

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded this day to the President of the United States, Secretary of State William Rogers, United States Ambassador to the United Nations Charles Yost, United States Senators from New Jersey, Members of U.S. Congress from New Jersey, and the press.

LITHUANIAN COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY,
VALENTINAS MELINIS, *President*.
ALBIN S. TRECIOKAS, *Secretary*.

LAKWOOD ESTONIAN ASSOCIATION
RESOLUTION

We, Americans of Estonian ancestry, gathered on this 22nd day of February 1969, at the Estonian House in Jackson, New Jersey to observe the 51st anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Estonia, and mindful of the fact that the homeland of our forefathers is still oppressed and suffering under the totalitarian rule of Soviet Russia, declare the following:

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural, and religious development; and

Whereas the peoples of Estonia, and the other Baltic countries of Latvia and Lithuania, have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Soviet Russia; and

Whereas the aggressive aims of Soviet Russia have recently again been demonstrated by the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of the captive peoples for self-determination and national independence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the President of the United States, in fulfillment of the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 416 unanimously adopted by the Eighty-Ninth Congress, to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; also be it

Resolved, That we urge the House of Representatives of the United States Congress to establish a permanent Special Committee on the Captive Nations to conduct a study of facts concerning conditions in nations under Soviet rule; also be it.

Resolved, That we urge the United States Congress to hold a full debate on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. policies; also be it

Resolved, That we Americans of Estonian descent reaffirm our adherence to the principles for which the United States stands and pledge our support to the President and the Congress to achieve lasting peace, freedom, and justice in the world; also be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the Governor of New Jersey, the U.S. Senators of New Jersey, the Representatives of the Third and Sixth Congressional Districts of New Jersey, and the press.

Unanimously adopted on the 22nd day of February 1969.

JULIUS KANGUR,
President.
EDA T. TREUMUTH,
Secretary.

JUHAN SIMONSON,
Chairman, Resolutions Committee.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. ALLEN in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT TO TUESDAY,
MARCH 4, 1969

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday, March 4, 1969.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Tuesday, March 4, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 28, 1969:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Carl L. Klein, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Mitchell Melich, of Utah, to be Solicitor of the Department of the Interior.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Robert L. Kunzig, of Pennsylvania, to be Administrator of General Services.

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Paul W. Eggers, of Texas, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury.

U.S. MINT

Betty Higby, of Colorado, to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Denver.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 28, 1969:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Robert C. Moot, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Roger T. Kelley, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

John S. Foster, of Virginia, to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering.

Charles A. Bowsher, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Robert Alan Frosch, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

James D. Hittle, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The nominations beginning Robert J. McCloskey, to be a Foreign Service officer of class 1, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America, and ending Vincent P. Zavada, to be a consular officer of the United States of America, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on February 17, 1969.

IN THE ARMY

The nominations beginning Gerald F. Feeney, to be captain, and ending Phillip M. Zook, to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on February 7, 1969.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Richard E. Lyng, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

David A. Hamill, of Colorado, to be Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration for a term of 10 years.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MUSKIE AT
ALL-UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION,
OXFORD, OHIO

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

and

HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) spoke at Oxford, Ohio, on February 17 at the All-University Convocation. In the direct manner that is so characteristic of him, Senator MUSKIE spoke

to the students about a matter that affects them closely—the draft—and he invited his audience to take a hard look at the easy answer seemingly offered by a voluntary army that would either be a substitute for or a supplement to selective service. Senator MUSKIE raised questions which have enjoyed little currency lately but which are fundamental to an intelligent choice of alternatives.

Mr. President, certainly the war in Vietnam and the division in this country over U.S. policy there, precipitated the wide discussion of a volunteer army. Those who would change our policy in the Far East, and I am among them, should look for correction by direct change in that policy and not indirectly, through adoption of a new manpower system.

Those who believe we should amend the draft because the present law is inequitable, and I am among them, would do well to reflect on Senator MUSKIE's observations before deciding what course the Nation should take—a professional army or a citizen army.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator MUSKIE's address be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I have had the pleasure of reading the remarks which the esteemed Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) delivered to the All-University Convocation at Oxford, Ohio, on February 17, 1968.

The Senator's comments on the selective service and its widely discussed alternative, the "professional army," are extremely perceptive. I wish, especially,

to bring to the Senate's attention Senator MUSKIE's insight into the probable effect of creating a wholly volunteer, professional military force, and I join the distinguished Senator from Montana in asking unanimous consent that the text of Senator MUSKIE's speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE AT THE ALL-UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION, JOHN D. MILLETT ASSEMBLY HALL, OXFORD, OHIO, FEBRUARY 17, 1969

I am speaking to an audience of college students for the first time since last year's campaign, but I want you to know that the hiatus was not due to unpleasant memories.

On the contrary, some of my most refreshing experiences during the campaign were with college audiences.

Now, during the campaign, this usually was as far in my prepared text as I was able to proceed.

If that heckler in the back row would like to come up and speak for five minutes. . . .

But the campaign is over, and most of the heckling has stopped.

In many ways, it was not a pleasant campaign.

The apathy and indifference of one generation produced a political process that was largely unresponsive to the next.

Emotion-charged issues made accommodation and compromise difficult for some and unacceptable for others.

And for many Americans easy answers were attractive in the face of difficult and complex problems.

Although the campaign is over, I am afraid that the fundamental social and political issues which provoked the divisions remain unresolved. Now we must deal with them.

One issue which is uppermost in your minds is the question of military service and the draft. Many of you feel—and with good reason—that the present system and its procedures are unfair and have little relevance to your goals and motivations. You want to serve your country, but many of you are convinced that there are more productive ways to serve.

On the other hand, in the present state of the world, and for an unpredictable time into the future, America must have an armed force; and American citizens must somehow staff it from among their own numbers.

In other words, American citizens must be prepared to fight for those values they consider worth fighting for; and this will require a military organization staffed by American citizens.

The problem is, "How do we organize it and how do we staff it?" If the solution to the problem need only reconcile the necessity of a military force with the aversion of some to military service and the draft, then a volunteer army is the obvious answer. In other words, we would simply pay enough to attract enough of those who as a consequence would be willing to spend their lives in military service.

But is this easy answer good enough? The easy answers of the past are the root of present dissatisfactions.

In other words, American citizens must be prepared to fight for those values they consider worth fighting for; and this will require a military organization staffed by American citizens.

Are you satisfied with so narrow an examination of this question? Fundamental ideals of equality and justice are at stake. And our democratic traditions and ideals have no small bearing on our answer.

We have not cherished a military force

as a hallmark of our society. We have simply recognized it as a necessary function of government, at least for the foreseeable future. We have believed that its responsibilities must be limited, and that its position must be subordinate to civilian control.

We have developed this tradition and have insistently maintained it because, out of the experience of mankind, we have come to believe that the preservation of democratic ideals and institutions can be affected by the relationship of the military to the rest of society.

And so we have insisted upon civilian control of the military. The relationship of the ordinary soldier to society is crucial in maintaining such control. Under our present system, his commitment to the military is limited. He will soon be replaced by someone else, and the goal of his military career is the end of his service.

When and if a soldier becomes more concerned with self-perpetuation of the army than with going home, society loses its control over the military.

A volunteer army is a professional army, and the goals of a professional soldier are military.

A professional soldier has a limited relationship to society outside his military career. He has a limited commitment to a civilian life to which he does not expect to return. So long as the professional soldier is part of a larger, citizen army, the problem is limited.

There is still another point.

A volunteer army may be more than professional or mercenary. Its creation may cost us more than civilian control of the military. The entire relationship of military service to our society could be at stake.

Historically, the citizen army of the United States has been a responsibility which all American men have had to face. Not all men have been chosen, and not all men have had to serve. But the distinctions have never been based on race or economic condition. At least, that is what we have intended.

The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service recognized these ideals. Its Chairman, Burke Marshall, said that the Commission's objective was to "Find the means of securing the manpower needed by our national security in a manner as consistent as possible with human dignity, individual liberty, and fairness to all citizens."

That Commission rejected the suggestion that the draft be eliminated in favor of a volunteer professional army.

It concluded that such a system would probably cost too much money and would not provide large enough numbers of men in times of crisis. More importantly, however, it also concluded that such an army could become a mercenary force unrepresentative of the nation.

I want to underscore those last few words—"unrepresentative of the nation." A professional army would attract those who could not otherwise find employment. We would force upon the poor by the use of pecuniary incentive the responsibilities which the affluent could afford to avoid.

It would, in some respects, be comparable to the purchase of substitutes which flourished during the Civil War.

There is more to equality than equal opportunity. Equality also involves an equal responsibility to the society. Should not military service in a democratic society be a responsibility unrelated to economic status?

Black Americans re-enlist in the army at a higher percentage than whites because there is less opportunity for them if they return to civilian life. Could not the billions of dollars which we would spend to create a professional army be better spent equalizing the opportunities of civilian life?

There is one other point involved it seems

to me; and that is the uses to which our armed forces may be committed in the future.

If we have a volunteer professional army, made up of those paid to devote their lives to military pursuits, will there be a temptation to use it more freely, or, at the very least, will its use be less inhibited as an instrument of national policy, than that of a draft citizen army?

One lesson I suspect we have learned out of our Vietnam experience—and actually, I think it was embedded in our tradition before, is that a draft citizen army (pulling citizens out of their private lives to bear the burdens and sacrifices of war) imposes, or is more likely to impose, restraints upon the policymakers. The purposes for which it can be used must be such as can command solid and widespread public support.

Such restraints may well be less restrictive in the case of a volunteer professional army. And let us not overlook the possibility that a military action begun with the volunteers may assume dimensions requiring recourse to a draft to meet the emerging manpower needs of an escalating conflict; and we will be back where we started.

There is, of course, another argument for the volunteer professional army which ought to be discussed in the context of the point I have just made. It is the argument that, with a higher level of professional training, and with less turnover in the field (because of the present rotation policy to spread the risks of exposure to combat), the army would be more effective. Such greater effectiveness, it is said, would have enabled us to handle the Vietnam problem with fewer men and possibly to have ended it sooner.

Again the question arises, however—might there not be greater temptations to use such a force?

These are all serious questions we should ponder thoughtfully before opting for the volunteer army as the easy answer to the military service problem.

On the other hand, simply opting for the draft over a volunteer professional army does not automatically satisfy our doubts about its equality and fairness.

The draft, as presently operated, is unfair and unjust.

The draft boards themselves are not representative. Over one-fifth of the members are over 70. Only 1.3 percent are black.

The appeals procedure is sadly inadequate. A draftee seldom knows what his options are, or who to turn to for help and counsel.

The present system of selecting the oldest first disrupts a young man's life from the time he is 18 until he is 26. He faces eight years of uncertainty as to when or whether—he will be called for induction.

Finally, the methods and criteria for selection are not at all uniform, and have questionable relevance to the nation's needs and purposes.

The entire system needs to be changed.

First, 4000 local boards with almost that many different procedures and classifications are unnecessary. We should create regional selective service boards whose members have a better understanding of the problems of their constituents, and who more accurately reflect the region's population.

The boards should be strengthened by the adoption of uniform national standards, more adequate appeals procedures, and a greater effort to inform the draft registrant of his status and the timing of his induction.

Second, all men eligible for the draft should be selected by lottery at age 19, by the fair and impartial random selection recommended by the Marshall Commission.

Finally, when he is selected, the draftee should be allowed to choose among several options for national service—military and

otherwise—which have been determined to be relevant to the needs of the nation.

Pre-selection deferments should be limited to strict criteria of health and occupation, but post-selection choices should be as broad as the needs of the country require and the imagination of our young people permit.

There is an enormous force for good among American youth today, and there is no reason why this force should be discouraged by lack of opportunity.

When we broaden the choice of service, we must broaden it for all Americans. We cannot permit an educated elite to escape military service, dooming the poor—black and white—to its limited opportunities.

Developing service alternatives open to all young Americans will require imagination and initiative. Much of that responsibility will be yours.

Alternative national service should be as open as military service. And its tasks should be no less taxing.

Its aims must not be subject to question or doubt. We should not create a haven for draft-dodgers, a program providing for two or three years of fun, or a series of make-work projects.

We have seen the successes of the Peace Corps, the Teacher Corps, VISTA, and some of the programs of the war on poverty. The young people who made those programs successful have not found the going easy. But they have found that a vigorous commitment to real change in the lives of individual people can—bit by bit—bring about a real change for the better in the world.

If young Americans are willing to make this commitment, they should be encouraged.

We believe in the value of the commitment, and we shall encourage you—

To participate in a system of national service which recognizes that military service is only one alternative;

To develop these alternatives;

To make the choice as to how you can best contribute; and,

To help mount a broad attack on the roots of poverty and deprivation at home and abroad.

It is time for all of us, I think, to broaden our perspectives in this area.

Although military security is a major element of national security, the two are not synonymous.

Security comes from the development of a life for all people which affords each citizen the chance to reach his own greatness. It comes from the development of a society where we help one another in a mutual involvement which goes beyond charity.

It is important that we achieve this kind of society, but how we achieve it is also important.

Our aim is to help people of all nations secure this life, but not to secure it for them.

So our efforts must be consistent with our objectives. Our priorities and our policies should be examined and questioned.

Does our national security depend only on our military strength?

Does a volunteer professional army meet the tests of equality and human dignity?

Individual citizens—particularly you young people—must participate in the search for the right answers.

You have questioned the present system and doubted its relevance.

You have seen the effects of apathy and indifference.

The present system has not been satisfactorily changed because those who have objected have never cared enough to suggest alternatives which meet the tests we cannot avoid—tests of equality and justice.

I think we have the makings of legitimate alternatives before us. But we have to make some choices.

The responsibility is to help make those choices is now yours. I hope you will set a better example.

DIVERSITY OF AVIATION INDUSTRY VIEWS ON SOLUTIONS TO AIRPORT/AIRWAYS CRISIS SAID UNHELPFUL TO NEEDED LEGISLATION — SENATOR RANDOLPH URGES SEPARATION OF FLOW OF FAST AND SLOW AIRCRAFT—SAYS MAJOR AIRPORT CAPACITIES WOULD EXPAND

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in a February 20, 1969, letter to Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe, I expressed the view that nothing in the whole field of transportation is in a more serious status than is in the airport/airways system. Our able Secretary of Transportation, I believe has the same feeling of urgency. And I say here, as I wrote to Secretary Volpe, that distinguished gentleman has the leadership responsibility, and I know he has the courage and the capacity for leadership to match that responsibility.

But, Mr. President, the airport/airways crisis will worsen unless it is attacked frontally—and this means action by Congress on new legislation of major proportions to set up a realistic program for airport expansion and modernization of the airways, meaning especially air traffic control procedures, patterns, equipment and facilities.

I pointed out in my message to Secretary Volpe that I concurred with much set forth in a January 28, 1969, letter to him by the junior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE) and other colleagues concerning air traffic control and safety. It is agreed that we must make for air traffic control personnel those improvements in training, management, and conditions of employment so validly discussed by Senator BROOKE and other colleagues.

Without deprecating in any degree the validity of their recommendations, I called to the attention of the Secretary of Transportation two other large aspects of the problem of the airport/airways system which require attention, namely, the need for:

First, Separating the lines of flow of fast and slow aircraft at major airports, a procedure which probably would do more than any other short-term action to increase airport capacity. The need for attention to this activity grows in importance. It is accentuated by the "unqualified success" of the Eastern Airlines-McDonnell Douglas experimentation with the short-takeoff-and-landing aircraft and related testing of special navigation equipment.

Second, Narrowing the gaps between the extremely divergent positions on program solutions for airport/airways problems by the principal segments of civil aviation—the Air Transport Association,

the National Business Aircraft Association, the Airport Operators' Council and the American Association of Airport Executives, and the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association.

Yes, Mr. President, the various segments of aviation are divided in their positions on legislative programing—emphatic in their opposition to much that has been proposed and much too lacking in parallel thoughts on solutions.

I know from many conversations with colleagues that the Congress is concerned. By the same token, Congress is so confused by the intra-aviation industry differences that it seems impossible to make legislative progress in this vital area of national concern. Position papers by the various users of airports and airport operators and executives give clear warning in advance that testimony by spokesmen for these organizations before congressional committees with aviation and finance jurisdiction would add to the confusion, which has grown even worse than it was a year ago. This is an unfortunate condition at a most inopportune time.

It is my judgment that the widely differing views of the airport operators and executives and those of the airport and airways user groups were not composed adequately in proposals sent to the Congress by the Federal executive establishment last year and thus far this year.

On the other hand, I credit the Senate Commerce Committee with having made a bold and valiant effort last year to have the 90th Congress come to grips with the problem when it reported the best comprehensive—the best compromise airport/airways measure—S. 3641, 90th Congress—possible under the circumstances. But what happened? Few of the parties to the issue were willing to accept compromise and preferred to take potshots at the committee substitute bill. Accordingly, that measure could not even earn a place on the Senate Calendar. In spite of the airports/airways crisis, the 90th Congress experienced frustration of well-intended efforts, and unfortunately, more of the same already is apparent in these early months of the 91st Congress. It is regrettable that there cannot be an arising to confront the mounting crisis.

So, Mr. President, I reiterate a comment I made to the Secretary of Transportation: Congress is in a dilemma created by an aviation industry stalemate growing out of intra-industry positions which have too few common denominators; I will illustrate later by requesting the printing of statements or summaries of position papers of the several segments of the airport operator and user facet of the aviation industry.

Before making the request to have that data printed in the RECORD, I will discuss briefly the need for separating the lines of flow of fast and slow aircraft at major airports.

There continues the congestion due in considerable degree to the practice termed the fast-slow mix.

And at this point I commend a cogent and timely statement by Acting FAA Administrator David D. Thomas, who said:

I am frequently asked why we cannot land a man in New York at 5 p.m. on a Friday afternoon if we know enough to land a man on the moon. The answer is that we know enough, but we have invested \$24 billion in air traffic control and navigation facilities since the Wright Brothers' flight. Perhaps now is the time to invest a few cents per gallon in fuel taxes and a small percentage of the passenger fare to assure our landing at points on this planet at the advertised time.

The fact is that everything has out-paced airport capacity and maintenance and operation of the airways control system except action by Congress on programs to keep pace with the expansion of civil aviation. But Congress needs the assistance of civil aviation in this programing; we are growing weary of having to grope through position paper after position paper in our search for common denominators on a sufficient number of solutions to the problem to justify going forward with the programing that these times require.

Nevertheless, this search must go on. Meanwhile, for reasons which I will explain, I believe that separating the lines of flow of the fast and the slow aircraft is a procedure that should have more attention than it is receiving. I emphasize the earlier assertion that this procedure probably would do more than any other short-term action to increase airport capacity—mainly the capacity of existing airports.

It is recognized that separation of the air traffic flow would not have any real degree of consequential benefit unless the flow separations are carried to the ground at all times, including those times when instrument flying weather prevails. And, admittedly, this would mean separate, independent instrument approach procedures to runways which, in some cases, would be parallel and which might also be laterally spaced less than a mile from each other.

Competent persons tell me that air traffic flow separation need not be projected and postponed as far into the future as some persons declare to be necessary. I am told that it could be done soon after an intensive operational evaluation is made of the procedures involved to insure that there not be derogation of safety. The only real element that is lacking is a decision at a high level in your department to place an ultra-high priority on the intensive operational evaluation.

The fast and slow separation of air traffic flow could be implemented relatively quickly at numerous major airports. It could be done at unexpectedly low costs to the Government and the airport user—costs much lower than would result from ignoring the potentialities of the flow separation procedure and going, instead, to the vastly expensive major construction alternative.

I am not implying that major landing area and major terminal area construction programs can be or should be ignored. There must be much major construction to modernize many airports and to create new ones. And there must be vast procurement and installation of new and modern airways equipment and facilities. But it would seem to be im-

prudent to move into the major improvements program area without having first explored comprehensively and evaluated thoroughly what can be done and what can be saved by separating the lines of flow of fast and slow aircraft.

Mr. President, I believe resolutely that STOL aircraft can be and will be very much a factor in mitigating if not obviating air traffic congestion in the not-too-distant future. The Eastern-McDonnell Douglas test finding serves to emphasize this probability. STOL equipment will reduce air traffic congestion, and it may be a means of changing airport landing area concepts at very significant cost savings. We should be looking for prudent, safe and sane ways to effectuate these savings because the billions of dollars estimated to be necessary to modernize the airports/airways system may be very elusive dollars.

My communication to Transportation Secretary Volpe included most of the comments on this complex and vastly important subject made here today. Additionally, I appended a summary of five aviation organizations' recommendations and/or objections to programs for solution of the airports/airways crisis. Although the divergent positions are formidable and frustrating, they are nevertheless challenging to those officials with transportation leadership responsibilities.

In closing the message to Secretary Volpe, I wrote:

If, through exercise of your leadership, you can reduce the gaps that separate the extreme positions and thereby help narrow the differences between the various elements of the airport/airways operators and users, you will have performed a significant service. And you will have aided in making it possible for the Congress to direct a frontal attack on the crisis of the airports/airways system—a crisis that could grow into extremely serious proportions. You have the leadership responsibility. I know you have the courage and the capacity for leadership to match that responsibility. Be assured that I wish to be helpful.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD position papers by, first, the Air Transport Association of America; second, the National Business Aircraft Association; third, the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association; fourth, the American Association of Airport Executives; and fifth, the Airport Operators Council International, the latter including excerpts from a January 29, 1969, speech by its president, Richard E. Mooney, and an article entitled "AOEI Moves To Fill Leadership Vacuum," published in the January 1969 issue of the magazine *Airport World*.

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

I. THE AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA POSITION
AIRPORT FINANCING CRISIS: THE NEED FOR A FEDERAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

By now, the nation is well aware that the rapid growth of aviation, combined with inadequate airports and airways facilities, has resulted in severe delays at several of our major airports. The "ripple effect" of those delays has tied up air traffic all across the country and the situation can only worsen as

time goes on. It is essential to the health of our air transportation system that a Federal airport development program be enacted as soon as possible. Vastly increased airport capacity is required to meet the present and projected growth of aviation. There is an urgent need for capital expenditures on airports in the neighborhood of \$3 billion in the next three years, and \$6 billion in the next eight years. The airports themselves will not be able to find this kind of money on their own. It has been estimated that roughly half the amount needed will not be available to airport sponsors from any source. Nor will the airlines be able to absorb this vast requirement.

While the federal government, through the Federal Airport Aid Program, has made vital contributions to the development of our national airport system by furnishing "seed" money to assist airport construction, the fact remains that over 80% of the investment in public airports in the last decade has come from local and state sources. Further, the Federal Airport Aid Program expires June 30, 1970, and there is every indication that Congress will not continue to provide any sizeable amount of funds for airports out of general revenues.

On the state and local level, there has been a shift in the financing burden from the general taxpayer to the user. General obligation bonds are being replaced by revenue bonds for airport development purposes. One of the significant features of many revenue bonds, and one which greatly enhances their marketability, is the guarantee by the airlines serving the airport in question to make up in additional payments to the airport sponsor any deficiency in airport revenues which is necessary to enable the airport to pay all the principal and interest on the bonds. The very serious difficulty, however, and one which is not fully perceived by airport operators, is that the airlines cannot expand the practice of guaranteeing local airport bonds to the extent necessary to meet the nation's airport capital requirements over the next several years. The reason is this: The airline guarantee of local bonds is a contingent liability which eats up airline credit at a time when, in order to meet future traffic demands, the airlines, with net worth of \$3.1 billion, ordered \$10 billion in flight and ground equipment and have indicated that they will spend nearly \$2 billion additional for their own facility improvements at airports over the next eight years. The fact is that the airline industry is simply not large enough to bear the burden of their own capital improvements and those of the airports as well.

Airport requirements, as well as those of the airlines themselves, are immense and immediate. What is needed is a Federal program which will provide large infusions of capital quickly. If this is not accomplished, air transportation and the economy which it supports will surely be severely impaired. No airport financing program yet proposed would provide the kind of capital needed in the time it is needed, except one. That is the program supported by the Air Transport Association and introduced as a bill (S. 3641) by Senator Randolph in 1968. The essence of this proposal is its "multiplier effect," which puts much more money to work, dollar for dollar, than a straight grant program.

The revenue from the taxes mentioned below would total about \$124 million in fiscal year 1970, obviously a drop in the bucket compared to the overall need. But, rather than being quickly used up in the form of direct federal grant, if these funds are capitalized over the life of the new airport facilities, the amount of new capital funds generated becomes quite substantial. Adding a 25% local share to these tax proceeds, and based upon 25-year maturity bonds issued at a 5½ interest rate, it is estimated that this device would permit the issuance of a

cumulative total of over \$2 billion in local airport bonds the first year. These are the mechanics of the program:

1. Revenues are derived from a 2% tax on domestic airline tickets and a \$2.00 tax on every enplaning international passenger.

2. These revenues are placed in a trust fund, administered by the federal government.

3. The Secretary of Transportation is empowered to enter into contracts with airport sponsors wherein the federal government would pay installment grants each year over the life of an airport bond in an amount up to 75% of the principal and interest.

In conclusion, most knowledgeable persons in the aviation industry agree that a federal airport program is a necessity. But nearly all the proposals set forth so far are quite inadequate. Grant programs, loans and guarantees have been suggested, but none of them is equal to the monumental task before us. The programs supported by the Air Transport Association is specifically designed to meet the need. No other proposal offers so many advantages to so many interests:

To the federal government, the plan means no new burden on the general taxpayer and no burden on the federal budget, nor pressure on the federal debt.

To the airport operator and city government, it means a smaller requirement for local funds—25% instead of 50%—as well as twenty-five years of uninterrupted grant payments, absolutely assured.

To the passenger and the community at large, it means a massive upgrading of airport facilities throughout the nation—a more rapid expansion of more facilities than would be possible under any other plan yet devised.

To the general aviation aircraft operator, it means no more competition with airlines for scarce space at major airports as well as modern new facilities built for his exclusive use.

To all aircraft operators, their passengers and shippers, and the economy at large, it means an end to costly congestion and delays, and the beginning of a new era of fast, efficient air transportation.

II. THE NATIONAL BUSINESS AIRCRAFT ASSOCIATION POSITION

PREFACE

In preparing its Policy concerning the development of the National Airport System, the National Business Aircraft Association has aggressively sought the views and the points of agreement with officials representing the FAA, airport operators, state aeronautics departments, scheduled airlines, private pilots, airport executives, aviation manufacturers, "third level" airlines. NBAA has made every effort to include the requirements of others to the degree that they are compatible with those of our membership. We are willing to recognize that business aviation is only one important segment of a huge industry. We are willing to recognize that any segment of aviation which continues to seek a system tailored solely to its own measure will not only fail its objective, but will also be destructive to development of an equitable program.

BASIC PRECEPTS

Business aviation is willing to pay its fair share for use of the facilities for which it has a requirement. In exchange for such payments we gain the right to demand a voice in determining the portion of total system cost that represents our fair share. We also gain a right to a voice in determining the cost and in the composition of those portions of the total system for which we pay.

NBAA insists that a necessary prelude to the imposition of user charges is the identification of both the direct and the indirect beneficiaries of a National Airport System.

Once the beneficiaries have been identified, costs should be allocated to them in proportion to the degree of their benefit.

SUMMARY

A \$75 million Federal Aid to Airports Program must be continued. Only through federal contribution can the general public and National Defense interests in a national network of airports be represented.

SEVENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS

In Airport User Charges, on an equal rate base, must be paid into an Airport Trust Fund. An across-the-board 1¢ per gallon fuel tax would more than meet this requirement by 1970.

An Airport Trust Fund, composed of federal contributions and user charges, must be administered according to existing eligibility standards, which exclude terminal facilities.

State and local sources of revenue must be protected and increased in order to match the trust fund. Effectively, there would then be available \$300,000,000 annually.

This program will produce \$2.4 billion over 8 years, meeting the stated requirement for airport landing areas.

III. THE AIRCRAFT OWNERS AND PILOTS ASSOCIATION POSITION

The 150,000-member Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association is circulating a pamphlet analyzing and questioning user charges and, obviously, trust funds as means to be employed in financing any airports/airways system improvement and/or development program.

This is the totally extreme "other end" of the spectrum of diverse positions. The other segments of the aviation industry have some areas of agreement, namely, that there should be (1) user taxes and (2) trust funds, but agree only nominally on details.

The summary page of the AOPA pamphlet, "User Charges: Panacea or Pitfall", is as follows:

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The two fundamental questions are:

1. Is it wise for the Federal Government to undertake programs in selected national problem areas?

2. In the long run, will it be more beneficial to the nation's citizenry to finance Federal Government programs in selected national problem areas by general taxation or by selective taxation in the form of user charges?

AOPA thinks it is wise to undertake such programs and that it is more beneficial to finance them with general tax revenues. This has been the historical pattern in our country and has been successful in achieving progress for our nation and improving the welfare of our people.

However, AOPA believes that the "user charge" issue must be resolved so that energies can be devoted to more productive pursuits. Therefore, AOPA holds and recommends that the Congressional committees responsible for revenue measures should thoroughly explore the entire subject and hold adequate public hearings. If, after full consideration, it is determined that implementation of user charge concepts is proper, wise and beneficial, then Congress should establish broad policies regarding the employment of user charges. In accord with these policies, specific proposals should then be made for each area in which user charges are to be employed.

In its exploration, Congress should include in its consideration the following questions:

1. What categories of programs are appropriate for user charges?

2. What are the criteria for determining public as well as private shares and benefits?

3. What standards should be established for determining cost allocations?

4. What guidelines should be established for administration of user charge programs?

5. What implementing policies and guidelines should be established for general program areas (e.g. transportation)?

6. What implementing policies and guidelines should be established for special program areas (e.g. aviation)?

7. In what ways and to what extent will application of user charges be accompanied by corresponding reductions in general taxation?

8. How will user charge revenues and existing taxes, related to particular programs be placed in individual trust funds for the support of the respective programs on which user charges are imposed?

9. In what way will proper cost accounting for services by type of user and type of service be provided?

IV. THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF AIRPORT EXECUTIVES POSITION

In the February 1, 1969 issue of Airport Report, official publication of the American Association of Airport Executives, it is reported that the board of directors of that organization, on January 24, 1969, "took the initiative in developing definite recommendations with respect to the improvement and expansion of the nation's airport system," and stated that AAAE was guided by the following criteria:

1. The users should pay for facilities provided; 2. the users should pay in proportion to facilities required; 3. the level of funding must be known and assured to permit proper planning; and 4. the level of funding should increase as user demands increase.

In essence, AAAE proposes three sets of user taxes and, perhaps, two or three separate trust funds, approximately as follows:

1. Establishment of an initial \$150 million Federal trust funds, supported by a fuel tax on all aviation fuel used by all segments of civil aviation, for airfield improvements (runways, taxiways, and related items presently eligible for FAAP assistance). This would be accomplished with "a two-cent tax on all fuels of all airport users." (—But the report does not show that this burden would fall on the airlines with an impact approximately 5 times greater than on all segments and units of general aviation combined.)

2. Establishment of a terminal area development trust fund by imposing a tax on tickets or by making a passenger service charge—primarily on the passengers carried by the commercial carriers, but also including those of the supplementals and the commuter airlines. The levy AAAE suggests is a two and one-half percent increase in the ticket tax, which it estimates "would generate approximately \$125 million in 1969." AAAE further suggests that "unless an additional revenue is generated for terminal area development, then a guaranteed loan program or a grant program . . . will not meet the anticipated financing needs."

3. For improvement of the airways system, AAAE makes no specific recommendation as to user charges for support of such improvements, but its report reads: ". . . However, a part of the total cost of the airways system must continue to be borne directly by the Federal Government in view of the extensive military usage of the system. Also, because a significant portion of the amounts derived from a system of user charges must go to airways improvement, the level of user taxation for the airport system has been kept at a relatively low level in AAAE recommendations."

V. THE AIRPORT OPERATORS COUNCIL INTERNATIONAL POSITION EXTRACTED FROM A JANUARY 29, 1969 SPEECH BY ITS PRESIDENT, RICHARD E. MOONEY

One problem which cannot wait is the airport financing problem I have mentioned. We

know that the nation's airports will require some six billion dollars of additional capital investment in the next five years. All these funds simply cannot be provided in such a short time by the present methods of airport financing. The Congress considered, but did not enact, a program to provide additional capital funds for airports last year because the administration and the various elements of the industry, like the seven blind men of Hindustan, had seven different ideas concerning the nature of the beast.

This year the Airport Operators Council will propose a program which can provide almost 3½ billion dollars for airport and airways modernization, financed entirely by user charges. About half of this would be for airport development. The airport operators would then be able to meet the remaining airport system needs through traditional means of financing.

In general, our plan calls for the establishment of two airport development trust funds, financed by an additional 5 per cent tax on airline tickets and an additional 5 per cent waybill tax on air cargo. This would provide an estimated 1.7 billion dollars over the next five years to be passed on by the Department of Transportation to publicly-owned airports to finance eligible improvements or to repay the principal on bonds issued for that purpose.

We propose further that the bulk of the money, around 1.5 billion dollars, be allocated among the eligible airports of the nation by an equitable need formula written into the law, rather than by cumbersome administrative procedures each year. Such a formula could be keyed to some easily measurable factor such as enplaned passengers.

The remaining funds would make up a Discretionary Airport Development Fund to be allocated by DOT to general aviation and reliever airports in the same manner as the discretionary funds provided by the FAAP legislation with which we are all familiar.

So much for airport needs. We propose that the airways modernization requirements be financed by an Airways Development Fund to be provided by a 4 cents a gallon tax on all aviation fuel, including jet fuel. We estimate that such a levy would yield about 100 million dollars over the next five years from general aviation users and over 1.6 billion over the same period from airline users, for a total of 1.7 billion dollars.

We are now working out the details of this program and we intend to discuss it with other responsible organizations in the industry, as well as with the Department of Transportation. We hope to receive their concurrence so that we can approach Congress with a single voice.

There would be no point, of course, in discussing this plan with those who hold to the principle that they must have everything they need or want provided for them by the taxpayers and that they will pay for nothing. Such an approach is incomprehensible to us and we are sure it will be completely unacceptable to the taxpayers of this nation and their representatives in the Congress.

In addition to the proposal for a National Aviation Planning Commission and the financing program which I have just outlined, AOCI will have other specific suggestions to make to the Congress this year on the subjects of noise abatement, the CAB's authority over air service, tax exemption for state and local airport bonds, modernization of the air traffic control system and other matters related to the orderly development of the airport facilities which are so vital to this nation's trade and economy.

[From Airport World magazine, January 1969]

AOCI MOVES TO FILL LEADERSHIP VACUUM
FIRST DETAILS OF THE AIRPORT OPERATORS COUNCIL INTERNATIONAL'S 1969 ACTION PROGRAM

Aviation is beset with various problems arising from the enormous growth rate ex-

perienced in the industry in the recent past and projected to continue far into the future.

Today, the airport—the interface of air transportation—is the focal point of this growth and, in the popular view, appeared to be the “cause” of the congestion which strangled some U.S. major hubs this past summer.

“As inter-city travel by public carriers centers more and more around the airport (with more than six out of 10 U.S. commercial passengers using air transportation), a comprehensive and long-term systems approach for dealing with aviation's growth and its obvious problems is urgently needed,” says Richard E. Mooney, President of the Airport Operators Council Int'l. (AOCI) and Director of Aviation of the Massachusetts Port Authority.

“The industry needs an influx of creative leadership to define short- and long-range solutions to its pressing problems and to get on to the task of implementing them. This is what AOCI is doing with a ‘goal-oriented’ program to meet some of the key problems facing today's airport management and the aviation industry.”

“This new leadership direction of the Council is in addition to the traditional AOCI membership information and meeting services.

“The primary objective of the Council,” Mr. Mooney notes, “has always been to provide a vehicle for its members to solve their own problems individually through an interchange of background information. In addition, though, the membership is also focusing on broad industry problems and searching for total solutions in the public interest.”

“It is only through a continuous interchange of ideas and new concepts among ourselves and with government and other segments of the aviation industry that significant progress will be made toward achieving needed industry goals. Because government and other industry groups are also involved in these broad problems, the Council's aim is to develop viable solutions and motivate the government and industry to action.”

In this respect the Council is giving more emphasis to developing and implementing the “goal-oriented programs” referred to by Richard Mooney which involve government and industry. Most of the principal “goals” of AOCI have international connotations as well as U.S. domestic priority:

1. A responsible financing program for U.S. airport expansion and development needs.
2. Improvement in ground access to airports.
3. Increase in airspace and airport capacity to reduce congestion.
4. New airports development for civil air carriers, general aviation and V/STOL use.
5. Control of aircraft noise and limitation of exposure to it.
6. Facilitation of traffic in current and future aircraft in international service.
7. Encouraging development of large capacity, economical V/STOL equipment.
8. Creation of a forum for coordination of near- and long-term planning within aviation and among all transportation modes which interface with aviation.

Implementation of the AOCI “goals” in the U.S. will depend in part on the reactions of the just-installed Nixon Administration, which hopes to alter the direction of current political, economic and social programs.

The recently-convened 91st Congress, whose legislative agenda for aviation grows steadily, must re-assess the role of the public and private sector in future aviation development and financing. A new era is recognized in both branches of government, and AOCI programs will get intensive consideration.

With this situation at hand, AOCI believes the following synopsis of its 1969 Action Program represents the general nature of aviation's current problems and the direction

in which partial or total creative solutions which involve the Executive and Congress may be found.

“In addition, though,” Mooney notes, “the Council intends to continue a meaningful dialogue both within its membership and with all segments of the aviation industry to attack and muster support for total solutions to these and other problems affecting airports and/or the industry.”

1. Financing

Discussion: The capital cost of establishing a national airport system should be shared equitably between the users of this system and the Federal Government, under a Federally-authorized program which provides, in the aggregate, that portion of the airport system cost which cannot be obtained without Federal assistance or quickly enough at the local level to meet the pressing construction needs to handle the dynamic growth in air passenger and cargo traffic.

The Federal Government's share should be appropriated from general tax revenues and should be equal to that proportion of the cost and expense of the airport system which can be justified by the requirements of the military, the postal service and the national interest. The balance of the costs should be collected, based on beneficial use of the system, from the users thereof on an equitable basis.

Both appropriated funds and new or increased Federally-imposed user taxes should be deposited in a new Airport Development Trust Fund, which revenues equitably distributed to public airport sponsors for improvement of existing airports, construction of new airport complexes, and for expansion of general aviation and, particularly, reliever facilities.

Solution: The Congress should promptly enact legislation to accomplish the above objectives. Likewise the Congress should appropriate funds for the Federal Government's share of airport system costs.

2. Access

Discussion: The American's preference for having his own wheels under him has led to rapidly increasing vehicular congestion on highways leading to airports as well as on interior access and service roads within airports and in parking lots. This preference applies not only to his own car but to vehicles that act like his own car; viz., the rental car, taxi, chauffeur-driven limousine, and suburban limousine.

The congestion is becoming so repetitive and so severe as to constitute potentially a major constraint on the growth of air transportation and the productivity of government and industry investment therein.

Solution: The involved Executive agencies should simplify procedures for and expedite the granting of Federal funds to mass transportation, air and highway access projects at critically congested airports, and program a much higher level of research and development funds to develop and test modal innovations and other new systems for both air and ground access improvements.

3. Capacity

Discussion: The air transportation demand has outgrown the capacity of the present VOR-DME ground-navigation oriented airways and air traffic control and direction system. Congestion due to controller shortage and workload can be temporarily overcome by inserting more controllers into the system but the latter will break down again when the critical points of air-ground communication congestion and radar target density are reached.

The airways and air traffic control and direction system must be reoriented toward automated area navigation control concepts wherein the aircraft is navigated from the cockpit, position reporting is automated, and the controller becomes a monitor managing the system by exception. These techniques

are well known to the FAA and to the industry and have been experimentally operated in the EAL-McDonnell Douglas-FAA STOL 188 demonstration flights in the northeast corridor during Fall 1968.

Techniques to increase airport capacity are likewise no mystery but require appropriate R & D expenditures. Solution of the financing problem already discussed and of the noise, facilitation, and planning problems to follow will permit and encourage development of new major and general aviation airports and V/STOL ports as well as the increase in capacity of existing installations. However, until these capacity increases can be achieved various forms of demand restrictions now under consideration by the FAA must be employed to keep delays within reasonable limits.

Solution: The Secretary of Transportation should request the FAA to expedite the changeover from the present VOR point source navigation system to one which will permit greater utilization of airspace. One such means is the use of airborne computers and cockpit displays to convert the existing navigation information into an area coverage system.

If VOR accuracy is insufficient to provide ample additional airspace by such means, the FAA should then take steps to program a new navigation system which meets these requirements and arrange for the orderly phasing out of present navigational facilities.

The above should be reflected in the position that the U.S. takes in ICAO since at present there is international agreement that no changes be considered in the navigation system until 1975.

The Secretary of Transportation should have the FAA prepare and submit budget proposals to the Congress to implement the area navigation control concepts and associated airways system revisions.

The Secretary of Transportation should institute a comprehensive long-range Federal research program exploring advanced technologies in airport landing area, airways, air traffic control and air ground direction systems in order to anticipate and provide for future traffic needs in the long term.

The Secretary of Transportation should issue the temporary demand restricting procedures outlined in the pending Notice of Proposed Rule Making regarding congestion (FAA Docket No. 9113).

4. New airports

Discussion: New major airports are needed in many areas to accommodate the surge and growth in air traffic. They are needed in locations accessible to markets requiring increased air service and at sites which are also compatible with airspace availability.

More general aviation airports are needed to facilitate this rapidly growing form of travel and to relieve air carrier airports of locally originating or terminating general aviation traffic.

Solution: Where general aviation airports exist on the periphery of metropolitan complexes they must be improved and modes of expedited access to them tested and implemented to attract general aviation aircraft operators and support services to them.

V/STOL ports should be developed as close as practicable to city centers, and STOL runways capable of being operated independently of air carrier runways under IFR conditions should be installed on air carrier airports to increase their capacity by relieving air carrier runways of the demand for short haul and connecting general aviation and air taxi traffic.

The actions recommended in the rest of this series of proposals are all geared to achieving the above stated needs. In addition

they will make possible the improvement of service and capacity at existing airports.

The FAA should expedite the development of STOL, port specifications, rules for air carrier and air taxi STOL aircraft operations and the provision of independent IFR STOL routes in and out of and within metropolitan areas.

5. Aircraft noise

Discussion: Adverse reaction of the public to aircraft noise is the single greatest deterrent to the development of air transportation and airports. Aircraft noise is created during the take-off and landing phases of aircraft operations while in the navigable airspace. The Federal Government has control over the flight of aircraft while in the navigable airspace and the legislative responsibility to provide for the "protection of persons and property on the ground."

Noise must be controlled at its source through research, certification of aircraft and control of operations from this point of view. Research to effect control of noise at its source should be supported by the Federal Government, and penalties in the design and economy of operation of aircraft must be supported by the users of air transportation.

Solution: The Executive should direct the publication of realistic rules and regulations by the FAA in implementation of P.L. 90-411. The rules should be drawn so as to achieve specific noise reduction goals, and all aircraft should be required to conform to those rules.

The CAB should authorize airplane fare adjustments to cover costs of design improvements and operating cost penalties required to suppress noise at its source.

The NASA and DOT/FAA must undertake expedited research to develop technological guides for methods to quiet current and future aircraft and improve aircraft operational procedures.

The DOT/FAA and State Department must request immediate action by ICAO to consider the entire problem of aircraft noise and recommend responsible international aircraft noise certification standards.

6. Facilitation

Discussion: The introduction of 747 and high capacity tri-jet aircraft into service beginning in late 1969 will vastly increase and complicate international air terminal passenger handling and processing problems since traffic will be flowing in much larger groups.

Better and larger international terminal processing facilities will be required, and streamlined processing procedures particularly as respects Federal Inspection services will be mandatory. The Federal Government has already experimented with some streamlined processing, such as the "accelerated inspection system" and should continue.

Solution: Congress should appropriate funds so that the Federal Inspection agencies can budget and pay for the facilities they require at airports serving international traffic. (Legislation authorizing the Federal Inspection Agencies to do this was passed in the 87th Congress, but so far Congress has not appropriated the funds. The results are an awkward, time-consuming process where-in Federal Inspection facility requirements are presented to airport authorities who must then negotiate them out with the airlines who usually pay for them under existing practice. Compromises in providing necessary space are usually the result.)

The Federal Inspection Agencies should support and direct adoption of simplified Federal Inspection procedures, use of magnetic passport cards, combining of Federal Inspection Services under one agency, etc. It is suggested also that consolidation of inspection agencies and implementation of streamlined inspection procedures will result

in sufficient cost reductions to more than adequately permit inspection fees to cover the cost of inspection services.

Funds should be requested and provided for the increased and expanded operation of DOT's Transportation Facilitation Committee.

7. V/STOL

Discussion: In many cases V/STOL equipment can operate independently in lower airspace and on separate runways at current airports without interfering with or reducing movements of airliner type traffic. Thus, V/STOL equipment can augment capacity of existing airports and assist in relieving congestion. However, present V/STOL aircraft are for the most part so limited in size or economic viability as to make only limited use of V/STOL's ultimate capability.

Solution: The DOT and NASA (in addition to the airlines and manufacturers) should allocate sufficient research and development funds to support the research needed (similar to the Federal SST development program where the Federal Government takes the lead and is reimbursed by the airlines) to develop high capacity, economically practicable V/STOL aircraft.

8. Planning

Discussion: No domestic or international industry/government mechanism exists for assuring the "system" development of aviation, so that airspace, ground facilities and aviation technology can be coordinated within itself and with interfacing modes so that the capacity of the parts of the system are kept in harmony.

Solution: The Office of the President should assist the creation of an independent National Aviation Planning Commission, headed by an outstanding citizen who commands the respect of both industry and government with the continuing task of:

Coordinating and keeping in step the long-range planning of all segments of the industry: aircraft manufacturers, airlines, airports, general aviation, Federal Executive branches, local governments, to name a few and with other modes of transportation which interface with aviation.

This body, which should be both a forum for discussion and recommended action, should have as some of its objectives:

1. Development of realistic demand forecasts for scheduled passenger and cargo services, as well as for non-scheduled private, corporate and charter services on an international, national, regional, area and community basis.

2. Development of a national scheduled air service pattern suitable to meet the present and future economic and social needs of the country. (An important aspect of this is the contribution to the development of an adequate international air service pattern also.)

3. Development of realistic standards within which air vehicles should be designed to be economically viable and technically compatible with the support systems that can be reasonably provided in the time frame appropriate to the forecast needs, and socially acceptable in the environment within which they must operate.

4. Development of an aviation facilities plan, both technical and economic, suitable to provide the airways and ground facilities necessary to assure an orderly development of aviation growth consistent with the economic and social needs and the compatibility of the air vehicles.

5. Development of administrative mechanisms by which air transportation and other transportation modes can be suitably coordinated to assure the effective fulfillment of the nation's transportation needs including a comprehensive research and statistics program.

SPEAKER McCORMACK ON "ISSUES AND ANSWERS"

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives made one of his rare television appearances on Sunday, February 23, 1969. He appeared with the seasoned Bill Lawrence, ABC national affairs editor, on "Issues and Answers."

Speaker McCORMACK, a living and lively monument of the viability of the democratic process, spoke knowledgeably on a wide range of current problems. His wisdom, intelligence, experience, and compassionate concern made the half hour fascinatingly educational.

Bill Lawrence introduced our Speaker as "a rich gold mine of information." He is that, and more; Speaker McCORMACK is also a rich and lasting fund of that kind of spirit which has made America the most powerful Nation on the face of the earth. Amidst some of the shrill cries darkening our land, calling the American dream a nightmare, Speaker McCORMACK's words provide a sure and steady beacon of light:

There is a lot we have to do for all Americans. And while I am talking we are all Americans, without regard to race, color, or creed. I am of Irish descent but I am an American of Irish descent. And we should stress more and more the fact that we are Americans. . . . Because we have got to keep in mind that, unlike other countries, we are not a race, we are a people. And the one thing that enables us to maintain stability and living together, so to speak, is the fact that the great majority of the American people love the Constitution of the United States.

There was indeed a gold mine of information in ABC's "Issues and Answers" of February 23; there was also a rich vein of what has made the American system of representative government work. The Speaker's grace and warmth shed a glow of abiding humanity upon his sound political judgment and informed opinion. This is what had made him so special to us here in the House as well as to all the American people.

It is a privilege for me to introduce the interview in the RECORD. It shows again that JOHN McCORMACK is not only our Speaker, but that he is a powerful spokesman for that which makes us a people:

ISSUES AND ANSWERS, FEBRUARY 23, 1969

(Guest: Representative John W. McCormack (D. Mass.), The Speaker of the House of Representatives.)

(Interviewed by: Bill Lawrence—ABC National Affairs Editor.)

The Program is Issues and Answers; I am Bill Lawrence, ABC's National Affairs Editor.

Today our guest is the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, making one of his very rare appearances on T.V. to discuss the state of the Union, the legislative outlook for Congress and to assess the performance of President Nixon in the first few weeks he has been in office.

The Speaker's background covers some of our most interesting history—more than forty years in Congress making laws with seven Presidents, four Democrats and three Republicans, an early protege of John Garner and Sam Rayburn, he rose fast.

He was Majority Leader for several years and the Speaker during most of the Administration of John Kennedy and during all of that of Lyndon Johnson.

He is a rich goldmine of information and he is going to share it with us now.

Issues and Answers is brought to you from Washington, D.C. by the American Broadcasting Company.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has now been in office for slightly more than a month. Can we get a preliminary report card from you? How is he doing so far?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, so far there is not much evidence from my angle that I can give what you call a report card on. The important thing is what his policies will be during the next four years and when he delivers, either in person or in writing, his first message on the state of the union, then we will get an idea, not only on a legislative level, but throughout the country, as to what his broad outlines will be, and his recommendations not only for this year and the second year of this Congress, but for the next four years.

To date, of course, there is not much evidence to make any observation about. However, he did send up the antipoverty message and while he has made recommendations, not transfer of delegation, of two or three of the important activities within the OEO, to other departments, that is nothing but carrying out good democratic policy so, from that angle, why, that is evidence in his favor.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Are you anticipating an early State of the Union Message as such?

Speaker McCORMACK. I have no knowledge. That is a matter for the President to determine and he can do it in person or he can do it in writing. Whichever he wants, he will have the complete cooperation of myself and the Democratic leadership. There is no time limit as to when a new President will render his first message on the state of the union. However, as quickly as possible would be consistent with the Congress knowing his views and his recommendations and knowing what the atmosphere of his administration will be, and enable Congress to get to work more quickly.

Mr. LAWRENCE. A week or so ago we had Senator Mansfield, the Leader of the Senate, on this program. He said that Mr. Nixon's performance so far was excellent. I gather you are not quite as enthusiastic?

Speaker McCORMACK. Oh, yes, I mean I wouldn't apply the word "excellent" to myself. It is human conduct. I would say his actions to date have been satisfactory-plus.

Mr. LAWRENCE. The President left this morning for a quick trip to Western Europe. What do you expect from this visit?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, as far I know from the information I have, he is going over there to exchange views with the heads of various governments and with others, exchange information I suppose to develop a climate. I think that is a very good move. Whether you should have waited a month or two longer is a matter that I might pass upon, but he has decided and he has the best information, and I assume before he has taken this trip he has had the groundwork done for his visit.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, Mr. Speaker, would it have been better, perhaps, if he had laid a legislative groundwork for the Congress to proceed upon before he started traveling abroad?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, I am not pre-

pared to criticize that. I like to be hesitant of criticism of anyone to begin with, and when a new President takes office he has tremendous responsibilities. I wouldn't make any comment that might be construed adverse or even critical of that fact. As a matter of fact, I hadn't thought of it until you just asked me the question. My answer is, he is going to be gone about eight or nine days and in his judgment he thought the trip was of vital importance and I am willing to accept his judgment as to the visit at this time. Although personally—if he had waited a little longer, I think the timing might be better but still that is just not criticism, but just a thought and comment on my part.

Mr. LAWRENCE. You make the assumption without the knowledge that there has been adequate diplomatic preparation for these talks?

Speaker McCORMACK. Oh, we know that. You and I, we know that before the President goes abroad at least there have been preparations made. I would say on a diplomatic level conversations have taken place. We can draw the inference that they have because they should be done.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Now, starting with Woodrow Wilson and resuming with Franklin Roosevelt, several Presidents have dealt in summitry. What do you think of summitry in general?

Speaker McCORMACK. I am answering your question generally. I think a President should only go to the summit after all of the problems involved have been carefully examined, looked into and discussed on the diplomatic level.

My opinion in just a general way is that the President should go to a summit to consummate something that is pretty well established and agreed upon prior to that on the diplomatic level. Of course when it is done on the diplomatic level, it is only with the knowledge and permission and consent of the President.

Mr. LAWRENCE. But you don't really believe in his negotiating personally?

Speaker McCORMACK. I would hesitate to have the President enter into original negotiations because then he becomes just one of a number of negotiators. I would rather have him go in the position where he would have his independent entity as President of the United States.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Over these years the experiences in summitry have been bipartisan. That is both Democrats and Republicans have engaged in it. Do you have the feeling we have ever achieved very much success in these kinds of talks?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, I am not prepared to say that we have not achieved success where the diplomatic work has been done beforehand. I think that President Nixon is going to follow that course. That is just my impression, my opinion.

When the time comes to negotiate, where there might be some definite agreements made, that he will rely pretty generally upon the preliminary steps—and when I say "preliminary," they are vitally important—of the work and negotiations being done on the diplomatic level.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you think that the President should seek, as many do, an early meeting with the Soviet leaders to discuss, say, nuclear disarmament?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well on that, that is all a question again of the climate. As I view the Soviet Union today, with what is happening, it seems to me that within the Kremlin—they are always hard, but they are extra hard now. I think what we might call for descriptive purposes the hard group has taken over control. When we see the invasion of Czechoslovakia, when we see the threats on West Germany in connection with the election in

West Berlin of the President of their country, when we see in the Soviet Union—more important, to me—the revival of the image of Stalin, and as the image of Stalin becomes revived, the spirit of Stalin becomes revived. And then we go back to the life of Stalin and find out what did that spirit represent. It represented evilness, viciousness, repressiveness of the worst type. We only need to refer to Hungary and what happened there, as an illustration of what the spirit of Stalin is. As I see these things developing, I see a hard situation becoming harder within the Kremlin.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Here at home, Mr. Speaker, there has been growing criticism in the Congress of the thin antiballistic missile system. Do you share this criticism?

Speaker McCORMACK. I would rather not get into the question of sharing or non-sharing criticism. The uppermost thought in my mind during my years of service in Congress has always been, what is for the national interest of the United States. When we are considering that we have got to look into the future. We have to realize that the Atlantic Ocean is no longer our first line of defense. We have to realize that if we are going to be prepared we have to be prepared before the fact rather than after the fact.

We were very fortunate in World War II, very fortunate in World War II. After Pearl Harbor it took us three years to recover to an extent where we could take some degree of affirmative on a military level.

We won't have that opportunity again in my opinion. The next world war, if one occurs, will be from 24 to 48 hours and there are only two nations in the world capable of conducting, today, a world war. That is the United States and the Soviet Union. Whether 20, 25 or 30 years from now Red China might, that is another question, but we have to be realists.

I go back not so many years ago to the H-bomb when former President Truman was under criticism for deciding to go ahead with the H-bomb. Supposing we hadn't. We knew that Russia was. Supposing we permitted, by inaction on our part, for Russia to complete that bomb. Do you think they would give us any time to catch up? Not in my opinion. (Announcements.)

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, you said we had to be realistic. Can we really count on a thin \$5 billion system or do we have to go for a thick, very expensive system that would protect us against the Soviet Union?

Speaker McCORMACK. I haven't formed my opinion yet, but I do know one thing, that the dominating thought in my mind is the national interest of the United States. I do know that I never want to see the day where an enemy—without mentioning any particular country—and I will do it; the Soviet Union is our potential enemy today, immediately—would be in a position where they had an offensive military system that could dominate us, that could dominate the situation, and where we were defenseless.

Unlike our situation 20 years ago when we were the most powerful nation militarily, we exercised it as a trust for peace, but the Soviet Union, as long as they are dominated by the Communist ideology, would not do that in the case of ourselves, in my opinion, or any other country.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you see any prospect this year for the tax cut that Mr. Nixon promised in the campaign?

Speaker McCORMACK. I cannot see it. I think that the surtax has got to be extended. As a matter of fact, I might shock some people listening in. When the surtax was proposed, I thought it should be \$20 billion instead of \$10 billion so we could take care of our domestic obligations as well as South Vietnam.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, would you favor a tax increase now?

Speaker McCORMACK. Not at this present time. It is not necessary. I am discussing back two years ago. At this time I don't think that is necessary.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you have any new hope for an early settlement in Vietnam?

Speaker McCORMACK. That depends upon North Vietnam and, in back of them, the advice they get in whole or in part, or in combination or separately from the Soviet Union and Red China. There is no question about it. Until both of them can get together—until they want to enter into negotiations from an understanding angle, there will be no settlement because where two or more persons are involved, you can't have a one-person settlement.

Mr. LAWRENCE. What about the draft? Do you see Congress doing anything this year toward the volunteer Army that Mr. Nixon urged?

Speaker McCORMACK. I cannot see that this year. I am not prepared to say about the future. The one thought in my mind on that would be that we would have to maintain exclusively a powerful professional Army. Now, with our representative government, our democratic institutions of government, and, while I wouldn't expect it to happen, it could be a menace to the very existence of government if we eliminated what has always been a very important element in American life, the citizen soldier.

Mr. LAWRENCE. In his last Message to Congress, Mr. Johnson recommended a sizable increase in social security. During the campaign Mr. Nixon urged that social security be tied to the cost of living increases.

Do you see any raise in social security this year?

Speaker McCORMACK. I think there will be. Mr. LAWRENCE. How much?

Speaker McCORMACK. I am not prepared to say that at the present time, but I think there will be an increase in social security. There might also be an increase in the amount that a person can earn who is receiving a non-contributory pension.

Mr. LAWRENCE. And still get their pension?

Speaker McCORMACK. That is one way of helping, yes.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Fifteen years after the historic Supreme Court decision against school desegregation, it is still not an accomplished fact in many places. What more can the Congress do?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, the Congress has passed very effective legislation. It is a question of the implementation of that legislation by the Executive Branch in administering the laws that we have passed. I am not saying there is not additional legislation that we might not pass, but we have passed several civil rights bills in the last four or five years, and the last one we passed last year was a very excellent one relating to open housing, and I had quite a lot to do with that in the House, in determining that we wouldn't go to conference, which was vitally important, because if we went to conference the bill probably never would have passed, having the House concur in the Senate amendments.

There is a lot we have to do for all Americans. And while I am talking, we are all Americans, without regard to race, color or creed. I am of Irish descent but I am an American of Irish descent. And we should stress more and more the fact that we are Americans. All groups that make up the American society. Because we have got to keep in mind that, unlike other countries, we are not a race, we are a people. And the one thing that enables us to maintain stability and living together, so to speak, is the fact that the great majority of the American people love the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. LAWRENCE. How about space, Mr. Speaker, now that we are about to go to the moon? Do we need all this money that we have been voting for space?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, I happen to be, be, with former President Johnson when he was Leader in the Senate, the two authors of the bill establishing NASA. I was Chairman of the House Select Committee. I think that there is a clear case made out for it. Whether at a particular time we should, with other necessities confronting us, we should enter into large expenditures—I think landing on the moon is all right, we are pretty well established along that line—but on other planets. But the one thing we always have to keep watch on is the use of outer space for military purposes.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you favor this?

Speaker McCORMACK. I certainly favor all means that will assure the preservation and protection of the United States of America and of our people that the circumstances and the conditions demand.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Which might or might not include the use of space?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, if another nation is experimenting in the field of space from a military angle, I think we would be remiss in our duty to the people if we did not, as a nation, take steps to defend ourselves in case of attack.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, let's talk a little party politics. We are almost out of time. How do you see the '72 Democratic race shaping up, and do you think your fellow Massachusetts Democrat, Teddy Kennedy, will have a run at it, and will you support him?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, I would rather come to the next election first.

Mr. LAWRENCE. We only have a very few seconds, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker McCORMACK. I think we are going to have a Democratic House next time. I thought so at the last election. In '72 there is going to be a lot of water go over the dam or under the dam, whatever you want to call it, between now and '72. You cannot underestimate the personality and the character and the qualities of leadership and the profound impression that Senator Kennedy has upon the American people and you cannot underestimate either Vice President Humphrey or Senator Muskie.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, I am not quite clear from that last answer whether you said you would support Senator Kennedy or not.

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, I said in 1972 we don't know what is going to develop, and I would say that, if Senator Kennedy is a candidate in 1972, he would be a very formidable candidate. I don't think it is wise or friendly to anyone to undertake to answer what he is liable to do in 1972.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, I have a view that he might even wait it out, that he might wait another four years. Has this occurred to you?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, that is all the more reason for the answer I gave to your previous question.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, what do you think of this proposal, or this action that the Democratic National Committee has taken in establishing its own kind of policy council that is going to be headed by Vice President Humphrey? Is this a good idea?

Speaker McCORMACK. I have no objections to it. I think it is all right.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Your predecessor, Mr. Rayburn, strongly objected to it during the Eisenhower administration and so did Senator Johnson.

Speaker McCORMACK. I think we should get the view of all interested persons. I wouldn't want to become a part of a group because then I would just become one of many. But I think that—and also on the establishment of the two committees that

Senator Harris has established, of which Senator McGovern is the head of one and—

Mr. LAWRENCE. That is to kind of restructure the party.

Speaker McCORMACK. And the chairman of the other committee, I think those are desirable steps.

Mr. LAWRENCE. What about any chance—

Speaker McCORMACK. Jim O'Hara—and you couldn't get a better man than either one of them. One thing about Senator McGovern, he certainly showed his loyalty to the Democratic party and Jim O'Hara is one of the finest legislators that I have ever served with, and a great Democrat.

Mr. LAWRENCE. What prospects do you see for any reform in the Electoral College at this session?

Speaker McCORMACK. If we are going to get it, we have got to get it now. I think the last election showed the necessity for it. I would like to have, naturally, seen Vice President Humphrey win, but I am most thankful that we didn't have to go into the House.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, it was a close call.

Speaker McCORMACK. If we went into the House, that could have caused a divisiveness among our people that might have been harmful to the very existence of our institutions of government. I don't say it would destroy, but it would have repercussions that would last or could last for decades to come, and I am for a change in the electoral system, the college system, but I am practical enough to know if we don't get it within these two years, then the chances commence to dim.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, are we going to almost have to go with the plans the President has recommended to get it passed?

Speaker McCORMACK. Well, I would favor personally the direct election of the President by the people and President Nixon clearly showed that in his message to the Congress the other day. Then he recognizes in that the fact that that probably couldn't be accomplished and he recommended the substitute, the proportional theory.

Now, I would have felt happy if he had recommended the direct election by the people, without the reference to the other—and I don't say this in any critical sense—because then the forces would get behind that, which is the clear way of the meeting of the problem, and if we couldn't do it, then we would be in a better position to bring about a compromise that would be stronger in connection with strengthening the Electoral College.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, you have sat in on these bipartisan conferences with Mr. Nixon, a few of them. Your predecessor, Speaker Rayburn, found it easy to cooperate with President Eisenhower because he was so high above politics.

Speaker McCORMACK. So did I. My dear friend, Sam Rayburn, and I, and President Johnson, when he was leader. We didn't do that idly when President Eisenhower became President. We decided we were going to assume the role of a political party in the United States, to be constructive and affirmative and to support the President when we agreed with him.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Is that your same stand now with Mr. Nixon?

Speaker McCORMACK. Same stand exactly. That is the only proper position for any political party under constitutional government, as distinguished from parliamentary government, to follow.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you find these bipartisan meetings are productive and open to questioning?

Speaker McCORMACK. Oh, yes.

Mr. LAWRENCE. You don't have any complaints?

Speaker McCORMACK. Oh, yes. You can't ask as many questions as you could ask if you were sitting as a member of a committee with a witness before you, but you can ask

questions. You can question the member who was there at the time. You have to have a regard for that. If you ask three questions, you might ask one too many, but if you have some pointed questions you can ask them and you have an opportunity of presenting your views.

We had a meeting the other day with President Nixon in connection with his trip abroad. There is plenty of opportunity for everyone there to ask a question or to express their views, and the same way with President Johnson or any other President.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, for being with us on Issues and Answers.

Speaker McCORMACK. I am very happy.

CORN PRODUCTION AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Hon. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to the first definitive study of the impact of the corn industry on our national economy.

The material which follows is the product of some excellent work by the staff of the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The study was prepared at my request, as a result of an inquiry from the Corn Refiners Association, Inc., the Washington-based trade association for the wet-milling corn industry.

The report used 1967 as the base year for examination. Its findings were surprising even to those of us long acquainted with the production and distribution of corn and corn products. For example, when measured on a final use basis, corn accounted for nearly 1 percent of our gross national product—a total of about \$5.4 billion in the year studied.

The impact of corn production and marketing was even more impressive on an employment basis. Some 1,195,000 man-years of employment were involved in 1967 in the growing, transporting, storing, and processing of corn—1.6 percent of all civilian employment in the United States.

The study also reveals that nearly 1 dollar in every 20 spent by consumers on food or beverages is for corn or a corn product.

From the farmer's point of view, corn is ranked fourth in receipts from marketings of farm products, being exceeded by beef cattle, dairy products, and hogs. As might be expected, receipts from the sale of corn in the corn-producing States account for a major share of farm income. A table in the report shows that my home State of Illinois leads the Nation in the dollar value of cash receipts from corn marketings and also in the percentage of total farm receipts attributable to corn.

I ask unanimous consent that the Economic Research Service's study entitled "Corn and the National Economy" be printed in the RECORD.

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

CORN AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY SUMMARY

Corn production and marketing involved some 1,195,000 man-years of employment in 1967. This was 1.6 percent of total civilian employment in the United States. This man-year figure indicates employment in processing, transportation, storage, and distribution of corn and its products as well as employment in corn production on the farm and in supplying industries such as fertilizer and machinery.

Corn production accounted for 354,000 man-years—approximately 234,000 on the farm and 120,000 in the supplying industries such as fertilizer and machinery.

Feeding corn directly and as part of a mixed-feed preparation in the production of livestock and livestock products resulted in approximately 552,000 man-years of employment.

Corn processing involved about 91,000 man-years of employment, primarily in the prepared mill feeds and malt liquors industries. Storage, transportation and distribution accounted for some 189,000 man-years, a large part of which was involved in retailing products to the consumer.

Federal Government programs represent the equivalent of about 8,800 man-years of employment, primarily in the corn operations of the Feed Grain program and grading and inspection of corn by ASCS and C&MS respectively. State Agricultural Experiment Stations provided about 500 man-years of employment in corn research.

LIMITATIONS OF THE ESTIMATES

1. The employment data presented here are very rough approximately. It is virtually impossible to isolate the influence of an individual commodity in our complex economy with complete confidence in the results. The basic statistical materials at hand cover entire industries in which corn is only one of many commodities involved. Considerable judgment is involved in allocating that part of employment attributable to corn and its products. These data do, however, indicate the general magnitude of the employment involved. Notes are attached describing the procedure used.

2. The figures represent full-time equivalent man-years of employment. This understates very substantially the actual number of workers involved part-time in the various stages of corn production, processing, etc. For example, the latest estimates indicate that about 1,531,000 farms produce corn, compared with the 234,000 man-years of full-time employment on farms allocated to corn production. Similarly, in the other stages, such as transportation and retailing, corn and its products represent only a small fraction of the wide range of commodities handled.

3. The estimates cover employment directly concerned with corn and its products. It should be noted that employment and purchasing power generated by activity related to corn provides employment and purchasing power in still other industries, such as the automobile industry. We have not been able to measure all such indirect effects, but some rather tenuous estimates indicate additional employment indirectly related to corn production only, amounted to about 180,000 jobs.

4. The data are for the Nation as a whole. It should be noted that in some States, such as Illinois and Indiana where corn accounts for over one-fifth of total cash farm receipts, the impact of corn on the local economies is much greater than for the United States as a whole.

Background materials

In 1967, corn farmers marketed an estimated 2,340 million bushels of corn valued at over \$2.6 billion. Receipts from corn constituted 6.2 percent of total cash receipts by farmers from the sale of all farm products. Corn ranked fourth among all farm products in receipts from marketings, being exceeded by beef cattle 24.7 percent, dairy products 13.5 percent and hogs 8.8 percent. In addition, corn producers who participated in the 1967 Feed Grain Program earned price support and diversion payments totaling \$730 million. Most of these payments were made by the end of the 1967 calendar year. In the principal corn producing States, receipts from the sale of corn are substantially larger relative to total receipts from farm products, accounting for 26 percent of all cash receipts in Illinois, 21 percent in Indiana, 14 percent in Iowa and Nebraska and 13 percent in Ohio (Table 1).

Consumers in the United States spent about \$4.7 billion in 1967 on corn products, nearly 4.3 percent of total consumer expenditures for food and alcoholic beverages.

During calendar year 1967 some 526 million bushels of corn in the form of corn and cornmeal were exported, 22 percent of the total marketed by farmers. The value of corn and corn products moving into final use either domestically or abroad totaled about \$5.4 billion, nearly .7 percent of the gross national product. Thus, the share of corn and corn products in our national economy measured on a value or dollar basis is less than one-half that on an employment basis.

Employment associated with corn production

Employment associated with the production of corn, that is, before it moves into the various channels of distribution consists of the direct labor of farm operators, family workers, and hired workers who perform the various operations on the farm, and the labor used to produce and distribute supplies and services used in the production of corn. In 1967, an estimated 234,000 man-years of labor were employed directly in the production of corn (Table 2). Another 120,000 man-years of employment were estimated to be required in industries producing fertilizer, insecticides, tractors and other farm machinery and parts, fuel and other goods and services used in the production of corn.

Employment associated with processing

About 80 percent of the U.S. corn crop is utilized as livestock feed and about 8 percent goes into the production of food products such as cornmeal, corn syrup and alcoholic beverages. Small amounts are used in making industrial alcohol. Taken together these make up the corn processing activity. The activities of storing, processing, and distribution require substantial labor inputs to move the corn or products made from corn through the channels of trade and into the hands of final users.

Employment associated with feeding corn in the production of livestock and livestock products is estimated at about 552,000 man-years. Meat animals are most important in this corn-feed-employment association representing 53 percent of the total. Dairy products, poultry and eggs and other livestock and products represent 30, 13 and 4 percent respectively (Table 3).

Employment associated with the processing of corn and corn products in 1967 is about 91,000 man-years. The bulk of such employment was in the manufacture of prepared mill feed and malt liquors (Table 4).

Employment associated with storage, transportation and distribution

The functions of storing, transporting, exporting, and distributing corn and corn products required an estimated 189,000 man-years of employment in the United States in

1967. Employment in retail trade—retail bakeries, grocery stores, and eating places—accounted for about 101,000 or over 53 percent of the total (Table 5).

TABLE 1.—CASH RECEIPTS FROM MARKETINGS OF CORN, BY STATES, 1967

State	Dollar amounts in millions	
	Cash receipts from sale of corn ¹	Percentage of total cash receipts from farm marketings
Illinois.....	\$666.5	26.3
Iowa.....	475.9	13.8
Indiana.....	294.4	21.1
Nebraska.....	238.5	13.7
Minnesota.....	177.7	9.7
Ohio.....	164.6	13.3
Missouri.....	95.7	7.1
North Carolina.....	63.3	4.9
South Dakota.....	50.0	5.4
Georgia.....	48.4	4.6
Michigan.....	47.6	5.6
Kansas.....	44.0	2.9
Wisconsin.....	40.7	2.8
Kentucky.....	34.6	4.2
Maryland.....	25.7	7.8
Pennsylvania.....	23.5	2.7
California.....	22.9	.5
Virginia.....	16.1	3.1
Colorado.....	16.0	1.8
Alabama.....	15.5	2.7
Tennessee.....	14.1	2.3
South Carolina.....	13.0	3.1
Texas.....	12.3	.5
Delaware.....	12.2	9.2
Florida.....	11.2	1.0
New York.....	8.9	.9
Mississippi.....	3.7	.4
New Jersey.....	3.4	1.3
North Dakota.....	2.5	.3
Louisiana.....	2.3	.3
Washington.....	1.8	.2
Arkansas.....	1.0	.1
Idaho.....	.9	.1
Arizona.....	.7	.1
Oregon.....	.6	.1
Wyoming.....	.6	.3
West Virginia.....	.5	.5
Oklahoma.....	.5	(*)
New Mexico.....	.3	.1
Montana.....	.1	.1

¹ Includes loans made or guaranteed by CCC and purchases under price support programs.
² Less than 0.05 percent.

TABLE 2.—Employment provided by corn production, 1967

Industry:	Estimated employment (man-years)
Farming (direct labor).....	234,000
Supply and service industries:	
Chemicals, fertilizer, pesticides.....	24,300
Machinery parts, fuel and electric energy.....	4,100
Miscellaneous repair services and maintenance construction.....	22,300
Wholesale, retail trade, railroad and truck transportation.....	45,700
New machinery (tractor, trucks, other).....	18,000
New construction.....	5,600
Total.....	120,000
Total number of employees dependent on corn directly on farms and in the supplying industries.....	354,000

TABLE 3.—Employment associated with feeding corn in the production of livestock and livestock products, 1967

Industry:	Estimated employment (man-years)
Meat animals.....	292,800
Poultry and eggs.....	68,900
Dairy products.....	166,200
Other livestock and products.....	23,700
Total.....	551,600

TABLE 4.—Employment associated with processing of corn and corn products, 1967

Industry:	Estimated employment (man-years)
Flour, flour mixes and meal.....	2,400
Prepared mill feed.....	35,800
Cereal breakfast foods.....	2,500
Wet corn milling.....	12,200
Malt liquors.....	23,300
Distilled liquors and alcohol.....	15,000
Total.....	91,200

TABLE 5.—Employment associated with storing, transporting and distributing corn and corn products, 1967

Function:	Estimated employment (man-years)
Country elevators, terminal elevators and public warehousing.....	19,800
Transportation.....	35,000
Wholesaling (corn products).....	31,700
Retailing (grocery, restaurant and retail bakery).....	101,300
Other (building).....	1,300
Total.....	189,100

Employment associated with Government activities

Activities of the Federal Government provide about 8,800 man-years of employment directly related to corn. Corn research, which includes pest and disease control, biological, production and marketing efficiency, provides about 500 man-years; corn diversion and price support programs provide about 5,960 man-years; grading and inspection provides 2,100 man-years, and Federal crop insurance on corn provides nearly 250 man-years. In addition to Federal employment, State agricultural experiment stations devote about 500 man-years to corn research.

Notes on sources of data and methods used

1. Employment associated with corn production

The estimated man-hours of farm labor used in the production of corn for 1967 are from unpublished estimates of the Production Resources Branch, ERS. Estimated employment in supply industries is based on data obtained from the 1958 Census of Manufacturers and unpublished reports of the Agricultural-Industrial Relations Study, 1958, ERS.

Direct labor requirements for the production of corn in 1967 were converted to man-years by dividing the man-hours of farm labor used in the production of corn by the average annual hours per farm worker for all farm work. Estimated average annual hours per farm worker for all farm work are obtained by dividing the ERS published estimates of man-hours of labor used for all farm work, by SRS published estimates of farm employment.

The producers' value of inputs from the major supplying industries into corn farms in 1958 as obtained from the Agricultural-Industrial Relations Study were converted to total inputs in terms of man-years of employment on the basis of the ratio of total employment to the value of output in these industries as reported in the 1958 Census of Manufacturers. These were then extrapolated to 1967 using indexes of productivity changes in the corn sector and the supplying sectors and indexes of changes in the acreage and production of corn.

2. Employment Associated With Processing Corn

Estimated employment in 1967 in the major industries processing corn was obtained from *Employment and Earnings Statistics for the United States, 1909-67*, BLS, October 1967. Employment in the livestock

and livestock products industries was obtained from the man-hour estimates published in *Changes in Farm Production and Efficiency, 1968*, Statistical Bulletin No. 233, USDA, converted to man-years as stated above for corn production. Employment in industries allocable to corn was based on the estimated ratio of value of corn inputs to total grain and other agricultural and non-agricultural inputs into these industries as indicated by unpublished estimates of the 1963 Interindustry Relations Study.

3. Employment Associated With Storage, Transportation and Distribution

A. Country elevators, terminal elevators, and public warehousing:—Total employment in these facilities as reported in the 1963 Census of Business was extrapolated to a 1967 level based on trends in employment in these businesses as shown in *Employment and Earnings Statistics for the United States, 1909-67*, BLS, October 1967.

Corn related employment in country and terminal elevators and public warehousing is assumed to be proportional to the ratio of corn to total grain marketings from farms. Quantity of corn and other grain marketings is from unpublished data from the Farm Income Branch of ERS.

B. Construction.—Construction related employment in the corn and corn product processing industries was obtained by extrapolating a 1963 estimated to 1967 on the basis of the change in the composite construction cost indexes and the change in the output per man-hour indexes for non-farm industries between 1963 and 1967.

New capital expenditures made by corn processing industries for structures and additions in 1963, from the 1963 Census of Manufacturers, were divided by an imputed cost of construction per employee to arrive at an estimate of total employment required for these new capital expenditures. Corn related employment for such construction assumes that employment for construction activities are similar to processing activities mentioned above. Cost of construction per employee in 1963 was estimated by dividing the value of new construction activity, from the 1968 Economic Report of the President, by contract construction employment from *Employment and Earnings Statistics for the United States, 1909-67*, BLS, October 1967.

Composite construction cost indexes are from the *Survey of Current Business*, United States Department of Commerce and output per man-hour indexes are shown in the 1968 Economic Report of the President.

SRS reported a net decrease of 50 million bushels of off-farm grain storage capacity during calendar year 1967. Also, the Inventory Management Division of ASCS indicated that demand for grain storage space declined early in the year because large shipments of grain moved to India. These facts led to the assumption that there was no employment associated with the construction of storage facilities for corn in 1967.

C. Transportation.—Estimates of employees engaged in transportation of corn were based on tonnages of corn and corn products shipped as reported in (1) *Freight Commodity Statistics of Class I Railroads for 1965* by the Interstate Commerce Commission, (2) *Waterborne Commerce of the U.S. for 1965* by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers and (3) a study of *Changes in Transportation Used by Country Elevators in North Central Region 1958 and 1965*, Marketing Research Report No. 724, Economic Research Service.

In general, total employment attributable to domestic transportation of corn by rail and water was derived by applying an estimate of the ratio of corn tonnage to total tonnage of all shipments to the estimated

total number of employees engaged in rail and water transportation.

Trucking employment was based on an estimate of the ratio of truck movement of corn to rail movement as indicated by the study of transportation of corn in the North Central Region.

D. Wholesale Trade—Employment for Wholesale trade in industries associated with corn reported in the 1963 Census of Business for merchant wholesalers, manufacturers' sales branches and merchandise agents was extrapolated to 1967 on the basis of the change in employment reported in *Employment and Earnings Statistics for the United States, 1909-67*, BLS, October 1967.

Proportions of wholesaling employment in specified wholesaling industries dependent on corn were derived similarly to those explained for retailing shown below.

E. Retail Trade:—Total employment in retail establishments depending on corn and related products was based on employment reported in the 1963 Census of Business. The reported employment was extrapolated to a 1967 level by changes from 1963 to 1967 derived from data shown in *Employment and Earnings Statistics for the United States, 1909-67*, BLS, October 1967.

Employment in retail bakeries associated with corn was assumed to be related to per capita consumption ratios of corn flour, corn cereal and corn sweeteners to total flour, cereal and sweeteners derived from *Food Consumption, Prices, Expenditures, Agricultural Economic Report No. 138*, USDA, ERS. For grocery stores, an estimated percentage of all employees allocated to corn was derived from per capita consumption data and distributions of grocery store sales by commodity groups shown in the *National Food Situation*, USDA, ERS, November 15, 1967. Corn related employment in eating and drinking places is based on ratios of corn product costs to total food costs, food sales to all sales, and food sales to food costs, as reported by the National Restaurant Association and the 1963 Census of Business. Employment in hay, feed and grain stores related to corn and its products is derived from unpublished information of the Farm Income Branch, ESA, ERS.

Liquor store employment related to corn is based on quantities of specified alcoholic beverages consumed per household, per week obtained from *Food Consumption of Households in the U.S., Spring 1965, Report No. 1*, USDA, ARS, and also on information obtained from the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the U.S. Treasury Department and the Distilled Spirits Institute.

SDS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the anti-everything SDS at its meeting in Princeton, N.J., on February 2, has delivered its manifesto of war for the coming year.

Could not they accomplish a lot if they would harness their energy to make this a better world in which to live? One of our Louisiana students, Mike Connelly, of Louisiana State University, thinks so.

Mr. Speaker, I include the Hartford Times article of February 9, 1969, and a column from the LSU Daily Reveille for February 20:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times,
Feb. 9, 1969]

HOW THE WORLD LOOKS TO STUDENT
PROTESTERS

Adoption of the following resolution was the major business of a meeting last Sunday at Princeton, N.J., of the Students for a Democratic Society.

It is a mixture of Marxist fundamentalism, Maoism, old-fashioned campus pacifism and new rejections of a national system that young people have come to distrust in years of a long and distant war which has been hard for Washington to explain. For readers who will hear more this spring of the SDS and its program, we are printing here their Princeton resolution as it was finally amended and approved.

One of our fundamental tasks as a revolutionary movement is to raise a clear anti-imperialist consciousness in the country and the coin in the movement which, if led by the working class, can defeat imperialism.

We understand that there is a material basis—the uneven distribution of wealth and privilege among the working class of the world—for the allegiance given to American imperialism by the American working class. This material basis is reflected in the anti-communism, racism and alienation from the international proletariat. The necessary crisis in imperialism, which we see approaching, and anti-imperialist struggles such as that of the Vietnamese, the Chinese, the Cubans, will change the material basis of that allegiance. Our task is to strip away its ideological reflections through struggle. The youth movement has the function—as a critical force—of raising issues through struggle, carrying its perspective to young workers, and joining in the actual struggles against the power of the ruling class. We must be certain to use our power as a critical force to make self-conscious, explicit anti-imperialist struggles.

A programmatic way to fulfill this function is to build an organized attack on the ever-increasing state of permanent militarization in this country.

The attempt for world domination by the capitalists has caused anti-imperialist and in some cases explicitly communist struggles, as well as a black liberation struggle in this country. It has also caused, from time to time, struggles on the part of the working people of all color. In order to preserve itself the capitalist class has had to militarize. Because these struggles for liberation will continue to grow, militarization will continue to increase.

The domestic effects of this militarization can be shown not to be in the interests of the people. They affect the people in this society in a class way, that is by hitting harder on white and especially black working class people. By raising the issues in a class conscious way, we can build an attack that will win people to an anti-imperialist movement.

Militarization oppresses in two ways. First it attacks. Its tools are the military, the economic machinery necessary for the military and the police inside the country. Second it utilizes manpower for its ends and in so doing oppresses; this is done through the draft, tracking, and the socialization necessary to insure allegiance.

We can attack the brutal use of police against the people's struggle. The basis for our attack against domestic militarization which comes down heaviest on black people and very specifically on youth (especially young working class youth) is the class nature of the police, police institutes, police in the schools, the courts as well as the socialization which lays the ideological basis for this oppression. Public propaganda which justifies "law and order," laws which allow

people to be arrested and held with no trials like Nixon's "preventive arrest" law and the many "investigations" of the movement must all be attacked. Counterinsurgency research and ROTC which serves to oppress our brothers and sisters in Vietnam, the draft, military recruiting and university complicity with imperialism all should serve as targets for our movement this spring.

In our struggles against racism and white supremacy, we must be able to relate militarization to oppression and exploitation of black people. Racism is not an isolated issue. To combat liberalism, we must connect the racist nature of the state with world imperialism.

Our movement must attack racism in unity with the black liberation struggle, which because of its anti-colonial aspect, has made an identification with other anti-imperialist struggles of national liberation throughout the world. Secondly, we must attack white supremacy which has developed out of a real material basis and now prevents working class unity. Thirdly, we support the black struggle which, led by groups like the Black Panther Party, is the sharpest and most immediate instance of the class struggle before us.

The danger in our program against racism, whether it takes the form of fights for black admissions, against university expansion, or for black studies programs, is that it doesn't always raise anti-imperialist consciousness, challenge anti-communism, and the antagonism against the international proletariat. By using the militarization of society as a handle, we can fight racism and raise a clear anti-imperialist consciousness. Therefore, this spring, we should attempt to fight racism in a way which connects it to the domestic effects of this crisis in imperialism and weld the two together. For example, when we attack ROTC or the draft, we not only explain and attack its function as a tool to protect imperial interests, but its racist and class-nature as well as the way it uses anti-communism as an ideological foundation for its use.

In our organizing efforts this spring on working class schools, high schools, junior colleges and the military, we must relate the way militarization oppresses working-class youth of the anti-imperialist struggle. Attacks should be made on the tracking system which serves as a draft board in the high schools. We must understand that in Cardozo High School in Washington, D.C., 80 per cent of the predominantly black graduates are in the military within two years. We must begin to comprehend the racism of a school system in N.Y.C. which enables only 3 per cent of black high school students to accept general diploma—a meaningless piece of paper guaranteeing admission into the U.S. armed forces.

A national action in the spring should be planned as a national focus for the program against militarization. Demands will vary with different types of schools and constituencies.

They should include:

1. Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam as an attack on the U.S.'s role in negotiations.
2. Open admissions to universities for black and third world students.
3. End the surtax.
4. End ROTC and the school's role in imperialism.
5. Free Huey Newton and the Harlem 6 and the Oakland 7.
6. Stop draft assemblies in high schools.
7. Stop counter-insurgency research and police training.

This resolution should be adopted as a set of conclusions come to at this conference, based on both theoretical discussion of the issues and discussion around the way the program can be handled in practice.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Daily Reveille]
TWO FINAL WORDS ON YOU-KNOW-WHAT

(By Mike Connelly)

With all of the adverse publicity that the Students for a Democratic Society has received lately, one would think that people would become aware of the chaotic nature of the organization. Unfortunately, this doesn't seem to be the case. Even the IFC's recent speaker on SDS seemed to be going out of his way to keep from criticizing this group that has called for the destruction of our society. A clarification of the real goals and methods of SDS is desperately needed if steps are to be taken to prevent every university in the country from ending up like Columbia.

This clarification was made for me at a recent conference in Washington, D.C. which brought together student leaders from 29 states and over 50 different universities to discuss SDS. I met students from Berkeley, Columbia, San Francisco State and Indiana; all schools where SDS has caused disruption of classes, and sometimes the complete closing of the university. The stories they brought from their campuses both shocked and worried me.

They were stories of beatings and threats of beatings given to conservative students, and tales of the open violence at San Francisco State and Columbia. Stories of harassment of professors and administrators, be they conservative or liberal, who refused to do the bidding of a minority of militant students. They talked of the complete lack of freedom of speech at such places as Berkeley and New York University, where virtually anyone not on the far left cannot speak without being shouted down, humiliated and threatened with physical violence.

The students I met at Washington are starting to fight back on campuses all across the nation. They are conservative, moderate and liberal, and many of them supported some of the things that SDS originally advocated. Now they've seen the utter hypocrisy of an organization that advocates one thing and practices another. They've seen every rule of decency and fair play violated by SDS as it makes its vicious grab for power. They've become disillusioned with and fearful of SDS, and finally they've become angry and in some cases militant. Who can blame them? I certainly cannot. It's not hard to become disillusioned with an organization who's national leadership opposes American involvement in Vietnam, yet supported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia as an internal Russian affair. Inconsistent you say? Not really when you consider that over half of the delegates to SDS's recent national convention were also members of the Chinese Communist Progressive Labor Party.

As a student, I cannot help but favor an increase in student rights, but only if they come with a corresponding increase in student responsibility a word SDS seems never to have heard of. One SDS national officer seems to have summed up their whole philosophy when he said that SDS's goal was to "destroy the establishment in the hope that out of the ruins something better would emerge." Unfortunately he didn't seem to know what the something better might be. I wonder if any SDS members do, or if they even care.

SDS makes a harsh indictment of our system and our society, yet I can make an even harsher indictment of the methods and goals of SDS. I don't have to look far to see many things that need to be changed in our country, our state and in our university, and I'd like to see changed. But SDS and its program of wanton destruction and chaos are not the answer. Responsible action by all Americans, but especially this generation of students is the answer. Let's turn off the New Left and turn on a brighter new tomorrow through responsible action. We can do it, SDS neither can nor will!

MARYLAND YOUTH ENFRANCHISEMENT

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I recently presented to the subcommittee on elections of the Maryland Legislative Council in Annapolis a statement giving my full support to a bill that would lower the voting age in Maryland to 18. The bill would extend suffrage to over 200,000 Marylanders who work, study, or serve in the Armed Forces but who have no voice in electing public officials. It is a sad note that these young people, who contribute so much to our society and who assume many responsibilities, are not able to vote on the issues and individuals that directly affect their lives.

I hope the Maryland Legislature will take the initiative in enfranchising the youth of Maryland and enact the 18-year-old voting age bill.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS IN FAVOR OF REDUCING THE VOTING AGE IN MARYLAND TO 18, PRESENTED TO THE MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES, SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS, FEBRUARY 12, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I would like to endorse the proposal to provide for voting by all citizens over the age of 18. I believe the minimum voting age should be that age level at which the average person of that age group has attained the maturity required to make an intelligent choice from among the various candidates for the leadership of his government.

Although the twenty-one year minimum is traditional in this country, it is not sacred or immutable. Two states, Georgia and Tennessee, long ago reduced the voting age to eighteen; Alaska allows voting at nineteen; and Hawaii at twenty. I believe that the age of eighteen—the age of high school graduation—is a reasonable minimum voting age.

Any decision as to voting age must be arbitrary. But some ages are more arbitrary than others. I believe an examination of the primary arguments for retaining twenty-one as the voting age will show that none of them offer valid reasons against lowering the voting age.

TRADITION

Twenty-one is the traditional voting age in forty-six of the states.

Whatever justification existed for imposing twenty-one as the minimum age a century ago, however, the fact is that today's American young people are achieving physical, emotional and mental maturity at an earlier age than ever before. While the traditional twenty-one year old voting age has remained unchanged, the character of our population has changed dramatically, especially with regard to the education, maturity, and responsibilities assumed by our young people.

Indeed, tradition itself is no reason at all for maintaining the voting age. If tradition were a good reason to maintain a constitutional provision, we would not need this Subcommittee on Elections to review our traditional, but not unchanged or unchangeable Constitution.

We should deal with the facts as they are today. The fact is that most eighteen year olds are as personally qualified to vote as

most of their elders. Indeed, in some instances they are more qualified.

OTHER 21-YEAR REQUIREMENTS

Some argue that since the common age for legal majority is twenty-one, the minimum age for voting should be twenty-one. There is no compelling connection between the age set as the minimum for voting and the age set as the minimum for other state-regulated activities, such as the purchase of alcohol or the administration of an estate. The law in each case should be shaped to the subject matter involved.

In the case of voting, the question is whether eighteen, nineteen, or twenty year olds are mature enough to make an intelligent choice in the voting booth for the government leaders who tax them, regulate their lives, and can send them to war. I think the answer is clearly that these young people are as qualified to make such political judgments as most of their elders.

TOO MUCH IDEALISM

Some people argue that lowering the voting age would add to the voting population many whose idealism has not been tempered by practical experience in adult society.

I do not think that we should fear a little idealism in politics. I think we should welcome it.

Moreover, although precise figures are unavailable, the Census Bureau has given me statistics which indicate that more than one of every five Marylanders between eighteen and twenty-one is a full-time wage earner. Many others work part-time while putting themselves through college. Thousands of Maryland boys between eighteen and twenty-one are not only getting practical experience in "adult society," they are getting it in a very hard school—in the jungles and on the battlefields of Vietnam.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

The argument is made that reducing the voting age would add to the voting population persons highly influenced by their parents, schools, television, and special interests.

I reject the notion that young Americans are any more susceptible than their elders to parental political influence, political pitchmen, or special interests. My experience, as a Senator speaking to high school and college groups and answering their questions in every corner of the nation, has been that these young people—as a group and as individuals—are as acutely aware of the world as anyone in society.

They know their history and current events; they are earnest and informed; they are skeptical and searching; they are no more likely to be taken in by demagogues than anyone else. As a matter of fact, they are less likely. As for undue parental influence, if eighteen to twenty-one year olds take the advice of their parents on whom to vote for, it will be, if the testimony of many parents is to be believed, the only aspect of life on which parent's advice is the prevailing factor at that age.

If a perfect test could be devised for determining who should be able to vote, so that arbitrary age limits could be eliminated, surely some eighteen to twenty-one year olds would fail it. But, I submit that a far greater percentage of present voters over twenty-one would fail it. Because no such perfect test can be devised, we will have to continue to have an arbitrary minimum age limit. But that age limit should be based on today's realities, not those of a century ago or legalistic concepts developed during the Middle Ages.

HISTORIC EXTENSIONS OF THE SUFFRAGE

All the arguments made against giving young adults the vote have been made against every expansion of the franchise. All of them were made, for example, against

the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.

The tradition of nearly every state was against it.

Other state laws were against it. Women had been legally deprived of certain rights—such as the right to make contracts—for centuries, and, it was argued, this same legal inferiority should be continued in the case of the vote.

Giving the vote to women, it was said, would add to the voting population many persons whose idealism has not been tempered by practical experience. Women would be highly influenced by their parents, schools, and handsome rogues and demagogues.

Women, it was said, would affect elections even though they had little knowledge of, or interest in, local affairs.

Fifty years have now passed since these prophesies of doom, but the Republic still stands. I believe few would argue against the point that our political system is much richer and wiser because of the participation of women in the electoral process.

I think the fears expressed against extending the vote to persons under twenty-one are just as invalid today as these same arguments were a half century ago when they were used against the universal suffrage.

I hope this Subcommittee will recommend a lowering of the voting age, if not to eighteen, at least to some more realistic level than twenty-one.

TAX REFORM: TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the present hearings before the House Ways and Means Committee in the area of tax reform have brought to public attention the subject of tax-exempt foundations, a segment of the private sector which has under its control literally billions of dollars for its operations. The question of whether the original purposes and aims of these foundations have been distorted is a matter presently under review.

On Friday, February 21, 1969, Mr. Robert E. Bauman, secretary of the American Conservative Union, presented testimony relating to tax-exempt foundations which throws light on the intricacies of the issue.

His testimony is of interest because the ACU, which is not a tax-exempt organization due to its political activities, is of necessity alert to possible violations of tax-free organizations competing in the political arena. Mr. Bauman, by way of recommendation, stated:

We believe that the Congress should enact a complete revision of the tax exemption laws to insure that the original intent of the Congress is preserved rather than perverted. We applaud the statutory concept of promoting philanthropy, charity and education but we do not think the destruction of our political and social institutions as we know them, under the guise of tax exemption, was what Congress originally had in mind.

Mr. Bauman then listed a number of organizations and some of their programs as tax-exempt organizations. Foremost in importance, and the first to appear before the Ways and Means Committee was, of course, the Ford Founda-

tion, some of whose operations have justifiably raised questions in many minds as to possible abuses of their tax-exempt status.

To effect corrective action, the ACU chairman offered a number of recommendations which included a redefinition of qualifications and activities for tax exemption, a new and expanded system of annual reports, a revision of the revocation procedure for groups violating the IRC regulations, and the prohibition against the secret donation of Federal funds to tax-exempt organizations or groups.

As the testimony of Mr. Bauman treats of this all-important issue in an informative and constructive manner, I insert the text of his testimony into the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT E. BAUMAN, SECRETARY, AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: My name is Robert E. Bauman and I am representing the American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. I am appearing today on behalf of the ACU Board of Directors, of which I am secretary. ACU has a membership of about 15,000 persons who pay dues of \$10.00 annually. We have not contacted these members relative to the testimony being given here today.

I wish to express the appreciation of our organization and my own personal thanks for this opportunity to be heard on the subject of possible revision in the Internal Revenue Code relating to provisions covering tax exempt foundations and organizations.

PREFACE

Let me explain the interest of the American Conservative Union in these specific provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. The ACU, founded in 1964, is a national political action and education organization. Our entire annual income is in the form of donations received from our supporters around the country. Because we are a political organization which could be said to "attempt to influence elections to Federal office in two or more states" we are required to file quarterly reports with the Clerk of the House under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. These reports detail all of our expenditures which exceed \$10.00 in amount and we also report all our contributors who give amounts of \$100.00 or more. No person may give more than \$2,500.00 to us within any one year, and no contributions to our group are deductible for the individual donor. Because we are a political organization we cannot receive corporate checks or donations from a labor union. Since most of our income is in the form of gifts, it is not taxable as ordinary income, but we do file annual tax forms as an unincorporated association registered under the laws of the District of Columbia. This brief resume of our tax status gives you an idea of the restrictions which the Federal law imposes on the ACU and other similar political organizations, whatever their political ideology may be.

The major reason that our organization has an interest in proposed revision of the IRC on the subject of tax exemption for foundations and organizations is that over the five years of our existence we have found ourselves constantly in competition with groups which do have such exemption. I do not mean competition for funds from donors, but rather competition in the political arena of ideas and even candidates.

We believe that the Congress should enact a complete revision of the tax exemption laws to insure that the original intent of the Congress is preserved rather than perverted. We applaud the statutory concept of promot-

ing philanthropy, charity and education but we do not think the destruction of our political and social institutions as we know them, under the guise of tax exemption, was what Congress originally had in mind.

I. THE CONCEPT OF TAX EXEMPTION

The concept of maintaining foundations and organizations as tax-free enterprises relates to the public view that private philanthropy plays an important role in our society. Private philanthropic organizations are able to provide financial aid to areas which government cannot or should not advance. They are, in addition, uniquely qualified to initiate thought and action, and to experiment with new and untried concepts, often dissenting from prevailing attitudes. They are often able to act quickly and flexibly.

Because Americans have viewed private foundations in this manner, the Congress has established generous statutory provisions for tax exemptions of private foundations and tax deductions for contributions to such foundations.

This tax treatment diverts large amounts from the public treasury to private foundations. It is therefore essential that the tax laws insure that these private foundations and organizations put these funds to philanthropic purposes that benefit the public, not to purposes which provide personal advantage to the donor, or which advance partisan political activities and causes.

II. THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR TAX EXEMPTION

The types of organizations exempt from federal income tax are set forth in section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code. This section provides that a corporation, community chest or foundation qualifies for exemption from income tax if it is organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, educational, scientific, testing for public safety, or literary purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals provided that no part of its net earnings inures to the benefit of any private individual or shareholder, no substantial part of its activities consists of carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and it does not participate or intervene in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

The organizations described in section 501(c)(3) are the most important type of exempt organizations since contributions to them are deductible for income tax purposes.

I think it would be well for the Committee to consider an important distinction at this point. Tax exempt foundations which are endowed by an original donor should not be confused with tax exempt organizations which, while not necessarily endowed, quite often receive almost their entire income in the form of grants from tax exempt foundations. The organizations may also receive general donations from the public at large, as well as dues from members of the organization itself. All these sources of income are tax exempt and deductible for the donors or members. The important link to keep in mind is the enormous amounts of money that are given by foundations to organizations, both of which are tax exempt.

Naturally, the great advantage which tax exempt organizations have over non-exempt groups is the prospective donor's right to deduct from his taxes the gifts he may make. This deductibility feature is a major asset, especially to the tax exempt organizations which solicit donations or membership by mail. When such groups go into the field of politics, their tax exemption is a powerful weapon to use against admittedly political groups they may be opposing.

III. THE PROHIBITION AGAINST LOBBYING AND POLITICS

At this point in my testimony let me restate that the Internal Revenue Code is very

clear in prohibiting tax exempt foundations or organizations from devoting a "substantial part" of their activities to carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, or participation or intervention in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

A. Lobbying: The Internal Revenue Code states that tax exempt organizations are permitted to solicit tax free donations from the public or other sources while paying no tax on such income, provided that a "substantial part" or the groups activity is not what is commonly called lobbying for the passage or defeat of legislation. The question then arises what "substantial" means in this context.

In my opinion the "substantial" prohibition in the law does not apply to an occasional statement by a tax exempt group concerning pending legislation which may affect them, whether such a statement is made to inform the public or the legislative body involved. When such statements turn into massive propaganda campaigns including newspaper and other public advertising, publications and letter writing campaigns, the issue of what is "substantial" most certainly does arise.

Let us examine some examples of tax exempt groups which have engaged in such activities and see how they have fared with the Internal Revenue Service which has the legal power to revoke their tax exempt status for such activity.

1. *The Sierra Club:* An important recent example of a tax exempt organization which had its exemption revoked because of activities which the I.R.S. construed as "lobbying" was the Sierra Club.

The Sierra Club has for many years been a leader in the cause of conservation. It had more than a passing interest in legislation affecting the preservation of forests, parks and other natural resources. On June 9, 1966, the Sierra Club ran full page advertisements in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, headlined: "Now Only You Can Save Grand Canyon From Being Flooded . . . For Profit." The ads opposed proposed federal legislation to build two dams at the Grand Canyon.

The following day, the District Director of Internal Revenue in San Francisco wrote to the Sierra Club advising them that the Internal Revenue Service was no longer prepared to extend advance assurance of deductibility of contributions to the Sierra Club. On June 27, 1966, the District Director's office in San Francisco began an examination of the activities of the Sierra Club to determine its continued qualification for deductible charitable contributions and exemption from income tax. As a result, the Internal Revenue Service, in a letter dated December 16, 1966, held that the club was no longer exempt from federal income tax and that contributions to the organization were not tax deductible.

The case of the Sierra Club brings into question the entire area of tax-exempt foundations, the manner in which they achieve exemption, and the pattern of legislative oversight to make certain that they do not violate the conditions of such exemption, and the manner in which such exemption is revoked.

Writing in *The Washington Post* for April 14, 1966, Richard Harwood presents this report of the manner in which the Internal Revenue Service determined that the Sierra Club was engaged in questionable practices:

"At the noon hour on June 9, an excited young assistant bounded into the office of Internal Revenue Commissioner Sheldon Cohen . . . He dropped on Cohen's desk a fresh copy of the *Washington Post*. There, on Page 9, was a boldly worded advertisement addressed to nature lovers of the world . . . Readers were exhorted to write or wire the President, the Secretary of the Interior and

Members of Congress in a mass protest against one of the Administration's pet projects: water storage dams in the Grand Canyon. The ad was sponsored by the eminent Sierra Club of California, a tax exempt society of conservationists who have spent the last 75 years defending nature against man . . . It took Cohen only a couple of minutes to get the message from the ad and before the day is out he had ordered his agents in San Francisco to audit the Sierra Club's books. If they found that the club was spending a 'substantial part' of its income for lobbying purposes, it would lose its tax exempt status."

Many observers at the time claimed that the Sierra Club was being singled out as a scapegoat because it had opposed a favorite project of the Administration. This, in the long run, is essentially beside the point. The point is much broader, and significantly more important: Is there, or is there not, a systematic method of legislative oversight to assure that tax exempt groups do not engage in lobbying.

2. *The American Medical Association:* Consider the expenditures of other organizations during the same period which the Sierra Club was losing its tax exempt status. The American Medical Association, for example, spent by its own accounting \$1,155,935.30, in an effort to defeat the Medicare bill. Newspapers, magazines, and television screens were saturated with anti-medicare ads. The money for all of this came from two sources, the tax free advertising revenues of the *A.M.A. Journal* and other A.M.A. publications, amounting to about \$10 million a year, and from the membership dues of doctors, deductible items on their tax returns.

Compared with the A.M.A.'s 1965 outlay for political propaganda and lobbying the Sierra Club's investment of \$10,000 on ads in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* was minuscule. It was minor in comparison with what other tax exempt lobbies spend in Washington every year to win political battles and influence Congress and the Executive.

3. *The N.R.E.C.A.:* The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, to cite another example, supported the Grand Canyon dams. It had a \$300,000 national advertising budget in 1966 to buy space in such magazines as *Look*, *Harpers*, and *The Atlantic*. Many of its ads were "institutional," aimed at arousing public support for the co-ops as a necessary element in the American power system. Others were open appeals for Congressional votes. Two months to the day after the Sierra Club ad appeared in Washington, the Internal Revenue Service could have read in the *Washington Star* or *Post* a three-quarter page ad calling on Congress to create a Federal bank for rural electric systems, a proposal opposed by the private power companies.

NRECA paid for these ads, and for the twelve lobbyists it maintains at the Capitol, out of tax-exempt revenues from tax-exempt rural cooperatives, which were created and are directly subsidized by the federal treasury.

4. *The Central Arizona Project Association:* During the year in which the Sierra Club lost its tax exemption, the *Congressional Quarterly*, in its annual report on spending by the Washington lobbies, found that all but four of the 26 biggest spenders in 1965 were tax-exempt organizations, including the Central Arizona Project Association, which spent \$74,065.02 in 1965 solely to get Congress to do what the Sierra Club was trying to prevent—build dams in the Grand Canyon.

Neither the Central Arizona Project nor any of the other 23 biggest spending lobbies on the *Congressional Quarterly* list had at that time had their tax-exemptions questioned by the Internal Revenue Service.

The National Education Association is subject to the same provisions as the Sierra Club. Yet, it spent over \$79,000 lobbying in Washington in 1965. The American Library Association spent \$56,040. The American

Cancer Society spent \$29,836. None of them even received a warning from the Internal Revenue Service.

B. Political Activity by Exempt Groups: Just as the IRC prohibits lobbying by exempt foundations and organizations it also rules out any partisan political activity and financial support for such actions. Nevertheless, under the guise of education or research many foundations are consistently subsidizing one political viewpoint over another and are giving aid to causes which society in general may well oppose. A law which was never intended to promote partisan political causes at the expense of the taxpayers now does just that. Here are some recent examples:

1. *The Ford Foundation:* A brief look at the largest of the foundations, the Ford Foundation, makes this fact clear. In 1968 the net worth of the Ford Foundation was \$3.1 billion and its gift commitments stood at \$203.2 million. Were its activities educational and non-partisan, or were they often political and partisan, and did they sometimes have the result of stirring disorder and turmoil?

In 1967, the Foundation approved a \$175,000 grant primarily to help a voter registration drive in Cleveland, Ohio, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality. Supporters of the Republican mayoralty candidate, Seth Taft, criticized the Foundation for assisting the campaign of Democrat Carl Stokes, who subsequently won by a very narrow margin. It was the general view in Cleveland that the Ford Foundation had materially affected the results of this election by its financial entry into the political arena.

New York City Schools: Last Fall the Ford Foundation helped to finance New York City's school decentralization experiments, including one in Ocean Hill-Brownsville that later became the focus of three city-wide teachers' strikes. Albert Shanker, who was president of the United Federation of Teachers and led the walkouts, accused the Foundation of undermining his union, tampering with the city's public schools, and exerting influence over key Board of Education Members holding Foundation grants.

Black Militants: The Ford Foundation has given substantial financial assistance to Harlem's Intermediate School 201, despite continuous manifestations of anti-Semitism, racism and violence. The plan advocated by the Foundation would have taken New York's present centralized school system under control of a single Board of Education representing all the citizens of the city and substituted for it a "federation" of 30 to 60 autonomous, locally governed school districts.

These districts would be controlled by local parent-dominated school boards with complete authority to hire school personnel, to determine educational policy and allocate funds which they would get from the city. In February, a play by Lerol Jones, convicted of assault in the Newark, N.J. riots, was presented at I.S. 201. It contained the following lines:

"Who murdered the black man?
"Whitey, Whitey."
"Who should we lynch?
"Whitey, Whitey."

Two weeks later the Ford Foundation furnished I.S. 201 an additional \$26,000. Buoyed by this support, the local governing board, the Afro-American Students Association and the Afro-American Teachers decided to put on a memorial program at I.S. 201 in honor of the slain Malcolm X. Scheduled participants included H. Rap Brown, LeRoi Jones and Herman Ferguson. Ferguson at that time was under indictment in a plot to murder black civil rights leaders. In the Communist weekly, *The Guardian*, he clearly outlined what he called a "black survival curriculum" for schools. The day would start with a pledge of allegiance, not to the United States but to a red, black and green flag, the

banner of Black Nationalism. The memorial meeting at I.S. 201 included descriptions of the United States as "The fourth Reich" and calls to black youth not to fight in Vietnam.

What the Ford Foundation was supporting in the New York schools, many observers believed, was exactly the opposite of the policy of integration which the U.S. Supreme Court has called for. In fact, the New York Board of Rabbis, made up of 900 Orthodox, Conservative and Reform clergymen, criticized the Foundation's school decentralization plan as "a potential breeder of local apartheid."

The New Ford Direction: It is clear that the Ford Foundation conceives of its role not as educational, but as political. In 1962, Dyke Brown, then a vice president with responsibility for public affairs programs, wrote that the Foundation's interest had "shifted from management and public administration to policy and the political process." He added that these programs "tended to become increasingly action- rather than research-oriented," which meant that the Foundation had to be prepared to take certain "political risks." Thanks to the lax supervision by the Internal Revenue Service, such "risks" have been virtually non-existent.

The War on Poverty: During the past three years the Ford Foundation has increasingly cut program commitments to education and increased its contributions to "social action programs." The results of the entry of the Ford Foundation into this field have been commented upon in a recent volume by Special Assistant to the President, Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty*.

Moynihan's argument against the community action idea is that it is based on a false theory of social action. This theory holds that the pathology of slum life results from alienation caused by a crumbling social structure. It follows from this view that one solution is to restructure the life of the poor by mobilizing people to work toward common, constructive ends. The theory won support in the Ford Foundation and first took form in the Mobilization for Youth set up on New York's Lower East Side in 1962, financed by the Ford Foundation, the City of New York and the federal government. From there the concept of community action spread to other cities.

In the words of Paul Ylvisaker, then of the Ford Foundation, it represented the "social application of the art of jujitsu: of exerting smaller forces at points of maximum leverage to capture larger forces otherwise working against us." *The New Republic* recently noted that "in the outcome it was not always clear who had done the capturing, or whether there were any large forces at work."

Moynihan puts his criticism this way:

"Seemingly it comes to this. Over and over again, the attempt by official and quasi-official agencies, such as the Ford Foundation, to organize poor communities led first to the radicalization of the middle class persons who began the effort; next to a certain amount of stirring among the poor, but accompanied by heightened racial antagonism on the part of the poor if they happened to be black; next to retaliation from the white community; whereupon it would emerge that the community action agency, which had talked so much, been so much in the headlines, promised so much in the way of change in the fundamentals of things, was powerless . . . Finally, too much bitterness all around."

Thus, the Ford Foundation built and developed the theoretical basis upon which the community action programs were developed and initiated. Moynihan notes that "Professional persons were too willing by half to see public funds, and tax-free private funds, employed on a vast scale to further what was

in effect a political agenda of a fairly small group of intellectuals."

In many instances it may be said that foundations such as Ford, using tax-free funds, helped to create the conditions of serious community disorder and violence which the government, using further tax funds, had to oppose and from which order had to be restored.

The Kennedy Grants: Recently, the Foundation engaged in what may be its most clearly partisan and political grant. In February, 1969, the Ford Foundation awarded eight former aides of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy travel and study grants totalling more than \$131,000.

Kennedy press secretary Frank Mankiewicz, now a syndicated columnist, received \$15,692 for a study of Peace Corps projects in Latin America. Advance man Jerry Bruno received \$19,450 for a six month analysis of political campaigning. Speechwriter Adam Wallinsky was given \$22,000 for a review of "community self-determination," with a special emphasis on particular experiments in Eastern European countries. Earl Graves, Thomas Johnston, Dall Forsythe, Joseph Dolan and Peter Edelman also received Ford grants.

Often forgotten is the fact that the Ford Foundation has been very close to the Kennedy family. McGeorge Bundy, now president of the Foundation, was John F. Kennedy's chief White House advisor on foreign affairs. Vice President David E. Bell was President Kennedy's first head of the Budget Bureau. All appearances lead to the conclusion that the Foundation rewards those whose political views it finds acceptable, and ignores those whose views it may oppose. And all of this is done with the acquiescence of the Internal Revenue Service.

Backing for Candidates: Incredibly, the Ford Foundation has now begun to make grants to assist Negroes to run for state and national offices. This is a worthy goal, but it is a clearly political one. Under present Ford Foundation plans, each political trainee will be assigned to a minority-elected politician who will assist the trainees political orientation. The goal set by the Ford Foundation is to increase the number of Negro members of Congress from nine to 30. The project is scheduled to receive \$5 million from the Ford Foundation. It will go to the Urban Affairs Foundation of Los Angeles and will be headed by Jack T. Conway, former director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department. Walter Reuther will be a member of the Board of Directors. Is this not clearly political? Why then, should groups such as the American Conservative Union have no tax exemption and organizations such as the Ford Foundation continue to act with the powerful weapon of tax exemption.

IV. ANNUAL REPORTS OF EXEMPT GROUPS, I.R.S. SUPERVISION AND THE POWER TO REVOKE EXEMPTIONS

The Internal Revenue Code invests the I.R.S. with the power to revoke the tax exempt status of any foundation or organization which has violated the provisions of the Code governing such groups. Seldom is this power used by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

Occasionally, the Internal Revenue Service does withdraw tax-exempt status from an organization engaged in political activities. This happened to the Sierra Club. It also happened to the Christian Crusade, headed by Rev. Billy James Hargis in Tulsa, Oklahoma. It happened to H. L. Hunt's Life Line radio program. Yet, the major parties guilty of such activities have completely escaped government scrutiny and penalty. It is the correction of this mis-application of the law which is one of the essential changes needed in the tax laws concerning foundations.

It is little wonder that the I.R.S. finds it difficult to supervise anywhere from 22,000 to 30,000 tax exempt entities which are now required to file annual reports. Even though these annual reports show total figures for

such categories as expenditures and receipts, as well as sources of income, the I.R.S. has admitted that most of its time is spent supervising tax producing individuals and corporations, and not those that the law allows to escape taxation.

In 1966 when I.R.S. Commissioner Sheldon Cohen was asked why the tax exempt status of the Sierra Club was revoked while the I.R.S. had not even seen fit to investigate any of the others, the Commissioner was quoted as having said that I.R.S. is limited in what it can do. It checks, he noted, only about 15,000 of the 500,000 returns filed by "charitable" groups each year and spends little time observing the political operation of such groups. The Sierra Club, he said, would never have been investigated but for the advertisements in question. "There are different ways to lobby," said Cohen. "This was so open, so crass that we had to take notice."

It should be noted for the record that the annual reports filed by tax exempt groups are hardly very informative, and some groups which have failed to accurately report their income have yet to receive any I.R.S. scrutiny.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Let me preface any legislative recommendations that the American Conservative Union may make with the statement that the political philosophy of conservatives naturally does not favor unnecessary Federal regulation of any aspect of the individual's life. However, the granting of exemption from Federal taxation to any group is a power of the Federal government created by the Congress itself. We readily acknowledge that Congress has the power and indeed the duty to assure the wise and impartial application of our laws, especially the tax code.

A. Original Application for Tax Exemption: We recommend that the IRC be amended to establish a fair yet enforceable application procedure for every foundation or group which applies for tax exemption. This procedure should require full disclosure of all pertinent facts and records and more than just a cursory investigation by the government. No application should be granted solely on the supporting evidence of the applicant, but an independent investigation should be conducted to verify the applicants' statements of purpose and intentions.

Perjury penalties should be applied and enforced in the courts if subsequent events prove the application statements to be false. Indeed, normal tax laws should be retroactively applied to any exemption applicants who file false applications, once this becomes known after exemption has been granted.

B. Qualifications for Tax Exemption: Although the IRC appears to be perfectly clear in stating the categories and types of organizations which presently qualify for tax exemption, we suggest that the existing definitions have been applied rather freely. Perhaps these qualifications should be redrawn with a view to a complete and detailed definition of all prohibited activities, based on the many abuses which have come to light in recent years.

Closely related to the original qualifications for tax exemption as stated in the IRC are the provisions which prohibit lobbying and political activity. We definitely recommend that this section of the law be redrawn to enumerate just what actions are prohibited and to define in the clearest terms possible what is meant by the "no substantial part" phrase. It may be well to drop this relative concept which attempts to measure portions of the activity of tax exempt groups and instead write into the statute an outright prohibition against named activities which constitute lobbying and political activities. Surely the recent record of conduct by many foundations and groups will make it easy to compile a list of specifically prohibited actions in this area.

It should be noted that under the current IRC provisions, when a tax exempt group is

adjusted to have violated the prohibitions stated, the only real penalty is the loss of tax exemption with the concomitant loss of income. The Committee might well consider penalties which would retroactively apply the full force of the tax laws to groups which lose their exemption by reason of illegal conduct. Civil penalties might also be considered for those groups whose officers knowingly and willfully violate the IRC prohibitions.

We might also recommend that any tax exempt groups or foundations which feel compelled to engage in any form of lobbying or political activities might be made to thereby subject themselves to the full provisions of the Lobbying Act and the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, or similar statutes which could be made to apply to such activities by already exempt groups.

The Committee might also consider placing a burden on the donor of large amounts of money to tax exempt foundations or groups. Such a donor, who contributes more than a named amount each year, could be required by law to receive from the donee tax exempt group a full report on the group's activities and finances. The tax exempt groups would also be required to prepare such a report for all prospective donors. Should the donor fail to meet such a provision, he could lose the deductibility of his contribution.

Before the suggestion is made that this is a harsh penalty to impose on small donors, let me point out that many tax exempt groups which have engaged in political activities prohibited under present law have often received huge donations from other tax exempt foundations. Requiring such a donor-foundation to certify that it has inquired into the full nature of the tax exempt group to which it gives funds is not a great burden but rather would promote full disclosure.

C. Annual Reports: The annual reports required by law from each exempt group should be expanded and specifically tailored to meet whatever requirements are deemed necessary to produce a full disclosure of income and expenditures. This annual report should detail the full activities of the reporting group for the year with copies of all pertinent publications and perhaps even publicity received by the group.

A system of assured government scrutiny for these reports, perhaps using the latest computer techniques, should be established and applied impartially to all foundations.

Though I do not know if it is still the I.R.S. custom, at one time the annual reports for each tax exempt group were available to the public only at the various I.R.S. district offices around the country, each group being required to file at their district office. While we have no objection to this arrangement, duplicate copies of all such annual reports should also be available at one central agency in Washington where government experts in such matters should be charged with their thorough examination with a view to revocation or prosecution for perjury.

If it is too great a burden for the I.R.S. to handle such reporting and inspection requirements, perhaps the Committee should consider legislation which would transfer this authority to an agency which is responsible to the Congress such as the Government Accounting Office or the Comptroller General. It might even be well to consider whether foundations and tax exempt groups whose income and expenditures exceed certain minimum figures might be required to file additional copies of their annual reports with the proper Committees of the Congress which should have legislative oversight in such matters.

D. Revocation Procedure: In order to put an end to arbitrary and discriminatory revocation of tax exempt status for prohibited activities, we have already recommended a

redefinition of the qualifications for the original application for tax exemption and also a much clearer statement of prohibited activities.

In addition to these measures, an established procedure for revocation containing full safeguards against arbitrary actions by the government is essential. This might include an independent tribunal with jurisdiction and specialization only in matters dealing with tax exemption and revocation. Above all, the agency which has the power to revoke tax exemption should be as far removed from politics as possible. The record of I.R.S. actions in some recent cases strongly suggests that the magnitude of the violation of the tax exemption law is not nearly so productive of revocation as is the political character of the tax exempt group involved in the alleged violation.

E. Prohibition Against Use of Tax Exempt Groups by Government Agencies: We strongly recommend that any revision of the IRC provisions on tax exempt organizations provide for a complete prohibition against any Federal government agency making contributions to such groups except in well defined cases.

This recommendation is prompted by the revelation two years ago that the Central Intelligence Agency was funneling vast amounts of Federal funds into the National Students Association, certain labor unions and other private organizations.

We believe that as a matter of principle, aside from the tax laws, it is a grave danger to our form of government to permit tax exempt foundations and groups to be employed as fronts for government action, especially when such facts are concealed from the public. Most such grants in the past have been in the area of political activity, which increases the danger to democracy.

It would appear reasonable to believe that a certain number of the presently existing tax exempt foundations are nothing more than conduits or fronts for government funds which are transferred to yet other tax exempt groups to promote aims and goals which have never received the approval of the Congress or the American people.

CONCLUSION

The American Conservative Union believes that all political ideologies should have the same right to compete within the framework of our constitutional system. We strongly oppose the use of the privilege of tax exemption to promote political activities or lobbying of any sort by groups, regardless of their partisan or ideological views.

We believe that the time has come to make this revision of the law and prevent further abuses. Even now ever more political activities are being planned by tax exempt groups and foundations.

The American Conservative Union has faith in the representative nature of the Congress of the United States and we trust that your Committee will exercise its good judgment in accomplishing an equitable revision of the tax exemption laws. In so doing you will be eliminating many of the abuses which always result from the concentration of too much power in the hands of any group. In the Congress resides the true power of all the people, and we know that you will use that power to see that justice is done in this area of the law.

Thank you for the privilege of appearing before your distinguished Committee on this occasion.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY ROBERT E. BAUMAN, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION

The witness stated the interest of the ACU in the matter of tax exempt organizations has arisen out of the fact that many such organizations are today engaged in the same activities as are political groups such as the ACU. However, such tax exempt groups have a decided tax advantage over political groups

which was not intended by the law and should not be permitted to continue.

The witness stated numerous current examples of tax exempt organizations and foundations engaged both in lobbying and political activities.

Based on the foregoing supported facts, the ACU recommends:

1. A new procedure and redefinition of qualifications for original applicants for tax exemption;
2. a redefinition of the activities prohibited to tax exempt groups;
3. a new and expanded system of annual reports for tax exempt groups;
4. revision of the revocation procedure for groups violating the IRC;
5. prohibition against the secret donation of Federal funds to tax exempt organizations or groups.

PHILIP N. BROWNSTEIN

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to a man who has recently ended his career as a dedicated and thoughtful public servant. On February 21, Philip N. Brownstein, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the FHA Commissioner, retired from public service and has now embarked on a second career in private industry.

Phil Brownstein, a distinguished native Hoosier, has played a crucial role in the development of our national housing programs. Through his efforts he has helped to alleviate our pressing urban housing problems. As well, he has done much to help the rural American enjoy the pleasures of home ownership.

Since 1961, with the enactment of the Housing Act of that year, Congress has recognized that Government, standing alone, cannot meet the needs of our citizens who are unable to obtain decent housing without extraordinary assistance. With the establishment of below-market interest rate financing for rental and cooperative housing for moderate-income families we in Congress faced up to our responsibilities. There was widespread apprehension, however, that the Federal Housing Administration with its reputation for conservatism would not vigorously implement the obvious intent of Congress. Happily, though, this was not the case. Phil Brownstein implemented the program with intelligence and drive.

The recent increase in activity under the BMIR program fully justifies the confidence we placed in his dynamic leadership. In 1965, Congress again accepted the proposition that the needs of our low income families could not be satisfied without the assistance of private sponsorship and thus enacted the rent supplement program to meet that need. It is apparent that the growing public acceptance of the rent supplement notion is due in large part to the progressive leadership of Phil Brownstein. In like manner, the expanding partnership between Government and private industry was strengthened with the establishment of the

221(h) program of 3 percent loans to finance home rehabilitation and homeownership in 1966 and the major innovations incorporated within the landmark 1968 Housing Act. And once again it was Commissioner Brownstein whose intelligent administration of these programs has insured their continued success.

Dedicated as he is to our national goal of "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family," I am especially proud to state that Phil Brownstein is a native of Indiana. After spending his first 9 years of Government service with the FHA, he left for a 2-year tour of duty in the Armed Forces during World War II. Upon his return he joined the Veterans' Administration in its newly established home loan program where he served for 17 years reaching the post of chief benefits officer. For the past 6 years he has served as FHA Commissioner pursuant to his appointment by President Kennedy in 1963.

Phil Brownstein's years in Government service have been fruitful ones. He brought imagination and incisiveness to jobs badly in need of both of these qualities. I trust that Phil and his charming wife, Esther, will enjoy their new endeavors. I hope, as well, that they will have ample leisure time to reflect on their many accomplishments.

WILLIAM H. HEEN, FORMER HAWAII DEMOCRATIC KINGPIN, TO CELEBRATE 86TH BIRTHDAY

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which recently appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin describing the "grand old man of March 11, is considered to be the dean of Hawaiian politics. He served 32 consecutive years in the Hawaii Territorial Senate until he retired in 1957. He met his first and last defeat at the polls in 1958, when he ran for the U.S. Senate.

When Judge Heen, as he was affectionately known for many years after he had left the bench, retired from private law practice last June, he had given a total of 43 years of dedicated public service to the people of Hawaii, with 38 of those years being devoted to island politics and the Democratic Party of Hawaii. He also earned an added distinction as the youngest judge—34—to sit on the bench of Hawaii's First Circuit Court.

It was during the 1930's that Mr. Heen, then a practicing attorney, handled his most celebrated case. He served as defense counsel to two of the five accused Islanders in the explosive Thalia Fortescue Massie trial.

As Senator Heen approaches another birthday in his rich and productive life, I would like to take this opportunity to salute this pioneer in Hawaiian politics. His political philosophy may best be

summed by his closing remarks in an interview by Honolulu Star-Bulletin reporter, Tomi Knaefer:

The only thing is that a politician must do what he thinks is right for the benefit of all the people.

And this William H. Heen has done for the people of Hawaii.

I believe my colleagues in the House will find of interest Mrs. Knaefer's article on this colorful Hawaiian politician, the former island Democratic kingpin, which appeared in the Saturday, February 15, 1969, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and for this reason I therefore submit the article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HEEN, 85, COMPARES POLITICS THEN AND NOW

(By Tomi Knaefer)

Whatever politics in Hawaii was yesterday it's more so today, in the opinion of William H. Heen, a former Democratic kingpin, who is now, at age 85, an armchair observer of Island politics.

Heen was in elected politics for 38 years, including 32 consecutive years in the Hawaii Senate, until his first and last defeat at the polls in 1958.

In a recent I-remember-when interview, he offered this concise commentary of politics today compared with that of his day:

"It costs a lot more to be a candidate today . . . There are a lot more candidates . . . And there's a lot more rivalry between and among them.

"It's become quite a field of combat between political rivals. The last Mayor's race, for example, had three Democrats (winner Frank F. Fasi, Herman G. P. Lemke and Ke-koa David Kaapu) slugging it out."

Heen, who once spent \$15 for campaign expenses (filing fee and pamphlets), is distressed at the high cost of electioneering today.

"It doesn't seem right," he said, "to have all that spending that goes on nowadays for advertisements in the newspapers, television and radio.

"There ought to be a limit on campaign expenditures.

"Back in the old days, we used to shake hands and pass out pamphlets. The Democrats used to hold neighborhood campaign meetings.

"Your editor then Riley H. Allen, used to attend every one of those meetings and he used to give me pretty good coverage.

"But, mostly, the audience at those meetings were women and dogs," Heen chuckled.

Even more remarkable than his \$15 election was his 1954 feat when he polled well over 55,000 votes—the highest number ever scored by an Oahu Senate nominee up to then—without making a single campaign appearance.

He had been flat on his back from gall bladder surgery during the entire campaign and was discharged from the hospital a day before the election—"just in time to vote."

Heen served as president of the Senate in 1955, after the Democrats swept in and grabbed control of the Legislature for the first time, and again in 1957.

He retired from the upper chamber in 1958 to run for the U.S. Senate—a decision that was to mark the end of his career in elective politics.

Heen lost the primary race to Fasi, who, in turn, lost the election by a relatively small margin to Hiram L. Fong, who has held that seat since then. Interestingly, Fong won after being in political mothballs following his defeat for a State House seat in 1954, the year of the Democratic take-over.

Heen, in the enviable position of one who no longer has personal ambitions at stake, today views his defeat to Fasi without bitterness, only as a historical fact.

And how does he think Fasi will do as Honolulu's Mayor?

Heen, whose face is amazingly unweathered puffed on one of his daily ration of cigars before replying:

"Well, I hope he can carry through with his campaign promises. He made a lot of promises and it takes a lot of cooperation to get things done in politics as in any other field."

The statement seemed to carry an oblique minor reference to the recent clash and subsequent resolution between the Mayor and Council Chairman Walter M. Heen over the appointment of Robert Way as the City's new planning director.

Walter is Heen's nephew. Walter's father, the late Ernest N. Heen Sr., was Heen's younger brother who also figured in Island politics, including a term in the Territorial Senate and the Honolulu Board of Supervisors and five terms as City-County clerk.

Heen said of his nephew: "He's certainly doing very well for a young man."

From his seasoned perspective, would Heen pick a contemporary Island Democrat as an outstanding political model?

Heen sidestepped the question. He offered instead ratings for the next election that parallel the slate named recently by State Democratic Chairman David C. McClung and promptly slapped down by most of those involved.

Heen's report card ratings include:

Gov. John A. Burns—"He's done well. He's done a good job. He should stay in for another term."

Lt. Gov. Thomas P. Gill—"He's a very able individual; no two ways about that. He's quite a student of government. I'd like to see him in the U.S. Senate. He's a good thinker. He'll do very well in the U.S. Senate."

"If the Democrats back him up solidly and work together, I think he has a very good chance to win over the incumbent (Hiram Fong)."

"Fong is a very good campaigner—with a lot of money at his command."

"But, I'll say this. Hiram needs Democratic votes to get re-elected in the same way that I needed Republican votes. If not for my Republican votes, I would never have been elected."

McClung, president of the State Senate—"He's quite able. He's a good leader for the Democratic Party. I'd like to see him get ahead."

As for Hawaii's Democrats in Congress, Heen offered a one-for-all comment: "They're doing well. The records show that. They should go right on with what they're doing."

Heen, originally from Olowalu, Maui, said, "I wasn't born as a Democrat or Republican. I chose to be a Democrat when I learned the difference between right and wrong."

"In the days when the Republicans were in control they dictated the voting to the plantations."

"Of course," he continued with a mischievous smile, "I would never have been elected if not for my Republican supporters."

Heen's smile splintered into a hearty laugh as he added drolly:

"I always said there were intelligent Republicans. My Republican supporters proved that."

Heen entered politics in 1919 by way of the City-County attorney's seat with these feathers already pinned to his cap: A degree from Hastings School of Law in California, five years as deputy county attorney on the Big Island, deputy Attorney General for two years, and two years on the bench of the First Circuit Court as Hawaii's youngest (34) judge.

"When I ran for the City-County attorney's post," he recalled, "I had the support of both the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and the Honolulu Advertiser against Republican incumbent A. M. Brown. Both newspapers felt that my opponent and the sheriff were allow-

ing too much gambling to go on in this town."

He held that post until 1925, when he resigned to enter private practice and to run for the Territorial Senate. That was to mark the beginning of his 32 uninterrupted Senate years. His daughter, Muriel, served as his secretary for the last five sessions.

Heen and Maui's Harry Baldwin were the only Democrats on the 15-member body at first. There was a time when Heen was the only Democratic senator.

"No trouble," said he of his lonely minority. "It caused no great hardship. I used to argue it out with the others."

The late Lawrence M. Judd, who was governor of Hawaii at that time, described Heen as "able and efficient" despite the minority position during an interview shortly before his death.

Heen enjoys reminiscing about the era.

"The late David K. Trask Sr. and I used to work together quite a bit, even though he was a Republican."

"One year we put through a bill to reduce commissions paid to Bishop Estate trustees. We won after fighting it out on the floor, but there were efforts to restore the original commissions."

"When a bill to do that was referred to the judiciary committee, as chairman, I just took that bill, put it in my drawer under lock and key and it never saw daylight again. There was a lot of bellyaching."

"I'm not sure of the exact date, but those fellows managed to get the commissions hiked up again later."

"I still feel that Bishop Estate trustees are paid altogether too much. (They are paid on a graduated scale based on the estate's annual income. Last year, each of the five trustees received \$48,726.)"

"Even directors of big corporations don't get anything near the amount paid to those trustees," he said.

After quitting politics, Heen, then 75, had no plans to drop out of the work-a-day world. He retired only last June from his long association with the law firm of Heen, Kai and Dodge.

Heen's most celebrated legal case was the explosive Massie case of the early 1930s. He defended two of the five Islanders who Thalia Fortescue Massie, wife of a Navy officer, claimed had raped her.

The case rocked Hawaii and stirred the nation when a jury failed to reach a verdict and one of the defendants was killed by Mrs. Massie's husband, mother and two sailors.

The four were tried for murder, amid an avalanche of outrage expressed on the Mainland, and were convicted of manslaughter. Then Gov. Judd commuted the sentences to one hour in custody of the Territorial High Sheriff.

Judd, who had long refrained from discussing the case, disclosed only two years ago to Chuck Frankel, the Star-Bulletin's assistant to the managing editor, that:

"... I acted under the heaviest Congressional pressure and against my better judgment. Had I possessed facts of which I learned later, I doubt that I would have commuted the sentences."

Judd had said that tremendous political pressure was upon him to pardon all four, but that he refused, and chose instead to commute the sentences to an hour.

Judd had explained that "punitive legislation against Hawaii was being considered (by Congress) at that time. Had I not acted as I did, I believe that Congress might have changed our form of government and placed us under a commission. In that event, Hawaii might not now be a State of the Union."

Heen said during the interview, as he had said in that jam-packed courtroom of over 35 years ago:

"No question at all. Those boys were innocent."

"That was the same finding of the Pinkerton agency that was brought here by Gov. Judd to investigate the case thoroughly."

Heen's eyes flashed with intensity as he recalled the sensational case. He blew puffs of cigar smoke into the distance.

His normal calm returned moments later as he surrendered thoughts of that past to the past.

He smiled appreciatively when a comment was made on how well he appeared despite the physical strain of taxing major surgery about two months ago in Houston, Tex. A portion of his key artery was removed because of disease and replaced with a nylon graft.

Heen marveled over the skill of his surgeon, Houston's distinguished Dr. Denton Cooley, noting that "I didn't even know that I had been operated on the day after it happened."

"The operation had been postponed several times. So, when I woke up that day, I asked my son, Bill Jr.: 'When is the operation postponed to?' I was so surprised when he said: 'Dad, it's all over—yesterday. . . .'"

The hospital nursing staff described Heen's recovery as "remarkable" in view of his age.

"No problem," said Heen, as he focused instead on his stockinged ankles under treatment for arthritis. "When my ankles don't bother me, I still drive around," he remarked.

The trip to Houston brought back memories for Heen of the 1928 National Democratic Convention in the Rice Hotel there.

He said: "That was the year we nominated Al Smith with Franklin D. Roosevelt as his vice-president."

"I remember going there in my pongee suit, white shoes and paper ilima lei around my Panama hat. Three Texans smiled at me as if I were a freak as I walked down the street. I told them: 'I bet you're smiling at me because you think I'm some kind of freak.'"

"We got to talking. They wouldn't believe that I was from Hawaii because they didn't think people here spoke English."

Heen today is content to spend most of his time quietly at home at 1585 Thurston Ave., Makiki, the family's residence since 1908. On week ends are family outings to their Kaaawa beach house.

Hours on end, he pores over the 18 to 20 magazines to which he subscribes. His favorites are Fortune and Business Week.

"These magazines pile up pretty fast," he said, as he related a bargain made with his 8-year-old great-granddaughter, Michele:

"I told her I'd give her 10 cents for every pile she bundled up so they could be taken to an old people's home. When she was through, she had 20 piles. She earned \$2," he said with grandfatherly pride reflected all over his face.

His wife, Mercy, joined the chorus of praise for Michele's work. It had relieved Mrs. Heen from the back-bending chore of picking up clutters of magazines from the floor of her strikingly neat home.

Heen is a picture of graceful aging as he sits in his favorite living room chair, warmly surrounded by framed pictures of a host of grandchildren and a diverse collection of art objects collected over the years.

He mourned the pre-Christmas theft of two old porcelain elephants that had long guarded the entry to the house.

"While the elephants are gone, this house, will hold up for many years to come. It's really solid," he said.

The description could well be applied to Heen himself. There is a kind of sturdiness in his fragile form. His droll sense of humor hasn't left him, although a bit of his hearing has.

Heen, who will be 86 on March 11th, is fun to chat with as he discusses today upon a background wealth of yesterdays. And his conversation flits easily from art to people to politics.

And does the grand old man of Hawaii's Democratic Party have any wise words to impart to today's politicians?

"No, no," he said at first and then reconsidered: "The only thing is that a politician must do what he thinks is right for the benefit of all the people."

THRUSTON MORTON, PRIVATE CITIZEN BY CLEAR CHOICE

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extension of Remarks an editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal entitled "Thruston Morton, Private Citizen by Clear Choice."

Many newspapers throughout the country have published editorials about our former colleague at the time he declared his intention to retire from the Senate and in the closing days of his service. The editorial which I offer today was written after his retirement this year. It states, in part:

There are things that need doing here in Louisville and Kentucky to which he could give great impetus as a private citizen. It will be interesting to see in what direction his inherited taste for public service, and his long habit of active participation, will lead him in the days to come.

I feel certain that no one will be surprised that Thruston Morton is continuing to contribute his talents to the service of Kentucky and our Nation, and at a later date I shall report on the fields of action in which he has already engaged his abilities and high concept of public service.

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

THRUSTON MORTON, PRIVATE CITIZEN BY CLEAR CHOICE

In a characteristic gesture, Thruston B. Morton is leaving his place in the United States Senate a bit early in order to give an advantage to his successor, Marlow W. Cook. Morton could doubtless have had the Senate seat as long as he pleased, judging by his record of victories. He decided not to run again this year, but to come home to Kentucky.

There is a loneliness in public life, and Morton admits to having felt it, especially since he moved on to the Senate from the more intimate House of Representatives. He has been at the job of politics ever since 1946. This newspaper, in its editorial endorsement at that time, hailed him as the kind of man who was needed in political life.

He has held an unusual variety of jobs in the ensuing years. He has served in both houses of Congress, as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Liaison, as chairman of the Republican National Committee and as chairman of his party's national convention.

ANOTHER HONOR BARELY MISSED

He could well have had still other honors. If the delegates to the 1960 G.O.P. convention had had their way, they would have nominated him as Richard M. Nixon's running mate. Nixon made a personal decision for Henry Cabot Lodge. There are those who believe that the party would have converted a narrow defeat into a victory that year

with so adept a campaigner as Thruston Morton in second place on the ballot.

A career as adventurous as Morton's in politics is bound to have had its high and low points. He was the lone member of the Kentucky delegation who supported Dwight D. Eisenhower for the nomination in 1952, and his sense of isolation caused him to withdraw as a candidate for re-election to his House seat. Just this year, he made a bold run for Nelson Rockefeller for the G.O.P. nomination. Once Nixon won at Miami Beach, however, Morton travelled all over the country giving him a full measure of assistance.

Thruston B. Morton, a veteran at 61, can be said to deserve a less rigorous life than he has led for over two decades. He is one of those rare birds in politics who wants to step off the stage while he is still a star. There are things that need doing here in Louisville and Kentucky to which he could give great impetus as a private citizen. It will be interesting to see in what direction his inherited taste for public service, and his long habit of active participation, will lead him in the days to come.

THE CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the greater Cleveland community is justifiably proud of its exceptional cultural institutions to mention two, the Cleveland Institute of Art and the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra. It is also proud of the Cleveland Public Library. On February 18, the library celebrated its 100 years of service. Today, the Cleveland Public Library is more than a repository of books. It is a modern institution that is alive, enlightening, and educational, and is dedicated to bringing culture, enjoyment, and knowledge in modern ways to all of the greater Cleveland community residents.

As part of the centennial celebration, the Friends of the Cleveland Public Library have compiled a brief history of the library which I would like to share with you. A complete history of the library has been commissioned by the Friends of the Cleveland Public Library which is being written by C. H. Cramer, professor of history, Case Western Reserve University, for publication in 1970 by the press of the university. The history follows:

THE PROUD YEARS: 1869-1969

(By Bernice Bollenbacher, Library Editor, and Fern Long, acting deputy director)

THE FOUNDING YEAR 1869

The Library's founding year offers striking comparisons with the 1969 Centennial Year. The term of the first President Johnson ended in March 1869 in the midst of the bitter Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. In 1969, the second President Johnson has only recently left the White House, and the country is again in a reconstruction period, attempting to solve racial problems similar to those in the wake of the Civil War.

In 1869 the first transcontinental railroad began operations. Today the railroads are liquidating passenger services, conceding the once lucrative business of transporting people to the automobile and airplane.

Protest echoed throughout the land in

1869 as in 1969. Suffragettes, dismayed by the failure of the 15th Amendment to enfranchise women as it presumably did Negro men, intensified their militant campaigns for women's rights.

CLEVELAND IN THE FOUNDING YEAR

Cleveland in 1869, the largest city in the Western Reserve, was recovering from the Civil War and renewing social and cultural activities interrupted during the conflict. It was a yeasty period in the City's history. A great industrial development was emerging from the situation of the City and the energies of its 92,000 people. Case Hall had been opened, and Clevelanders were flocking in for lectures and concerts. Mrs. Solon L. Severance brought her friend, Mark Twain, to lecture on the famous Quaker City cruise to Europe and the Holy Land. Educators meeting in Weddell House founded the Northeastern Ohio Teachers Association. On November 24-25, the first national suffrage convention was held in Case Hall where the American Woman Suffrage Association was organized. Henry Ward Beecher was elected president and William Lloyd Garrison, vice president. Lucy Stone opened the meeting, and Susan B. Anthony attended. Gala social affairs took place in the Cliff House, opened a month before the Library, out on Riverside Drive overlooking the Rocky River valley. Clevelanders drove out by horse and buggy during good weather and by sleigh during the winter months. The Cleveland Academy of Science was reorganized as the Kirtland Society of Natural History, and eventually, the Natural Science Museum in University Circle. Cleveland had seven bookstores—evidence indeed that it was a city of book lovers.

The trades and industries represented in the city directory of 1869-70 as well as many occupations are nonexistent today. Bonnet bleachers, wig makers, coopers, candle makers, wood carvers, saddle and collar makers, sail makers, and bell hangers applied their trades; livery stable operators, spoke and fellow manufacturers, water wheel makers, and hoop skirt tailors flourished.

Around the corner from the new Library, Dr. Erastus Cushing and his son, Dr. Henry K. Cushing, father of the famed brain surgeon, Dr. Harvey Cushing, had their homes and offices on part of the present site of the May Company. Near the Library was the studio of photographer and art dealer James F. Ryder whose photographs of Cleveland are highly prized today. The firm of Rockefeller, Andrews, and Flagler maintained offices in the Case Block, and John D. Rockefeller resided at 424 Euclid Avenue.

Book lovers attending the opening night of the new Library arrived by horsecar and carriage, climbing two long flights of stairs to the third floor of the premises. With its 1,500 square feet adjoining the Board of Education's quarters and some 5,800 volumes, the Library was hailed "a wilderness of books" by a newspaper reporter of the day. "The collection," Librarian Luther Melville Oviatt said, "covered the whole field of literature from grave to gay, from lively to severe."

Patrons had no direct access to the books stored in cases ten feet high, with glass doors. Only Library officials could unlock them. Melville Dewey's Decimal System of Classification was not available until 1876, and Oviatt devised a system of shelf classification. An instance is noted in his *Report of 1869*: "Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* is marked No. 4, Shelf 282, showing that it was the 4th book on the 282nd shelf."

Only one book at a time per family could be borrowed, and the hours of opening were limited: 10-12, 2-5, and 7-9 daily, closed on Sundays and holidays and from August 10 to 31 for inventory. In spite of these restrictions, the new Library was popular, and readers borrowed 65,552 books during the first year, an average of more than 11 borrowers per book.

Among the official speakers during the opening night ceremonies was Mayor Stephen S. Buhner who praised the Library as "an attractive place of resort for young men, withdrawing them from expensive and vicious amusements." A true friend of the Library, he added, "The tax for the Library should be made five times as great as it is to ensure its complete successfulness," and he predicted a "noble future."

The first Librarian was the son of Nelson Oviatt who was born in colonial Connecticut, coming to Ohio country as a young man. Son Luther was born in Richfield, Ohio in 1821. After graduation from Western Reserve College in Hudson, Ohio, he taught school in Parma, then Cleveland, where two of his students were John D. Rockefeller and Laura Spelman, later Mrs. Rockefeller. Oviatt described young Rockefeller as a poor student and his future wife an excellent one. Oviatt gave up teaching to join Edward Cowles in *The Cleveland Leader*. He left the newspaper to head the Library, resigning in 1875 because of ill health.

Oviatt's successor, I. L. Beardsley, was also a newspaperman, from *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and served from 1875 to 1884.

Originally Central High School, this building at Euclid Avenue and East 9th Street became the Board of Education headquarters in 1901, with the second and third floors given over to the Library.

The Library's steady growth demanded more space for books and readers alike and required a permanent building. Many branch libraries built with Carnegie funds far surpassed the Main Library. Altogether, the Main Library changed locations six times between 1869 and 1925 and expanded its present building substantially in 1959.

Foundations of the Cleveland Public Library were built largely by three dedicated people: William Howard Brett, Linda A. Eastman, and John G. White. Brett and Miss Eastman were Librarians; White was a Library trustee.

When Brett became Librarian in 1884, the Library had not kept pace with the growing City. He brought innovative ideas, infectious enthusiasm, and inspired leadership into the organization. The Library became a dynamic institution. Sweeping changes were made as he reclassified books, developed the first dictionary catalog, opened shelves to readers, organized the Blind Division, founded branch and station libraries bringing books to the neighborhoods where people lived and worked.

A new and creative atmosphere developed as Brett opened the doors to children, offering children's rooms and services, storytelling hours, and later services to schools and young people. His actions were sharp departures for the Library. Though Oviatt had written sympathetically of children's reading in his *Report of 1869* his successor, I. L. Beardsley, had taken a dim view of it: "The business of boys and girls from 10 to 18 years of age should be the work of the schoolroom." Beardsley advocated that recreational reading be discouraged. He limited children's "drawings" to one book a week and prohibited their "lingering" in the library.

AN ERA ENDS

Following William Howard Brett's tragic death in 1918, his successor, Miss Linda A. Eastman, brought to fulfillment his dream of a new Main Library. Under her administration the Cuyahoga County Library was established. The Travel Bureau of the History Department, The Lewis Carroll Room for Children, and The Robert Louis Stevenson Room for young people as well as the famous Business Information Bureau were organized. Her retirement after 43 years of service marked the end of an important era. Librarian Brett was one of the first in the country to stress the importance of library service to children and young people. He es-

tablished the first library in the world for children only, the Perkins Branch which was located until 1956 at E. 30th and St. Clair.

Home libraries from which borrowers could draw were organized in 1905 in the homes of cooperating parents in districts remote from branch libraries. Librarians and volunteer workers made regularly scheduled visits to these homes where children especially awaited each "Library Day." Young people were the Library's continuing concern, and the Stevenson Room was established at the Main Library in 1925.

Awareness that special groups have special needs consistently influenced the creation of new services by successive administrations of the Library.

For example, the establishment of the Business Information Bureau in 1929 constituted a recognition of the special needs of business and industry located in Greater Cleveland. Research was increasingly becoming a partner of both business and industry and concentration of necessary reference tools in one place supplied a new service which other metropolitan libraries were quick to emulate.

Then, in 1941 another pioneering step was taken when the service to Shut-ins was instituted. Made possible by a special bequest from Frederick and Henryett Slocum Judd, library materials are taken into the homes of people so disabled that they cannot visit the library.

That same year, 1941, saw the establishment of the Adult Education Department, an experiment in special services which proved itself with the years. A 16 mm film library was started in this Department and developed into the largest collection of its kind in any public library in the country. In 1946 the Live Long and Like It Library Club was founded, becoming the first special activity for older people to be undertaken by a public library. Other special projects were initiated by the Adult Education Department; Reading Centers; Project Libros, for Cleveland's Spanish-speaking newcomers; the Books/Jobs Project to help the unemployed and underemployed with vocational training.

REACHES OUT TO BUSINESS

In 1965 Data Processing was introduced in the Library and in the years since several processes have been automated, among them being the computerization of the Library's business activities such as production of payroll, book ordering, financial and personnel reports.

The past and present inevitably point to the future. The great book collections will continue to grow. New media will be employed as they become available, just as were films, recordings and microforms. New services will be created to meet changing patterns of living in megalopolis and the computer will surely be enlisted as an ally of the Librarian as the search for information becomes ever more complex.

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CHARLES L. DENNIS

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, as a longtime friend of the Brotherhood of the Railway and Airline Clerks—BRAC—I wish to express my pleasure at the recent appointment of BRAC's international president, Charles Leslie Dennis, to the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

I am confident that in the coming years Les Dennis will bring to his new assignment the same farsighted approach that has helped to make BRAC the great union it is today. Since 1963, he has moved his organization forward under its motto, "A Modern Union on the Move." Therefore, it is only natural and fitting that the other leaders of the American labor movement should wish to avail themselves of his counsel and guidance.

Les Dennis has a deserved reputation as one of the most, if not the most, innovative and progressive union leaders in the field of transportation. He is, for example, the chief architect and chairman of the Conference of Transportation Trades, an organization which was created to serve as "a clearinghouse on ideas and as a forum for the exchange of views." This relatively new conference has already placed its mark on the labor scene for at its most recent executive board meeting it mapped out a comprehensive plan to meet those key issues and problems which affect the transportation industry and the men and women who work in it.

Painfully aware of the problems that will continue to plague organized labor if it remains fragmented, he has led the union merger movement. On January 1 of this year, a merger between the BRAC and the Railway Patrolmen's Union was effected, and only recently BRAC merged with the 40,000-member Transportation Communication Employees Union. With that merger, Les Dennis now heads the AFL-CIO's largest transportation union with a membership in excess of 300,000 employed in all modes of transportation. As well, negotiations are currently underway with the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport & General Workers' Union and, by the end of this year, BRAC may well have a membership of close to 400,000.

Les Dennis' farsightedness in working toward mergers as a means to strengthen transportation unions is borne out by recent events, for this trend has recently been reinforced by the unification of four of our Nation's operating rail unions into the United Transportation Union. The 225,000-member UTU is now the second largest transportation union in the AFL-CIO after BRAC.

Born in Beardstown, Ill., on June 21, 1908, Les Dennis comes from a railroad family. His father, C. E. Dennis, was employed by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and the Chicago & North Western Railroads for many years. A son, L. E. Dennis, is currently a Washington-based staff member for the union,

and two daughters were formerly railroad employees. Five of his sisters are BRAC members and belong to the C. & N.W. Lodge 679 in Chicago. Altogether, 16 members of the Dennis family are, or have been, affiliated with the railroads.

Les began his career with the railroads as a freight handler for the Chicago & Northwestern in 1928. He became a member of BRAC shortly thereafter and still retains his membership in Chicago's Wood Street Station Lodge 1189. While still an active member of the lodge, he held almost every office from financial secretary-treasurer and local chairman to division chairman. In 1940 he was elected general chairman of the C. & N.W. and held that post for 19 years until he was elected a vice grand president in Los Angeles. First elected to the president's office in 1963, he was re-elected without opposition in 1967.

Currently Dennis plays an active role in the Railway Labor Executives Association as chairman of that group's International Affairs Committee and its Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Committee. In addition, he serves on the general council of the International Transport Workers' Federation. He is vice president of the Eugene Debs Foundation and, as the representative of the AFL-CIO, undertook a mission to Japan in 1963 for the Agency for International Development.

Mr. President, I believe that this brief and necessarily incomplete recitation of the accomplishments of Les Dennis does, nonetheless, give us a fuller knowledge and understanding of this man's work. I am sure that in the years ahead the guidance and influence of Les Dennis will be of major importance to the American labor movement. I commend the AFL-CIO for its intelligent choice of Les Dennis as its newest executive council member.

FREIGHT CAR SHORTAGES

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the plywood and finished lumber industries in Oregon and throughout the Western States are plagued by continuing railcar shortages that prevent full marketing of our products. I recently urged the Interstate Commerce Commission to take more effective action in preventing and relieving these shortages.

The ICC has assured me that top priority is being given to the implementation of Public Law 89-430, which establishes penalty per-diem rates for non-owned cars during times of critical shortage. I am hopeful that these provisions can be fully implemented soon.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues one point of view on these recurring railcar shortages. I insert in the RECORD at this point a statement on the subject by Mr. O. L. Stewart, executive secretary and traffic manager of the Southwest Oregon Shipper's Traffic Association, Inc.:

REQUEST FOR INDUSTRY REPORTS ON FREIGHT CAR SHORTAGES

(Statement of O. L. Stewart, executive secretary, traffic manager)

Following are our comments on particular segments of subject study and report:

1. We feel that the Commission is most sincere in their endeavor to improve the ever plaguing problem of freight car shortages, however, we are convinced that the Commission:

A. Lacks the necessary authority to cope with the situation since the railroads are able to tie-up any remedial action thru exercise of the many District, Federal and Supreme courts.

B. The Commission lacks sufficient field staff to adequately police the existing regulatory provisions and any additional or temporary provisional penalties and car service directives.

C. The existing car service orders do not adequately meet today's requirements. For instance, an order such as ICC 1020 dated February 7, 1969, by being general in scope intends to give aid to any railroad owning sufficient boxes to meet their customers requirements. However, by applying to all ownership of boxes, this type order can result in worse car utilization, in that many cars will be returned empty to owners which do not want or need those cars, whereas they could be loaded by some carrier between location of unloading and owner's line.

D. The expounded claim that shippers and receivers prolong the necessary holding of cars for loading and unloading is much exaggerated in most cases such as in Southwest Oregon where the shippers receive cars on one switch and release them on the following switch and seldom hold cars beyond one switch except in some cases where bunching occurs because of the sporadic supply.

Many of the current lost car days could easily be eliminated if the railroads would speed up switch service and movement through the weighing yards. It is very possible that some commodities presently being weighed through scale yards could move under average weight agreements, resulting in reduced rail operating costs in addition to improving car utilization.

E. Many car days are lost because the originating railroad makes car substitutions without approval of shipper who must make provisions with his buyer before he can utilize the substitution, and in some instances, it takes several days to obtain that permission which also can be an additional expense to the shipper.

F. The railroads should not pull any loaded car from the shippers loading dock without a proper bill of lading to insure prompt billing and movement of car. The problem of "No-Bill Cars" is rapidly increasing to the point that some carriers rank it among the top causes of lost car days. "No-Bill Cars" should be placed on demurrage assessment where shipper and receiver is at fault, however, a much faster method of detecting "No-Bill Cars" would eliminate much of the problem.

2. Current practices of shippers and receivers in relation to empty equipment can be greatly improved by backbone enforcement of demurrage charges by both carrier and the policing agencies. Most shippers and receivers will certainly schedule their loading and unloading practices within economic boundaries. The Commission is well qualified and experienced to set the demurrage rates and penalties necessary to eliminate undue hoarding and excessive storage of freight cars. However, there must be no exceptions for long favored commodities such as grain and military movements.

3. Practices of rail carriers, with respect to the assignment of cars to particular industries, is one of the major causes of car shortages and poor rail car utilization. Electronic computers can spell out this factor by comparing car turn around time, revenue earn-

ings, lost car use days, lost mileage and per diem rates on special equipment as compared to general service equipment. However, car acquisition and replacement cost must be accurately determined and costed. Ex Parte 241 revealed some of the abuses and poor utilization of special assigned equipment.

The rail carriers are grossly adding to poor utilization and car use of the mileage per diem cars owned by both private and railroad companies because those cars earn per diem only when they are moving, thus resulting in a railroad being able to hold those cars indefinitely without any compensation to owner or lessee.

The failure of carriers to distribute empty equipment on a reasonable basis cannot be corrected until the ambiguous terminology of "just, fair and reasonable service" is clearly defined (Section 15 (1) Part I, Interstate Commerce Act). In Southwest Oregon, the Southern Pacific Co. and the regulatory agencies have long argued that equal percentage of supply does not mean everyday, or week, but can be reasonable if brought into a fairly equal supply percentage in thirty (30) days. This line of reasoning is unsound in a modern high cost economy, such as today, where an efficient operator can go broke or be forced out of competition while getting only 50% of his requirement, while another operator receives 75% or even 100% supply. This situation also holds true in the need and supply of various types of equipment such as wide door boxes, long and short flats, etc. The shipper which receives the greatest percentage of each type required is enjoying an economic advantage over his competitor which must either, (a) await his requirements, (b) use equipment that is more expensive to load and unload, (c) reduce or increase orders to fit substituted equipment, (d) accept order cancellations for failure to ship on schedule or because wrong type or size car was used, (e) absorb the freight difference in substituting truck for rail shipments wherever possible.

Fair distribution of freight cars can only be assured thru adequate policing by both the state public utility agencies and the Interstate Commerce Commission which have regulatory jurisdiction over such. Railroad management either does not or cannot control the favoritism shown some shippers by the various car clerks and train crews, and in some cases top rail management is well aware of these favoritisms. Many shippers would sue the railroads for commensurate losses if there were adequate precedents or provisions for recovery.

The more promising avenue to apply for relief is provided in section 1(14) (a) of the Act where the Commission could establish more reasonable rules making necessary carrier information available to the shipper with respect to car service so each shipper would know his degree of and/or lack of car supply in comparison to the overall supply. If a shipper could be awarded compensation for delay or lack of car supply in the manner the railroads are allowed demurrage when a shipper holds cars beyond a set period, the railroads would in turn have an incentive to meet their car supply requirements.

In most periods of severe car shortages on the Southern Pacific Co. in Southeast Oregon, we are advised by the Commission that the Southern Pacific either reports no shortages or that they have a high percentage of ownership on line. The problem here is that the SP system is so large and includes such a spread out geographical area in many states, they can have many empties in an area, or on a division, some thousand miles or many days away from an area that is experiencing severe shortages, and in most instances, many empties are confiscated along the route to Southwest Oregon, resulting in fewer cars arriving in Oregon. This

results in the first come first served situation where the shippers at end of line are constantly experiencing shortages and inequities in supply.

In some instances the Southern Pacific will indicate sufficient cars on system to meet the requirements in number of empties ordered by shippers whereas the actual accounting would show serious shortages in various types of equipment such as 40 or 50 foot boxes and flats and 40 or 50 foot wide door boxes as the case may be. In other words, if the shipper could use a flat instead of a box or a cattle car for a box, or a 5 foot door for a 10 foot door, the carrier would then have a car to apply against an order. However, we reiterate that even under such a ridiculous accounting, substitutions may be a thousand miles from point of shortage.

The percentage of on line formula in relationship to ownership must be revised and upgraded to accurately determine the number of freight cars on a specific railroad that will be available for loading on that line. The present formula includes loads, empties, cars in trains moving on to and off, or across a particular railroad. Loaded or empty cars destined off line will not be made available for loading by this formula. Also, the report should indicate location of empties and prospective empties by divisions or particular areas.

SOSTA is most alert and responsive in reporting any excessive or out of ordinary accumulation of loads and unloads in Southwest Oregon and/or other areas when either noticed or brought to our attention. Here again is another important factor that requires policing by the regulatory agencies and quick remedial action. The Southern Pacific cannot permit much of this in Southwest Oregon because of track limitations forcing them to keep the lines open or rail operations will practically cease.

4. Totally improved or full equipment utilization can never be achieved under the present abusive and delay causing practices in the holding of both loaded and empty cars in the movement of grain, cotton and other agriculture products. Grain and military are excellent examples of wasteful practices in holding cars at both point of origin and at destination.

DETERMINING CAR SHORTAGES

It is no longer just a matter of determining box and flat car shortages under a broad classification, inasmuch as progress in loading and unloading techniques, coupled with the advent of newer and various types of freight cars installed to meet specific demands of various industries, has compounded and broadened the compilation of information needed to determine extent of shortages by type of cars in relationship to available equipment that can be used.

In addition to determining carrying capacity and number of available equipment, turn around time, car shortages in the various territories, and surpluses of equipment in other territories, it is also necessary to determine the shortages of the types of cars and the surpluses, if any, of the types of cars that can be used in substitution during such emergencies. This information must be compiled and determined by all railroads instead of just Class I carriers. This is presently impossible because of the variations in the many carrier reporting systems and the reporting date used. In addition it is imperative to determine the total number and carrying capacity of freight cars in special assigned service and which is not made available to general service. (This is a large factor in today's shortages.)

If all the necessary information and statistics were available to accurately determine the exact number of cars required to move the available rail traffic and the shortage of such equipment in number and carry-

ing capacity, the remedy and necessary cure would still be just as far away today as in the days of the 1920's because of the policy of equipment interchange of cars between carriers and the existing rules and lack of adherence thereto. Some railroads have contributed to the ownership of required cars to move rail freight while others have chosen to ignore their responsibility to participate in the ownership of a national freight car pool adequate to serve the nation. This has led to a widespread disregard of existing rules and responsibility.

It must be determined and spelled out as to where and to what extent the liability lies in adequate freight car ownership including that of the origin carriers, intermediate or participating carriers and delivering carriers. Which railroads should own cars, number and type of cars each railroad should own and which railroads should be exempt from car ownership and if exempt what should be their contribution in exchange for exempted ownership?

Accurate compilation of freight car shortages at any one shipping point, or in any area, is an unsurmountable task because of the many varied interpretations of car shortages. Some railroads and regulatory bodies have convictions that so called spot shortages are normal and must be expected; some conclude that if a 40 foot flat is accepted, instead of the 50 footer ordered, then the 50 footer was not necessary and no shortage occurred. This holds true in any accepted substitution including the supply of a narrow door box against the order for a wide door box. Some conclude that a total number of cars supplied against a total number ordered eliminates any shortage regardless of time elapse between date ordered and date supplied. A shipper can go several days without one single car and then receive those several days supply on one day, therefore no shortage that week in the railroad's opinion.

Total shortages are not available because some railroads persuade the shippers to stop ordering their daily needs when back-orders pile up. In such instances, a shipper can show only 10 cars ordered whereas he could have ordered and used 50 cars if the daily supply had been available. This makes that carrier car supply look better and reduces the actual number and seriousness of shortage. The real economic injury to the shipper in these instances cannot be fully determined or proven in dollar and cents value, none the less there are losses in loading crew performance, overtime labor to catch up when cars are finally available, additional warehouse costs to store unshipped cargo, and lost business because additional sales cannot be booked for prompt shipment.

The railroads refute these claims by argu-

ing that the orders and production are eventually moved by rail, therefore no actual business was lost. In other words, if we don't haul it today we will haul it next week.

RECORDS OF ACTUAL CAR SHORTAGES

Attached to this report is a breakdown of the number of cars ordered and supplied by types and size of cars. We compiled reports from only thirteen member mills because these same 13 mills submitted all of the weekly reports necessary to compile complete statistics for the entire years of 1966, 1967 and 1968; also, this report on the same thirteen (13) mills indicates the increased demand for the wide door and 50 foot narrow door box cars, and the 50-60 foot flat cars in preference to the 40 footers. The demand for and the ability to substitute the narrow door box and 40 foot flat cars is decreasing each year. Buyers of 4x8 packaged forest products will not normally accept shipment in a narrow door box except when the shipper will give an allowance to cover the additional unloading costs. This results in the shipper being penalized on both additional loading and unloading cost when a narrow door box is supplied in substitution for a wide door ordered. The 40 foot flat car is seldom ordered because of the length required to load the length of lumber ordered and also necessary to meet the minimum tariff weight provisions. Some green lumber mills order any size flat because they are able to meet the weight requirements and/or can reduce the footage ordered, whereas if they waited for all 50 footers they would experience many days of no flats to load and would not receive all their requirements in time to meet their shipping schedules. Their buyers would be forced to buy from an area that enjoyed better car supply; also, there just aren't enough 50 foot flats to meet the demand as indicated by the subject report. The basic reason for accepting any car substitution is the necessity of maintaining a shipping schedule to move production and to meet delivery dates.

Adequate car supply and service would substantially increase the earnings of shipper, carrier and receiver, which in turn would improve the State and Federal Government revenues and insure our Nation against serious rail transportation problems during an emergency or war period.

SOUTHWEST OREGON SHIPPERS' TRAFFIC ASSOCIATION, INC.

The following statistics are compiled from reports submitted by the same 13 mills for the years 1966, 1967, and 1968. These reports are submitted weekly by each mill. They are recorded and compiled weekly, monthly and yearly:

	Narrow door 40 ft.	Narrow door 50 ft.	Wide door 40 and 50 ft.	Total	40 ft.	50 to 60 ft.	Any size 40 to 50 ft.	Total
1966:								
Ordered.....	533	369	13,746	14,648	4	1,202	580	1,786
Supplied.....	2,016	2,056	8,988	14,208	619	834	(1)	1,453
Plus or minus.....	+1,483	+1,687	-4,758	-440	+615	-368	-580	-333
Percent supplied.....	378	557	65	97	1,548	69		81
1967:								
Ordered.....	553	291	13,352	14,196	14	1,260	423	1,697
Supplied.....	2,380	696	10,571	13,647	397	810	(1)	1,207
Plus or minus.....	+1,827	+405	-2,781	-549	+383	-450	-423	-490
Percent supplied.....	403	239	79	96	2,836	64		71
1968:								
Ordered.....	355	901	16,321	17,577	21	1,982	646	2,649
Supplied.....	2,960	691	13,472	17,123	981	1,276	(1)	2,257
Plus or minus.....	+2,605	-210	-2,849	-354	+960	-706	-646	-392
Percent supplied.....	834	77	83	97	4,761	64		85

1 See note (2).

NOTE. (1) More narrow door box cars are supplied than ordered because the mills are forced to accept substitutions of narrow doors in lieu of DD or Wide doors ordered because of railroads inability to supply. The same applies on 50-60 foot flats where 40 footers are substituted.

(2) Some mills order any size flat (40' or 50') and accept any size carrier furnished. Size furnished shows under proper heading.

(3) This report emphasizes the shortages of wide door boxes and 50'-60' flats.

(4) The number of cars shorted were not over ordered or cancelled, but were carried forward as back orders. These mills order daily only the number of cars that they can load daily if supplied. Some mills load on Saturday, Sunday and around the clock in order to catch up back orders when and if cars become available.

(Prepared by: O. L. Stewart, February 18, 1969.)

AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN BEFORE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

HON. FRANK E. MOSS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the return of W. Averell Harriman from Paris marked another milestone in the public service career of one of our most distinguished citizens. On February 5, Ambassador Harriman was the luncheon guest of the National Press Club, where he discussed the outlook for the negotiations taking place in Paris as well as a number of other facets of our relations with Europe.

An excellent report of his luncheon appearance was published in the Baltimore Sun the next day, February 6. I ask unanimous consent that the Sun's report of the luncheon be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

TROOP REDUCTION FORECAST SOON—HARRIMAN SAYS STAND BY SAIGON RETARDED EFFORT

WASHINGTON, February 5.—There is a good chance that withdrawal of "some" American troops from South Vietnam can begin "very soon," W. Averell Harriman told a National Press Club luncheon gathering here today.

The 77-year-old New Yorker, whom President Johnson entrusted with the job of getting Vietnam peace talks started in Paris, added that North Vietnam had scaled down its military operations last November in a way that "would have justified removal of some of our troops."

ESCALATED FIGHTING

Such a withdrawal might already have begun but for the retarding effect of Saigon's stand on peace-talks prerequisites and a consequent delay of the Paris parley's start until January 25, he also asserted.

North Vietnam has reversed course in the interim with the result that "the fighting has escalated," he said, adding that he nevertheless hopes for an "early discussion" among the Paris conferees of problems related to the withdrawal issue.

"I think our minimum objectives can be realized, but we better get rid of those people who want to escalate our objectives," he said at a later point after asserting:

"We want to reduce the violence, reduce United States casualties and get the boys headed home."

He added that he hopes this can be done "either by agreement [at Paris] or by mutual example."

Introduced as a "thus-far frustrated man of peace," Mr. Harriman, who was President Johnson's chief agent for Vietnam peace-making from December, 1965, until the Johnson administration's end, said he had been asked by President Nixon to "stay on for consultation for 30 days."

But he does not expect to be "consulted," he said, adding—when asked what he expects President Nixon's projected European trip to accomplish—that "Mr. Nixon has not consulted me since he has been in the White House."

AGREEMENT UNSURE

Nevertheless, "I am going to do all I can to help him on Vietnam," he said. But he took care to limit his support to that field saying that "I'm not sure that I agree with him" on other matters.

Asked about his personal plans, Mr. Harriman, who, with the exception of the period from 1954 to 1958, when he was Governor of New York, has been in federal service almost continuously since 1933, said:

"If my wife and I ever leave Washington again, it will be 'too soon'."

PLANS TO TALK

He is "going to do a certain amount of talking" but has not made up his mind about "writing," he said, for men write their memoirs chiefly to prove themselves "always right" and "I have sometimes been wrong."

But, he added, "I don't care to write a book entitled 'When I Was Wrong.'"

Mr. Harriman's audience included Corneliu Bogdan, Romania's ambassador here, and that moved him to remark that "the Romanian government is among those that have done all they could to get (Vietnam) peace negotiations started."

He added a like tribute to Poland's government and to that of the Soviet Union, which, he said, had "been extremely helpful both in October and more recently when we settled the procedural questions" at Paris.

Mr. Harriman also singled out two fellow occupants of the dais who are his neighbors in Washington—Senator John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.) and Senator Gale W. McGee (D., Wyo.). The Kentuckian is "my favorite Republican senator," he said, before adding that "perhaps the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will make some sense" now that Senator McGee has been added to it.

Clark M. Clifford, President Johnson's last Secretary of Defense, also was at the head table, and Mr. Harriman asserted he had read the transcripts of Mr. Clifford's telecasts in December and January criticizing Saigon's stand and calling for an early start of American troop withdrawals.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 51st anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania, that nation's Consul-General, Mr. Petras P. Dauzvardis, in Chicago, made a learned and eloquent presentation of Lithuania's legitimate claims to full partnership in the family of free nations.

In that Mr. Dauzvardis presently resides in my district, it is fitting that I call to the attention of my colleagues his thoughtful and yet poignant statement.

Also included herewith is the memorandum of Secretary of State Rogers to Mr. Joseph Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires of Lithuania which Consul General Dauzvardis included in his remarks.

The items follow:

REMARKS OF CONSUL GENERAL OF LITHUANIA, PETRAS P. DAUZVARDIS, ON THE OCCASION OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY, FEBRUARY 16

Liberty to a nation is the same as good health to a person; independence to a state is like life itself to an individual.

Thomas Jefferson's memorable statement and the United States Declaration of Independence affirm that "these truths are evident: that all people (nations) are created free and equal"; they are Creator-endowed with certain inalienable rights, among them the right to life, the right to liberty, and the right to the pursuit of happiness—the right to shape their own destiny, the right to self-determination.

These rights are reaffirmed in the United Nations Charter's preamble: "... reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity of worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." The Charter then goes on: Art. 1: "... Respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples..." and Art. 2: "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

Regrettably, not all member-states live up to these noble principles and their own solemn pledges and obligations. One such state is the Soviet Union, which violates not only moral and international law, but even its own treaties. It had with Lithuania treaties of peace, non-aggression and mutual aid. The principles enumerated in the United Nations Charter were part of these pacts, yet the Soviets trampled them underfoot. As she did in Czechoslovakia recently, the Soviet Union invaded and occupied Lithuania in 1940 by military force, and continues to rule, exploit and gradually annihilate the country. At the present time, the Soviet Union is the biggest imperialist and colonial, foreign territory-grabbing power.

President Nixon pictured the Soviet aggression and the occupation and plight of Lithuania and her neighbor states as:

"The forcible incorporation of the Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—into the territory of the Soviet Union, in 1940, will long be remembered as an example of the imposition of totalitarianism upon small and helpless countries.

"The United States has never recognized this act of aggression, and maintains as an official position, that the people of these countries be allowed to determine their own destinies.

"In committing aggression against the Baltic countries, the Soviets violated not only the spirit and letter of international law, but offended the standards of common human decency.

"... We cannot condone Soviet imperialism, whether in the case of Czechoslovakia or in the case of the Baltic States.

"It is my fervent hope that the brave peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—countries with which many Americans have deep and close ties—will again enter the ranks of free nations."

The Lithuanian nation is extremely grateful for this statement as well as for the recent statement of Secretary of State William P. Rogers and other similar expressions by leading American statesmen, Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation hope and wait for realistic support for the just cause of freedom and independence from the great free powers and all freedom-loving governments and peoples.

It is sad to relate that up to now neither the United Nations nor the leaders of free nations have paid more attention to the plight of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and other victims of Soviet aggression and imperialism.

It seems that now the time has come to activate the problem of the liberation of the Baltic States, for which purpose there are several ways and means. One such means for discussing the question could be the Resolution adopted by the United States Congress in its 1965-66 session, which reads:

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives of the United States urge the President of the United States—

"(a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

"(b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples."

Another means is the United Nation's resolution on colonialism and the restoration of independence. This is the method proposed by Professor of International Law, S. Prakash Sinha (of India), based on the said resolution and on the right to self-determination. He terms Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia as "contiguous colonies" of the Soviet empire. Former British Foreign Minister Lord Home called them "the world's newest Russian colonies." Former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, the late Adlai E. Stevenson described Soviet colonialism as: "The Soviet colonial system is most cruel and oppressive." Which is something we know very well.

The third method is a revolution of sorts; an attempt to secede from the Soviet Union, in accordance with, and to test, its own constitution which states that the right of secession is reserved for each of the Soviet Union's republics.

Probably the most realistic measure would be the first of the above mentioned, since Lithuania *de jure* still is an independent state and therefore has the right to demand that the occupant withdraw from its territory with all its forces and personnel and restore self-government to its people—to the Lithuanian nation.

This is what the free portion of the Lithuanian nation demands, and for which she requests the support and assistance of the free nations and peoples of the world—for the liberation of Lithuania and the restoration of Lithuania's independence.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 11, 1969.

Mr. JOSEPH KAJECKAS,
Charge d'Affaires of Lithuania.

DEAR MR. CHARGE D'AFFAIRES: It is with sincere pleasure that I extend to you greetings and best wishes on behalf of the Government and people of the United States on the occasion of the fifty-first anniversary of Lithuania's independence.

Lithuania's history is distinguished by the courage of its patriots and the fortitude of its people in adversity. These vital qualities of the Lithuanian nation were tested many times during periods of foreign domination, and in 1918 Lithuania took its just place in the community of nations with the proclamation of its independence. The forcible incorporation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940 frustrated this achievement. In this new time of trial, the Lithuanians have nevertheless shown a determination to maintain their national culture and consciousness. Americans and free men everywhere look with deep sympathy upon the aspirations of the Lithuanian

people for freedom and national independence.

The United States Government, by its continued refusal to recognize the forcible incorporation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, affirms its belief in the right of Lithuania to self-determination.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF UTILITY
CORPORATIONS—DANVILLE, VA.

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, political expenditures by utility corporations are no recent development. They hire advertising or public relations firms to malign candidates they do not like. They transport candidates they do like in company aircraft. Their network of local managers and retained attorneys handle political assignments. They contribute regularly to certain types of political education and action organizations. The costs of most activity of this nature are not reported as political expenditures. They are included as operating expenses, paid for by consumers.

What is new in this field is the increased political activity of the power industry at the municipal level. The aim of this increased political activity is acquisition by the electric power industry, already the Nation's largest, of city-owned electric systems, whose ability to provide their customers with more power at lower cost embarrasses the investor-owned utilities. If this small yardstick of competition provided by the municipals can be removed, the I O U's will be better able to increase their rates and profits. On this point, although I O U profits are at an alltime high—return on their common stock equity averaged 12.8 percent in 1967—they also have pending an alltime record high of requests for rate increases.

Mr. President, I shall review briefly the current situation on political activity of I O U's in the field of municipal government.

The mayor of Detroit has proposed to sell the city's public lighting facilities to Detroit Edison, whose chief executive, Walker Cislner, was the mayor's campaign treasurer. The municipal system in Allegan, Mich., has been acquired by Consumers Power which, despite its name, is an investor-owned utility. Waterville, Ohio, sold its system to Toledo Edison. Northern States Power of Minnesota—an unregulated utility which possibly was miffed because the citizens of Le Sueur, Minn., have again declined to sell their system—is starting sellout campaigns in six other Minnesota cities. There are sellout campaigns in five Ohio cities and towns including Caldwell, which a subsidiary of American Electric Power, a New York holding company, is after.

Danville, Va., owner of one of the oldest municipal systems in the United

States, is now in a do-or-die struggle with another American Electric Power subsidiary, the Appalachian Power Co. Here are the facts on that situation.

Danville has generated 90 percent of its own power since it commenced operation in 1885. The issue is whether Danville can continue in the power business or whether the power company will take over the system.

On September 12, 1967, an election was held in Danville putting to the voters the question of whether to issue some \$9,000,000 of revenue bonds to add generating capacity to the city system. Officials of the city of Danville say that newspaper, radio, and television were so saturated with propaganda from the power company that it was virtually impossible to have a representative expression on the part of the voters. Nevertheless, out of about 9,000 votes cast, the bond issue was defeated by only 43 votes.

The Danville officials say they estimate conservatively that the power company spent \$50,000 in its 1967 propaganda campaign.

The effect of the propaganda was largely intended to lead the people of Danville to believe that the revenue bonds sought to be issued would somehow reduce the ability of the community to provide for the needs of schools, sewers, and other general civic obligations.

The power company in a radio spot announcement asked whether these events were transpiring in "Danville, Va., or Danville, Russia."

Subsequent to the bond election, on January 11, 1968, Danville filed a complaint with the Federal Power Commission, alleging among other things, restraint of trade by the power company in violation of the Federal Power Act. This case remains on FPC's docket but has yet to come to hearing. The Federal Power Commission currently is investigating the charges.

The City Council of Danville, some months ago, announced the holding of another bond referendum election. The date selected for the election was March 18, 1969. Again the power company pulled up its heavy artillery and commenced a barrage of propaganda through press, radio, and television. The propaganda barrage has been so steady during recent weeks that the council has decided to call off the election for the time being.

The council resolved to defer the referendum "until such time as said council may feel that Appalachian's interference has been diminished or obviated and that there exists a proper climate in which the matter can be considered with mature and cool judgment." Further, stated the city council:

The very important decision of whether Danville shall or shall not expand its electric generating facilities cannot be fairly presented to the voters in an atmosphere charged with emotionalism, half-truths, misinformation, accusations, and recriminations.

One of the newspaper ads run in Danville papers falsely implies that money spent for expansion of the power system denies needed dollars to schools,

police, and street improvements. Another attempts to tell the people of Danville that growth of the electric department is a bad thing. Another follows the "hometown folks" theme common to utility ads. "Now Appalachian Has a Danville Address—539 Main Street," reads the ad, by the company which serves no residential customers in the city, no commercial customers, and but one industrial customer.

Mr. President, the activities of the American Electric Power Co. and its subsidiary in Danville provide further proof of the political activities of utility corporations. Such activity was piously disclaimed by Virginia utilities earlier this month, following a discussion of such activity between the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), and Virginia State Senator Henry Howell, who was testifying on S. 607, the utility consumers' counsel bill.

Anyone who has eyes to read and ears to hear knows that utilities are up to their eyebrows in political affairs—with their customers' money. I sometimes ponder the effect of the insistence of utility officials upon denying the truth. A younger and more truthful generation than ours tells it as it is. A substantial segment of that younger generation has become disaffected, because of the perpetuation of myths about our society, myths that are perpetuated by the power industry. Secure from competition and assured large profits, the industry alleges unfair competition, portraying itself as a fullback tackled by the referee. Controlled by relatively few men, the industry contends that its ownership—which implies control—resides among the millions of ordinary stockholders. Sheltered by Government, with market, price, and profit assured, it preaches that it is the essence of free enterprise. Indeed, according to a news story this month, Virginia Electric & Power has taken some 200 Virginia high school students on a trip to learn about the power industry and free enterprise. I cannot think of any industry less versed in the realities of free enterprise than the Government-protected utility monopolies. It was this same utility, Virginia Electric & Power, which bragged, in its report on its 1965 annual meeting, about its successful political activity in gutting the Appalachia bill.

I quote from that brochure the paragraph entitled "Free Enterprise and the Utilities":

You are all aware of our concern with Federal encroachment in the areas of free enterprise. A real threat of this nature to the electric utilities in the east developed last year. I refer to the Appalachia legislation which, as originally proposed, contemplated federally financed generating plants in the coal fields. VEPCO and other investor-owned utilities cooperated to oppose this with all the energy at their command. I am glad to report that the Appalachia legislation as enacted forbids the use of any of the presently appropriated funds for the construction of electric utility facilities, though the subject of developing mine-mouth plants is to be studied by the Commission provided for by the law. You may rest assured that we will use every proper means at our disposal to combat Federal encroachment . . .

By utility standards, then, Federal assistance toward the development of a re-

gion's principal resource is bad—unless the utilities are assured that they, rather than the local people, will control and benefit from it. By utility standards it is noble, and in the best tradition of American free enterprise, for a distant company to spend its customers' money to prevent citizens of a city such as Danville, Va., from providing themselves with their own electricity.

Mr. President, it is about time that some group investigate and analyze the tactics used by the power industry in its attempts to weaken local government.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the resolution of the Danville City Council and some of the newspaper ads that have been placed in the Danville papers by Appalachian Power and the New Day for Danville Committee. It is the local front organization for American Electric Power, whose president, Donald C. Cook, wants only a dozen power systems in this country. That would mean the destruction of the efficient, city-owned systems which sell power cheaper than he does.

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

RESOLUTION 69-27

A resolution requesting the corporation court of Danville to rescind and allow the city to withdraw the order of Wednesday the 29th day of January 1969, in the matter of an election to determine whether the qualified voters of the city of Danville shall approve the issuance of \$11,000,000 bonds of the city; such order establishing procedures and setting the date for such election

Whereas, by Order of the Corporation Court of the City of Danville a bond election to determine whether the qualified voters of the City will approve the issuance of \$11,000,000 bonds of the Electric Department of the City is presently set for March 18, 1969; and,

Whereas, in the judgment of the governing body of the City of Danville Appalachian Electric Power Company has injected itself into the local affairs of the City of Danville to the extent that it appears that the issue of the expansion of the electric generating facilities of the City cannot be submitted to the people of the City of Danville in an unemotional climate where fair consideration can be given by the electorate; and,

Whereas, Appalachian Electric Power Company has heretofore in 1967 injected itself into Danville's local affairs, and at that time disseminated a large amount of propaganda designed to defeat the bond referendum, which activities on the part of Appalachian became the subject matter in part of a petition by the City of Danville to the Federal Power Commission to investigate Appalachian's efforts in engaging in local political issues praying that Appalachian be enjoined or restrained from any such future activity; and,

Whereas, the Federal Power Commission has not as yet ruled upon this part of the petition of the City of Danville; and,

Whereas, Appalachian in the absence of such a ruling is again injecting itself into the local affairs of the people of the City of Danville in even a larger scale than in 1967, having opened an office in the City of Danville and advertised that such office is designed to disseminate information concerning the upcoming bond referendum; and,

Whereas, Appalachian has made public statements both through the press and radio that its purpose in Danville and its office in Danville is to affect the bond referendum; and,

Whereas, it is the judgment of this gov-

erning body that with such activities as are being conducted by Appalachian presently and in the absence of a restraining order from the Federal Power Commission that the very important decision of whether Danville shall or shall not expand its electric generating facilities cannot be fairly presented to the voters in an atmosphere charged with emotionalism, half-truths, misinformation, accusations and recriminations; and,

Whereas, it is the judgment of this body that the issue of expanding the electric generating facilities is too important to the future of the City and its citizens to be presented to the voters again in any such atmosphere; and,

Whereas, it is the judgment of this body that this matter should be delayed to provide an opportunity for the Federal Power Commission to take whatever corrective action it may to restrain Appalachian from interfering in the local affairs of the City of Danville.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Council of the City of Danville that it does hereby request the Corporation Court of Danville to rescind and allow the City to withdraw its Order of Wednesday the 29th day of January, 1969, in The Matter Of An Election To Determine Whether The Qualified Voters Of The City Of Danville Shall Approve The Issuance Of \$11,000,000 Bonds Of The City, such Order establishing procedures and setting the date for such election, granting leave to said Council to reapply to the Court for an appropriate referendum date in the future at such time as said Council may feel that Appalachian's interference has been diminished or obviated and that there exists a proper climate in which the matter can be considered with mature and cool judgment; and,

Be it further resolved that the City Attorney is hereby authorized and directed to prepare and submit to the Court an appropriate Order to accomplish same.

Approved:

D. L. AREY, M.D.,

Vice Mayor.

Attest:

R. L. HALL,

Clerk.

This is to certify that the above is a true and correct copy of Resolution No. 69-27 presented and adopted February 21, 1969.

R. L. HALL,

Clerk of Council.

[From the Danville (Va.) Bee, Feb. 15, 1969]
WE NEED AN \$11,000,000 GENERATOR LIKE WE NEED ANOTHER HOLE IN MAIN STREET

All over the country cities like Danville which furnish electric service to their citizens are getting out of the power generating business. They still distribute electricity to their citizens and they still make a profit—a much bigger profit than they would make by generating their own power. Meanwhile the voters of Danville are being asked to approve an \$11 million bond issue to add to the City's power generating capacity. Danville—like those other cities—has many needs: better streets, more schools, stronger police force and fire department, parks and more new industry. All of these call for spending public funds. But what are the voters being asked to approve? A bond issue for a steam generator! Let's put first things first and keep Danville moving.

Vote no March 18.

New Day for Danville Committee: John W. Daniel, Chairman—C. A. Carr, Co-Chairman—Glenn E. Hile, Secretary-Treasurer.

[From the Danville (Va.) Bee, Feb. 19, 1969]
IS THERE NO END TO INCREASED SPENDING? NOT IF YOU VOTE FOR AN \$11,000,000 BOND DEBT

The voters of Danville are being asked to approve an \$11 million bond issue on March 18 to purchase and install a 65,000

kilowatt steam turbine generator for the City Electric Department. City Hall is calling for approval of this bond issue on the grounds that Danville electric needs are growing at the rate of 6½ per cent per year. What City Hall hasn't told the voters of Danville is that this \$11 million is just the beginning. At Danville's present rate of growth—and who's to say it won't increase—the City would need to call for a \$13 million bond election to add a 65,000 kilowatt unit in 1975 and a \$21 million bond election to add a 100,000 kilowatt unit in 1980. We think the taxpayers ought to know what they have to look forward to.

Vote no March 18.
New Day For Danville Committee: John W. Daniel, Chairman; C. A. Carr, Co-Chairman; Glenn E. Hile, Secretary-Secretary.

[From the Danville (Va.) Register, Feb. 18, 1969]

YOU'VE GOT A LOT MORE TO LOOK FORWARD TO

1969	-----	\$11,000,000
1972	-----	13,000,000
1974	-----	21,000,000

The voters of Danville are being asked to approve an \$11 million bond issue on March 18 to purchase and install a 65,000 kilowatt steam turbine generator for the City Electric Department. City Hall is calling for approval of this bond issue on the grounds that Danville's electric needs are growing at the rate of 6½ per cent per year. What City Hall hasn't told the voters of Danville is that this \$11 million is just the beginning. At Danville's present rate of growth—and who's to say it won't increase—the City would need to call for a \$13 million bond election to add a 65,000 kilowatt unit in 1975 and a \$21 million bond election to add a 100,000 kilowatt unit in 1980. We think the taxpayers ought to know what they have to look forward to.

Vote no March 18.
New Day For Danville Committee: John W. Daniel, Chairman; C. A. Carr, Co-Chairman; Glenn E. Hile, Secretary-Treasurer.

TEN GOOD REASONS TO VOTE NO

New Day for Danville Committee, Post Office Box 826, Danville, Virginia.

Don't be a "yes man" for city hall, vote no March 18.

[From the Danville (Va.) Register, Feb. 21, 1969]

FOR \$11,000,000 THEY PROMISE YOU AN ELECTRIC RATE REDUCTION—SOUNDS A LITTLE PHONY, DOESN'T IT?

We think the Danville City Council has again underestimated the intelligence of the Citizens. In their efforts to get an \$11 million bond issue approved by the voters on March 18, they have informally promised to give the City's electric customers a 5 per cent rate reduction—if the bonds are approved. At the same time the Council is warning property owners to get ready for an increased property tax. In the first place, people in the area around Danville who are served by a private power company got a 5 per cent reduction two years ago. In the second place, how much good is a two-year late 5 per cent rate reduction going to do the citizens of Danville if their property taxes are increased by 50 per cent?

Vote no March 18.
New Day For Danville Committee: John W. Daniel, Chairman; C. A. Carr, Co-Chairman. [From the Danville (Va.) Bee, Feb. 17, 1969]
NOW APPALACHIA HAS A DANVILLE ADDRESS—539 MAIN STREET

After being part of the Danville scene for more than 30 years, we assumed that most of the folks in town know who we are and how we operate. Some of the things we have been hearing recently, however, indicate that this isn't true.

So we are opening an Information Center in downtown Danville to give you the opportunity of asking us questions.

We'll be open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday. And if you have a question about electric rates, industrial development, generating facilities or the upcoming bond election, please come by and see us. We're keeping a light in the window.

Danville has good connections.
Appalachian Power Co.

[From the Danville (Va.) Commercial Appeal, Feb. 17, 1969]

APCO OPENS OFFICE

Appalachian Power Company will open an information center in downtown Danville today.

The office, at 539 Main Street, will open Monday through Friday from 9 a.m. until 5 p.m. "indefinitely", said D. C. Kennedy, division manager.

"This office is solely for the purpose of giving the citizens of Danville a convenient source of information about Appalachian, its relationship with the City of Danville and the March 18 bond referendum," he said.

James E. Jones, Appalachian manager for the Danville area, will be in charge of the office and will be there most of the time during office hours, Kennedy said.

Kennedy pointed out that Appalachian first began serving a Danville industry in 1933 when it connected to Dan River Mills. The power company was tied into the City Electric System during World War II and was connected to the city system again in 1960.

He said that presently Appalachian is furnishing approximately 20 percent of Danville's electric needs.

MARITIME OUTLOOK: 1969—ADDRESS BY EDWIN M. HOOD, PRESIDENT OF SHIPBUILDERS COUNCIL OF AMERICA

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, it is well known that I have for the past years fought vigorously for a new merchant marine policy that would regain for the United States its rightful place as the world's leader in shipping.

I have just read a most thoughtful address on this subject to the AFL-CIO Trades Department Seminar by Mr. Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America. To share Mr. Hood's cogent remarks on this subject, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

REMARKS BY EDWIN M. HOOD, PRESIDENT, SHIPBUILDERS COUNCIL OF AMERICA ON "MARITIME OUTLOOK: 1969", BEFORE AFL-CIO MARITIME TRADE DEPARTMENT SEMINAR, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1969, WASHINGTON, D.C.

It is a high privilege to be invited to participate in your discussion of the maritime outlook for 1969.

No assessment of the future, however, should be made without first recognizing influences of the past. For much too long, the American merchant marine has indeed been an enigma wrapped with inadequacies, frustrations, disappointments and controversies.

Much of the fault, in the more recent past, can be attributed to a lack of national vision and to the attitudes of Administration leaders. One of Winston Churchill's classic remarks describes well this state of mind as affecting the U.S. maritime problem: "They were decided only to be undecided, resolved to be irresolute, adamant for drift, all-powerful for impotency."

The appropriateness of such an evaluation can be measured by a concession made by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey on January 17, 1969—just three days prior to the end of the Johnson Administration. He said: "We have starved our maritime service—our merchant marine—at a very dangerous time in world history."

This is the same national leader who in late 1965 called for an expanded merchant marine and shipbuilding effort, and who declared in early 1968: "The United States must have a maritime policy if it is to remain as a maritime power."

This is the same spokesman for the national Administration whose leader, President Johnson, promised, in his 1956 State of the Union message to the Congress, "a new policy for our merchant marine"—a promise which had not been fulfilled when the curtain came down on January 20.

While much blame can obviously be assigned to the omissions and failures of the Executive Branch of the Government during the last four years, the various elements of the maritime community are not completely immune from blame for the present precarious state of the American merchant marine. Perhaps there has already been too much publicity about conditions or situations that separate a particular segment from another, and not enough unpublicized effort to bring opposing views and groups together. Plainly, there has not been enough "pulling together" for the common good, and the popular impression of the merchant marine is one largely composed from continuing reports of internecine differences and public squabbles. As a consequence, a much needed groundswell of public support for correction of the nation's serious maritime ills has failed to develop.

Against this background, one is reminded of the opening passage in that memorable poem, *Casey at the Bat*: "The outlook wasn't brilliant for the Mudville nine that day." The last line of the last stanza from the same poem might also be recalled: "... there is no joy in Mudville, great Casey has struck out."

On the basis of the dismal and alarming statistics, which have been repeated over and over again it would seem the American merchant marine, whose greatness in yesteryears has been frequently applauded, could well be near the point of striking out. Fortunately, a new opportunity, a new ball game, with a new team and a new outlook, is only seconds into the first inning, relatively speaking.

The new team has surely taken note of the gloomy statistics and the declining trends. The aggressive maritime buildup of the opposing team—the Soviet Union—can no longer be ignored, minimized or wished away. President Nixon revealed in his campaign statement of last September that he has in mind remedial measures far more constructive and far more comprehensive than those of his predecessor.

These include: restoration of the United States as a first-rate maritime power... expansion of U.S. exports... increasing the carriage of U.S. trade and commerce aboard American-flag ships to 30% (rather than the present 5%)... and support of a shipbuilding program in American yards to produce the ships necessary to accomplish these objectives.

The new team—the Nixon Administration—is also pledged to a goal of balance rather than imbalance in connection with international payments. Though there was an improvement in the overall picture for the Fourth Quarter of 1968, it can be safely

assumed that the quest for balance will involve a persistent and searching examination of all factors which would potentially create or aggravate a deficit in the balance of payments.

Shipping policies, properly postulated and implemented, could provide considerable impetus on the plus side of the ledger. By carrying more U.S. trade and commerce in American-flag ships, as President Nixon has proposed, instead of in foreign bottoms, a substantial outflow of dollars can be avoided. Studies by independent experts demonstrate that fifty cents of every revenue dollar received in commercial service by U.S. ships is credited as a net gain in balance of payments impact and that U.S. flag shipping contributes about \$1 billion annually to the balance of payments.

In addition, a reasonable basis on which some American companies might be convinced that construction of many of their oceangoing ships in American shipyards, instead of in foreign shipyards, would greatly enhance the U.S. balance of payments position while simultaneously improving total shipping capability under the American flag. Over the past 20 years, nearly 1,200 large oceangoing merchant ships have been constructed in foreign shipyards for American companies or their affiliated interests. And, this volume of ship construction abroad, which incidentally is 3 times greater than the number of ships built in American yards for American companies, has intensified the outflow of gold problem by some \$6 billion.

I am not implying that the United States should have an absolute monopoly in relation to our shipping and shipbuilding requirements. There will always be circumstances in which American companies, for their own reasons, will have ships built in the shipyards of other countries. There will always be conditions dictating that our Government, for policy reasons, will not require that 100% of our imports and exports be moved in American bottoms.

What I am saying is that through a more optimum utilization of our own shipping and shipbuilding resources in the coming decade, the balance of payments difficulties which have so plagued the country in the past decade can be substantially obviated. This can be done without abrogation of our trade agreements with other nations, without jeopardy to our commitment to preserve freedom for all who seek freedom, and without dilution of our dollars and our own substance. The fiscal integrity of the United States would thereby be strengthened.

That ships are essential to our national security and our commercial interests is a proven historical fact. That our merchant marine must be adequate to our standing as the world's most powerful and leading trading nation should be self-evident. That our shipyards must be among the best in the world there should be little question. Our shipbuilders and our shipowners have the imagination and the know-how to build and operate a shipping fleet second to none.

I have in mind a fleet of utilitarian merchant ships that can be built in American yards at desirable costs and operated—economically and efficiently—under the American flag to produce earnings for our country as well as wages for our shipyard workers and seamen, and profits for both owners and builders.

It is certainly not unreasonable to expect that we can do more in this direction than we have in the past—with government, labor and industry joining in partnership. It can be done so long as the relationship of U.S. ship construction and U.S. flag ship operations to the balance of international payments as well as to the domestic economy and the national security is recognized, understood and elevated in the formulation of national policy.

But, change will not be accomplished overnight. Quite probably, action programs, affecting the merchant marine, reflecting the aspirations already publicly defined by President Nixon—if they are to come to pass—will not get underway until late 1969 or early 1970, and signs of improvement in the nation's maritime posture presumably will not be discernible until a year later. It seems logical to expect, on the other hand, that the Nixon Administration will immediately move to "pull things together."

We, who represent the American merchant marine in its many aspects, should welcome the opportunity presented by a new ball game and by the fielding of a new team. We should strengthen those things that unite us and remove those things that divide us. We should look forward to the future with faith in each other and in the rightness of the importance of maritime strength and adequacy to national security and national well-being. For these are prerequisite to restoration of the United States as a first-rate maritime power.

THE MARINE OF THE YEAR

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I wish to share with Senators the accomplishments and qualities of a man who has been named "Marine of the Year."

I speak of Mr. James Merna, of New Carrollton, Md. Mr. Merna received this award at the National Convention of the Marine Corps League in Bridgeport, Conn. He was cited for his distinguished service in helping Vietnam veterans when they return to the United States and for memorializing those who had given their lives for their country.

One of Mr. Merna's greatest achievements was the organization of "Operation Appreciation" which received national acclaim from congressional and military leaders. The project sponsored over 45 recreational and entertainment programs with famous television and athletic personalities for wounded soldiers in hospitals in the Washington area.

Mr. Merna has also coordinated several receptions and welcome-home parades for returning veterans and he maintains a busy speaking schedule to various civic groups throughout the State.

His most recent project has been collecting funds for the construction of a memorial to honor the servicemen of Prince Georges County who have been killed in Vietnam. The war memorial is the first significant memorial in America dedicated exclusively to those who have paid the supreme sacrifice in Vietnam.

In these troubled times we often hear only voices of contention about our commitment of forces in Vietnam and about the Selective Service System. As a result, we often forget the courage and valor of those who are defending our country in Vietnam. But we cannot overlook the continual struggle of life and death that our soldiers wage in the jungles while we at home live in comfort and are asked to make few wartime sacrifices.

It takes men like Mr. Merna to remind us that as our soldiers fight for us, we, too, have obligations to them, obligations to express our gratitude for their sacrifice and courage and to do all we can to help them when they return to the States.

I am proud of Mr. Merna, his outstanding work and his well-earned award. As an example of his efforts, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Merna's speech to the Prince Georges County Federation of Women's Clubs be printed in the RECORD.

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

NOW, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD CITIZENS TO COME TO THE AID OF THEIR COUNTRY

(Remarks of James E. Merna, Maryland State Commandant of the Marine Corps League before the Prince Georges County Federation of Women's Clubs, Cheverly, Maryland, November 7, 1968)

Mrs. Harns, Mrs. Volberg, Monsignor Brown, and distinguished ladies. Thank you for inviting me, a fellow resident of Prince Georges County, to speak to you today at your Fifty-second Semi-Annual Meeting.

In just a short four days from today, on Monday, November 11th, our Nation will pause to celebrate a special day known as Veterans Day. You may remember when it was more popularly known as Armistice Day. It was at 11 o'clock on the 11th day of the 11th month, exactly 50 years ago on November 11, 1918, that the order was given which silenced the artillery fire that had shattered Europe for 4 years. It marked the end of history's first World War, a war that cost this Nation not only millions of dollars to finance but 116,516 American lives.

With each passing decade and each new war, November 11th became a day to honor all veterans of all wars. So Congress, in 1954, designated the 11th of November as a legal holiday to be known as Veterans Day, broadened to cover all wars and dedicated to the cause of world peace.

Last month, President Johnson issued an Executive Proclamation urging the people of the United States to join in commemorating Monday, November 11, 1968 as Veterans Day with suitable observances. He requested the officials of Federal, State, and local governments, and civic and patriotic organizations, to give their enthusiastic leadership and support to appropriate public ceremonies throughout the Nation. He further asked that all citizens of every age take part in these observances to honor those whose unqualified loyalty and patriotism have preserved our freedom.

Let me simply say, with great pride, that the Prince Georges County Federation of Women's Club, by the graciousness of its invitation permitting a veteran to appear with you today, is a great honor not only for me personally, but for the veterans organization that I represent—the Marine Corps League. More importantly, it is even a greater honor that you bestow today upon each of the 26 million living veterans in the United States. More than half a million of these veterans live in Maryland—80,000 of these former defenders of our great Nation live in Prince Georges County alone. *By honoring one you honor them all.*

We would be remiss and narrow in perspective and vision, however, if we were to limit the commemoration of Veterans Day only to those veterans who have fought so valiantly in past wars to preserve America's democracy.

In view of the present situation with our commitment in Viet Nam, I would like to suggest an equally important purpose or reason for our commemoration of Veterans

Day—and that is, to remember, honor, and fully support all of our American servicemen who have fought and died, and who are still fighting to preserve democracy and to contain Communism in the jungles, rice paddies, cities, and villages of Viet Nam.

The war in Viet Nam has directly or indirectly affected each and every one of us, in one way or another. Many of you undoubtedly have sons, husbands, or other close relatives or friends who have served or are now gallantly serving in that beleaguered country that seems so far away to us. Yet, the fight for freedom and liberty in Southeast Asia today has come too tragically close to home to the families of the 29,034 American servicemen killed in Viet Nam to date. 533 of these American heroes were from Maryland. Sixty-one of them were our friends and neighbors from Prince Georges County.

Never before in the long history of our great Nation has it been more important for Americans to stand up and be counted—for us to stand as firm at home as we expect our men in uniform to stand abroad. We look about us and see so much that is disturbing—rampant crime, violence in the streets, frequent burning of the American flag and draft cards, open espousal of our enemies, vile contempt for our leaders, and anarchistic attacks on all our institutions.

These are not simply problems that we read about in the papers or watch on television as something occurring in a distant state or far-away city that doesn't affect or concern us. To prove the point, I would like to cite three recent examples of unpatriotic activities which have occurred right here in Maryland, disturbing instances which threaten to destroy the very fabric of our American Way of Life as we revere it, unless right thinking Marylanders and Americans concern themselves with the problems and take positive measures to correct.

In Carroll County one recent afternoon, a woman walked past a Post Office where a postal employee was lowering the American flag. As he did so, he conversed with a friend, and, the flag unnoticed, dragged in folds on a dirty sidewalk. The woman told the postal clerk he should show more respect for the Stars & Stripes. Both men laughed at her—and the postman said, "What the hell, I don't do this out of respect. They tell me to take it down, I take it down. They didn't say I had to respect it."

A Catholic activist group calling themselves the *Catonsville Nine*, including two priests and three former Maryknoll missionaries, were indicted for burning Selective Service records May 17th in a parking lot outside the Catonsville draft office. "The Government did not prosecute these defendants because of their particular social, political or moral views . . . or because of their feelings about U.S. involvement in Viet Nam," the U.S. trial attorney told the jury. To the contrary, he argued that the only issue in the case was "whether the nine were guilty of damaging Government property, interfering with the Selective Service, and destroying Selective Service records—as charged in the indictment."

What do you think the nine defendants had to say about their actions for which they were brought to trial? "They're proud of it," remarked their defense attorney. "They think it's one of the shining moments of their own personal lives," he added.

Last month the *Catonsville Nine* were found guilty by the jury as charged.

The emergence of the New Left Movement on the campus of the University of Maryland in College Park.

Basically a college student group, the New Left draws its supporters from a motley variety, including beatniks, hippies, disenfranchised individuals, young faculty members and some "overage" students still on the

campus. The movement is held together by a bitter hatred of what is called the "Establishment," that is, the institutions of democratic society. This hatred is reflected by intense opposition to the war in Viet Nam, the draft, the ROTC, military recruiting on the campus, and the participation by universities in military research. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation describes this New Leftist philosophy as "anarchistic and nihilist."

At the core of the New Left movement is an organization known as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Mr. Hoover has alerted the American public to the fact that this group is highly militant and has been chiefly responsible for the New Left's move from a position of "passive dissent" to one of "active resistance." The SDS has been the striking arm of student rebellions, such as at Columbia University in New York City, where violence erupted, including the kidnapping of academic personnel, the seizure of buildings, and the destruction of property. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA has been quoted by the F.B.I. as describing the SDS as one of the groups the Party "has going for us."

Well, Columbia University isn't the only campus where SDS has been active and destructive. SDS now has an active and growing chapter at your State University and my alma mater, the University of Maryland. The local chapter is reported to have more than 100 members who regularly attend meetings and several hundred sympathizers. While relatively new, already SDS has done much to contribute to tension on the campus. Last spring SDS cohorts interfered vociferously and boldly with military recruiters at College Park, constantly strive to stir up student dissatisfaction and unrest with the faculty, administration, and other students, and only two weeks ago publicly announced plans for a student strike to take place on Election Day to express student dissatisfaction at the "absence of alternatives among the presidential candidates." The *Prince Georges Sentinel*, October 24th edition, featured an article about SDS activities on the Maryland campus.

Yesterday's Washington Post reported an Election Day demonstration in Washington as one of a dozen conducted in major American cities by SDS. There was some violence as usual, demonstrators carrying Viet Cong flags in a rally at the Lincoln Memorial, and all three major Presidential candidates were hung from a goal post in effigy.

These three examples, I believe, offer an insight into some of the dangers confronting us today as responsible American citizens who take pride in our heritage, our institutions, and our Nation under God, as compared to those who would obliterate or overthrow these cherished values at any price. There are other examples of Un-American activities that I'm certain we can all recall—the likes of rabble-rousers like H. Rap Brown who has been indicted by the State of Maryland on charges of arson and inciting to riot in Cambridge in July, 1967. He's presently free on bond. Protesting G.I.'s and some Army Reservists from Fort Meade balking at being sent to Viet Nam also come to mind.

I submit to you, dear ladies, that in all the instances cited, the perpetrators of these acts are far from typical or representative of the breed of Americans who have made our country the great Nation and world power that it is today.

Native Marylanders have long distinguished themselves on the field of battle each and every time their Nation called upon them for assistance. Maryland troops in the Revolutionary War saw service from the first skirmish in Boston to the surrender at Yorktown. Prince Georges County supplied its

men and materials to General George Washington. Who can forget the bombardment and rout of the British at Fort Mifflin during the War of 1812, where waved the Flag that inspired Francis Scott Key to write the Star Spangled Banner? The Battle of Antietam—one of the most bitter battles of the Civil War! The U.S. Admiral in command at Santiago during the Spanish American War when the Spanish fleet was destroyed was a Marylander. In World War I, approximately 75,000 Maryland citizens dutifully served their Nation under arms. Both the 29th and 79th Infantry Divisions fought with distinction in the Meuse-Argonne offensive of 1918. More than ¼ million Marylanders heeded their Nation's call to arms during World War II. The 29th Infantry Division again served with distinction in France during 1944 and 1945. It fought on the Omaha Beachhead in Normandy, and in the advance to the Elbe River. Korea was no exception. Many Marylanders came to the defense of South Korea when it was attacked by North Korea in June, 1950. One of those staunch defenders was our own State Senator Edward T. Conroy from Bowie. He lost a limb and won the Silver Star in the process.

This brings us to the present and Viet Nam, as I mentioned earlier, so many Americans have served and are now serving in a determined effort to deter Communist aggression. Prince Georges County has had a number of its citizens who have distinguished themselves by valor on the battlefields of Viet Nam. Young men like Butch Joeckel from Colmar Manor, for example, who won the Bronze Star this year for heroism as a 20 year old Marine in Viet Nam. Butch was seriously wounded in action by a Viet Cong land mine, suffering the amputation of both legs above the knee. I am pleased to report to you today that Butch has had a remarkable recovery and adjustment, he's been released from the hospital, discharged from the service, got married two weeks ago, and is now back at work with his former employer, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission where he is now making a productive and meaningful contribution to society.

The Marine Corps League and The American Legion organized a Welcome Home Parade and Reception for Butch in his hometown on July 6th. Thousands of people turned out that day to express their heartfelt appreciation to this inspiring young man, and untold millions of Americans watched the day's proceedings over ABC national television. Butch has told me and shown me on a number of occasions the beneficial effect this community outburst of appreciation has had on his morale and resultant speedy recovery.

I mentioned to Butch that I would be speaking to the Prince Georges County Federation of Womens Clubs today, and he asked me to convey his best wishes to each and every one of you.

Let us not forget John Clements of Cheverly, another young Marine who earned 3 Purple Hearts in Viet Nam and sustained serious injuries. He is still not able to walk without the aid of a cane and faces additional operations.

How unfortunate it is indeed, that the world hears more about some of our raucous dissenters from the gutter than they do of our Butch Joeckels and John Clements who sacrificed so much at such terrible risk in the noble cause of freedom.

A week ago last Tuesday I was privileged to attend a ceremony at Marine Barracks at 8th and I in Washington at which the Nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, was awarded to a resident of Prince Georges County, Marine Captain James A. Graham, of Forestville, Maryland. The award, a first in the history of the County, was made posthumously, because

Captain Graham was killed when he refused to leave one of his seriously wounded men during a fierce enemy attack.

The Secretary of the Navy, in presenting the award in the name of the President of the United States, remarked of Captain Graham, "Although Captain Graham gave his life in battle, he shall continue to live in the minds and memories of his comrades as an inspirational example of courage, duty and sacrifice. For all who knew and loved him, the memory of James Graham will remain a source of pride and strength."

My dear Clubwomen, Captain Graham left us a legacy to foster and cherish—a shining example of unselfish love for his country and his fellow man. He also left behind something very personal and dear to him—a widow Janice, and two small children, son John 5 years old, and a 4 year old daughter, Jenifer. I talked to Mrs. Graham after the ceremony and extended an offer of assistance from the Marine Corps League. With a sense of great pride and much confidence in the future, Mrs. Graham replied, "I don't have half as many problems as I have offers of assistance." She impressed me as a woman who is every bit as brave as her husband was.

I submit to you that we must not forget the Graham family. I would like to suggest that your County Federation or individual Clubs might consider keeping a watchful eye on the Graham family as one of your Americanism projects, to be of assistance to them in any way possible. We owe it to them and can afford to do no less.

I can assure you of one thing, speaking for the Prince Georges County Detachment, Marine Corps League. We are not going to allow to be forgotten such great Americans like Captain Graham, Lieutenant Bill Reilly of Cheverly, Warrant Officer Tom King of New Carrollton, and all of the 61 soldiers, sailors, and marines from Prince Georges County who were killed in Viet Nam.

We are going to build a Memorial in their honor—a permanent tribute to all Prince Georges County servicemen who made the supreme sacrifice in Viet Nam. It will be one of the first and the largest in the Nation exclusively dedicated to Viet Nam war dead. The design is already completed. Our architect is Thomas Kerley of Cheverly. It is expected to cost approximately \$35,000. The County Commissioners have issued a Resolution fully supporting this project and have agreed to provide the necessary land for the Memorial. We are presently reviewing site possibilities and expect to announce a location in the near future.

In the meantime, we are actively seeking to raise the necessary funds to finance the cost of the Memorial. We are calling upon all County organizations and citizens to help us in this task. We would be delighted to have the assistance of the Prince Georges County Federation of Womens Clubs. Perhaps you might consider conducting some bake sales, dances, or related fund-raising activities with the proceeds designated for the Memorial in the name of your fine organization.

In conclusion, let us resolve to rededicate ourselves and to motivate others, particularly our youth, in support of our country and its new Administration. Let us support our fighting men and aid our returning Viet Nam Veterans. Let us support peace by remaining strong. There has never been a great nation without a strong fervor of patriotism. We must emphasize patriotism in the home, in the schools, and in every walk of life. We must encourage respect for our Flag, our history, and our principles of free government. In this way, you will be fulfilling one of the shining moments of your own personal life. Now, more than ever before, is the time for all good citizens to come to the aid of their country!

**FRED B. WACHS, RECIPIENT OF
OUTSTANDING CITIZEN AWARD
OF GREATER LEXINGTON AREA
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE**

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article published in the Lexington, Ky., Herald of January 22. The article announces that the Greater Lexington Chamber of Commerce, at its 86th annual meeting on January 21, had presented the Outstanding Citizen Award to Mr. Fred B. Wachs, president and general manager of the Lexington Herald-Leader Co.

Mr. Wachs received a standing ovation from the crowd of 1,100 which packed the Convention Hall of the Phoenix Hotel in Lexington, and those who applauded were the people of the area who have personally known him and have known his great service to Lexington and central Kentucky.

Honored also was his wife, Jeanne Wachs, who is much admired and loved by the people of Lexington and Fayette County.

It is my honor to have known Fred Wachs almost all of my life. He is a greatly respected newspaperman of Kentucky and is also a citizen who gives his time and service to the best interest of the blue grass section of Kentucky and all of the State. He is always courageous in taking positions upon public issues. He is a loyal friend, and I am very proud that I can present to the Senate and to the readers of the RECORD this story of the deserved award made to Fred Wachs by his fellow citizens.

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

**WACHS IS HONORED BY TRADE BOARD—GRAVES
NEW CHAMBER PRESIDENT**

Fred B. Wachs, president and general manager of the Lexington Herald-Leader Co., last night received the Outstanding Citizen Award at the 86th annual meeting of the Greater Lexington Area Chamber of Commerce.

Thomas P. Bell, outgoing president of the chamber, presented the award to Mr. Wachs for "50 years of outstanding service and leadership to the people of Lexington and Fayette County" and noted, "I can't think of anyone who deserves it more."

Mr. Bell observed that Mr. Wachs has been an employe of the Herald-Leader Co. more than 50 years and credited the newspaper executive with "giving more of himself to help the community last year—and every year, for that matter—than anyone else I know."

Mr. Wachs received a standing ovation from the crowd of 1,100 who packed the Convention Hall at the Phoenix Hotel.

"God has been good to the Blue Grass," said Mr. Wachs, "and the Blue Grass has been good to me."

He noted that he intends to serve the community in the future as he has in the past and stated he has no plans for retirement.

"I've received a lot of awards," said Mr. Wachs, "and I don't think I deserved most

of them. But what little I am and what little I have I owe to my wife."

Mrs. Jeanne Wachs, who accompanied her husband to the meeting, also received a standing round of applause.

The keynote of leadership was continued at the meeting by guest speaker Vince Lombardi, general manager of the Green Bay Packers professional football team.

The football executive, who brought the Packers from a 1-10-1 season to a top-flight team with a .783 win skein, stressed that the qualities of leadership are sorely needed to take America to the victory zone.

Speaking in clipped, precise tones with a touch of an accent reminiscent of his Brooklyn, N.Y., boyhood, Mr. Lombardi compared football and life as "a great game—a game of winners."

The pomp and color of football endure only in the memory, said the Wisconsin coach, but "the will to excel and the will to win are the things that endure."

The qualities that lead to success in football also lead to victory in life, he said, and emphasized the following as requisite for winning:

Hard work to the point of drudgery coupled with resolution and determination.

Leadership, a many-faceted quality comprised of ability plus the capacity and willingness to use it, tempered with truth and character.

"Mental toughness," a rare quality composed of humility, Spartanism, courage and love.

"Heart power is the strength of the Green Bay Packers, any successful organization and America," said Mr. Lombardi, "and hate power is the weakness of the world."

He termed leaders "not born—but made" and said "the measure of each man must be what each does in a specific situation."

The former West Point coach scored today's "new right" sought by the vocal minority of this generation—"the right" that if you don't like the law, break it."

Before freedom, he said, must come duty, respect for discipline and strong mental discipline.

And the battle for the rights of the individual "may have been too well won" in the United States.

This is an "age of heroes," said Mr. Lombardi, and it lends itself to greatness—both in prizes and perils.

But, he concluded, the most serious need facing the nation is a lack of quality leadership and the "test of the century" will be one of strength through wealth and power or strength through spirit and conscience.

New officers for 1969 announced at the meeting were: Jake Graves, president; Morris Beebe, first vice president; Ben Elkin, second vice president, and Bill Winfree, treasurer.

Winners of the outstanding teachers awards were Miss Bettie Jane Tuttle, Clays Mill School, and Sister De Chantal, St. Peter's School.

Mr. Bell outlined progress made by the chamber during 1968:

The beginnings of annexation, which he termed a "touchy subject," but a necessary challenge for the growth of a trade area.

Progress in open housing in Lexington and Fayette County.

A drive for a civic center, "and this is a must," said Mr. Bell.

The revitalization of downtown Lexington through the Urban renewal program.

The growth and beautification of shopping centers in this area.

Improved communication between the chamber and the University of Kentucky, which Mr. Bell called "our most important industry here."

Incoming president Mr. Graves noted that the concept of "greater Lexington is the whole objective of the coming year."

The community, he said, has become a regional trade center and the "greater" concept is necessary for continued progress.

The Rev. Don Herren was master of ceremonies of the program.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MOSS BEFORE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FORESTERS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, two recent events in California—oil pollution of the ocean from an offshore drilling rig and the destructive flooding of hill-sides used for residences—have emphasized the growing crisis in natural resource management in the United States.

The January issue of *American Forests* magazine contains an article which discusses several aspects of the resource management issue. It is based on an address by the Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss) before the Society of American Foresters last fall.

Senator Moss, who has been a leader in advocating improved resource management, urged that foresters sit as a "conservation convention" to explore ways and means of extending their multiple-use conservation concepts to the entire spectrum of the growing environmental problems of the Nation.

Because I believe that the remarks of Senator Moss are an important contribution to the conservation dialog, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the *Extensions of Remarks*.

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

CONSERVATION AT THE CROSSROADS

(By Senator FRANK E. MOSS)

(NOTE.—In an address before the Society of American Foresters that many regard as a rebuttal to a recent *American Forests* series by Earle Clapp, Senator Frank E. Moss (D-Utah) urged that foresters sit as a Conservation Convention to explore ways and means of extending their multiple-use concepts to the entire spectrum of environmental concerns in the U.S.A.)

A SENATOR'S CHALLENGE

Multiple use is the concept which has set foresters apart from other resource disciplines. Your profession met its first great conservation challenge when it undertook protection of the one-fifth of our primeval forests which remained uncut in 1920. That was done through sustained yield production—the forests were both used and preserved.

Today this concept must be extended to all of the environment of man. It is therefore natural that we turn to foresters for advice and leadership in the organization of this new, great task.

More Americans every day understand why we must manage the environment. But concepts do not put themselves into effect. The Forest Service was organized to do one job. Something else must be organized to perform the new environmental management task that the population increase and the technological revolution have made essential. My suggestion for that "something else" (or part of it) is a Department of Natural Resources.

There may be better ideas. That is why—at Philadelphia—I asked the Society of American Foresters to sit as a Conservation Convention to write a basic document to govern natural resource management in the United States of the future.

Senator FRANK E. MOSS.

Gifford Pinchot was forestry's Paul Revere. It is fitting, therefore, that we talk about our national resource structure here in Philadelphia where our Constitution became a reality. Philadelphia also recalls the beginnings of conservation in America. Penn's Woods was Pinchot's home. It was Pinchot who chartered the concept of multiple use and brought it to fruition.

It is this concept which sets foresters apart from members of other resource disciplines. You have taken as your challenge not just the trees but the total environment of forest land. In fact, I see the modern issue as not so much how to "organize" resource agencies as how to extend the discipline and skills of Pinchot's foresters to wider areas of the American environment. What we must achieve is overall "multiple use" and "sustained yield" for all our national resources.

Recall if you will the effort of a New England Republican Congressman, Weeks, to enact a law to permit the federal government to acquire forest lands in the Appalachian chain of mountains. Even today we continue in the eastern United States under the Weeks Law. Pinchot set the stage with the then disputed concept that the forest influenced the water as the water influenced the forest.

"Technical" water experts challenged Pinchot's concept. Pinchot won and what he won was—the Battle For Multiple Use.

But today we all subscribe to the concept that the forest and the grasslands, yes, and even the deserts and the mountains, have multiple resources and thus the potential for multiple uses.

So I am pleased to be talking to foresters in Pinchot's own state, where the Constitution was written, and where the conservation movement was launched.

As in the days when the Constitution was written, these are days of turbulence, turmoil and doubt. We of this generation, new in power, are being called on by our youth to account for our stewardship. One of the things we are asked to explain is the state of our natural resources. We are passing on to the younger generation the greatest goods-producing society in the earth's experience. But to achieve this we have paid a heavy cost in the deterioration of the environment.

As you know, this threatened destruction of man's environment is of mounting concern to the scientific community. This concern was a highlight of the December, 1967 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York.

In a widely publicized statement, Dr. Lamont C. Cole, of Cornell University, reminded us that the 20 percent of oxygen in our atmosphere which we take for granted has been achieved and is maintained by a delicate balance between plant and animal life, and that oxygen would quickly disappear from the atmosphere should all green plants be killed.

He went on to say that, at an increasing rate, we are disrupting the life-giving balance as "grassland is being paved at the rate of about one million acres a year."

Commenting on the impact of this statement, the British weekly magazine *New Scientist* declared the New York meeting "noticeably lacked the spirit of optimism and hope of salvation which the festival is supposed to inspire." And the editorial concluded grimly: "It is not necessarily the more horrific weapons of science which we should fear the most. Unless we come to our senses pretty sharply, we may finally perish, not with a bang but with a whimper."

In March, Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, President

of the Wildlife Management Institute, told the North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference that man is playing a highly dangerous game of "brinkmanship" with the earth's natural resources. Dr. Gabrielson particularly criticized the government's failure to look ahead, saying that "the national water pollution control program, for example, is geared more to what occurred yesterday than to what is going to happen tomorrow."

MOST RADICAL REVOLUTION

The population explosion is, of course, one cause of the pressure we are imposing on the habitat of man. But a second influence—perhaps even more important—is that brought about by what Walter Lippmann recently called "the most radical revolution in the history of mankind."

He said: "This revolution is a transformation of the human environment, and of man himself, by technological progress which, beginning about two centuries ago, has now acquired enormous momentum."

Doubtless a significant reason for our inability to keep up with environmental destruction is the prodigious original natural wealth of the continent. When the Constitution was written, the Founding Fathers made no mention of conservation.

The closest they came to considering resources was Article IV, Section 3, which says in part, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting territory or other property belonging to the United States."

The whole subject of water and land, forest, range, mineral, and recreation policy plus the general environment rests on the general language of the Preamble. Of course, this is the Federal Constitution and the several states have laws and regulations, but, nevertheless, its silence on protection of environment is notable.

But reflect on this. In 1790, we were a nation with such a surplus of land, water, and forest that we didn't feel the need to mention conservation and wise husbanding of our resources. In fact a major issue in 1787 was how to foster and speed the immigration to and the settlement of what was then the West—that five-state area from Ohio into the Great Lakes States.

Reflect, too, on how different are our needs today. The lure of the Great Lakes has brought fully one eighth of all who inhabit North America to live along its shores. Two of the five cities of the United States with populations of a million or more—Chicago and Detroit—and the two largest cities of Canada—Toronto and Montreal—are on the Lakes or their outflow, the St. Lawrence. The waste products of these people and the great industrial complex they have built are killing Lake Erie and threatening Lake Michigan.

As long ago as 1908, Theodore Roosevelt warned the citizens of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, to keep the sewage out of Lake Erie's then sweet waters. The wastes that have been poured in since have converted Lake Erie into a dying lake and ecological desert of water. Some officials are hopeful that Lake Erie can be cleaned up, but Secretary of the Interior Udall has wondered whether man has "acted too late." In this case, the machinery of government—made and operated—has been impotent effectively to apply technological competence.

Writing recently in *Geo-Science News*, Glenn T. Seaborg observed that we know enough about the environment to reduce drastically the impact of pollution against air and water resources. But he also pointed out that our society has "tended to be deficient in the will to use this knowledge and to pay the necessary costs." I have made a similar point by emphasizing that it is usually necessary to achieve "political" solu-

tions to resource problems before "scientific" solutions can be applied effectively.

But we cannot simply leave nature alone. Otherwise she will not support us. Our need for raw materials is truly tremendous and that need grows yearly. Back in 1952, the President's Materials Policy Commission noted that American consumption of most of the fuels and other minerals had been greater since the beginning of World War I than total world consumption for all the centuries before.

Resources for the Future has stated: "The projections indicate . . . a tripling of requirements for both energy and metals by the year 2000, almost a tripling for timber and almost a doubling for farm products and for withdrawal depletions of fresh water. . . ."

"Increasing demands on land space for outdoor recreation, urban growth, highways, airports, and perhaps forests by the year 2000 will far exceed any relief provided by possible reduction in land needed for crops and the amount of new unused land that can be pressed into service . . . and requirements, if each use is counted separately, would add up to 50 million more acres than the country has, and this assumes no increase whatsoever in forest land."

Resources for the Future also tells us that, by the year 2000, demand for domestic forest products is projected at 29 billion cubic board feet with net growth less than half of that.

Thus a new and quite dangerous situation confronts us: If we continue to maintain "economic growth" at what we have come to accept as a satisfactory rate, we may intolerably damage the life-saving environment that much sooner.

AN UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGE

In the face of that unprecedented conservation challenge, we must ask: Are we organized to meet it? Few have posed this question despite the surge of interest in conservation and despite the expansion of programs authorized by Congress in the past five years.

Not too long ago a friend of mine decided to build a house. He hired an architect who gave him a plan which fit his lot and also pleased his wife. In fact, he was fortunate because both he and his wife agreed this was their dream house on their dream lot. And when it was complete it was what they had envisioned.

But they did have one problem—it took the builder longer than he had planned. As they watched their house go up, the couple was struck by the number of tasks which were not integrated. They noted with dismay how the plumber complained that the plasterers hadn't considered their needs, how the electrician objected to what all the others had done, and so forth. Each specialist had his own priorities and was vexed that no one else cared about them. When the couple queried their builder about this, he said, "It's so hard to get good mechanics; I just try to keep each group happy. But I never try to coordinate them—that would get them all mad."

It follows that in solving our resource management problems, we must have coordination.

I believe that part of the answer—not all, but an important part—of coordinating the use of our natural heritage is the establishment of a Department of Natural Resources in the Federal government. Today, there is no Federal focal point for long-range planning or for the adoption of long-range policy essential to natural resource management under modern conditions.

To remedy this lack, I have proposed a reorganization of the Department of the Interior into a Department of Natural Resources.

In its early years, Interior was a catchall for agencies handling internal problems, but it has evolved into an organization chiefly concerned with management, protection, and administration of natural resources—timber, forage, water, minerals, wildlife, and with the marketing of power and the promotion of recreational opportunities. It now remains for Congress to complete the job of making it a full-fledged Department of Natural Resources. This can be done simply, by taking out of Interior the two agencies which do not relate primarily to resources—the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Territories—and putting into it agencies, now in other departments, which do relate to natural resources. I have introduced a bill which would accomplish this.

I think Interior is the logical core. Every alternative to my plan which has been discussed also used Interior's present conservation agencies as a nucleus.

This audience is well aware of the dispersion of responsibilities in the Federal organization. For example, three Cabinet-level departments are involved in water resources—the Department of the Army, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of the Interior. (Until recently there was a fourth—Health, Education, and Welfare, but last year the President transferred the Water Pollution Control Administration from HEW to Interior.)

Coordinated water resource planning has, of course, been advocated for a long, long time. A favorite reference of those of us who are interested in this subject is to Theodore Roosevelt's Inland Waterways Commission, which, in 1908, recommended "prompt and vigorous action" by the State and Federal governments to develop comprehensive plans for all our river basins. But it took nearly half a century before Congress, in 1965, took the national approach and passed a Water Resources Planning Act. The Act established a Council of Cabinet officials—assisted by a very competent staff—to coordinate departmental plans, and to make a biennial assessment of the nation's water supply. It also permits the formation of interstate planning authorities.

The Planning Act represents progress. But the arrangement suffers from several already evident weaknesses. Although the Council can help to reconcile agency differences, it can do little to plan or originate programs of national or regional scope, or to require planning on a river basin basis. And its members are men who have more than full-time jobs managing their own departments, and who also serve on several other high-level committees. Such an arrangement is inadequate today when comprehensive water planning is essential to prevent actual deficiencies over wide areas.

Although the water field offers the outstanding example of dispersed Federal responsibility in natural resources management, similar problems exist in land management and outdoor recreation.

The Federal department which serves more recreation than any other is the Army. Forty-three of their reservoir projects drew over 50 million visits in 1964.

The Bureau of the Budget—which was never assigned natural resource policy functions by Congress—has assumed more and more control by use of its functions on a fiscal policy. There is a vacuum of responsibility in this field, and Budget has rushed to fill it, becoming an unofficial planning agency with constantly expanding influence.

NEW DEPARTMENT URGED

My bill would meet the national coordination problem by assigning to a Department of Natural Resources all major Federal responsibilities having to do with water, electric power, land management, wildlife preservation, outdoor recreation, minerals and fuels, ocean resources and clean air.

It provides for a Secretary of Natural Resources, a Deputy Secretary, and two Under Secretaries, one for water and one for lands.

The Secretary would, of course, have considerable authority to organize his department, but it would be logical to divide the responsibilities of the Under Secretaries as follows:

The jurisdiction of the Under Secretary for Water would include: The Bureau of Reclamation and the Water Pollution Control Administration, both of which are in Interior; the civil works functions of the U.S. Army Engineers; the work of the Soil Conservation Service under the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act; and the power marketing activities of the Bonneville Power Administration and the Southeastern and Southwestern Power Administrations. This Under Secretary for water could also supervise an Assistant Secretary for Oceanography.

The responsibility of the Under Secretary for Lands would be divided into four branches, each headed by an Assistant Secretary.

The Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management would report to an Assistant Secretary for Land Resources. The National Park Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation would report to an Assistant Secretary for Recreation and Wildlife. The Bureau of Mines, Geological Survey, Office of Coal Research, and other agencies and fuels would report to an Assistant Secretary for Minerals and Fuels. The fourth Assistant Secretary would supervise the air pollution abatement program.

In any consideration of a resources department, it must be kept in mind that the authority of the Federal government does not begin to encompass total management of the environment. Traditionally, state and local responsibility is large, not only in water development, but also in management of fish and game, zoning of land, disposal of wastes of all kinds, and air pollution abatement.

So it would be naive to argue that the formation of a Department of Natural Resources would, by itself, solve our problem. It is, however, a key step toward organizing our efforts to meet the mounting challenge.

What are the alternatives? The machinery of policy development and implementation is like the machinery of production. Neither industry nor government can function effectively with dated, obsolete machinery. The mechanism of government is its organization. Moreover, you who are in business know that there is more to a factory than production machines. Basic to success is an affirmative answer to this question: Are you organized to function—to compete? It does little good to have the most efficient saws, the best trucks, the most modern mill, or the finest dry kilns if the company isn't organized to move all the way from the production of trees and their products to effective distribution and sales promotion.

Stripped of the jargon of the specialists in organization, the issue we confront is how to harness our talents to meet the growing national resource environmental crisis.

I want to challenge you to give to this issue of organization the consideration it deserves. It would be a simple matter to pass a resolution on a Department of Natural Resources and be done with it. I suggest that the nation will be better served if you commit the subject to comprehensive analysis before reaching a judgment. What is the best solution to the resource dilemma of America? If my bill is not the answer, what can we do to construct a conservation organization that will provide the raw materials we must have and—at the same time—stop the deterioration of the environment?

Along with others, I sometimes pine for the days when life was simple—when the sheep's fleece could be woven into cloth on the ranch. But we cannot go back to the quiet, pastoral, self-contained society. We are well

into the second century of the Industrial Revolution. Its quickening pace calls for America to use its organizational genius to restore its environment. Once our loggers dammed the rivers of our Lake States only to float their logs. Now we dam them for power. We struggle to halt their pollution. Before we understood what we were doing, we cut the forest in Maine and destroyed the spawning spots of a great salmon fishery. Now there is forest management in Maine and they seek to bring back the salmon.

But coordinating private, state, and federal efforts into a cohesive multiple use policy is complicated by the complex web of multiple agencies.

MACHINERY CALLED INADEQUATE

My conclusion has to be that the existing government machinery is not adequate. We are not getting the most for our money and we are not giving our professional people a fair chance to meet the challenge which confronts the nation.

As a matter of fact, it isn't fair to the professionals in the resources field to expect them to meet today's challenge in yesterday's administrative harness.

If you look at the problems, they are not primarily technical. Many of them are organizational and these are the ones I am trying to correct. We know what tools to use. The engineers, the foresters, the water and land use specialists in the Civil Works Division of the Corps, in the Bureau of Reclamation, in the Forest Service and in other agencies know their jobs and know what is needed. Freed of restraints and obstacles that stem from division of authority and interdepartmental restraints, they will be able to apply their expertise with much greater return to the nation and greater professional satisfaction for themselves.

Under whatever names our resource agencies may function in the seventies, eighties, and nineties, more effective organization must mean the opportunity to do a better job. It must mean more professional prestige for all resource people not unlike the extent to which the formation of the Union made the term "American Citizen" mean so much more than merely a citizen of New York or Virginia or Massachusetts.

So I come to Philadelphia in that spirit of constructive revolution to ask you as stewards for America to resolve yourselves into a Conservation Convention. I ask you, as those who started America's conservation revolution in 1876, to help write its Conservation Constitution by 1976. I say the days of conservation warfare have ended. I say the days when we can live under Articles of Conservation like the old Articles of Confederation are numbered. I say that we cannot live with uneasy and ineffective union.

Gifford Pinchot was forestry's Paul Revere, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson. Who among you aspires to be its James Madison, to write the fundamental instrument that will liberate the energies of the profession to overcome the obstacles to effective conservation?

SPIRITUAL SUMMIT CONFERENCE HELD IN CALCUTTA, INDIA

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 28, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, in October of the past year, a Spiritual Summit Conference was held in Calcutta, India, which has direct bearing on the State of Maryland, as well as on the

future of international interreligious understanding and cooperation. The conference was sponsored by the Temple of Understanding, Inc., a nonprofit organization founded in 1960 by Mrs. Dickerman Hollister of Greenwich, Conn., and with offices in Washington, D.C. The organization has purchased 20 acres overlooking the Potomac River, in Prince Georges County, Md., and has plans to construct a building symbolizing the great religions of mankind and devoted to education about them. The art, architecture, sacred music, scriptures, history, and essential beliefs of the various religions will be made available to scholars and the visiting public. The building will be the center for a worldwide educational program using the many media and languages.

At the October meeting in Calcutta, there were outstanding representatives of Buddhist, Confucian, Christian, Hindu, Islamic, and Jewish thought, as well as spokesmen for the Zoroastrian, Shinto, Sikh, Jain, and Baha'i faiths. The conferees, in their addresses, gave outlines of the principles of their faiths, and in many instances explained the relation of their beliefs to some of the many unsolved problems facing the world, including poverty, discrimination and prejudice, population and food supply, the generation gap, and the underlying causes of violence and war.

The prominence and scholarship of those in attendance at the Conference, the fact that they are attempting to establish on the shores of the Potomac what may constitute a United Nations of world religions, and the fact that the purpose of the Temple of Understanding is to relate to contemporary life and problems—rather than being merely a repository of religious knowledge—should make us proud to have been chosen as the site for this much-needed instrument and edifice, dedicated to promote international understanding and good will.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the declaration resulting from this meeting in Calcutta, together with excerpts from several of the addresses presented at the meeting, be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE SPIRITUAL SUMMIT CONFERENCE, CALCUTTA, INDIA, OCTOBER 22-26, 1968

A DECLARATION

1. We, members of the world's religious faiths, with their two-and-a-half billion adherents, assembled in the first Spiritual Summit Conference, under the auspices of The Temple of Understanding, having here demonstrated that inter-religious communication is possible and fruitful, see these factors as significant for the present and for the emerging world of tomorrow.

We see that science, technology, political and industrial forces, with all their powers, have so far not been able, either alone, or in combined effort, to produce the kind of world that all men desire.

We believe it is time for all people and nations, including the leaders of our major secular institutions, to recognize the relevance of the world's religions to the fate of man in the present century.

It is our judgment that the religions themselves must now actively seek increased communication with one another and together speak to our total human community and assist in creating the conditions for the better world. The prejudices and misunderstandings that have stood between us in the past must give way to a climate of understanding and co-operation.

II. Therefore, we challenge the leaders of the several world faiths to take creative initiative in forming a strong international, inter-religious world body. We recognize that the development of such an instrument will require the elevated thought, prayer, study, patience, firm vision and conciliation of many dedicated men and women. But this Summit Conference sees such a Council as a necessity in this 20th Century.

We are aware of developments of Inter Religious communication, as in Ceylon, Japan and other nations. We are convinced that such fine steps should now be developed on a world wide scale. As a move toward this end we instruct The Temple of Understanding to consult with the leaders of the several world religions, looking to the calling of another Summit Conference to weigh the desirability of creating such an interreligious world body and we further recommend that all delegates, leaders and participants to the 1968 Summit Conference receive progress reports.

Further, as a more immediate step, it is our Mandate that the Temple of Understanding implement the guidelines for inter-religious communication, namely: The Academic Community; The Family of Nations; The Private Corporations & Foundations; The Centres of Spirituality and Monasticism; International Youth Organizations; The Communications Media; and that it create pools of information on the world religions and develop facilities to create materials for the mass media.

(This declaration was unanimously approved by the delegates assembled at the concluding session on October 26, 1968.)

SPIRITUAL SUMMIT CONFERENCE: EXCERPTS FROM THE VARIOUS PAPERS SUBMITTED AT THE CALCUTTA CONFERENCE

THE RELEVANCE OF HINDUISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

(By Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D., professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras)

Modern developments have brought the peoples of the world together for good and bad. To make good or bad out of these is solely in our hands. One of the results which should be deemed good or out of which we should still try to derive as much good as possible is the meeting of cultures and the study of the writings and religions of other peoples. The study of Hinduism by those not professing that religion—as also by those who profess it but have come under the influence of the theories and interpretations of the former, may be considered to have had, so far, three phases: The first began with the academic orientalist; and the second was what the missionary cultivated as part of his proselytization. The third is a recent development, indeed a part of a phenomenon which embraces the whole of Asia. It began with the end of the second World War and the disappearance of colonialism and the waking of the several countries of Asia into their new freedom in which they have been faced with problems of developing their economy, industry and production and extending the benefits of the welfare state to as large sectors of their people as possible.

The Hindu standpoint which I want to emphasize is what is perhaps well-known, but would bear repetition. For it is the most fundamental tenet whose relevance has grown in importance today when all religions have met and they have to live together and

understand each other. This is neither a slender voice in the chorus of Hindu doctrines nor one of later development. The most ancient and primary expression of Hinduism embodies this as part of the intuition of the first sages. In the first book of the Rigveda, we hear the declaration "The Truth is One, the Wise expound in Diversity; that one Truth they call by different names, Agni and so on. The Vedanta gave this its firm metaphysical basis in the ultimate reality or supreme Being, the One, Absolute, impersonal Brahman of the form of Existence, Consciousness and Bliss, *Sat, Chit and Ananda*. It is the source of the universe of name and form, which has its manifestation, being and dissolution in it. It comprehends all forms including those personal manifestations, *Saguna Brahman*, through which it reaches out to those who seek it through these forms, because they are easier to grasp. These forms may be any or many but all of them lead to the same one Summit. The Upanishads employ also the analogy of many rivers flowing from different regions and reaching the same one ocean, an illustration which poets and hymnists like the great Kalidasa and Pushpadanta employ.

It is on the basis of one fundamental impersonal being with divine personal forms included in it that Hinduism organized and reduced to understanding all the numerous forms and modes of worship that continuously manifested themselves. The universality and the eternal validity and vitality of Hinduism rest primarily on this fundamental. If Hinduism can call itself *Sanatana Dharma philosophia perennid*, it is because of this truth. There has been a continuous tradition of the philosophy of gnosis among all nations, the Greek philosophers too spoke of the one God with many names. The great relevance of this today is that it provides a key for the great religions to unlock their inner unity and not only understand each other better but also divert their energies spent on criticism or conversion to a common effort against irreligion, pseudo-religion and social, political and national substitutes for religion. The appreciation of this Hindu standpoint is gradually growing for the students of religion and comparative religion all over the world.

THE RELEVANCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

(By Rev. Pierre Fallon, S.J., the Vatican Secretariat for non-Christians)

It is certain that religious tolerance has rightly come to be considered as one of the most precious achievements of the modern mind. Here, in India, in a very special manner, intolerance is thought to be incompatible with genuine religiousness.

Is the Christian religion intolerant? And what is its attitude towards religious pluralism? This question is one that does not concern Christians only; it concerns all sincere believers: how to reconcile, without compromise or falsehood, a deep attachment to our religious beliefs and a cordial attitude of respect and fraternal collaboration with men professing other beliefs? How to keep in harmony the healthy and normal desire to share with others that which is for us a source of inspiration and which we firmly believe to be truth of universal value, and that tolerance which is the necessary expression of our respect for the spiritual and personal freedom and dignity of our fellow-men?

In our modern world, this question has assumed a very great importance. Men belonging to different religious traditions come every day into new forms of association; believers, and unbelievers, theists and agnostics and materialists, must meet and collaborate in a thousand ways. The days are past when there was a close link-up, a nearly inseparable unity, between religion and culture, the profession of a particular faith and the social

or political apurtenance to a state or community. The "close society" has made room for the "open society"; uniformity of religious belief and practice is no longer imposed by our modern secular societies.

The last Vatican Council has, in an official Declaration on the attitude of the Church to the non-Christian religions, clearly stated that Christians should "through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions . . . recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among those belonging to other traditions"; the same Declaration invites us to consider "what men have in common and what draws them to fellowship." The religion of Christ is not out to destroy any of the precious values found in the various spiritual and cultural traditions of mankind.

What are the great problems that beset the minds of men today? The sub-human misery of vast masses of men, and the underdeveloped condition of many regions of the world; the racial hatreds that divide men; the terrible anxiety caused by the possibility of nuclear warfare; the population explosion; the wide-spread dissatisfaction of the youth, the growing attraction of violence. Has religion a vital role to play in the solution of these anguishing problems? Has Christianity any relevance in our modern world context? Do men today still need religion?

If religion is needed by man to keep his Hope alive and to safeguard the respect due to him as a person, religion again is vitally needed by modern man to protect his freedom. And, first of all, religion clearly affirms this spiritual freedom against all the doctrines and ideologies based upon determinism. It further educates man to freedom, this freedom having to be conquered through a life-long struggle against the compulsions of passion and instinct. Religious faith alone can free man from all the impersonal forces that enslave his mind and his heart: our modern world, with all the power of mass propaganda techniques, makes it difficult for us to keep mentally and spiritually free. Public opinion, fashion, political ideologies, practical materialism with its commercial idolatry of money, sex and pleasures, these are tyrannical masters; to remain free, we must maintain in our lives a clear awareness of absolute values. Only through being firmly anchored onto the Absolute can we fight successfully against these impersonal tyrannies. I should add, and this takes us even deeper into the very reality of religious life, only through our humble and loving reliance upon divine grace can we possess our souls and minds in freedom.

But, most important of all, *Love* is that which the world requires if the problems that face today have to be solved. Not the sentimental philanthropy of romantic dreamers, not the facile and abstract "love of humanity" preached by philosophers, but the dedicated and self-sacrificing love which only religion can inspire. Men today realize better than before how much all are organically united in the human family, and yet bitter conflicts still set man against man in our modern world. The very individualism of modern society has painfully increased the competitiveness of men. The 19th Century doctrine of "enlightened self-interest" has proved shallow and deadly. If our racial hatreds are to be surmounted, if justice and some equality to be brought about among the people of the world, if our functional and mechanical life is to be made humanly livable, we need more and more men who can love. But love does not come easily to man; without religion, all human loves tend to become selfish and narrow.

I was expected to speak of the relevance of Christianity in the modern world. The things I have said just now are true, I believe, of the Christian religion; they are true also of all the great religions represented

here. This is why I have purposely abstained from presenting them as exclusive characteristics of Christianity. To save men from anxiety and despair, to preserve and foster the respect man is entitled to as a person, to help him in his struggle against all that would enslave him, and untiringly to call all men to love, this is the duty of all religious believers, and in the fulfillment of this sacred duty we all must fraternally collaborate.

Is the Christian religion still relevant today? Is the modern man still in need of religious faith? As a Christian priest living in close touch with young Christian people, as a college teacher who has known very personally many students belonging to different religious traditions and communities, I can answer without hesitation that religion has never been as relevant as it is today in this world which is, all around us, searching for a way to more justice, more freedom, more love and brotherhood. In spite of many revolts and denials, in spite of much bitterness and frustration, the youth of our time is hankering for faith, hope and love; I believe that the world that is growing under our eyes is, more eagerly and sincerely than ever before, searching for absolute values. Men, young and old, are in fact more "religious" than men have ever been before. Whether they will or will not find the answer they are now restless to discover may greatly depend upon the manner in which we, believers, not merely teach them our religious doctrines, but bear witness to them through our lives.

THE RELEVANCE OF BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

(By H.S.H. Princess Poon Pismal Diskul, president, the World Fellowship of Buddhists)

It should be noted that Buddhism regards the human mind as a compounded phenomenon of various attributes and qualities. Consequently the techniques for development and purification of the mind must likewise be multi-dimensional and varied in accordance with individual needs. Educating the mind to right understanding; guiding speech, habits and profession into harmonious life patterns; cultivation of discipline and energy and meditative stilling of the mind to bring about awareness of subtle thoughts and feelings that normally escape awareness—these are the techniques by which one progresses along the Eightfold Path. This is the practice of Buddhism as originally taught by the Buddha himself.

Now, acknowledging that actions are preceded first by thought and motivation, we see that good and evil originate from the mind. Thus a mind which has realized the Buddhist goals of subduing greed, hatred and egotism while developing kindness, wisdom and compassion is a mind which will have a natural and spontaneous virtue. The need for arbitrary rules of conduct will be greatly lessened and one's goodness will be genuine rather than enforced.

It may be seen that while Buddhism proceeds from a very different set of premises than most other religions, we note a nearly complete agreement as to the standards of ethical conduct: Love, kindness, charity and generosity are universally hailed by all of man's great religions regardless of whatever concept their doctrines are built upon, and Buddhism not only teaches us to be kind; by psychological practices it tells how to achieve the genuine feeling that is kindness. For kindness and compassion, like all other aspects of the mind and this universe, arise through cause and effect.

In our discussion of Buddhism we see it as a system of psychological principles and practices which an individual can apply to the benefit of his own spiritual advancement and emotional well being. Thus the prime value of Buddhism in the modern world is that it shows one a way to happiness and

peace of mind regardless of the political and social environment. However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Buddha's doctrine was personal to the exclusion of concern for human relationship and society at large.

The reason for emphasis upon individual development was founded upon the principle that the blind cannot lead the blind; or as the Buddha stated, "One, himself sunk in the mire of greed and delusion, cannot pull another out of that mire." One should first purify oneself to be able to show the way to others.

We can only have a better world when we first have better people. Fear, jealousy, egocentrism, hatred and greed are the original cause of human strife, be it petty crime or global war. Education, legislation and arbitration, while useful countermeasures, will not suffice to penetrate to the core of human motivation and alter one's basic feelings. Buddhism is structured to do just this. In fact such is its primary concern.

Personality cannot be separated from society. While the sum total of personalities determines the character and quality of a given society, conversely society influences and formulates the development of personality. This fact was readily acknowledged by the Buddha. He did not advocate social reforms such as we think of today but did deal directly with the social injustices of the time. Perhaps the best example is the caste system. He did not advocate a social revolution to replace this system, but any person who became a Buddhist ceased to have caste identity and thus was no longer subject to caste regulations. He thereby afforded men and women a way to escape from this social injustice. In similar manner he opposed slavery and elevated the social status of women.

Recognizing that civilizations have flourished under a variety of different political systems and that because of the universal law of change no society or culture will endure forever, the Buddha did not advocate any particular type of government. When speaking of monarchies he said the responsibility lay with the King, and the King should cultivate justice, charity, compassion and virtue both for the prosperity of the nation and as an example for the government ministers and common citizens. A few democratic states existed at the time of the Buddha, and of these he said that they would continue to flourish so long as the citizens could assemble and meet in harmony and would maintain good moral standards.

THE RELEVANCE OF JUDAISM TO MODERN PROBLEMS

(By Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, Temple Israel, Great Neck, Long Island, N.Y.)

It is fair to say that to the problems of contemporary society Judaism offers an approach born of a long and unique history. Its emphasis has always been on man in co-operation with his society and man in the midst of society. Its greatest figures have always been men who labored in the midst of society rather than men who withdrew from it to seek individual holiness. It has doctrines and laws set forth in the Old Testament, the Bible, which have been elaborated and developed in a vast literature in many languages over the course of several thousand years. Because it is the outlook, of the Jewish people which has had the unique experience of living dispersed among other peoples for 2,000 years, almost always under conditions of persecution, without losing its identity or being brutalized by its experiences, it has acquired perceptions and emphases which have been denied peoples living under more normal circumstances. A major theme in its history and beliefs has been an optimism about the world and about the responsibility of men to cope with social circumstances. All of these elements have been combined in an unusual and possibly unique melange of

faith, theology, history, culture, peoplehood, law ritual and skepticism.

THE RELEVANCE OF RELIGION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ISLAM

(By Dr. Syed Wahiduddin, University of Delhi, India)

What is then wrong with the world we live in? What ails the modern mind? The relevance of religion is brought home most emphatically when it is confronted with the problems of the modern man.

Man has become a problem for himself. Strangely enough, in spite of the fact that technological advances have brought men nearer and nearer, there has been no corresponding growth in men's spiritual relation to one another. Scientific advancement in the sphere of human welfare is nothing compared with man's advance in self-destruction. Death which is a most natural and spontaneous culmination of man's career on earth is artificially invoked by scientific ingenuity and what is accomplished as a matter of course is now brought about as a matter of force. But the question is not only how long a man lives and to what distances in the infinite space he can fly but how he lives in the short span of life granted to him both as an individual and as a nation. Every man has his own term and every nation has its own termination. The question is how an individual (or a nation) disposes of his potentialities within his own temporal frame-work. Two ways are open to him, either to co-operate with God in establishing a meaningful order or betray the purpose of his creation and fall to a state which is worse than that of an animal. If man is created in God's image he should reflect those basic attributes of God which have human relevance, and the principle which should govern human relations should be one of co-operation and goodwill and not that of revolt and resentment. Before the vision of a God who encompasses all that is, the world we know and the worlds we know not, human wrangles and squabbles on petty issues lose all their significance and man is called to know what he is in order to do what he ought to. But Islam takes into full account sex, wealth and the will-to-power as the main drives of human life and which can take hold of man to the detriment of his spiritual growth.

CONFUCIUS AND THE I-CHING

(By Wei Tat, College of Chinese Culture, Taipei, Taiwan)

Co-operation is a vital need of the present age. It should prevail among classes within a nation, among the nations themselves, and even among the five continents. What has emerged for every thoughtful observer is the fact that no satisfactory solution of the practical problems which harass modern mankind can be found on any other basis than a broadly co-operative one. All other solutions will be partial at their best, ineffectual at their worst. This is true not only of the relations between the different classes, castes, or groups which compose a nation, but also in regard to those between the different nations. We are learning at last that we must share our lives on this planet together. World society must one day become a commonwealth. This is the ideal cherished and taught by the greatest of our sages, Confucius, both in the *Record of Rites* and in the *Book of Changes*. In his commentary on the latter, Confucius envisaged an ideal world state in which sages make their appearance in accordance with the spirit of the times, and all nations harmoniously co-operate with one another and enjoy the blessings of world peace.

THE RELEVANCE OF JAINISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

(By Munishri Chitrabhanu, Divine Knowledge Society, Bombay)

Today man lives in a world which is full of strife and frustration. Commercial values

keep gaining precedence. Men seem to be full of greed, envy and pride. Not only do we try to keep up with the Joneses but we try to reach out for their throats. There is a sense of isolation within human beings and hate-spinning ideologies keep gaining more ground. Our different faiths have a common aim "to make us realize the essential brotherhood of man." In practice they make us more aware of the divisions among us.

Why have we all met here today from the four corners of the earth? Not to argue dogmatically over differences, but to break the barriers of racialism and sectarianism—to learn something from each other, to see the same object from one another's point of view so that we can understand each other the better and help each other the better in solving our problems. The goal for each of us is the same, though the approach may be different.

The aim of all religions and philosophies is to seek the freedom of man from the bonds of ignorance and blind faith, from the meshes of prejudices and superstitions and rituals. Religion means freedom. Only when man rids himself of his mundane bonds, does he free himself from the bonds of "Karma". Just as gold attains its pristine purity only when the dross is separated from it, so, too, the soul, only after it has shed all Desire and "Karma" will attain a state of blissful tranquility and immortality.

MONASTIC EXPERIENCE AND THE EAST WEST DIALOGUE

(By the late Thomas Merton, Monk of the Abbey of Gethsemani, U.S.A.)

Though Catholic monasticism is less frankly contemplative, than in the East, it is in a better position for dialogue with Asia at the moment because of the climate of openness following Vatican II. Christian monasticism has a tradition of adaptation and comprehension with regard to Greek philosophy, and many Catholics realize that this could also apply very well to Hindu and Buddhist philosophies, disciplines, experience. An articulate minority exists. It is ready for free and productive communication. Encouragement has been offered by the Vatican Council.

I speak as a western monk who is pre-eminently concerned with his own monastic calling and dedication. I have left my monastery to come here not just as a research scholar or even as an author (which I also happen to be). I come as a pilgrim who is anxious to obtain not just information, not just "facts" about other monastic traditions, but to drink from ancient sources of monastic vision and experience. I seek not only to learn more (quantitatively) about religion and about monastic life, but to become a better and more enlightened monk (qualitatively) myself.

I am convinced that communication in depth, across the lines that have hitherto divided religious and monastic traditions, is now not only possible and desirable, but most important for the destinies of twentieth century man.

I need not add that I think we have now reached a stage of (long overdue) religious maturity at which it may be possible for someone to remain perfectly faithful to a Christian and western monastic commitment, and yet to learn in depth from, say, a Buddhist or Hindu discipline and experience. I believe that some of us need to do this in order to improve the quality of our own monastic life and even to help in the task of monastic renewal which has been undertaken within the Western Church.

The point to be stressed is the importance of serious communication, and indeed of "communion," among contemplatives of different traditions, and disciplines and religions. This can contribute much to the development of man at this critical point of his history. Indeed, we find ourselves in a crisis, a moment of crucial choice. We are in grave danger of losing a spiritual heritage

that has been painfully accumulated by thousands of generations of saints and contemplatives. It is the peculiar office of the monk in the modern world to keep alive the contemplative experience and to keep the way open for modern technological man to recover the integrity of his own inner depths.

Above all, it is important that this element of depth and integrity—this element of inner transcendent freedom—be kept intact as we grow toward the full maturity of universal man. We are witnessing the growth of a truly universal consciousness in the modern world. This universal consciousness may be a consciousness of transcendent freedom and vision, or it may simply be a vast blur of mechanized triviality and ethical *cliche*.

The difference is, I think, important enough to be of concern to all religions, as well as to humanistic philosophies with no religion at all.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE PROTESTANT BRANCH OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE WORLD TODAY

(By Lowell Russell Ditzen, D.D., L.L.D., Litt. D., director, the National Presbyterian Center, Washington, D.C.)

Let me begin (on the humble side) by mentioning some aspects of Protestantism that I think are *irrelevant* to the new world that is emerging and where we need to understand each other and communicate with each other as never before in human history.

First of all, we Protestants are fragmented into diverse groups with differing emphases in theology and various convictions as to what is of priority in living. According to the World Almanac (1968 edition) there are 229,290,000 Protestants. The Eastern Orthodox branch of Christianity represents 144,820,000, and the Roman Catholics are listed with 595,472,000 adherents.

It will be seen from these statistics that Protestants, though not a majority group, do have a sizable number of individuals within the total Christian community. However, we are broken up into approximately three hundred different denominations and sects.

In my judgment divisiveness and sectarianism are not relevant in the world in which we live. We cannot live in isolation from each other. The forces of technological and scientific advance together with the increased speed of communication and transportation are making us live in a 'global village.' To be rigidly sectarian in such a world can be a hindrance rather than a help to constructive progress.

Another aspect of Protestantism that I would call "irrelevant" has been our failure to appreciate other world religions. All branches of Christianity have been so devoted to our faith, have been so convinced that we had "the light and the truth" that we not alone have been offensive to some other faiths, but we have had blinders on, keeping us from seeing the rich merits, the noble dedications, the high ideals of other world religions.

But now, having confessed some faults—and there are many many more,—let me speak of some aspects of the Protestant heritage and convictions that I think are worthy of being retained as we think of our several world religions.

First of all, one matter that I listed as among our faults may, properly applied, be a source for some of the greatest helpfulness and service to the human family—namely, "the right of the individual conscience." The longer I study history, the longer I live, more widely I travel, and the more friends throughout the world I listen to, the more I am convinced that we go forward more through strong individuals than by any other force. Who can measure the power engendered in the world by Gandhi? Or Buddha? Or Jesus? And the endless circle of great souls that have been inspired by their genius, their wisdom, their love.

The problems of the world cannot be solved alone by conclaves of committees or commissions, however great their military, political or economic power. These often are thought to be the hinges on which the doors of history are swung. It is not so. *It is individuals* who, in freedom of conscience, have come to point the way out of immediate dilemmas, who bring the light that is needed for man's next thrust forward on the road of human progress.

We Protestants believe in this. God speaks "in a still small voice" to individuals of receptiveness. It was so in the life of Moses and Mohammed, and countless ones who follow in their train.

Out of this conviction of individual freedom will come many strange and individualistic voices. But because we all are "stamped within with the image of the Divine" mankind will know which is the voice that speaks the new truth that needs to be heard. This is relevant.

Secondly, Protestantism is relevant, in my judgment, in that it is constantly seeking to keep in balance "belief" and "action." Our Bible has the phrase, "faith without works is dead." This means that we do not alone engage in prayer, in reciting our creeds, in liturgy and in worship, but we are also to engage in works and service for the good of mankind. The latter is to give evidence of the validity and sincerity of our faith.

I must share with you some thoughts of colleagues and old friends in the Protestant ministry to whom I wrote telling them of my assignment to prepare these words for you.

All of them spoke warmly of the validity of our meeting together. The voices were one in declaring that our world religions must face each other, talk to each other, learn from each other so that together they may be a more effective instrument for the service of God and man.

But, as I have tried to indicate to you, about the nature of Protestants, their ideas differed as to what is relevant about us. One emphasized that although we are institutionalized, in our freedom we are not dominated by the institution. In freedom the Spirit of God can lead men to change the institution.

Another said Protestantism's relevance was in its sensitivity to the individual, its emphasis on personal confrontation of man to man, the attempt to express Christ's divine love in human love.

Yet another mentioned "reconciliation" between freedom and order, and also between God's grace and man's sinfulness.

I cite these only to underline how diverse we Protestants are, and how individualistic in our emphases.

But "the spirit" of each of my colleagues bespeaks a concern, a commitment and a lovingness which is the spirit that graces our meeting here.

Iqbal, the poet of India's Punjab, wrote "—the true end of the man of the earth is to love each other."

We Protestant Christians believe that . . . and behind our outward noise and diversity, that longing "to love each other" is in our hearts.

THE PERTINENCE OF ISLAM TO THE MODERN WORLD

(By Dr. Seyyed Hoosain Nasr, University of Teheran, Iran)

The cardinal Islamic doctrine of Unity (*al-tawhid*) emphasizes the need and the necessity for integration. God is One and so man, who is created in "His Form", must become integrated and unified. The goal of the religious and spiritual life must be the complete and total integration of man in all his depth and amplitude. Modern man suffers from excessive compartmentalization in his science and education as well as in his social life, which through the very pressure of technology tends to disintegrate social bonds and

even the human personality. The Islamic ideal of Unity stands in stark opposition to this multiplicity and division, reversing the centrifugal tendencies of man which make him ever more prone to dissipate his soul and energy toward the periphery, and returning the soul to the Center.

Today everyone cries for peace but peace is never achieved, precisely because it is metaphysically absurd to expect a civilization that has forgotten God to possess peace. Peace in the human order results from peace with God and also with nature. It is the result of the equilibrium and harmony which can come into being only through the integration made possible by *tawhid*. Islam has quite unjustly been depicted as the religion of the sword and of war whereas it is a religion which seeks to bring about peace through submission to the Will of God, as the name *islam*, in Arabic meaning both peace and submission, indicates. And this is made possible by giving each thing its due. Islam preserves a remarkable equilibrium between the needs of the body and those of the spirit, between this world and the next. No peace is possible in a civilization which has reduced all human welfare to animal needs and refuses to consider the needs of man beyond his earthly existence. Moreover, having reduced man to a purely terrestrial being, such a civilization is not able to provide for the spiritual needs which nevertheless continue to exist, with the result that there is created a combination of crass materialism and an even more dangerous pseudo-spiritualism, whose opposition to materialism is more imaginary than real. And thus we are faced with the endangering of even the terrestrial life which has come to be cherished as the final end in itself. One of the basic messages of Islam to the modern world is its emphasis on the importance of giving each thing its due, of preserving each element in its place, of guarding the proportion between things and discriminating between the snake and the rope. The peace that men seek is only possible if the total needs of man, not only as an animal but also as a being born for immortality, are considered. To be concerned only with the physical needs of men is to reduce men to slavery and to produce problems even on the physical plane whose solution is impossible. It is not religion but modern medicine that has created the problem of over-population, which religion is now asked to solve, by taking away the sacred meaning of human life itself, if not totally, at least in part.

Likewise of vital concern today is peace between religions. In this domain also Islam has a particular message for modern man. Islam considers the acceptance of anterior prophets as a necessary article of faith in Islam itself and asserts quite vigorously the universality of revelation. No other sacred text speaks as much of the universality of religion as the Quran. Islam, the last of the religions of the present humanity, joins in this domain Hinduism, the first and most primordial of existing religions, in envisaging religion in its universal manifestation throughout the cycles of human history. In the metaphysics and theology of comparative religion, Islam has a great deal to teach to those who wish to study comparative religion on a more serious plane than just collecting historical and philological facts. The reason, in fact, why Muslims have been less interested than followers of other religions in comparative religion in modern times is mostly that they have not found any discomfiting theological challenges to Islam by discovering the existence of other authentic and valid spiritual traditions.

SIKHISM AND THE SIKHS

(By Sardar Sher Singh "Sher," principal, Shaheed Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar, Punjab, India)

At present, three problems are taxing, or rather torturing, the conscience of the well-

wishers of humanity—the dangers of racial discrimination, poverty in plenty and the future of religion in the modern materialistic, warring and scientific age.

Sikhism is a monotheistic religion and it has no dogmatic conflict with the modern science of cosmology, the age and chronology of the earth, and the discovery of new planets about which Guru Nanak (in the 15th century) anticipated modern scientists. It has no concept of "The Chosen People" because it basically believes in panhumanism and brotherhood. It rejects human discrimination of all categories—racial, social, cultural, religious and economic. It believes that the energy and efforts of men are graceful gifts of God and so their results also belong to the Lord Almighty. This concept purges egotism and egotism. Sikhism believes in the Kingdom of God, that the pure will rule. Its scriptures are non-denominational and universal. The militancy and spirituality of the followers of Guru Gobind Singh are melded together in a sacred symbiosis. It has courage to crush the tyrant but uphold the righteous. Its baptism, *panjat, sangat, langar* and *sarovars* are the ideals of democracy and human equality. It places more emphasis on the merits of a noble deed than on mere theories of creed. It is a practical way of life and is not confounded with the hodgepodge of astounding intellectual exercises. It is a religious synthesis having the noble ideas of other faiths. It believes in the earning of one's livelihood with one's hard labour, "kirt karni" which is its first fundamental because it condemns idleness and exploitation and believes that work is worship. Humility to serve and the spirit to face sufferings and sacrifices for humanity are its essentials. It is the youngest of all the religions of the world. Therefore, it can easily make adjustment with the young times and the younger generations.

RELEVANCE OF BUDDHISM TO WORLD RELIGIONS
(By Venerable Piyananda Maha Thera, president, Buddhist Vihara Society, Washington, D.C.)

What the Buddha taught and spoke to his followers is popularly known as Buddhism. Some call it religion, others consider it a philosophy, still others think of it as both religion and philosophy. It can also be called a "way of life". The Buddha's teachings are guidelines for man's spiritual and intellectual upliftment which are helpful not only in his present life but also in the lives to come and ultimately for the attainment of the "Summum Bonum" of Buddhism, called Nibbana. The Buddha Himself called His teaching "Dhammayinaya," the Doctrine and Discipline.

As a philosophy Buddhism is not merely the love of wisdom or a search for wisdom. It is an encouragement of a practical application of the Buddha's teachings for the cultivation of a better and more useful life until one attains enlightenment and becomes the master over all the forces of evil that keep one bound to the world and its cycle of birth, suffering and death. Buddhism also advocates the search for the truth and purity of mind. It is neither speculative reasoning nor theoretical dogma; nor is it mere acquisition and storage of knowledge. It is the application of knowledge to life; looking into life and not merely at it. It is neither a pessimistic nor an optimistic approach to life even though one can see the qualities of both to some extent in it.

With so much in common between the religions of the world, it is unfortunate that there exist even today such wide gaps of misunderstanding and ignorance of the true meaning of the teaching of the different religions. If the followers of the different religions of the world think less about the infallibility of their own faiths and a little more about the good in other religions there would be greater understanding among the

peoples of the world. This is the only basis upon which lasting peace between races and nations can be built. I have attempted to show the relevance of Buddhism to other world religions. Now let us take a glimpse of ourselves and the great problems that confront us today.

We have great religions which speak eloquently about the lofty ideals of man. We have science developed to great heights in every field of human need. We have schools and universities in thousands to disseminate knowledge in abundance. The modern world with so much, with its modern maximum efficiency buildings, television sets and jet planes, with its sputniks and satellites encircling the globe, is subject to unprecedented anxieties. We are witnessing both a psychological and a moral breakdown. Mankind is losing respect for law and order. Crime and violence are increasing and youth is in revolt against the established social order, parental control and discipline. In spite of the great increase in knowledge which is now available to most people and the material progress that has been achieved in the past few decades, there is a sharp rise in crime and in mental imbalance. We are also faced with the ever greater danger today of an atomic holocaust which will result in the total annihilation of the human race. Is this the world we are building with all our spiritual and scientific knowledge? What then is the reason for this gloomy prospect? Where have we gone wrong? With all our intellectual advancement we are still children of emotion, and the question which we must ask ourselves is have we regressed? Where can we now look for guidance and direction?

The one and only solution to this dilemma is Religion. Politics was never the answer to it and never will be. But religion is losing its sway on the people of the modern world. Religion has failed to lift human thought above the mundane. It has preached "Love thy neighbour" yet has conspicuously not done so. It praised poverty; deplored the excessive pursuit of wealth, but man sought wealth and power. It is time that each religion turned to its basic sources and preached what its founders really had in mind. But the chief need today is a united voice of all religions raised against evil and hatred, a voice that will convince mankind that love and compassion must prevail if the human race is to survive.

THE RELEVANCE OF RELIGION—ITS ROLE AND VALIDITY

(By Dr. H. M. Munje, the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of India, Kanpur)

It was in 1867 that Baha'u'llah (literally: The Glory of God) sent out His Holy imitations to all the rulers and Religious Heads of the world asking them to unite, in the name of God and for the sake of humanity, and thus, lay the foundation of true understanding of universal harmony of the entire human race.

It is heartening to note that this Conference of ours is in keeping with the Spirit of The Baha'i Faith in this age.

The most important and emergent question of the world today is: A planetary solution for the whole of mankind, for a living peace and justice in action.

The failure of highly vaunted schemes, spiritual despair and heartless intrigues are everywhere evident. What is the disease mankind is suffering from? What are its cures? Can we do something in this?

The importance of statesmanship, the increase of Godless movements and the weakening of the pillars of religion has brought about an unprecedented crisis. Unprecedented because it is a World Crisis, demanding a universal solution on all levels and in all walks of human life.

Indeed, the lessons of two world wars have not sufficed to bring mankind to its senses. We are numbed with fear and do not wish to

dwell on the awesome reality of atomic warfare. Philosophies, economic systems and politicians have led us nowhere. It is crucial for mankind to find out whether Religion has the answer. Hence, the question of its relevance to modern society; the economic plight of the world and the injustices we see everywhere. How powerful is religion to reverse the falling fortunes of a harassed humanity?

Religion is the greatest instrument for the order of the world and the tranquillity of all existent beings. The weakness of the pillars of religion has encouraged the ignorant and rendered them audacious and arrogant. Truly, I say whatever lowers the lofty station of religion will increase heedlessness in the wicked, and finally result in anarchy.

Religion must be the cause of unity of the entire human race, or else it is not worth the name. It is not religion which separates man from man and divides humanity, but, it is our misunderstanding based on misinterpretation of the Divine Scriptures that had played the havoc so far. Hence, it is obvious that we should come to a Universal understanding and nothing less. Herein lies the realization of the true aims and objects of the Temple of Understanding.

A WORKABLE ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, ever since the November elections there have been numerous efforts to promote a public-opinion stampede to abolish the electoral college.

So far, the crisis peddlers have not been able to arouse much public reaction. It may well be that the American people have become sick and tired of wornout slogans and clichés—mere change for change's sake.

I have not proposed any constitutional amendment to reform the electoral college because I felt the crisis atmosphere was artificial—politically motivated—and that any reform desired by the people could be accomplished in their respective States by their own State legislatures.

There are hundreds of arguments and suggestions on voting reforms but I am satisfied the proposal which best fits the needs of the hour is contained in an article by Mrs. Sara Roddis Jones, first vice president of the DAR, which appeared in the DAR magazine for February 1969.

Mrs. Jones feels we should keep the electoral college. Let the people through their State legislatures accomplish the reform, under the existing constitutional provision.

The article follows:

LET'S KEEP THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

(By Sara Roddis Jones)

The uneasiness which arose in 1968 concerning the possibility of the presidential election being thrown into the House of Representatives reopened the door to possible change in the electoral system by constitutional amendment. With Members of Congress apparently ready to give serious consideration to various proposals, it becomes imperative that the American people have a full understanding of what is proposed.

The call for constitutional change was prompted by what proved needless fear that no presidential candidate would receive the required majority of electoral votes. In that case, the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives where each State has a single vote, irrespective of size. There was, however, the possibility that some States would have no vote had their representation in Congress been equally divided between the two major political parties.

Happily, no such eventuality developed. But even when the existing system gave us a new President legitimized alike by an electoral college majority and a popular plurality, demand for change in the electoral system persisted. Great was the hue and cry for a direct national plebiscite; but there are other proposals which have substantial support built up during the years of quadrennial debate on the subject.

The differences between the various proposals to amend the electoral system are so great that it will be exceedingly difficult to agree on any one method of change. In the more than 180 years this Nation has been in existence under the Constitution, some 200 amendments dealing with the method of electing a President and Vice President have been proposed. Only one, the Twelfth Amendment, which was passed in 1803, has won the approval of Congress and the people.

No single part of the Constitution is more generally unfamiliar to most Americans than the provisions pertaining to the electoral college. There are few, indeed, who remember that the electoral college, as provided for in Article II and the Twelfth Amendment, is one of the many "checks and balances" written into the Constitution.

Most of these "checks and balances," including the first ten Amendments which comprise the Bill of Rights were designed as restraints on Government. Not to be forgotten, however, is the fact that the electoral college was devised as a safeguard for the people themselves. It was placed in the Constitution to protect the voice of the minority from the potential "tyranny of the majority" and is, therefore, not to be lightly discarded.

The above is a partial, if very brief, explanation of why the admittedly cumbersome provisions pertaining to the manner of electing a President were placed in the Constitution. It should be noted, therefore, that the Constitution neither anticipated nor authorized the present bloc system of voting which gives the entire electoral vote of a given State to a single candidate, no matter how tenuous his plurality. It is against this practice that the majority of proposed amendments are aimed.

Under the electoral system, as provided for in the Constitution, the President and Vice President are elected *indirectly* in November by the people of the United States through their *direct* choice of electors in each State. The vote of the electors is actually cast in their respective Capitals in December following the election, but current usage has converted this action into an almost routine ceremony. Thus, there is a general tendency today to regard the electoral college as obsolete.

Before tampering with the constitutional provisions pertaining to the electoral college, however, the American people should first understand what modifications are possible through enactment of laws by the States. Before discarding the electoral college as obsolete, the American people also might do well to study the constitutional method of electing a President. In it they might find a means of regaining control of their destiny as a Nation and of removing some of the pressures, both political and financial, which presently attend the nomination and election of a President.

Present constitutional provisions pertaining to the electoral college reserve to the States both authority and responsibility. This is in keeping with our Federal system. Under Article II, Section I of the Constitution, we find the following:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

The prohibition that no Senator or Representative could be appointed as an elector is another of the "checks and balances" found in the Constitution. The exclusion of Members of Congress and Federal officeholders is required by the cardinal principle of separation of powers.

THE GENERAL TICKET SYSTEM

It will be observed, also, that it was the intent of the Constitution to give American voters the same numerical representation in selecting a President as they enjoy in their representation in Congress. This objective has long been thwarted by the application of the unit rule, or "winner-take-all" of the electoral votes to which a given State is entitled. This practice began with the introduction of the general ticket system which has been in use since 1832¹ and has resulted in a system of weighted voting never anticipated by the Framers of the Constitution.

The rise of the two-party system altered electoral procedures before they had a chance to mature. The majority party of each State was quick to see that it might exert maximum influence in electing a President through consolidation of its voting strength by presenting the voters with a predetermined bloc of electors under what is called the general ticket system. Since a plurality is enough to elect, it follows that the political party winning the majority of the popular votes in a given State also wins the entire electoral vote of that State, no matter how marginal the victory. The result is that the electoral votes of 12 highly populated States can elect a President, no matter how the other 38 States vote.

This "winner-take-all" system also tends to limit campaign efforts to the large pivotal States having the greatest portion of electoral votes. A candidate can carry 38 small and medium-sized States and still lose the election. This is how the system works under the unit method and will continue to work unless it is changed.

No less important to the voter is the fact that the general ticket system has the effect of giving the voter in each State as many votes as his State has presidential electors. Thus, when a citizen of New York pulls a voting lever for the presidential candidate of his choice, he is actually casting a vote for 43 electors. A citizen of Wisconsin, on the other hand, has only 12 electoral votes, and those of some States as few as three. Here is no one-man-one-vote system, but, rather, a system of weighted voting which operates to the disadvantage of the citizens of the smaller States.

Equally important is the fact that the entire minority vote of each State is permanently lost when it is added to the majority vote of the winning electors. Can this be fair?

In an article titled *Congress Faces Electoral Reform*, Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., a constitutional authority, provides a partial answer by quoting a statement made in 1824 by Senator Benton of Missouri:

"To lose their votes is the fate of all minorities, and it is their duty to submit; but this is not the case of votes lost, but of votes taken away, added to those of the

majority, and given to a person to whom the minority is opposed."² (Emphasis added.)

There is nothing in the Constitution which either sanctions or requires the general ticket system. As the above-quoted Senator Benton once remarked:

"The Constitution . . . in giving to each elector a separate vote, instead of giving to each State a consolidated vote composed of all its electoral suffrages, clearly intended that each mass of persons entitled to one elector should have the right of giving one vote according to their own sense of their own interests."³

The general ticket system was in dispute long before our time. Neither authorized nor anticipated by the Constitution, the general ticket system is responsible for the only serious respect in which our electoral system has failed to function with fairness.

How then, one must ask, was it possible for the States, all of whom have the constitutional power to decide how electors shall be chosen, to adopt the general ticket system which operates to the obvious disadvantage of not only the smaller States but of the minority in each of the States? The answer lies in the fact that, as State after State adopted the general ticket system in order to exert its maximum influence, the remaining States had little choice but to do the same.

The popularity of the general ticket system among politicians has been best explained by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., who wrote:

"The general ticket system enables the majority in each State to impress the minority into its service, puts it into the power of a few to govern the election, and enables the populous States to consolidate their votes and overwhelm the small ones. . . .

"From the point of view of popular rights it seems plain that this system should be swept away; the President should be in fact, as he is in theory, the choice of the people. Who can say, however, whether the ruling politicians in the large States can be persuaded to offer up, on the altar of their common Country, powers which, though neither consistent with the rights of the people, the purity of the Government or the harmony of the Union, serve so mightily to increase their own weight and consequence?"⁴

The general ticket system with its consequent unit rule has been the target of many constitutional amendments proposed in the past. The fact is, however, that no constitutional amendment is required. All that is needed is an Act of Congress to abolish the system.

Also, it is within the power of the States to end the general ticket system since the Constitution vests in them the authority to determine the manner in which electors shall be chosen.

However, the reality of the situation is that no State is likely to abandon the general ticket system without the certainty that all other States will do so at the same time. The State of Florida once considered such action, but on reflection decided that this unilateral action would only penalize its own citizens. For this reason, a constitutional amendment may one day become necessary, even though it carries with it the risk of surrendering to the Federal Government the decision as to how electors are to be selected.

BASIC APPROACHES TO ELECTORAL "REFORM"

Generally, the suggested changes follow four basic approaches. They are: first, *direct national election by popular vote*; second, the *proportional system*; third, the *district plan*; and fourth, the *automatic system* which eliminates the elector but retains the bloc system of casting each State's electoral votes.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The disparity of viewpoint represented by these four basic approaches is indicative of the widespread disagreement as to what machinery should be used to correct alleged inequities in the present system. These widely differing viewpoints also explain why, in the past, it has been all but impossible to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote needed in both Houses of Congress before any constitutional amendment can be sent to the States for ratification. In this matter, there is no political cohesiveness and party position, therefore, tends to dissolve before the needs of the individual States.

DIRECT ELECTION

A few years ago, direct election by popular vote appeared to be the proposal least likely to gain general acceptance. However, present-day emphasis upon "democracy" versus the "republican" form of government established by the Constitution makes it easy to present a case for the election of a President and Vice President by popular vote.

Advocates of the *direct election plan* would abolish the electoral college entirely. It is contended that this method would eliminate the weighting of votes that occurs under the general ticket system. They also insist, with no little justice, that the use of the unit rule or bloc system of voting results in undue concentration by candidates upon winning the electoral vote of large "key" States, whereas popular vote would make every vote equal. Finally, it is asserted the *direct election* method would eliminate the need for a contingent procedure and thus prevent the election of a President who receives a minority of the popular vote.

It now appears likely that the liberals in Congress will line up behind the proposal for a direct national plebiscite. But no one has explained adequately why a plebiscite would be more workable. As has been pointed out elsewhere, it cannot guarantee that one candidate will get an absolute majority; on a contrary, it might encourage a multiplication of minor candidates. Also, no one has explained how, in a direct election, the varied criteria for the voting in each State will be reconciled. Will the whole Country have to give the vote at eighteen because Kentucky does?

Direct election constitutes a drastic method of eliminating whatever weakness may now exist in the present system. An important objection is that it would reduce the role of the States in the electoral system and permit the nationalization of election procedures. Election by popular vote would frankly abandon the Federal Union of States and the Federal principle of representation.

Another little understood reason why election by plebiscite has heretofore seemed unlikely to win necessary support is the fact that the electoral college gives some advantage to the small States. To illustrate: The electoral voting system, it must be remembered, gives an advantage to the small States as against the large. New York, with 41 times as many Members in the House of Representatives as Delaware, has slightly less than 15 times as many electoral votes.

Thus, *direct election* would deprive the small or sparsely populated States of the competitive advantage of having two electoral votes for their two United States Senators. To this one might add that the industrial, highly populated States have a corresponding advantage under the present system—their impact on national elections because of the large bloc of votes they are able to deliver.

PROPORTIONAL PLAN

A less drastic plan is the *proportional election plan*. Numerous variations of this plan have been proposed but they have certain basic similarities. The plan would abolish the electoral college and the office of

elector, but preserve the electoral vote of each State as it is today—equivalent to the number of Senators and Representatives each State has in Congress.

The difference comes in the disposition of the vote. Each candidate who polled a fraction of the popular vote would receive an identical fraction of the State's electoral vote. The candidate with the greatest number of electoral votes throughout the Nation would be elected President, provided he received a certain percentage of the electoral vote, usually 40 percent.

If no candidate receives the required plurality of electoral votes, there is usually the further provision that the President would be chosen in a joint session of Congress from the two candidates having the highest percentage of electoral votes.

In the past, the *proportional plan* has won substantial support. A brief summary of the arguments for and against this plan was made in 1963 by a Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The Report states:

"The supporters of the *proportional plan* claim that it would tend more accurately to reflect the popular vote, particularly in so-called "one-party" States; that it would be less likely to produce a minority President; and that it would give the voters a more direct voice in the choice of the President. Moreover, those favoring this method believe that it would act to strengthen the two-party system and eliminate the current tendency of the parties to concentrate election efforts in the so-called 'pivotal' States.

"Those advocating other plans or a maintenance of the present system believe that the *proportional plan* would enable minority parties to get electoral votes and thereby weaken the two-party system; that the vote would still be weighted in favor of small States and give undue importance to areas with less population; that the States would have less importance as units in the electoral process. In addition, they argue that the *proportional plan* might bring pressure for proportional representation in Congress and, possibly, Federal control over voting standards."⁵

DISTRICT PLAN

The *district plan* is more nearly consonant with the present provisions of the Constitution than any of the other proposals. It would retain the electoral college but bind the electors to vote for a specified candidate. Aimed at the bloc system of voting used today, it would operate to prevent the application of the unit rule under the general ticket system.

The *district plan* would apply the same principles of representation to presidential elections that apply in the election of Congress. Each voter, regardless of where he lived, would vote for two State electors chosen at large and one district elector, thus giving equal weight, based on population, to both urban and rural districts.

As in the *proportional plan*, an alternative method of choosing a President is provided if no candidate receives a majority vote. In this case, the President would be chosen in a joint session of Congress from the three persons with the highest number of votes.

This summary is based on the resolution introduced in the 90th Congress by Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota, who has been a leading advocate of the *district plan* to meet the inequities which have been allowed to develop under the present system. Of his plan, he says:

"In my estimation, (the *district plan*) is the only plan proposed which would correct the inequities without making basic changes in our constitutional system. It would correct the unfairness by eliminating the gen-

eral ticket system. It would correct the uncertainty because it would bind the presidential electors to the winning candidate. It would correct the undemocratic factors because it provides for a greater voice for the larger States should Congress be forced to name the President in the event no candidate wins a majority of electoral college votes."⁶

The *district plan* destroys one aspect of our Federal doctrine by establishing a uniform system of choosing electors. On the other hand, one of the best features of the *district plan* is its retention of the electoral college as a buffer against Federal control of elections. The courts have held that the presidential elector is a State officer performing a Federal function, so this office serves to keep the election machinery under State control where it was placed by the Constitution.

Here it should be noted that the electoral college was created with the intent that the President should be elected by the States. Thus, it cannot be stated too often that it is within the present power of the States to abolish unit rule under the general ticket system. Whether they will do so without constitutional amendment is another question. But the fact remains that the Constitution carefully left the manner of choosing electors to the States. This is fundamental to the principle of federalism and the vital role the States were intended to have in the electoral process.

THE AUTOMATIC VOTE SYSTEM

This brings us to the fourth plan, called the *automatic vote system*. Described as "the most conservative" proposal by its sponsors because it would make the least change from present practices, the fact is that this plan would write into the Constitution the very inequities which are the principal target of the three plans outlined above.

The present system of "winner-take-all" of the electoral votes to which a given State is entitled gives the large States excessive leverage in our presidential elections. It can be stated without fear of successful rebuttal that this was never intended by the Framers of the Constitution. As written, the Constitution makes no provision for the unit rule under the general ticket system, but neither is there any prohibition against it. The practice has been made legal by general usage.

Under this proposal, the electoral college would be abolished but the States would retain the electoral votes to which they are presently entitled. This vote would be turned over automatically and *en bloc* to the winner in any given State, thereby perpetuating the weighted system of voting which obtains under the present system.

President Johnson endorsed this automatic plan in January 1965, pointing out the dangers of unpledged electors. Also, his proposal was directed at the possibility that the election might be thrown into the House of Representatives, where each State has a single vote. Since two of the other plans include similar provisions, we omit mention of this part of the amendment.

The most compelling argument against this *automatic plan* is that its adoption would serve as an obstacle to any meaningful reform, if one concedes that reform is needed. Meanwhile, the *automatic vote* is not consonant with the other provisions of the Constitution. Moreover, the bloc system of voting puts a premium on fraud because the juggling of a few votes can swing the electoral votes of the entire State.

THE POWER IN THE STATES SHOULD BE RETAINED

The amending power under the Constitution is deliberately slow and not to be taken lightly. As one studies the various proposals to amend the electoral provisions of the

⁵Footnotes at end of speech.

Constitution, one is struck by the fact that no serious effort has ever been made to make those provisions work. No constitutional amendment would be necessary were the States to abide by the exact provisions of the Constitution and of their own choice abolish the unit rule.

It cannot be stated too often that it is within the power of the States, without constitutional amendment, to institute that part of the district plan which would give every voter the equivalent of three votes for President. These three votes would correspond to his representation in Congress: One vote would be for an elector from his district; the remaining two votes would be for electors chosen at large in the State and correspond to his two Senators.

However unlikely this possibility may seem at the moment, perhaps their own self-interest will one day point the way, since any constitutional amendment regarding the electoral process carries with it the threat of further intrusion of the Federal Government in the rights of the States.

It would seem wiser to continue the States' discretion as to the manner in which electors are chosen. It should be noted, however, that this entire matter is complicated by recent decisions of the Supreme Court in regard to reapportionment of Congressional districts and State legislatures. Nevertheless, when the issues are finally resolved, it would appear that before surrendering further rights to the Federal Government the States should consider most carefully the restoration of their important role in the selection of a President on a fair and equitable basis.

Undoubtedly, there are some parts of the electoral college machinery that need repair and/or replacement, but there is nothing wrong with it beyond the power of the States to remedy. Since the Constitution already provides that each State shall appoint its electors in whatever manner the legislature thereof may direct, it is both possible and desirable for every State to preserve the political effectiveness of all of its areas and for all of its people by having its presidential electors chosen separately by the voters of each Congressional district, with only two to be chosen at large as is presently the case with United States Senators. Such a practice would give every voter in the United States exactly three electoral votes and would end the weighted voting which now obtains.

This procedure would be in keeping with the intent of the Constitution. Moreover, as was once pointed out:

"The constitutional integrity of this Country depends upon the constitutional integrity of its constituent States. One of the last bulwarks of defense for the vanishing rights of the States of the Union is now found in the constitutional provisions which lodge control of elections generally, and of presidential elections particularly, in the several States of the Union."

No less important to the States and to the people is the fact that the Constitution provides the authority, if it does not actually command, the States to assume responsibility for the election of the leadership of the Union which they, themselves, established by ratification of the Constitution. Were they to assume this constitutional authority once more, it would be possible to hope that the balance of power between the Federal Government and the States might be restored. Unless the effort is made, there will be no halt to the trend to increasingly centralized Government and the corresponding relentless whittling away of the right of the States and the people. Responsibility for the course to be taken lies in the hands of the American people. Let's keep the electoral college!

FOOTNOTES

¹ *American Electoral College*, by Roger Lea McBride, page 33.

² *National Review*, March 7, 1956, page 9.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 13.

⁵ *Nomination and Election of President and Vice President, Hearings*, June 4, 1963, page 108.

⁶ *Congressional Record*, vol. 114, pt. 13, p. 17661.

⁷ *Electoral College a Bastion of Freedom*, Manion Forum Network Broadcast, November 20, 1964.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON AT FRANK S. LAND MEMORIAL BREAKFAST

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, as never before, we should certainly recognize the importance to our society of good, strong youth programs. Recently Senator HENRY M. JACKSON spoke to a Frank S. Land memorial breakfast and discussed the values of one of our Nation's great youth organizations, the Order of DeMolay.

Senator JACKSON was himself a member and officer of the Cascade Chapter of DeMolay in Everett, Wash., and has been awarded the DeMolay Legion of Honor.

The remarks made by Senator JACKSON will be of interest to all of my colleagues and an inspiration to those who participate in and recognize the contribution of DeMolay. Therefore, I insert the text of his talk in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON BEFORE THE FRANK S. LAND MEMORIAL BREAKFAST, EVERETT, WASH., FEBRUARY 24, 1969

Imperial Potentate Hogan, Most Worshipful Grand Masters, Imperial Sirs, my colleagues in government, and Brethren, this Frank S. Land Memorial Breakfast is sponsored each year during the Grand Masters Conference to pay tribute to the accomplishments and the memory of a man who devoted his entire adult life to the ideals and principles of Free Masonry.

During his lifetime, Frank S. Land conceived the idea of having this annual breakfast to bring together the leaders in Masonry and the leaders of government to foster a better understanding of the Order of DeMolay. Following his death, the Shrine of North America honored its Past Imperial Potentate by voting to continue this breakfast as a memorial to Frank S. Land, and as a tribute to this unique organization for young men—the Order of DeMolay.

Too often we honor men, rather than their ideals—their dedication to principles; their service to their fellow men; their contributions to and effect upon society.

As a former DeMolay, Frank S. Land will always be "Dad Land" to me—and his ideals and those of DeMolay are as important to me today (if not more so)—as they were when I first became an active DeMolay in Everett, Washington.

When Dad Land held that first meeting in Kansas City 50 years ago next month, I'm sure that he could not foresee the future—

The growth of this organization that was to be the Order of DeMolay;

The thousands of chapters that would be

formed across our nation and around the world;

The hundreds of thousands of young men who would learn and practice principles of honor, integrity, trust, patriotism and fidelity as members of a DeMolay Chapter.

The cardinal virtues of DeMolay are the same as those for a good citizen and a truly gentle man: Filial love—reverence—courtesy—comradeship—fidelity—cleanness—and patriotism.

Virtues too often missing today—not alone among our youth, but in adults as well!

Virtues a young person should learn in his home, but which he must also find outside the home—in his church, school, and within organizations such as DeMolay.

What a boy knows is what he does. What he is to be, he is now becoming.

Dad Land was a concerned individual—concerned about what those young men in Kansas City would learn, and even more concerned about what they would become. He remained concerned, and fortunately thousands of concerned Masons joined Dad Land to serve as advisors, as "dads" in local DeMolay Chapters throughout our nation.

As we honor the ideals of Dad Land this morning, let us also honor those countless men who joined with him and served so many young men for so long and so well.

All of us in Free Masonry have known the darkness and have been guided into the light. The principles and ideals of DeMolay can bring light into the darkness in the lives of many young men today. How much light? And how many young men in our nation? That depends upon how well we take up the challenge of Dad Land and DeMolay.

As one who is deeply interested and concerned—as we all must be—in the future of our great nation: I salute the leadership of the Shrine for their support of DeMolay. They deserve our commendation for their foresight and for their continuing support of this open line of communication between Masonry and the youth of our nation.

In this golden anniversary year of the Order of DeMolay, all of us with any responsibilities or influence within Masonry should urge all of our Brethren to accept a golden opportunity for service—service to DeMolay and our youth. By serving the Order of DeMolay, we can bring the light of principles and ideals into the lives of young men in our home communities and states.

Let us rededicate ourselves to those cardinal virtues of filial love—reverence—courtesy—comradeship—fidelity—cleanness—and patriotism.

What better way can we honor Frank S. Land than by keeping the ideals of Dad Land alive among the young men of today and tomorrow? To bring the ideals of DeMolay into the lives of millions of young men for another 50 years—that is a way in which we can put into practice our concern for the well-being of our nation.

Let us dedicate ourselves to bringing that light of the Order of DeMolay into the lives of the young men of our nation today, and in the years to come.

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES POLICY STATEMENT ON FEDERAL RELATIONS WITH HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Association of American Colleges, a nation-

al organization of undergraduate colleges of liberal arts and sciences, represents the views of 900 member institutions on Federal policy affecting undergraduate education. Since 1915 the AAC has been an outstanding advocate of ideas to improve the quality of undergraduate education.

January 14 and 15, 1969, the AAC held its annual meeting and adopted a series of resolutions from which was derived a "Statement of Policy on Federal Relations With Higher Education."

Mr. Speaker, the ACC policy statement is addressed to some of the most important issues confronting undergraduate education, including poverty and racial discrimination; the so-called "student unrest" amendments enacted during the 90th Congress; the need to bolster Federal support of international exchange programs and, also, the need for Congress to appropriate money authorized by the International Education Act of 1966; and the question of selective service law.

Mr. Speaker, because this cogent policy statement deserves the close attention of all persons interested in the relationship of the Federal Government to American higher education, I under unanimous consent, insert the statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES—STATEMENT OF POLICY ON FEDERAL RELATIONS WITH HIGHER EDUCATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The policy of the Association of American Colleges is primarily embodied in resolutions adopted by the Association in annual meeting, although the Board of Directors has full power under the constitution of the Association to formulate policy in the interval between annual meetings. Resolutions are presented to the annual meeting by the Committee on Resolutions. Procedures have been established for the Committee on Resolutions to obtain suggestions from the membership at large and from the standing commissions of the Association. Members of the Association are afforded opportunities through public hearings and through floor debate to participate in the formulation of Association policy.

The following statement of policy represents the Association's present position on issues involving the relationship of higher education to the federal government.

2. POVERTY AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The American nation has a duty to provide effective help in overcoming the disabilities of poverty and racial discrimination. Genuine equality of educational opportunity is an indispensable means to that end. The Association of American Colleges therefore recommends as a matter of extreme urgency that the legislative and executive branches of the federal government take immediate action to increase the funding of educational opportunity grants and other programs for the benefit of disadvantaged students and to ensure that both the statutory framework and the actual administration of all programs of federal support for higher education are such as to preclude discrimination against members of racial minorities.

3. SELECTIVE SERVICE

The Association of American Colleges recommends to the President and Congress that prompt and active study be made of the possibility of replacing the present system of selective service with a system of voluntary recruitment.

Meanwhile the Association urges:

(1) that legislation be enacted to amend the existing law by replacing the present sys-

tem of selection, which requires the drafting of the oldest men first with a system of random selection from the entire pool of eligible men who have not been granted deferment;

(2) that there be no extension of the policy of granting deferment to graduate and professional students on the basis of their fields of study except in the case of narrowly defined fields of specialization in which there is an acute shortage of trained manpower;

(3) that all full-time undergraduate students enrolled in any regular course of study at a recognized institution of higher education be entitled to the same classification under the Military Selective Service Act regardless of whether the course is designed to lead to a bachelor's degree;

(4) that it be made an explicit and binding public policy that no registrant under the Military Selective Service Act shall be so classified as to be liable to induction because of an offense against that Act or any other public law.

4. COLLEGE TEACHERS

Through its several fellowship programs, notably those of the National Defense Education Act and the National Science Foundation, the federal government has contributed significantly to the supply of qualified college teachers. For the future, the Association believes that the federal government should endeavor to coordinate the various graduate fellowship programs of its agencies so as to provide appropriate balance between the scientific and humanistic disciplines, with funding adequate to assure a regular flow of qualified persons into college teaching.

5. TEST OATHS AND ADMINISTRATIVE PENALTIES

The infliction of penalties otherwise than by due process of law and the imposition of test oaths are repugnant to our national tradition and may indeed infringe the constitutional rights of American citizens. The use of such procedures in federal programs of support for educational institutions or assistance to students constitutes unfair and unreasonable discrimination against individuals dependent on such programs. Legislative prescription of such procedures derogates from the right and duty of academic communities to preserve their institutional integrity against any influence that may tend to disrupt it. The Association of American Colleges has publicly emphasized the obligation of its members to uphold the common interest of the academic community and the larger society in the maintenance of peace and order on campus. The Association therefore urges the President and Congress of the United States to eliminate from educational legislation all loyalty oaths, disclaimer affidavits, discretionary powers for public officials to exclude qualified individuals on unstated grounds from participation in federally supported programs, and statutory requirements for the exclusion of qualified individuals from the benefit of such programs on the ground of offenses against public order or institutional regulations.

6. COLLEGE HOUSING

For well over a decade, the federal College Housing Loan Program has made it possible for colleges and universities to keep pace with increased enrollments of students who wish residence on campus to be part of their college experience. The Association urges the continuation of this program on terms that will permit institutions to borrow at low interest rates for renovation, replacement and additional construction, thereby making it possible to hold down the cost to the student of living on campus.

7. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The Association has long supported the federal government's programs for international exchange of students and teachers, since it believes that these programs enhance international and intercultural understand-

ing by offering the participants in them uniquely valuable educational experiences.

For similar reasons it actively supported legislation to give effect to the Florence and Beirut agreements to facilitate the international exchange of educational, cultural and scientific materials. The Association also worked for the adoption of the International Education Act of 1966 which would explicitly authorize support of programs to strengthen and improve undergraduate instruction in international studies.

The Association will continue to press for appropriations sufficient to maintain international exchange programs at levels which will involve significant numbers of Americans and overseas visitors. The Association will likewise continue to urge the Congress to fund the programs authorized by the International Education Act of 1966, especially those programs that affect undergraduate education.

8. EQUALITY OF ACCESS TO FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Diversity of institutional governance is one of the hallmarks of American higher education. Our colleges and universities have thrived and grown whether under public or under private sponsorship, either church-related or non-denominational. Historically, the federal government has looked to every variety of American college and university for research and services. The Association holds it to be a fundamental principle of sound federal legislation and administrative policy that public institutions and private institutions, whether church-related or not, should be accorded equal access to all federal programs. The same principle should apply to representation on advisory bodies and reviewing panels established by government agencies.

9. FINANCING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The Association of American Colleges, cognizant of the rising costs of higher education, believes that these costs cannot be offset by present methods of public and private funding of colleges and universities. State and local governments and private philanthropy must provide increasing support for higher education; but the federal government must be prepared to make a larger commitment of its resources than it does at present and it must be prepared to commit these resources to different purposes.

Specifically, the Association urges the federal government (1) to expand its program of grants for academic facilities and to ease the matching requirements for such grants; (2) to establish a comprehensive student aid plan that will emphasize grants toward the cost to the individual of obtaining a higher education; and (3) to establish a system of institutional grants for the support of general instruction in colleges and universities.

The Association pledges itself to work through its Board of Directors, commissions, officers, and staff, with other concerned associations toward the early development of specific legislative proposals to these ends, to be presented to the executive branch and the Congress.

The Association of American Colleges approves in principle the statement, Federal Institutional Grants for Instructional Purposes, as approved by the Board of Directors on 4 November 1967, and it commends this statement to the attention of Congress and the executive branch of the federal government as well as to the concerned general public.

10. TAXATION

The major sources of financial support for higher education are state and local appropriations, tuition payments, private philanthropy and corporate gifts, and federal grants and contracts. The Association believes that federal tax policy should continue to maintain the principle that contributions by individuals and corporations to the support of higher education are deductible from tax-

able income and to accord exemption from federal excise and transportation taxes to colleges and universities, whether publicly controlled or operating as private, non-profit corporations.

Recognizing that the Association of American Colleges remains on record as favoring income tax credit for personal expenditures for higher education, the Association urges its own staff, the United States Office of Education, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other appropriate individuals and organizations without delay to make careful and serious studies of the effects of using tax credit legislation for personal expenditures as a major means of financing higher education.

11. FUNDING, STAFFING, AND STATISTICS

Since 1958, Congress has delegated to the United States Office of Education administrative responsibility for major programs of vital concern to colleges and universities. In order that institutions can make effective use of the funds made available for these programs, it is necessary that funding be not only adequate but also timely in relation to the regular cycles of decision-making on college campuses. Likewise, it is necessary that the Office of Education be adequately staffed to administer these programs.

Therefore, the Association will continue to press for programs affecting higher education to be fully funded at authorized levels. The Association hopes that the Office of Education will continue its policy of full and frank consultation with representatives from colleges and universities and that it will continue to improve its procedures for collecting and disseminating statistical information necessary for sound planning and effective administration at the institutional level.

AMERICAN YOUTH EXCHANGE— TEENAGE AMBASSADORS

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, an article which appeared some time ago in the official publication of the Florida Education Association has recently been brought to my attention.

The article, which was written by a constituent of mine, details the success of an exchange program of students from this country and six Latin American countries. The program is operated under the auspices of American Youth Exchange, Inc.—AYE—which is a chartered, nonprofit Florida corporation.

Under the program, a student from the United States goes to live with a Latin American family for 10 weeks during his summer vacation, while a youngster from South America comes to this country during the school year. Each student lives with a family in the country he visits and is thus able to absorb the customs and culture of his adopted country.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring this article by Mrs. Beatrice Peskoe to the attention of our colleagues so that they may learn of the success of this outstanding program:

AYE—TEEN AMBASSADORS

(By Beatrice Peskoe)

A Florida tourist, walking thru the Buenos Aires suburb of Lanus, is startled to come upon the Norland School.

Is he suddenly back in Dade County?

In a way he is.

To Professor Roberto Nouche, director of the new private school, "Norland" means a great deal. It is the name of a high school in Miami where many of his students have spent ten weeks as exchange students in the United States.

It is a salute to the United States, a mark of great admiration for his counterparts here, and affection for the families who hosted his students.

Dr. Nouche's dedication to the idea of student exchange goes deep. He serves as secretary of the Buenos Aires Chapter of American Youth Exchange, Inc., an organization which arranges study abroad at the high school level.

Chartered as a non-profit Florida corporation six years ago, American Youth Exchange was established by four Miami families whose children had studied in various Latin American countries. They saw the benefits of such an experience, and agreed to organize a low-cost exchange program that would provide the same opportunity for students and families everywhere. The guidelines were simple: Make it readily available to qualified students, run it on a reciprocal basis, and keep it low in cost so that families of average means could participate.

AYE has grown to include chapters in 14 states and in six South American countries.

During our summer vacation a U.S. student travels to a country of his choice and is placed with a family having children his own age. In return, a South American youngster comes here and lives with a family for ten weeks during the school term.

This is the key to the program. As a member of the family he absorbs, in a perfectly natural way, the customs and culture of his ten-week adopted country. More than an individual adventure, it is a total family experience.

Misconceptions are shattered. The Latins are surprised to see their new mothers do their own housework and cooking. And, wonder of wonders, not all the food comes in cans. It works both ways. On a sightseeing trip a bus driver, pointing out all the new gadgets on his brand new bus, asks "Do you have buses like this in Argentina?" "Well, no," says our visiting friend, "We have television on ours."

There are also similarities: The cruzeiros have been exchanged for dollars. Our little visitor makes her first purchase and carefully counts out the required amount. After the second purchase she knows precisely what the dollars and cents are, and her joy in spending is alarmingly like that of her Fort Lauderdale sister. Or, take the Brazilian at the school dance. He carries off first prize in the dance contest. For his Samba? Not on your life. It's for the Mashed Potato.

High schools receiving AYE students waive the tuition fees that normally apply to non-residents. But there is no financial commitment on the part of the school, the student body, or the community. Visiting students are enrolled subject to all regulations, and they must attend school regularly.

Relationships are warm and enduring. Peter was one who created his own special place. Ten weeks went all too fast, and on his last day at school so many friends wanted to wish him well that an assembly was held for proper goodbyes. Peter walked thru the long lines of students shaking hands with the boys and kissing the girls. The friendships continue even now, between Peter at medical school in Colombia and his friends at college here.

Courses vary with the individual and the advice of the school counsellors. If it seemed strange at first that so many Marias were urged to study Spanish "to improve their English" the mystery was cleared up when one Spanish teacher confessed she didn't know how much English Maria had learned, but there was no doubt that Mary had

learned Spanish . . . and with accents only a native could teach.

In other ways, too, exchange students bring to their schools a whole new dimension in learning. Take, for example, Chuck Anderson, who played football at South Dade, and spent a summer in Argentina. He made every point-after-touchdown. How could he miss? . . . he was using a soccer kick!

High school students between the ages of 15 and 18 are eligible. Qualifications include passing grades, eagerness to learn, and good health. A strong sense of responsibility is vital, since these young people are, in fact, representing their own country abroad. A letter from Peru: "We go to the Roosevelt School and there are students from all over the world. Yesterday I gave a talk on life in the United States and there were so many questions."

Teachers' recommendations carry great weight in the selection of students. After family attitudes and home environment are measured through interviews final selections are made by the AYE chapter at the local level.

The reciprocal arrangement keeps costs low. Because so much of the living expense is exchanged the only cost to the natural parents is for registration, transportation (at greatly reduced group rates), insurance, and spending money.

Homles Braddock, a member of the Dade County School Board, has said "AYE's exchange program makes good sense. The student, using his vacation time to enrich his own learning experience, also brings back to his schoolmates a deeper interest in world affairs."

Juanita Yanes, a teacher at Chamberlain High, Tampa: ". . . when they come back it's marvelous. Such a big step forward! Their grammar is excellent. . . I think it's because of the fine families they live with." Miss Gill, at Plant High, Tampa: "The whole program is excellent. It broadens the students tremendously."

Student exchange programs are a practical approach to communication and understanding among our young people. It was a Florida boy who, while walking with his AYE brother in South America, was shaken momentarily at the sight of a crude, scrawled sign "Yanqui go home." His brother put his hand on his arm. "Take me with you," he said.

RASH OF DERAILMENTS POINTS UP NEED FOR TIGHTER SAFETY RULES

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the mounting rash of railroad accidents and derailments demands tighter safety regulations to protect the American people.

In the past 10 years, the number of accidents and derailments has risen steadily until last year the incidents averaged 450 a month—that is 15 a day—and the average now is approaching 500.

This should be a matter of concern not only to the railroads and their employees but also to the general public which is constantly endangered by the breakdowns in rail equipment and trackage.

The railroads are carrying cargo that in many cases is volatile and otherwise dangerous to the extent that it can threaten human life and property.

Just in the past several weeks, there have been two derailments involving

hazardous materials, in Crete, Nebr., and in Laurel, Miss. Both accidents occurred in residential areas and endangered many innocent individuals. There have been several similar derailments in my own Buffalo, N.Y., area in recent years. Such dangerous incidents now are occurring at the rate of eight to 10 a year.

There are safety rules and inspections laid down by the Department of Transportation which it inherited from the Interstate Commerce Commission when it took over the safety responsibility in April 1967.

It is clear that these rules and inspections are inadequate to deal with the problem today. The Federal Railroad Administration has inadequate jurisdiction and insufficient staff. Even now, the staff is deluged with complaints that wait months for attention.

I am studying remedial legislation, but this is a complex area and I want to be sure that recommended changes will do the job that needs to be done.

The transfer of safety supervision from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the Federal Railroad Administration apparently is not a factor in the accident increase, because there was provision for continuity. The former Interstate Commerce Commission staff and regulations went along with the shift.

The increase in the number of accidents has been steady since 1961 and has nearly doubled in that period. In 1962, the average was 240 a month. Last year, there were 5,300 accidents reported—about 450 a month. At the end of the year, the number was running closer to 500 a month.

Mr. Speaker, following is an article from the February 15 edition of Labor newspaper:

DERAILMENTS REACH 450 A MONTH—INJURIES OCCUR IN LATEST ACCIDENTS

Derailments continue to mount. A tabulation by the federal Railroad Administration for the first eight months of 1968 shows 3,587 derailments occurred in that period around the nation—an average of nearly 450 a month.

This figure has been rising steadily in recent years and is now at least 70 per cent above five years ago. An Interstate Commerce Commission tabulation discloses that in 1963 the average of derailments was approximately 260 a month and in 1962 less than 240.

Meantime, the latest reported derailments included these, among others:

Chillicothe, Ill.—12 passengers were injured when five cars of an eight-unit Chicago-to-Los Angeles train derailed west of here. Six of the injured passengers were hospitalized.

New Palestine, Ind.—in the week's most sweeping derailment, all 25 cars, and two engines of a Baltimore & Ohio coal-carrying freight jumped the tracks near here.

Laverne, Tenn.—26 piggyback cars in a 70-car Louisville & Nashville train left the tracks here, shearing phone and power poles and disrupting utility service.

Wren, Ohio—9 cars of an Erie Lackawanna freight derailed here, blocking highway traffic. Some of the cars smashed into an old elevator.

Anna, Ohio—15 cars of a Baltimore & Ohio freight jumped the tracks near here. An overheated journal was believed responsible. Both Wren and Anna are in the Lima area.

Sandy Hook, Md.—23 cars of a fast B&O freight derailed here, blocking rail and highway traffic.

Klamath Falls, Ore.—48 cars of a 90-car

Southern Pacific freight derailed at Chillicothe near here. A brakeman, Theodore Williams of Klamath Falls, was injured and a fire broke out destroying a boxcar loaded with newsprint. Just two weeks earlier, 34 cars of another SP freight derailed near Klamath Falls.

Scranton, Pa.—42 cars of a 77-car Delaware & Hudson freight jumped the tracks near here. Firemen from the town of Moosic were called to the scene because of a threat of fire from leaking fuel oil.

Bryan, Ohio—two cars of a Penn Central freight derailed at the same spot where 16 cars left the tracks a week earlier. In both instances, worn-out journals were blamed.

East St. Louis, Ill.—two cars of an Illinois Terminal Railroad freight derailed near here. A bad wheel on one car was blamed.

On another front, the National Transportation Safety Board announced it would hold a public hearing March 4 at Jackson, Miss., to take testimony on the cause of a serious derailment on Jan. 25 at Laurel, which resulted in a series of explosions and fires involving over 15 tank cars of the Southern freight train. Many persons were injured at Laurel and there was widespread property damage. Also, Board representatives went to the accident scene last week for an on-site investigation.

McKEESPORT LITTLE TIGERS

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and admiration that I call attention to the extraordinary national and international accomplishments of one of our local Midget Football teams, the McKeesport Little Tigers.

Not only have they compiled an impressive won and lost record, but the fine training and discipline these boys receive, must certainly be of inestimable value to them and our Nation as they grow into manhood and assume their places in society.

Only by diverting the boundless energies of youth into constructive and competitive channels, can we hope to combat the antisocial attitudes and behavior so prevalent in our country today.

At this point, for the RECORD, I include excerpts from a brochure prepared by the McKeesport Little Tigers:

EXCERPTS

OUR HISTORY

The McKeesport Little Tigers is a midget football team that has been coached by Bill Lickert since 1954. Since Mr. Lickert has coached the team, they have been members of the Allegheny County Midget Football League. Much to the amazement of their competitors, they have managed to cop the championship in that League every year since 1957 with the exception of 1962. This League consists of nine teams in the Allegheny County area.

The Little Tigers have become a nationally known organization. Their win-loss record under Mr. Lickert has been very impressive. They have played a total of 204 games during the last fifteen seasons. These include 191 wins, nine losses, and four ties. Of the last 57 games played 56 have been won, the remaining game was a tie. They have not lost a regular season game since 1962. A win record of 83 out of 88 games in the last six

years has been racked up by the Little Tigers while playing all over the nation and now in Mexico.

In addition to their regularly scheduled League games each year, the Little Tigers play a number of exhibition games. These include competition with many out-of-state teams. In the past three years they have played teams from New York, West Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Florida, Texas, and Monterey, Mexico.

OUR PURPOSE

The boys playing for this organization are coached with the purpose of the quotation "It is easier to build boys than to repair men."

This team is composed of boys of the ages from ten to fourteen. They have a stripped weight limit of 120 pounds. Skin color, religious belief, or social background do not give a boy a place on the team. Their ability and desire are the essential requirement.

OUR ADULT PERSONNEL

Our adult personnel consists of many people. It does not include just a head coach. We have several assistant coaches. A Board of Directors heads our organization. We have a Secretary-Treasurer, a Business Manager, Publicity and Public Relations workers, Coordinator, etc. These people are all unpaid for their services. This year's list of adult personnel included:

Head Coach: Bill Lickert.
Backfield Coaches: Bob Irwin, Bill Lickert, Jr., Frank Cuda.
Line Coaches: Lou Washowich, Gary Christian, Tony Litteri.
Board of Directors: Dr. J. C. Kelly, Dr. Norman A. Schwartz, Dan Natale, Robert E. Thomas, William E. Lickert.
Business Manager: Jack Baldrige.
Team Physician: Dr. Norman A. Schwartz.
Secretary-Treasurer: Robert E. Thomas.
Publicity: Whitey Klimon.
Co-Ordinator: Maxine McElnavy.
Transportation Consultant: Harvey C. Taylor.
Public Relations: Jim Acton.

OUR TEAM SELECTION, WHERE WE PRACTICE, ETC.

Each year on August 1 the coaching staff meets all boys of the vicinity who are interested in becoming a Little Tiger. This sometimes draws as many as 300 boys. We are permitted in our League to carry only 33 boys, so this involves much observation and cutting down by the coaches. Once the most likely candidates have been chosen, we are privileged to take these boys to Laurel State Park for a week's intensive training.

Our practices are held at Renzie Park in McKeesport. The city gives us permission to use the field there as a practice field. We have our home games in one of three different places—Serra High School field, War Memorial field, or at Renzie Park. The city installs lights for us each year at Renzie Park. These are used for our practices and any of our night games are played under these lights.

Once the team has been selected, the boys practice every evening, Monday through Friday from 6:00 to 8:00. Most games are scheduled on Saturdays.

OUR EQUIPMENT

Our boys are well protected during practice and during games. They have the latest in safety protection as a standard part of their uniforms. We are able to dress our boys in four different sets of uniforms for game play. All necessary equipment both for practice and game use is furnished to every boy. No boy has to provide any portion of his equipment. We have a blaster and a seven man sled for use in our practice sessions.

Insurance protects all of our equipment. We have medical insurance to cover our

players, although we have had no serious injuries in our organization.

Throughout the year we have a group of managers who maintain and distribute the equipment. Each year necessary renovation is taken care of by the organization.

OUR FINANCIAL MEANS

The McKeesport Little Tigers is a charitable organization. All of our expenses are met by donations of interested individuals and organizations, by the selling of raffle tickets, and by the efforts of a hard-working mothers club.

With the help of our benefactors we have been able each year to take the boys on a trip at the end of each season for the past thirteen years. We consider these trips to be of great educational value to these boys.

Each year the mothers club accepts some project as theirs for the year. They have provided much of the equipment and uniforms for the boys.

OUR TRIPS SINCE 1956

1956—National Milk Bowl, San Antonio, Texas.

*1957—National Milk Bowl, San Antonio, Texas.

1958—Sunshine Bowl, Daytona Beach, Florida.

1959—Conch Bowl, Key West, Florida.

1960—National Milk Bowl, Pharr, Texas.

1961—National Milk Bowl, Pharr, Texas.

*1962—National Milk Bowl, Pharr, Texas.

1963—Blue Grass Bowl, Lexington, Kentucky.

*1964—Circus Bowl, Sarasota, Florida.

1965—National Milk Bowl, McAllen, Texas.

1966—Optimist Bowl, Hialeah, Florida.

1967—National Milk Bowl, Durham, North Carolina.

1968—Junior Oil Bowl, Port Arthur, Texas.

1968—Junior Bowl, Monterrey, Mexico.

*These games were lost by Little Tigers.

OUR 1966 RECORD—WE WON THEM ALL!

Opponent:	Score
Wellsburg, W. Va.	52-0
Columbus, Ohio	34-0
*North Braddock, Pa.	44-12
*Freeport, Pa.	47-6
*Wilmerding, Pa.	40-0
*Fort Cherry, Pa.	47-0
*Wilkinsburgh, Pa.	46-6
*Lower Burrell, Pa.	33-0
*Alliquippa, Pa.	27-0
*Penn Hills, Pa.	19-13
*Vandergrift, Pa.	14-0
Mon-Yough, Pa.	33-7
Durham, N.C., Elks	34-6
West Seneca, N.Y.	49-13
Monroeville, Pa.	55-6
Hialeah, Fla.	28-14

* Games are League games, the rest are exhibition.

OUR 1967 RECORD—THE WINS CONTINUE!

Opponent:	Score
Penn Hills	41-0
West Seneca, N.Y.	32-0
*Wilmerding	47-0
Wellsburg, W. Va.	36-0
*Monroeville	41-0
*Penn Hills	47-0
*Wilkinsburgh	52-0
*Fort Cherry	40-0
*Banksville	34-0
*Alliquippa	35-7
*North Braddock	33-6
*Jeannette	40-0
Hazleton, Pa.	33-0
Tonawanda, N.Y.	18-7
Durham, N.C., Elks	35-0

* Games are League games, the rest are exhibition.

OUR 1968 RECORD—WE WON ALL BUT ONE—TIED THAT ONE!

Opponent:	Score
Fort Cherry	34-0
Freeport	33-7
Mon-Yough	25-0
*Monroeville	20-7
*Jeannette	39-0
*Penn Hills	33-0
*Wilkinsburgh	45-0
*Lincoln-Larimer	38-6
*Wilmerding	41-0
*North Braddock	32-0
*Fort Cherry	25-0
Randallstown, Md.	13-13
Lockport, N.Y.	32-7
Vandergrift	33-6
Port Arthur, Tex.	26-0
**Monterrey, Mexico	25-0

*Games are League games, the rest are exhibition.

** Just our Little boys played this one.

OUR MILK BOWL GAME

We also are able to provide some limited activities for girls in the same age category as the boys on the team. We have an active group of cheerleaders to help provide enthusiasm at our games. Each year on Veteran's Day we play our local Milk Bowl Game. For several weeks prior to the game girls from 10 to 14 are invited to compete for the title of Milk Bowl Queen. The girl who sells the most tickets to the game is our queen and the next two highest salesmen are attendants. The queen is crowned at the game by the mayor of McKeesport. She is invited to go on the trip with the team at the end of the year, expenses paid.

Our opponent for this game is always an out-of-state team. We are given permission to use an enclosed pavilion at Renzle Park for the three or four days that our guests are in town. The local hospital provides cots and bedding. The organization provides the food,

and we have the pleasure of having a retired chef do our cooking for this period of time and also for the week the boys are in camp. If all goes well, we may be able to entertain our Mexican friends for this occasion this year.

OUR GRADUATES

Very few boys trained to play with Little Tigers do not go on to play high school football. We have found that many of them eventually are awarded college football scholarships. We are very proud now to claim some of our alumnae as professional football players. One of our boys is also playing professional basketball.

In the pro ranks at present we list: Jim Blenne—Houston Oilers, former All American at Purdue, Frank Liberatore—Washington Redskins, at present farm team, Bill Miller—Oakland Raiders, Ross Fichtner—New Orleans Saints, Fred Lewis—Indiana Pacers basketball team.

Recent college graduates include: Bob Bazylak—University of Pittsburgh quarterback last year, Rick Litteri—will graduate Lafayette University this year and served as captain of this year's football team there.

There are eight high schools in the surrounding area that have boys on their varsity teams that received training with Little Tigers. Many of them play varsity first string before reaching their senior year.

OUR TRIP TO MONTERREY, MEXICO

This past Christmas season it was our pleasure to play in the Junior Oil Bowl in Port Arthur, Texas. From there the boys were admitted as guests of the Cotton Bowl officials for the New Year's day game in Dallas. We then went to Monterrey, Mexico. There the Little Tigers were welcomed as the first American Football Team in their category to visit. Our smaller boys played a 105 pound weight limit team from Monterrey and won the game 25-0.

We were accepted as "Little Ambassadors" from the United States. We are hoping to develop this friendship even further by having these Mexican boys visit us this fall. Perhaps we will return to Monterrey next year. Upon our return to Pennsylvania we received special resolutions from our Allegheny County Commissioners and from the City of McKeesport recognizing us for the good will created on our Mexican trip.

During our short stay in Monterrey each of the boys had the opportunity to spend a night in a Mexican home. The Governor of Nueva Leon requested an audience with us and welcomed us to his country and state. Our American Consulate in Monterrey said that our visit did more than millions of dollars could have done to promote friendship between Mexico and the United States.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, March 3, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord, our Maker. Psalm 95: 6.

O God, our Father, out of the confusion of the world we come with humble hearts to worship Thee. From the things that man has done we come into Thy presence to think of what Thou hast done for man. As we wait upon Thee, renew in us the spirit of wonder and joy and love.

From our worship send us out into this day to be better citizens of our beloved country. Put depth and devotion and dedication into our patriotism. May

we not simply salute our Nation's flag and sing our country's songs, but may we shoulder some burden of useful and redeeming service for this land we love with all our hearts. Enlist each one of us in the ranks of those who serve their community and who lift the level of our public life. Thus may we make of our land a fairer place in which our children may live and grow.

In the spirit of Christ we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 27, 1969, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1058. An act to extend the period within which the President may transmit to the Congress plans for reorganization of agencies of the executive branch of the Government.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Resolution 32, 73d Congress, appointed Mr. CHURCH to the U.S. Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission in lieu of Mr. Morse, retired.