has promised that further consideration of all aspects of social security programs, including medicare, will be its first order of business this year. Proposals to link future benefit increases to the cost of living and to increase the amount of income that may be earned without loss of benefits, both of which I support,

are expected to receive early consideration.

Congress also extended the Older Americans Act, which provides persons over 60 years of age with the means to participate in community programs, and established another program to utilize the skills of senior citizens on a volunteer basis. Called the national older Americans volunteer program, it will recruit persons aged 60 and over to provide services needed in their own community, without compensation except for transportation, meals and other out-of-pocket expenses.

DRAFT REFORM

In addition to providing fresh leadership toward solving the difficult dilemma of Vietnam, President Nixon prodded a reluctant Congress into action on the related problem of draft reform.

Although I have urged more extensive changes, I was pleased at the creation of a national lottery to guarantee random selection of draftees as a first step. Even more significant was the President's executive order limiting the draft essentially to 19-year-olds. It reduces a young man's period of uncertainty about the draft from 7 years to 1 year. This single change will go a long way toward removing the doubts that now hang over most young men enabling them to better plan for an education, marriage, and a job. Under the new law, young men with deferments will go into the lottery pool and be treated as 19-year-olds for 1 year after their deferment expires.

Committees in both the House and Senate have promised to undertake a comprehensive review of the draft this year including consideration of an all-volunteer military which may someday replace selective service. As a cosponsor of legislation endorsing a study of this approach, I am hopeful it may provide some long-range answers to the draft dilemma.

ELECTORAL REFORM

In an effort to bring presidential elections more directly under the control of the voters, the House approved a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and providing for the direct election of the President and Vice President.

It was only the second time since 1804 that the House had tackled electoral reform and the result could stand as one of the most significant changes to be recommended by any Congress in modern times.

The amendment, which is still under consideration in the Senate and which must be approved by three-fourths of the State legislatures, provides that in an election involving more than two candidates, the winner must receive at least 40 percent of the popular vote. A runoff election between the two top vote getters is provided for if no candidate receives at least 40 percent of the vote.

The House-passed resolution also provides for the filling of vacancies caused by the death of the President-elect or Vice-President-elect and permits Congress to establish uniform national residence requirements for voting in presidential elections. It would leave the States authority to regulate the times,

places, and manner of holding presidential elections.

As a cosponsor of the House-passed amendment, I have urged repeatedly that the Senate move quickly so that a change might affect the 1972 presidential election, although this appears to be only a remote possibility now. Hopefully, Congress eventually will complete the job of electoral reform by improving procedures for nominating presidential candidates, possibly through changes in the party convention system or by establishing a national presidential primary.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Although the Nixon administration moved quickly to mount prosecutions against organized crime and corruption throughout the United States, Congress so far has been slow to approve new approaches and additional funds. One exception was funding to assist in the training and equipping of local law enforcement agencies which was increased from \$59 million last year to \$268 million this year. Action was delayed, however, on most of the other items in a package of 20 anticrime measures proposed by the President.

These include a proposed \$61 million program against organized crime, a \$25 million program aimed at drug abuse, and \$22 million to fight crime in the District of Columbia.

The House approved creation of a special committee to investigate all aspects of crime in the United States and recommend legislation, a proposal I cosponsored. Congress repealed a section of the 1968 Gun Control Act requiring record-keeping of sales of .22 caliber, shotgun, and rifle ammunition.

DRUG ABUSE

Congress similarly was slow to act on a comprehensive set of proposals offered by the President in recognition that drug abuse has grown within the last decade from essentially a local police problem to a serious national threat.

While proposing stiffer penalties for narcotics sellers, more flexible penalties for users, and international cooperation to reduce narcotics traffic, the President's proposals go beyond law enforcement. They include emphasis on rehabilitative programs, education, and research. These are areas requiring prompt Congressional attention during 1970.

As a beginning, Congress approved 500 new employees for the Bureau of Customs to help strengthen administration efforts to reduce drug smuggling, especially along the Mexican border. The House also approved and sent to the Senate legislation authorizing educational grants to promote understanding of drug abuse problems and dangers and for the training of specialists in the field.

PORNOGRAPHY

Few issues in dispute between Congress and the Supreme Court touch parents and householders more personally than restricting obscene mail.

Congress has made a number of efforts to legislate pornographers out of business during the last decade. Each time the Supreme Court has ruled that the attempt violated constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression or imposed

conditions which made enforcement costly and impractical.

Recognizing the broad protection given human expression by the Constitution, Congress has continued to work carefully within Court-drawn guidelines in an effort to come up with meaningful and legal safeguards against obscene mail. Bills I am cosponsoring are the result of such careful study. One proposal would prohibit the mail order sale of hard-core pornography to children under the age of 16 as well as mailing of obscene advertisements to them. It would place the burden on the sender to determine if underage children reside in homes receiving such material. Committees of both the House and Senate held hearings on these and other proposals last year and hopefully will recommend approval during 1970. President Nixon has given his full endorsement.

WELFARE REFORM

Among those items receiving only cursory attention by Congress during 1969 were the President's proposals for welfare and postal reform and for an overall effort to meet mounting transportation problems.

One of the most innovative of all the administration's proposals is its recommendation for replacing the demeaning and bankrupt welfare system with which the country is now burdened. Although hearings began in the House late in the year, much more remains to be accomplished this year.

The President's proposals would restructure the existing system in basic ways, by providing incentives for families to stay together and economic rewards for men and women on welfare who enroll in job training and search out jobs, and by establishing a floor under income to assure the minimum necessary for food and shelter.

POSTAL REFORM

Although the President's welfare reform plan was not presented until August, Congress could not blame the White House for its failure to act on Post Office reform. Recognizing the rising costs of postal service accompanied step by step by a decline in quality, the President early in the year proposed a complete revamping of the Post Office. The key to the reorganization was to be the creation of a semi-governmental, privately-operated postal corporation.

The President took the initiative early in the year by removing all postal jobs from political patronage and giving them civil service status. Although extensive hearings have been held on the President's reorganization plan and a number of substitutes, neither the House or Senate took final action. The President has indicated he will continue to press for sweeping reforms in 1970 and he will have my continued support in this effort.

TRANSPORTATION

The administration made a number of proposals during the past year for a start on our mushrooming national transit problems—problems almost certain to reach crisis proportions during the new decade.

Congress approved \$85 million to build two prototypes of a supersonic pas-

senger transport aircraft—SST—but was slower in acting on proposals to deal with the increasing airway and airport congestion crisis they will intensify.

The House approved a 10-year, \$5 billion airport and airways construction and improvement program. The financing—largely through taxes on airway users—is a source of controversy.

The Senate has yet to consider the plan. It would provide a running start on the national effort to prepare for the doubling of airline traffic expected by 1975 and its tripling by 1980. Additional funds were allocated to the Federal Aviation Administration, chiefly so that it may hire 3,800 air traffic control personnel to insure a high level of safety as air traffic grows.

A similar multibillion dollar attack on urban transportation congestion, proposed by President Nixon in August, is slowly gaining support in Congress although no final action was taken during 1969.

The President's proposal, now under consideration by House and Senate committees, proposes spending \$10 billion out of General Treasury funds over a 12-year period for developing and improving transportation systems in local communities. Mr. Nixon has asked Congress to obligate \$3.1 billion in stages over the first 5 years of the program—more than triple the \$865 million authorized during the past 6 years.

Congress gave the Federal Railroad Administration \$11 million to support research and development of high speed ground transportation, but urged the Urban Mass Transit Administration to begin concentrating less on research and more on implementation.

HUNGER AND POVERTY

The struggle over national priorities was evident again in congressional action on a number of programs proposed by President Nixon to form a massive national commitment to end hunger and malnutrition and to provide for the 100 million new Americans expected by the turn of the century.

Congress responded to the campaign to end hunger in an unprecedented way by appropriating \$610 million for the food stamp program, a main vehicle for attacking hunger in America. Unfortunately, Congress also continued to pour about \$4 billion a year into a wasteful and outmoded farm subsidy program—the price demanded by agricultural interests for food stamp increases.

Rural leaders also succeeded in killing an amendment which I supported to place a \$20,000 limit on subsidy payments to any single farmer. The effort to reduce or eliminate the subsidy program will continue in 1970 and hopefully result in a redirection of these valuable resources to more vital programs. A possible solution which I am sponsoring calls for the phasing out of the subsidy program over a 5-year period and providing job training and relocation services to marginal farmers forced to seek new careers.

The President has promised to give careful consideration to the hundreds of recommendations for improving the Nation's food assistance, consumer protection, and health programs made by the

recently concluded White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health.

Early in the year, the President split away the Headstart and Job Corps programs from the Office of Economic Opportunity in the hopes that both could be operated more efficiently by the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. Congress then approved a 2-year extension of the poverty program with my support.

The administration has pledged to restructure OEO as an efficient research and development agency responsible for devising new approaches to the problems of the poor. A Presidential proposal to establish a National Commission on Population Growth to provide family guidance and planning services to those who voluntarily seek help remains under study by Congress.

SAFETY AND HEALTH

Some of the most significant action taken by Congress during 1969 was in the field of occupational safety and health for coal miners and construction workers.

The most far-reaching mine safety and health legislation in history was approved, reflecting a national concern about the long neglect shown the coal miner. The law not only provides new protection from disasters caused by explosions and cave-ins but also from the dreaded "black lung" disease caused by the breathing of excessive amounts of coal dust. A corps of mine inspectors to enforce the new standards is authorized along with increased funds for research into cures for occupational diseases.

Construction workers, who according to statistics, are engaged in the most hazardous work in the Nation, gained additional protection from legislation forbidding unsanitary or hazardous conditions of Federal projects. It resulted from findings that construction worker deaths account for 20 percent of all on-the-job fatalities in America.

A 3-year extension of legislation to provide matching grants to States for construction and modernization of hospitals and health facilities was passed by the House and sent to the Senate. The bill also would establish a new program of Federal guarantees on loans for construction or modernization of public or nonprofit private health facilities. This measure is an effort to meet the national need for some 85,000 additional acute-care hospital beds and nearly 900 new health centers. The House also approved assistance for medical libraries in coping with the flood of new information.

CONSUMER PROGRAMS

In a related area, Congress and the administration continued their attention to the needs of the American consumer, begun formally in 1966. The President appointed his own special adviser on consumer affairs, while Congress continued to consider a variety of proposals to give permanent status to the post, some calling for a Cabinet level Office of Consumer Affairs.

The principal body authorized to study consumer protection needs and recommend legislation, the National Commission on Product Safety, was extended

for another year and Congress approved the Commission's recommendations for legislation to protect children from dangerous toys. The so-called Toy Safety Act provides extra safeguards against toys which present electrical, mechanical or thermal hazards.

Additional precautions relating to automobile and tire safety and cigarette advertising passed the House and Senate in differing versions with the final drafts still to be agreed upon.

CENSUS REFORM

The House gave a great deal of consideration to bills which I cosponsored calling for mandatory answers to only seven questions in the upcoming 1970 census. However, the legislation finally approved by the House and sent to the Senate still requires answers to all census questions, although the jail penalty for failure to respond was removed. The House bill requires the Census Bureau to give further study to the possibility of voluntary responses to all questions.

Other provisions of the bill call for a congressional review of future census questionnaires, additional safeguards against disclosure of confidential information, and the creation of a citizens committee to help plan the 1980 census.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Wearily from years of mismanagement and misdirection of U.S. foreign policy, Congress generally gave bipartisan support to President Nixon's new initiatives, not only in Vietnam, but throughout the world. The Democratic-controlled House Foreign Affairs Committee endorsed or paralleled the President's actions in a number of areas.

After several weeks of hearings by the committee on germ and chemical warfare, the President in late November announced that the United States would never engage in germ warfare and renounced all but defensive uses of chemical warfare weapons. The President said:

Mankind already carries in its own hands too many of the seeds of its own destruction. By the examples we set today, we hope to contribute to an atmosphere of peace and understanding between nations and among men.

He urged the Senate to ratify the 1925 Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of such gases, a step urged in a resolution I sponsored following the committee hearings.

Along with several other Foreign Affairs Committee members, I introduced a resolution urging humane treatment of U.S. servicemen held by North Vietnam and specifically calling on Hanoi to adhere to the Geneva conventions on the treatment of war prisoners.

An exception to congressional support for the President's programs was foreign aid, which became another victim of Vietnam, inflation, and concern about Federal spending and national priorities.

Although a House-Senate committee must still resolve details, the final appropriation promises to be about \$1.6 billion, the smallest in the 22-year history of the program. The figure is about \$1 billion less than the President re-

quested. About \$425 million is earmarked for military assistance, the remainder for economic aid programs.

The bill places new emphasis on technical assistance and multilateral aid programs as well as establishing an Overseas Private Investment Corporation to encourage the participation of the private sector in the future of the developing nations. Congress clearly served notice on the administration that it must come up with basic new directions and new methods if it expects continuation of the program after 1970.

Congress was much more impressed with the President's efforts to reduce U.S. involvement throughout the world and his pledge to replace the policy of confrontation with the superpowers with an era of negotiation.

The Senate opened the way in March by ratifying the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty—a step I urged 2 years ago. The treaty bars nuclear nations from giving atomic weapons to non-nuclear nations.

This preliminary step was followed in the fall by the opening of high-level strategic arms limitation talks—SALT—between the United States and the Soviets.

The President also opened the door gradually to communication with Communist China by slightly easing trade and travel restrictions. Resumption of diplomatic discussions between the United States and Red China was announced within the last several days. The results of these initiatives as well as the SALT discussions with the Soviet Union will play a major role in determining the arrangement of our national priorities for years to come.

The Middle East continued next to Vietnam as the most volatile and insoluble of the world's major trouble spots. While the major powers must continue to create an atmosphere conducive to a peaceful settlement, I am firmly convinced that any permanent settlement must be based on direct agreements between the principal parties to the conflict—Israel and the Arab States. No lasting peace can result from solutions imposed on either side by the major world powers.

In its efforts to help set the Nation on new paths and to establish new national goals, the 1969 Congress enacted 220 public and private bills out of more than 20,000 introduced in the House and Senate. The foregoing is a summary of just some of the highlights. I will be pleased to provide more detailed information on specific bills on request.

NEW HEW PROCEDURES

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch announced the adoption of new procedures concerning the hiring of part-time advisers and consultants. This issue

has made the news because of charges of so-called blacklisting of certain individuals by the Department in the past. The new procedures are the result of a study conducted by Under Secretary John G. Veneman and Prof. H. Reed Ellis of Columbia University. To provide additional background on this latest development, I include the Health, Education, and Welfare news release, along with the text of the report by Professor Ellis at this point in the RECORD:

[A news release from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare]

PART-TIME ADVISORS AND CONSULTANTS

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Robert H. Finch today announced approval of revised procedures for the selection and appointment of advisors and consultants hired on a part-time basis to assist the Department in non-sensitive work areas.

Highlights of these new procedures are:

(1) The present HEW practice of pre-appointment investigations by the Department's Office of Internal Security will be discontinued.

(2) The constituent agencies of the Department will be responsible for evaluating prospective advisors and consultants.

(3) Appointments will be made on the basis of professional competence, that is, integrity, judgment and ability.

(4) If an agency has evidence suggesting that a prospective appointee possesses traits that would so adversely affect the performance of his job as to disqualify him, the individual will be given the opportunity to challenge the evidence.

(5) In lieu of a pre-appointment investigation for loyalty, the individual will be required to execute an appointment affidavit which will be subject to a post-appointment veracity check as is done for all Federal employees.

The decision to institute new procedures climaxes several months of intensive study of current practices of the Department by Department officials. This study was led by HEW Under Secretary John G. Veneman, and a consultant, H. Reed Ellis, of Columbia University, who submitted a report and recommendations on December 1, 1969.

The study was initiated in response to longstanding criticisms from the scientific community and elsewhere alleging the "blacklisting" of certain scientists as well as other arbitrary and unfair aspects of the investigation of prospective advisors and consultants. About a month after the study began, Under Secretary Veneman directed all agency heads in the Department to insure that "blacklisting" did not occur in such agencies, and agency heads were invited to submit comments and suggestions on the appointment process.

Secretary Finch said:

"On the basis of the study and the constructive comments of many interested individuals and organizations, both within and outside of the Department, we feel we can implement a procedure that will protect the rights of individuals while at the same time safeguard the public interest."

Details of the new appointment procedures will be drafted for formal inclusion in the Department's manuals.

Secretary Finch further said:

"The Ellis report traces the historical development of the Department's appointment procedures. It suggests that much of the difficulty was self-imposed by the Department over the years, but that we can overcome the difficulties by replacing archaic practices with pragmatic ones adequate to do the job. Today's decision is the first step in a long overdue updating of our appointment procedures."

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,

Washington, D.C., December 1, 1969.

Hon. ROBERT H. FINCH,
Secretary, Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am pleased to submit for your consideration my report "A Review of Procedures For Pre-Appointment Investigations of Advisors and Consultants Appointed To Non-Sensitive Positions in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare". I hope you find my analysis and accompanying recommendations worthy of this rather imposing title. The Report is divided into four sections: Section I is a summary; Section II is historical and descriptive; Section III is evaluative; and Section IV is a series of recommendations.

My investigation would have been inordinately more difficult had it not been for the assistance of several men in the Department. First, Mr. Frederick Schmidt, Director of the Office of Internal Security, patiently answered all of my inquiries, some of which I now perceive were not as intelligent as I had first thought. Mr. Sol Elson, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration, offered helpful advice at several critical junctures in this study. Two men, however, offered assistance which I now realize was invaluable and without which this Report could not have been written. Mr. Phillips Rockefeller subjected the first draft of this study to intellectual surgery and from that operation has emerged a much more tightly reasoned study. Mr. Samuel Tilton, a lawyer in the Office of the General Counsel, did most of the basic research and prepared several cogent memoranda. Of course, the shortcomings of the Report are totally my responsibility.

Sincerely,

HARLAN REED ELLIS.

A REVIEW OF PROCEDURES FOR PRE-APPOINTMENT INVESTIGATIONS OF ADVISORS AND CONSULTANTS APPOINTED TO NON-SENSITIVE POSITIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

(By Harlan Reed Ellis)

I. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As one who has carefully studied the historical development of present procedures for the investigation of advisors and consultants appointed to non-sensitive positions in the Department, I conclude that they are supported by a logic all their own. This is to say that no reasonable man would design the present system as it has evolved. Several anomalies are worth highlighting: (1) DHEW conducts one kind of investigation for Departmental advisors while the Civil Service Commission conducts another kind for Departmental consultants; (2) Officially, prospective advisors and consultants are not to know that they are being investigated; yet, in reality, very few do not know they are being investigated; (3) Officially, blacklists are condemned but the operation of the system itself encourages bureaucrats in the bowels of the appointing agencies to make them up and use them anyway. (4) The whole operation takes on a Kafkaesque aura in the public mind when Nobel laureates are excluded from the Government service for whatever reason.

Yet, considerations of self-interest should convince Government officials of the desirability of excluding an individual from the Government service who (1) is either an active member of an organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States or as an individual advocates the violent overthrow of the Government and in either case has demonstrated an intent to carry out this objective or (2) possesses certain personal traits

which will adversely affect the performance of his duties or the overall efficiency of his agency. Not coincidentally, these two standards of disqualification are the only ones the courts have indicated are permissible.

Therefore, the problem becomes one of reconciling the admitted need for some standards of exclusion with the admitted liabilities of the present system. I am convinced that such a reconciliation is impossible. Consequently, I have proposed the adoption of an entirely new set of investigatory procedures. I have outlined these procedures in Recommendation One of Section IV. Briefly, I proposed (1) to allow the head of each operating agency in the Department to make the final determination on the suitability of his prospective advisors and consultants, and (2) to require each advisor and consultant to sign a constitutionally permissible loyalty affidavit. A name check of FBI files would then be conducted to protect the Government and its employees from an individual who might willingly perjure himself.

Alternative recommendations are also discussed in Section IV, but they are decidedly inferior to the one just described.

II. PRESENT PROCEDURES FOR INVESTIGATIONS OF ADVISORS AND CONSULTANTS APPOINTED TO NON-SENSITIVE POSITIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

A brief history

Advisors

Prior to the issuance of Executive Order 10450 on April 27, 1953, only the Public Health Service (PHS) of those agencies which would eventually comprise the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) maintained a security office. This Office existed to process the requests of PHS' employees for access to security materials in the Department of Defense (DOD). However, after several instances where members of advisory committees had been dismissed through the operation of the post-appointment loyalty review procedures of Executive Order 9835 (issued on March 21, 1947), the Surgeon General ordered the PHS' Security Office also to conduct preappointment checks on all potential advisors. By direction of the Surgeon General, individuals being considered for advisory groups and committees were to be given a preliminary screening by the PHS' Security Office and, if subsequently appointed, were only to be formally processed under Executive Order 9835.

Pursuant to P.L. 81-733, Executive Order 10450 outlined investigatory procedures for the appointment of Government employees. Section 3-A required, *inter alia*, that:

"The appointment of each civilian officer or employee in any department or agency of the Government shall be made subject to investigation . . . in no event shall the investigation include less than a national agency check . . . and written inquiries to appropriate local law enforcement agencies, former employers and supervisors, references, and schools attended by the person under investigation . . ."

Subsequently, the PHS' security operation was incorporated into the newly created DHEW Office of Internal Security (OIS), and pre-appointment checks were continued for all potential advisory personnel of PHS at the request of the Surgeon General. Soon thereafter Departmental regulations were issued requiring that confidential pre-appointment checks be conducted for all persons (not just advisory personnel) appointed by or with the approval of the Secretary of DHEW. (The decision to institute pre-appointment investigations in these cases was a departmental, not a statutory or Executive Order, requirement. Although Executive Order 10450 required that cer-

tain investigatory procedures be followed, it did not specify that such procedures include a pre-appointment component.) These Departmental pre-appointment checks were never intended to be substituted for the investigatory requirements of Executive Order 10450. Once the pre-appointment check had been completed, and a decision was made to appoint the individual concerned on the basis of information which had been collected, the prospective appointee was invited to serve. If the individual accepted, he was then required to complete Standard Form (SF) 57 (Application For Federal Employment), 85 (Security Investigation Data For Non-Sensitive Positions), and 87 (Fingerprint Chart). These forms were then sent to the Civil Service Commission where the national agency check (NAC) and inquiries required by Executive Order 10450 were conducted.

In the case of individuals who were to be appointed not by or with the approval of the Secretary, pre-appointment procedures for members of advisory committees varied. The PHS continued to request pre-appointment checks for its prospective advisors. Other agencies within the Department gradually adopted the PHS' approach as their committee structure expanded and as security and suitability questions were raised more frequently by the Civil Service Commission through its investigations required by Executive Order 10450. Eventually, all DHEW agencies were routinely requesting pre-appointment checks for prospective members of advisory committees.

Complaints, primarily from members of the scientific community, concerning the necessity of having advisors complete SF 57, 85, and be fingerprinted as a condition of appointment, resulted in extended correspondence between DHEW and the Civil Service Commission during 1965 and 1966. The Department requested, and the Civil Service Commission granted in a letter dated May 21, 1965, an exemption to the normal investigatory requirements for individuals serving as members of advisory groups or committees if the prospective employee met certain qualifications. These qualifications were: (1) his employment was to be temporary or intermittent; (2) it was estimated that he would work no more than thirty days in any one year; and (3) his job was classified "non-sensitive". The exemption granted by the Commission relieved the Department of requiring that advisors in these cases complete SF 57, 85 and be fingerprinted on the condition that "the Department take appropriate measures to insure that employment under this agreement would not be adverse to the interest of the United States". Consequently, the Department ordered the appointing agency to complete DHEW Form 209 (Request for Security Check) for all prospective advisors without the knowledge of the individual concerned. OIS was directed to conduct a pre-appointment investigation on the basis of information provided in that form. This new procedure was extended to all prospective advisors who might qualify under terms of the exemption, not just to those appointed by or with the approval of the Secretary.

Consultants

Present pre-appointment investigatory procedures for consultants developed in a manner similar to that for advisors. The first exemption to the required procedures under Executive Order 10450 was granted by the Civil Service Commission on July 30, 1953. Under the terms of that exemption, DHEW is not required to submit any cases to the Commission for investigation if the consultant is to be appointed to a nonsensitive position for 90 days or less. A second exemption for other classes of consultants, i.e., consultants who would be temporary or intermittent em-

ployees of the Department in non-sensitive positions appointed for one year or less or for longer than one year but not expected to work more than thirty days in any one year, was requested on August 16, 1965. This request was made three months after the Commission had granted a similar exemption for certain advisors. Specifically, the request was to allow the appointing agency to forward to the Commission biographical sketches from which the Commission would conduct its investigation in lieu of SF 57, 85, and 87 which would necessarily have to be completed by the prospective employee. The Commission replied on August 27, 1965 that such a substitution would make the conduct of a complete national agency check impossible and outlined objections to the suggested new procedures.

The Department did not respond to this letter until March 23, 1966. On that date a different Assistant Secretary for Administration wrote the Commission that it was the conclusion of the Department that the advantages of substituting biographical sketches for SF 57, 85, and 87 outweighed the risks associated with a more limited investigation which would result from the change in procedures. The Commission replied on April 20, 1966 and agreed to the substitution. The Commission informed DHEW that consultants investigated under the new procedure would have their names checked against Civil Service and FBI records only. However, if a question of loyalty were raised, the prospective consultant would automatically undergo a full field investigation by the FBI. This new procedure was modified by the Department in May, 1969. Prospective consultants "without normal qualifications" were again required to submit SF 57, 85, and 87 to the Commission so the Commission could conduct a complete national agency check on each individual prior to appointment.

Overview

Authority to make adjustments in the investigatory procedures for both advisors and consultants under the conditions specified *supra* was granted to the Civil Service Commission in Section 3A of Executive Order 10450:

"Provided that upon request of the head of the department or agency concerned, the Civil Service Commission may, in its discretion, authorize such less investigation (less than the national agency check and inquiries required by Executive Order 10450 quoted earlier) as may meet the requirements of national security with respect to per-diem, intermittent, temporary or seasonal employees, or aliens employed outside the United States."

On September 8, 1966, the Commission issued Bulletin No. 736-3 which granted to all departments and agencies on request the exemptions approved for DHEW. The exemption was granted for the employment of advisors and consultants subject to three conditions: (1) the appointment would be to a non-sensitive position; (2) the employment would be temporary and limited to one year or if longer than one year, the employment would be no longer than thirty days in any one year; and (3) the head of the agency reports that the submission of the usual investigatory forms is impeding recruitment.

Thus, by the spring of 1966, DHEW was appointing advisors and consultants pursuant to exemptions granted by the Civil Service Commission, the exact procedure depending on whether the appointment was to an advisory committee or a consultantship. In the former case, the appointing agency completed HEW Form 209 and sent it to OIS which conducted an investigation. In the latter case, the appointing agency sent a biographical sketch to the Civil Service Commission which supervised a limited pre-appointment check. If the results of the investigation raised no

questions of loyalty or suitability, the investigating agency so notified the appointing authority. However, if grounds for disqualification appeared, the procedures differed. In the case of consultants, once the Commission had completed its investigations, including a full field FBI investigation if questions of loyalty were raised, the data was sent to OIS. OIS then conducted a check of its own files and pursued any other sources of information clearly indicated by the record. The collected data then was delivered to the head of the appointing agency by OIS. If the issue were a question of loyalty, OIS usually made a recommendation on the disposition of the case; otherwise the Office allowed the agency concerned to make an independent evaluation and judgment. In the case of advisors, the complete investigation was handled by OIS. However, if a question of loyalty arose, the operating agency was notified, and if the decision were to keep the individual under consideration, OIS arranged for a full field investigation by the FBI. Once all data had been collected, OIS followed the same procedures in sending the data to the operating agency as was described *supra* with regard to consultants.

On October 5, 1968, the Secretary instituted a new procedure for evaluating all cases where OIS felt it could not issue a routine approval of a prospective appointee. This procedure provided that the Assistant Secretary for Administration make the final determination. The action was taken primarily for three reasons: (1) it was believed that the heads of agencies were not giving full and fair consideration to data furnished them by OIS, particularly in cases of suitability; (2) a uniform standard for all DHEW agencies would be desirable; and (3) adverse decisions on prospective employees should be made at a high level in the Department.

The present system

Different procedures for the pre-appointment checks of prospective advisors and consultants are followed today. In the case of advisors, the operating agency seeking to make the appointment submits the names and biographical data requested in HEW Form 209 to the Office of Internal Security (OIS). Form 209 is theoretically to be completed with the aid of reference materials only and without contacting the prospective employee. OIS then checks its own records for any previously collected information on the individual. If such information does exist, whether or not the check is to be updated depends on the appointing authority. If the Secretary is making the appointment, the pre-appointment check must be updated if the information is more than one year old. If the appointing officer is someone other than the Secretary, the check must be more than two years old to warrant any updating.

When an updating is required or when OIS has no record on a prospective advisor, Form 209 is used to conduct a national agency name check (re. FPM 736-3, March 29, 1968) which involves the following:

- (1) Copies of Form 209 are sent to the FBI for a check of its investigative files (arrest record) as well as its Identification Division files;
- (2) A copy of Form 209 is sent to the Civil Service Commission. If CSC has a record on the individual, OIS must go to the Commission to review it there.
- (3) OIS checks the records of the House Committee on Internal Security.
- (4) A Department of Defense form is sent to DOD's Central Index of Investigation. If there are records, they are sent to the Pentagon where OIS may review them.
- (5) Finally, any other investigating agencies indicated by Form 209 are checked, e.g. if the individual is foreign born, inquiry is made at the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

No inquiries are made to local police chiefs, former employers, or schools which the individual attended. If approval is routine, the operating agency is so informed by OIS. In cases where routine approval cannot be granted, the information is submitted to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration who makes the final judgment. (Theoretically, the Assistant Secretary for Administration should make that judgment but he has delegated the responsibility to his Deputy.)

In the case of consultants who will serve intermittently, the investigation is less thorough. The appointing authority submits a brief biographical sketch of the prospective employee directly to the Civil Service Commission, not to OIS as is the case in appointing advisors. The Commission arranges for a check of its own files as well as those of the FBI. If there is no record of information which may be considered unfavorable, the Commission so notifies the appointing authority. DHEW's records are not checked unless the appointment cannot be routinely approved.

Where there may be questions of loyalty, the Commission automatically refers the case to the FBI which conducts a full field investigation. Where the question is one of suitability, the data is sent to OIS for further action. This always includes a check of HEW's own records. OIS then submits the data on suitability collected by the Commission and data gathered through its own investigations to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration. In addition to a check of Departmental records, OIS conducts no other investigation unless there is *prima facie* evidence which suggests a ready source of further information.

When adverse data of a loyalty or suitability nature is submitted to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration for his judgment, in the case of both advisors and consultants three alternative courses of action may be followed:

(1) The individual can be approved and the appointing agency will be informed by the OIS. In the case of advisors, this action is no different from that of routine approval except for a possible time lag. However, in the case of consultants, OIS notifies the agency directly which differs from the routine approval procedure where the Commission notifies the appointing agency.

(2) The individual can be rejected, and OIS notifies the appointing agency of this decision. The head of the agency may pursue the matter further with the Deputy Assistant Secretary or he can drop the individual from consideration.

(3) The Deputy Assistant Secretary may request further information about the individual before making his decision. At this juncture, the head of the appointing agency is given the opportunity to withdraw the name from consideration. Obviously, if the decision is made to go ahead, the individual becomes aware that he is being investigated. He must complete certain forms and be fingerprinted. If the adverse data is of a loyalty nature, the investigation must be conducted by the FBI. (Of course, in the case of consultants, if loyalty questions were raised at any point in the Commission's investigation, the case would automatically go to the FBI before it ever reached the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration.) If the information is of a suitability nature, OIS may conduct the investigation itself or may ask the Civil Service Commission to assume that responsibility. Once the additional information is collected, the Deputy Assistant Secretary makes his decision and advises the appointing agency by letter.

A comparison with other agencies

It may be helpful to compare the DHEW's pre-appointment clearance procedures with those of other agencies of the Government.

While some agencies follow similar practices, others operate under significantly different procedures due to Civil Service exemptions or specific statutory authority which allows the agency to establish alternative procedures.

The Department of Commerce, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Veterans Administration, all have pre-appointment investigatory procedures similar to those of DHEW. Of these agencies employing different practices, undoubtedly the most unusual are those of the Department of Agriculture. Most advisors are not appointed Federal employees and thus are exempt from the requirements of Executive Order 10450. Instead, the Department enters into contractual arrangements with advisory personnel pursuant to authority granted to the Secretary of Agriculture by 5 USCA 3109, 7 USCA 1627, and 7 USCA 2225. However, these individuals are still subject to pre-appointment national agency name checks in accordance with a Departmental policy determination. If the Security Office, which conducts the investigation believes that the individual should not be appointed, it presents the data to the appointing authority and together they attempt to reach a mutually acceptable conclusion. In rare cases, where resolution is impossible, the matter is forwarded directly to the Secretary with recommendations from both the Security Office and the Appointing Agency. In the case of consultants, who are also not classified as federal employees, if the consultant is to be appointed for a short period of time, i.e. less than 100 days, no investigation is conducted. However, if the consultant is invited to serve for a longer period of time, the appointment investigatory procedures are similar to those for advisors.

Security requirements for the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) are outlined in the law which created the Agency. The statute requires that the Civil Service Commission investigate all individuals to be employed by the Agency unless the AEC determines that a different course of action is "clearly consistent with the national interest." 42 U.S.C. 2165(b). For both consultants and advisors, the AEC requires an FBI investigation regardless of whether the appointee will have access to restricted materials. Although advisory board members are not considered employees, a Commission policy determination subjects them to the same FBI background investigation.

The National Science Foundation (NSF) is often singled out by critics of DHEW's procedures as the agency with the most reasonable approach to pre-appointment investigations. The peculiar nature of the NSF's approach can be attributed to a more flexible interpretation of relevant statutory and regulatory rules than other agencies and its relatively small size which allows it to be more personal in dealing with questions of security and suitability. NSF appoints most of its scientific advisors as federal employees, thereby bringing them within the reach of Executive Order 10450. (Approximately 2,000 consultants serve intermittently without compensation and are not subject to any investigation.) Almost since its inception, NSF has operated under a special agreement with the Civil Service Commission which allows the Agency to appoint all advisory personnel who would serve in non-sensitive positions to a one year term without investigation.

At the time of the advisor's appointment, he is informed that he will be subject to a national agency name check if he is to be reappointed, a decision which must be made no later than seven months after the initial appointment. However, because of the regularity with which NSF reappoints its advisory personnel, the postponement of the investigatory process is not as significant as the

matter in which decisions on candidates are made. A brief biographical sketch is prepared and is used to conduct the national agency name check. If no data is discovered which might be considered grounds for disqualification, the Security Office grants a routine approval. If, on the other hand, routine approval is not possible, the Security Office sends the data, without comment, to the Administrative Manager.

The Administrative Manager may request further information or he may choose at that point to discuss the matter personally with the individual concerned without the knowledge of the appointing agency or the individual's immediate supervisor. In any case, the Administrative Manager makes the final decision. The criterion of disapproval is do the facts demonstrate that the individual will not be able to devote himself wholeheartedly to the goals of NSF in general and carry out his assigned task in particular.

III. A CONSIDERATION OF ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST EXCLUDING PROSPECTIVE ADVISORS AND CONSULTANTS FROM NON-SENSITIVE POSITIONS FOR LOYALTY AND SUITABILITY REASONS

Behind the complaints of many critics of present investigatory procedures for determining the loyalty and suitability qualifications of advisors and consultants appointed to non-sensitive positions in the Department is the feeling that an underlying rationale for any such procedures is non-existent. Put more bluntly, these critics believe that the continued exclusion of individuals from these positions for loyalty and suitability reasons is absurd. In contrast, some defenders of the *status quo* sincerely believe that the fabric of Government would be rent asunder if loyalty and suitability information were not considered in decisions to hire advisory personnel. Furthermore, they argue, present investigatory practices are too lax. Consequently, the Department may now be appointing disloyal or unsuitable advisors and consultants. As is often the case with highly emotional issues, the principal protagonists on both sides of this question have ceased to find any merit in the other's position.

Arguments for

The argument most often heard, although rarely examined, in favor of continuing to exclude advisory personnel for loyalty and suitability reasons is that working for the Government is a privilege, not a right. While few would deny the validity of this assertion, the statement is merely conclusory and thus meaningless without further analysis. The right of the Government to hire whom it wants is circumscribed by its own regulations, by statute and, most importantly, by the Constitution. Only after the limits of discretion are defined, can the argument of privilege be meaningfully considered.

Recently, there has emerged a clear trend in constitutional law toward restricting the power of government to dismiss or disqualify individuals on ground relating to their political beliefs or personal traits. At the outset, it must be understood that the Constitution recognizes no difference between prospective employees and employees in so far as their hiring or firing is based on constitutional considerations:

"There can be little difference in principle between discharging one because of his constitutionally protected associations and refusing to hire him for the same reasons. The result is an unconstitutional deprivation in either case." *Gilmore v. James*, 274 F. Supp. at 93.

Concerning political associations, or for our purposes considerations of loyalty criteria, court rulings have struck hardest at the notion that membership alone in any organization is *prima facie* grounds for disqualification from Government employment.

In *Elfbrandt v. Russell*, 384 U.S. 11 (1966), the Supreme Court declared an Arizona loyalty oath unconstitutional. The Court held that since the statute (1) did not require a showing that the prospective employee was an active member of a group which sought the unlawful overthrow of the State Government and (2) did not require that the prospective employee specifically intend to further the unlawful arms of that group, the statute infringed on the individual's constitutionally protected right of freedom of association. (See also *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589 (1967)).

In *Stewart v. Washington*, 301 F. Supp. 610 (D.C. 1969), the Court ruled that the District of Columbia's requirement that all employees sign a loyalty oath or be barred from employment was unconstitutional. The oath was declared unconstitutional for two reasons: (1) it referred merely to passive membership in an organization which advocated the overthrow (not violent overthrow) of the United States Government and (2) it was required of all employees whether or not their positions were sensitive. The Attorney General did not appeal this decision and on September 29, 1969, the Government, through FPM Letter 295-2, stated that federal employees would no longer be required to sign Section B of the Civil Service's Appointment Affidavits as a condition of employment.

Therefore, it appears that membership alone in an organization which advocates the overthrow (also violent overthrow) of the Government of the United States is not sufficient grounds for denying an individual employment unless the Government can clearly show that such membership will adversely affect the national security. The Courts have indicated that only when the position is sensitive can the Government argue that the employment of a passive member of such an organization will have an adverse effect on national security. However, an individual's active membership in an organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government accompanied by a specific intent to carry out that organization's objective does seem to be *prima facie* grounds for denying that person employment regardless of the sensitivity of the position he seeks.

Concerning the application of suitability standards to exclude an individual from employment, the trend in constitutional law is toward recognizing a greater area of individual privacy so long as the questionable trait does not adversely affect the individual's job performance or the overall operation of the agency. In *Norton v. Macy*, #21,625 (D.C. Cir. 1969), the Court reinstated plaintiff, a NASA budget analyst, holding that the Civil Service Commission had not shown a specific connection between the employees' potentially embarrassing conduct and his job performance or the efficiency of the service. The Court stated at 8:

"The notion that it could be an appropriate function of the federal bureaucracy to enforce the majority's conventional codes of conduct in the private lives of its employees is at war with elementary concepts of liberty, privacy, and diversity."

The reasoning in the *Norton* case closely follows that of Judge Bazelon in *Scott v. Macy*, 345 F.2d (D.C. Cir. 1965). In this case, Scott was denied employment on grounds of homosexuality based on statements made by the applicant himself. Judge Bazelon argued that in order to deny Scott employment the Civil Service Commission had to show first that plaintiff was in fact a homosexual and that this condition would adversely affect the performance of his duties.

As a result of these court decisions considering the constitutionality of loyalty and suitability criteria as conditions of employment, the grounds on which the Government can legally exclude prospective employees has

narrowed considerably since the issuance of Executive Order 10450 in 1953. This is not to say that disqualification on these grounds is now impossible, only that standards for disqualification have been more restrictively defined. There are those who would argue that these new limitations apply only to applicants for government employment and not to those being considered as prospective applicants. Although it is true that the cases I have cited refer only to applicants, it is doubtful that the courts will accept a distinction as subtle as that between applicants and prospective applicants to draw a constitutional line. If one considers the rationale behind the courts' reasoning, it is obvious that what concerns these judges most is the possibility that the Government will administer unconstitutional standards to exclude an individual from employment. It is irrelevant to that concern at what stage of the proceedings these unconstitutional standards are applied. Surely, no one will argue that an individual is entitled to have his rights constitutionally protected only if he consciously knows that they may be abused.

It is not convincing to argue that the Government should continue to exercise the discretion left to it to deny certain individuals employment in non-sensitive positions on loyalty or suitability grounds merely because it has that privilege. The privilege to take a certain action is obviously a necessary prerequisite of the action itself, but it is hardly a sufficient reason for taking it.

A second argument often heard in favor of continuing to exclude individuals for loyalty and suitability reasons is that otherwise the Secretary (or the Government) would be embarrassed. Of course, this argument is no more persuasive than its privilege counterpart if one would hope to use it to make standards for disqualification on security and suitability grounds more flexible than the law presently allows. In fact, the Court in *Norton v. Macy*, *op. cit.*, specifically rejected the embarrassment theory as unsound. Moreover, the embarrassment argument adds little weight to the conclusion that the Government should exercise the discretion available to it in security and suitability matters because the argument is blatantly circular and easily refuted. It is argued that the Government will be embarrassed by certain acts of an individual. But obviously this is because someone feels that the Government should be embarrassed by these acts. However, if that same person were to take the position that the Government should not be embarrassed, then the Government is not embarrassed.

Third, there is the argument that the Government has an obligation to that individual who might otherwise be excluded from employment on loyalty or suitability grounds to protect him from temptation. Like the argument of embarrassment, the argument of paternalism advances the discussion very little. Very simply, it suggests a fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between an individual and his Government in these circumstances. The relationship is one of employer to prospective employee, not one of parent to child. The Government's interest should not automatically be equated with that of the individual in these circumstances.

Actually, the only compelling argument in support of the proposition that the Government should exercise the discretion left to it to exclude individuals from employment for loyalty and suitability reasons is that of self-interest. A decision to exclude from employment an active member of an organization (or any individual) which (who) advocates the violent overthrow of the Government and who possesses specific intent to carry out this objective can be justified solely in terms of self-preservation. Very few men would argue that it is unreasonable for the Government to seek to preserve itself

and that the employment of such a dedicated revolutionary to any governmental position contravenes that objective. As for excluding individuals whose personal traits may interfere with the performance of their duties or the efficient operation of the agency concerned, the rationale is common sense. The Government, like any employer, should not be required to hire incompetents.

Arguments against

Many critics of DHEW's clearance system begin their argument with the assertion that loyalty and suitability considerations are irrelevant to the work of advisors and consultants employed in non-sensitive positions. Consequently, they argue, decisions to disqualify a prospective appointee on these grounds are arbitrary and unjustified. As I have already indicated, the courts have accepted the validity of this argument insofar as traditional considerations of suitability are concerned. However, even if it cannot be proven that an individual's unwavering commitment to overthrow the Government of the United States will interfere with the performance of his responsibilities, I have argued that such a commitment should also be grounds for disqualification. But I do believe that this is the only exception which can be justified. Stated somewhat differently, with one exception, it is my judgment that the only acceptable rationale for excluding an individual from employment on loyalty or suitability grounds, even independent of legal considerations, is that the disqualifying characteristic would affect the individual's performance of his duties.

A second argument against excluding individuals from employment for loyalty and suitability reasons really relates to the operational effects of any investigatory system which is established to carry out this objective. These considerations are more appropriately considered in Section IV, Recommendations. Finally, there is the argument that excluding individuals for legally permissible loyalty and suitability reasons will adversely affect the recruitment of advisors and consultants. It is true that some individuals have turned down appointments to these positions since DHEW's clearance system has come under attack. However, it is my judgment that once the procedures which I will recommend are adopted and publicly explained, the argument will no longer be considered relevant.

Conclusion

After balancing the arguments for and against continuing the exclusion of prospective advisors and consultants who serve in non-sensitive positions on what I have argued to be permissible constitutional grounds, it is my conclusion that such exclusion should continue. However, exclusion for loyalty and suitability reasons is specifically limited to two criteria:

(1) The prospective appointee is an active member of an organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States and possesses a specific intent to carry out this objective or, as an individual, he advocates the violent overthrow of the Government and possesses a specific intent to carry out this objective.

(2) The prospective appointee has personal traits which will adversely affect the performance of his job or the overall efficiency of the agency by which he is to be employed.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

These three recommendations are listed in descending order from the most favorable to the least favorable.

Recommendation 1: *Abolish Present Pre-Appointment Investigations For Advisors and Consultants Appointed to Non-Sensitive Positions in the Department And Replace These Procedures With Those Described Below:*

I have argued in Section III that the Department should continue to exclude individuals from employment on two traditional

loyalty and suitability grounds. However, it does not follow that such exclusion should necessarily occur through the operation of DHEW's present clearance system. The following liabilities of the present system are irrefutable once it is decided that the only grounds for exclusion on loyalty and suitability grounds are the two I have listed:

(1) To administer a basic national agency name check for all prospective advisors costs DHEW between \$10 and \$20 each. For the Civil Service Commission to administer similar checks for consultants, the cost is comparable. OIS alone conducts between 2000 and 3000 name checks on advisors annually. Moreover, these cost estimates do not include the expense to the Government of employees' time expended to conduct the investigations. Money is simply wasted by operating the present system if another procedure can be instituted at significantly less cost and still accomplish the desired objective.

(2) Under present procedures, unofficial "blacklists" have been and may still be used to avoid the operation of DHEW's clearance system. Such lists not only exist at the threshold level, i.e. when an individual's name is recommended, but may be used by individuals through the operation of their own mental processes to preclude individuals from even being recommended.

(3) The present system is pock-marked by secrecy. Individuals officially do not know that they are being investigated until some question of loyalty or suitability is raised. Unofficially, they may learn they are being considered, and when they are not appointed, they and their colleagues may unjustly conclude that they were not appointed for "loyalty and suitability" reasons.

(4) Criticism of the present system has taken on a momentum of its own. We are all familiar with attacks which have been directed against the Department's procedures. Whether or not these attacks are justified (and in many cases, they are not), the intransigent opposition of a significant group of DHEW's clients cannot be ignored.

(5) The present operation of DHEW's clearance system blatantly ignores the constitutional rights of those whom it investigates. Individuals may be excluded for loyalty and suitability reasons which are impermissible. Yet, under present procedures, they may never know that their fundamental legal rights have been violated.

For these reasons, I strongly recommend that new procedures be adopted.

Advisors

In the May 21, 1965 letter from the Civil Service Commission to the Department, DHEW's advisors were exempted from usual investigatory procedures on the condition that "the Department take appropriate measures to insure that employment under this agreement will not be adverse to the interests of the United States." Subsequently, the following Departmental procedures were announced in Attachment No. 40 to DHEW's Security Manual issued on September 9, 1966. Section 3(c), Note: Non-Sensitive Positions reads in part:

"Cases will not normally be submitted to the Civil Service Commission for investigation under Executive Order 10450 when the positions are not sensitive, and the appointments are . . . or (c) specific authority not to submit to the Civil Service Commission has been approved. *The Department shall conduct such inquiries or investigations in these cases as it deems necessary.*" (Italics mine.)

Therefore, the Secretary has the authority to modify existing investigatory procedures relating to advisors on the condition stated *supra*. This condition is met by the new procedures which I recommend. They are:

(1) *Every prospective advisor be required to submit to the appointing agency a curriculum vitae and three references.*

The head of each appointing agency (or his delegate) will contact former employers and references through a form letter solely for the purpose of judging the professional competence of the prospective appointee. A question in this letter should ask whether the interviewee knows from personal experience that the prospective appointee possesses certain traits which will adversely affect the individual in the performance of his job or the overall efficiency of the agency. If evidence is presented which suggests that the prospective appointee may possess such traits and it is determined by the agency head that these traits would disqualify him, the prospective appointee will automatically be given an opportunity to confront the evidence in accordance with procedures outlined in FPM Supp. (Int.) 736-71, Chapter IX, Special Interviews.

(2) *As in the case of all Government employees, advisors will be required to sign Appointment Affidavits.*

Once Section B of the Civil Service Commission's Appointment Affidavits is rewritten to conform with the guidelines of the *Stewart* case, every employee will be required to sign a statement which will be worded significantly as follows:

I do not advocate the violent overthrow of the constitutional form of the Government of the United States, nor am I an active member, with the specific intent to further the unlawful goals, of (the Communist Party or) any group that advocates the violent overthrow of the constitutional form of the Government of the United States or which seeks by force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution. I do further swear (or affirm) that I will not so advocate, nor will I become an active member of such an organization and share in furthering its unlawful goals during the period that I am an employee of the Federal Government or any agency thereof.

To protect the Government and its employees from an individual who may perjure himself, the names of all appointed advisors will be checked against FBI files. If it is discovered that, in fact, an individual may have perjured himself, administrative procedures for dismissal can be instituted.

(3) *All prospective advisors will be informed of these procedures prior to submitting curriculum vitae. Consultants.*

Due to historical accident, the Civil Service Commission still conducts pre-appointment investigations for prospective consultants. Therefore, because it is desirable to have uniform procedures for both advisors and consultants, I recommend that the Secretary request the Civil Service Commission to allow DHEW to establish the same investigatory procedures for consultants as he has authorized for advisors. The Commission clearly has the authority to grant such a request under the authority of Executive Order 10450. Furthermore, Section 8(c) of Executive Order 10450 indicates that appointment-investigations are primarily the responsibility of the employing department:

The investigation of persons (including consultants, however employed), entering employment of, or employed by, the Government other than in the competitive service shall primarily be the responsibility of the employing department or agency. Departments and agencies without investigative facilities may use the investigative facilities of the Civil Service Commission, and other departments and agencies may use such facilities under agreement with the Commission.

General statement

The Secretary should publicly announce that hereafter the only two reasons why a prospective advisor or consultant will be excluded on loyalty or suitability grounds are:

(1) The prospective appointee is an active member of an organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the Govern-

ment of the United States and possesses a specific intent to carry out this objective, or, as an individual, he advocates the violent overthrow of the Government and possesses a specific intent to carry out this objective.

(2) The prospective appointee has personal traits which will adversely affect the performance of his job or the overall efficiency of the agency by which he is to be employed.

This announcement should be made whether new procedures are introduced or old procedures are reformed. Executive Order 10450 makes it clear that the Secretary has the authority to establish for DHEW the substantive standards he will follow regarding the disposition of loyalty and suitability information.

Recommendation 2: *Institute the Pre-Appointment Investigatory Procedures of the National Science Foundation.* (Please see description of NSF's procedures in Section II, Part C.)

The essential feature of this recommendation is that advisors and consultants could hereafter be appointed to a one year term without any investigation. Although it may be possible for the Secretary unilaterally to institute such a procedure regarding advisors under the terms of the May 21, 1965, letter, it is clear to me that the Civil Service Commission would have to approve such a procedure for consultants. Furthermore, since the Commission has consistently expressed disapproval of NSF's procedure, it is doubtful that they would agree to such an exemption for DHEW without an endorsement from the White House.

If the NSF's procedures were adopted by DHEW, and it was decided to reappoint the advisor or consultant to a second term, all of the reforms suggested in Recommendation 3 should be adopted in administering the investigation.

Recommendation: *Reform Certain Procedures in the Present Clearance System.*

If a decision is made neither to modify existing procedures as I have suggested nor to adopt NSF's procedures, the very least that should be done is to reform the operation of the existing system. I recommend that the following internal procedures be changed in the manner indicated.

(1) Presently, in the case of consultants, once the Civil Service Commission discovers information which may be interpreted to disqualify an individual, it notifies OIS which in turn carries the information to the Deputy Assistant Secretary. If a decision is made at that point to disregard the derogatory information, OIS not the Civil Service Commission so informs the appointing agency. Consequently, the appointing agency learns at the very least the individual was suspect. A preferable procedure would be to have OIS inform the Civil Service Commission that the information has been considered and that a decision was made not to disqualify the prospective employee. Then, the Civil Service Commission can notify the appointing agency, as is done in all cases of routine approval.

(2) Presently, the extent of investigation differs for advisors and consultants. The Civil Service Commission checks only its files and those of the FBI in the case of consultants while OIS subjects all advisors to a complete national agency name check, including a review of the records of the House Committee on Internal Security. Although some have argued that the more thorough investigation for advisors than consultants is justified because advisors are appointed to more responsible positions than consultants, a closer examination should lead one to conclude that the difference in responsibilities do not rise to the level of distinction. A careful reading of the history outlined in Section Two shows that the variations in procedures actually developed quite arbitrarily. I recommend that investigations by OIS in the case of advisors be limited to a check of Civil

Service and FBI files. Further checks, particularly a review of the records of the House Committee on Internal Security, add very little data and do not seem justified in terms either of cost or the adverse reaction such addition investigation causes.

(3) Presently, when a question of loyalty or suitability might preclude the employment of a prospective advisor or consultant, the Director of OIS meets with the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration to discuss the case. Although the Director does not offer an opinion on the evidence unless requested, his very presence at the review results in an unnecessary combination of investigatory and judgmental responsibilities. I recommend that in the future the Director of OIS merely forward the material to the Deputy Assistant Secretary for his review. Furthermore, if present procedures are generally continued but grounds for qualification are limited to the two causes I have outlined supra, I recommend that an ultimate adverse decision on the individual be taken only with the approval of the Under Secretary.

(4) Presently, if an advisor is to be appointed by the Secretary, and information on him is already on file in OIS, OIS updates the record if it is older than one year. For advisors appointed by personnel other than the Secretary, the update occurs only if the file is two years old. A convincing rationale for the differences in procedure is lacking. Therefore, I recommend that an updating be completed only if the record is over two years old.

(5) On May 26, 1969, the Department announced a modification of a prior agreement with the Civil Service Commission allowing the Department to submit biographical sketches in lieu of certain standard forms for purposes of the pre-appointment investigation of consultants. That modification reinstated the requirement that persons "without the usual professional qualifications" be required to submit SF 171, 85, and 87. The rationale for this modification was that information on the biographical sketches of these individuals was insufficient to enable the Commission to conduct its investigation. However, if the biographical sketch were to identify clearly the person to be appointed so he could not be confused with another person of the same name, the sketch would be sufficiently complete for the Commission to conduct an investigation of its files and those of the FBI. Even if the prospective consultant must be contacted so that the agency can make the biographical sketch sufficiently informative, this procedure is preferable to the one presently in operation. Obviously, those consultants "without normal professional qualifications" are generally poor or young or both. Most of them are probably black. It smacks of unnecessary discrimination to require these people to complete forms which the better educated have objected to as personally demeaning.

In addition to these five recommendations for internal change, I strongly recommend the adoption of two other procedures:

(1) If it is determined by the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration, after he has all the data he feels he needs before him, that the individual should be disqualified, the prospective employee automatically be given an opportunity to confront the evidence in accordance with procedures outlined in FPM Supp. (Int.) 736-71, Chapter IX, Special Interviews.

(2) Any individual being considered for appointment as a DHEW advisor or consultant will not be disqualified if he has been approved within the last two years as an advisor or consultant in another Government agency which conducts pre-appointment investigations of its prospective employees. A check of other agency records would not be made until a question of loyalty or suitability were raised as a result of our own investigation.

END-OF-SESSION REPORT TO THE CITIZENS OF THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, after some 355 days, the first session of the 91st Congress—the sixth longest in history—came to a close. Any final appraisal of the 91st Congress must await the end of the second session, but the first session has not been auspicious. The first session had no distinctive character. The New York Times labeled it an "uncertain Congress." The Senate majority leader says it was a "responsible" Congress. The House minority leader said it was a "do little" Congress. There is an element of truth in all of these opinions or descriptions.

A Congress controlled by the Democrats did react uncertainly when confronted with the 40 or so major legislative initiatives of a President who is a Republican. It occasionally acted responsibly, but compared to previous recent sessions, it did little. At the same time, however, none of the labels I have seen placed on the Congress adequately describe the character of the first session.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Perhaps the best method of measuring the accomplishments of a given session is to look carefully at the amount of work left undone. In this regard, the first session scores a less than average grade.

Labor-HEW, foreign aid funds: The first business facing Congress upon its return is to decide what to do about the appropriations bills for these agencies and programs. Neither of the two bills involved cleared Congress. The Labor-HEW measure, H.R. 13111, is caught in a squeeze between a Congress which, in a blatant political move by the Democrats to paint the Republican President in anti-education colors, acted to appropriate \$1 billion more than the administration asked, and President Nixon, who says he will veto it because it is inflationary, which is exactly what the Democratic leadership wants.

Welfare reform: This issue, one of Mr. Nixon's most important domestic proposals, was studied by the House Ways and Means Committee, which will return to the subject this month.

Revenue sharing: Although another key part of the President's program, this proposal received little attention last year.

Voting rights: The House passed the administration's bill, but a Senate fight is expected.

Education: The administration will be under heavy pressure to increase funding for education as the second session considers extension of the elementary and secondary education assistance law, and advance funding for fiscal year 1971 under that law.

Crime: Under pressure from the administration, the Senate Judiciary Committee finally reported the Organized

Crime Control Act. This, after months of waiting, was like pulling teeth.

Electoral reform: The House passed a bill to discard the 182-year-old electoral college system for electing Presidents. The Senate scheduled no action, but is expected to debate the measure this year.

Cigarette advertising: Both the Senate and the House have passed legislation dealing with advertising of cigarettes. Differences between the two versions of the bill must be ironed out in conference.

Postal reform: Congress moved hardly at all in 1969 on administration proposals to reform the Post Office Department which have generated fierce controversy among interested groups.

Mass transit: A measure containing a multibillion-dollar attack on urban transportation congestion will be debated early in the spring, but no legislation except for the District of Columbia was enacted during the first session.

Airports: Aid for airports bill passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

Farm program: The multibillion-dollar program of farm subsidies will be under attack again as Congress considers extension of the basic farm programs which expire at the end of 1970.

Health, drugs: An omnibus drug bill has been reported from the Senate Judiciary Committee. The bill would end mandatory minimum sentences for illicit drug use and is expected to run into stiff opposition in the House. The House passed a bill authorizing \$29 million over 3 years for education to prevent drug abuse. A bill to extend the Federal—Hill-Burton—hospital construction program remained in the Senate when Congress adjourned.

Consumer affairs: There was gathering momentum during 1969 for a stronger consumer affairs office in the Government and perhaps a Cabinet-level department. However, legislation to accomplish these aims remained unenacted.

Draft: Although Congress allowed the President to begin a draft lottery, it did not undertake major revisions in the draft law itself. Further study is scheduled in the second session. A court order redraw of the first lottery pool remains a distinct possibility.

Legislative reorganization: A special subcommittee of the House Rules Committee is attempting to report a bill revising certain congressional procedures. I have testified in support of a bill I introduced on this subject which is outlined elsewhere in this report.

Trade: President Nixon sent a major message on trade which would have some bearing on the problem the New England shoe industry is facing from cheaply produced foreign imports. First action on this is scheduled in the House Ways and Means Committee which will begin hearings early in February. The free-traders promise to kill any meaningful legislation if they can.

Manpower: The White House promoted a bill to consolidate all existing job training programs within the jurisdiction of the Labor Department; to give States more authority in running Federal training programs and to establish a computer "job bank" designed to match

applicants with jobs available. No hearings were held in either the Senate or House.

WHAT DID CONGRESS DO?

The major piece of legislation enacted by the first session of this Congress was the tax-reform bill, the most comprehensive revision of the tax code since the income tax was established in 1913. This included a 15-percent increase in social security benefits on an across-the-board basis, reflecting a bill I had introduced earlier in the session.

In other important economic legislation completed, Congress cleared for the President a bill granting States broader authority to tax federally chartered banks and enacted legislation extending the interest equalization tax to March 31, 1971. It also cleared legislation raising permissible interest rates on series E and H savings bonds from 4.25 percent to 5 percent. It passed legislation establishing a ceiling on Federal expenditures of \$191.9 billion for fiscal year 1970.

DEFENSE

A major development during the session was the critical scrutiny that Congress, particularly the Senate, focused on defense spending. The main result of this attention was passage of a Defense appropriation bill \$8 billion less than President Johnson's outgoing administration estimated cost of fiscal year 1970.

Also, a 2-month heated debate over ABM materially contributed to a general slowing down of congressional activity and the resultant length of the session.

It should be mentioned, too, that the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard will receive the scheduled overhaul of the "Sam Rayburn" thanks largely to House conferees insisting on four authorized overhauls instead of the Senate's suggested two overhauls. If the latter figure had held, chances are that the "Sam Rayburn" overhaul would not have been undertaken at Portsmouth, and the First District would have been the loser here.

HOUSING

The \$4.8 billion Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 extended major programs through 1971. The act required for the first time that a new low-income dwelling be built for each one razed as a part of an urban renewal project. The new unit could be built in the slum clearance area or elsewhere in the city.

In New Hampshire, urban renewal progressed in Laconia, and Manchester received its initial award of \$1.6 million under the model cities program.

ENVIRONMENT AND POLLUTION

The Senate and House agreed to a conference report enacting the National Environment Policy Act aimed at dealing with problems on a preventive basis and establishing a Board of Advisers which would make environmental policy.

Both Chambers passed bills known as the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and appropriated \$800 million for water pollution control in an appropriations measure for public works. This figure was one-half billion dollars above the administration's request. I supported the higher figure for this important and continuing effort.

LABOR

In major labor legislation, Congress approved a comprehensive Coal Mine Health and Safety Act providing compensation for victims of coal miners' diseases and setting standards to prevent coal mine disasters. In another action on labor safety, Congress passed a bill setting standards for safety for the construction industry in all Federal projects.

CONSUMERS

The Child Protection and Toy Safety Act was passed increasing protection for children from toys which contained thermal, electrical, or mechanical hazards. Congress also extended the life of the National Commission on Product Safety. The Tire Safety Act was passed which requires manufacturers to recall defective tires.

GUN CONTROL

Congress approved and I voted for an amendment which repealed provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 requiring merchants to keep records of their sales of shotgun and rifle ammunition.

FOREIGN POLICY

Congress continued foreign aid, passing the lowest authorization in the history of the program.

It also extended funding for the Peace Corps which received a \$98 million authorization in fiscal 1970.

Congressional debate on Vietnam did not become heated until the fall of 1969 and by the end of the session it was again muted. The height of congressional concern coincided with an October 15 nationwide "moratorium" antiwar demonstration and, to a lesser extent, with the November 15 "mass rally in Washington." The House of Representatives, in an overwhelming show of bipartisan support, passed a resolution backing President Nixon's efforts to achieve "peace with justice" in Vietnam.

A measure I cosponsored concerning the Prisoner of War issue passed the House and has been sent to the Senate.

HEALTH

Congress enacted legislation to reduce the growing costs of medicare, the program of matching State and Federal grants to provide medical services for the poor.

SPACE

For the 5th year in succession Congress cut back on appropriations for NASA.

The \$3.7 billion figure enacted last November was the lowest spending figure for the Space Agency since 1963 and represents a shift of national priorities in terms of congressional thinking.

HOUSE KEY VOTES IN FIRST SESSION

Surtax: Vote to extend surtax at 10 percent thru 1969 and 5 percent thru 1970. President Nixon made urgent appeal for the measure as an anti-inflationary act. Wyman voted "yea."

Joelson amendment: Despite administration efforts to hold the line on spending for Federal programs to help curb spending, the House voted to increase education programs by more than \$1 billion. Wyman voted "nay."

Tax reform: Climaxing 7 months' work by the House Ways and Means Commit-

tee, a major tax-reform measure was presented for a vote. Wyman voted "yea."

Electoral college: With the memory of the possibility of the 1968 presidential election being thrown into the House of Representatives, the House voted to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President. A substitute district plan was defeated in the House. Wyman voted "yea" on both.

Selective Service Reform: The House acted on the request of the President for a draft-lottery proposal. Wyman voted "yea."

Vietnam resolution: The first major policy declaration on Vietnam since the Tonkin Gulf resolution was approved by the House after 2 days' debate. The resolution declared support for President Nixon's efforts in Vietnam. Wyman voted "yea."

Foreign aid: By a narrow 200-to-195 vote, the House passed the lowest appropriation in the history of the program. Wyman voted "nay."

Voting rights: Another close victory for the administration came when the House approved by a 208-to-203 vote the administration's voting rights bill which extends the act nationwide instead of "aiming it" on a regional basis. Wyman voted "yea."

Poverty program: The strongest effort in the history of the poverty program to turn its control over to the States was beaten after House Democrats delayed action on the bill for several weeks to rally support behind a straight 2-year extension of the program. The State-control effort was defeated when the House rejected by a 163-to-231 vote a motion to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to report back the substitute bill providing for State administration of the program. Wyman voted "yea."

WYMAN LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

In the circumstances of the Congress' failure to enact all necessary appropriations bills during the first session an important proposal I introduced was a bill designed to change the rules of the House of Representatives permitting the Appropriations Committee to bring to the floor of the House after June 1, without prior authorizing committee action, measures which the Appropriations Committee has completed. More than 100 Members of Congress, of both political parties have joined as cosponsors of this bill. In this session, the House could have completed its work on the important appropriations bills before September 1. My proposal would allow action at the discretion of the Appropriations Committee, to bring these proposals to the floor for a vote after the first of June and would thus give impetus to the authorizing committees to get their work done prior to the beginning of each new fiscal year. Among other bills I introduced during this session were:

H.R. 719, a bill to establish a commission on the organization of the executive branch of the Government which would basically be another "Hoover" Commission charged with the responsibility of reorganizing the executive.

H.R. 722, a bill for the humane care of laboratory test animals.

H.R. 723, a bill which would permit the publication of information on the New Hampshire sweepstakes program, thereby increasing sales outlets.

H.R. 726, a bill which would authorize police officers to detain and question persons suspected of committing Federal crimes.

H.R. 729, a bill which would allow the free mailing to any relatives in Vietnam of packages and letters from family members at home.

H.R. 734, legislation allowing teachers to deduct from income expenses for higher education.

H.R. 735, 7696, and 14178, legislation designed to provide for the orderly trade in certain articles such as footwear and textiles.

H.R. 9791, a bill which would materially improve the operation and function of Congress.

H.R. 10801, legislation which would eliminate the mandatory oil import control program thus decreasing the cost of home heating oil to consumers in New England and elsewhere.

H.R. 10863, a bill which would prohibit overseas travel at Government expense for "lame duck" Members of Congress—Members who had lost an election or who had announced retirement.

H.R. 11032, a bill which would prohibit the use of interstate facilities for the mailing or distribution of pornographic material.

H.R. 11802, a bill designed to impose criminal penalties upon students willfully disrupting educational institutions and denying fellow students education when such institutions are supported with Federal funds.

H.R. 12806, to amend the Bail Reform Act of 1966 to prevent repeaters from the opportunity of committing like crimes while on bail.

H.R. 13358, a bill amending the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide adequate financial assistance and to increase the allotment to States of construction grant funds.

H.R. 13985, the administration's bill to share income revenues with the States.

H.R. 14575, increasing social security benefits across the board by 15 percent and containing an automatic cost-of-living rider which would bring payments upward as the cost of living continued to erode recipient benefits.

House Resolution 253, designed to continue a study of violence in television programming.

House Resolution 598, allowing voluntary prayer in public schools.

House Resolution 727, an equal rights amendment for men and women.

House Resolution 460, to create a standing committee in the Congress on the environment.

The second session of this Congress will be controversial, often acrimonious and unfortunately increasingly political with next fall's elections in the offing. Predictably, the administration will make numerous popular proposals in the form of legislation requested, which if rejected by this Democrat-controlled Congress, will set the stage for the national choice in November. This will be

whether or not to provide a Republican majority in both Houses of Congress to permit a more favorable response to administration requests in the 92d Congress.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1969

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, D.C.

HON. JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: Your support and interest in the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1969 is deeply appreciated.

As I indicated in the speech I have attached, we do not take the action by Congress to be an endorsement of errors of the past but rather as a mandate to work to improve and strengthen the programs of the Agency.

My best wishes for a pleasant holiday.
Sincerely,

DONALD RUMSFELD,
Director.

ADDRESS BY DONALD RUMSFELD, DIRECTOR,
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

This has been a wild time for the Office of Economic Opportunity. It's always difficult when this legislation is before the Congress. For a while, I thought that we might have to find the sign that appeared in one of the Office of Economic Opportunity elevators this time during last December which said: "This building will self-destruct on January 20." But the House of Representatives, in my judgment, did itself proud last week and voted to authorize the programs of the Economic Opportunity Act for another two years.

With the major legislative questions behind us, we can get on with the work of dealing with some of the urgent problems facing this country, knowing that we have what has to be described as broader support in both political parties and in both houses of the Congress than before.

The Office of Economic Opportunity authorization was approved this year by the largest margin, I believe, in the history of the program. And one of the most exciting facts, from my standpoint, about the vote is that the legislation was supported by individuals in some instances who had not supported it previously. Congressmen of both parties changed their voting pattern.

The real role of the President in this matter has been missed in many discussions in recent weeks. Actually, the debate on the future of the Office of Economic Opportunity did not begin last week when it was brought to the floor of the House of Representatives for that critical vote. It began last January when the President assumed office—and even earlier in fact—and it is worth recalling the situation when the new Administration took office. I was still in Congress so I would take no credit or blame, depending on one's viewpoint, for the decisions that were made.

There was no doubt in my mind but that the President could have in fact abolished the agency and probably gone up twenty points in the polls if he had done so. But he

didn't. He could have appealed to some less admirable instincts in the country—to those who misunderstood or those who feared or those who doubted.

The risk, I think, clearly would have been polarization, and he made a judgment that he would not do so. In fact he made the Office of Economic Opportunity the subject of his first message to Congress on February 19th—announcing that he intended to define and organize its activities more effectively so that it could concentrate on innovation and experimentation, on seeking new methods and developing new programs. This message was a sound document—it was one of the reasons that I accepted the position of Director. And it played an important part in building greater awareness and understanding and support for the role of the agency throughout the country. It said, in part: "If we are to make the most of experimental programs, we must frankly recognize their experimental nature and frankly acknowledge whatever shortcomings they develop."

"The men and women who will be valued most in this Administration will be those who understand that not every experiment succeeds, who do not cover up failures but rather lay open problems, frankly and constructively, so that next time we will know how to do better."

During the next months, he fulfilled that pledge to press ahead with support for the Office of Economic Opportunity and improvements in its operations. He sent to Congress a request for a two-year extension of the Office of Economic Opportunity, explaining that that extension would allow longer range planning, more efficient allocation of funds, promote recruiting of talented new personnel, and assure the continuity and flexibility that such an agency needs.

On August 8, in his New Federalism speech, he made the pioneering role of the Office of Economic Opportunity one of four major segments in his new domestic program, along with the family assistance program, the manpower training bill, and revenue sharing. He said:

"This Administration believes that every American should have the opportunity to participate in our Nation's economic life to the full extent to his abilities. The Office of Economic Opportunity will make this objective its highest priority . . . OEO is to be the cutting edge by means of which the government moves into unexplored areas."

This was a significant role in enlightening and, yes, leading the Nation—informing and persuading those who had opposed the program, including many of the Congressmen who later voted for it, while setting new directions for the agency's future.

I know that many of the criticisms made of the agency in the past have validity—believe me, I don't interpret the vote that took place last week as an order for "full steam ahead, business as usual." Despite the changes that have been made already—and they have been substantial, some prior to my joining the agency and some subsequently, the reorganization, changes in the guidelines, defunding of ineffective programs, the President's new mandate for the agency—further improvements are necessary.

The picture of the Office of Economic Opportunity in some people's eyes of course consists of employees picketing city halls, VISTA volunteers engaged in partisan picketing, scandals with local grantees, Black Panthers, dope and guns—this is what we hear. And I understand that there has been some of that. Those things exist in this society—and indeed would be sure to exist if there were no Office of Economic Opportunity.

But what is the Office of Economic Opportunity today? From a quantitative standpoint, it is 962 community action agencies,

private local agencies spread across the country, that receive funds, hire people and proceed to be involved either actively themselves or through delegate agencies in a variety of programs; 600 legal services offices, handling some 610,000 cases last year; 91 migrant and Indian programs in 37 states; 200 programs for older persons; 49 neighborhood health centers; 230 family planning programs involving some 350,000 women; 475 emergency food programs; believe it or not—250 research, development or evaluation activities; some 15 economic development activities; more than 5,000 VISTA volunteers; Head Start, manpower programs and so on.

Also, of course, it's a symbol for many—a symbol of this nation's commitment to do a better job of improving the quality of life for all Americans. One of the most important programs aimed at increasing the responsiveness of institutions is the Legal Services program. It symbolizes much of the mission of our agency: justice for the poor, effective advocacy on behalf of the poor, orderly institutional change within the legal system—and this is so important in a complicated society. Just as this agency represents the concerns and needs of the poor within government, so also the Legal Services program, with its more than 1800 attorneys across this country, provides the poor with representation and advocacy before all levels of government.

Beyond that, the Office of Economic Opportunity represents a very small portion of the Federal budget that is not handled in the traditional way through the existing Executive departments and the state and local governmental apparatus. It offers, I think, the opportunity, properly managed, properly handled, to see if we in this society can help to make these institutions and private institutions as well, function as more perfect problem-solving mechanisms.

With its \$2 billion budget, however, the Office of Economic Opportunity is not the "War on Poverty," contrary to what you've all heard. There has been a good deal of rhetoric about the Office of Economic Opportunity being the only agency concerned with the poor—of "total victory over poverty," "eradicating poverty," and the like.

The national effort to aid the poor in my judgment involves most domestic departments and agencies of the Federal government, other levels of government, and the private sector. The advance billing of the Office of Economic Opportunity made me feel like a midjet with a 40-foot lance when I arrived there.

Further, the real task of the Office of Economic Opportunity is not income maintenance, as some feel or seem to assume. The family assistance program, with its great possibilities for changing the economic and social landscape of this country will be operated by HEW, the Department which is and has been responsible for income maintenance programs. Nor is our task to operate a complete duplicate system for delivery of all services that affect all people.

The real task of the Office of Economic Opportunity is to find better ways of opening economic opportunity, of raising the capacity of individuals to participate in the economic life of the country. It is to develop new programs that can be used to help solve social problems, and to make our institutions more responsive.

We have seen during these first ten months of this Administration a shifting of priorities; defense and military spending have been squeezed somewhat; domestic spending has been increased. The trend has been quite different from the trend in previous years. The hope, quite honestly, is that we'll be able to find the answers to questions that we are asking now and will be asking in the coming years so that we'll have some

choices—some options—and will not simply flush more funds, as the priorities shift, through the same faucets that exist today, many of which are corroded and rusted and not functioning perfectly.

There has been a broad range of reforms offered to the Congress: welfare reform, draft reform, tax reform, postal reform, manpower reform, reform in the District government, changes in the social security legislation. The Ash Commission is looking at the Executive Branch to find ways of making government more responsive to the problems of human beings across this country.

It is important to remind ourselves that unlocking the potential of individuals has to be a cooperative effort if we are to be successful—that we need to involve as many individuals and groups and levels of government as possible. We seek in the agency to involve the poor meaningfully in the planning and administration and conduct of our programs. And we must involve state governments, as has been suggested county governments, and local governments as well. We have taken steps to do so, such as completely revising our guidelines, because of the important resources these other levels of government have to offer. These programs must not set cities against states, or states against the Federal Government—they must involve all levels of government.

The old attitude of the agency which in some instances suggested that it was an island and that everyone else was the "enemy," first, last, and always, yesterday, today, and tomorrow, is certainly not designed to encourage the cooperation and the allocation of other institutions' resources on these problems. The critics in Congress and the press have made many sound points in my judgment, which we in the agency will have to heed, if we are to construct over the coming two years the requisite number of legs so that our table will stand. One leg isn't enough. And further, no program can do anyone much good if it's required to function in the atmosphere of hostility that has existed so often in the past and has drained so much of our energy.

The vote in Congress reflected an increased concern on the part of the country generally—not in one region. Further, the majority assembled to support the legislation I believe will be assembled again—not exactly the same, but something along the line—to support other domestic programs such as the family assistance program and manpower program.

And let me emphasize one important point. The conventional wisdom on the Office of Economic Opportunity is that its only constituency is the poor, and that it need concern itself only with their problems. But this is precisely the "wisdom" that jeopardized the future of the agency last week. The effect of enlisting advice and support for only the poor is to create a dangerous hardening of the crust of resentment and misunderstanding among many other groups. The effect, in short, is to isolate the poor. It is to risk depriving those separated from society of their natural allies—men and women throughout society who believe that our present institutions are far from perfect problem-solving mechanisms, that our social problems are becoming more serious, and that we must find new methods for opening greater economic opportunity to all Americans. This Nation is wise enough and big enough to recognize that there is much work to be done if we are to meet the problems which face our society—for the benefit of the poor and the non-poor—and get on with the task.

During the past few days I've been asked repeatedly what happened in the House of Representatives. I must honestly say I don't have a simple answer.

One Republican Congressman called and said with pleasure last Friday just after the vote on the Office of Economic Opportunity, "Mr. Director, the silent majority has spoken." And he was only half kidding.

In his thoughtful and challenging speech to you last week, John Gardner said that the Nation needs a solid jolt—not a mild push, but a solid jolt—from "vigorous and purposeful leaders." Mr. Gardner expressed his concern with what he considers the failures of leadership on the part of industry, unions, education professionals and the individual citizen, as well as of government.

"Too many take a free ride as far as any distinctive effort to serve the common good is concerned," Mr. Gardner said. "Too many are apathetic, self-absorbed and self-serving." He also said, "One thing the citizen can do—must do—is to reject fiercely all politicians who exploit fear and anger and hatred for their purposes."

The emotions cannot be wished away. Nor can politicians. Nor will citizens be rid of them merely because they are *told* to be rid of them.

The great challenge to leadership at this moment is to draw into the system—a great system—those who feel such emotions and follow such politicians; draw them back by appealing to the larger interest in progress and social justice which we all share; by defining problems in a way that unites rather than divides; by proposing solutions in a tone that emphasizes the good of one group.

Simple solutions—such as one- or two-group strategies—are deceptive and dangerous.

As H. L. Mencken once said, "For every human problem there is a solution which is simple, neat and *wrong*."

This is not to say that there are not or will not be groupings or citizens with separate interests on many matters. The existence of such interests, and of competition between them, is a healthy part of our system and helps produce much of the light, as well as the heat, by which our Nation resolves great issues.

But the days of national leaders appealing to any one of them should be gone. With communications so rapid and intensive, and our population so mobile, neither the President nor other national leaders can go with impunity before a farm or labor group, or a poor or a non-poor group, or a black or a white group, and appeal only to their interest at the expense of other groups. We have seen that issues are related—farm policy to labor policy, tax policy to foreign policy. And individual groups, along with issues, are increasingly interdependent.

It would be a risky and unwise business to have a strategy based on an appeal to interest groups or regional groups—a farm strategy or black strategy or a northern or southern strategy. Those who would contemplate such a strategy, who appeal to a special constellation of groups, risk a further polarization of society that will harm all groups. And most groups know it or are learning it.

The effect of giving undue preference to one group is to exclude others—or to give the feeling of being excluded—and thus to divide the Nation when we need most to be brought together. And at this stage in history with so many powerful forces contending so divisively, such a course would produce disaster. We cannot afford to exclude the South and we cannot afford to exclude the North or the poor or non-poor, white or black. Those who play by the old rules—the rules of groupings, the rules of polarization—will be duly and properly blamed for the damage done to all groups in our society, and will be discarded by the people.

The American people understand the dangers of polarization even though some poli-

ticians are still operating on the old rules. This may be a time, indeed, when the people are ahead of some leaders.

The goal of National leadership is to set priorities and goals—a vision of society—that restores some sense of mutual trust.

The goal of leadership must be to appeal to what is best in the American people—the sense of adventure that brought us to explore and tame this land, the energy and enterprise that caused us to make it the most productive on earth, and the fundamental sense of fairness and decency that allowed us to live in peace with each other. A leader must believe in the people whom he serves, must believe deeply in their most generous and trusting instincts. He must understand their fears and angers and hatreds in order to reach what is best. He cannot dismiss the emotions on which demagogues would play—ordinary, human emotions—but must attempt to raise the Nation above them.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question. According to Evans and Novak, you are treated with open hostility by President Nixon and some of his advisors. If this is so, is there anything you can accomplish by staying on? Do you regret giving up your seat in Congress to take this job?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I don't feel any open hostility either by the President or by people in the White House. And as to whether or not I regret giving up my seat in Congress to take this job, I would say very very emphatically, "No," that this literally has been the most incredible experience of my lifetime. I admit I feel like I'm sitting on a bubbling volcano half the time and I concede that it asks about 40 times more of me than I've got in me each day, but I wouldn't trade these first six months for anything.

Question. After last week's Congressional victory, do you think it wise to increase the cooperation between OEO and Community Action Agencies and the state and local officials?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I covered that in my address. As a matter of fact, we had moved prior to the bill's ever coming up in the Congress several months ago, to try and rectify what I felt was a very unhealthy situation. I believe very strongly that it is to the benefit of the people to be served, the benefit of the programs, as well as to the benefit of the state and local governments to try and encourage to the extent we're able, cooperation by both levels of government.

Question. Do you feel America's moral fiber has deteriorated with people now willing to accept relief from government programs and so on?

Mr. RUMSFELD. Well, I would guess there is no question but that this society has changed certainly during my lifetime. It's a very distressing thing when a society looks at the unemployment rolls going down, employment going up, and at the same time relief rolls going up. I don't think there's anyone who has been able to precisely pinpoint what caused that rather strange and frightening phenomenon. It is my best judgment that there is hope. I recognize the complexities of the new family assistance proposal, but it strikes me, after very careful study, that there is contained in that system a variety of actions that will help correct those things which tended to encourage dependence in the present welfare system and supplant them with approaches and procedures which I would think we'll find in the coming years will tend to increase independence rather than dependence.

Question. Is the President giving you as much support in fighting against the Murphy Amendment in the OEO conference as he did in your successful opposition to the Quile-Green substitute in the House?

Mr. RUMSFELD. You know, I get this everywhere I go. When you go before a group, it's

a strange thing—I'll speak for example to a group of Community Action workers and I proceed with my discussion about why we are doing what we're doing with respect to a certain funding level or a certain approach, and they'll listen and they'll listen, and then they will say, "What's the hidden agenda? What's really going on?" With respect to the Murphy Amendment, I don't think it's a problem. We worked very hard. I think the dialogue that took place was a healthy one. I think the amendment would be very harmful. There is no question in my mind but that it would lead to a situation where there would be great numbers of poor across this country that would be denied access to the legal system. This is the position of the Administration. It was not included in the House-passed bill. There is no doubt in my mind but that it will not be included in the final Conference Report, at least I'm certainly hopeful. And if I feel that I need any assistance from the President on it, I'm sure I'll seek it. And there is very little question in my mind but that if I seek it that he would respond and be very helpful. As it happens, I have not asked for his support or assistance on this particular Amendment.

Question. Many instances of abuse or malfeasance of OEO programs have been spread on the public and Congressional Record over the years. In your six months in office have you found any or all of these criticisms to be valid? If so, what have you done about them?

Mr. RUMSFELD. There have been a variety of things spread on the public record. We've investigated a great many of them. There is no question but that a number of them are valid. There happen also to be some problems with respect to contracts and grants and conduct of individuals which have not yet been spread on the public record. We are in the process under the direction of the Deputy Director, Wesley Hyornevik, completely revising and rewriting our procedures for handling of all grants and contracts. The General Counsel, Don Lowitz, has already rewritten our procedures and requirements with respect to conduct of individual employees. We are going to break our neck and see that these types of activities don't place in jeopardy a program which I feel has a great deal of potential. I would add one thing however. I don't believe there is a Federal program that doesn't have some problems. I don't believe there is an activity with human beings involved where there aren't some problems. And I would submit that it should not come as any great surprise to any one that in programs that are dealing with the least sophisticated and the least educated in this society, there would be problems. This is understandable to me. It doesn't excuse them. It doesn't mean that we shouldn't do everything in the world, as we are trying to do, to see that they don't happen. Because every dollar that is wasted or taken, doesn't get to the people whom the taxpayers intended it to get to. But, I would say that I think that was as a society should recognize that when we ask, as the Congress has, that we involve people who do not have the benefit of the education, background, or the administrative experience that people involved in most other Federal programming have—when we ask that participation and believe it is important, we should then, I think, understand that there conceivably will be problems with the style of that participation and involvement.

Question. Would not a guaranteed annual income, however small, put you out of business? Do you favor such a minimum income for every family, black or white?

Mr. RUMSFELD. Certainly anything that the Federal government does should be done without regard to one's color, in response to the last part of the question. The tax collector is color blind and one would hope that the tax disseminator should be color blind. I don't know exactly what a guaranteed annual income is. I sat through weeks of hear-

ings in the Joint Economic Committee when I was in the Congress and heard all of the different proposals and I guess that beauty is in the eyes of the beholder. But we have a welfare system: This Administration has come forward with a very bold proposal to replace that system with a system that I supported within the Administration and I support with respect to the pending Congressional action. I think it is a very very desirable piece of legislation, as complicated and difficult as this subject is.

Question. Are you happy with the President turning down the \$5,500 guaranteed annual wage which the Hunger Conference recommended?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I agree with his position. There is no question but that there is going to be a tremendously difficult time getting the pending family assistance program passed. Now one can always make a case that X number of dollars—\$1,000, \$1,600, \$2,200, \$2,500—isn't enough. I don't think anyone is suggesting that it is. It is a national minimum. It's a figure that appears to be within the present financial capability of this country, and I fully agree with the President's response to the question that was posed to him concerning his recommending a \$5,500 guaranteed annual income at this time.

Question. You say it is not OEO's job to eradicate poverty. Whose job is it? Or will the poor always be with us?

Mr. RUMSFELD. Well, on the first part of it, I don't believe I did say that it was not OEO's job to eradicate poverty. I indicated that the suggestion that OEO was the "War on Poverty" is misleading . . . and that in fact, this agency, true, is the only one that has as its complete and special concern, the problems of the poor. Nonetheless, it is but a part of an entire Federal, state, local, as well as private sector effort of this society over a period of many years to deal with the problems of the poor. Now as to whether or not the poor will always be with us, I would submit that depends on how one defines it. And whether one in that definition looked only to income or a certain level of income, as the determining criterion.

Question. Are the comments and actions of the Attorney General and the Vice President polarizing the country or bringing us together in your opinion?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I don't know whether anyone can prove whether or not something is pulling people in or pushing people out. But I will say that I have discussed this with a number of people; we all have. It's been a question of some discussion in Washington and elsewhere in the country. And I was impressed. I can remember making an argument for a friend of mine one time who's a Democrat, and saying that I didn't feel he was polarizing because he happened to have positions that were very different from mine; but that in fact, I felt that this individual was being very effective in bringing people into this system—because he was a part of the system, he believed in it very deeply, and his approach and his thrust tended, in my judgment, to bring people in. I was surprised to have a young man who happens to be a Democrat give me essentially that same argument with respect to the comments of the Vice President and the Attorney General. He pointed out that this is a big country. There are a lot of different viewpoints. The feeling that many people have—and let there be no doubt about it, there's feeling in this country of reaction—is that the comments of the Vice President could very likely be having not a polarizing effect as seems to be the general conclusion of so many in the press, but rather a depolarizing effect by providing a voice, by providing a viewpoint that deserves and merits expression in this country. I think that's very likely the case.

Question. A working mother with children recently quit work and went on welfare because of the high cost of babysitters. What is

the status of your Day Care Program to handle this type of case?

Mr. RUMSFELD. We are working with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and have plans for the very immediate future to build on the base we already have in the day care area to try and find out the answers to some of the questions, particularly such questions as how rapidly we can expand the day care capability in this country. It is still in the very early stages. There are a tremendous number of restrictions and inhibitions on expansion of day care. Local codes, city codes, sanitation requirements, education requirements, teacher requirements and all of these matters are being looked at by the Office of Economic Opportunity with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and I would imagine that in the near future some specific research and demonstration projects, within the next six weeks, I should say, will be in place.

Question. A little demanding, this question, sir. How about confiding in us some of the abuses which you say have not yet been spread on the public record and why not?

Mr. RUMSFELD. Believe me, every abuse that I know of that is a matter of record, the vast majority of them. As was suggested earlier in the introduction, I was involved in the so-called "Freedom of Information Legislation" and I guess what's good for the goose is good for the gander. So we have been supplying information to fill requests of members of the House, members of the Senate and investigating committees, as well as the General Accounting Office. Some of the ones I was thinking of are things that I really probably shouldn't here describe as abuses, but, rather alleged abuses. They are pending in various places in the Executive branch of the government that have a responsibility for investigating such matters. And certainly at that point where some judgment is made, then we will take the corrective action, should any be required. And at that point it obviously would become a matter of public record. In my judgment it would not be desirable to spread alleged abuses all over the record and bring unnecessary embarrassment or harm in the event they prove not to be valid.

Question. What is OEO doing to insure compliance with its program guidelines?

Mr. RUMSFELD. One of the things we have done is to recognize the difficulty that existed under the old organization where we had regional offices operating somewhat as separate satellites just spinning loose. And we have combined the organization there so that now all of the regional offices will report directly to Frank Carlucci in the Office of Operations. Through this considerably better coordinated approach, we'll be able to monitor the decisions and regulations that are being utilized by each of the regional directors and, in fact, enforce the kind of compliance that I believe each of us in the agency feels is so important if we are going to get the programs straightened out.

Question. Do you believe that you can ever woo the black vote into the Republican column?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I was kind of amused at that in the Evans and Novak article because it's natural that people involved in politics would think in terms of votes. I must say that my involvement in this agency and my activities as Director of this agency, quite honestly don't have anything to do with wooing the black vote. I just happen to believe very deeply that we're in trouble if there are large groups of people who don't feel that they're a part of the Nation. For us to expect as individuals or as society as a whole, that the conduct of individuals who don't feel a part of this society, should conform to some norms or standards that we in society would set forth, is unreasonable. I think we should recognize that. I would say that both political parties, if they want to

have any future, should actively seek to see that the decisions their party makes have the benefit of input from people who are black as well as people who are white. And people who are from the North as well as from the South. I think that it would be a very unwise thing for either political party to think that it could fill its bag with one or two chunks of the society and forget the rest. So I would hope that the Republican Party as well as the Democratic Party would actively seek to include people of all minority backgrounds in their activities and decision-making.

Question. During the depression of the 1930s people were hungry and fought desperately to work at any menial job. With plenty of jobs now, especially menial jobs, why don't people want to work instead of seeking the easy way out?

Mr. RUMSFELD. There is no question but that a number of things have happened in the society to create a substantial dependent group. This isn't good for them and this isn't good for society. Once one separates out the aged, the blind, the disabled, those suffering from alcoholism or some mental defect, those that are too young to work, there still remains a substantial number of human beings who, if the society were perfect or if they were perfect, would in fact be a part of the economic life of this country. They're not today. I don't know the answer to it. I would guess that government is not guiltless. I would guess that some of those things that we've done have tended to encourage dependency rather than the contrary. I think that one thing we've got to do as a society is to stop thinking in terms of menial jobs. I think we do ourselves and the Nation a great disservice when we, through our white institutions, suggest to people that certain types of jobs are menial—certain types of work are for certain types of people. That is not a healthy thing for this country. It is not a healthy thing for white and not a healthy thing for black.

Question. Someone must have got this in last, so I'll put it in. During last year's campaign, Mr. Agnew promised the voters that the Community Action Programs would be abolished. When will this occur?

Mr. RUMSFELD. Well that's one quote I hadn't heard. And I would think maybe the best way to respond to it since I'd not heard the Vice President's quote would be to point out that when I was still in the Congress February 19th, the President of the United States in his message to the Congress, with no assist from me, announced that the important work of Community Action should be pressed forward.

MODERATOR. I would like to thank you Mr. Rumsfeld for coming here today and telling us about some of the problems you are facing and in recognition of that, I'd like you to accept this Certificate of Appreciation from the National Press Club.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Thank you very much.

WHAT CONGRESS HATH WROUGHT: THE 1969 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 91st Congress moved at a snail's pace, produced a handful of important new laws, and began a debate over national priorities that signals the emerging concerns of the 1970's. I think it is appropriate at

this time to make a brief accounting of the finished and unfinished business of the 91st Congress to those whom we represent.

TAX REFORM AND THE ECONOMY

The most important bill of the legislative session was the Tax Reform Act of 1969. Cleared by both Houses December 22 and signed by the President December 30, this most comprehensive tax reform law in American history takes a sizable load off middle-income taxpayers, shuts several major tax loopholes, extends the income tax surcharge for 6 months at 5 percent, and raises social security benefits by 15 percent across the board. The bill produced by the House Ways and Means Committee was a solid, balanced reform package which dealt with almost all major weaknesses of the former tax structure. The Senate Finance Committee diluted several of the most important reform provisions, such as the cut in the oil depletion allowance, and added several clearly inflationary features of its own. House leaders succeeded in toning down the more inflationary aspects of the Senate version, but the President may yet be forced to ask for more tax weapons to control an economy which is still overheated.

In other action affecting the economy, congressional Democrats throughout the session loaded appropriations bills for the executive departments with more money than the President had requested. Now lacking both the power and the responsibility to balance Federal income and expenditures against the needs of the national economy, the Democratic majority in Congress boosted Federal funds for education, public works, health, social security, and water treatment plants beyond the President's budget ceiling. In the case of education, not only was the administration's budget request hiked by a tidy \$900 million, but the extra money was funneled into old programs which have come under increasing suspicion for their failure to aid disadvantaged students, rather than into high priority experimental programs supported by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Taken together, these overbudgeted programs will make it very difficult for President Nixon to hold the line against inflation. That battle has only begun, and the Democratic majority in Congress is apparently not anxious to give Mr. Nixon the weapons he needs to fight it.

VIETNAM

The session's most important development on Vietnam was the solidifying of congressional support behind the President's policy in the fall. On October 14, the House Republican conference, which I have the honor to chair, overwhelmingly passed a resolution commending the President for reversing the course of the war and seeking an early, honorable peace. On December 2 the House voted 344 to 55 to support the President's efforts to achieve peace with justice in Vietnam. Shortly thereafter the Senate passed a similar resolution, further evidence that the Congress and the Nation support the President's efforts to end this tragic war quickly and honorably.

THE DRAFT

In November Congress completed action on the administration's draft reform bill. Implemented immediately, this reform now allows for 1970 draft calls to be made by random selection, or the "lottery" system. More important in my judgment, the chairmen of the Armed Services Committees in both the House and the Senate promised extensive hearings in 1970 on the entire draft system, with the intent of establishing more equitable and uniform national standards for selection.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

One of the most crucial questions facing our Nation in the last third of the 20th century is whether we want one society, integrated and equal—or two, segregated and unequal. Our society is in danger of being split two ways, between whites and blacks and between the affluent and the poor. Congress in 1969 passed several bills which bear on this question.

After prolonged debate on the appropriation bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the House and Senate agreed to defang the Whitten amendment, which would have allowed southern school districts to continue receiving Federal funds without integrating their school systems. Both Houses also voted to retain control of the antipoverty program in the hands of the Federal Director, giving him the necessary power to implement priority programs over the opposition of established local interests. A greatly expanded food stamp program passed in November, following President Nixon's commitment to eliminate hunger in America. Finally, the administration's "Philadelphia plan," which sets hiring goals for black workers in the construction industry, passed both Houses in late December. This important legislation could become a model for promoting equality of job opportunity among all American citizens.

All these actions represent important gains in the effort to bring all Americans fully into the mainstream of our society. But there was one action which in my judgment represents a retreat, a step backward and not forward. On December 11 the House of Representatives, by a slim margin of eight votes, moved to dilute the strong Voting Rights Act of 1965 by extending its provisions throughout all 50 States rather than continuing to concentrate in those few States where the voting rights of many black citizens have been denied by discriminatory practices. The Senate has yet to vote on this bill and I hope that the House action may yet be reversed.

DEFENSE AND DISARMAMENT

One of the most significant developments of the session was the beginning of a tough reappraisal of U.S. military spending in light of our defense needs and other national priorities. More than 75 cents out of each tax dollar now goes to pay for past, present, and future wars. Conscious of mounting environmental pollution, decaying urban centers, housing lags, pressing needs in health, education and other areas, Congress sliced more than \$8 billion off the defense budget proposed by outgoing President Lyndon Johnson, and whittled President

Nixon's more modest budget by \$5.6 billion. By a margin of three votes the House failed to support an amendment which I offered, providing for a quarterly review of major new weapons systems to prevent huge cost overruns which have plagued such programs as the C-5A transport plane. But this and other weapons systems came under close congressional scrutiny for the first time, and the ABM defense missile system, which received strong support in the House, passed in the Senate by only the slimmest of margins. As awareness of our pressing domestic needs spreads among the public, I anticipate that this debate over national priorities will grow in scope and urgency.

Along with the loud and often strident clash over defense spending went a quiet but hopeful search for new breakthroughs in disarmament and an easing of international tensions. In the Congress this movement reached a high point in midsummer, when Senator EDWARD BROOKE in the Senate and Representative JEFFERY COHELAN and I in the House offered identical resolutions supporting a mutual moratorium by the United States and Russia on testing of a new offensive missile called MIRV—for multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicle—which might dangerously escalate the arms race. Forty-eight out of one hundred Senators and more than one-fourth of the House of Representatives supported these resolutions. On November 17 the administration took an important step forward when strategic arms limitation talks—SALT—were opened in Helsinki, Finland. We are hopeful that progress may be made on several questions, including MIRV, if the Soviets continue to show good faith.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The Nation is far behind schedule in its announced goal of providing 2.6 million new housing units per year until 1978. The 1969 housing bill was small—only \$4.8 billion—but it did include a requirement that for every low-income housing unit torn down in urban renewal a new one must be built, and an amendment which I offered that prohibits restrictions on the use of new technology and materials in experimental Housing and Urban Development programs.

In addition to the important completed measures which I have summarized, there remain several high-priority items of unfinished business for the second session of Congress, which convenes January 19.

THE ENVIRONMENT

During the 1969 session Congress made a symbolic start on environmental problems when it passed the National Environmental Policy Act. This law provides for a high-level planning board to advise the President in the establishment of a national policy for the use and preservation of our land, water, and air. To date a coherent national environmental policy has emerged neither in the Congress nor in the administration. At the close of the first session the only major piece of legislation which purported to deal with pollution on a national scale—the Water Quality Improvement Act—was held up

in conference between the two Houses while Senators and Representatives bickered about who should have jurisdiction over the bill's provisions. Plainly, the question of the environment must receive higher priority in the coming session.

CRIME

It is a hard fact of American life that crime—in both its organized and street forms—is increasing in many parts of the country. Against this backdrop it seems incredible that throughout the first session Congress failed to complete action on any major crime bill. Representative EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, not only refused to take action on any of the Nixon administration's major bills, but pointedly refrained from offering any substitute proposals of his own. And although the Senate Judiciary Committee reported two administration bills, one on organized crime and one on drug control, the Senate failed to act on either one. This problem can no longer be postponed.

WELFARE

High on the agenda for the second session will be the administration's new welfare reform proposal, called the "family assistance plan," which provides for a minimum income floor for the working and nonworking poor, and emphasizes work incentives rather than welfare standards.

ELECTORAL REFORM

In one of the most hopeful actions in recent constitutional history, the House of Representatives on September 18 voted 5 to 1 in favor of a proposed constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and providing for direct popular election of the President and Vice President. The proposed amendment must be passed by a two-thirds majority in the Senate and ratified by three-fourths of the States before it becomes law.

OTHER UPCOMING ISSUES

Several consumer protection measures are now pending in congressional committees. Federal aid to primary, secondary, and higher education is due for review and possible revamping at the initiative of either the President or the Congress. In the transportation field Congress is expected to complete action on major bills affecting airport development, the new federally sponsored SST program, and mass urban transport systems. The space program will be reviewed but is not likely to be increased. Finally, it is my hope that Congress will turn its attention to the serious shortcomings of its own organization and structure: a major effort in congressional reform is needed if the Nation's Legislature is to meet the increasing demands of a new decade.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress as a whole and Congressmen as individuals should both be held accountable by the people they seek to serve. This yearend summary is intended to encourage all who are interested to make known their views on any issue of current concern. Only by encouraging a dialog between Representatives and represented can we know if we are making progress in the effort to give our districts, States, and Nation the government they deserve.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 91ST CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION: REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE FOURTH DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, as we look back on the record of the first session of the 91st Congress we can take satisfaction in its notable achievements.

The Republican administration has accused this Congress of lacking a sense of urgency in acting to meet our pressing national problems, as well as delaying legislative action on many administration proposals. In view of these accusations it seems especially important that my constituents in the Fourth District of Wisconsin be given an accounting of congressional action in 1969.

A close look at the record of achievement will show, I believe, that the administration has apparently succumbed to playing politics, particularly with the needs of this country.

To be sure, many of our serious national problems persist, and much remains to be done in the second session. Yet, as indicated in the summary of major actions which accompanies my remarks, Congress has actually taken the initiative in such important areas as tax reform, social security, electoral reform, inflation, draft reform, air and water pollution control, and aid to education.

In addition, Congress has taken a closer than usual look at administration proposals for foreign aid and military spending, reform of the welfare system, increased consumer protection, and changes in the Voting Rights Act. In some instances, approval of administration bills has been threatened or denied by opposition in Congress from members of the President's own party.

Many of us supported the President in his Vietnamization policy and welcomed the prospect of cooperation with him on constructive legislative proposals. To us, the President's charges of congressional inaction and his claim of credit for accomplishments, therefore, are particularly disappointing.

A review of the record indicates that the administration has been more concerned about the publicity involved in sending messages to Congress—such as the August 11 welfare reform message—

than about submitting concrete proposals for action—such as the welfare reform bill, which was not presented to Congress until October 2. In addition, the President's decision to claim credit for several proposals which have been under consideration in Congress for some time further indicates excessive politicking.

A survey of congressional committees shows that the work of Congress has been delayed by the reluctance of top administration officials to appear before the committees or to issue recommendations on pending bills.

For example, despite the administration's pointing at Congress as the source of inaction on crime control measures, we find that Congress has substantially increased funds available for grants to local and State law enforcement agencies. In this area, as in other vital problems, full cooperation is necessary to expeditiously and effectively bring about solutions.

In the case of reforming our tax laws, the President's belated tax reform proposal left much to be desired. It was apparent that the administration proposal expressed more concern for the oil industry and for big business than for the average taxpayer who would benefit from meaningful tax reform.

The President threatened to veto the landmark Tax Reform Act of 1969 and finally signed it into law only "reluctantly" because of its revenue effects.

Indeed, Congress has also been concerned about "revenue effects" and about reducing Federal spending and the national debt. However, Congress has acted in a responsible way, cutting spending in those areas which are less important and, if possible, maintaining or increasing spending in vital areas such as pollution control where funds are desperately needed.

While we hear much talk from the administration about the need for such decisions and for a reordering of our national priorities we have seen little followthrough. Actually, the burden of acting on this talk has fallen on the Congress.

For example, Congress sought to take responsible action in the case of a compromise increase in funds for Federal health and education programs. Yet this legislation is threatened with a Presidential veto, despite the President's campaign pledge to make the American educational system second to none.

To combat rising inflation, perhaps the most pressing domestic problem facing this country, the administration has re-

lied almost exclusively on high interest rates—a solution which has not only proved to be ineffective but has also placed an added burden on the average American.

Obviously, the problem of inflation is complex and not an easy one to solve. As in so many other equally difficult and frustrating areas, we must avoid the temptation of seeking simple solutions to this problem. Accordingly, after extensive hearings on the subject, Congress approved a carefully thought-out and comprehensive bill designed to help break the inflationary cycle.

Among the intended objectives of this legislation is that of lowering interest rates, thereby increasing the availability of funds to the home mortgage market. Further, it is expected to help the home construction industry and small businesses, both of which have been particularly hard hit by high interest rates.

Undoubtedly, Congress will continue to give highest priority to the problem of inflation in the second session of the 91st Congress.

Certainly one of the most effective means of fighting inflation and also lightening the tax burden is the elimination of needless and wasteful Government spending. In this connection, I have continued to work for reductions in Federal spending wherever possible and desirable.

In another but related consideration, it is also interesting to note that action taken by the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments appears to have had an important influence on administration decisions to give serious consideration to a moratorium on the testing of multiple warhead missiles—MIRV's—to prohibit U.S. use of chemical and biological instruments of warfare, and to pursue more vigorously the issue of American prisoners of war in Vietnam.

It was my privilege to chair the subcommittee's investigations into these and other matters, such as the "green revolution" of increased food production which is occurring in the developing nations.

Many of us in Congress wish that even more could have been accomplished in the first session of the 91st Congress. However, it is our sincere hope that, with improved cooperation from the administration, this will be possible in the second session.

A summary of the major actions of the first session follows:

VOTING RECORD OF REPRESENTATIVE CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 91ST CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION
NATIONAL ECONOMY

Stand	Issue	Status
Voted for	Substantial reductions in nonessential Federal spending to curb inflation and reduce the tax burden	Became law.
Do	\$5,600,000,000 less for military spending than requested by the administration	Do.
Cosponsored	Tax reform legislation to close tax loopholes and reduce the tax burden by more than \$9,000,000,000 a year	Do.
Sponsored	An increase in the personal and dependency income tax exemptions	Do.
Do	Income tax deduction for expenses involved in adopting a child	Pending in House.
Opposed	Extension of surtax at reduced rate of 5 percent until June 1970	Became law.
Voted for	\$4,800,000,000 in funds to bring decent housing within the reach of more Americans and to help develop "model cities"	Do.
Do	Measures to curb inflation and unemployment, including broad authority for President to restrict credit if necessary	Do.
Do	Legislation to make more money available in the home mortgage market and bring down interest rates	Do.
Do	Interstate Taxation Act to establish uniform limits on State taxation of small businesses	Passed by House.
Supported	Pay increases for executive, legislative, and judicial officers	Became effective.
Voted for	Expansion of mutually beneficial trade in nonstrategic goods	Became law.
Support	Additional Federal relief for victims of major natural disasters	Passed Senate.
Do	Measures to help American industries and workers adjust to the conditions of an expanded world trade	Pending in House.

Footnotes at end of tables.

VOTING RECORD OF REPRESENTATIVE CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 91ST CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION—Continued
SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

Stand	Issue	Status
Voted for	15 percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits	Became law.
Testified for	Further improvements in the social security and medicare programs	Hearings in House.
Sponsored	Reduced social security benefits for those who want to retire at age 60	Passed by Senate.
Voted for	Expanded Older Americans Act programs to aid senior citizens	Became law.
Do	3-year Federal drug abuse education program	Passed by House.
Do	3-year extension of community mental health centers program, including aid to mentally ill children in poverty areas	Passed in different versions.
Do	Federal grant and loan programs to build or modernize hospitals or hospital emergency rooms	Passed House.
Do	Stronger health warning on cigarette packages	Hearings in differing versions.
Sponsored	National minimum standards and eligibility requirements to curb welfare abuses	Hearings in House.
Testified for	Welfare reform to make the program more adequate to those in real need and less costly in relation to benefits received by the needy	Do.
Voted for	2-year extension of the Federal antipoverty program	Became law.
Do	Increase from \$340,000,000 to \$610,000,000 in funds authorized for the food stamp program in fiscal 1970	Do.
Favor	Expansion and reform of food stamp program to help eliminate hunger in this country	Passed by Senate.
CONSUMER PROTECTION AND CRIME CONTROL		
Cosponsored	Creation of a Department of Consumer Affairs	Hearings in House.
Sponsored	Legislation to protect consumers against false or malicious credit reports	Passed by Senate.
Voted for	Extension of time for National Commission on Product Safety to complete its study of hazardous products and report to Congress	Became law.
Sponsored	Measures to curb the flow of mail order pornography	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Toy Safety Act to keep hazardous toys off the market	Became law.
Do	Extension of National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act	In conference. ¹
Do	Tire Safety Act to require manufacturers to recall defective tires	Do.
Do	Comprehensive program to increase the capacity and safety of the Nation's airports and airways	Passed by House.
Support	Uniform Federal standards for railroad safety	Passed by Senate.
Voted for	Limit of 12 consecutive hours of duty for railroad employees	Became law.
Do	\$268,000,000 in aid to States and cities for law enforcement and crime prevention programs	Do.
Cosponsored	Creation of a House Select Committee on Crime to study all aspects of crime in the United States, including drug abuse and criminal justice	Approved and operating.
Voted for	Repeal of provisions of Gun Control Act requiring records of sales of shotgun and rifle ammunition used by hunters	Became law.
Do	Increased funds for National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws	Do.
EDUCATION AND LABOR		
Voted for	A \$1,000,000,000 increase in Federal aid to education funds	Approved by House.
Do	Consolidation and extension of Federal programs to aid public and private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools	Passed by House.
Sponsored	Extension of certain National Defense Education Act benefits to private nonprofit as well as public schools	Do.
Voted for	Legislation to make more guaranteed student loans available to college and vocational school students	Became law.
Sponsored	Legislation to improve educational programs in public and private nonprofit child day care centers	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Revision of the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Acts to help more disadvantaged children	Passed by House.
Do	Federal program to encourage the consumption of milk by children in schools, day care centers, etc.	Do.
Do	Strengthened coal mine health and safety regulations	Became law.
Do	Uniform safety standards for Federal construction projects	Do.
Support	Creation of a Federal-State program to promote occupational health and safety	Hearings in House and Senate.
Voted for	Extension of unemployment insurance benefits to an additional 4,500,000 workers	Passed by House.
Support	Additional Federal protection for those who contribute to private pension plans	Hearings in House.
Do	Situs picketing legislation to permit lawful picketing at common construction sites	Pending in House.
Cosponsored	Proposed Manpower Act to help provide the opportunity for appropriate training and employment to every American and to help provide needed public service programs	Hearings in House.
POLLUTION CONTROL, CONSERVATION AND AGRICULTURE		
Voted for	\$800,000,000 in funds to aid communities in building sewage treatment facilities	Became law.
Do	Legislation to upgrade water quality standards, aid in cleaning up the Nation's waterways, and authorize a Great Lakes water pollution control demonstration project	In conference. ¹
Do	Establishment of an Environmental Quality Council to study and recommend measures to deal with environmental pollution	Became law.
Do	Amendment to the Clean Air Act authorizing \$45,000,000 for studies of air pollution resulting from fuel combustion	Do.
Do	Prohibition against the importation of endangered species of fish and wildlife	Do.
Do	Continuation of program providing for the conversion of salt water to fresh water	Do.
Cosponsored	Creation of an Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin	Passed by Senate, Hearings in House.
GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION		
Voted for	Replacement of the electoral college with a direct popular election of the President and Vice President	Passed by House.
Support	More efficient congressional procedures, as recommended by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress	Pending in House.
Voted against	Crippling amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which were proposed by the administration	Passed by House.
Cosponsored	Repeal of the Emergency Detention Act of 1950	Passed by Senate.
Support	Constitutional amendment lowering the voting age to 18 years	Pending in House.
Do	Revision of the copyright laws	Do.
Voted for	Census reform bill, including provisions to protect individuals against illegal disclosure of information	Passed by House.
Do	Federal Salary Comparability Act of 1969	In conference. ¹
Do	Establishment of an independent agency to regulate Federal credit unions	Passed by House.
SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS, NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND SPACE		
Voted for	Approval of initial deployment of modified ABM system	Became law.
Do	Creation of a random selection (lottery) system for the draft and reduction of draft vulnerability to 1 year	Do.
Support	Further reforms in the selective service system	Pending in House and Senate.
Sponsored	Prohibition of assignment to a combat area for a serviceman when another member of the family has been killed, captured, or disabled in a combat area	Implemented by Defense Department.
Cosponsored	Continuation of health benefits for survivors of servicemen killed in hostile fire areas such as Vietnam	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Increases in dependency and indemnity compensation for widows and children of veterans	Became law.
Do	Increased allowances to veterans for vocational rehabilitation, educational assistance, and special training	Passed in differing versions.
Do	Additional income exclusions for veterans and widows receiving pensions	Passed by House.
Do	Continuation of funds for U.S. space and atomic energy programs	Became law.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS		
Cosponsored	Resolution reaffirming House support for the President's efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam	Passed by House.
Sponsored	Resolution calling for the humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war held by North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front	Do.
Voted for	Resolution commending American servicemen and veterans of Vietnam action for their efforts and sacrifices	Do.
Support	U.S. participation in nuclear nonproliferation agreement	Approved by Senate.
Sponsored	Resolution urging U.S. ratification of Geneva Protocol regarding chemical and biological warfare	Hearings in House.
Recommended	High priority in strategic arms limitations talks with the Soviet Union for a moratorium on the testing of multiple warhead missiles (MIRV's)	Reported by House subcommittee.
Voted for	Extension and revision of U.S. economic and military aid programs to developing foreign countries	Became law.
Do	Continued operation of the Peace Corps program	Do.
Do	Increased U.S. participation in the International Development Association	Do.
Sponsored	Authority to open U.S. Information Agency materials distributed abroad to public inspection	Pending in House.
Do	Sense of Congress resolution regarding U.S. policy on satellite broadcasting	Hearings in House.

¹ A House-Senate conference committee meets to resolve the differences between the House and Senate versions of a particular bill.

MARSHALL FIELD OUTLINES GOALS
FOR THE 1970'S

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 23, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Marshall Field, publisher of the very distinguished publications, the Chicago Sun Times and the Chicago Daily News, has outlined the goals for the 1970's which he and his two prestigious publications hope to support.

Mr. Field has brought a new dimension of understanding and leadership to American journalism through the three editorials which outline the highly laudatory goals for the 1970's.

Our Nation's Constitution is unique throughout the world in that it guarantees the press of America complete freedom.

With this unique right to freedom, the American press also has a responsibility. Mr. Field has given that responsibility a new sense of dignity by outlining for this country a program of action for the 1970's which can continue America's great growth and progress and indeed make her a meaningful world leader.

The historical role of the press in the United States has been to lead the way; to chart the course; to praise that which is good in us and denounce that which is evil; to fearlessly defend the cause of freedom and to chronicle the events of man's behavior as they affect himself and the world around him.

The three editorials which set out Mr. Field's goals for the 1970's place American journalism in its most laudatory perspective and I am placing today in the RECORD these editorials for I am sure they can be an inspiring goal for all Americans—in and out of Government.

Mr. Field is to be congratulated for bringing youthful vigor and zest toward a better understanding of the problems which face America in the 1970's. He has boldly charted a series of solutions which, if followed, can make all of us look back upon the 1970's as a decade of great achievement.

The three editorials authored by Marshall Field, which appeared in both the Chicago Sun Times and the Chicago Daily News as an expression of those two publications' goals, follow:

OUR GOALS FOR THE 1970'S—I

(By Marshall Field)

The turn of the decade is always a time for looking ahead, and therefore a time of challenge. For me the challenge is all the keener because the new decade also marks the beginning of my time as publisher of the Field Newspapers.

So it is a good time to think aloud with you, to dream dreams, to set a course toward goals appropriate for great newspapers serving a city like Chicago, in a state like Illinois, in a country like ours in these exciting times.

An old Chinese philosopher spoke of challenge as a two-sided coin with danger on one side and opportunity on the other.

That's how the Field Newspapers regard the '70s.

Far from resisting change, the Field Newspapers intend to ride its crest, helping to guide it to constructive ends, helping to

report it and explain it, but never fearing it. We will not turn our back on the past or forget all that my father and grandfather and their generations have put into these newspapers and this community to make them great.

But we will go on from there—as they would have done—to dedicate ourselves anew in the '70s to improving both the city that they loved and the society to which they were so devoted.

IMPARTIAL NEWS PRESENTATION

The Field family entered the newspaper business in Chicago to provide a morning newspaper whose news columns would be objective and impartial in their presentation of the news.

Equally important was a desire to provide an avenue through which all points of view could find expression.

These are still my goals for the Chicago Daily News and The Chicago Sun-Times.

In the context of today's conflicts it has become necessary to redefine these goals even further.

Objectivity in our news columns and the desire to open men's minds through exposure to the truth remain fundamental.

But as we move forward in our attempts to redress wrongs in our society, there is another truth that is equally fundamental—there can be no liberty without law; there can be no freedom for one man if he attempts to deny freedom to another.

Thus, while the Field Newspapers will continue to support the dissent and protest that historically have produced social change, we will oppose the extralegal efforts to stifle any voice through terrorism, anarchy or violence. We will support those who have positive programs to improve our society; we will oppose those who have as their objective the destruction of our social fabric.

We will use our editorial pages to help you, our readers, get a better insight into issues and to tell you how we feel about them.

POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT

We shall continue to be politically independent, supporting for national and local office those candidates—Republican or Democratic—whose principal concern is using the machinery of government to bring the good life to all Americans.

In the context of world affairs, the '70s is an appropriate time for the United States to evolve mature policies based on the grim lesson of the '60s—that there are limits to its power. Vietnam brought home the point forcibly, just as China and Cuba brought it home to Russia.

The most pressing problem, of course, is winding down the war in Vietnam. And the most compelling reason for getting out of Vietnam, beyond its terrible price in human lives, is that progress in great tasks here at home is impeded and crippled by the harsh demands that unwanted and brutalizing war places upon our time, energy and money.

The constant drain of blood and treasure has done more to alienate the nation's youth than all of the other shortcomings of our society that they find fault with. Surely one of the great dividends of ending the war would be the opportunity to enlist the idealism, the vision and the creative energy of the nation's youth in helping make America the kind of place it ought to be.

NO MORE VIETNAMS

While we must scrupulously meet our foreign policy obligations incurred in the cause of world peace and America's own interest, it is obvious we can no longer afford to try to police the world. We must devote our know-how, good will and energy to positive, not negative, works. To me the lesson of Vietnam is that we should try never to be drawn into another.

Practical help for the underdeveloped countries, unhindered trade relations with all who care to trade with us, communications and cultural relations with the whole world, a place at the conference table for all the world's nations whether we like them or not, ideologically or otherwise—these are the means of striving for peace. In our own enlightened self-interest we must continue to press for accommodations with China aimed at drawing her into the world community. By the same token we should seek diplomatic rapprochement with Cuba as a means of bringing her back into the Inter-American community.

DEFUSE THE MIDDLE EAST

Above all, we must continue our exploratory dialogs with Russia on ways and means of lessening the balance of terror under which an uneasy world is now forced to live. And somehow the two superpowers must devise a formula to defuse the Middle East that will at once guarantee Israel's right to an independent existence and resolve the nagging Palestinian refugee problem. We must, finally, continue to work to strengthen the United Nations.

Next to the attainment of peace, no world task looms larger than finding means of coping with the population explosion. The crushing burden of poverty and hunger cannot be lifted from much of mankind unless the explosion is brought under control through family planning on a scale never before attempted.

In the context of America's domestic affairs there is an urgent need at the national level for a rearrangement of priorities that will enable Washington to concentrate on helping resolve the country's most pressing problems: the urban crisis in all of its manifestations, environmental pollution, poverty, disease and the inflation that beggars our senior citizens as well as others on fixed or small incomes.

While I feel strongly that America must continue to be a constructive force in world affairs, it seems to me that the federal government's first concern must be our own people. Its policies must be aimed at creating a national climate in which economic security, justice and a life of dignity can be put within the reach of all Americans, regardless of race or ethnic background.

Tomorrow we shall discuss these matters as they affect all of us who live in Metropolitan Chicago.

OUR GOALS FOR THE 1970'S—II

All the symptoms of the urban crisis plaguing America are starkly visible in Chicago. In common with other metropolitan centers, Chicago is afflicted by racial tensions and a rising incidence of violent crime that are sources of anxiety and fear for every law-abiding citizen, white or black. Poverty, hunger and substandard housing cause or aggravate much of this seething unrest. Environmental pollution, civil disorders, traffic congestion, inadequate public transportation, escalating taxes and deteriorating services—all contribute to a general feeling of frustration and disillusionment.

Since the urban crisis is national in scope it calls for broad national policies and programs to help the cities help themselves out of a deepening slough of human and physical decay. Surely a nation that spent billions of dollars to resolve a farm crisis affecting only a small part of the population can be expected to commit even more to its troubled urban areas in which a vast majority of Americans now live.

UNITED STATES MUST HELP CITIES

The type of massive financial aid and coordinated planning that Washington might normally be in a unique position to provide has been sharply restricted by the heavy

drain of the Vietnam war. But even with the war in progress, the administration should do much more than it has to cut back low-priority programs and apply the money to the ailing metropolitan centers.

Until such assistance is forthcoming, however, Chicago must cope as best it can with the limited resources it has at hand and hope that the Illinois Constitutional Convention and the Legislature will provide it with more modern tools. Home rule and sharply increased state aid for the public schools are imperative. The new constitution should require the nonpolitical selection of judges, both as a logical extension of judicial reform and as a means of speeding up the administration of justice.

LOOKING AHEAD 30 YEARS

Much was done in the past decade to expand and rejuvenate the city's physical plant—the bricks and mortar, glass and steel, the highways and subways, the parks and sewers and airports that house and service our city. But much more remains to be done. Urbanologists contend that in the next 30 years most big cities will have to double their physical plants to take care of population growth, despite a slowing down of migration from the rural South. In the space of three decades, the cities will thus have to accomplish as much as was previously achieved in three centuries.

Whether or not Chicago is subjected to such a rate of growth—with all the stresses and pain it implies—the main challenge will remain, to preserve the vitality of the central city in an ever-growing metropolitan area. The leaders of the community must dedicate every effort to counteracting the forces that accelerate the flight to the suburbs where, ironically, the quality of life is also eroding. Suburbia, exurbia and beyond are feeling the impact of the soaring costs and declining quality of public schools, as is the central city; suburban crime is on the rise, pollution of one sort or another is increasing, traffic jams become more widespread, and small pockets of poverty grow larger, creating new welfare and health problems. In other words, the problems of the city simply follow to the suburbs.

The constant reconfiguration of the city's skyline testifies eloquently to the building up of our physical plant, both in the downtown Loop district and outlying areas. Promising plans are well under way to further expand the CTA's subway and rapid transit lines, and similar imagination should be applied to devising ways of holding down the already high fares. The completion of the Crosstown Expressway and the building of a third airport, at a site yet to be determined, will contribute much to the alleviation of other transportation bottlenecks.

But against such plusses are many negatives, one of the worst of which is increasing pollution of our metropolitan environment. The deteriorating quality of the environment requires that we make major efforts in the war on pollution as well as in the battles against racism and crime. The Field Newspapers will wage a constant and vigorous campaign against pollution of all kinds—air, water and noise.

MUST BATTLE POLLUTION

The battle against environmental pollution must be won in this decade or it will be forever lost. Every source of air pollution—including the principal offender, the automobile combustion engine—must be brought under strict control at whatever level of government is appropriate to get the job done. The same is true of water pollution. Chicago and the rest of the country cannot rest easily until our lakes and streams have been cleaned up to provide safe water for drinking, swimming, boating and fishing.

As an integral part of upgrading our environment we must continue to build our physical plant with a constant eye to providing

adequate recreation areas and plentiful open spaces, filled with greenery. The further despoliation of our lakefront is unthinkable, and its development in the future must concentrate on adding more public acreage as envisioned in the Comprehensive Plan for Chicago.

Probably of most importance in the whole warp of our plans for a new society are the challenges of education and the transmission and enrichment of our cultural heritage.

Education must be our best and most efficient weapon in the battle for a better city, state, nation and world. This means a new concept of its importance, innovation in its approaches, re-evaluation of its effectiveness and a greatly increased financial investment.

Every child is entitled to a quality education—whether he or she lives in a blighted inner-city neighborhood or along the spacious streets of an affluent suburb. We have learned the hard way that education needs differ in different social settings and that the educational tools of a small-town America are not adequate to our needs today. Using such techniques as are valid in these changing situations, our goal must be to provide quality education wherever the educational plant is located.

UNIVERSITIES MUST REASSESS ROLE

In higher education, the challenge is equally acute. Private universities are facing almost insurmountable financial problems and face extinction without government support—but even with such support their administration must stay in private hands. Of equal importance is the necessity for these universities to reassess their own role and function.

The current period of campus unrest has not produced any great solutions on the part of the students or administrations involved. At best they have produced a series of patchwork armistices. But what they have demonstrated without doubt is the fact that something is radically wrong with our educational process and that our students feel cheated and frustrated by the educational process to which they must be subjected.

Our school officials must also bear in mind the needs and desires of many school-agers for a vocational education that will open new doors of opportunity for them in a world that is chronically short of skilled mechanical technicians. Vocational education must be expanded, and those who want it should not be sidetracked into exclusively academic courses on the theory that "it's best for them."

In the promotion of the nation's cultural life, it becomes increasingly clear that government subsidy is inextricably linked not only to its expansion but to its survival as well. Private philanthropy can do only so much. But even with subsidies from the government, the management of our art museums, symphony orchestras, opera and ballet companies, etc., must be left in the hands of private enterprise. American business ingenuity is far better equipped than government to compete in the open market for the professional talent and artistic works that bring the beauty, grace and spiritual fulfillment that modern man so sorely needs. Such an approach to the arts at the national level would be of immense benefit to Chicago and all areas of the country.

Tomorrow we will conclude this series of editorial discussions with an exploration of racial unrest and crime in the streets.

OUR GOALS FOR THE 1970's—III

In these editorials, we have been talking about the kind of society in which we hope to live during the next decade and the balance of this century. There is every reason to anticipate not only great physical improvements, but breakthroughs in science and research that will improve the quality of human life.

This future promise underscores the one remaining question that must be asked:

Will we be able to live with one another—nation to nation, man to man, family to family—in a way that will make it possible for mankind to enjoy the world which has been created around him? In short, can we learn to live with each other?

Of the challenges that face us—in the world as much as in Chicago—the challenge of human relations is the greatest.

Racism threatens the foundations of our modern society. Because it lurks in men's hearts it is not easily dispelled by appeals to reason or by laws, however well-intentioned the latter may be. Yet it is only through laws, properly enforced, that the basis for racial peace can be established.

NO "TIME OUT" ON RACIAL PEACE

There can be no "time out" on this issue. All of us, both black and white, must work at it constantly.

For all of us it means that the "free and equal" principle enunciated in the Declaration of Independence must have relevance for blacks as well as whites. There must be no letup in efforts at all levels of government to enforce those laws that protect the Negro's right to equal opportunities in quality education, housing and employment. Failure to perform in this area can only increase the black man's distrust of law and government; if we wish him to be a full citizen, we should be certain he has the full rights of citizenship. This principle applies equally to our rural white migrants to the city and to our Spanish-speaking peoples.

MUST STOP POLARIZATION

The blacks themselves have a responsibility to help stop the polarization that tends more and more to divide the races into armed camps. They must recognize that all whites are not racists—indeed, a large and growing number are actively involved in trying to obtain a better deal for the Negro.

The blacks, like the whites, will be best served by listening to the voices of moderation in their midst and turning their backs on those who preach violence and hatred. Ultimately, only mutual respect between blacks and whites will fully resolve the racial issue. The black who believes it is up to the white man to earn the black man's respect must recognize he has an equal obligation to earn the respect of the white man.

One of the most encouraging trends in recent years has been the emergence of strong and responsible black leaders. These leaders, with roots in their own communities, can form the basis for the Negro's emergence as an effective political force in the mainstream of American life. Out of this political effectiveness can come a means of securing gains for the black man, and this will also enable the Negro to deal on terms of greater parity with his fellow white citizen.

WHITE WORKERS AND URBAN CRISIS

At the same time we must remember that there can be no true solutions of the problems that are rending our cities if we do not listen to the middle- and lower middle-income white workers who live in the midst of our urban crisis.

Many of these workers have through years of toil and regular savings been able to buy homes in the center city or in nearby suburbs. But high and regressive property and sales taxes, inflation, the threat of automation, a rising cost of living, street crime and the increasing material expectations of large families have prevented them from achieving their dreamed-of economic security.

If we are to prevent a total polarization between city and suburb in terms of black and white, action must be taken to enhance city living for these white workers who are,

after all, the people who are living next to the black ghettos. Many of these white families are fleeing to the suburbs even at the cost of taking substantial losses on their homes; if we are to save the city we must have policies that will encourage these workers to stay in the city and help build a bridge of understanding with their black neighbors.

One of the problems with the greatest impact on the possibilities of urban life is that of crime and violence against persons. Unfortunately, much of the talk about crime has racial overtones mostly in regard to blacks—an understandable if deplorable situation because from time immemorial crime has been associated with poverty, social ostracism and lack of education and employment opportunities.

THE RIGHT TO SECURITY

Ultimately, the problem of crime will be solved only as we create more stable communities within our city. Meanwhile, it should be basic that all Chicagoans have an inalienable right to be secure in their persons and possessions. The ghettos must be made as safe as possible for their residents and other areas must be similarly protected. This is the function of the police, whose job is not made any easier by the mobility of the mod-

ern criminal and the reluctance, especially in the ghetto, of the victims to identify their tormentors.

Chicago's police force is as fine as any in the country, and the best paid. We hope the numbers of police can be increased. But without the co-operation and full support of the public, the police will be handicapped in their efforts to do the best possible job of detecting and preventing crime.

MUST SUPPORT POLICE

It will be the policy of the Field Newspapers to support the police department in these efforts, while at the same time urging police officials to proceed with speed born of crisis to develop the same kind of relationship between the police and the black community that has traditionally existed between the policeman and the white community. Public officials should likewise be reminded that the function of police is proper law enforcement and not social control to prevent the legitimate expression of social grievances.

Even the most efficient police force cannot cope effectively with crime unless our courts and prison system function effectively. Means must be found to clear the clogged court dockets to provide swift determination of guilt or innocence. The pris-

ons must find better ways to rehabilitate and train their inmates for a return to society as useful citizens, even if it means building more prisons to alleviate overcrowding.

THE PROMISE OF AMERICA

These comments bring us to the conclusion of this final editorial. The purpose of these editorials has been to identify some of the problems we face as citizens of one of the world's greatest metropolitan areas and to indicate as best I can how all of us at the Field Newspapers hope to play a role in solving these problems and bringing the promise of America closer to realization.

We carry on the principles stated in the platforms written by my father and, more recently, by Bailey K. Howard, president of these newspapers, who guided our editorial policies after my father's death.

Many years ago, when my father first presented his Platform for Chicago, he closed with words that I would like to repeat today:

"With faith in a kindly Providence and confidence in ourselves, we should be able to build not only a fabulous Metropolitan Chicago but contribute much to the building of a better world. That is our real destiny and we are honor-bound to fulfill it."

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year. It is followed by a detailed account of the various projects and the results achieved. The report concludes with a summary of the work done and a list of the names of the staff members who have been engaged in the work.

The second part of the report deals with the financial position of the organization. It gives a detailed account of the income and expenditure for the year and shows how the funds have been used. It also gives a list of the names of the donors and the amounts contributed.

The third part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments. It gives a detailed account of the work done in each department and shows the results achieved. It also gives a list of the names of the staff members who have been engaged in the work.