

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE SS "HOPE"

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, the city of Spokane, Wash., has long been an enthusiastic supporter of the humanitarian hospital ship, the SS *Hope*.

It has provided the *Hope* with equipment and personnel. Dr. Stanley E. Mayall, who has served on many of the ship's missions of mercy to underprivileged countries, established the ship's dental program. I have been honored to work with Dr. Mayall and the Spokane committee over the years.

When the *Hope* returns from its 10-month stay in Ceylon on March 22, Mrs. Virginia R. Smith, secretary of the Spokane Committee for the Project Hope, will be in Philadelphia to greet the vessel. Two Spokane residents, Kay Williams and James Windust, will be returning from service in Ceylon.

Harriet J. Connor, in her column *Chronoscope* published in the Spokane Daily Chronicle March 14, tells of past and present Spokane activities in behalf of the *Hope*. I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHRONOSCOPE

(By Harriet J. Connor)

TWO-SHIP FLEET FUTURE PLAN

Project Hope has a lot going for it right now—beside the hopes for a better life and better help it gives to peoples of developing nations.

The S.S. *Hope*—hospital and medical and dental training center—will arrive back in Philadelphia on March 22 from a 10-month stay in Ceylon.

Mrs. Virginia R. Smith of Spokane and Newman Lake, secretary to the Spokane committee of Project Hope, will be on the dock to greet the vessel. She will be holding a 36-inch sign saying "Welcome Kay Williams and Jim Windust."

Miss Kathleen Williams, surgical nurse, and James R. Windust, who is in charge of the medical stores of the ship, are from the Spokane area. They have served on several voyages.

News of proposed expansion and additional facilities will also greet the returning *Hope* staff.

"Project Hope seeks to add a second hospital ship," Dr. William B. Walsh, founder and president of Project Hope, informed Dr. Stanley E. Mayall. Dr. Mayall has served on numerous of the ship's tours of duty and inaugurated the dental program.

"With the hope that the war in Vietnam may soon end, we have made initial provision for the expansion into a second vessel," Dr. Walsh said.

SHIP'S NEXT STAY TO BE TUNISIA

Project Hope has had 24 invitations for a visit of the hospital ship from countries anxious for the medical teaching services.

Toward the end of May, after refitting and refueling, the *Hope* will visit Tunisia for a year. Dr. Mayall plans a tour of duty with the ship sometime during that stay.

The people of the Inland Empire—and this

includes children and high school students—have given a number of auxiliary vehicles to the Project Hope for use ashore in the countries the ship visits.

The Spokane committee proposes to purchase another vehicle and this will be discussed by Mrs. Smith with Dr. Walsh during a visit she will make in Washington, D.C.

A supply of children's pajamas and bathrobes will be sent to the ship for the next trip from the Spokane Mothers of Twins Clubs. The members started the annual project after reading an interview with Miss Williams in the Chronicle of the need for these articles of clothing for the young patients.

Mrs. Harold Hermence of the Mothers of Twins Clubs reports that 300 pairs of pajamas and 50 bathrobes have been made or collected by the mothers of twins. These will be packed for shipment to the *Hope* warehouse and will be sent there March 21.

STANDARDIZATION IS PLANNED

What will Mrs. Smith's role be in Philadelphia with the ship and in the Washington, D.C., headquarters of Project Hope?

She plans to learn the details of the *Hope* operation as thoroughly as possible—"from top to bottom" especially how the project works "from the inside out." She will meet with the comptroller and other officials.

Now all the field offices of Project Hope are being standardized including the Spokane office at W508 Sixth. In the beginning the *Hope* organization here "just grew."

The George E. Jewett Foundation has been a booster and large contributor to Project *Hope*, Dr. Mayall said.

The ship's return from a 40-day voyage from Ceylon around Cape Horn will be celebrated March 22 at a homecoming party at the Time-Life Building in Philadelphia, which Mrs. Smith will attend.

An invitation has been sent to U.S. Rep. and Mrs. Thomas S. Foley. Foley visited the hospital ship in Ceylon in December. The Foleys were married in Colombo where Mrs. Foley's parents, Mr. and Mrs. D. Alan Strachan, reside.

The original Spokane sponsor of the *Hope* fund drives was Dantis Club which continues with support and contributions—lately donating \$150.

Ferris High School students collected \$1,192.88 for *Hope* in 1968. Their goal for 1969 is \$1,200.

At Ferris homeroom competition is the key to the success of the drives. In these 75 rooms all manner of contests, projects and fines, develop to spur on the funds collected. Athletes are even fined if they lose games and the homerooms give donations if the athletes win.

The *Hope* committee presented the school with a brass plaque engraved with a sketch of the ship as a symbol of appreciation.

Lewis and Clark High School students also contributed as did students of other schools.

STUDENTS HAVE STRONG REACTIONS

"I am really gung ho for the kids," Mrs. Smith enthused—and that means grade through high school.

"When they see how other children live they realize how fortunate they are," she said, is the reaction after seeing films about the *Hope* and the patients. "They are a lot happier with their parents, their homes and surroundings.

"When they see the picture of a child with his first drink of milk it just takes their breath away," she noticed in audiences of grade school children.

Mrs. Smith "feels strongly" that other schools will be interested in helping.

She has plans to promote activities in behalf of *Hope* in the Tri-Cities area where she formerly lived.

HOME GARDENS

HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

CUTHBERTSON REALTY Co.,
Ferriday, La., March 15, 1969.

HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR OTTO: I have been watching with interest Sen. McGovern's portrayal of the hunger areas of the U.S. Perhaps this is an actual fact and also it may be widespread. I know of none in the Parishes bordering the Mississippi River.

What strikes me is that in no instance did I see any sign that there was any effort to raise a home garden—even in the rural areas where certainly there was land available for a patch of turnips and mustard greens.

As you know one of the high costs of vegetables is gathering. It is emphasized that those suffering from malnutrition are also idle. They should have plenty of time to raise a good garden and thus contribute to their own welfare and be thus less of a burden to the taxpayer.

During World Wars I and II, I can well remember the effort put forth to encourage everyone to have a home garden. I saw some fine ones and there was a great deal of pride taken in them. Why not a concerted effort to go to even greater lengths to encourage a similar program in the war on poverty? This program could be supervised by the Dept. of Agriculture and get some of those deadheads off the farmer's back and really do something constructive.

When I was on Guam during World War II—we always seemed short of personnel for work details. It finally occurred to us that the 12-man guard detail on the Food Dump was unnecessary—who was going to steal "C" Rations.

In this war on poverty why not place food dumps at strategic points and let everyone help themselves? This would apply to all Americans—rich, poor, and just plain lazy. If I lose my shirt in a poker game and have to put my family on an austerity program I would be entitled to "C" rations too. I will guarantee that after a steady diet of "C's" my family will be plenty healthy, but the old man won't be playing poker again soon. Perhaps this treatment would encourage relievers to seek enough remunerative work to at least earn enough to supplement it with some goodies.

What's good enough for the lads on the firing line should be good enough for anyone. Dehydrated potatoes, milk, and eggs—meat and bean stew may not be strip sirloin but will fill that belly.

This year's income tax is murder, but I'd feel a lot better about borrowing the money to pay it if some sort of self-help program were initiated to get some of those leeches off their hindparts for a part of the day at least.

Getting back to the home garden idea. When I was in Scotland, I was very much impressed by the fact that evidently the town, or someone, had set aside, perhaps a city block or two, in an otherwise waste area on which were numerous very tiny garden patches. These were highly cultivated—evidently after working hours—and were producing abundantly a great variety of luscious

vegetables and fruits. Although evidently a hobby it was a most rewarding one.

I hate to write you every time I have a bitch, but I do believe I have written once or twice commending you for the wonderful benefits you have provided for this area. N.E. La. is fast becoming a major part of the breadbasket of America and I am sure you are proud of the large contribution you have made.

With kindest personal regards, I remain
Sincerely,

WILLIAM CUTHBERTSON.

P.S.—I speak from experience. I have a little 2 x 4 garden on side of house and raise more tomatoes, cucumbers, lettuce, onions, etc than we can possibly eat.

DRUG INDUSTRY'S CONTRIBUTIONS NOTED

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I was pleased to note that a number of Pennsylvanians were in Washington this past week for a conference of the National Association of Retail Druggists.

Although we tend to think most often of its contribution to the Nation's health, the fact remains also that the drug industry is a major contributor to the national and State economies as well. This point is well documented by a recently released Temple University study which showed that the pharmaceutical industry is a key spender and tax source in my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I was especially interested in the reports of this study published in the Philadelphia Inquirer under the headline "Drugs Called Major Industry" and in the Allentown Sunday Call-Chronicle under the heading "Drug Firms Give Boost in Economy." So that others may acquaint themselves with this development, I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Feb. 20, 1969]

DRUGS CALLED MAJOR INDUSTRY

The pharmaceutical industry is a key spender and tax contributor in Pennsylvania's economy, a Temple University study revealed Tuesday.

In 1967 the nine drug firms surveyed spent more than \$80 million for goods and services and paid more than \$10 million in state taxes.

The Temple report also revealed the combined annual payrolls of nine state-based firms soared 126 percent during the decade ending in 1967 to \$100 million.

NEW JOBS

"At this rate the pharmaceutical firms were helping to support almost as many additional workers in the state as they employed directly," the report stated.

The report was prepared by Michael H. Moskow, director of the Department of Economics, and William Murray, of the Department of Economics and Temple's Bureau of Economic and Business Research.

The researchers said the pharmaceutical industry was responsible for two of every

seven new manufacturing jobs created in Pennsylvania during the 1957-1967 period.

The nine firms boosted their work force by 41 percent in that period, in contrast to the 1 percent gain registered in all manufacturing jobs in the state.

In addition to paying \$10 million in state revenues—\$8.5 million in corporation taxes and \$1.5 million in real estate taxes—the nine firms withheld more than \$1 million from its employees in Pennsylvania taxes and more than \$17 million in Federal taxes for 1967.

RESEARCH PROGRAM

The study also revealed that in 1967 the firms:

—Spent more than \$50 million on research and development.

—Contributed \$5.3 million for voluntary pension, insurance, education, stock and savings plans for their 14,000 employees.

—Contributed \$225,000 in corporate funds to civic, educational and community organizations.

—Contributed \$800,000 through company foundations to state colleges, hospitals and civic, cultural and charitable institutions.

Participating in the survey were Lambert-Hudnut Manufacturing Laboratories, Lemmon Pharmaceutical Co., McNeil Laboratories, Inc., Merck, Sharp & Dohme, the National Drug Co., William H. Rorer, Inc., Smith, Kline & French Laboratories, Vicks Manufacturing, and Wyeth Laboratories.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Sunday Call-Chronicle, Feb. 23, 1969]

DRUG FIRMS GIVE BOOST IN ECONOMY

The pharmaceutical industry was responsible for two out of every seven new manufacturing jobs created in Pennsylvania in the decade ending in 1967, Temple University's Bureau of Economic and Business Research has reported.

During this time, nine pharmaceutical firms increased their work force in Pennsylvania by 41 per cent, a sharp contrast to the one per cent gain registered in all manufacturing jobs in the state during the same period.

The Temple report, based on a survey of nine firms' Pennsylvania operations and federal and state government statistics, also revealed that annual payrolls in the pharmaceutical field increased 126 per cent during the decade to climb above the \$100 million figure. This almost tripled the 43 per cent payroll growth recorded by all manufacturing firms in the state during the same period.

Pharmaceutical manufacturing in Pennsylvania also represents a major base for economic growth through research and development, the report states. Reporting pharmaceutical firms expended more than \$50 million on research and development in 1967 alone, representing close to ten per cent of all such expenditures by Pennsylvania industry.

At the same time, the firms purchased more than \$80 million of goods and services within Pennsylvania. "At this rate," according to the report, "the pharmaceutical firms were helping to support almost as many additional workers in the state as they employed directly."

The firms' activities also represent one of the most important sources of tax revenue for the state. In 1967, reporting firms paid \$8.5 million in state corporation taxes plus \$1.5 million in real estate taxes on Pennsylvania property.

In addition to State revenue, reporting pharmaceutical firms also withheld more than one million dollars in income taxes from its Pennsylvania employees for local governments while withholding more than \$17 million from its Pennsylvania employees for the federal government.

AMEND SECTION 2 OF THE AUTOMOBILE DISCLOSURE ACT

HON. JORGE L. CORDOVA

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. CORDOVA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill to amend section 2 of the Automobile Information Disclosure Act specifically to extend and remove any question about the applicability of this consumer protection law to Puerto Rico.

It is clear the law—often called the Monroney automobile labeling act covers foreign cars imported into Puerto Rico. But whether it applies to automobiles made in the United States and sold in Puerto Rico has been the subject of conflicting opinions.

However, I am certain that Congress never intended Puerto Rican car buyers to be treated as second-class consumers. Next to a home, an automobile is probably the most expensive purchase for most people during their lifetime. The prospective new-car buyer in Puerto Rico, like his counterpart in the 50 States, is entitled to accurate price information.

The Monroney Act helps protect the consumer in this respect by requiring that every new car display a list showing the manufacturer's suggested retail price and additional charges such as transportation and the price of optional equipment.

Confusion over the applicability of this law to Puerto Rico has created an undesirable situation. Many salesmen will not give the customer the necessary information, because dealers think they are not required to do so by law. New car prices are often grossly inflated and sales talks baited with absurdly generous trade-in allowances and discounts. This practice is harmful to all parties involved in a sale—the buyer, the financing institution, and, in the long run, the dealer.

There being no objection, I would like to introduce into the RECORD two articles written by John Roman, business editor of the San Juan Star newspaper discussing the problems resulting from the different views on the Monroney Act.

The articles follow:

[From the San Juan (P.R.) Star, Feb. 7, 1969]
AUTOMOBILE DEALERS SUBJECT CUSTOMERS TO PRICE GAME

(By John Roman)

A year ago, the Star ran a series of articles stating that only one local dealer—Volkswagen—had the price of its cars labeled on the car.

As of January, 1969, Volkswagen was still the only dealership showing the price being asked on every new and used car.

In the U.S., the Information Disclosure Act, passed in 1958, requires that every dealer list the manufacturer's suggested retail price and such additional charges as shipping and optional equipment costs.

According to federal authorities here, the Monroney Label Act—as the 1958 law is called—does not apply in Puerto Rico.

An official for the Consumer Services Administration explained that a law requiring the posting of such a label have had been

introduced in the Legislature "a few years back but it was shelved."

The effect that the lack of a labeling law for cars has had here is to convert automobiles salons into "price casinos."

This reporter went to at least eight dealers in the local area and the average conversation between prospective customers and salesman went something like this:

"That's nice looking new car. What's the price?"

"Yes, it comes fully equipped."

"What's the price?"

"Where's your trade-in?"

"I don't own a car."

"Are you sure?"

"Sure I'm sure, I know if I own a car."

"Then the price is—, but don't show up with a trade-in because that won't be the same price then."

What many local dealers do is hike up their estimate on the customer's trade-in and then hike up the price of the new car to make up for the price-packing on the trade-in.

According to Myron B. Delly, general manager of Volkswagen del Caribe, "this practice has the unfortunate effect of creating a very bad image for car dealers and hurts the entire trade."

He explained that all cars shipped to Puerto Rico from the U.S. have the Monroney stickers on them, but these are generally removed when they get here.

Although you can sometimes find a Monroney label on a car here, there is no set policy to keep them on by any dealership with the exception of Volkswagen dealers, as far as the STAR could determine.

Delly explained that in the states a dealer is forbidden to remove the sticker and is fined \$1,000 a day per car from which the sticker was removed.

"Volkswagen determined early that we were going to be in Puerto Rico permanently and decided to build our image accordingly," Delly said. He added that Volkswagen del Caribe paid for a private legal opinion two years ago on the applicability of the Monroney Act in Puerto Rico. He was told that the law did apply and the stickers have stayed put on all Volkswagens.

Delly added that another effect of the price-packing is to increase the rate of repossessions of cars since false equity is being created.

"Honest dealers in Puerto Rico," Delly said, "are suffering as a result of this practice. Some dealers have asked me how we can continue our policy when no one else is doing it."

NONENFORCEMENT OF CAR PRICE LABELING LAW

(By John Roman)

The reason local car dealers do not show the listed price on new cars as the federal law stipulates is that the U.S. attorney here, Francisco A. Gil, Jr., refuses to prosecute, the Star has learned.

In August, 1968, the then assistant attorney general of the U.S. Fred M. Vinson Jr., informed the local Better Business Bureau office that the Automobile Information Disclosure Act "is applicable to Puerto Rico."

The 1957 act—better known as the Monroney Act—requires car dealers to show the price of the car and accessories on a label attached to the car—known as the Monroney label.

As far as could be determined the only dealership exhibiting the labels faithfully is Volkswagen.

The lack of enforcement locally has given rise to the practice of "price packings," which leads the customer to think he's getting a better deal than he expected.

A dealer will estimate a used car being given on a trade-in at a much higher value than it's worth and hike up the price of the new car accordingly.

"What they are doing," said Anthony Lombardo, manager of the local Better Business Bureau, "is allowing the dealer to get a used car free."

In an attempt to put an end to the practice, Lombardo wrote a letter to Gil asking for an opinion on the application of the Monroney Law locally.

After a two-month wait, Gil wrote to Lombardo, stating:

"The regulations of the Department of Justice preclude us from formulating opinions in any matter whatsoever."

In the meantime, Lombardo has received a letter from Clark D. Anderson, special agent in charge of the local FBI office stating that his office would not arrest dealers violating the act because "Mr. Gil advised that it is the policy of his office not to prosecute alleged violations of the aforementioned act . . ."

"This is a ridiculous situation," Lombardo said, "because all Gil has to do is state that he intends to carry out the law and the practice would stop overnight. I can't understand why he doesn't do something about this."

When asked Gil's office for an opinion on this matter and whether or not the law applied in Puerto Rico, he was told: "The U.S. Attorney's office cannot give opinions to anyone who is not an employee of the U.S. or Puerto Rican government."

In his letter to Lombardo, Vinson states: "The Department of Justice feels that the Automobile Information Disclosure Act is applicable in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Section 734 of Title 48, United States Code provides that "the statutory laws of the United States not locally inapplicable . . . shall have the same force and effect in Puerto Rico as in the United States."

AN ERA OF PERMISSIVENESS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a thought-provoking editorial entitled "An Era of Permissiveness," was published recently in my hometown newspaper, the Aiken Standard and Review.

Publisher and Editor Samuel A. Cothran draws attention to the recent Supreme Court decision which upholds the rights of high school students to conduct symbolic protests provided such action does not disrupt discipline or infringe upon the rights of others.

The effect of the decision will be to move to our high school campuses demonstrations and other social protests which are presently changing the scene and atmosphere at colleges across America.

In a 7-to-2 decision Justice Hugo Black, long an outspoken advocate of freedom of speech, filed a dissenting opinion as one of the two voting in the minority.

Justice Black realizes that high school administrators will now be faced with frequent decisions as to which various types of protests disrupt discipline or infringe upon the rights of others.

Thus, we are likely to see an acceleration of protest activity on our high school campuses, and also a flurry of cases coming to the Supreme Court in this area.

In his March 3, 1969, editorial Editor Cothran agrees with the minority opinion

of Justice Black which recognizes that this decision simply moves us further in the "era of permissiveness" under the guise of "freedom of speech."

Mr. President, recent history offers support for the view of Justice Black and Editor Cothran that the judiciary has helped to foster this permissiveness.

Reports in the press clearly indicate that the trend toward disorder on the campus of educational institutions is moving from the college to the high school scene. Unfortunately, the movement is given a boost by the Supreme Court under the time-honored right we all cherish—freedom of speech.

In years past our high schools and colleges were more concerned with educating our young people for the awesome responsibilities of a technological age. Now it seems that the more important thing is to allow everyone all the freedom possible to "do their thing."

Mr. President, I have noted with pleasure that the American press—long an advocate of freedom of speech has not fallen prey to the trends in our "era of permissiveness." I think the editorial in the Aiken Standard and Review is an example of the wisdom with which the press is viewing this movement. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

AN ERA OF PERMISSIVENESS

In ruling that high school students have the right to conduct symbolic protests if they do not disrupt discipline or infringe on the rights of others, the U.S. Supreme Court has opened the door to more troubles on the nation's educational front. The effect of the 7-2 ruling may well be the spread of demonstrations—and accompanying violence—from the colleges to the secondary school campuses.

Writing the majority opinion, Justice Abe Fortas held that the constitutional right of freedom of speech was involved in a Des Moines case in which three students were barred for wearing black arm bands of mourning for Vietnam war dead. A high school student, according to Justice Fortas, may express his opinions when he is in a school cafeteria or on the playground or on the campus.

However, the majority of justices ruled, student conduct that "materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others is, of course, not immunized by the constitutional guaranty of free speech."

The high court decision, therefore, can be expected to produce test cases. It will, in all probability, encourage confrontations by young activists who are supported by such organizations as the college-level Students for a Democratic Society. SDS already has begun recruiting and advising on high school campuses.

If such protests materialize in appreciable numbers, the Supreme Court decision will have had the effect of putting high school administrators to the same test which university presidents and other administrators have faced. High school principals will be faced with the decision of whether the actions of three or three dozen protestors "materially disrupts classwork" or "involves substantial disorder." The degree of disorder is a matter of opinion on which administrators and protestors could scarcely be expected to agree. Resultant disagreement is sure to spark further disorder of greater intensity.

The thrust of the decision is such that it stirred the wrath of Justice Hugo Black, one of two dissenters. Justice Black, long an outspoken advocate of freedom of speech, was moved to assert that the ruling subjects every public school "to the whims and caprices of their loudest-mouthed, but maybe not their brightest students."

We are inclined to agree with Justice Black when he declares:

"One does not need to be a prophet or the son of a prophet to know that after the court's holding today that some students in Iowa schools and indeed in all schools will be ready, willing and able to defy their teachers on practically all orders.

"This is the more unfortunate for the schools since groups of students all over the land are already running loose, conducting break-ins, sit-ins, lie-ins and smash-ins."

Justice Black sees the decision as the "beginning of a new, revolutionary era of permissiveness in this country fostered by the judiciary." We see it not as the beginning but as the continuation of a deplorable trend which the judiciary fostered months and years ago.

LET THE CONSUMER DECIDE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I received a letter from an old and very good friend, Shelby Southard, of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. Mr. Southard included with his letter a speech recently delivered by Charles Y. Lazarus, president of the American Retail Federation. I think Mr. Lazarus' comments on the growing interest in "consumerism" in this country are worth pondering. It is my pleasure to insert at this point in the RECORD Mr. Lazarus' speech entitled "Let the Consumer Decide":

LET THE CONSUMER DECIDE

(Address of Charles Y. Lazarus, president, American Retail Federation; president, the F. & R. Lazarus & Co., Columbus, Ohio; vice president, Federated Department Stores, Inc., to members of the California Retailers Association and the Central City Association California Club, Los Angeles, Calif., March 11, 1969)

Somewhat to my surprise, I found the timeliest thesis for these remarks in a document that is almost ten years old.

The document is called "Goals for Americans, Programs for Action in the 1960's." You may remember it as the title for a report by President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals.

Some time ago, prompted first by my appointment to the Public Advisory Committee on Trade Policy under a Democratic administration and then by the election of a new Republican administration, I began re-reading this report, curious to know how much of it might still be relevant. By way of cuing us to the main points I hope to make today, I would like to read a few excerpts. I quote:

"The paramount goal of the United States was set long ago. It is to guard the rights of the individual, to ensure his development, and to enlarge his opportunity. . . . Our enduring aim is to build a nation and help build a world in which every human being shall be free to develop his capacities to the fullest. We must rededicate ourselves to this

principle and thereby strengthen its appeal to a world in political, social, economic, and technological revolution.

"The status of the individual must remain our primary concern. All our institutions—political, social, and economic—must further enhance the dignity of the citizen, promote the maximum development of his capabilities . . . and widen the range and effectiveness of opportunities for individual choice. From this concern . . . comes our insistence on a widely distributed political and economic power, on the greatest range of free choice in our economy, and on the fair and democratic exercise of public and private power."

I hardly need tell you, things have changed since 1960. As you in Los Angeles have special reason to know, it has been a decade marked by protest and violence. Our cities have exploded in riots. Our campuses have been rocked by student revolts. All our institutions, as the price of survival, have been shocked into what in a different context the late John Foster Dulles called an "agonizing reappraisal."

So general has been the discontent and so shrill the conflicting cries for attention—and yes, so incoherent and frequently terrifying have been the demands of the outraged—as to pose a deep and perplexing question:

Does all this add up to a petition from history that the American system be discarded and some new system, as yet undefined, be put in its place?

Or do these events merely represent an insistence, largely on the part of those whom society has heretofore neglected or ignored, that the system be made to work better . . . that its imbalances be corrected . . . that the rights of citizenship and the rewards of participation in the system be extended to all Americans . . . that, in short, we reorganize for the fulfillment of the promise implicit in the very basic idea of America?

Granted that we are in crisis; granted that whatever one does in times like these is necessarily an act of faith. What we have been seeing is not evidence of a revolt against the American system but only a new episode in what began at Lexington in 1775 and has been evolving ever since.

What we have been seeing, I insist, is not the submergence of individuals but, on the contrary, an enlargement of the very concept of the individual.

What has happened, quite simply, is that more and more individuals have organized to stake their claim in the democratic process. Sometime during the 1930's, so the story goes, a Labor Department official is supposed to have said, when confronted by Eleanor Roosevelt, "But Mrs. Roosevelt! It's not that we've discriminated against women. We just never thought about women." Simply put, our society and the men we have made leaders have now been forced to think about everybody. And for this new reality we have to thank the American Negro, the American poor, and that remarkable abstraction, the American consumer.

It is mostly about this American consumer, and with the importance of the consumer movement to us as retailers, businessmen, and citizens, that I want to speak today.

To most retailers, the consumer movement figures as a series of quite specific bits of Federal legislation—Truth-in-Packaging, Truth-in-Lending, the Flammable Fabrics Act, for example—the intent of which is to protect or inform our customers. "I hope that this Congress will go down in history as the consumer-conscious Congress," President Johnson said in his message to Congress a year ago. And indeed it did. Ten months later, 28 pieces of major consumer-oriented legislation had become law.

Now, in case any of us is inclined to dismiss this impressive performance as an act of Congressional catharsis that ended with

the retirement of Lyndon Johnson, a moment's reflection on events since January 20th should set us straight.

A raft of new consumer bills has been introduced. One would establish a Department of Consumer Affairs at cabinet level. Of perhaps equal significance, the year-old Consumer Federation of America has now established a secure claim to having achieved what President Eisenhower's Commission recommended ten years ago: "There is need for more private interest groups which represent broader interests such as consumers." At its second annual Consumer Assembly, the Federation reported an increase in membership from 56 to 136 organizations. What's more, its opening-night reception attracted 150 Congressmen. On the floor above a trade association was holding a similar reception—and I might add a much more lavish one. In attendance were all of five Congressmen.

So consumerism is much more than so many skeptical ladies with shopping lists. Though Senator Warren Magnuson was undoubtedly right when he wrote "Politicians have 'discovered' the American consumer" consumerism is also considerably more than a body of Congressmen who know a good thing when they see it.

It is important I think that we try to understand some of its deeper implications.

For one thing the emergence of consumerism as a phenomenon of the sixties clearly reflects the shift from a producer-oriented to a service-oriented economy. The technological revolution has created vast numbers of new service-type jobs, in occupational settings far removed from factories and the traditional symbols of production. The effect of this has been to increase enormously the numbers of Americans who identify psychologically with the processes of distribution and consumption, and to de-emphasize, comparatively, those who are still emotionally tied to the assembly line. The effect has also been to expose far greater numbers to the frustrations of a marketplace that is too often impersonal.

It would be a serious error to assume that consumerism will have an impact only on legislative programs to improve the quality and safety of merchandise. It will be felt, inevitably, on marketing operations as well.

Of more fundamental importance, the consumer interest has now become the new standard for public policy. After centuries of being lost and unidentified in the loud traffic of special interests, the consumer has now appeared not merely as a new element in the political mix but as the symbol of the common interest. As one Washington editorialist recently said, "The thing about consumers is that everybody is one." Suddenly, the American consumer is Everyman. For the "individual" whose advancement has always been our paramount national goal, you can now write "consumer," for in the new language of Washington they have become one and the same.

It would be naive to believe that this new focus on the individual-consumer will put an end to special-interest thinking. I am, however, encouraged to believe that if the trend continues, social problems will soon be pushed to a new and higher level of visibility. The result will be not only a more generally comprehensive approach to problem solving. Policymakers operating at this new level will be almost forced to take into account all the cause-and-effect, life-and-death relationships that are likely to be disturbed or set in motion if a proposed action is taken. With the new knowledge to be gained from this higher and broader point of view, I think it only natural to assume that one's immediate, short-range interests will come to be seen in a different and less persuasive perspective.

On a somewhat modest scale, I saw something like this process at work last year as

one of 34 members of the President's Public Advisory Committee on Trade Policy.

Our committee represented a fair cross-section of those private interests normally presumed to be affected by the import-export business. Our purpose was to confer with the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, in the conduct of a study of long-range U.S. foreign trade policy. From the beginning, this effort was marked by an insistence that the problem be viewed in its entirety and as a retailer I took it as my natural responsibility to represent the consumer.

As you know, debate on U.S. trade has traditionally centered on the broad issues of economic growth and foreign relations. To my knowledge, this was the first time that any formal analysis of our trade policies ever took seriously into account the effect of these policies on the purchasing power of the American consumer.

I'd like to share with you a few of the things I learned in the course of this study, drawing on two position papers that I wrote for consideration of the President's Special Representative. First, a statement of rationale.

It seems elementary to me that foreign trade policy recommendations should be developed in a way that would advance our primary national goal. In terms of trade, this means necessarily those policies that offer the individual a high standard of living, with a maximum freedom of choice. It seems only logical therefore that what America should seek is to accommodate—not negate—world-wide enjoyment of the fruits of world-wide economic opportunities. Not to recognize this in long-range foreign trade policy recommendations could result in legislated self-interest for special groups, and thus do violence to our main national goal. That goal, let me remind you, is not to enrich a few individuals but to do the greatest good for the greatest number of all individual Americans.

A trade policy that shields special-interest groups is not in our best national interest, long-range. Imports and exports move in such precarious balance that it is virtually impossible for the United States to protect a single industry through tariffs or quotas without inviting retaliation from foreign governments, to the inevitable detriment of some other American industry. I believe, therefore, that the individual citizen, that is the consumer, should be the final decision-maker on the amount of goods we import. Neither tariff barriers nor non-tariff barriers should be allowed to protect producers indefinitely at the expense of the individual citizen.

To me, it seems self-evident that the consumer's interest in international trade is best served by policies which—

1. Save him money.
2. Bring him a larger selection of fashions and styles.
3. Satisfy his demands for merchandise not otherwise available from domestic suppliers; and
4. Maintain the competitive impact of imports on domestic prices, product efficiency, innovation, and fashion.

But to what extent tariffs, quotas, and other trade barriers might be inimical to the consumer interest on these four points is something we do not yet know. Therefore, in an effort to fix some guidelines for future research, last fall I asked a few associates to examine the sales records on a group of selected apparel lines and to talk with key executives in three department stores—one in New York, one in Washington, and a third in Chicago.

What they found was that on some of our most in-demand imports present trade barriers are costing the consumer in sheer dollars and cents as much as 40 percent on price.

For example, a man can buy an imported cashmere sweater for \$25. He would have to

pay \$35 for a comparable U.S.-manufactured product. With present trade barriers removed, the retail price of the imported sweater would be roughly \$21.

An imported boy's winter coat made of synthetic fiber retails for \$28. If we had no trade barriers, that same coat would cost \$23. (The price for a comparable U.S.-manufactured coat is \$30.)

A lady's cotton dress glove costs \$3 under present trade barriers; without them it would most \$2.50. A comparable glove manufactured in the United States sells for \$5.

And so on.

But the value of imports, as we well know, does not lie in price alone. Of the senior department store buyers interviewed, all agreed that imports make an equally important contribution by giving consumers a wider choice of styles, fashions, and craftsmanship. In fact, many imported items (for example, high-fashion dresses and gowns, high quality furniture or housewares, rugs and tapestries) are higher priced than their U.S. counterparts. In an expanding economy like ours, however, they find ready buyers among upper and middle income Americans because of their distinctive fashion and design features.

Our study focused also on the indirect costs to the consumer of tariffs and quotas. There is, for instance, the very real, though as yet imprecisely measured, effect of increased capital costs for plant and equipment because of tariffs and quotas, costs that are compounded and passed on to the retailer and consumer in increased distribution costs of finished goods.

It is clear, too, that the consumer suffers indirectly from government Buy America policies. While no one questions the need to keep those industries efficient that are essential to our national defense, there is, it seems to me, a reasonable question as to whether all the industries protected by this policy are in that category. In any event, there is no doubt that the Defense Department's procurement policies have increased the cost of government operations by billions of dollars since passage of the Buy America law in 1933 and the administration's action of the early 1960's. Statistics tell us the inflationary effect of increased government costs. Hence, increased taxes amount to many billions of dollars a year to American consumers.

Our research, admittedly, was spotty and incomplete. Our main contribution to the Committee's deliberations was to introduce the consumer's stake as a valid and largely unexplored subject of inquiry, in all aspects of world trade. More specifically, we identified the need for more thorough research into the effect on the consumer of restrictive trade practices on 1) direct imports, 2) capital costs, and 3) government procurement. I earnestly hope that the Nixon administration will undertake such research and present its findings to the appropriate government agencies for action.

All of this, it seems to me, assumes special relevance in the light of the recent move by the new administration to negotiate with foreign governments for the imposition of quotas on the import of textiles and apparel items.

For the past four years, we have been increasing imports of all textiles and apparel items at an average rate of 25 percent a year. Under the proposed "voluntary" quotas—assuming they follow the textile industry's recommendations of last year—this growth rate would be reduced to 5 percent a year and kept there, regardless of the continuing increase in consumer demand.

I think it most important that before the administration consummates any agreements it take into account the serious inflationary effect of quotas on consumer purchasing power. I think it equally important that whatever relief may be necessary by industry,

or by company within industry, be very temporary in nature.

We're talking about added costs to the consumer that would run into hundreds of millions of dollars!

Plainly, if we're going to protect the consumer's purchasing power—which now represents 60 percent of our Gross National Product—we retailers have to be able to buy the right goods at the right price at the right time in a global economy, regardless of where these goods are produced. This should be our long-range goal, and we should not forget it.

This does not mean, however, that we should be indifferent to companies and workers that might actually be experiencing injury due to imports. All of us are having to learn how to adapt mobility in capital and labor to the demands of a global economy, and in the process some of us will undoubtedly be hurt. I personally favor a more liberalized escape clause in the 1962 Trade Expansion Act that would provide meaningful temporary relief in such cases—but only to those who actually have been injured. I also favor adjustment assistance—retraining, low-cost loans, moving expenses—that would enable companies and workers to adapt to competition from imports. Such assistance would be used whenever feasible, not only to maintain competitive world trade, but as a way of preventing windfalls to those larger companies that are in no need of relief, and of insuring that benefits go to those smaller companies who may in fact be in real trouble.

All this acknowledged, I remain convinced that in the long run the best policy for both retailers and consumers is the one advanced in 1960 by President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals: "The healthiest world economy is attained when trade is at its freest."

There is, I am more than ever persuaded after my service on the Advisory Committee, a direct connection between free men and free trade. I was especially encouraged, therefore, when President Nixon told one of his earliest press conferences: "I believe that the interests of the United States and the interests of the whole world will best be served by moving toward freer trade rather than toward protection. I take a dim view of this tendency to move toward quotas and other methods that may become permanent, whether they are applied here or by nations abroad."

I began these remarks with an emphasis on the individual. Yet I have been talking mostly, and on the whole optimistically, about policy-making in Washington and the power of big and diverse organizations—things that are commonly thought to diminish the utility of individual action. As contradictory as it may appear, what I have in fact been trying to do is to make clear the need for increased individual involvement—particularly at the level of the local community, and most particularly by businessmen. Let me explain.

I am convinced that the processes by which national policy is now being formed, though still woefully inefficient, are nevertheless more likely than ever before to accommodate the needs and concerns of all our citizens. From the evidence of the past 51 days, I would judge that Mr. Nixon means to encourage these processes. Everything considered, the President has indicated that he is a man who intends to look at all the levers before he pulls any one of them. For this he deserves our commendation and support.

But, it must be recognized, policies are one thing and effective administration is quite another. To make policies work, programs are required. Regrettably, the intent of some of our most enlightened policies is often defeated by the overlap in functions, the corrosive jealousies, and the institutionalized resistance to change that characterize so

many of the organizations on which the administration of these programs depends. One example will illustrate: According to the National Commission on Urban Problems, as of 1967 our metropolitan areas were served by 20,745 local governments. Chicago has 1,113 different and often competing local authorities; in the Philadelphia metropolitan area there are 876 separate municipal governments.

If I knew nothing about the problems of getting things done in my home town, these figures alone would convince me of the need for basic institutional change.

Now, the simple and inescapable fact is that if this needed change is to occur—which is almost to say, if the American system is to endure—it is absolutely imperative that there be more local initiative, as well as more enlightened local response to Federal initiative and more enlightened Federal response to local initiative. Reforms must take place at the level where people are.

There is no hope that such needed reforms can be accomplished—certainly no hope that they can be accomplished rationally and orderly—unless businessmen like those of us in this room today participate ever more personally and ever more positively in the affairs of our communities.

I take issue with those among us who argue that the responsibility of business is only to make a profit for our shareholders and who would delegate to others—mostly others in government and to paid professionals in our trade associations—the problems of housing, employment, transportation, education, civil rights, and politics. It should be clear beyond doubt by now that our failure to solve our social problems has added directly to the cost of doing business and that these costs cannot be reduced merely by attending to the internal affairs of corporate management. We must, more and more, assume responsibility for the environment in which business operates.

In today's world, like it or not, it is through big organizations that Americans get things done. Over the past several years, however, we have learned that the job to be done is too big even for our biggest organizations, public or private, acting alone and apart. As a consequence, we are seeing the formation of new alliances, particularly between business and government, of such potential as to constitute a new kind of federalism.

These new coalitions offer great promise but they also pose a great challenge. The challenge is to keep them responsive both to the people who created them and the people they are supposed to serve. And the fact is, the only way this challenge can be met is for the people affected by these big coalitions to participate thoughtfully and actively in the policies and programs of their member organizations.

Which gets me around to the job that we retailers have been doing through our own organizations.

I am pleased to report that our record is improving. I have been especially heartened by your performance in California. You have, as a matter of fact, set a standard for the rest of us, particularly when it comes to getting your top leaders to accept a personal responsibility to work with government.

We now have fifty state retail organizations, whereas only three years ago we had thirty-seven. We've begun to act more concertedly and more positively, with a result that doors are opening to us, not only in Washington but in state houses all over the country. In short, we have set the stage for the fulfillment of what I have come to regard as the retailer's logical mission in an increasingly urban society—to be one of the consumer's respected and most effective advocates in the highest councils of government.

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But, obviously, we need to do more. I would urge you to give more support to your agents in Washington, meaning the American Retail Federation. During my tenure as president, I have been particularly impressed with the need for more substantive research and for more sustained communications, to our membership as well as to key policymakers. Without these, our staff finds it extremely difficult to develop, and offer to Congress at the opportune time, recommendations for action that are both innovative and feasible.

Too often in the past, because we have had time and resources only to react to threats of damaging legislation, we have been forced on the defensive, leaving a distinctly negative impression in the minds of our most influential Congressmen. We now need to move into a secure position of advocacy. To do this, and thereby create a more positive image, we definitely need to expand our programs in research and communications.

We retailers have the knowledge, the money, and the numbers to become an important presence in Washington.

Tackling the problems in our own communities, we can also make an important contribution to the solution of the all-pervasive urban crisis.

Finally, I suggest that we will be most effective, at both the national and local levels, if we bear this constantly in mind: within the American system our job as retailers is to preserve and improve the economic position of our customers—collectively, the consumers of America who constitute our rightful constituency.

If we do this, we can be confident that our activities as an association of retailers are in step with what has always been this nation's paramount goal—"To guard the rights of the individual, to ensure his development, and to enlarge his opportunity."

THE CONSUMER'S STAKE IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

(NOTE.—The table that follows is drawn from a study initiated last fall by Charles Y. Lazarus, president of The F & R Lazarus & Company, of Columbus, Ohio, while serving as a member of the President's Public Advisory Committee on Trade Policy. The findings are based on an examination of sales records for selected apparel lines in three typical U.S. department stores—one in New York, one in Washington, and a third in Chicago.)

PRICES PAID BY THE AMERICAN CONSUMER AS A RESULT OF IMPORT BARRIERS

Merchandise	Retail prices to the consumer with no trade barriers	Retail prices to the consumer with present trade barriers	Retail prices today of a comparable U.S. manufactured product
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Boys' wear:			
Boys' winter coat, wool.....	\$16.15	\$20.00	\$22.50
Boys' winter coat, synthetic fiber.....	23.00	28.00	30.00
Boys' winter wool coat, pile lining (English or German).....	28.85	35.00	40.00
Boys' winter wool coat, ornamental tufted construction.....	37.45	45.00	(1)
Boys' hooded terrycloth robe, quality fabric.....	14.00	15.00	20.00
Boys' Helenca fabric stretch ski trousers.....	13.60	18.00	(1)
Boys' Helenca velour fabric shirt, stretch collar.....	8.60	11.00	(1)
Boys' fisherman's sweater, individually hand knit.....	8.50	11.00	(1)
Boys' cardigan (individually hand knit).....	9.20	12.00	(1)
Boys' wool ski sweater, bulky type weave.....	10.60	14.00	(1)
Ladies' shoes:			
Pump, 1 1/2 leather upper, leather sole, bow trim.....	14.60	17.00	24.00
Sandal, 4/8 stack heel, leather upper, leather sole.....	8.70	10.00	14.00
Sandal strapping, 12/8 covered heel, leather upper, leather sole.....	14.80	17.00	21.00
Men's sportswear:			
Men's cashmere sweater (English).....	20.85	25.00	35.00
Men's V-neck lambs wool sweater (English).....	14.00	17.00	21.00
Men's cowhide leather coat (Swedish).....	138.00	150.00	200.00
Men's fisherman's wool sweater, individually hand knit (Italian).....	14.85	18.00	(1)
Men's hand loom wool coat (English).....	29.40	35.50	(1)
Ladies' gloves:			
Ladies' cotton dress gloves.....	2.50	3.00	5.00
Ladies' kid leather gloves, fabric lined.....	12.50	15.00	(1)

1 Not available in United States or supply of comparable product inadequate to meet consumer demands.

BUSINESS AND AMERICAN YOUTH

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate an article which recently appeared in the magazine *Sales/Marketing Today*. The article was written by Mr. J. W. Goss, vice president of the Continental Investors Corp. of Boston, Mass. He is an outstanding leader in the field of sales marketing and is vitally concerned with the continued progress of his profession. In this connection, he has some unusually cogent remarks to address to the youth of our country, and this he does most effectively in the article which I now ask be printed in the RECORD.

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

BUSINESS AS A CAREER
(By J. W. Goss)

Marketing is an adventure. It is, or should be, challenging to the mind and satisfying to the soul. Business, meaning private enterprise, is at the heart of the American system. To be sure, in some instances, business has been greedy, grubby, grim. But basically business has been good for the nation and its citizens.

Try telling this to the youth of America and chances are you'll get the old raspberry—as Gandhi used to say. Modern-day young men and women in this country say they have no or little use for selling, for merchandising, for business, even for profits. "Tell it like it is, man," the kids urge their parents and their peers, implying they doubt the sales pitch—can't buy it, can't dig it, can't understand why marketing and business are so important and so pivotal in our system.

It does little good for either side to pass off these reactions as passing fancies. It does

little good for a business executive, regardless of his industry, to sneer at today's young. Rather, it behooves a businessman to use his proved research and his human understanding to learn what's really bugging the kids.

For one thing, today's youths are tomorrow's customers, tomorrow's market. In the second place, sales marketing needs manpower, and in many respects, the best manpower—the persons with the most imagination, initiative, drive, incentive—are the young. One survey shows that by 1975 one out of every five persons will earn a living by buying and selling—by working, in short, in the very field being shunned by today's youngsters. If this prediction is anywhere accurate, business must today start out wooing youth, recruiting college graduates and tell them how it really is in the business world. Business faces a selling job.

On almost all college campuses today business is viewed as too dull, as demanding too much conformity, as being short on opportunity and long on drudgery. In 1968, business got only two college graduates for every three it needed. Many companies bragged that they reached their recruitment goals; but did they really recruit the type of young man and woman they wanted, the ones with the most talent? Probably not.

A basic reason for the alienation of the young is the affluence of the nation. In today's economy, most persons—young and even middle-aged—have little fear of unemployment; quit one job and another comes along. Such a situation leads to a minimum of corporate allegiance and appreciation. Then too, today's youth has less incentive than its elders to begin working at a career; hundreds of thousands of young men and women elect to continue their education, at daddy's expense, instead of looking for a job. Once again, diffidence toward business, maximum interest in education or, as cynics might contend, continued "goofing off." With interest in private enterprise low, interest in education, Government, research, protest, Peace Corps and VISTA remains high. But give the young their due: They are more intelligent (42 per cent of today's high school graduates go to college, vs. 15 per cent in 1938), they are inquisitive, they are perceptive. But they are also wrong.

The young say they want excitement; business—especially marketing, or selling—is exciting. The young say they want a challenge; business—especially marketing—is challenging. The young say they want to become "involved" in society; business—in some aspects more so than Government—is becoming involved in the nation's problems. In the world's problems.

This isn't just idle talk from a satisfied businessman. Consider my industry: securities, investments, mutual funds. In the fund field, there are more than 400 competitors, each striving to outdo the other in their own fashions. There are thousands and thousands of salesmen, marketing men, seeking to persuade millions of potential customers to buy their product—and at the same time build for family and individual security. This is no sham; equity savings are an integral part of American life. There is no hypocrisy in marketing securities. There is more hypocrisy in Government and in politics, perhaps even in some classrooms. Chances for advancement? Opportunity for initiative? The investment industry is replete with both. Too much conformity? Not true! Most businessmen are more interested in what goes on in a young man's brain than the length of his mustache, beard or sideburns. Got any new ideas for mutual fund sales techniques, as long as they are completely and honestly ethical? Go to it, man! Sock it to 'em!

Marketing, selling if you will, can be as adventurous as a man wants to make it. The vast majority of American products are useful to mankind, important for his future, vital to the functioning of the country. Few bosses ask their employees to sacrifice prin-

ciples and ideals; bring them along and take them to the job.

Yes, but how can business get this story across? We need to beef up our efforts in several areas:

We must persuade colleges and universities to improve their business courses, to make them more relevant, to update textbooks, to rewrite economics texts which more often than not treat this unexact but exciting social science as dishwater dull.

We must convince college professors of economics that profit is not a dirty word. This type of fuzzy thinking has been attacked by some Deans of Schools of Business Administration and some business leaders. More help is needed on this front.

We must get secondary school books and courses to tell a fuller and more accurate story of the private enterprise system, of how it functions and the role it plays in society—even at a time when government is itself growing. In housing, employment, pollution, human welfare. Look at what the National Alliance for Businessmen is doing about finding jobs for the "hard core": More than 40,000 persons put to work in less than six months.

We must lose our fears of having employees become involved on their own. We must encourage workers to get into politics, into neighborhood organizations. More and more business executives themselves are jumping into the political arena; as proof, recall the full-page newspaper ads from "Businessmen for McCarthy", "Businessmen for Humphrey", "Businessmen for Nixon". And, on a different plane, there are businessmen supporting our policies in Vietnam and businessmen for peace now in Vietnam.

There is one assuring note in all this for businessmen: Today's swinging youngsters may be 'way underneath, more conservative than we and they sometimes think. One survey found that young employees prefer working for themselves rather than someone else, think a couple should buy a home before their fifth year of marriage, prefer to provide for their old age rather than rely on Social Security and have little objection to being identified by number. In all these things, the young aren't different from mom and dad.

The same survey found that young people think of the stock market as dynamic and "masculine". Eighty-two per cent of male college graduates have savings accounts. Asked what they would do with a financial windfall, the bulk of young men said they would invest the money—not go on a spending spree. Again, just like the older generation.

There was a news story the other day of a 21-year old college student who had started a successful investment counseling firm. He was also seeking to buy a mutual fund. A 21-year old! And his clients were all affluent elders. The reporter—already an oldie at 26—commented that marketing men should use such a yarn as one way of selling the excitement of their work to the American youth.

One articulate college senior had this to say: "People are sold products—they rarely buy them. Business has never really sold itself to us. And when we don't buy business as a career—they criticize our long hair or our sandals. The time they spend clucking away at us could be better spent using their great marketing skills to sell us on their business as our business, too."

There is also room for the protester in business, for the guy who wants to market a different product or an old one in a different way. Competition breeds initiative, innovation, imagination—the very things today's youngsters assert are lacking in the sales marketing profession.

John Brooks, the author, put it this way: "Business, like other games, needs rules and umpires to restrain the exuberance of the competitors, and I should think—good Lord, I should hope—there always will be a few competitors who will spend their time

complaining about the rules at the top of their lungs."

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AT PLAY—A CASE HISTORY

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, on July 11 last year in the debate on the military procurement authorization, I called to the attention of the Members a particular procurement for a particular helicopter called the Cheyenne, manufactured by Lockheed. I reminded them that this was an Army procurement, that the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Development at the time the R. & D. contract was awarded had come from Lockheed, and 3 months after the research and development contract was awarded to Lockheed, he returned to Lockheed.

At one point he executed a paper which said that "the 5-year force structure and financial plan for the AAFSS—now the Cheyenne—to include avionics, currently reflects \$81.5 million fiscal year 1966 through fiscal year 1970." The date of that paper was January 29, 1965. A similar plan today would reflect more than 10 times that amount. At about this time last year, in our committee hearings, the Army told the Armed Services Committee that this was a firm fixed price contract. Ho, ho, ho.

I asked the Army a year ago what the firm fixed price was, and they could not tell me because it was still being negotiated. As we debated the procurement on the floor of the House last July, the figure they had given us for procuring these helicopters was \$1.5 million each, except that they really did not know what the figure was because they really had not negotiated the price with Lockheed yet. The \$1.5 million figure for each helicopter—total 375 helicopters—did not include the research and development costs which now total almost \$200 million.

On February 20 of this year I wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Army asking whether it might not now be possible to find out what the firm fixed price of these helicopters is that we had a firm fixed price contract on a year ago. After 4 weeks of scurrying around I received a letter dated March 17, 1969, which says in part:

Since negotiations are still in progress the Army is not in a position to provide a firm figure.

They also said:

The final price and ceiling have not yet been reached in the negotiations.

They did give me a figure which is their current best estimate. Of course, they classified the figure which they gave me as their current best estimate. Their current best estimate is almost exactly 50-percent higher than their current best estimate was in July. Of course, they have not finished negotiating yet.

THE 1970 CENSUS

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "The 1970 Census," published in the Vicksburg Evening Post. I know I did not know, and I am satisfied that most Members of Congress did not know, that we ever voted for a census record such as outlined in the editorial in the Vicksburg Post.

I have received considerable mail in the last 60 days protesting this census, and I think I can see the clouds of a gathering storm of indignation that is going to sweep this country, and I think rightfully so, when these census forms hit the masses of the people.

Congress has provided for industrial and commercial censuses entirely separate and apart from the decennial census, and in my opinion the two different purposes should not be merged as the Bureau is attempting to do in these forms in which they inquire about industrial products, housing, income, and so forth. There might be a place for both censuses, but they should be separately authorized when need is shown.

The decennial census is required by the Constitution for the purpose of a population count upon which to adjust representation in the House of Representatives. When we inquire under penalty of \$1,000 fine to know who a person shares his bathroom with, whether or not he has a television set, washing machine, or an outhouse, I think we are going entirely too far.

Mr. President, I need not remind Members of Congress that 1970 is an election year, and this needless irritant is not going to do Congress any good. I think we should move, and move now, to restore the sanity and commonsense and use the decennial census for what it was intended to be, and that is a count of the population.

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

THE 1970 CENSUS

Every ten years, by law, a census is taken and in 1970 it will be time for another. But this one will be different—that is, unless the people of America solidly protest the invasion of their privacy which is proposed for the census next year.

Possibly you are not aware of it, but here are some of the questions which will be put to each American by the census takers:

1. Income, dollar by dollar, from all sources including public assistance, alimony, unemployment and disability insurance, pensions and investments;
2. The value of property or amount of rent paid;
3. Educational, marital, employment and military history;
4. With whom bathroom and kitchen facilities shared;
5. A long list of household items including dishwasher, television, radios, automobiles, and second home; and
6. Where each person and his parents were born.

Now, if these questions were on the form and a citizen asked to answer them that might not be so bad, even though some of the questions are quite private in nature. BUT, we are to be told we must answer the questions in full, and failure to do so would subject the citizen to a \$1,000 fine and/or 60 days in jail.

This follows the usual procedure of the bureaucrats—making rules and laws which are not backed by legislation, and imposing penalties for failure to accede to their whims. The decennial census, as provided by law, is for the purpose of counting the people in the country, and for the allocation of representation. That has been its function in the past, and nothing has been added to it to force compliance with the demand for information of a private nature. For this reason it is necessary that every citizen make his protest known to his senators and representative, to the end that this Washington bureau is nipped in the bud, and that no citizen would be faced with a fine or jail sentence for not complying with the demands of the bureau. There are many other avenues through which information is gathered, but not with a penalty attached, and there is no earthly reason why the Census Bureau has taken such a step. More than that, when representations have been made to revert to the real function of the census, these have been met with stubborn resistance.

A criminal, about whom evidence has been found, but without a search warrant, is protected in his privacy, even though the evidence is complete and damaging. But the luckless citizen's privacy, violated by the census taker, still faces the penalty, unless enough pressure is put on the Congress to curtail the Census Bureau.

So, it is important that every citizen deluge the Congress with protests. And don't wait—do it now.

OUR POSTAL SYSTEM

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing considerable lately about changes in the operation of our postal system. I can only speak for my own congressional district regarding the efficiency of our local mail service to the postal patrons.

I do not believe I have received a half a dozen letters of criticism regarding the delivery or the dispatching of mail in my congressional area during the last one-half dozen years. I have received many commendations on the efficiency of the work of our postmasters and postal employees in the Calumet region of Indiana.

I wish unanimous consent to incorporate a letter which I received from the Government Employees Council, AFL-CIO, and also a resolution adopted by their council setting out their position on some of the proposed changes in our postal system:

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
COUNCIL—AFL-CIO,

Washington, D.C., March 17, 1969.

HON. RAY J. MADDEN,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MADDEN: In the months ahead, Congress may consider the issue of transforming the Post Office Department into a government corporation.

The enclosed resolution, which was endorsed unanimously by delegates attending the February, 1969, meeting of the Council, reflects the attitude of 35 AFL-CIO unions representing more than 1 million postal and other Federal employees.

These workers have a keen interest in the proud heritage of the postal service in the United States. As citizens and as government employes they are vitally concerned that the mail move promptly and efficiently. They desire to point to our country's postal system as the best in the world.

If serious deficiencies exist, we believe they can be corrected without changing the basic philosophy of maintaining postal functions as a Cabinet level department—a tradition founded in the roots of our democratic society and incorporated in the Constitution of the nation.

We trust you will remain aware of the sincere conviction expressed in the enclosed resolution, and that it will help if it becomes necessary for you, as a member of Congress, to act on this vital issue.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN A. MCCART,
Operations Director.

POSTAL CORPORATION RESOLUTION OF THE
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' COUNCIL OF THE
AFL-CIO

Whereas the postal service of the United States is the basic means of communication in our nation, and is therefore too important to the economic, social and political health of the populace ever to be removed from the control of the people through their elected representatives in Congress, and

Whereas the proposals for the abolition of the Post Office Department and the creation, in its place, of a Postal Corporation would give the Directors of that corporation absolute and arbitrary control over postage rates, postal salaries, and the extent and quality of the postal service, and

Whereas such absolute control over our most vital form of communications, as well as over the lives and welfare of those who work in it, is not in the best interests of the nation and violates the principle of checks and balances so carefully written into the Constitution of the United States,

Therefore be it resolved that the Government Employees' Council disapprove wholeheartedly the proposal to turn the Post Office Department into a Government-owned Corporation, and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Postmaster General, to every member of Congress, and to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

Unanimously approved at the regular meeting of the Government Employees' Council, AFL-CIO, February 11, 1969.

NATIONAL FUTURE HOMEMAKERS
OF AMERICA WEEK

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I support the National Future Homemakers of America Week, which has been designated as March 23 to 29, 1969.

The Future Homemakers of America organization was founded on June 11, 1945, and serves more than 12 million high school youth. These young people practice the principles of good citizenship, and help the underprivileged. The

organization also encourages a good family life, stimulates the study of home economics and provides wholesome individual and group recreation. By working toward these goals, a better America will develop.

A succinct analysis of the FHA Week is contained in a recent release published by the U.S. Office of Education. I ask unanimous consent that the release be printed in the RECORD.

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

NATIONAL FUTURE HOMEMAKERS OF AMERICA WEEK, MARCH 23 TO 29, 1969

Focus on positive action is the theme of National Future Homemakers of America Week, March 23-29, 1969. During this week more than 600,000 members in over 12,000 local FHA chapters throughout the United States and Puerto Rico will carry out projects and activities to give exposure to what youth is doing in a positive way to promote the principles of good citizenship.

National President, Estelle Hunter, a high school senior at Sunbury, Ohio, had this to say about National FHA Week: "The overall objective of Future Homemakers of America is to help individuals improve personal, family and community living. With this objective in mind we have chosen Focus on Positive Action as the theme for our National FHA Week. During this week FHA members across the country will stress constructive activities which show that we are dedicated to improving life in America as we move toward new horizons in the future."

This national organization of home economics students in junior and senior high schools provides opportunities for developing individual and group initiative in planning and carrying out activities related to the home and the community. As an integral part of home economics education in the secondary school system, the Future Homemakers of America program is focused on the family, and the effect of the family unit on the community.

FHA members are identified by the red and white octagonal emblem showing a house supported by two hands suggesting that the future homes of America are in the hands of youth. Rays extending to and from the house indicate the influences of the home and the community on each other. The emblem bears the FHA motto "Toward New Horizons."

The young men and women who are members of Future Homemakers of America believe that the homes of the future are in the hands of youth. Through their concerns for better homes for a better America and through their activities and projects, they translate into meaningful perspective the concepts they learn in many phases of their educational experiences. Leadership and citizenship responsibilities take on new dimensions, and as they proceed toward their new horizons they are proving that youth does know, youth does care, and youth can do in a positive and constructive way.

Throughout the country members contribute to the community by working as volunteers. They assist in local Head Start programs or with the mentally retarded and handicapped through county health and welfare departments. They organize reading classes and tutorial programs for migrant or underprivileged children. They visit and assist the elderly or work with other groups on community service projects such as anti-litter, March of Dimes, or UNICEF. They serve as hospital candy strippers, hold career seminars, survey for job opportunities for youth, conduct sessions on preparation for marriage, hold morals and manners discussions, and carry out many other projects which give practical application to their classroom learning.

Future Homemakers of America was founded June 11, 1945 as an incorporated, non-profit organization supported by membership dues. Nationwide in membership and effort it is co-sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education and the American Home Economics Association and was developed for the purpose of providing experiences that broaden the home economics education program in the high school.

Activities at all levels—national, state, and local are youth directed. Twelve national youth officers elected yearly help develop and promote the national program of work and plan and preside over the annual national meetings. The FHA members themselves decide on their goals and purposes, and plan their own activities and projects. This provides an opportunity to develop leadership, express creativeness, and become aware of approaching responsibilities as adult citizens.

High school home economics teachers, members of the state home economics education staff, and leading home economists serve as advisers to chapter, state, and national youth officers, giving guidance and counseling to the program.

In its twenty-four years of existence Future Homemakers of America has served more than twelve million high school youth. One measure of FHA's success is the effect the program has had on individuals. A former FHA National Officer explains the organization this way:

"FHA is a way of life and a way of thinking about life. It is an organization in which girls and boys become young adults and in which common interests in home economics are shared, values are realized, friends are made, and family bonds are strengthened. It is a testing ground for the requisites of effective living; patience, determination, endurance, self-discipline, work, confidence, love and faith."

National headquarters of Future Homemakers of America are located in the U.S. Office of Education in Washington, D.C.

BURLINGTON INDUSTRIES ANSWERS THE WASHINGTON POST

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I am including with my remarks a statement from the Burlington Industries who have excellent plants in my congressional district and throughout North Carolina in answer to an article which appeared in the Washington Post dated Thursday, March 13.

Our country is in a sad condition when articles of this nature can be circulated among people who do not reside in the States of North and South Carolina where Burlington Industries and J. P. Stevens operate numerous industrial plants. I have known hundreds of employees employed by both of these companies all my natural life and I have never heard one of these employees state that any discrimination was made against any person if he was qualified to work as an employee in these industries.

I am certain we would have had a difficult time in furnishing necessary clothing, blankets, sheets, and other necessary material for our Armed Forces during World War II and during the time we

have been maintaining an Army of 2½ to 3 million people if it had not been for the foresight and managerial ability of these two great industries.

I am certain that not only Burlington Industries and J. P. Stevens, but all industries in this country will be happy to employ any person who can qualify for work in their plants whether it be in South Carolina, North Carolina, or North Dakota.

I believe this country has gone much too far in trying to insist on employment agencies and great industries in this country to employ people who are not qualified for any type of industrial work.

Again I want to congratulate Burlington Industries and the other fine industries in my State for the wonderful service they have rendered our country during World War I, World War II, and the Korean and Vietnam wars and the unbiased manner in which they have handled all their public affairs including recruiting additional personnel.

A telegram to the Washington Post from Burlington Industries follows:

GREENSBORO, N.C.,
March 13, 1969.

Mr. B. F. HENRY,
The Washington Post,
Washington, D.C.:

Statements in your editorial today "The Pentagon Dispenses Southern Comfort" are not supported by the facts as they apply to Burlington Industries. In reply to similar charges by Senator Mondale, we made public the following statement February 27:

"The charges reported in the press, attributable to Senator Mondale of Minnesota, that Burlington Industries practices discrimination in employment are not true. Burlington believes in and practices equal employment opportunity, does not discriminate, and actively pursues a policy of non-discrimination in its operations.

"In addition, Burlington Industries filed some time ago a plan of affirmative action with the Defense Supply Agency in connection with government textile procurement. We have been engaged in continuing discussions with government contract compliance representatives for many months, in order to develop an affirmative action program which will meet all federal requirements in the field of equal employment opportunity. The plan as filed by Burlington with the Defense Supply Agency has not been disapproved, and in our judgment meets the legal requirements.

"Employment of minority groups by the company has risen substantially in the last several years. In southern plants particularly, the increase has been from approximately 4 percent five years ago to 14 percent. The minority work force in many plants is substantially higher, ranging from 20 percent to 50 percent, and including male and female employees.

"At the same time there has been significant up-grading of job levels held by minorities, including those who have moved into supervisory and clerical positions."

To our knowledge this reply was not published in the Washington Post. And we believe it only fair that you be aware of it.

In the editorial today, the statement that our "affirmative action plan" had not been "committed to paper" is incorrect. We have worked closely and continuously with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Defense Supply Agency, and sometime ago submitted in writing a plan. We believe our plan is substantially in compliance with their requirements.

Our Company has proceeded in complete good faith to eliminate any vestige of discrimination in its operations, and has made

very substantial progress. It is thus a shock and a disappointment that we have somehow failed to communicate these efforts in a way that the Washington Post and other news media would be cognizant of them.

It will be deeply appreciated if you could carry this telegram in your Letters to the Editor column, or use it as a subject for editorial comment.

CHARLES F. MYERS, Jr.,
Chairman and Chief Executive, Burlington Industries, Inc.

ARTICLES BY ANTHONY HARRIGAN,
CHARLESTON NEWS & COURIER

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Anthony Harrigan, of the News & Courier, Charleston, S.C., has recently completed an excellent series of articles on the Mediterranean area.

Writing from such places as Carthage, Rome, Athens, the U.S.S. *Forrestal*, and the U.S.S. *Talbot*, Mr. Harrigan has drawn a fascinating parallel between the rich, violent history of the area and the present-day situation, thus giving us a perspective on the continually developing contest between the super powers of this century.

Mr. President, in reading these articles we can get an idea of who our friends are in the Mediterranean as well as those who may be hostile. The strengths and weaknesses of many of the principal areas as well as their relationships with each other are well brought out in Mr. Harrigan's series.

Throughout the articles, we can see the importance of the 6th Fleet to the peace and security of the Mediterranean area, and the author emphasizes the necessity of maintaining and providing it with our most modern equipment.

Mr. President, this series by Mr. Harrigan would be of great interest and benefit not only to us but to the general public as well.

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

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

A VIEW FROM CARTHAGE: THE MEDITERRANEAN: COCKPIT OF HISTORY
(By Anthony Harrigan)

CARTHAGE, TUNISIA.—Since the dawn of history, peoples, empires and ideologies have clashed in the Mediterranean. Today, the United States is concerned about the Soviet "eskadra" (naval squadron) in what has been virtually an American lake since the late 1940s when the 6th Fleet was formed.

The Soviet naval presence carries an implication of possible hostilities later this year or in the 1970s. The Russians, simply by establishing their naval forces, have set the stage for a new cold war contest.

A visit to the ruins of Carthage is a good way to gain perspective on this developing contest between super-powers of the late 20th century. Two super-powers of antiquity—the Carthaginian and Roman empires—fought their decisive battle on this spot. The Ro-

mans won, and the shape of history was decided for centuries.

Standing on a Punic tomb on the hillside, it is easy to envision the final Roman assault on Carthage: galleys closing the beach only a half-mile distant and legionnaires smashing their way, block by block, through the city of 50,000.

The Roman sentence on Carthage was as pitiless as the post-World War II Soviet transportation of entire communities of Balts to Siberian slave labor camps. The Carthaginian population was condemned to slavery. The city was methodically destroyed.

Complete and total obliteration of nations is a centuries-old feature of conflict in the Mediterranean world. Hundreds of years of Roman and Byzantine rule of what is present-day Tunisia ended in 430 A.D. as a result of a gigantic amphibious operation by the Vandals. In 642 A.D., invading Arab armies swept across this land, cutting it off from Europe for over a thousand years.

Not all the decisive battles took place centuries ago. American soldiers buried in the United States military cemetery only a few miles from Carthage played a major role in ending Hitler's dream of a Thousand Year German Reich. Today, other Mediterranean nations—Israel, for instance—could be obliterated if the Soviets are allowed to inherit America's position of naval dominance in this historic sea.

The Romans had very good reasons for destroying Carthage. Rome and Carthage were rivals for domination of the Mediterranean. A Carthaginian general, Hannibal, crossed the Alps and invaded Italy. A "detente," or easing of tensions, was impossible. With the crushing of the Carthaginian empire, and with Africa Proconsularis firmly under the control of the Third Augustan Legion, Rome's southern flank and her sea communications throughout the Mediterranean were secure for a long time.

The United States isn't faced with any such imperial necessity. Its commitment of a fleet to the Mediterranean stems from the overall American objectives of curbing Soviet aggression against free, independent nations and preventing growth of a monopoly of Russian power in the world.

The situation in the Mediterranean has changed drastically since the 6th Fleet was formed more than 20 years ago. Then the Med with its two control points—Gibraltar and Suez—was the lifeline of the British empire. France, America's oldest ally, held Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The Med was the vital artery in the movement of oil to Western Europe.

Today, both the British and French empires are gone. The Suez Canal is closed. Oil reaches Europe by the route around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa.

But 99 per cent of the trade of three NATO allies—Italy, Greece and Turkey—moves by ship through the Med. Without the 6th Fleet, all the pro-Western and non-aligned Mediterranean countries would be vulnerable to direct Soviet pressure. The Soviet naval forces in this sea indicate that the USSR hopes to insert its influence everywhere in the Mediterranean world. The U.S., in the interest of peace, has to be in a position to apply naval countermeasures to seaborne Soviet assaults or to attacks by revolutionary Arab states under cover of Soviet rocket cruisers.

A dual naval presence in the Mediterranean—Soviet as well as U.S.—will be a fact of international life in the 1970's. The continued U.S. presence is needed to inhibit the Russians, restrain their adventures and discourage offensive action by their proxies in the Arab world. The existence of the 6th Fleet is a deterrent to the Soviets who may be thinking about projecting their new naval power into the South Atlantic. Finally, the 6th Fleet virtually underwrites the continued independence of a country such as Tunisia

which, otherwise, would be cruelly exposed to Egyptian and Algerian revolutionary pressure.

In conquering Carthage, Rome turned the Mediterranean into virtually a closed sea. The Soviets, a thousand years later, undoubtedly would like to achieve a repeat performance. A decade ago Russian military penetration of the Mediterranean world was negligible. Now it is a major factor. The U.S. 6th Fleet is what prevents Soviet power from becoming the deciding factor—from turning the Mediterranean into another Caspian Sea.

REPORT FROM GREECE: POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

(By Anthony Harrigan)

ATHENS.—Three powerful units of the 6th Fleet, at anchor in the port of Athens, are a reminder to the Greeks that America is still their protector against aggression. The ships' presence also illustrates Greek friendship towards the United States at a time when some Mediterranean nations are cooling.

Those who would have the United States break with Greece because it is ruled by a military junta are extremely short-sighted. While Americans may wish that a coup had not taken place in this country, usually described as the cradle of liberty, they can take comfort in the fact that the current leaders of Greece are strongly pro-American and anti-communist. They took over from a regime that was moving leftward at an alarming pace. This leftward move was not in accord with the sentiments of the Greek people, if their evident friendship towards Americans is any indicator.

It hasn't hurt Greek-American relations for the United States to elect a Vice President of Greek ancestry. The man in the street, and in the small villages, knows that Spiro Agnew, son of a Greek immigrant, is the No. 2 man in the United States. Of course, this fact has an adverse effect in Turkey. It is impossible to convince the Turks, who for historical reasons hate their Greek allies in the NATO alliance, that the U.S. doesn't have a Greek Vice President.

The Greek junta deserves close attention in the U.S., for it may be the model of other such regimes in friendly countries. If the communist-socialist alliance in Italy comes close to taking power, the Italian army, in collaboration with conservative elements, might block the outcome. In Spain, where Gen. Franco's worsening health soon may lead to a change in government structure, decisive power is in the hands of Gen. Tomas Garcia Rebull, commander of Spain's crack armored division the "Guadarrama No. 11," which is stationed outside Madrid. The division is equipped with Sherman tanks and recently carried out seize and hold maneuvers in and around the capital city. Another general who may become a major figure in Spain is Gen. Manuel Diez Alagria Gutierrez. He is said to command the loyalty of many of the younger generals.

It also would be foolish to imagine that the influence of the French army has come to an end. Last spring, at the time of the Paris riots, President de Gaulle had to appeal for Army help in keeping power. Ironically, he turned to Gen. Jacques Massu, French commander in Algeria in 1958 who later was sent into obscurity by De Gaulle before being rehabilitated and given a new command.

The French Foreign Legion, whose regiments were disbanded by President de Gaulle, has been reconstituted. For the first time since 1959, the Legion has units in metropolitan France. History-minded Frenchmen may smile at the news that a Foreign Legion regiment is based in Corsica, birthplace of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Legion is described by American military personnel as an enormously professional organization under superb discipline. If De Gaulle should collapse,

or go too far in his anti-Americanism, the Legion could be the spearhead of a military coup in France.

It is a fact that the French military are bitterly opposed to De Gaulle's anti-American position. Military men try to get around Gaullist policies as much as possible, sometimes authorizing cooperation with the United States when De Gaulle isn't looking.

Here in Greece, the military government displays the virtues and deficiencies of a military regime. Corruption has lessened, but censorship of the press has begun. The censorship is mild, as any Greek who reads English—and there are many thousands who do—can purchase a copy of the international Herald Tribune or a London newspaper at a newsstand and read comments critical of the junta.

Outwardly, the impact of the junta on Greek life is hard to detect. In the small towns, there are banners proclaiming the greatness of the April 21 military revolution.

Little else is apparent that indicates change. The head of the junta now wears civilian dress.

In time, I am told on good authority, King Constantine will be permitted to return to Greece, though with reduced powers. If the junta has its way, his role will be strictly ceremonial.

The government is at pains, however, to remind both Greeks and foreigners that Greece is still a monarchy. After the junta took power, pictures of the king and queen were taken down. But the junta ordered them put back on the walls of hotels, offices and stores.

The principal political task of the government is to moderate its policies somewhat and to win a greater measure of international acceptance. Only the Nordic countries seem intent on isolating Greece and damaging her economy by discouraging tourism. But Greece contains great attractions for tourists. Moreover, there's public order here, which isn't the case in some parts of the U.S., and the people are friendly. If there is intense oppression and unhappiness, as critics of Greece insist, it wasn't apparent during the huge pre-Lenten carnival when huge crowds turned out in costume to watch parades and enjoy themselves.

In judging Greek political developments, Americans can't allow themselves to forget that Greece and other friendly nations in southern Europe have severe, continuing security problems—communist infiltration within and Soviet threats without.

Even the Chinese Communists aspire to a position of power in the Med. Only a few weeks ago, little Albania—Red China's client state in Europe and Greece's neighbor to the northwest—announced a 40 per cent increase in her defense expenditures. The spending will go for a naval base and other military installations. These preparations, carried out with Chinese economic and technical assistance, are designed to establish a military foothold for Communist China in the Mediterranean.

Greece also has to be concerned about the Yugoslav and Bulgarian borders. If the Soviets should intervene in Yugoslavia, as they did in Czechoslovakia, or if they dispatch large combat formations in Bulgaria, the danger to Greece would soar. Attack could come in the form of a blitz or a Vietnam-type guerrilla war such as took place in Greece in the 1940s. It is important, therefore, that U.S. military aid to the Greek armed forces continue.

Actually, security in the Mediterranean is a seamless garment. To keep the peace in this part of the world, the United States needs airfields from Crete—a Greek island—to Spain. Long-range aircraft are needed to fly reconnaissance flights that produce vital information on the Soviet fleet and the forces of Russia's client states in the Middle East.

Even more important than equipping the armed forces of friendly nations, however, is the modernization and strengthening of the U.S. 6th Fleet. The fleet is the heart of America's total peace-keeping and security operation in one of the most strategically important regions of the world.

STABLE TUNISIA LOOKS TO THE WEST

(By Anthony Harrigan)

TUNIS, TUNISIA.—The smallest of the North African countries, Tunisia has been described as the Cinderella of the Mediterranean. But like the ill-treated servant girl in the fairytale, Tunisia has special qualities that command attention.

Since gaining independence from France in 1956, Tunisia has acquired a solid reputation as a stable, pro-Western, though non-aligned, nation. Stability is the word that Tunisians emphasize. President Habib Bourguiba has guided his country's destiny for the last 13 years, stressing economic development and avoiding foreign entanglements.

Development has been difficult because nature has not been generous with Tunisia. She lacks the oil that has been a bonanza for Libya, to the east, and the variety of resources, including natural gas, that Algeria possesses. Tunisia's 4.5 million people live on agriculture, tourism and very limited extractive industries. Neither agriculture nor industries, however, have fully recovered from the departure of 200,000 French settlers in the years after independence.

Tunisians, however, are perhaps the ablest of all the North Africans. Racially, they are a mixture of many peoples—ancient Berber stock, Phoenicians who settled Carthage, Romans, Vandals and Arabs. They are regarded as sophisticated people, without the emotionalism and capacity for delusions that characterize the Egyptians and other Arab peoples. They are said to have a kind of love-hate complex regarding the French. The departure of the French from the naval base at Bizerte caused intense bitterness. But Tunisia's cultural and economic links with France are still very strong.

Le Monde, the Parisian daily, is read by many educated Tunisians. Frenchmen make up approximately half the faculty at the national university here. Many upper class Tunisians have French wives. In the armed forces, Tunisian officers continue to attend French military training schools.

The Pattern of Tunisian policies and development seems fixed for the decade ahead. This is a one-party state with no significant internal opposition or factionalism. If President Bourguiba were to die in the near future, the likelihood is that power would be shared by a triumvirate consisting of Bahl Ladgham, secretary of state; Habib Bourguiba Jr., foreign minister, and Ahmed ben Selah, minister of education. Selah is viewed as the strongest personality with the most grassroots understanding and support.

Such internal stress as exists is connected with the agriculture and commercial cooperatives. These were formed in the first instance to incorporate the lands of the former French settlers. The pace of collectivization has been deemed excessive by some Tunisians, including the former minister of defense, Ahmed Mastire. The cooperative system is being extended to retail business enterprises. Tourism remains the only area where foreign investment is feasible.

Tunisia's basic pro-Western orientation has paid off in a practical way. In the 1960-66 period, Tunisia received \$443 million in foreign aid from the United States. This amounts to the highest per capita assistance for any African country.

Tunisia also has received a substantial loan from Bulgaria for development of the phosphate industry. A new Tunisian-Czechoslovakian trade pact has just been signed. In addition, Tunisia recently obtained an \$8.5 mil-

lion World Bank loan to improve the ports of Goulette, Bizerte and Sfax.

Soviet merchant ships are regularly visitors to these ports. Two handsome new Soviet vessels now are at Goulette.

While Tunisia wants to avoid excessively close identification with the United States or the NATO countries, its government is concerned about the possibility of threats from Egypt and Algeria. It is feared here that the Egyptians one day may sweep across thinly populated Libya next door. Algeria's massive military build-up and the presence there of several thousand Soviet technicians also gives them alarm.

The government is not unmindful that Radio Cairo, with its inflammatory appeals, is heard by many Tunisians. The only time the Egyptian radio seems to have had an impact, however, was at the time of the Six Day War in June, 1967, when mobs attacked a synagogue and Jewish stores. President Bourguiba strongly condemned these attacks. Shortly thereafter, the Tunisian government formed two battalions of specially-trained riot police to cope with such disorders. In general Tunisia does not have a repressive policy in dealing with Jews, many of whom have French citizenship. The community is declining in numbers, however, through immigration to France, not Israel.

The biggest single item in the Tunisian budget is education, with 30 per cent of the budget allocated for this purpose. Many of the schools in the capital city are modern and attractive. Schoolboys wear blue smock-shirts as a kind of classroom uniform. Tunis is not typical of the country, of course. In many rural areas, conditions are primitive. The chief need is for more water. The U.S. aid program has featured drilling of deep wells.

While there are extremes of poverty in Tunis, as in cities of every underdeveloped country, the traveler gets a favorable impression of public order and general cleanliness. The Medina, or old city, is far cleaner than the old part of Jerusalem, formerly under Jordanian rule. There are the inevitable sights of youngsters selling flashlight batteries and combs, but no signs of desperation. The visitor gets the impression that the ordinary people of Tunis are doing pretty well by their own standards.

In the circumstances, Tunisia's capacity for financing national defense is limited. Only 6 per cent of the national budget is spent on defense.

Currently, the U.S. has a limited military assistance program in operation to aid the 20,000-man Tunisian army. The Tunisian navy consists only of coastal defense boats. The immediate U.S. objective will be to give the Tunisians reasonably modern ground support aircraft. The Egyptians and Algeria, however, have the latest model Soviet jet fighters. The U.S. Navy also makes periodic show-the-flag calls at Tunisian ports, though the demonstrations of naval strength are low-keyed in character. Tunisian defense officials have been in sea aboard a U.S. aircraft carrier, however. Tunisian army officers also are trained each year at U.S. military centers.

In the past Tunisia has not stood high in America's strategic scale, though diplomatic relations between the two countries have been excellent, it is possible that in the next few years Tunisia may figure more importantly in U.S. plans to preserve peace in the Mediterranean. As a stable, well-administered, well-intentioned country it is deserving of a new measure of interest on the part of the Nixon administration.

UNREST IN ITALY: COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST POWER IS GROWING

(By Anthony Harrigan)

ROME, ITALY.—Though the U.S. 6th Fleet protects Italy against Soviet sea-based threats, this country continues to face grave

dangers. The Italian Communist Party—biggest in the West—continues to gain strength and influence through cooperation with the Socialist Party. If the Soviet Union were to intervene in Yugoslavia, the way it invaded Czechoslovakia, Italy would find Soviet divisions on its northeast border.

Italy has been a source of concern to the United States for more than 20 years. In the late 1940's, the possibility of a communist takeover was very real. Under the leadership of Pope Pius XII, a resolute anti-communist, the Christian Democratic Party held the line in this heartland of Western civilization. The Christian Democrats were weakened during the pontificate of Pope John XXIII, who welcomed the so-called "opening to the left." Today, the Catholic Church is in disarray because of a crisis over papal authority and is in no position to present a solid front against the Left in Italian politics.

The Christian Democratic Party is split into seven quarreling factions, several of them leftwing. Earlier this year, the Christian Democratic leftwing elements bolted the party to join with the Socialism and Communist Parties in insisting that police be barred from carrying deadly weapons. "Disarm the police" slogans are chalked on many walls in Rome. The goal of disarmament of police forces is an international communist objective.

The new measure of communist influence was revealed in December, when Foreign Minister Pietro Nenni, a Socialist in the coalition government, announced that Italy had decided to recognize Communist China. This, too, is a longtime communist objective in Italy. In the past, the Christian Democrats opposed recognition, but they proved too weak to resist effectively this time. The fear is that recognition of Hanoi will be the next achievement of the communists and socialists.

Foreign Minister Nenni has said the country will continue to be loyal to the NATO alliance, but only with reservations. What he means is that the Socialist Party wants to isolate Greece which is ruled by a military junta.

Italy has experienced severe disorders in its universities. A number of administrative changes are being made to ease student resentment. The government also is planning to establish several new universities. But there are many other troubles ahead.

There has been considerable labor violence and numerous strikes. The Italian working man has real grievances. The cost of living continues to soar, and wages don't catch up. As in many other countries, there is a flight from the farm. In the last eight years, 2.6 million workers left agricultural pursuits. Only 1.5 million new non-farm jobs were created in the same period. Squalor is still a way of life for many Italians. Conditions in the traditionally backward South are especially bad. The government announces plans, but they frequently result in nothing but talk and shuffling papers.

Italians are badly in need of more educational opportunities. Fifteen per cent of the farm labor is illiterate. Sixty-seven per cent have only an elementary school education.

The public debt is immense. Rome is the most debt-ridden capital in the world, owing more than \$2 billion and borrowing money to pay interest on its debts.

In Italy, there's always some comic relief. For example, lawyers are threatening to strike. Many Italians may be tempted to shout "hurrah."

Not everything is bleak. There is a big demand for Italian labor in Germany. Steel power generating capacity. The shipbuilding situation is improving. One yard received an order recently for four big container vessels. Genoa, the nation's top port, had a record year. Tourism is increasing and brings in between 10-15 per cent of the country's income.

On the political front, the cheering news is that the Italian Communist Party has blasted Moscow for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But Enrico Berlinguer, the party vice secretary, hedged by saying that the Italian Party did not intend any open split with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The danger here is that labor strife will increase, the economy will lag and that the resulting chaos will lead to rule by the communists or to a Communist-Socialist coalition government. If that happens, the U.S. will have to reappraise its entire commitment to Italy. Another possibility is that the specter of a communist takeover could cause the armed forces to intervene and form a military government along the lines of the junta now in power in Greece.

The primary need in Italy is for a new degree of order and direction. Under the existing system, the government lacks the authority and initiative to achieve significant progress.

SIXTH FLEET SHORTAGES: INADEQUATE FUNDING HINDERS PEACEKEEPING (By Anthony Harrigan)

GAETA, ITALY.—Here in this old Roman port, where galleys once embarked on missions of war and trade, the guided-missile cruiser Little Rock, flagship of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, lies at anchor.

The vessel is the nerve center of a fleet routinely described as consisting of approximately 50 ships, 25,000 men and 200 aircraft. Flying his flag in the Little Rock is Vice Adm. David C. Richardson, commander 6th Fleet. Adm. Richardson commands one of the two key fleets in the U.S. Navy, the other being the 7th Fleet in the Western Pacific.

In many ways, command of the 6th Fleet must be the more difficult task these days, for the Mediterranean is a continuing crisis area where a naval confrontation with a Soviet squadron could take place at any time. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that while war in the Middle East could break out again, the 6th Fleet has been allowed to run down.

Short of funds, the Navy has been forced to take ships and skilled men from the 6th Fleet—indeed from the entire Atlantic fleet—in order to carry out combat missions assigned to the Navy in waters off Vietnam.

As a result, the readiness of the 6th Fleet is not what it should be. This is no fault of the 6th Fleet commander or higher ranking naval officers. The fault lies with the failure of former Secretaries of Defense Robert S. McNamara and Clark Clifford to request sufficient funds to provide the skilled naval personnel and ship maintenance necessary to keep 6th Fleet vessels in a condition of C-1 readiness, meaning "fully operational."

If the U.S. public wants the 6th Fleet to be completely ready for any emergency that may arise in this part of the world, it will have to call on Congress and the new administration to provide the wherewithal for such readiness.

The fleet faces several major difficulties. First of all, warships have not been overhauled at the proper intervals. Many of the ships of the 6th Fleet, as in the Navy as a whole, are 20 years old or more. When they aren't overhauled, they break down. Mechanical casualties are frequent, thereby impairing the overall efficiency of the fleet.

Getting spare parts for old ships and older aircraft is another problem. A lot of equipment that's required is no longer manufactured. Spare parts have to be obtained by "cannibalizing" other ships and planes. McNamara also let inventories run down, without furnishing money for replacement parts. Thus the 6th Fleet frequently has to wait two or three weeks for needed spare parts.

This kind of funding was extremely shortsighted. The country can be thankful that no string of emergencies occurred in the Mediterranean at a time when mechanical

problems were at a peak. But the fleet can't live on luck. The need is to provide the money—and the parts—as early as possible.

People are just as important to the 6th Fleet as mechanical items. The best radar in the Navy won't attain maximum performance without skilled radarmen. Skill means experienced personnel, the kind siphoned off for the 7th Fleet in the Pacific. To meet the overall personnel needs means bigger training programs. A failure in radar could lead to a tragedy even bigger than the Pueblo affair. The United States simply can't take the risk of second-rate performance in a vital operation in a major danger area.

Beyond this, the 6th Fleet needs to be augmented by more and newer ships and aircraft. Currently, the 6th Fleet is operating without an anti-submarine aircraft carrier, a deficiency that could prove extremely dangerous in a confrontation with the Soviets.

Moreover, it is questionable whether the two attack carriers in the 6th Fleet are adequate to respond to threats, that could occur at any number of points between Gibraltar and the waters off Israel. Had the U.S. possessed more carriers in the Pacific, Pueblo might have been covered and the towing of the vessel into a North Korean port might never have been accomplished. Thus the United States already has paid heavily for failure to construct more carriers in the last eight years.

Even the carriers in the 6th Fleet are not equipped with all of the latest planes such as the Grumman A-6 aircraft for all-weather and night flying. This plane is a vital piece of equipment for use against an enemy with sophisticated air defenses. If it were necessary to commit 6th Fleet aircraft in a limited war in the Middle East, against a country possessing advanced Soviet equipment, the A-6 could have a marked effect on operational success. Certainly, it is reasonable to suppose that the U.S. public wants the 6th Fleet to have the best aircraft available for all types of missions.

The 6th Fleet also could use more long-range Lockheed Orion anti-submarine tracking aircraft. The fleet has some of these planes but also ASW planes that have been in service since the early 1950s.

None of these deficiencies adds up to a breakdown in the fleet, but tends in that direction. Moreover, the weak points means that the 6th Fleet's capabilities are not as credible as they should be.

Messrs. McNamara and Clifford may have concealed from the U.S. public the critical lack of funding for important equipment and personnel, but they surely didn't conceal the facts from the Soviets.

Impairments in the 6th Fleet's readiness or equipment constitute an invitation to the Soviets to take chances they otherwise would not. To keep peace in the Mediterranean, it is vital to keep the 6th Fleet in a condition of peak readiness.

NEEDED IN THE 1970'S: A HARD-NOSED POLICY TOWARD WEAK ALLIES (By Anthony Harrigan)

NAPLES, ITALY.—More than 20 years ago, the Truman administration committed the United States to the defense of the weak countries of Southern Europe, the lands that form what Winston Churchill called the "soft underbelly of Europe." Each administration since that time has renewed the American commitment. But it surely is not out of order for the Nixon administration to reassess that commitment and to examine anew whether the results are worth the cost.

Reassessment, of course, almost certainly would lead to renewal of the commitment. Nevertheless, the rationale for U.S. policy in the Mediterranean should fit the facts of 1969, not of 1949 or 1959. Italy's situation is a case in point. In the 1940s Italy was a sick nation. The U.S. hoped it would be in blooming health within a decade or so. But things

haven't turned out that way. In some areas, Italy has advanced remarkably; in others, its progress is almost completely stalled.

Here in the south of Italy it is easy to discern the hard core, hopeless aspects. The farther south from Rome, the more depressing the land becomes. Italy is really two nations—one above Rome, one below it. It is no exaggeration to say that in southern Italy the people are incorrigible and problems are insoluble.

The Italian government's Cassa per il Mezzogiorno (Fund for the South) has spent almost \$3 billion since 1965, but with exceedingly limited results. There is a brutalization of life in Naples, for example, that is extraordinary, and not merely the sordid aspect of a hardened seaport community. This is a city where prostitutes line main roads during daylight hours. Slums are vicious.

The situation is even worse in Sicily. A census in Palermo showed only one bed for every 2.58 persons. Thousands of grown men, heads of families, earn their living as street vendors, selling nuts and shoelaces and bits of candy at Christmas. What new wealth exists in the south simply doesn't trickle down to the people in the foul-smelling slums.

The reason for these conditions is clear enough. Southern Italy has been a battleground—a devastated area—from the time of the earliest Greek colonies in Sicily or long before the Roman Empire emerged. Southern Italy has been attacked and occupied by Greeks, Normans, Arabs, Spaniards, Turks and other peoples.

It is no wonder that the people have been brutalized, that the Mafia has spawned in Sicily, and that this region exported the human material for gangsterism in the United States. Ironically, the only time the Mafia seriously lost ground in modern times was during Mussolini's era. His political apparatus proved more efficient than the native hoodlumism of this region. With the return of the democratic form of government, the Mafia regained strength.

If Southern Italy is backward and corrupt, and very possibly hopeless, does it make sense for the United States to spend so much money to defend it against a communist takeover? Is it worth the trouble? Such questions should be considered by the American people and government. And there are other lands in southern Europe that come close to being hopeless. What about them?

No doubt Americans should be more candid with themselves about the real character of some of the areas they are defending at high cost. The U.S. should be much tougher with some of America's supposed "friends."

This is not to say that it is rational to abandon the 20-year commitment to defense of southern Europe. If withdrawal to a Fortress America were a feasible course of action, then ending the commitment would make sense, for several allies or areas simply don't have sufficient intrinsic value to warrant virtually permanent American involvement.

The commitment to southern Europe only makes sense, really, because this region is a part of the overall system of defense against the Soviet Union. It is impossible to defend the important productive, useful allies of Northern Europe—Germany being the key ally—without also defending the southern flank. The U.S. can't allow the Russians to preempt all the space, to control the seas, and to occupy or dominate the backward lands of the southern rim of Europe. The U.S. couldn't allow the Nazis to control the Mediterranean. The same rationale applies to the Soviets.

What may be specially important for the 1970s is that the U.S. revise and update its rhetoric concerning "allies." The NATO allies on the southern flank—Italy, Greece and Turkey—have serious internal problems. Their military contributions to a united defense front are likely to diminish because of

disorders and divisions within. As they grow more fearful of the Soviet Union, with its strong naval presence in the Mediterranean, their cooperativeness also may decline.

What seems in order in the Mediterranean is a new realism and a hard-nosed policy towards allies on the southern flank. Having suffered much from strong powers, they respect toughness. In the 6th fleet, the U.S. has a powerful military instrument. But the fleet is only as effective as the diplomatic policy and national understanding underlying its use. For the Nixon administration, the real opportunity is to increase the effectiveness of the fleet by scrapping alliance myths and casting a cold eye on friends as well as enemies.

NEW PLANES NEEDED: 6TH FLEET EQUIPPED WITH AGING AIRCRAFT
(By Anthony Harrigan)

ABOARD U.S.S. "FORRESTAL" IN THE AEGEAN SEA.—Steaming at night through a maze of Greek Islands southeast of Athens, this 80,000-ton super carrier is the embodiment of the 6th Fleet's peace-keeping power in the Mediterranean. Together with the smaller carrier, Shangri-La, currently in the Western Mediterranean, this great warship is the spearhead of the Attack Carrier Striking Force (Task Force 60) Commanded by Rear Adm. Pierre N. Charbonnet Jr. Other units in the striking force are destroyers and two missile armed cruisers.

The approximately 80 aircraft aboard the Forrestal provide the 6th Fleet's real punch in the Eastern Mediterranean.

For years, the 6th Fleet, built around the Striking Force, has been the principal deterrent to aggression in this region. For many of these years it was accurate to say that because of the 6th Fleet, the United States had undisputed air superiority in the Mediterranean. The basic assumption of the U.S. public has been that the 6th Fleet and its component parts couldn't be challenged effectively.

It is time to examine this assumption. What was true in 1959 may not be true in 1969.

Over the last eight years the U.S. failed to modernize the 6th Fleet. In the same period, the Soviet Union created a strong, modern naval squadron in the Mediterranean and turned over to its client states in North Africa and the Middle East powerful formations of high performance jet aircraft. As a result, the power balance in the Mediterranean has shifted. The Russians surely realize it though the U.S. public may not.

The air wing aboard the Forrestal is a case in point. Though the air wing is rich in officers with experience in the Vietnam air war, its aircraft are old.

In plain language the Forrestal has a 1961 model air wing in 1969.

Let's spell that out.

The Phantom jets on board are the B model, which went into service in 1961. The more advanced models are available in the Pacific, and are needed in the Med as well. Old airplanes, like old cars, are uneconomical to maintain.

Cost factors aside, in a combat situation in the Middle East, the Soviets and their clients would be flying more advanced aircraft than the Phantom F4B. The 6th Fleet thus would be at a qualitative disadvantage.

The attack squadrons aboard the Forrestal are equipped with the A-4 Skyhawk which went into service in the mid-1950s.

Because the Skyhawks have limited range, the Forrestal must devote valuable space and crew to tanker planes.

The 6th Fleet hasn't received any of the A-6 and A-7 attack aircraft that have performed so well in Vietnam. Ten A-6s can carry more bombs than 30 Skyhawks. With A-6s on board, the Forrestal wouldn't need

the tanker planes. Its overall striking power would be enormously increased.

The combat capabilities of the Striking Force are based on a number of readily discernible factors, including range of aircraft, bombload, speed and endurance in the air. Obviously, re-equipping the Forrestal and the Shangri-La with today's high-performance aircraft would give the 6th Fleet striking power in a new order of magnitude.

If hostilities commenced today, one can be sure that the existing air wing would be equipped with superb professionalism and zeal. But these qualities are not substitutes for modern material.

If the 6th Fleet is going to continue to be a credible deterrent to Soviet aggression, the U.S. government will have to invest in new aircraft for the fleet. The Russians know the age of the embarked aircraft. The U.S. can't afford the risk of the Soviets judging that the balance of power in the Med has shifted sufficiently in their direction to justify a major military gamble.

SOVIET FLEET IN MED: RUSSIAN WARSHIPS MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT
(By Anthony Harrigan)

ABOARD U.S.S. "TALBOT" IN THE SEA OF CRETE.—Though the news tells about Soviet naval vessels in the Med, it is still a surprise to see a Russian warship in the midst of a U.S. task force.

Aboard the *Forrestal*, the loudspeaker in the carrier combat intelligence center blared: "Russian man of war five miles to the north." When I went on deck for a helicopter transfer to the destroyer escort *Talbot*, a powerful Soviet Krupny class missile destroyer was slightly astern on the port side. She was a fine, modern vessel, newer and more heavily armed than most of the destroyers in the *Forrestal's* screen. She was behaving circumspectly, unlike some of the Soviet warships that frequently veer back and forth among U.S. formations or cut across a carrier's bow as it prepares to turn to recover aircraft.

The *Forrestal* is always ready for emergencies. She is equipped with Sea Sparrow missiles for point defense against missile-armed patrol boats such as sank the Israeli destroyer *Elath*. Five Phantom jets always are on deck, with pilots strapped in their cockpits.

Rear Adm. Pierre Charbonnet, the task force commander, has a standing rule, according to the pilots: No Soviet overflights. By this, he means there will be no surprise overflights of his carriers by Soviet reconnaissance planes. As soon as a Russian plane is spotted, Phantoms are launched and escort the Russian while he is in the area.

The squadrons aboard the *Forrestal* continually take part in air warfare exercises. Tactics learned in the skies over Hanoi are practiced by such outstanding squadrons as VF-11, the famous "Red Rippers."

Aerial warfare has changed radically in the last decade. The Navy's Tactical Data System (NTDS) uses computers to process information at fantastic speeds. On the newest carriers equipped with the latest aircraft, it is possible for the NTDS system to launch aircraft, move them into position, fire airborne missiles at targets, and bring the planes back to the carrier's deck—all by computer, without the pilots touching their instruments or pulling a trigger. The NTDS system aboard the carrier gives accompanying ships (if they are equipped with receiving gear) the same visual and printed information available on the carrier. The skipper of every NTDS-equipped ship knows the track, and thus the position, of all task force ships at all times. Another computer system gives the task force commander completely integrated intelligence data.

Within a decade, naval warfare will be computerized to a fantastic degree. All conceivable naval missions and contingency plans undoubtedly will be programmed on computers. Thousands of decisions now made by individuals, such as the type and amount of ordnance on an aircraft for a particular mission, will be programmed and available, at a second's notice, on a printed readout from a computer. Entire war plans, such as a major amphibious operation, will be stored in computers for instantaneous use. The naval officer of the future will have to be as much a computer programmer as a ship-handler.

Everything becomes more difficult as the years pass. The Soviet naval presence in the Med, and the presence of Soviet-built airforces and armies ashore, will require the United States to modernize its forces in this sea.

With the Soviets, politics underlay all military actions. A Russian destroyer lying off a Sicilian town last year proved to be a useful aid to the communists during the election. The evidence here is that the world is only seeing the beginning of political use of the Soviet fleet. Russian ships currently are operating around the western bulge of Africa in the Gulf of Guinea. While numbers of Soviet ships in the Med fluctuate (more are sent into the area to monitor U.S. and NATO exercises) the size of the Soviet squadron is gradually rising.

The USS Talbot, which I am riding as she heads for a rendezvous with the USS La Salle, is one of the most modern ships in the 6th Fleet. Cmdr. Don E. Crawley, the Talbot's captain, is naturally proud of this 3,400-ton vessel armed with the Tartar missile, the Asroc anti-submarine missile and other weapons. But only three of the eight destroyers operating with the Forrestal are missile ships. It is dismaying for an American to see a powerful, modern Soviet missile ship towering above a weary, World War II-type U.S. destroyer.

In the Mediterranean, where old nations have survived for a long time and want to continue to live, many people are watching the new Soviet ships and noting that many U.S. vessels are old. It is important for political reasons, as well as for combat readiness, that the U.S. maintain a truly modern 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

**REALTORS WORK TOWARD A
BETTER AMERICA**

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the Davenport Times-Democrat recently featured a guest editorial by Mr. Charles A. Ruhl of Davenport. Mr. Ruhl is president of the Iowa Association of Realtors. Mr. Ruhl's guest editorial explains the excellent program which the National Association of Real Estate Boards established in 1968 called "The Make America Better Plan." They are to be commended for this fine program, and I commend Mr. Ruhl's editorial to my colleagues:

HELP MAKE AMERICA BETTER

(By Charles A. Ruhl)

Realtors, specialists in housing, realize that the problems of housing and rehabilitation cannot be overcome unless we find solutions for the many related ills including the causes of neighborhood decay and city blight.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards early in 1968 formulated six major

objectives called The Make America Better Plan to be placed in the hands of the 50 state associations, 1,500 local real estate boards, and 87,000 members for study and expansion into workable programs—programs that would invite action from all levels of government, supported by many persons and organizations including civic clubs.

A short time ago the National Association was notified that it had been selected to receive an honor medal award of the Freedom Foundation for its Make America Better program.

In capsule form the six objectives of the program are:

1. Encourage widespread rehabilitation and construction, with emphasis on private housing, through the use of tax incentives, subsidies for low income families, code enforcement, and expanded mortgage financing programs.

2. Provide for education and training of families in living habits which will avoid excessive property destruction that discourages both private and public investment.

3. End restrictive practices that unduly increase costs of construction and inhibit employment therein.

4. Require exploratory courses and provide incentives so that elementary and high school pupils who may be vocationally inclined will receive an appropriate balance between academic courses and vocational and technical training.

5. Rededicate the nation to the observance of law with emphasis on reducing crime, vandalism and juvenile delinquency, strengthening law enforcement, and improving rehabilitation and parole procedures.

6. Further appropriate programs to assist property owners in marketing housing on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Many member boards of the National Association of Realtors are already active in sponsoring programs related to the six objectives. It is interesting to note that only two relate directly to housing. Realistically, however, housing will be a great loser if further decay of our cities is permitted.

It is not a time for dialogue or confrontation or just talking about someone else doing it. For our urban housing to develop, solutions must be found for the deep-rooted economic and sociological crises in our cities.

To encourage widespread rehabilitation and construction, the first of the objectives is to call upon financial institutions to provide adequate funding for programs in the core areas; to promote the utilization of rent supplement programs for rehousing; to request incentives so that industry will remain in the central city to aid the unemployed or underemployed; to stop the endless city defeating flight of people and job opportunities to the suburbs.

It is necessary to train some persons in the basic rudiments of housekeeping and care of their domicile if there is to be progress in construction and expansion of housing facilities for the underprivileged. Lopsided welfare laws have directly resulted in driving many rural poor to the cities where they are unable to cope with city living. Extensive educational and training facilities should be utilized in the Quad-Cities if we are to enjoy expanded housing facilities.

Restrictive practices that unduly increase the cost of housing can and must be eliminated. In Washington the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has set a goal of 26 million new housing units over the next 10 years, with six million of it designed for low income families. Currently we are adding less than 1½ million units a year. Some of our self-serving labor practices and building codes discourage the use of newly-developed materials and construction methods. We must have a new attitude in this sector including the elimination of featherbedding practices that restrict productivity. Organized labor could play a large part in such corrections.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards does believe that something can be done to stem the rise of crime and delinquency and in a small way is proving it. One project evolving from the Make America Better program is the Light the Night activity started by the Denver Real Estate Board. It is a program to awaken the community to the value of lighting as a weapon against crime. Lights went on in crime-plagued areas and crimes have been reduced. The program has been expanded with much success in many communities.

In Iowa, the Greater Des Moines Board of Realtors gave a \$40,000 building to disadvantaged young people to use as a recreation and study center. The Miami Board of Realtors sparked a program to provide several downtown centers for youths.

The last of the realtors' objectives is directed to the sale and rental of property on a nondiscriminatory basis, a matter on which many association members have been quietly working for years. Last June the Supreme Court handed down a decision in the Jones vs. Mayer case which re-emphasized a 100-year-old law establishing that there shall be no discrimination in the sale or rental of property on the basis of race.

It is on the basis of this decision that equitable and effective efforts may be made, rather than the confusing mirage of legislation which could become as repugnant to the Constitution as discrimination itself. Emphasis is being placed by realtors upon establishing and fostering a climate of understanding and acceptance to promote open occupancy on a voluntary basis.

It will cost us far less to solve the problems facing our cities and our country than to pay the tab for our failure to solve them. Citizens and citizen groups of the Quad-Cities are invited to join this campaign.

**DEATH OF W. W. WARD, ALTOONA,
PA.**

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, when Mr. W. W. Ward passed on, Altoona, Pa., lost a great civic leader. But he was a loss for the whole Commonwealth because of the immense contribution he made to so many aspects of life in central Pennsylvania. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extension of Remarks an article and an editorial published in the Altoona Mirror of March 15, 1969.

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

**WILLIAM W. WARD, 62, DIES IN FLORIDA
HOME**

William W. Ward, 62, of Box 37, Franks-town Road, Sylvan Hills, board chairman of the Ward Trucking Corp. he created, died unexpectedly of a heart attack at 2 a.m. today in his Florida home, 216 Bal Bay Drive, Bal Harbour.

Mr. Ward had not previously been ill. Through his interest in the restoration of the Mishler Theater he had flown back to Altoona for its reopening last week.

He was born in Altoona on Oct. 23, 1906, a son of William and Isabella (Kerr) Ward, and married Dorothy Craig. Surviving are his wife, three sons, G. William of Sylvan Heights Drive, J. Richard and Michael E. of Franks-town Road, and nine grandchildren.

Also surviving are a brother and two sisters, James K. and Mrs. Sarah Miller of Altoona and Mrs. Jane Ernest of Ardmore.

Mr. Ward's body is being returned to the city for funeral services and interment, but no detailed information was available early this afternoon.

His interests and participation in city, state and national activities were numerous. He was a member of the First EUB Church, now the Trinity United Methodist; the boards of trustees of Altoona Campus, Pennsylvania State College, and of St. Francis College, Loretto.

Mr. Ward was a director of Mid-State Bank & Trust Co., Blair Hotel Co., Pennsylvania manufacturers Casualty Insurance Co., Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority, Pennsylvania Development Credit Corp.

Director of the Blair County Branch, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.; Pennsylvania Association for the Blind, Altoona Community Chest, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce and Transportation Association of America, a director and past president of the Altoona Chamber of Commerce.

OTHER SERVICE

He served also as chairman of the board of Altoona Enterprises, Inc., chief of transportation of the Altoona-Blair County Civil Defense and as a member of the National Defense Transportation Association, as a director and president of the Middle-Atlantic Conference and on the board of the American Trucking Association.

Mr. Ward headed the Jobs for Joes campaign as chairman in 1954-64, was chairman of the Altoona-Mercy Hospital's building fund campaign 1957-58, vice chairman of the Republican Finance Committee on Pennsylvania from 1957 and a member of the executive committee of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania.

He was honored in 1954 as Kiwanis and Optimist Man-of-the-Year, was the Jaycee Boss-of-the-Year in January 1959, received an American Legion citation for Meritorious Service in May 1959, Silver Beaver award of the Boy Scouts of America in February 1960 and held the honorary degree of doctor of humane letters.

The Ward Trucking Co. was originated in 1931 as a partnership, and under the direction of Mr. Ward grew steadily to its present magnitude. Mr. Ward served as chairman of the boards of both the Ward Trucking Corp. and the Ward Corp. of Pennsylvania, as president of Ward Terminals, Inc., and Ward Enterprises, Inc.

DEDICATION

When civic leaders of the stature of the late W. W. Ward pass on, the entire area experiences a state of shock. "Who will help us now?" is a common greeting among those who have worked with such a man and knew of his ability and willingness to help the community. Bill was wonderful and he had many important contacts outside the local community. He used his phone, his car and his time to enlist their aid when it was needed.

In his lifetime among us many a gloomy session turned brighter because of his ready smile and his "let's-get-after-it-now" attitude. He and the late Bill Wade, George Gable and George Kelchner were a quartet of ambassadors without equal when interviewing or being interviewed by prospective industrialists looking for sites.

Way back, when Tommy Dobson was the running quarterback for the Altoona team and M. A. Miller was the coach for the entire squad, these men and many others were in there running interference. Only the coach remains among the living of those mentioned above.

They had one thing in common—dedication. They had witnessed a town in its agony struggling to stay alive as an industrial center and they, along with about 50 others,

dedicated their lives to its rebuilding. There sprung up among them an eager and willing group of recruits. Each year has witnessed the enlistment of others in this cause we call Altoona. It outgrew the city and became the Altoona area and now it is in truth Central Pennsylvania.

Death has taken its toll and it is not the objective of this editorial to plunge us into a state of gloom by naming the Bert Leopolds, the King McFarlanes and all those others who have crossed the river or the Stan Ruths, Gwin Dodsons and others who have moved to new communities. Neither is it our purpose to list the loyal and talented and dedicated living members of the pioneer group and their early recruits.

Our purpose today is to enlist dedicated young men who will in time have a responsibility that grows with each passing year. Like the Olympic torchbearers of old, each man must some day come to the bank of the river, and before crossing over, throw his lighted torch to another, secure in the knowledge that it will be carried through to the finish line; that their love for their home community and its folks will never die.

All men are mortal and each has his appointed time. We are sure that if our late departed friend were to write this next line he would say, "That's the problem; let's get with it."

A great many things have happened here in these past three and a half decades. The shop whistles summon less than half as many men to work each morning in that great complex of 59 separate shops of the great PRR system. The more than 17,000 workers have been cut to just about half that number. But the great out-migration of the early Thirties has stopped.

Today more than 30 diversified industries are training men and women in new skills. They are growing. Other new industries are still to come. We are even brave enough to tear down many of the old buildings that once upon a time held us together, by thin threads at times, and to start to build new ones to take their place.

The college campus that was once but a dream is here and growing. The veterans hospital has been functioning for years and the state hospital has been serving our commonwealth for quite a few years. Even the library that was but a hazy dream to most of us is built and will soon open its doors and its books to a new generation of those who seek the treasures stored in books.

This past week we have heard several of W. W.'s friends say: "Thank God, he at least had the joy of seeing the reborn Mishler."

The best tribute to his memory and to the memory of those who, like him, kept a better Altoona always in their sights as they traveled the last miles of their sojourn here, is to keep building, to keep remembering: "This is our city, our county, our state and our nation."

Let our lives help make it better than we found it, always keeping in mind it was a pretty good place when we found it.

A \$1 BILLION GIFT REFUSED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert in the RECORD an article written by L. Richard Caveney. Mr. Caveney is in private industry and is an expert in Federal Government purchasing. I am sure everyone will enjoy his timely remarks:

A \$1 BILLION GIFT REFUSED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT

(By L. Richard Caveney)

I have one billion dollars which the Federal Government refuses to accept as an outright gift, and this during a fiscal crisis!! Incredible, isn't it? And where did I find this billion? Right inside the Government itself. To keep up with the rise of daily operating costs and meet the additional expenses of the Vietnam war, our Government has not only slapped a 10% surtax onto our individual income tax, but it has also imposed an almost "across the board" 6-billion dollar cut on many essential Federal programs. As part of the surcharge act—which experts agree will continue past its July 1, 1969 expiration date—major deactivation of our Vietnam forces must be made, or the number of U.S. employees must be cut back to the 1966 level.

THE PAINFUL CUTTING PROCESS

Thus, the Federal Government started the "painful cutting process" toward proposed "economies". However, I, for one, feel that these "savings" are not "savings" at all, but are merely the transfer of some Government expenditures to the private sector as increased business operating costs and as reduced services to the average U.S. taxpayer. The present Federal approach toward these reductions have long-term effects far more damaging to this country than responsible citizens generally suppose. Further, major economies, not now sought, could be realized in many areas by the proper application of advanced management techniques coupled to new technology. The present cutting approach applies restrictions across the board without regard for inefficiencies and waste. It is this present approach that requires an urgent call for understanding by the public, and the press if either expects to affect, in any way, major decisions regarding the utilization of our tax dollars.

THE TRANSFER OF COSTS TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Let us examine how these "savings" transfer operating costs to the private sector. Restricted expenditures by the Federal Aviation Agency have precipitated an airline crisis. In the "golden triangle" the airlines are losing \$1 million dollars a day in increased operating cost. The Government's solution is to restrict flights and appoint a committee to report by 1970 while wives now spend countless hours seated in over-heated cars with fretting children, while their husbands sit in airplanes waiting for clearances.

R. & D. ECONOMIES

The greatest "economy" is to be exacted from this country's Research and Development activities which accounts for about half the controllable part of the budget. R & D was reduced 563 million dollars in the President's 1969 budget—a whopping 35 percent. The cuts came not only from space and research facilities but sixteen private medical colleges are in danger of closing while the nation faces a critical shortage of physicians—how can this type of retrenchment be called "economical"? Present cuts will diminish the ranks of future scientists and engineers as President Eisenhower's Science Advisor, Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, stated: "the cuts may simply take many extremely promising students out of the scientific stream for good". Dael Wolfe, executive officer of the American Association for the Advancement of Science prophesies that, "for years to come the nation as a whole will pay the price because we will have fewer scientists and engineers for colleges and industry". Stated another way, it means this country will possess less future knowledge.

In a restive world which daily is changing in so many technological ways, the best advice this country receives from the pinnacle of the Federal Establishment is to squander our scientific youth and to surrender our world leadership in science.

Aside from the national security aspects of these courses of action, what has a conservative businessman to worry about? Plenty!!! When basic research dries up, so does the source of new applied technology. In a recent article, Dr. Frederick Seitz, President of the National Academy of Science, predicted, "the rate at which we put new ideas into technology will slow down. I see it already in lasers, people are having trouble getting new ideas going. The new materials field was having trouble staying afloat; now it will collapse."

The businessman suffers short-term and long-term effects from these policies. Firstly, the Research and Development (R & D) slow down represents an under-utilization of existing research capabilities, such as atom-smashers, computers, and telescopes which represent a national capitalization of many hundreds of scientific man years and many millions of dollars, a research investment that this country has already made, which these policies will allow to lay fallow. MIT's Provost, Dr. Jerome B. Weisner, President Kennedy's science advisor, observes, "we have spread our research so thin in many applied fields, advantage will be yielded up to other nations unless we soon change. . . ."

Secondly, companies selling to Research and Development (R & D) organizations will find that the word is out: Buy nothing, particularly no equipment or instruments you can survive without. Instrument companies are aware they have been in the trough of an economy wave for some time. As a group, instrument manufacturers have had a significant reduction in orders over recent years, particularly since the Federal R & D leveled off in 1964. Since then, the United States R & D budget has increased only three percent per year—not enough to keep up with inflation. Conservative estimates place this decrease in real research buying power at 20 to 25 percent. This year's (FY 69) loss alone in R & D is 35 percent below the 1968 level.

These "economies" have their effect on the manufacturers, their suppliers and others in the economy. Important too, is the fact that as a group these policies tend to dry up "risk capital" for new ideas or for the implementation of new instrumentation techniques. Allied operations, such as magazines, catering to the scientifically-oriented communities, find their advertising revenues down, and thus their employment is down.

The long-term effects of such R & D cuts can only be as Dr. Weisner has stated, "in nuclear physics and radio astronomy, we will fall by the wayside." Many experts agree the leadership in elementary particle physics will soon pass from the U.S. to western Europe and Russia. These basic studies have led—usually unexpectedly—to transistors, atomic power, radar, lasers, computers and other well-known applied techniques and products that sustain our economy and provide the highest standard of living ever known. Instead of exploiting our multi-million dollar research investment systematically and tirelessly with all the means available, particularly the intellectual resources, this administration has said R & D must be cut because R & D accounts for about half the "controllable" part of the budget. Apparently, things such as paying quasi-farmers not to grow corn have higher national priorities. This intellectual attitude is stuck when corporation after corporation has had the experience of seeing its product mix change as much as 80 percent in a decade. Most new technical products, now in common usage, just weren't around 10 years ago. Where are the next ten years going to come from?

Assuming the business world survives these policies, there are grave doubts that many private universities can long survive. "The way things are" said one George

Washington University Dean, "a turndown of one project can close a department."

THE INDIVIDUAL'S CUT—REDUCED SERVICES

The individual taxpayer will bear the scars of these budget cuts. Aside from the elimination of social and educational programs which effect the general population's well-being, we find: Proposed cut backs in maintaining parks, roads and trails and in the development of outdoor recreation facilities; road construction; Head Start programs, disadvantaged youth programs, and manpower programs are to be hard hit along with National Defense.

The individual American's largest cut is less jobs, lower standard of living, and increased deaths due to starvation coupled with larger bites by governments.

WHY THESE CUTS?

These cuts will come in less service to the average citizen, both public and private, because the organized bureaucracy—which means primarily the Bureau of the Budget, and the hierarchy of agency and bureau administration which report to it and whose administrative policies it controls—organized bureaucracy has exerted its great power to prevent any change whatsoever in the status quo.

HOW ARE THE CUTS MADE?

It is the Executive Branch's business to look at the present nakedly and audaciously fiscal crisis and to deal with it on the basis of the most probable events and techniques of the near and long-term future, rather than with techniques of the familiar past. This is not the way real "bureaucrats" work. They simply cut people on a percentage basis, even in revenue-producing activities, and cut as deeply as possible into the "controllable" part of the budget—new technology, new instrumentation and new ideas. The cuts should be accompanied by the efficient management of existing men, money and materials coupled to the rapid implementation of new ideas from within and without the Federal Establishment. The cuts should also be accompanied by a sharp reappraisal of procurement procedures.

Few, if any, of these things are taking place. Procurement realities, that imbue profit-oriented organizations, have little force within the Federal Establishment. "Cost-effectiveness" is a dirty word, not a rigorous, penetrating method to most effectively allocate resources to military and international programs at a cost that will still make possible the achievement of our domestic goals. The problems in technical procurements are especially acute. In a day when an engineering education's relevance to burgeoning technology holds for less than decade, we have many government "managers" making decisions on major equipment procurements whose latest training predated World War II. In the accelerated technology of today, the instrumentation of twenty years ago is useless: computers have only come in to currency within the last 15 years; lasers, solid state physics, communications satellites and instantaneous video tape TV replays are more examples of the changes that the immediate past has wrought. Pre-atomic AM-78 RPM trained minds that deal with the solid state, AM/FM TV (black/white and color), 16, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$, 45 stereo magnetic tape, video tape reply, sixteen speaker Mach IV sound and science of today—Can they understand the nanosecond specifications the salesman rattles off? Can they evaluate engineering differences, or the complex interrelations that exist between existing equipment and the proposed purchases? Or do they say "I'll take that one" because they recognize a familiar manufacturer's name, or is it something much more than this?

THE WATCHDOG ROLE OF CONGRESS

This is compounded by the fact that although Congress will not appropriate funds

without providing for supervision of their disbursements, the individual member of Congress has come to feel insecure in his own technical knowledge and hesitates to "take-on" a line-up of agency "experts" particularly in public session. Congressional Committee staffers in general are not technically trained either and wonder about the conflicting experts' "advice" they receive—frequently unsolicited. The result is purchasing anarchy, sometimes referred to as the right of "free choice". The agencies have for all practical purposes, complete, unsupervised control of any purchases for any program, no matter how technical. U.S. Senator H. M. Cannon has charged the U.S. Army with "questionable procedures" in awarding contracts for stepped-up production of the M-16 rifle. A House Committee has made similar charges. A recent article suggests 25 million dollars as the level of waste in the M-16 procurement.

Parade magazine's recent article on the Surplus Give-away Scandal by Jack Anderson notes that 144 million dollars worth of defense equipment has been declared surplus in Vietnam. We will be told the Administration will "save" eight cents on the dollar by this sale of the total "procurement". I say we have sustained a 92 percent loss.

Waste due to procurement concepts of this sort can only become larger because the total procurements are larger and no effective force has yet been applied to review procurements before award. I agree a lot of discussions, hearings, in short talk, but little if any action.

THE ESTABLISHMENT'S PROCUREMENT POSITION

As modern science produces a revolutionary environment, which is part and parcel of the haunting problems that beset the people of this nation, the bureaucratic position remains: There must be no outside review or control over the procurement practices of the Federal Government, and there must be no "third-party intervention" by any board or panel or expert on matters of federal policy regardless of how many lives and resources of any sorts are involved. In short, all effective power must be reserved to "Big Brother", the Federal Establishment.

The starkly etched needs of our domestic society are being sacrificed to the emotional need of the upper echelons of government's managers to be comfortable, because as an office of the President spokesman has written, to change "would require complete revision of our present concepts of . . . procurement."

THE FEDERAL SUGGESTION SYSTEM

In an era of instant change, some Federal employees hope to modify or alter the winds of Federal procedures through the Federal Employees Suggestion Program.

Suggestions submitted in the Federal Establishment are reviewed by the group that formulated the procedure or policy then in use. They decide whether they have made the wrong choices and can rebuff any effort to change the system of equipment and for procedures they have instituted. That's like having the defendant act as judge and jury in a civil court case. As you would guess, the plaintiff (suggestor) loses the majority of the cases. In fact, as the chairman of a Department of Business Administration recently confided, "you are considered some kind of nut if you try to effect a change via the government's suggestion program."

There is no rebuttal for a turned down suggestor. Disapproval letters in my possession show a complete disregard for submitted facts supporting change and in general are non-responsive to the suggestion's specifics.

For example, one of the Government's largest computer users turned down an extraordinarily detailed and documented million dollar suggestion regarding a newly marketed computer tape drive with the comment, "We had already witnessed a demon-

stration of the tape unit of which you informed us. . . . There was no refutation of the cost figures which showed a 33½ percent increase in efficiency with a decrease of 29.7 percent in cost; in fact, no reference was made to any of the cost-effective specifics but this million dollar suggestion was disapproved.

A simple phrase "I would like to thank you for the interest you have shown" by a minor official is enough to squelch any suggestion no matter how large the potential savings, no matter how concrete the suggestor's cost analysis. There is no rebuttal capability, no higher "third-party" for review of major suggestions—no "court of appeal."

CONGRESSIONAL ROLE IN THE SUGGESTION SYSTEM

As the Congress has an interest in the maximum utilization of appropriated funds, I contacted the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the U.S. House of Representatives. A staff member there said they "frequently" had government employees call regarding rejected suggestions, but that they could do very little as they had no personnel or funds for the purpose of evaluating suggestion turn-downs. "That would take the full-time capability of a couple of people," he noted. He forwarded a copy of their May 16, 1968 report covering "examples of improved management reported by the 26 largest departments and agencies in the Federal Government for the period July through December, 1967", some of which were "the result of putting into effect employee's suggestions," with the following examples:

ADP "COST CUTTING TIPS"

You will go from that "cost cutting tip" to another in the field of automatic data processing, where the Government's hardware expenditures are estimated to be about 2 billion dollars annually. In this field, GSA suggests, "Save on use of the character "ø" on typewriters." They note that, "the character "ø" is now widely used in data processing and for other purposes. In many instances this character is now imposed by typing the letter "O", backspacing and then adding the diagonal slash "/". These three steps are time consuming in instances where usage of the character is very frequent." They have arranged that any standard typewriter can be ordered to include the character at \$3.00 increase in cost. What could be the monetary impact of this?

While savings of this value were filtering about the GSA, through Congressional Committee to publication and distribution, several valid suggestions on ADP valued by outside experts as bordering on a one billion dollar a year savings are either turned down due to incompetent review or are not responded to at all. Manufacturers of computer peripheral equipment, such as magnetic tape transports, are attempting to get on GSA schedules (license to sell to the U.S. Government) and thus create price competition. And yet the Federal Government loses the ability to reapportion its resources toward its domestic tasks.

NEW INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE

In this Congressional publication one learns that the AD Hoc committee responsible for such "Tips" has decided to make itself permanent and to call itself the Interagency Committee for Improvement in Procurement and Management of Property, "to consider all proposals by the President, the Congress, Committee members, or other sources as determined appropriate (sic) by the Committee which are designed to improve the efficiency and economy in Government procurement, supply and property management operations; and collectively determine the appropriate course of action for achieving these objectives." One would hope that the focus of this group could be raised above a typewriter character. Granted

this government AD Hoc committee is better than nothing but we have enough of "better than nothing" elements in Government—what is needed is a complete overhaul—change.

AIR FORCE SAVINGS

On page 6, the U.S. Air Force proudly proclaims its "standardization of Air Force base level automation" with projected 6-year "savings" of \$17,550,000.00 beginning in 1969. They hope to accomplish this "with a standard electronic data processing equipment (EDPE) configuration". They do not mention that the Phase II contract initially let by the Air Force to IBM had to be renegotiated after the uproar by major computer corporations and other groups at a savings to the Government of approximately 50 million dollars. The next computer manufacturer, the renegotiated winner, will supply a minimum of about 130 computer systems, with each computer system having two or three \$200,000 large capacity memory storage units. They also do not mention that testimony given to the Congress in November, 1967, proved that for one typical \$900,000 government owned computer configuration, that independent manufacturers' peripheral devices would have reduced the purchase cost by about \$400,000.00.

That is a 44 percent cost avoidance at the outset, which extended over the Air Force's 130 EDPE minimal basic configurations could total at least another \$40 million dollar savings. Additional savings in floor space, spare parts and maintenance time and manpower would have added substantially to these savings. Such savings, about \$40 million dollars, would buy a tremendous amount of "system responsibility".

Since that testimony was published to the Congress. No changes have been made in that procurement nor has any GSA procurement been let in which a fair amount of independent peripheral manufacturers products are bid as individual units; in fact GSA should get out of the computer and computer peripheral procurement business as GSA is just a waste of good tax dollars while in the ADPE procurement cycle. An April 25, 1968 Bureau of the Budget letter explains "to provide for direct bidding of magnetic tape units, or other computer system components, as separate pieces of equipment in all procurements would require complete revision of our present concept of EDP systems and procurement."

THE FACTS BE DAMNED

In other words, although expert written testimony has been given to a Congressional Committee, the problem is just too big to contemplate, and please be gentlemen enough not to bring it up again because we in the Budget Bureau are too busy trying to cut 6 billion dollars from needed programs to think of modifying our procedures to effect savings by cost-avoidance.

Nor does the Air Force mention the fact that the Phase II contract may put a second computer at most Air Force bases, worldwide. My understanding is the existing Phase I Univac 1050's now handling the supply activities will not be compatible with the Burroughs computers now being acquired and so cannot act as back-up units; nor can they share the Phase II personnel and financial activities. Clearly, is the ground being laid for the integration of Phase I and II somewhere in the Pentagon at this moment?

An interesting fact, Associated Press indicated that according to the General Services Administration (GSA), the Pentagon lost \$160 million dollars by acquiring new computer equipment, even as computers it already owned or leased stood idle with this idle computer time amounting to an additional loss of \$250 million dollars; not a bad loss—only \$410 million dollars. If Government were rated by how much it wasted in tax dollars it would be the most efficient Government in the world.

Former President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, said in his White House letter dated February 19, 1948, when he signed into law H.R. 1366, which granted unprecedented freedom to the Executive Branch from specific procurement restrictions during peacetime, that this bill had a hidden danger. This freedom, he said, was given to permit the flexibility and latitude needed in national defense activities. The basic need, he said, however, remains to assure favorable price and adequate service to the Government. To the degree that restrictions have been diminished, he said, therefore, responsibility upon the Executive Branch of Government, which includes the Defense Establishment, has been increased. The danger, he said, is the natural desire for flexibility and speed in procurement will lead to excessive placement of contracts by negotiation and undue reliance upon large concerns, and this he said must not occur. It has and is. In a sense, this law gives certain human beings a license to practice collusion and if not collusion—stupidity—at the taxpayers expense.

Did former President Truman have the foresight to put forth the first warning shot concerning the huge military-industrial complex which has been forged and nurtured by the misused procurement law, H.R. 1366? About 1960, the former President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, also warned the American people of such a merger and suggested this country beware. It appears, based on all the technological procurement waste of the taxpayer's dollar and the lack of efficient management in Government seems to support the fact, that both former Presidents' representing both major political parties, were right. Congress should act expeditiously to place the proper controls over the Executive Branch in order to provide for the proper funding for all programs and decrease the possibility of any such future fiscal crisis.

"IMPROVED" MANAGEMENT

As one pursues this part-comic, part-tragic enumeration of "savings" he wonders "What is 'management' in these activities now, if these examples represent 'improved management'?"

BIGGER "BIG GOVERNMENT"?

The solution is not more administration, but more efficient management practices. As John Kenneth Galbraith has pointed out in the "New Industrial State", one can favor technological bigness and oppose administrative bigness without inconsistency. In fact, advanced technology tends to streamline activities; it also makes them less subject to bureaucratic whims.

TOM'S

What the Federal Government needs are TOM's—technically oriented managers. People with an understanding of technology, who are able to understand the technical language and concepts of the various sciences. Only a properly trained, management-oriented individual can properly manage technical programs vital to this nation's economic and social well-being. The ability and will to manage is at least as important as the technical background. These people cannot be like the Postmaster quoted when asked how he managed his operation. He replied "I don't manage it, I simply administer it."

TOM'S IN GOVERNMENT

There are some TOM's in Government, but they are layered within the bureaucracy so as to have very limited power over operations and programs; their role should be larger in this period of technological revolution.

THANKS, BUT NO THANK YOU

Seminal, incisive ideas will not become part of the American dream if we continue to allow the bureaucratic blanket to cover these TOM's to smother new ideas. From one such TOM I have one billion dollars from

just one valid technically unimpeachable suggestion in my possession which has been disapproved by Establishment spokesmen who will not change existing procedures because, "to change would require an entirely new concept . . ." if one citizen, acting independently, can find one billion dollars, what would a government wide program produce?

WHAT PRODUCES A BILLION DOLLARS IN REVENUE?

In today's world the terms "billion, trillion, million" have become fuzzy concepts. What does it take to produce a billion dollars in Government revenue? It takes the combined yearly corporate taxes from about four of the world's largest corporations—General Motors, Gulf Oil Corporation, Ford Motor Company, and Litton Industries. That is, the combined economic power represented by about 1,276,322 employees plus the combined assets of these four major corporations, supplied in the form of tax revenue to the Federal Establishment in 1967, has been nullified by the Administration's failure to act on federal employees' suggestions in my possession.

THE REVENUE PRODUCERS

The Government's revenue agency, Internal Revenue Service, was one of the agencies that failed to implement one of these suggestions, although the IRS spokesman reviewing it stated, "(it) is a good suggestion." Management's inability to act on this suggestion alone, polled experts agree, has cost about 15 million dollars in government revenue over the past three (3) years. I wonder if IRS officials are prepared to have their salaries garnished for this amount in the same way one issue of Reader's Digest pointed out they proceeded against a 62 year old, heart-attack victim, owing the Government \$19.00. Instead of practicing better management, the IRS response to proposed cutbacks has been to suggest that cuts in its budget are "destructive".

Former IRS Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen notes that cuts in the Internal Revenue Service's budget will produce ultimate geometric cuts in the budgets of other departments by denying them the revenue funds they need. This occurs, as Senator Ralph Yarborough (D. Tex.) has pointed out, because IRS's enforcement staff collects about \$8 for every \$1 of its costs. This is true, but one must point out that inefficient use of its present budget by IRS will also penalize other agencies geometrically.

THE POLITICAL "OUT"—POST OFFICE

The Post Office's response to the Congressional roll back has been to force the Administration to back-off on attempted cutbacks in money and personnel. The Post Office proposes to meet new needs by adding to its 740,000 employees. Had the Bell System responded to its expanding market in this way, most women in the United States would be sitting in front of a telephone switchboard today.

Frederick R. Kappel, retired board chairman of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company told Parade magazine, "The Post Office is a 19th century establishment trying to do a 20th century job. What it cries out for is modern management techniques."

Kappel, as chairman of President Johnson's commission on Postal organization, reported: "The Post Office has not only failed to take advantage of the technology of other industries, but has not fully exploited the mail processing equipment already in use in some of its own facilities."

They claim "Postal costs can be reduced at least 20 percent if normal investment and operating practices used in private industry are made available to postal management." In the face of these findings, the Post Office

yearly budget of 6.6 billion dollars was made exempt from the budget cuts.

Potential gains to be realized by implementation of this Commission's findings, which advocate use of technological and modern management techniques, could offset the entire Post Office's deficit of \$1.2 billion dollars—the largest in history.

A TIME OF CHANGE

The times cry out for swift and effective institutional changes—but the enormous bureaucratic mess the U.S. Government has become can only be moved by great political pressure. The inertia built into government activities, of all sorts, and at all levels, is such that it requires extraordinary political effort to change our institutions even slightly. Each of us must be concerned; each of us must stand up and be counted.

IT CAN ONLY GET WORSE

We must be concerned because this is not a unique event or point in time; we are in a rapidly enlarging world amidst a burgeoning technology and Government's financial requirements can only enlarge.

We must all support promising approaches that offer a good probability of lowering costs while increasing efficiency. It is action that is the strength of the American system—it's the ability to develop corrective alternatives, and act upon them that keeps American industry in the forefront of the world economy.

I have been trying to transplant some of that thinking into the bureaucratic environment, but it is clear that organizational changes are required and the political pressure of the average U.S. citizen must be applied to overcome governmental inertia.

These facts have been gathered in my attempt during the recent years to establish the right of certain members of the computer industry to bid direct to the Federal Government on a competitive basis and to provide multi-million dollar savings to the Government and thus to the taxpayer.

A STANDARD OF MEASUREMENT

We have not acted to redress known grievances. What we need to establish is a standard of measurement in management and technology. We must also provide for third-party expert review and a continuing surveillance of major governmental activities—particularly as they relate to the underutilization of technology.

A CENTER FOR TECHNOLOGY—ACT

I propose the establishment of a Center for Technology (ACT), composed of individuals from the exact and inexact sciences in the Legislative Branch. Recently developed evidence on the M-16, F-111 and Air Force Phase II computer contracts suggests that such a center could more than pay its own way by reducing procurement waste of tax dollars. The Center director to report directly to the majority and minority leaders of the House and Senate or to the President. This center would have two objectives: 1. Act as a court of appeal for government employees who have had their technical suggestion turned down by the chain of command with the Executive Branch and to allow suggestions from individual taxpayers and the academic and business communities to be given proper attention. This would eliminate the problem of ultimate review of the Federal suggestion program by officials who have been at best reluctant in its support and, at worst, an obstacle to progress. It was Franklin D. Roosevelt who said, "New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all." 2. Such a center would put a brake on present procurement practices for major technological purchases. It would provide sophisticated analysis of agency positions and present them to the Congress

and the President in layman's terms. It would be an expert objective audio-visual unit for Congress and the President that would act as a counter-balance to the tableful of agency witnesses Congressmen now see.

Congress would still appropriate funds, but the Executive Branch could not make a contract award for major technological items without all proposals and contract award recommendations being first reviewed by the "Center" and explained to the appropriate committee of Congress or the President. At this time, there are inadequate controls on technological procurements before the contract is awarded and without proper control waste of tax dollars will increase and cause increased taxation and this be the case it would definitely be "taxation without representation".

It is up to each of us to bring the full range of advanced management techniques to bear on this country's problems.

We must all demand an affirmative and constructive spirit regarding institutional changes within Government. We must also encourage the development of those attributes within the governmental service that will steadily push the frontier of knowledge farther into the area marked unknown while managing in a manner that will evoke the best from those that labor at all levels of Government.

This country must settle for nothing less! Above all we can never accept a Government which is by the Government and for the Government nor a Government for a few people and by a few people but we must insist on a Government for all the people and by all the people.

NATIONAL SECURITY

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there is considerable discussion, comment, and speculation going on today concerning a volunteer force to replace the Selective Service System. It should be emphasized that the administration is only studying this matter and that a firm legislative proposal has not been made to Congress by the President. It is also noted that a proposal probably will not be made until after the Vietnam war.

Mr. President, I have noted a great many editorials against trusting our national security to a volunteer force. I was especially impressed with a recent editorial in the State newspaper of Columbia, S.C. The editorial points out some fatal flaws in the volunteer force concept. It raises some vital issues that will have to be considered if a proposal is made. I quote one:

If we have learned anything at all from our involvement in two World Wars and lesser conflicts, it is that a nation, despite the hopes of patriots and the words of poets, cannot spring to arms overnight.

I commend the editor of the State for his thought-provoking editorial. I recommend it to Senators for their review and ask unanimous consent it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

The notion that the United States should rely on a volunteer force to maintain the nation's security is not only fallacious and fanciful, it is downright dangerous.

President Nixon's moves in the direction thus far have gone no further than tentative utterances about the possibility of seeking a volunteer army after the Vietnam war is settled, and the call for a study of the factors involved. For the sake of the President's own reputation as well as the safety of the nation, we hope he goes no further.

As an abstraction, the idea of a defense force made up altogether of volunteers sounds both laudable and plausible. But as a practical approach to genuine security in such troubled times, the scheme is preposterous, if for no other reason than the likelihood that volunteers would not be obtained in sufficient number to do the job. Pollsters confirm the natural suspicion that the young men who are most vocal in calling for a volunteer army admit that they would not serve in it.

But even if enough volunteers were attracted by increased pay and other benefits, the concept still holds fatal flaws. The most serious of these would be the ultimate dissipation of any reservoir of trained, or even partially trained, men in a reserve force. If we have learned anything at all from our involvement in two World Wars and lesser conflicts, it is that a nation, despite the hopes of patriots and the words of poets, cannot spring to arms overnight.

And with the increased sophistication of warfare and weapons systems, it becomes all the more difficult to convert large bodies of raw men into skilled soldiers. Despite the disadvantages of having a constant turnover of officers and men under our present combination of selective service and reserve officer corps, the system provides a constant supply of relatively well-trained individuals within the general populace.

If total war were to erupt, the availability of these men for immediate recall to duty could well mean the salvation of the nation. Unless the nation is prepared, financially as well as philosophically, to support a truly massive regular establishment, it is essential that the civilian sector embrace a substantial pool of men who have had some degree of military training.

Furthermore, we doubt that the American people are willing to accept the concept of an exclusively professional military establishment. We have career men and women in all of our armed services today, and they are true professionals in every technical sense of the word. But they are simply a part, and not the largest part, of an armed force which is intimately identified with the American people because it has links with and representatives from every community and every class in the land.

Our men and women in uniform deserve adequate pay, privileges and recognition—but as Americans in the service of their country, not as mercenaries.

HEREDITY VERSUS ENVIRONMENT:
LYSENKO RESURRECTED

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the once-famous Soviet scientist, Lysenko, made a decision that heredity had nothing to do with life—that environment controlled all. By ordering into practice his theory that environment could change ordinary

wheat to winter wheat, the Supreme Soviet tolerated millions of Russians to die from famine. The wheat refused to comply with Lysenko's theory.

And, in Russia, it was still the rankest heresy for any party member even to suggest that winter wheat was inherently different from ordinary wheat and that controlled environment would not change this fact—not even when assisted by decree from the Supreme Soviet.

Such is the story of Dr. Jensen's scientific research report on human genetics and intellect.

Some of our commentators dare approach heresy to acquaint the people with new facts.

But still in our land we find those who refuse to believe airplanes can fly, that the world is round, or that human capability does not pend only on environment.

Differences of opinion are healthy—but no man can deny facts except at his own peril.

Mr. Speaker, I place Mr. Kilpatrick's column of March 18, an editorial from the Shreveport Times of March 14, and a column of Joseph Alsop for March 14, accompanied by a program on the anniversary of the Kerner report, listing the participants, at this point in the RECORD: [From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 18, 1969]

DOCTRINE OF EQUAL RACIAL APTITUDES
QUESTIONED

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

One treads up to this topic on tiptoes: The time may have come, at long last, for thoughtful public discussion of a concept that has been effectively suppressed for the past 40 years. Put most simply, it is the proposition that inherent differences exist among the races in intellectual aptitudes.

As Joseph Alsop has remarked, even to speak of this possibility is to speak the unspeakable; it is to mention the unmentionable. Yet a Berkeley professor of educational psychology, Dr. Arthur R. Jensen, has dared to challenge the old taboo. His long article in the winter issue of the Harvard Educational Review has dropped with explosive impact on the educational scene. Boldly, but with impressive scholarship, he expresses his conviction that genetic factors have an importance that has been too long ignored in the learning process.

Now, this is heresy. In anthropology, psychology and education, as in organized religion, a kind of authoritarian theology develops. Articles of faith are propounded. To violate them—even to question them publicly—invites excommunication. And no article of religion has been more fiercely defended than the proposition that white and Negro intellectual aptitudes are inherently identical.

The dogma was laid down as far back as 1928 by Franz Boas, whose influence controlled an entire generation of social anthropologists. His disciples spread the gospel: Melville Herskovits of Northwestern, Otto Klneberg, Ruth Benedict, Ashley Montagu. Their view, that race is a myth, became the dominant view. In May of 1957, the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry saw the matter as closed: "The fact is, of course, that the Negro possesses the same capacities and potentialities as does the white."

It is this "fact, of course," that Dr. Jensen has challenged. He is no segregationist, no racist, no Kluxer. He is simply a scholar who is unwilling to conceal his own findings, however greatly these findings may contradict the conventional wisdom.

He concludes that environmental factors cannot fully explain the sharp differences in the scores of white and Negro children on carefully conducted educational tests. When it comes to "cognitive" learning—that is, to abstract reasoning—the typical black child, in Dr. Jensen's view, suffers from an inherent disadvantage.

From the shock waves set off by Dr. Jensen's paper (summarized fully in U.S. News of March 10), you might suppose that no one else had ventured such heresies before. Actually, the testing of Negro intelligence goes back at least to 1897. Elaborate tests were conducted on white and Negro recruits in World War I and again in World War II.

Professional literature abounds with experiments. Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, of Villanova, analyzed 63 such studies between 1935 and 1950; in all 63, the test scores of Negroes averaged significantly lower than the test scores of whites.

The response of the Boas disciples was to denounce such studies out of hand: The experiments were biased in favor of white environment; the experiments were conducted by white researchers who had no affinity for Negro children; the experiments unfairly emphasized skills that Negroes had had no opportunity to acquire. Scholars who dared to dissent became professionally untouchable.

Well, nearly 15 years have passed since the Supreme Court put an end to segregated schools in the South and elsewhere. The differences in aptitude and achievement remain, even in Northern schools where white and black have been subjected to identical learning opportunities. Is it not time, Dr. Jensen asks, to question the old basic assumptions? Have the policy-makers of American education been attempting to teach black children the wrong way?

These are questions of profound importance. They raise the strong possibility that unwittingly, with the best intentions, the liberal educational hierarchy has imposed a cruel wrong upon the black child. It may be that not only compensatory education, but a different approach to education, is required. The genetic concept has to be actively considered and this is not "racism." It is no more than common sense.

[From the Shreveport Times, Mar. 14, 1969]

A TALE OF TWO SCIENTISTS

While the federal hunger-hunt rages even into Florida and while more and more cases of deprived people (mainly Negro) have been uncovered, the Nixon Administration has been persuaded to commence a free-food program for the unfortunates—largely on the argument that centuries of neglect and suppression of the Negro have presented us with a moral burden that we must "work off" by unstinted generosity.

It is remarkable that, against this background, two names of prominent scientists figure in contrasting ways. One is Dr. William Shockley, a Nobelist in physics, who in recent years has been absorbed in genetics—human heredity—and who has been all but excommunicated for suggesting that whites and Negroes are unequal in ability and that poverty of whatever color is breeding a population whose intelligence is deteriorating.

The other is Dr. Arthur R. Jensen, vice president of the American Educational Association, who, as Times columnist Joseph Alsop says, has "spoken the unspeakable." What Dr. Jensen says—in no less prestigious a publication than the Harvard Educational Review—is that IQs of white Americans average 15 points higher than Negroes. The disadvantage, he says, is an inborn one and not the result of discrimination or repression on the part of the whites.

Dr. Jensen is, in effect, saying much the same thing as Dr. Shockley. Both men tend to correlate poor achievement with low IQ.

Dr. Shockley believes that the "dependent classes," of whatever color, are losing ground genetically. Dr. Jensen asserts that the proportion of low IQs (below 75) as one goes down the social-economic scale is very much greater among Negroes than among whites. Thus, as among poor people of what Dr. Jensen calls "class two," the proportion of whites, in a given sample, possessing IQs of under 75 is only 7.8 percent as against 42.9 percent for Negroes.

But the really remarkable thing about the Jensen report is not that it presents staggeringly new scientific evidence. Far from it. The extraordinary thing is that Dr. Jensen has found an outlet at the very top of the educational world for free racial science and that a liberal columnist, Mr. Alsop, while differing with his conclusions, concedes the force of the statistics.

In other words, debate is out in the open—it is respectable, something that it hasn't been. The word "racist" does not occur in Mr. Alsop's critique as it has always occurred when Dr. Shockley has opened his mouth or when Carleton Putnam, author of "Race and Reason," has written in much the same terms.

As for Dr. Shockley, Times columnist Holmes Alexander reports that the "hunger committee" now taking congressional testimony on what centuries of white repression have done to Negroes, hasn't had time to hear Dr. Shockley's arguments that low IQ rather than prejudice, and deterioration of intelligence and ability because of long dependency are the real reasons for poverty. Send us a tape, the committee said.

Perhaps Dr. Shockley will send them Dr. Jensen's critique.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 14, 1969]
STUDY LINKING INTELLIGENCE WITH HEREDITY IS ASSESSED

(By Joseph Alsop)

A leading American educationist has now said what none has dared to say before. He has said, first, that human intelligence mainly depends upon heredity instead of environment. And he has said, second, that black Americans suffer from a detectable average handicap in this respect, as compared with white Americans.

It would be nice to be able to denounce these statements as mere ugly racist bosh. But one cannot do this with the formidably buttressed paper just published in the Harvard Educational Review by Dr. Arthur Jensen, professor of educational psychology at Berkeley and vice president of American Educational Research Association.

This is, in fact, a paper that has to be taken very seriously indeed. It is in line, too, with the accumulating evidence one finds in other learned journals, that differences of history and culture frequently produce quite dramatic genetic differences between human breeding populations.

To illustrate, there are the Masai, the African warrior tribe whose members live almost exclusively on meat, blood and milk products. The diet is so high in cholesterol that all Masai should in theory die of hardening of the arteries before the age of 40. Instead, Dutch researchers have just discovered that natural selection has provided the Masai—but not their nearest neighbors, the Kikuyu—with a unique, still unexplained metabolic mechanism that somehow suppresses cholesterol.

Yet Dr. Jensen need not be taken seriously, thank God, when he blandly dismisses "compensatory education" as a possible remedy for the grave problem he describes. This part of his paper is by no means marked by the careful sifting of all evidence, that sustains the main argument.

For example, Dr. Jensen includes the conventional educationist's sneer at the ill-success of New York City's Higher Horizons

program in the high schools. He does not say, however, that Higher Horizons was the starveling, misbegotten offspring of the decidedly successful Demonstration School Project. And he does not point out, either, that one failed where the other had got results, because of a very drastic cut in the per pupil investment.

The truth is, you cannot say that "compensatory education" is no remedy, for the very simple reason that systematic, radical school improvement—a much better description—has never really been tried anywhere in the United States. High costs have been one main reason. We shall never have ghetto schools that really educate, until the Federal Government pays most of the bill for them.

Another reason, considerably more discreditable, has been the doctrinaire hang-ups of ultra-liberal educationists. School integration was their unique remedy, until just the other day. While that lasted, ghetto school improvement was openly sabotaged, as a supposed enemy of integration.

Belatedly, these doctrinaire liberals were then forced to face the cruel facts of our urban demographic patterns. Whereupon they leaped straight from integration to advocating a system of "community control" that might be made to order for George C. Wallace.

Typical of the sabotage above-mentioned was the outrageously slanted report condemning the more effective schools program, comprising 21 New York primary and elementary schools. Because of the saboteurs, it is now adrift and leaderless, though there are now reasons to hope that it will soon be rescued.

Even the MES program had obvious and grave faults, moreover, for instance, there were no rules changes to prevent the enormously high rates of pupil turn-over that are common in ghetto schools. And even MES was no more than a small initial experiment.

Truly systematic, overall school improvement should begin at the beginning, with diet supplements for pregnant women living in deep poverty, to insure full brain development of their babies. In the worst neighborhoods, the actual school experience should then start in pre-kindergarten, or even in pre-pre-kindergarten; for the younger the children are, the easier it is to overcome their language handicaps.

School improvement should extend, too, from primary and elementary school all the way to high school. It should include new text books, using the plain old teaching methods, which Dr. Jensen rightly remarks work better with ghetto children—McGuffey's Readers, let us say, with appropriate emphasis on black history. And it should also include a maximum of enriching after-school experience.

If rightly done and generally done, all this will cost billions a year. But no price is too high to pay to equip the next generation in the ghettos to compete on equal terms in American society.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

(Sponsored by Georgetown University and the S. & H. Foundation, Washington, D.C., March 4-5, 1969)

"The Response of Local Governments to the Report," Mr. Frank Mankiewicz, press secretary to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, syndicated columnist.

"Our Schools and the Kerner Report," Mr. Joseph Alsop, syndicated columnist, author.

"Psychological Blocks to the Implementation of the Report," Dr. John Spiegel, director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Brandeis University.

"The Civil Rights Movement and the Kerner Report," Rev. Calvin Morris, associate director of Operation Breadbasket.

"Promises and Realities," Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, initiator of the noted Montgomery bus boycott, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, leader of the Poor Peoples March 1968.

"One Year After," Mr. Donald Canty, director of the Urban Information Center, Urban America, Inc.; author of "One Year After," the follow-up study on the Kerner Report.

[From the McGraw-Hill "Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union"]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF TROFIM DENISOVICH LYSENKO

Lysenko, Trofim Denisovich (1898-), biologist and agriculturist. Fellow, Ac. of S., Ukrainian SSR (1934), All-Union Ac. of Agricultural S. (1935); fellow and member of the executive board, Ac. of S., USSR (1939). Hero of Socialist Labor (1945). Since 1937, member of the Supreme Soviet and vice chairman of the Council of the Union. Graduate of the Poltava School of Horticulture (1917) and the Institute of Agriculture (1925) in Kiev. Associated with the Kirovabad Experimental Selective Center (1925-29); head of the All-Union Institute of Genetics in Novorossiysk and of the Institute of Genetics, Ac. of S. (1940), President of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (1938). A disciple of V. I. Michurin, L became known for his vernalization process of seeds of spring wheat which, he claimed, endowed it with characteristics of winter wheat. L's doctrine that characteristics acquired through environmental influences are inherited has become a highly controversial subject. He opposed and rejected the theories of heredity accepted by most geneticists ("Weismannism-Mendelism-Morganism"). Being in line with the Marxian ideology, he won the support of the party. The teaching of biology in the USSR was adjusted to L's theories. The peak of L's power was reached in 1948, when a great conclave was summoned at the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences on July 31 to "consider the situation in the biological sciences." Stalin gave his personal support to L and, at the time, any scientist who was opposed to L's doctrine became subject to reprisals. His most renowned opponent, Nikolay I. Vavilov, the leading geneticist in the Soviet Union, died in a Siberian concentration camp during World War II. Presently, L has moved to the background and other theories are officially accepted. Author of *Heredity and Its Variability* (1943; English, 1946); *The Science of Biology Today* (English, 1949); *Problems of Genetics, Selection, and Seed Processing* (6th ed., 1952); *Stage Development of Plants* (1952). Stalin prizes (1941, 1943, 1949), six Orders of Lenin, Order of the Red Banner of Labor, and others. (See also GENETICS.)

ATTACK ON INSECTICIDES AND PESTICIDES IN OUR WATER

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I have been concerned for some time over the potential danger that the use of insecticides and pesticides may have on the waters of our country.

A recent newspaper article from western Michigan tells the story of 145 cases of coho salmon being impounded by health authorities because traces of an insecticide were found in the salmon.

That incident, plus the action of the

Pennsylvania State Senate in passing a bill to ban the use of DDT, and my own concern in this area, caused me to write a letter to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), asking that the subcommittee undertake a study to determine the effects of insecticides and pesticides as a potentially dangerous source of pollution.

I am gratified that in a letter to me dated March 10 Senator MUSKIE indicated that he has directed a technical staff member to undertake such a study and that, on the basis of that study, hearings will be heard.

Senator MUSKIE also indicates his concern "over the potential danger to the alteration of our water environment from the persistent chemicals used in pesticides and insecticides."

Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Maine for his leadership in the field of water pollution and express my appreciation for his favorable response to my suggestion that studies be undertaken and hearings held on this potentially dangerous problem.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE
ROBERT H. CHARLES

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, two Air Force installations in my district—Norton Air Force Base in San Bernardino and George Air Force Base in Victorville—and March Air Force Base in nearby Riverside, are continuing to play an extremely vital role in our Nation's defenses. All have been deeply involved in the conflict in Southeast Asia, and the people of my district are very much aware of the contribution these bases have made to our efforts there. The Honorable Robert H. Charles, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Installations and Logistics, recently spoke at the Armed Forces Day banquet in conjunction with the National Orange Show in San Bernardino. He explained the part played by these three bases in the Air Force's overall program, especially as it pertains to the Vietnam conflict and to the future of the Air Force. I would like to share his remarks with my colleagues:

HON. ROBERT H. CHARLES

This occasion tonight provides a fitting opportunity to discuss the role which our military forces play in achieving national objectives, and to talk about our future Air Force. I find in this audience many people who are knowledgeable on military affairs—Congressman Pettis, the always-informed members of the American Legion and, of course, these many be-ribboned officers.

Seeing these Officers gives me an opportunity to discuss my several visits to Southeast Asia and my observations of our combined forces in action. On one such visit a year ago, I was departing Bangkok for Saigon when the Viet Cong attacked the United States Embassy there. I called General Momyer, the Commander of the 7th Air Force in Saigon, and asked if I should proceed to Saigon. He allowed as how he did not need any policy decisions at that time!

I went on to Guam, from which we were then conducting continuous B-52 bombing assaults in support of our ground forces, including those at Khe Sanh. This tactical mission was a new and distinctive role for B-52's, which were designed only for strategic missions.

Let us examine for a moment the siege of Khe Sanh.

The full panoply of airpower made it an allied victory. It made possible the determined stand of a force of less than 6,000 U.S. Marines and South Vietnamese rangers besieged by at least 20,000 North Vietnamese regulars. After 10 weeks of systematic destruction from the air, the enemy withdrew.

During that 73-day air campaign, our aircraft flew 24,449 sorties. Air Force pilots dropped 73,765 tons of the 95,430 total bomb tonnage. Of this, 59,542 tons were dropped from B-52's. Navy aircrews dropped 7,941 tons and Marine Corps pilots 13,724.

One enemy regiment lost 75 percent of its men to a B-52 strike, according to a prisoner's testimony.

Without airpower the siege of Khe Sanh would have ended differently. The turnabout from a much-needed enemy-anticipated victory to their defeat was a major milestone in the Vietnam War. History may show it to have been a significant turning point.

The B-52's have played a central role in suppressing and blunting the enemy effort in Southeast Asia. Both as citizens and neighbors, you can be proud not only of the part the B-52's on alert at March and other Air Force bases have played and will continue to play in our nation's strategic defense—their primary role—but also of SAC's role in action for which it was not originally intended.

To shift emphasis to Norton, I would like to discuss the importance of airlift to our national objectives. The evolution of airlift, with its varied applications, is perhaps the least publicized but one of the most important aspects of our military capability.

Like most technological revolutions, the one that has taken place in military airlift had evolutionary roots. During the First World War, most military planners considered the airplane a toy. The term airpower did not exist, and the potential of the airplane as a logistics tool, a transporter of persons and cargo, was considered, but not seriously.

In the Second World War, airpower became a meaningful term, related primarily to the destructive power of airborne weapons. But airlift, in that war, and even in the Korean conflict, involved the delivery of relatively small, high priority items in support of forces whose mobility was supplied predominantly by surface transport.

It was not until the 1960's that long-range airlift began to come into its own. A little over a year ago, in Operation Eagle Thrust, the Air Force airlifted two Army brigades with their equipment, 10,000 troops and 5,300 tons of cargo, from Kentucky to Vietnam. This operation required only 400 flights—mostly C-141's and a few C-133's and—if total elapsed time had been a critical factor—could have been completed in a week, even under non-emergency conditions. The recent exercise in Western Germany demonstrated to all concerned our capability to react quickly to a crisis in Europe, or elsewhere. Today we have 14 squadrons of C-141's—over 230 aircraft, and within a year we will be receiving C-5's into the active inventory. Eventually, our entire strategic airlift force will consist of C-141's and C-5's. This means that Norton will continue to perform a mission of the greatest importance to the present and future security of this nation.

I would now like to discuss the C-5, in another context. During the past several months you have undoubtedly heard stories

and read accounts, mostly critical, concerning the high cost of new systems, particularly the C-5. We are all concerned with these high costs; but it is indeed curious that the C-5 program should be singled out in this manner. As taxpayers and as community leaders, I believe you should know the facts concerning that program.

Let's look at the record.

First, with respect to technical performance—which is what we are really after. On other major aircraft programs, actual performance has averaged less than 90% of promised performance. Somewhat better, but still well below proposed performance, is the record on the highly successful C-141—like the C-5, a subsonic jet transport designed and built by the same division of the same company.

Now let's look at the C-5, which involved a considerably greater technical advance than the C-141, and therefore has been more difficult to achieve. All flight test and other data now available (3½ years after contract go-ahead and after 8 months of flying) indicate that actual performance will come to 101% of promised performance—it will actually exceed promised performance by 1%. This is in contrast to performance degradations of over 10%.

With respect to costs on the C-5, we are of course disappointed. But again, let's look at the record. According to independent studies, actual costs on other defense systems have exceeded their estimated costs by up to several hundred percent. A large portion of these increases resulted from legitimate program changes caused either by technological advances during the period of development and production, or by shifting military requirements. A substantial amount, however, was due to the fact that most contracts for major systems were on a cost-plus basis which provided little if any motivation for economy, and were not awarded price-competitively. Of 12 systems reviewed in a Harvard Business School study, only one involved an "overrun" of less than 100%.

Cost pressures, particularly in aircraft, have been notably severe in recent years for two specific reasons:

First. What in 1964 was a relatively minor involvement in Southeast Asia turned into a major conflict and greatly increased the demand for military aircraft. For example, on June 30, 1964, we had 21,000 military personnel in Southeast Asia. Two years later, that figure had grown to 322,000, and by December 1967, had reached 588,000.

Second. There was an unprecedented boom in the commercial aircraft market. In 1964, orders for commercial jet transports totaled \$1.132 billion. For the next three years, they more than tripled, averaging \$3.813 billion in each of those years. In 1967, for the first time in history, commercial aircraft deliveries, in pounds of manufactured hardware, exceeded military aircraft deliveries.

Either of these causes, both of which occurred after the beginning of the C-5 program, would have brought about a significant disruption in the aircraft market. Their concurrency created a major upheaval. Even in the non-aircraft field, it has been great. For example, the estimated cost of 68 escort ships planned for the 1970's recently rose from \$3 billion to \$5 billion in one year. On a more modest scale and one close to home, only last week a club in Washington came out with a letter to its members indicating that renovation costs estimated at \$1,600,000 last year would now come to \$2,750,000, an increase of 66% in one year.

Now let's compare all this with the C-5 program, which is not cost-plus, and was awarded price-competitively. The current estimated cost to the Government of \$4.328 billion is 25% more than the Air Force estimate made in 1964 at the beginning of the program, adjusted to reflect the current size of the airplane. That 1964 estimate was in

constant 1964 dollars; it made no allowance for general economic inflation. Including inflation, the current estimate exceeds the adjusted 1964 Air Force estimate by \$382 million, or less than 10%. Over the 6½-year period of this contract, the increase comes to less than 1½% per year.

What the C-5 critics have failed to do is to ask the most critical question of all, namely, "compared to what?" I suggest they try to find any major aircraft program in the last 10 or 20 years in which the actual technical performance exceeded either the contractor's proposal or his contractual commitment (both of which are happening on the C-5) and in which the cost to the Government is expected to be within 25% of the Air Force's original estimate, excluding inflation, and within 10%, including inflation. Do those critics prefer 90% technical performance to 101% performance? No one is pleased with a 10-to-25% cost increase, but do those critics prefer one several times that amount?

It is unfortunate that the publicity surrounding the recent Congressional hearings on this matter did not present an accurate picture of the C-5 program.

Now perhaps it is time to touch upon the future, where as Charles Kettering put it, "we will have to spend the rest of our lives."

One of your neighbors here is the Space and Missile Systems Organization, commonly known as SAMSO, at El Segundo. This organization oversees the development and acquisition of space hardware for the Air Force as well as the Air Force support role in the national space effort. Of special significance these days are the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, the Defense Satellite Communications System which presently consists of 19 satellites and 30 ground terminals world-wide, and Project START—which is short for "Spacecraft Technology and Advanced Reentry Tests." Under this latter program, the Air Force is working towards the vehicle that can fly both in space and in the earth's atmosphere. Hopefully, a high-performance reusable spacecraft such as this could provide significant mission flexibility as well as reduced operational costs. If both the MOL and the START programs should develop successfully, future astronauts could perform a number of different missions, such as inspection and repair of satellites, exchange of space crews, space rescue, and then enter the atmosphere in a lifting body and land at a designated airfield. A rather exciting future!

There are several other new programs under various stages of development within the Air Force with which you should be familiar.

There is AWACS, the Airborne Warning and Control System. AWACS is a vital defense system which will perform a dual role: a survivable early warning command and control center to detect enemy aircraft, track them, and direct defensive weapons against them. It will also function as a command and control system for rapid deployment of tactical forces and their initial operations until ground-based radar/communications networks can be established. If the decision is made to procure this system, it will be operational in the mid-70's.

Our continuing study of the manned bomber requirement during the last year has re-enforced our previous conclusion that the principal problem is penetration capability, more specifically, the ability of the force to survive in a much more advanced Soviet air defense environment in the mid-1970's. In such an environment, new penetration aids and weapons are needed. One of these new weapons, the Short-Range Attack Missile (SRAM) is now well along in development and will be entering the forces in the early 1970's. Development will be initiated in FY 1970 on still another new weapon, the Subsonic Cruise Armed Decoy (SCAD). Work

is also continuing on a variety of improved electronic warfare countermeasures equipment.

We are proceeding with the design of a proposed replacement for the B-52 in the 1978 and later time period. This new bomber, known as the "Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft," or AMSA for short, would carry both the SRAM and the SCAD as well as nuclear and conventional gravity bombs.

Air Superiority against a first-rate airpower continues to be the most important mission of the Tactical Air Force, in which your neighbor, George Air Force Base, plays such a distinguished role. In the cast of characters in the drama of combat flying, the spotlight unerringly falls upon the fighter pilot. The image of man and his aircraft alone in combat—the tradition of individualism which characterizes this breed of men is their hallmark—their code—and their monument. You know all too well their achievements in the air war in North Vietnam.

In the mid-1970's, the F-4 will be the only aircraft in the Air Force fighter and attack force primarily designed to achieve and maintain control of the air. A new Air Force aircraft, the F-15, is needed to provide and maintain air superiority over the battlefield in any future war.

The F-15 will be a single-place, twin-engine jet fighter which should be operational in the mid-1970's. It will have an extremely high power-to-weight ratio and low wing loading, thus providing great maneuverability, a high rate of turn, and rapid acceleration. Although designed to provide and maintain air superiority, the F-15's avionics and fire control systems will give it a substantial air-to-ground capability as well.

One final remark. So many of our young people who have served their nation and have returned to civilian life, and so many of our young men and women in the Service today represent a new breed—university-trained, courageous, proficient—professionals in every sense.

Young Americans like those I have met throughout the Air Force have been called upon to face the rigors and horrors of war and are meeting these tests with a maturity and a dignity which is a credit to themselves and to Americans everywhere. These are not hippies. These are not the uneducated who would presume to educate our educators.

We are indeed fortunate to have such talent among us.

TORNADOES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, we are again approaching that season of the year when tornadoes will take another frightening toll of lives and property. While my own State is not usually subjected to the full impact of these death-dealing devices of nature, still a city of some 3,000 people within my district witnessed the firsthand effects of such a tornado. After personal inspection of the ravages and damages done by this storm, I am convinced that a greater effort must be made on our part to learn more about the origin, the causes, and the methods of controlling, or dissipating them in order to save lives and property.

I have introduced a bill today which authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to conduct research programs in an effort to fill the knowledge gap about tornadoes. The bill also calls for the establishment of a national sewer storms service.

If this bill can prevent just one tornado from hitting an area, this project will have been proven economically feasible. I urge my distinguished colleagues to join me in seeking enactment of this legislation.

MINK IMPORTS STILL IMPERIL U.S. PRODUCERS

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, mink imports have plagued the American mink industry to the point where over half of the mink ranchers in America have been forced out of business since 1962. Just 7 years ago, there were 7,200 domestic producers. One year ago, there were only 3,159, a loss of 56 percent. The situation has not appreciably improved and many more ranchers have been forced out of business in the past 12 months.

In the face of foreign imports, the price of mink pelts has fallen to approximately \$14.50. For most U.S. producers, this price is below the cost of production. Hoping for relief, hundreds of mink farmers have put their production into storage, and have subsisted on loans on those pelts, at the extremely high interest rates now prevailing.

The Library of Congress has prepared a report for me which shows that imports of mink furskins in calendar 1968 totaled 4,477,751. This figure represents over half of the total mink used in America last year.

I join many other Members of the House today in introducing a proposal to stem the flood of mink imports while preserving a fair segment of the domestic market for foreign producers.

The bill is necessary to compensate for the unfair advantages foreign producers possess. Low costs of labor, feed, and capital have resulted in a situation where producers in many nations can ship pelts to our shores at less than the cost of production in America.

It is my hope that this Congress will institute the needed regulations so necessary to the preservation of the American mink industry.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the text of the bill at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. —

A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) schedule 1, part 5, subpart B of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended by inserting after item 123.50 the following new items:

123.60	Whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed (see headnote 5 to this subpart): In each calendar year before the entry, or withdrawal from warehouse, for consumption of the number of such skins which equals 40% of the domestic consumption of such skins during that year, as estimated by the Secretary of Agriculture under headnote 6 to this subpart.....	Free	Free
123.62	In each calendar year after the entry, or withdrawal from warehouse, for consumption of the number of such skins which equals 40% of the domestic consumption of such skins during that year, as estimated by the Secretary of Agriculture under headnote 6 to this subpart.....	50% ad val.	50% ad val.
123.65	Plates made of two or more whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed.....	50% ad val.	50% ad val.

(b) The headnotes for schedule 1, part 5, subpart B of such Schedules are amended by adding at the end thereof the following headnotes:

"5. The aggregate number of dressed whole skins of mink which may be entered under item 123.60 during each calendar year after 1969 shall not exceed the average annual number of such skins which were imported into the United States during the 5 calendar years preceding each such year. The Secretary of Agriculture, for each calendar year after 1969, shall, before the beginning of such year, determine, publish, and certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the average annual number of dressed whole skins of mink which were imported into the United States during the 5 calendar years preceding such year. In making such determination for any calendar year, the Secretary of Agriculture shall use estimates for any portion of the immediately preceding calendar year for which final statistics are not available. Determinations made by the Secretary of Agriculture under this paragraph shall be final.

"6. The Secretary of Agriculture, for each calendar year after 1969, shall, before the beginning of such year, estimate, publish, and certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the number of whole skins of mink that will be domestically consumed during such year. Estimations made by the Secretary of Agriculture under this paragraph shall be final."

Sec. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after January 1, 1970.

BENEFICIAL TAX TREATMENT FOR FULL-TIME STUDENTS

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to allow the full-time students a tax deduction for expenses of moving to a new place of full-time study. This bill does not create a tax loophole, but establishes parity between full-time students who are forced to change their principal places of abode in order to continue their studies and employees who must move to a new place of employment. Employees already receive this favorable tax treatment under section 217 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. It is my feeling that the same treatment should be accorded to the moving expenses of full-time students.

The policy behind my proposal is simply that the moves which a full-time student must make are out of his control to the same extent that an employee's moves are. Moreover, a student's reasons for moving are socially just as constructive as are the reasons of a new employee. In this day of high specialization, it is not unusual for a man or woman still to be a full-time student after he or she has family responsibilities and an entire household to move. I feel that it is no more fair to require a full-time

student to bear the costs of such moves to a new place of study, than it is to ask a new employee to bear the cost of moving to a new place of work. If anything, students, most of whom receive no regular compensation while they are studying, are in a worse position to meet the often very high expenses of moving themselves and their families than are regularly salaried employees.

The bill I have submitted, Mr. Speaker, contains several safeguards to insure that only the legitimate moving expenses of full-time students are deductible. In general, the bill is modeled on the present section 217, and follows the structure and reasoning of that section wherever possible. Thus the statement of a general rule is followed by sections which define moving expenses, state the conditions for allowance, and enumerate the rules for application of these conditions. The bill follows section 217 in disallowing moving expenses which are reimbursed to the taxpayer.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I should mention that my bill would not allow the deduction of summer or other vacation travel expenses of students. For one thing, the student's move must be "in connection with the commencement of study by the taxpayer as a full-time student at a new place of study." Moreover, the taxpayer must be a full-time student for a specified minimum time following the move before he can qualify for the moving expenses deduction established here. Thus all in all, I feel the bill strikes a good balance between the present provisions of the income tax law which allow no moving expenses to new students, and a proposal which would allow students to deduct all of their moving expenses. The strongest argument for the bill, it seems to me, is that moving expenses deduction is already allowed to new employees in connection with commencement of work at a new place of employment. It is time to give the full-time student, who often has household and family responsibilities comparable to those of a new employee, the same beneficial tax treatment.

NEW CONTROLS NEEDED ON OIL AND VESSEL POLLUTION

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, recently I have cosponsored S. 7, the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969, introduced by the junior Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE).

The proposed legislation is designed to continue the fight against pollution of our rivers and streams by controlling two

sources, oil and vessel, which to date have not been subject to control.

The recent disastrous oil leakage that occurred off the Santa Barbara coast in California, with the resultant damage to fish and wildlife and to the shoreline, dramatically highlights the need for this legislation.

Also, the increase in the use of our waters by boating enthusiasts as well as commercial boatowners makes it imperative that we consider controls over the discharges from these vessels.

I believe that the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969 will go a long way toward controlling these two sources of pollution and I urge its early enactment by Congress.

HOGS ARE BEAUTIFUL

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, last year an advertising campaign designed to "Keep America Beautiful" depicted hogs in a very derogatory light. Now this surely was not done deliberately; however, it did offend the pork producers of Iowa, one of the greatest pork producing States in the Nation. My district, the First District of Iowa, is one of the biggest pork producing areas in the world. I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a story by Don Muhm in the Des Moines Register about steps taken by the Iowa pork producers to eliminate any adverse image created by the "Keep America Beautiful" campaign:

SEEK IMPROVED IMAGE FOR SWINE

(By Don Muhm)

A "Hogs Are Beautiful" campaign is being waged by the National Pork Producers Council, a Des Moines-based commodity organization vitally interested in the image of hogs and pork products.

The chief thrust of the campaign so far is in the circulation of lapel buttons, which carry this three-word message: "Hogs are Beautiful!"

Rolland Paul, executive vice president of the pork council, got the idea last year following the campaign by the "Keep America Beautiful" national committee which used hogs in television commercials to make the point that people shouldn't be pigs, and shouldn't litter beaches, roadways, parks, etc.

So far, about 2,000 of these green and yellow pins have been distributed by the pork council. The first big give-away came at the pork council's annual meeting held in Omaha, Neb.

Paul and some of his co-workers objected to the use of hogs in the "Keep America Beautiful" campaign, and said so publicly.

"This is a serious thing," Paul said a year ago.

"Pork producers in many states have been financing their own campaigns to improve the image of pork. They (the "Keep America Beautiful" workers) could have used goats, buzzards or skunks instead, and still have made the point they're trying to make with our pigs."

It was during a meeting of pork producers in Chicago, Ill., that Paul got the inspiration for the counter-attack.

"I was in a novelty store in the loop when I saw a box of different buttons all printed with different messages on them," Paul related.

"As I looked at the buttons, all of a sudden one stood out from the rest.

"This button—the only one of its kind in the store—said simply, 'Hogs are Beautiful!' And I told myself, 'Heck, yes, they are beautiful.'"

Paul queried the manager of the Chicago store, and found out where the buttons were manufactured.

The result of that Chicago experience was an order to Marvic Advertising Corp., Brooklyn, N.Y., and 1,000 "Hogs are Beautiful!" buttons delivered at the pork council's Des Moines office at a total cost of \$61.

The buttons were at first worn by a select few individuals, such as officers and directors of the National Pork Producers Council.

The response was so great, a second order for another 1,000 buttons was made, and the council voted to give the buttons away to anybody who would wear one.

About 2,000 of the buttons were made available at the council's Omaha meeting earlier this month, where pork producers from 27 states gathered.

"We had 825 people register for the (Omaha) meeting, and we gave out nearly 2,000 of the buttons," Paul said.

He reported that all kinds of people—hog farmers, feed salesmen, drug company representatives, meat packers—grabbed up the buttons until the convention supply was exhausted.

"I don't know how much good these buttons are going to do for the image of pork," Paul said. "But I do know they're being used, and we're getting a lot of favorable comment."

One state pork queen, Claudia Arndt of LaCrosse, Ind., even ordered a batch of the hog buttons to take with her on a trip to Europe.

"We just put in an order to Brooklyn for 2,000 more," said Paul. "And we know they won't last."

CRIME WAR?—WHAT CRIME WAR?

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, on Friday, March 14, the Washington Daily News published a front page editorial on the current crime problem facing the Nation's Capital. In light of current FBI crime statistics showing Washington under a spectacular assault from criminal forces, I think the editorial particularly appropriate.

According to FBI figures we have seen a 9.5-percent increase in murder in the District between 1968 and 1967, a 56-percent increase in forcible rape, a 50-percent increase in robbery, a 1.3-percent decrease in assault, a 22-percent increase in burglary, a 10.5-percent increase in larceny, and a 33.5-percent increase in car theft. With the single exception of the category of assault, every other major crime category in Washington shows a significant and, in some cases, terrifying increase.

Mr. President, it is abundantly apparent that something must be done, and done quickly, if Washington is to stop short of becoming a completely ungovernable city.

I ask unanimous consent that several of the daily tabulations of crime—called the Crime Clock—appearing in the Washington Daily News, along with the editorial which I have previously men-

tioned and the text of a speech by U.S. District Judge Edward M. Curran, be printed in the RECORD:

Mr. President, these statistics, along with the remarks by Judge Curran, constitute some of the best evidence I have seen supporting the enactment of my bill, S. 327, which would make prison sentences mandatory for those employing firearms in the commission of a crime in the District. I shall have more to say about this in days to come, but I am disheartened to see that the District Committee has not so far even scheduled hearings on my bill.

Mr. President, the situation grows worse every day—almost by the hour. I intend to continue to press for the enactment of this legislation to immediately help relieve the crime situation in the District. I am hopeful that other jurisdictions will enact similar laws and I believe that there are some helpful steps we can take on the national level to assist in the immediate solution to the problems of rising crime.

The time for wringing of hands is past. Now it is time for action before we are completely overrun. I hope we shall see some public support and immediate action on the proposals before us for protecting the citizens of our National Capital City from complete abandonment to the forces of disorder and darkness.

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

CRIME WAR?—WHAT CRIME WAR?

If only half of the growing list of allegations of failure by the D.C. government to act against crime are true, our mayor and City Council have a powerful lot of explaining to do to the citizens of this beleaguered city.

While businessmen—from bankers to corner merchants—fret themselves into multiple-ulcers over the robberies and loss of business resulting from fear of unsafe streets, our city government has failed, or refused, to take a number of actions that should have been taken. And we find it hard, if not actually impossible, to justify this inaction.

We have some very serious questions about some very disturbing matters:

First, why has the District government failed—or neglected, or refused, as the case may be—to appoint a commission to qualify the city for Federal help under the Safe Streets Act?

There is still time to do this, and we can still get the funds—if the city acts—as soon as anyone else gets any. But every other jurisdiction in the United States has already qualified and has an appointed group presumably hard at work preparing a program of action. Why don't we?

The District government has apparently ignored—or spurned, or snubbed—the Council of Governments' sub-committees concerned with the crime war, and has not sent a representative to meetings which were held to discuss crime problems of the metropolitan area. The District government has not even appointed a representative, and thus has blocked attempts of the COG to prepare an area-wide anti-crime program.

The District government apparently has failed to make any decision on how to use new data processing equipment to increase the efficiency of police information centers.

The D.C. Crime Commission (now defunct) appointed by President Johnson for a specified year-long study of crime here came up with a number of very valid recommendations. The head of that commission now says the District has failed to implement most of its recommendations. He rather bitterly said

there has been "an absolute abysmal failure to meet and take on the crime problem and solve it to the satisfaction of this city."

All of these charges were made in the past few days in testimony before the Senate District Committee. And we haven't heard any reply, in explanation, that makes any sense.

A press conference was set up Wednesday afternoon, ostensibly to give some explanations, but Mayor Washington wasn't there. His office said he was "officially unavailable" and sent four representatives who were unable to provide any satisfactory answers.

Add to all this the fact that the city's post of public safety director, which was considered so highly important to the government's operation a year or so ago, has been vacant now for eight months, and there doesn't seem today to be any inclination to fill it.

Why? What's the delay?

Does all this—and we probably haven't heard the last of the charges of "abysmal failure"—add up to an ignorance of what was needed, or a failure because of inexperience on the part of our neophyte city government, or (perish the thought) a deliberate unwillingness to act?

Our police force—and we mean the men themselves, the individuals, the cops-on-the-beat—have been doing a tremendously dedicated job. We can thank them for the small improvement in the crime situation which has appeared in recent weeks. Apparently, this is largely the result of over-time hours worked by the men. We aren't faulting them, in this. Rather, we feel much indebted to them, and we'd like for them to get the help, the backing, the augmentation that can be provided. And we'd like to know why they haven't gotten it.

Somebody had better come up with some good answers. The citizens of this city—of the entire metropolitan area—are fed to the teeth with rampant crime and they aren't going to take all this lightly, or quietly.

CRIME CLOCK

Here is the Washington Daily News tally of robberies and crimes of violence—many of them accomplished with guns—reported in the District of Columbia in the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. today, March 14, 1969.

9:30 a.m.: Jonas Whitmore, Negro, owner of Bishop White Variety Store, 702 8th-st ne, was robbed of \$15 by three Negroes, two carrying guns.

11:15 a.m.: George Maisel, 49, white, truck driver, was sitting in his truck at Water and Otis Streets, when he was robbed of \$115 by two armed Negro bandits.

1:20 p.m.: George Maisel, the same man as in the 11:15 a.m. "Crime Clock" item was in his truck at 1634 North Capitol-st. when he was robbed for the second time. Mr. Maisel told the lone Negro gunman, "This is the second time today." The bandit, he said, replied, "Things are tough all over," and took \$60, \$15 of it his.

2:50 p.m.: Algene Walker, 20, Negro, a clerk at the High's store, 5002 First-st nw, said two Negroes took \$40 from the cash register at gunpoint.

3 p.m.: Betty O. King, 48, Negro, a clerk at the Community Market, 3320 Brown-st nw, was held up by two Negroes carrying pistols. They got away with \$50.

5:20 p.m.: Owen Jenkins, white, of Baltimore, said he was sitting in his truck at First-st and Florida-av when a man flung the door open and demanded money. Mr. Jenkins gave the Negro gunman \$150 or \$200.

7 p.m.: Ronald Wallace, 13, Negro, of northeast said he was in the 1200 block of H-st ne, when a Negro man approached him and said, "If you have any money, I'll take it." The bandit, who had his hand in his pocket as tho he had a gun, took 35 cents.

7:15 p.m.: Stephen Drogin, 26, white, of Greenbelt was inside 826 S-st ne, when two

Negroes shoved him into a corner, pointed a gun at him and demanded money. They got \$11.

8:57 p.m.: Irving Pincus, 59, white, owner of the Brookland liquor store, 3000 12th-st ne, was robbed of an undetermined amount of money by two armed Negroes.

10:35 p.m.: Lang Young, 49, Chinese, owner of Chang Ho Restaurant, 1557 Benning Road ne was shot in the right side by a Negro who walked into the store, said nothing, fired one shot and walked out. Mr. Young was taken to D.C. General Hospital.

1:50 p.m.: David Jones, 23, white, owner of a carry-out shop, 4407 South Capitol-st, was held up by two Negro bandits, carrying revolvers.

2:15 a.m.: Howard Davis, 30, Negro, manager of the American Service Station, 306 Rhode Island-av nw, lost \$150 to two Negroes armed with shotguns.

CRIME CLOCK

Here is the Washington Daily News tally of robberies and crimes of violence—many of them accomplished with guns—reported in the District of Columbia in the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. today, March 17, 1969.

8:30 p.m.: Jim Young, 30, white, manager of the Seven-11 store at 3509 Wheeler Road se, said three Negro bandits entered the store and said "This is a holdup." They took an unknown amount of money at gunpoint.

8:55 p.m.: Cleo Gaston, 37, Negro, of Northwest, was entering the rear of his home, at 1448 Girard-st nw, when he was shot in the back by an unknown Negro assailant. Mr. Gaston is in satisfactory condition at the Washington Hospital Center.

8:55 p.m.: Joseph Whitaker, 48, Negro, of Northwest, was in the 400 block of N-st, when four Negro bandits, knocked him down, kicked and beat him and took \$45.

10:25 p.m.: Geneva Boyd, 19, Negro, clerk at the High's store, 302 Riggs Road ne, was held up by a lone Negro gunman. He got away with an unknown amount.

CRIME CLOCK

Here is the Washington Daily News tally of robberies and crimes of violence—many of them accomplished with guns—reported in the District of Columbia in the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. today, March 18, 1969.

10:40 a.m.: Two Negro gunmen walked into the Drive-In Liquor Store, 6525 Georgia-av nw and forced owner Nathan Zimmerman to hand over \$350.

1:10 p.m.: Herbert Cedar, 40, Negro, a soda truck driver was making a delivery near 14th and Park Road nw when a Negro gunman took an undetermined amount of money from him.

3:20 p.m.: Boyler Whited, 48, white, a bakery truck driver, was making a delivery near 17th and Gales streets ne when two Negro men took \$60 from him at gunpoint.

5:25 p.m.: Mike Pappas, 40, white, was walking near N. Capitol-st and Florida-av nw when three Negro men, one armed with a gun, took \$80 from him.

6:16 p.m.: George Merrian, 73, white, was in his Southeast apartment when a Negro man forced his way inside, beat him and took \$60. He was treated at Cafritz Hospital and released.

8:05 p.m.: Agnes Ladd, white, the cashier at the Naylor Theatre 2834 Alabama-av se said a Negro gunman walked up to the window and forced her to hand over \$59.

9:40 p.m.: Mabel Pannell, 47, Negro, was walking near 13th and Peabody-streets nw when two Negro men took \$2 from her at gunpoint.

11 p.m.: Hermosinda McRor, 41, white, and her daughter, Maria Alvarez, 18, were shot by a Negro man, who argued with them after entering their home at 1712 Kilbourne Place nw. Mrs. McRor, shot in the chest and stomach, is in critical condition at Wash-

ington Hospital Center and Miss Alvarez is at the Hospital Center in serious condition with a head wound.

12:20 a.m.: A 73-year-old Negro woman was dragged into an alley in the 1300 block of Monroe-st by a Negro assailant who tried to assault her. The man took \$75 and fled.

12:30 a.m.: A 26-year-old Negro woman was in the 1400 block of Newton-st nw when she was approached by an armed Negro, who told her to take off her clothes. When the woman ran, the man shot her in the leg and back of her head. She was treated at the hospital center and released. The suspect was believed to be the same one who tried to assault a woman 10 minutes earlier.

3:40 a.m.: Michael Dushaw, 65, white, of Pittsburgh, Pa., was in the basement of the Greyhound bus terminal, 11th-st and New York-av where he was beaten and robbed of \$150 and his watch by two Negro men.

CRIME CLOCK

Here is The Washington Daily News tally of robberies and crimes of violence—many of them accomplished with guns—reported in the District of Columbia in the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. today, March 19, 1969.

12:40 p.m.: A Negro man entered the Charles Cleaners, 5553 South Dakota-av ne and took \$68 from clerk Inez Johnson, 27, Negro, at gunpoint.

3 p.m.: George Wright, 53, white, was in his cab near 300 M-st sw when three Negro men hailed him. As the car approached the curb, one of the men jumped into the cab and demanded money. He escaped with a transistor radio and no money.

5:05 p.m.: Albert Graviton, 61, white, was walking near 18th and E. Capitol-streets se when two Negro men grabbed him from behind and a third Negro man took his wallet containing \$3.

5:20 p.m.: Joe Singleton, 26, Negro, a clerk at the Safeway International, 11th and F-streets nw, was making a night deposit at a bank at 1203 E-st nw when two Negro men took an undetermined amount of money from him at gunpoint.

8:30 p.m.: A 28-year old Negro woman was raped and robbed of \$5 by a Negro man while she was in the rear of 3500 Minnesota-av se. She was treated at D.C. General Hospital and released.

9:08 p.m.: A Negro gunman walked into the Burger Chef Food Shop, 5200 Georgia-av nw and forced Harry H. Johnson, 18, Negro, manager, to hand over an undetermined amount of money.

9:25 p.m.: Charles H. Adler, 56, white, was walking near 6th-st and Massachusetts-av nw when a Negro man, armed with a knife took \$10 from him.

11 p.m.: Naim Aminah, 27, white, was in his taxicab near Union Station when two Negro men took \$10 from him at gunpoint.

NICE PEOPLE HAVE RIGHTS, TOO

(By Edward M. Curran)

In the Nation's Capital, on the walls of the magnificent stone edifice that houses the Department of Justice, is carved the following inscription:

"Justice is the great interest of man on earth—wherever her temple stands there is a foundation for social security, general happiness and the improvement and progress of our race."

One of the great problems facing this country today is the crime problem. We cannot conquer crime by any simple formula. We cannot eliminate crime, but we can reduce it. We must apply against it the same painstaking research, the same willingness to sacrifice pre-conceived notions, the same high-minded dispassionate spirit that we would gladly apply to the control of an even less destructive plague.

One of the aims of democratic governments is achieve justice in a true sense. That no man

should be condemned without being given his day in court and without being proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt are the basic principles of criminal justice. We try to achieve speedy justice, but the safeguards that are placed around the accused bring irritating delays in securing their conviction. This crime problem has become so acute that President Johnson, in signing the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, declared, "The control of crime is a major target of this Administration."

President Nixon has recognized the seriousness of the crime problem in the District of Columbia and has made plans to combat crime. He said, "A meaningful assault on crime requires action on a broad array of fronts; but in the midst of a crime crisis, immediate steps are needed to increase the effectiveness of the police and to make justice swifter and more certain."

He has advocated the erection of a new courthouse, an increase in the number of judges, an increase in the number of Assistant United States Attorneys, an increase in the number of police, and amendments to the Ball Reform Act whereby dangerous criminals could be held in temporary pretrial detention. He has also urged the establishment of the Office of Public Defender.

Organized crime in its present form, in my opinion, is the result of an increasing intelligence on the part of the criminal classes. Crime is as ancient as civilization and begins at a time older than recorded history. A competent history of organized crime, carried thru to the development of the movement under present-day conditions, with its underlying sources and philosophy, would require a treatise dealing with human relationships over the centuries.

It would concern the feudal system, the feats of the old buccaneers, the slave traders, the caravan highwaymen of the Far East, the smugglers, the Molly Maguires of more recent times, and many other of their ilk.

It would concern not only the material but the spiritual, with consideration of religion, environment, and geographical mobility; the passions and the greed of men; and it would lead logically to those operations of criminal groups which we face today. I believe that widespread lawlessness is a symptom of widespread paganism, and a growing paganism could prostrate the soul of America.

There is no more sinister force in the United States than that of the millions who are engaged, by day and night, in the commission of felonies which occur every few seconds. Nearly 3 million serious offenses are committed every year. These offenses continue with five serious offenses being recorded every minute. There is a crime of violence every two and one-half minutes; a robbery every five minutes; a burglary every twenty-eight seconds; and fifty-two automobiles are stolen every hour.

The annual crime bill of the nation is estimated to be in excess of \$20 billion. As the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, once said, "There is not a family in America which is not, in one form or another, paying this continuing taxation, levied by the assessors of the underworld."

There are many causes of crime. Poverty is one; unemployment is one; slum areas are one; lax parents are one; and lenient courts are another and the trend of leniency keeps growing. Constitutional rights are all right, but in these days there often are criminal cases in which it appears that the main concern of some courts is for the rights of the perpetrator of the crime and not for the rights of the victim or society.

In thousands of cases the parents are at fault. There is a breakdown of the family unit. It is in the home that respect and authority must first take shape. I feel that the solution of the crime problem to a great ex-

tent lies with the family, the schools, the church and the community.

Why is it that some parents do not try to understand their children? Why is it that they are not interested in the difficulties and problems which their children may run across?

I think it is very necessary that parents perform their duty in attempting to raise their children with the idea of obedience and respect for them, for, as they grow older, such obedience and respect will develop into respect and obedience for the law. In this day and age, parents cannot afford to be lax in dealing with their children, for disrespect for parents results in disrespect for authority and sometimes that disrespect turns into actual enmity. Parents should be interested in where their children are and what kind of company they keep.

There lingers in the memory of many the sight of a grief-stricken mother's face and the sound of her soul-shaking sobs as a jail door clanks between her and a son or daughter for whom she once held happy hopes.

The school is an important factor in our civilization, for today our teachers are more qualified and better fitted than ever before in the nation's history. It is not necessary, however, that a curriculum should be laid down to apply to all children alike, because if this is done, the handicapped boy or girl would not receive the proper training and his education would go for naught.

In the New York City schools there have been shocking cases—assaults on teachers, vandalism and displays of vicious attacks. Facing such a situation, the teachers are helpless. I believe that it is necessary that those in the teaching profession should deal more in individuals, rather than in groups.

You cannot ignore the church as an important part of our everyday life. Today is the age of irreverence and criticism. This is a world of greed, lust and power; a world besmirched and bedraggled by the most brazen carnival of materialism that ever blackened the reputation of self-respecting people; a world which knows not God's commandments; a world which needs a panacea in the recount of moral values. The churches of all denominations should awaken the spiritual appreciation of living.

Years ago parents attended church, and children attended Sunday School, where they were taught the underlying principles of morality and character. Today parents are less prone to attend, and the children attend Sunday School intermittently or not at all. If this pace keeps up, the church is bound to lose the influential place it held, in days gone by, as an effective weapon in crime prevention.

The community, being a part and parcel of American life, is most important in this ever increasing problem. Neighborhoods of various kinds and characteristics bob up thru this country of ours with all types of families, foreign and domestic, rich and poor, educated and illiterate—neighborhoods where one is not content; regions where one is dissatisfied; residences where there exists ill influence.

In the slum areas, there are too many broken homes, too many working mothers, too many children running loose in the streets, learning about liquor, narcotics and crimes, such as mugging, yoking, purse snatching, gang assaults, and violence just for the sake of violence. Conditions existing such as these do not offer much encouragement to the boy or girl who may desire to live an exemplary life.

There are four important elements to be considered in the crime situation. They are the public, the police, the prosecuting agencies and the judiciary. These, functioning together, become an effective instrument in the suppression of crime. Operating independently, they hearten the criminal element

to the detriment of the law-abiding citizen. Sometimes they may work at cross purposes; sometimes they may criticize each other; and sometimes they may not be interested in harmonizing their differences to the end that the commonwealth might be best served. I believe that there should be a better understanding among them, in order that we may have a closer co-operation as a bulwark of defense in this war on crime.

And the time has come when we must recognize that society has certain rights, as well as the accused. You have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As a distinguished Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, the Honorable Wilbur K. Miller, once said, "Nice people have rights, too."

Since 1960, the yearly total of crimes has increased by 47 per cent, and crime is growing six times as fast as our population.

Your wife has the right to walk down the street without fear of being raped or molested. Your family has the right to feel secure in your home. Putting it bluntly, the law-abiding citizens of this country have the right to be left alone, and when some of the judges in this country realize that the rights of society should be balanced against the rights of the individual, then law enforcement will be more effective.

As the distinguished Bishop of Rochester, the Most Reverend Fulton J. Sheen, has said, crime is increasing because of a "false compassion" for criminals. He defines false compassion in these words, "A pity that is shown not to the mugged, but to the mugger; not to the family of the murdered, but to the murderer; not to the woman who is raped, but to the rapist."

The Bishop deplored "social slobberers" as those "who insist on compassion being shown to the junkies, the dope fiends, the throat slashers, the beatniks, the prostitutes, the homosexuals, and the punks. Today the decent man is practically off the reservation."

I think a study should be made to determine whether or not court decisions are causative factors in the commission of crime. I say this because it is clear to me that some appellate court decisions have unduly tipped the scale in favor of the criminal and against society's rights to be protected.

There is no substitute for swift, certain and impartial justice, with less attention paid to the technicalities which appear aimed at the protection of the criminal and not society.

Respect for law and the maintenance of order are among the bulwarks of our Republic.

Morality, law and order, and other great principles of our heritage, are fighting for their very existence. They are under attack from certain influences which, if not stopped, will wreck every trace of decency and orderliness in our society.

It is even argued by some groups that profane verbal abuse directed at the police is a Constitutional right.

The best interests in this country lie in a law-abiding and orderly society. The citizens of America cannot live with lawlessness, vulgarity, obscenity and blasphemy.

The time has come for us to cease being led toward the hole of self-destruction by certain do-gooders and to get on with the perpetuation of those self-evident truths which have served our country so well.

The only way to fight these organized crusaders of filth, immorality and crime is to get tough.

Liberty cannot exist without law, for the law protects liberty. We should remember, however, that liberty is not absolute but relative, for no person may infringe or transgress on the liberty of another.

The most effective deterrent to crime is the apprehension and punishment of criminals. If the factor of punishment is ignored, then there can be no deterrent.

The courts of this country are courts of justice—not courts of mercy. A trial should truly represent an enlightened search for truth, so that deception, surprise, technicalities, and delays will be obliterated. The atmosphere of some courtrooms is still polluted by some jurors, who close their minds to the evidence before them, and some of our judges seek out technicalities rather than guilt or innocence.

Forty odd years ago an experienced attorney and jurist in New York issued this strong warning, "It is not the criminals, actual or potential, that need a neuropathic hospital. It is the people who slobber over them in an effort to find excuses for their crime." What we need today, in attempting to minimize crime, are jurors with conscience and vision, judges with courage and fortitude, and penitentiaries which are neither country clubs nor health resorts.

In this war on crime, we stand as men and women in the ranks of humanity, who are under the law of duty that allows us no stopping place short of our utmost capabilities. Whatever in human nature is hopeful, generous, aspiring—in love of God and trust in man—is arraigned on one side, and on that side, let us stand.

STUDENTS "SWEEP THE AIR" FOR POLLUTION FACTS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the many problems in combating air pollution has been to obtain a measure of the amount and direction of pollution. Often this seemingly simple task turns out to be quite an intricate and expensive operation. However, at the Clara Westropp Junior High School in Cleveland, some teachers and students have developed a most ingenious method of measuring pollution with a simple home-made apparatus.

The school also recently held a week-long conference on air, water, and land pollution. At a time when so much of the news from our schools and universities is of violence and destruction, it is indeed heartening to see such positive action being taken by some to combat one of the problems of our Nation.

An interesting article from the West Parker of February 27, 1969, details the activities of the ingenious students and teachers at Clara Westropp Junior High: STUDENTS "SWEEP THE AIR" FOR POLLUTION FACTS

(By Denise Rochford)

Most people think that a scientific experiment demands the latest and most sophisticated equipment but forget that many of the greatest discoveries were made with very crude, home-made types of apparatus. Today, some ingenious students and teachers at Clara Westropp Jr. High, 19101 Puritas, have devised a simple—yet dramatic—method of collecting air pollution and measuring amounts of it from various directions around the school.

The system consists of a vacuum cleaner donated by Ray Gladys, which draws outside air into a pipe. After running the machine for an hour each morning a filter is removed, and studied. Data is recorded to be used in preparing a report. Each day the data is charted on a large graph display located in the school's cafeteria.

The air pollution station is located in the courtyard near the school's weather station. Equipment is enclosed in a wooden case 10 inches wide and three feet long.

Another attempt at studying air pollution is also being carried out. This experiment consists of a suspended air pollution unit. A board one foot wide and three feet long has been covered with cotton to catch the dirt particles in the air. The cotton is divided into five parts—one for each day of the school week. After exposure to the air for one day, the cotton is covered, and another wad is exposed. Each piece of cotton is then placed on a piece of black paper, and covered with glass. Light is beamed through the cotton and glass, and the amount of light penetrating the cotton is measured and recorded, to determine the percentage of pollution trapped in the cotton. At the end of the week the parts are compared and data recorded to determine the amount of pollution found in the air.

The air pollution information is then compared with the weather, temperature, barometric readings and humidity for the week to determine what effect these have on the level of pollution.

This information may eventually lead the students to offer a daily prediction of the air pollution level, along with the daily weather forecast.

Richard Wohl, science teacher at the school, listed these objectives in his air pollution experiment:

- (1) to develop an awareness in the community about pollution problems;
- (2) to demonstrate a method of detecting and measuring pollution;
- (3) to probe possible sources of pollution.

The school will hold a week long water-air and land pollution program from Feb. 25th to March 4th. A speaker from the water pollution agency and from the air pollution department will talk to students. Displays of water and air pollution materials and data gathered in the students' experiment will be set up in the lobby.

Social studies and science classes are participating in the program, and students from the art classes are providing posters and mobiles. Hopefully, the adults of the community will be interested enough to stop in and see what's up, Mr. Wohl said.

The Pace Association was so impressed with the idea of this pollution study that Clara E. Westropp Jr. High was awarded a "mini-grant" of \$100 to develop the experiment.

A BILL TO CHANGE THE DEFINITION OF "AMMUNITION"

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing for appropriate reference, a bill to change the definition of "ammunition" for purposes of chapter 44 under title 18 of the United States Code. The present definition reads as follows:

The term "ammunition" means ammunition or cartridge cases, primers, bullets, or propellant powder designed for use in any firearm.

My bill would change this definition to read:

The term "ammunition" shall include only ammunition for a destructive device and pistol or revolver ammunition. It shall not include shotgun shells, metallic ammunition suitable for use only in rifles, or any .22 caliber rimfire ammunition.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will eliminate a completely unreasonable, unnecessary burden which the Gun Control Act of 1968 placed on our law-abiding citizens, both sportsmen and businessmen. Regulations promulgated by the Treasury Department under President Johnson now require the seller of all types of ammunition to obtain the following information from the buyer: First, date; second, manufacturer; third, caliber, gauge or type of component; fourth, quantity; fifth, name; sixth, address; seventh, date of birth; eighth, mode of identification, driver's license or other.

In the first place, I believe that this regulation represents a misinterpretation of the requirements of the Gun Control Act, which state under section 922(b) (5) as follows:

It shall be unlawful for any licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, licensed dealer, or licensed collector to sell or deliver— (5) any firearm or ammunition to any person unless the licensee notes in his record, required to be kept pursuant to section 923 of this chapter, the name, age, and place of residence of such person.

We now see that these three requirements have been expanded to eight through the regulations imposed by the Treasury Department.

Of obvious concern is the fact that we have a situation where the Secretary of the Treasury has exceeded the authority granted him under the act. But our concern must go a step further. The Senate-House conference report issued on the bill just prior to its approval as the Gun Control Act of 1968 stated that it was not the purpose of the bill to "place any undue or unnecessary Federal restrictions or burdens on law-abiding citizens with respect to the acquisition, possession, or use of firearms appropriate to the purposes of hunting, trapshooting, target shooting, personal protection, and any other lawful activity."

The forcing of this type of registration on all purchasers of rifle, shotgun, and .22 caliber ammunition is, in my mind, placing both "undue" and "unnecessary" restrictions on those citizens. I feel, and I know that many Minnesotans feel, the enforcement of such regulations will not be a significant factor in reducing the incidence of crime in the area concerned. The harassment and inconvenience to both the buyer and the shopkeeper who is required to keep such records, is not justified by a reasoning that this is a necessary crime control measure. The great, great majority of weapons used in the commission of a crime today are pistols and revolvers. Ammunition for these types of guns would continue to remain under the control requirements of the act, if my bill is approved. But those other types of ammunition used almost exclusively by the law-abiding American sportsman would not be so controlled and a proper brake will have been placed on the bureaucratic excesses which have arisen under this act.

Lastly, I should also point out that the provisions of my bill are identical with the provisions of the Gun Control Act as it passed the House of Representatives last year, but which, of course, were changed in the Senate-House conference.

I urge support to correct what I believe is a cumbersome, unwise section of the statute as now on the books.

A NOBEL LAUREATE VIEWS THE UNIVERSE

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, Dr. Walter H. Brattain, a Nobel Prize winning scientist from my State, recently authored an article entitled "A Nobel Laureate Views the Universe" published in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer's Northwest Today Sunday supplement of March 9, 1969.

Dr. Brattain won the Nobel Prize as co-inventor of the transistor. His discovery, which has made so many of our modern achievements possible, was the product of research in the Bell laboratories.

A native of Walla Walla, Wash., he has returned to his hometown and is presently a member of the faculty of his alma mater, Whitman College.

Dr. Brattain's article on the universe is scholarly and delightful. His perception of the human condition in relation to the universe is refreshing in contrast to the deadly earnestness with which we daily pursue elusive solutions to our myriad problems. His observations are both thoughtful and thought provoking. I recommend Dr. Brattain's article to your attention and ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

A NOBEL LAUREATE VIEWS THE UNIVERSE

(By Walter H. Brattain)

For the purposes of this discussion let us forget for the moment that we are human beings. Let us just be intelligent observers and look at what we can see.

First, let's consider man, question how did he develop? The anthropologist, of course, is the person most qualified to answer this and, in paraphrase, an anthropologist would probably tell you that the first event that occurred to our ancestors that began to separate them from the rest of the animal kingdom was the fact that they were probably chased into the trees by their enemies. This had certain very definite effects upon their development.

One was that the sense of smell that most animals use, almost to the exclusion or at least better than any of the other senses, was not of any particular value in the trees. Sense of smell is only valuable if one can have his nose close to the ground.

Being in the trees, swinging from branch to branch, if you will, there was a premium on binocular vision. It was nice for him to see where he was going to land. Also, in grasping limbs, it made sense to have a thumb opposable to the rest of the four fingers, and since he did not need particularly his nose or his snout, since he could now feed himself with his hand that had developed along with the opposable thumb, it allowed that part of his brain cavity that had been devoted previously to the sense of smell, to recede somewhat in function and leave room for other mental functions, those connected with his binocular vision and with his use of his hands and so on.

So this particular animal that we are observing, when he decided to come back down out of the trees could learn to walk erect. He didn't need to keep his nose to the ground. He had developed a hand ideally suited for future craftsmanship and the development of tools. He was probably the first animal to use a tool other than the simple picking up of a stone to throw it, and few other animals can even do this.

His brain case expanded proportionally, leaving room for other mental functions as they developed. He eventually learned to talk and to communicate with his fellow creatures. He learned to write and with the talking and writing, it became possible for him to pass on to future generations his experience in his short span of life.

Of course, this led to the development of what we call culture. Along with this came what most anthropologists consider most important, that is the delayed development and care of the young. In the hierarchy of the animal kingdom the anthropologist measures the animals' development, their rank, by the length of time it takes the young to mature. The result of all this was man, the curious animal with a highly developed imagination.

If one wishes, one can say that he does not believe this story. I suggest to you, however, that we intuitively, in the things we say, accept this explanation without thinking about it. You are all familiar with such expressions in our language as: "to get your nose out of the gutter" or "to see beyond your nose." Some of us have difficulty doing this. In another context one says "lift up thine eyes and see." The evidence that is in our language from expressions of that kind make us realize that we may not yet be quite emancipated from our nose and give tacit acceptance to the fundamental part of this story.

Man is characterized primarily in my mind and in the minds of others by his inherent desire to use his imagination to construct a picture of both how and why things happen. Man the mythmaker. Now please do not think that I am using myth in a derogatory sense. I am using it in the context that the students of myth like to use it. To emphasize this point, I quote from Mark Schorer in a book entitled "William Blake:" "A myth is a large controlling image that gives philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life."

Now, of course, as man began to talk, every man was free to create his own myth. We are still probably free today and probably do, each and every one of us, create our private myth in this respect. However, some of the myths obtain such response from large groups that they obtain general acceptance. There was a long process of revision and refinement of these myths. The main criteria as to their essential correctness were, however, the response of individuals and the number of individuals who treasure certain ones of general acceptance. There was a long process of revision and refinement of these myths.

Those who have studied the myths that have been created and have received general acceptance are quite impressed with the similarity of these myths that were created by man and accepted regardless of what part of the world or what group of men originated them. They are all quite similar. This was for a long time the only means which man had to explain his existence and life on this planet.

It was when man realized that while most myths attempted to explain both the why and how of existence, that if he were willing to restrict himself to the question how, how things happen, how things took place, that then he had better criteria than just general public acceptance or emotional response. There was, as Bridgeman has put it, an operational method by which he could come to a conclusion as to how certain things took place. He could observe phenomena, make

hypotheses to explain these phenomena, develop theories, and having developed a theory, make predictions.

This was a process by which he, as an observer, could reach certain conclusions. Conclusions that another observer in another part of the world could reach by the same process, without question. Moreover, this system worked. Having done this, having created these particular and disciplined rational myths, they worked to the extent that they gave him a better control of his environment.

However, it was not just his desire to control his environment that inspired man to create these concepts. It was ever so much more the satisfaction that man obtained from the understanding that these concepts gave him of how things happen.

Now with the method which we call science, he is in a position to consider his physical surroundings. Let's trace it from the standpoint of considering the centers of his interest. Of course, at the beginning the center of the universe was where he was. It was a personal center. He soon developed, when he learned to talk, the concept that maybe he wasn't the center of the universe, that perhaps there was a geographical center. The world was apparently flat and surrounded by mountains and water and the center of civilization, as he knew it, was the center of the universe.

But, as he went along, refining and applying his methods, his science, trying to understand how things are or how things happen, he finally decided that the world was not flat after all. It was round and, of course, insofar as he was confined to the surface of the earth, there wasn't exactly a center there. When he realized this, however, he still thought for awhile that the sun was going around the earth.

One of man's next steps was to conceive of a center around which both the earth and the sun were going. This was a center he could not see because his part of the earth was always turned away from it. This center was thought to be the central fire from which the sun and the stars derived their light.

Finally he realized that the picture would be much simpler if he assumed the earth was going around the sun. So, the sun became the center of his universe. Then as he went on and observed some more, he realized that the sun was just one of a system of stars of which there were many, many more and that these stars were apparently a part of a system and were rotating around a center, the sun and the other stars doing likewise. He found as he developed his means of measurement that the nearest star to his sun was quite a distance away. To illustrate how far, let us assume that in this age of ballistic missiles we could possibly hope to achieve half the speed of light. If we did achieve this speed, it would take us about eight years to get to the nearest star. But if we considered traveling throughout our particular stellar system, it would take us at this speed one or two hundred thousand years. So, the center of his universe is now the center of the stellar system.

But he kept looking; his curiosity was not satisfied. He learned to make aids to his eyes, to make big telescopes, to gather in a lot of light and peer further and further. He slowly came to the conclusion that his particular stellar system, the one which encompassed his sun or star, was only one of many such systems and that there were many, many more such stellar systems.

To get to this stellar system at the same speed as I suggested before would take a million years. Man also found that for some peculiar reason, all these galaxies, all these separate systems of stars, were running away from each other, and when he studied and analyzed this situation, he found that he had again lost his center. There was no more center.

It is hard to see this in the three dimensional world because we are three dimen-

sional creatures and can't get out of that, but we can observe what could happen in a two dimensional world. If you will picture randomly distributed spots on the surface of a balloon and consider what happens to them in relation to each other as you blow the balloon up, you see that as the surface expands, each spot runs away from all the others, and it doesn't matter from which spot you choose to observe this. All spots are equal in this regard.

On the two dimensional surface of this balloon with the spots representing the galaxies there is no center, and in that sense, and in the best thinking today, there is no center to the universe. It is all relative.

Now let's really be observers. Let's go outside of our particular galaxy and see if we can find this little planet called the Earth and the rest of its co-planets going around our average sun. It is going to be a difficult job. It is going to be just as hard to find this planet as it would be for us to try and find a planet around a similar sun in our nearest neighbor galaxy, Andromeda. It is even at present almost impossible for us to find a planet around one of our neighbor stars in our own stellar system. Are there such planets? There is evidence that some stars have dark companions!

The latest concepts about how our planet and our planetary system around our sun came into existence indicates that this is a fairly unusual occurrence and that there are probably even in our own galaxy, our own stellar system, a very large number of other such stars with planets. At least a fairly large number of these other stars may have planets somewhat like the earth at about the same distance from their sun so that the environment at least on these other earths would be very similar to our own. Man should be very humble in view of these considerations, and should, at least, temper his feeling of self importance. He may not be alone in this universe and he may not be the most intelligent living being in it!

Ours is at most, in a sense, a restricted sample. It's a restricted sample in respect to size. The more we develop our ability to see far out into space, the more we see. Man is so constituted that it is difficult for him to think of the end of space. This is a concept that he gets from his experience and it is hard for him to think of an end. He can also go in another direction that I won't consider here.

He can look to the smaller things. He can build microscopes and see things that are too small to see with his naked eye, and he can refine this.

But he is limited again in this observation of how things happen. He is limited in time. He is most sure of the things that are happening right now. He has some idea and some sureness in regard to what he is told and has been told about happenings in the immediate past. He can remember reasonably well over his own life span, and he can read what has been written back to the beginning of recording. He does not necessarily have to believe this; he can believe that those writings just happened.

He can predict, because of his ability to construct a reasonably good picture and a reasonably good theory, what will happen in the immediate future with some sureness. The further he projects this into the future, however, the less sure is his prediction. If he had a perfect theory, if he really understood, he could predict presumably to the end of time and look back to the beginning of time. Since he started to make myths he has always had concepts of beginnings and endings, and since these come under the category of how things happen not why, he is in a position today to extrapolate back in time. He can make this extrapolation in many ways.

He can consider these stellar systems that are rapidly running away from each other,

measure the rate, compared to other ways of measuring time, that they are moving away, and he can ask how far back in time would he have to go until they were all together, until they started, if everything continued as fast as it is going on now.

He can examine the rock formations, as the geologist does, on this earth and ask what the oldest rock is. He has even recently found that there is buried in this rock an atomic clock whose rate does not vary no matter what he does to it in the present so that he can assume that this clock has been running this way ever since it was laid down in these particular rocks. By examining what went on in these rocks and the condition of this clock, he can estimate when things began on this earth. The age of the universe is now thought to be 10 or 20 billion years and the age of our solar system about 5 billion years.

Now I would like to point out that there is to the working scientist (the man who studies these things) an emotional as well as rational appeal obtained from any essential understanding that he can get from the study of his universe, even if it only concerns the question of how things happen. Understanding one's self and one's environment is, to my mind, the highest aim which man can hope to obtain.

I would like to consider man's attempt to make monistic theories, or myths, if you will. He is forever frustrated in this. Instead of coming out with a monistic theory, he runs into essential dualities. The most accepted myth of our way of life and our democracy was the one that arose from the work of Descartes and Newton's discovery of gravitation and the development of the mechanistic theory of how things happened. In pursuing this, the philosophers came up with the concept that there was an essential duality, there was matter and there was mind.

It was not a monistic theory, it was a dual one, and it was this concept that was the whole philosophical basis of our Western way of life. It was the acceptance of this idea of the essential difference between mind and matter by practically all of us that made our republic possible.

Students of this matter, professors and scholars, claim that it is not possible for other societies to develop our type of government unless they have similar basic philosophical ideas. Another duality, one somewhat more physical and concrete, that we continually run into is whether or not nature, or our external world that we are talking about here, is discrete or continuous. Can you take a piece of it and divide it into parts and then take that piece and still keep on dividing it into parts or if you keep dividing far enough, will you come to indivisible parts that you can divide no more?

This in a sense is tied up with what the physicists call the duality principle that is basic and is a quandary right now. Matter acts both as if it were particlelike and wave-like. In regard to light, the illumination by which we see, some investigators at first thought light was a stream of particles and some investigators just thought it a wave motion, like waves on the surface of the water in which the particles of water don't move but the wave is transmitted.

In recent times investigators thought this was settled since they could make light diffract and interfere and behave in a way in which only waves would behave. But as they pursued this further, they found that they also had to accept the fact that light was a particle and one can only explain all the phenomena of illumination and of light by assuming that it had both of these qualities. Then still more recently, they were surprised when they found, for something they always thought had no wave nature whatsoever but was particlelike matter, that in order to explain its behavior, they had to assume that it also had wave properties. So, here is another duality we can't get away from.

Finally, to top things off, the real question is whether what I've been telling you is reality or a myth. That is the last and the biggest duality. Is reality what we have been talking about, namely just man's rational theoretical construction, or is reality just our momentary sense perceptions.

(Those who might be interested that the present scientific concepts of how things happen are excellently summarized in Doubleday Anchor paperback "Knowledge and Wonder," by Weisskopf.)

FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK OF PROVIDENCE, R.I., HOLD THEIR 69TH ANNUAL CELEBRATION

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, this past March 17, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Providence, held their 69th annual celebration. We were honored this year to have as one of our guest speakers, the distinguished Commissioner of the Federal Maritime Commission, the Honorable George H. Hearn.

All of us who are familiar with George know that he is a man of many talents. One of his foremost talents, as was evidenced by his speech on St. Patrick's Day, is that of a chronicler of Irish folklore.

George's address to the Friendly Sons follows the great tradition of previous addresses. Our late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, my colleague, Congressman CAREY, of New York, and the distinguished Representative of Massachusetts' Eighth Congressional District, Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEILL, who some say is a direct descendant of St. Patrick himself, have addressed this group.

I am sure that all of my colleagues would be interested in reading Commissioner Hearn's remarks and I insert them in the RECORD at this point:

GREETINGS OF COMMISSIONER GEORGE H. HEARN

It is a pleasure and a profound honor for me, the son of a Mayo man, to have the privilege of responding to the toast, "The day we celebrate", at the 69th annual St. Patrick's Day celebration of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Providence, Rhode Island.

This delight is further enhanced by the realization that by accepting the invitation to address you I join an illustrious group of Rhode Island men at a function which has been addressed by so many men of renown in the past. In recent years at least two friends of mine have enjoyed the experience of sharing this grand evening with you.

I am reminded that our beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy addressed you ten years ago this very night and that my own distinguished congressman, Hugh L. Carey, had the pleasure in 1965. Tonight, sharing the program with His Excellency, Bishop McVinney and Boston's own Congressman Tip O'Neill, who has so ably succeeded John F. Kennedy in representing Massachusetts' eighth congressional district, is a happy experience, indeed.

As a member of the Federal Maritime Commission, an independent regulatory agency and an arm of the Congress, I would like to pay my respects to your outstanding congressional delegation.

I should like to mention in passing that

while speaking to Senator PASTORE last week in Washington, he informed me that today is his birthday. I am sure our good friend, Tom Meehan, will convey our happy returns of the day to John O'Pastore.

I am particularly pleased to see my good friend, Congressman Bob Tiernan, here this evening, from all observations and reports, Bob is doing a fine job in representing his district; and all America benefits because of your wise choice of a representative. I also take pleasure in saying "hello" to Senator PELL and Congressman ST GERMAIN. Thank the Lord that I am not in New York or California where the delegation listing resembles the litany of the saints.

I harbor a particular admiration and affection for Rhode Islanders, who, like most Irishmen, display such virtues as kindness and generosity, especially with their time. It was my good fortune to have one of your famous sons take me under his wing, adapt me to Washington life, and instruct me in the principles of transportation. I refer to your own Robert T. Murphy, vice-chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

In 1961 Congressman Carey and I arrived in Washington together, and while we were roommates, I observed how Congressman John Fogarty, of happy memory, instructed Hughie on the ways of Congress and on the Washington scene in general. Some of Congressman Fogarty's instruction rubbed off on me and I shall always be grateful to both he and Bob Murphy. Since I am an Irishman from Long Island, Brooklyn, my home, being the most western extremity of the island, it seems fitting to express these sentiments in Rhode Island on the night we celebrate the feast of the patron saint of all Ireland—Padriac himself.

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE

It may seem somewhat redundant to stand before this august group of historians of Irish lore and tradition and reiterate the glories and wonders associated with our patron, Saint Patrick, but the merits of such reflection are evident when we view this zealous and god-like apostle of the fifth century in light of his actual and potential influence on contemporary times. One feels that the ageless story of Saint Patrick is of particular relevance today.

We ask ourselves how it is that a man about whose early life so little is known can command such universal acclaim by all nationalities particularly on this "the day we celebrate". The answer can doubtless be found in the inspiration we garner from the life and character of the saint himself.

Patrick was born about 387 in Roman Britain and was captured by Irish raiders in his early teens and taken as a slave to Ireland where for six years he tended the flocks of a druid high priest and chieftain, it seems that this period of servitude afforded him the time to reflect on the pagan and chaotic conditions that existed in Ireland at the time and he became imbued with a missionary zeal to plant the seeds of his native Christianity in his land of exile.

Patrick managed to escape to the continent where he entered the monastery at Lerins in order that he might prepare himself for the priesthood. His dream to return to Ireland as a missionary was realized when Pope Saint Celestine the First sent him as his personal emissary to carry the gifts of faith and freedom to the spiritually neglected souls of Ireland.

Today, in these troubled times, we must be ever vigilant lest those gifts of faith and freedom slip from their venerated perch. As Patrick suffered great opposition from the established religious cults but did not allow himself to become discouraged, so must we of the 20th century not succumb to the opposition of the disestablishment.

Although he lived in daily expectation of murder, treachery or captivity, Patrick never lost his zeal to bring the faith to the Irish. His love of freedom has remained implanted

in the breasts of all good Irishmen through the centuries.

Patrick's missionary activities led finally to the great event of lighting the Easter fire on the hill of Slane overlooking Tara. That was his greatest mortal and spiritual triumph, because of this deed King Loghaire allowed him to freely convert the Irish. He fixed the See of the Roman Catholic Church at Armagh and spent many days fasting and meditating at Croagh Patrick in County Mayo.

The faith founded by Patrick in Ireland flourished there until about 700 when the Irish monk, Columbanus, who was inspired to carry on the teachings of Patrick.

Born of a spiritualism ignited by Saint Patrick and kept burning by Columbanus, the Irish heart has enabled Irishmen to endure and overcome many hardships and periods of darkness. The light has often flickered, but it has never been extinguished. In this age of the machine, we must feed the flame of Patrick's spirituality so that today's and tomorrow's discontented and oppressed will feel the warmth of the faith and freedom Patrick lived to imbue in the hearts of men.

A verse from the pen of John Greenleaf Whittier emphasizes this aspect of St. Patrick's life:

"St. Patrick, slave of Milcho of the herds of Ballymena, sleeping, heard these words:
'Arise and flee out from the land of bondage and be free.'
So went he forth but in God's time he came to light in Uilline's Hills a holy flame and, dying gave the land a saint that lost him as a slave."

No better example can be found of the effort we must pursue than in the period from 1691-1829. The Irish were then under the heels of tyrants, and were forbidden to exercise religion, receive education, to take a profession or to hold office, not only could an Irishman not hire a Catholic teacher to school his children, but he was forbidden to send his child abroad for an education, or in dying could not leave his infant children under Catholic guardianship.

In these dark hours how did the fire of faith and the flame of culture first lighted on the Hills of Slane survive in Ireland? We have the answer in the lines about the real heroes of Ireland:

"THE HEDGE SCHOOLMASTER
(By Seumas MacManus)

"When the night shall lift from Erin's hills,
'Twere shame if we forget
One band of unsung heroes whom freedom
owes a debt,
When we brim high cups to brave ones
then,
Their memory let us pledge
Who gathered their ragged classes behind a
friendly hedge.

"By stealth they met their pupils in the
Glen's deep-hidden nook,
And taught them many a lesson never in
English book,
There was more than wordy logic shown to
use in wise debate,
Nor amo was the only verb they gave to
conjugate,
When hunted on the heathery hill and
through the shadowy wood,
They climbed the cliff, they dared the
march, they stemmed the tumbling
flood,
Their blanket was the clammy mist, their
bed the windswept bent,
In fitful sleep they dreamt the bay of
bloodhounds on their scent,
Their lore was not the brightest nor their
store, mayhap, the best
But they fostered love, undying in each
young Irish breast.

"And through the dread, dread night, and long, that steeped our island then
The lamps of hope and fires of faith were fed by these brave men,
The grass waves green above them, soft sleep is theirs for aye,
The hunt is over, and the cold, the hunger passed away,
O hold them high and holy, and their memory proudly pledge,
Who gathered their ragged classes behind a friendly hedge."

The work of the Hedgerow scholars was such that a century later Irish shepherd boys in the hills were quoting Horace and Ovid, passing on the classics by word of mouth from generation to generation. No wonder that Irish martyrs spoke as scholars as they gave their lives in saintly sacrifice.

In this manner did the great writers and poets of Ireland preserve for antiquity the glorious deeds of Irishmen of bygone days. The pens of those men not only recorded but spurred on the glorious deeds of their countrymen, O'Reilly, Yeats, Wilde, Keats and Mangan will be long remembered.

As we hopscotch through Ireland's history I would like to pause at one other period of adversity. The great exodus brought about by the potato famine of 1848 and '49 gave birth to an idea dramatized by Yeats in his play, "Cathleen ni Houllhan", a traditional personification of Ireland. As indicated in the words of "Mother Ireland," many Gaels would have to leave the land of their birth because they could not accept the tyranny which prevailed in the Ireland of that day:

"It is a hard service they take that help me. Many that are red-cheeked now will be pale-cheeked; many that have been free to walk the hills and the bogs and the rushes will be sent to walk hard streets in far countries; many a good plan will be broken; many that have gathered money will not stay to spend it; many a child will be born and there will be no father at its christening to give it a name. They that have red cheeks will have pale cheeks for my sake; and for all that, they will think that they are well paid.
"They shall be remembered for ever.
"They shall be alive for ever.
"They shall be speaking for ever.
"The people shall hear them for ever."

The marvelous qualities that endear a man to his fellow men were possessed in abundance by Saint Patrick. He exemplified a supernatural faith, held aloft as an exalted ideal for which he would gladly die, a love of others which was so great that he would sacrifice all his possessions for their well being, he had a touching humility and an earnestness of purpose through which there gleamed a transparent sincerity of truthfulness, and in the end a complete reliance on God for whatever strength he had and for whatever good he was able to accomplish.

Although I have gone lightly into the past to recall the greatness of Saint Patrick, to remind ourselves of the deprivations, discrimination, sacrifices and self-denial made by Irishmen for their faith and freedom over the many centuries; and as we revel in the glories of Saint Patrick and Ireland, I think that we, as followers of Saint Patrick, should make a firm resolve here tonight that before we gather again to honor our Saint we will have done something for the benefit of human kind, as Saint Patrick did for our forebears.

Let us here, in the city of Providence, look about us to see how we might exemplify Patrick and how we may emulate his many marvelous qualities in our every day lives, so that others around us might take an example. There need not be the outward manifestation, such as the lighting of the bonfire at Tara, for us to go out into our neighborhoods and spread the good word and give enlightenment to projects that will al-

leviate the hardship of the sick and the poor, the uneducated, and the deprived.

Possibly we can help the Irish people in Ireland today, particularly those in Northern Ireland who are suffering ignominies and deprivation because of their religion, which are far greater than those suffered now in the inner cities of the United States.

The point is that the age of Saint Patrick was one in which the ancient institutions were breaking down and confusion reigned in the minds of men. The Roman Empire was disintegrating and with it, the political structure of the civilized world. Fear and uncertainty was everywhere in that chaotic time. Into his part of the world Patrick brought, in my opinion, two greatly related ideas—faith and freedom. He was first and foremost an apostle of the Christian faith. There were apparently Christians in Ireland before him but he made the country dominantly Christian and so thoroughly so, that Ireland became, for the next 700 years, a center of learning and a center of missionary activity from which missionaries went to Scotland and northern and central Europe.

At the same time, and quite logically so, Patrick was an apostle of freedom. He had been a slave. Now he endeavored to make people free. Look around us and see on the day we celebrate the particular relevance to 1969 of the day of Saint Patrick. Is this not a chaotic age when the old structure, political and otherwise, on which humanity rests is attempting to be changed by the forces of unrest and revolt? Fear and uncertainty reign supreme and, moreover, there is a great and powerful, concerted attack on the very standards and virtues for which Saint Patrick stood. To practice these virtues in the spirit that others, particularly the young, would admire would be Saint Patrick's work were he alive today.

I take leave of you with this challenge and this Irish blessing:

"May the saints protect ye
And sorrow neglect ye
And bad luck to the one
That don't respect ye.
And top of the morning—
To all that belong to ye
And long life to your honor—
That is the end of my song to ye."

To which I add: Beannaet De Lib Go Leir.
God Bless You All!

EQUAL MAIL SERVICE FOR RURAL RESIDENTS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill today to provide an equality of public service to our rural residents. My bill would extend driveway mail service to every farm. This bill in no way deprives anyone from the present mail service they are getting. It only provides that all rural residents receive equal service.

As you know, there is no distinction between the costs of mailing a letter between neighbors, even though one can have an answer to his letter delivered to his driveway, while the other neighbor may be forced to make a round trip of 3 or 4 miles in order to pick up his reply.

I am the first to admit that farms are getting larger and thus distances between rural neighbors in the Midwest is be-

coming farther, but I also would quickly point out that this increase in size has no relationship with the need for equality of mail service with other businesses who may be located in an urban area.

Several administrative rulings have been made over the past 10 years to provide additional service to our rural residents. The most recent ruling by the Post Office Department was to decrease the requirement of having two families per mile, down to three families per 2 miles. This small change did benefit an additional 59,000 farm families, but there are other thousands who are still having to make this daily trek down to the nearest location on a highway to get their mail. Often, these boxes are located 1½ to 2 miles away and many cases have come to my attention of personal mail having been lost, or packages opened, or contents removed.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY VISIT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on Monday, March 17, we were very proud to have as a distinguished visitor at the Hibernian Society's St. Patrick's Day banquet in Charleston the Attorney General of the United States, Hon. John N. Mitchell.

The Hibernian Society's banquet is an outstanding historical occasion and is unique among such St. Patrick's Day banquets around the country. We were most pleased to have the Attorney General as our guest of honor.

Mr. Mitchell was also welcomed to the city by an editorial published in the Charleston News and Courier which praises Mr. Mitchell as one of President Nixon's strongest appointments. I am much pleased that Mr. Mitchell received such a fine reception. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Welcome Visitor," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WELCOME VISITOR

Charleston is honored today by a visit from John N. Mitchell, Attorney General of the United States. Mr. Mitchell is in the city to address the Hibernian Society's St. Patrick's Day banquet.

In our judgment, Mr. Mitchell is one of President Nixon's strongest appointments. Before taking on the duties as the nation's chief legal officer, he had a distinguished career in the law, specializing in bond matters. As Charleston is a Navy town, it is worth noting that Mr. Mitchell was commander of a flotilla of PT boats in World War II. John F. Kennedy served under him. The Attorney General is not without ties to this community. His daughter is married to a Charlestonian and has visited here.

We hope that Atty. Gen. Mitchell will find many occasions in the future to return to Charleston. We know that the Hibernians and their guests will find him an interesting speaker, occupying, as he does, one of the most important and sensitive posts in the federal government.

FORGERY AND ORGANIZED CRIME

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, each minute of every working day forgers lift \$1,500 out of the American economy. Forgers defraud banks of more money in a week than holdup men obtain in a full year. Forgery crimes, according to the FBI have increased 106 percent in the last decade alone and organized crime has played a key role in this ominous rise. Now for the first time we can look behind the statistics and into the intimate world of "The Forgers." E. Patrick McGuire, a dedicated journalist and author working in cooperation with the FBI, the U.S. Secret Service and the U.S. Postal Inspectors, takes the reader into specific case histories of forgery in his new, hard-hitting book, "The Forgers," published by the Padric Publishing Co. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following revealing excerpts from Mr. McGuire's exceptional book:

EXCERPTS FROM "THE FORGERS"

(By E. Patrick McGuire)

FORGERY AND ORGANIZED CRIME

"La Cosa Nostra is the largest organization of the criminal underworld in this country, very closely organized and strictly disciplined. They have committed almost every crime under the sun."—J. EDGAR HOOVER.

Inevitably, when one discusses organized crime and its possible relationship to forgery operations, one quickly uncovers a familiar group of doves and hawks. The doves belittle any attempt to link organized crime, and in particular the La Cosa Nostra, to large scale organized operations. The hawks, on the other side of the debate, wish to attribute a very large portion of all forgery operations to organized crime-connected influences. In reality, the truth lies somewhere between these two positions. In the course of preparing this study, I have had some well intentioned and serious law enforcement people, who certainly should know better, comment that they did not observe organized crime operating in the field of forgery. One wonders about their powers of observation.

To build the case for direct links between organized crime and major forgery operations we must not simply consider the plain fact that acknowledged La Cosa Nostra members have been apprehended and convicted for forgery operations. Rather, we might better look beyond this truism to compare the characteristics of the organized crime operation and its striking resemblance to the needs of the professional forger.

To begin with, organized crime is located in all of the major urban areas. The crime of forgery is primarily committed in large urban centers. Here the anonymity and centralized financial resources of the city make a most tempting target for the professional forger. And the cities are where the La Cosa Nostra is. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice conducted a survey of 71 U.S. cities. The police departments in these cities were questioned regarding the existence of organized crime within their cities. In 80% of the cities over one million residents, organized crime was active, in 20% of the cities with populations between 500,000 and one million, and in 20% of the cities with populations between 250,000 and 500,000 organized crime was also present. In over 50% of the cities between 100,000 and 250,000 police indicated that organized crime existed

in their cities. Therefore, organized crime is obviously well entrenched in the same hunting grounds that the professional forger utilizes. (Task Force Report; Organized Crime—1967).

Next, we know that the professional forger must have detailed technical knowledge of how legitimate business operates. He is familiar with banking operations, channels of commerce, etc. The ordinary burglar or holdup artist does not have this kind of knowledge. Organized crime also has a good working knowledge of both banking and legitimate business operations. The reader will remember when, in 1957, 75 of the nation's leading organized crime figures were apprehended at a meeting in Apalachin, N.Y. Quite naturally, all of these gentlemen were in illicit businesses. But in addition, at least nine of them were in the coin machine vending business, sixteen were in garment manufacturing businesses, ten owned retail grocery stores, seventeen owned bars or restaurants, eleven were in the olive oil and cheese importing business and nine were in the construction business. The remainder were involved in such diverse industries as automobile agencies, coal companies, entertainments, funeral homes, race tracks, laundry services, trucking, waterfront activities and bakeries. (Select Committee On Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Final Report—U.S. Senate Report no 1139, 86th Congress, 1960, Page 487-488). Therefore it is obvious that organized crime is well entrenched in legitimate businesses and has a good working knowledge of the technical aspects required for forgery schemes.

But of even greater significance is the fact that organized crime has the two "C's". These are *contacts* and *cash*. Both are essential to large scale forgery operations. Such operations frequently require the setting up of fronts, the purchase of printing equipment, the corruption of banking and financial firm employees, etc. And as far as cash is concerned organized crime certainly has its share.

It is estimated that illegal gambling, the mainstay revenue source of organized crime, provides an annual intake of at least \$20 billion each year. The profit to organized crime on this gross intake is somewhere between \$6 and \$7 billion each year. In the words of the Kefauver Commission Report "These profits provide the financial resources whereby ordinary criminals are converted into big-time racketeers, political bosses, pseudo-businessmen and alleged philanthropists." The author might append that it also provides the revenue to finance the most intricate of forgery schemes. Narcotics is the other principal source of organized crime revenue and it produces, on the heroin trade operation, approximately \$350 million annually of which \$21 million are probable profits to the LCN Group. (McClellan Committee Narcotics Report, S. Report #72, 89th Congress, First Session 120 (1965)).

The other half of this equation is the "contacts" side. Here organized crime, by its very nature, has what large scale forgers desperately need. Once credit cards, traveler's checks, corporation checks, etc. are forged, time becomes of critical importance. The credit card company, bank, enforcement agency, etc. will race against time to alert all possible acceptors of the forged instrument to the possibility of its misuse. In this case it becomes a race between the two groups. Unfortunately, organized crime often wins this race. They are not hindered by bureaucratic red tape and in some cases may have more pressing motivations to quickly move the illicit merchandise. To understand how the contact side of this equation works, we might digress into some basics about the organized crime organization.

At the present time there are between 2 and 4,000 hard core "family" members of La Cosa Nostra operating in 24 separate "families". These families are located in the major cities of the United States. Most cities

have at least one organized crime family, although New York is known to have at least five. Each of these families has authority to engage in a full range of organized crime activity. Like its legitimate counterpart, organized crime has well defined staff and functional positions. At the top of each family is a "Boss" or "Don". Immediately beneath him is an "Underboss" or "Sottocapo". Next in line, and of special interest to the student of forgery is a staff vice president or counselor, designated the "Consigliere". Further down the line we have lieutenants or "Caporegima" and then the "Soldati" or "Button" men.

In some of the cases cited later in this volume, it will be shown that organized crime families in one city, for example New York, have been able to move a large quantity of forged instruments within literally hours to other parts of the country and to obtain distribution before banks, hotels, or enforcement officials could be notified of the original theft.

One of the most valuable functions that credit card forgery provides to organized crime is the so-called "funding operation". By this, we mean that various operatives of organized crime families can utilize stolen, forged or fraudulent credit cards to pay for their everyday travel and living expenses as they travel throughout the world on "business" trips. For example, a courier smuggling in heroin from Turkey might utilize the credit card to pay for his air line ticket, hotel expenses, meals, car rental, etc. Since the card is stolen, or fraudulent, it will be difficult to trace the movement of the individual during the trip. The card in effect provides not only the means of financing the trip, but also a false identity which masks the operative's movements.

It is well known in Federal law enforcement circles that most of the persons in the upper echelons of organized crime, and this includes the first three or four levels of the organization chart, are under close surveillance by U.S. agents. The latter group is most interested in determining the expenditures of these various mobsters in order that they may confront them with a discrepancy between their reported income and actual living expenses.

A few years ago, in an attempt to complicate the life of the IRS surveillance teams, the mob switched over to an extensive use of cash. However, IRS agents were still able to trace many of the travel and entertainment expenses regardless of the fact that they were paid for in cash. Now, the mob has switched to the use of credit cards (stolen). The fraudulent credit cards allow them to live high without any direct record of their expense. The expense appears in the name of a third party who later renounces the charges when he discovers that his card has been fraudulently used. This scheme has been used extensively during 1965, 1966 and 1967. However, recently, the New York organized card group ran into one small problem.

Federal agents discovered that a Long Island and Brooklyn, New York, group was stealing late model Cadillacs and ferrying them to Atlanta, Georgia. In Atlanta, they were transferred to a local madam for resale and distribution in the South. The couriers who drove the cars from New York to Atlanta utilized stolen or fraudulent credit cards. One of these couriers was recently arrested in Atlanta on a charge involving \$200-\$300 worth of fraudulent credit card charges. He pleaded guilty and to his surprise was given a 5 year sentence. Within a few days, a private jet arrived in Atlanta and produced \$25,000 bail for this individual while his case is before the Appeals Court. This is just typical of the operations of organized crime utilizing these cards.

IRS agents have been so successful in their approach to organized crime that over

60% of all criminal convictions of organized crime figures, between the years 1961 and 1965, resulted directly from tax investigations conducted by the Internal Revenue Service. Contrast this record with a typical enforcement record gained on gambling arrests and convictions. Cook County, Illinois, provides a graphic example of the latter problem. Between 1963 and 1966, gambling arrests in Cook County outside of the Chicago area, produced 11,158 arrests. Of these arrests 76.2% were dismissed and only 16.3% resulted in any conviction at all. Only 17 jail terms were imposed and only 4 of those were in excess of 30 days. (Blakey—Unpublished Report on Local Law Enforcement Response to Organized Crime—January, 1967—Task Force Report; Organized Crime 1967).

Although the author does not have statistical validation of this point, my impression after interviewing many police officers, federal agents, prosecutors, etc. is that the record for forgery conviction of organized crime figures, is not much better than the gambling arrests and prosecution record. The number of convictions may be higher but the length of the jail sentences is in no way commensurate with the value of money obtained or with the fact that it is part of the pattern of organized crime.

In the past organized crime has been concerned with "traditional" crime sources of revenue and these sources have proved lucrative as previously noted. However, one must not delude oneself into believing that because lucrative areas already exist, such as gambling and narcotics, that organized crime will not be interested in similarly lucrative areas such as forgery and counterfeiting. This is certainly not the case and recent arrests and convictions confirm this point.

One argument made by the "doves" on this subject is that the lower scale "Soldati" or "Button" men have made their own personal decision to get into large scale forgery operations and that the people at the top of the family have been unaware or disinterested in this type of crime. Nothing could be further from the truth. To begin with the organization of the La Cosa Nostra does not allow for this type of free enterprise. Cressey, in one of the best studies in this area, points out that "because of the illegal character of organized crime, a leader's fame and fortune can be seriously damaged if improper decisions are made at a lower level. Decision-making is therefore concentrated at the top of the hierarchy" (The Functions and Structures of Criminal Syndicates—Donald R. Cressey—Task Force Report; Organized Crime—1967). These "Button" men had to have the approval of their superiors in order to engage in and execute some of the forgery operations for which they have been apprehended and convicted. Indeed, lately the Federal Bureau of Investigation has even been successful in apprehending some of the higher echelon in connection with forgery cases and has brought conspiracy statutes to bear in these cases.

Organized crime, like most present day social organizations, is undergoing steady change. As with business organizations, technical competence will become the yardstick of rank in the near future. Organizational positions will not automatically go to those who have spent an apprenticeship in slum condition petty thefts. Highly technical skills and familiarity with complex business operations will be an absolute necessity. In fact, this phase of the change has already occurred. The family members of organized crime are most cognizant of this need and they are busily training their blood relatives to prosper in the new technical economy. The sons and daughters of crime family members are increasingly college educated. Even here, the clanishness of the Cosa Nostra shows a particular organization quirk. It is known, for example, that one particular U.S. college has in its enrollment a very large representa-

tion of the sons or close relatives of La Cosa Nostra family members (Task Force Report; Organized Crime—Page 56—1967). These young men are being trained in the latest business administration, accounting and legal techniques. When these "students" are returned to the La Cosa Nostra we can expect an even greater emphasis on crimes of fraud, such as forgery and counterfeiting. Forgery is a "cleaner" crime than many others. And these second generation family members have been educated to a "cleaner" environment, be it on a social basis or on a crime preference basis.

In the following chapters, you will have an opportunity to observe some incidents involving organized crime and forgery. Through many of these cases run a common thread of modus operandi. The thread begins with a "money mover" who recognizes the potential for illicit gain through large scale fraud involving forgery. The money mover apparently calls such an opportunity to the attention of the family "counselor." Operational groups then prepare for the actual execution of the plan. In many cases, it follows a recognizable pattern. The seed of the pattern is the corruption of one or two key individuals. These individuals may range from lowly route postman to a financial vice president or a water commissioner. Regardless of their position, they have key access to financial documents which can be forged, misrepresented and then redeemed for cash.

The organized crime group is not niggardly in spending. They will set up extensive fronts to complete a forgery operation. Nor are they adverse to becoming partners with skilled professional forgers. While La Cosa Nostra is strictly an Italian or Sicilian organization, they do not discriminate against business connections with entrepreneur forgers of other nationalities. In many cases they provide the distribution mechanism for the illicit fruits of a particular forger or counterfeiter's labor.

Consider some of the interesting "coincidences" that link organized crime to some of the major forgery operations that have occurred during the past few years. The \$407,000 theft of American Express Traveler's Checks, separately reported in this volume, was accomplished by the nephew of New York Mafia Boss, Joseph Colombo. This nephew, Maurice Savino, was joined by one Vincent Potenza, listed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a member of the Carmine Tramunti "family", successor to the late Thomas Luchese. In the course of the investigation of this case, one prospective government witness, John Anthony Panarello, was wiped out by the mob before he could testify in the conspiracy. His car was burned and Panarello was found shot twice in the head in a Catskill Mountain roadside ditch.

In another case, still under investigation at the time of this writing, three suspects, all with organized crime links, have been indicted in an American Express Card counterfeiting operation. One of these defendants is the relative of a Revere, Massachusetts, member of the organized crime syndicate.

The Brooklyn, New York District Attorney's Office strongly suspects that in the J. W. Mays case financing for the operation came from Buffalo, New York. In fact, one of the convicted members of the conspiracy was an alleged courier for the Buffalo, New York "family".

In Chicago, the local organized crime branch had a specific "financial department". This department dealt in crimes such as forgery, fraud, and embezzlement. The head of this department was arrested on federal charges and is now serving a federal sentence. In the Chicago credit card fiasco, reported separately in this volume, Postal Inspectors had ample evidence that lower echelon organized crime members were involved in

"scam" or "bust-out" operations in collusion with local merchants.

Another example of the direct link between organized crime and major check forgery operations occurred late in August of 1968. The U.S. Secret Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation working together, uncovered a scheme which allegedly could have produced a million dollar pay-off. In this particular scheme, it is alleged that organized crime figures, specifically the "banker" of the Brooklyn Mafia, arranged to set up a checking account using the name of a Wall Street brokerage house. The scheme involved the theft of incoming checks from the brokerage house and their subsequent deposit in the fraudulent account opened in the name of the broker. The checks deposited to this fraudulent account were then subsequently drawn out of the account. It relied on the cooperation of an employee at the legitimate stock broker's office who apparently would steal random checks as they arrived at the brokerage.

In this particular case, the conspirators are charged with a conspiracy to transport and actually transporting a stolen \$17,000 check from New Jersey to New York. The defendants were arrested in the case and they are known to have direct link with organized crime in the Brooklyn area. This particular case is interesting because it highlights the fact that organized crime does have "banking or financial specialists". These are individuals who operate specifically in areas such as embezzlement, fraud, forgery, and counterfeiting.

Elsewhere in this report, as the reader observes how airline tickets stolen on one coast soon appear on the opposite coast, how stolen trading stamps all seem to come to rest in one city, how airline tickets stolen in three separate sections of the country come to be on the person of a single individual and this individual in turn connected with organized crime, one can hardly escape the conclusions previously noted. It might then seem a simplification to say that organized crime is responsible for professional forgery and that the destruction of organized crime would remove most professional forgers from the scene. However, this would be a delusion because, considered against the mass of forgery, organized crime can contribute only a small portion. While this portion is an important portion, it is far from a majority. It has been estimated that 55 to 60% of all forgeries are committed by "amateurs", the remaining 40% involve some small gangs, entrepreneurs, lone wolf operators and finally organized crime. It is difficult to put a figure on what portion organized crime contributes to the total dollar volume of forgery losses. However, an educated guess would probably put this figure around 10% of the total forgery loss in the United States.

However, even in the world of crime things are seldom static. With the advent of a checkless society and the proliferation of credit cards, we can expect to see organized crime play a much larger role in forgery type fraud. There are several reasons for this anticipated increase in activity. First, a forgery is a non-violent crime which is likely to produce relatively small sentences and not arouse too much public outcry. It is also the conspiracy type of crime which is ideally suited to organized crime operations. In addition, it is the type of crime where much of the arrest risk can be delegated to pushers and lower echelon members of the syndicate.

One of the most important tools for the prevention of this type of criminal expansion lies within the provisions of the new "Omnibus Crime Bill". This bill, with its major emphases on the prosecution of organized crime on a local or statewide level, will provide a major impetus toward the detection and prosecution of the "financial" end of the organized crime syndicate.

Another promising sign in recent days has

been the appearance of select federal "Task Forces" specifically designed to combat organized crime. One of the first locations established for these forces was Brooklyn, N.Y., in the heart of Mafaland. This task force has been particularly effective and was in fact cited for its excellent work by the Republican Party task force on crime, in the preparation of its report for President Nixon. At the time of this writing there are five task forces in full operation with new groups coming on stream each month.

Basically, the task force consists of a special group of Justice Department lawyers aided by supervising agents from many federal agencies whose jurisdiction involves Mafia-type crimes. There are agents from Internal Revenue, Narcotics, Immigration, etc.

The Task Force moves into a specific geographic area. The area usually coincides with the boundaries of a Federal Judicial District. An intelligence estimate is prepared on all organized crime activities within that area. From this report certain key activities, or more properly individuals, are selected. By coordinating the interests and jurisdictional capacities of the many federal agencies it is often possible to find a specific area where a local crime figure has inadvertently stepped across the line into public illegality. When this step is discovered the Task Force pounces and another member of the "family" disappears from circulation.

At the present time the Task Forces, because of limited manpower, are concentrating their up-tight surveillance on the first two or three levels of the organizational structure. As Congress appropriates more funds (the department has asked for 100 additional Assistant U.S. Attorneys) the Task Force will turn their attention to ever lower levels of the structure. When this happens, then maybe, the promise of the doves that organized crime has little connection to forgery will be realized.

AN AMERICAN REJECTS SPECIAL PRIVILEGE FOR HIS RACE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the defense of liberty and freedom knows no color barrier. This was proven this week when Attorney John C. Harris, of Alexandria, argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that:

It would be giving Negroes special rights if it forced all white private clubs to accept Negroes as members.

The attorney is a Negro.

Mr. Speaker, I insert a news clipping from the Washington Evening Star for March 19 followed by a memorandum, "Does the 13th Amendment Convey Superior Rights to the Black Man Over All Other Races?"

The material follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

COURT GETS CLUB PLEA ON NEGRO ENTRY

An Alexandria lawyer has told the Supreme Court it would be giving Negroes superior rights if it forced all-white private clubs to accept Negroes as members.

John C. Harris of Alexandria made the point yesterday in defending the whites-only policy of Little Hunting Park swimming and tennis club in Fairfax County.

The club's policy has been challenged as illegal by Paul E. Sullivan, who says the club

refused to admit a Negro family that had been renting a home from Sullivan in a housing development near the club.

Sullivan has contended that an 1866 civil rights law gives Negroes an equal right to obtain membership in private clubs.

But Harris, in his reply, said the result would actually be a superior right for Negroes, since the 1866 law is designed only to protect Negroes.

"It would follow," Harris said, "that a Negro would be entitled to membership on the basis of his race alone, whereas white persons would be subject to acceptance or non-acceptance on other grounds."

The court will indicate later, perhaps next month, whether it will hear the challenge against Little Hunting Park.

DOES THE 13TH AMENDMENT CONVEY SUPERIOR RIGHTS TO THE BLACK MAN OVER ALL OTHER RACES?

The Supreme Court has passed on the 13th Amendment before. In the case of *Hodges v. United States*, the defendants were convicted by the federal courts in Arkansas of conspiring to prevent some Negroes from working for a certain employer. This was a crime under a law passed by Congress under the enforcement clause, on the theory that freedom of contract was an essential part of non-slavery. The Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional, and in doing so analyzed the meaning and effect of the Amendment in the following language:

"That prior to the three *post bellum* amendments to the Constitution the national government had no jurisdiction over a wrong like that charged in this indictment is conceded; that the 14th and 15th Amendments do not justify the legislation is also beyond dispute, for they, as repeatedly held, are restrictions upon state action, and no action on the part of the state is complained of. Unless, therefore, the 13th Amendment vests in the nation the jurisdiction claimed, the remedy must be sought through state action and in state tribunals.

"The meaning of this [the 13th Amendment] is as clear as language can make it. The things denounced are slavery and involuntary servitude, and Congress is given power to enforce that denunciation. All understand by these terms a condition of enforced compulsory service of one to another. While the inciting cause of the Amendment was the emancipation of the colored race, yet it is not an attempt to commit that race to the care of the nation. It is the denunciation of a condition, and not a declaration in favor of a particular people.

"The logic [of the Government's theory of the case] points irresistibly to the contention that the 13th Amendment operates only to protect the African race. This is evident from the fact that nowhere in the record does it appear that the parties charged to have been wronged by the defendants had ever been themselves slaves, or were the descendants of slaves. They took no more from the amendment than any other citizens of the United States.

"It is for us to accept the decision, which declined to constitute them wards of the nation, or leave them in a condition of alienage where they would be subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, but gave them citizenship, doubtless believing that thereby in the long run their best interests would be subserved, they taking their chances with other citizens in the states where they should make their homes."

Thus, by this decision, the Supreme Court of another day very clearly and sensibly rejected the theory that the Thirteenth Amendment created a specially privileged class of American citizens. It held squarely that legislation for that purpose was without any Constitutional authority. *And this decision was squarely overruled last June in Jones v. Mayer.*

SUSSEX SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, on Friday evening, March 14, 1969, I attended the annual meeting of the Sussex Soil and Water Conservation District in the high school at Georgetown, Del. Nearly 400 district cooperators and their distinguished guests were at this banquet to commemorate their 25th anniversary of the conservation district that so ably serves Sussex County, and the State of Delaware.

The chairman of the district governing board, Mr. Alden P. Short of Georgetown, Del., was in charge of the program. Mr. Earl White of Bridgeville recalled some of the milestones of the district's 25-year history. Mr. Cashar Evans of Selbyville presented awards to Mrs. Frances Bahn, secretary, Sussex County extension staff, cooperative extension service; and Mrs. Betty J. Ellingsworth, secretary, soil conservation service, Newark, Del.

The associate administrator of the Soil Conservation Service, Norman A. Berg, climaxed the program with an address that I think is worthy of a wider audience. He stressed the effective partnership of local, State, and national organizations over the past quarter century that together have met the challenge of conservation and have translated conservation needs into action.

Now, more than ever, resource conservationists need to unite in their efforts to assure an environment with quality. This will increasingly require dedicated teamwork of both rural and city people. Finally, career conservationist Berg forecast the broadened conservation mission conservation districts will face in the next 25 years. This can also have a direct effect on our work.

Mr. White, in his brief remarks, told of the remarkable achievements of the Sussex County Soil and Water Conservation District in the 25 years of its existence. This group, in Delaware's southernmost county, has a record we in Delaware are proud of—a record of innovation and initiative which has served well the people of Sussex County and of the State of Delaware. They are to be congratulated on this record.

Mr. President, I ask consent to place the remarks of Mr. Berg and Mr. White in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY NORMAN A. BERG, ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR, SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

I'm pleased to be in Georgetown tonight to help you celebrate your 25th anniversary as a soil conservation district. We in the Soil Conservation Service are proud to have shared these years with you. Together we have met the challenge of conservation, and have translated the conservation need into accomplishment.

Delaware district supervisors have been active and effective in their work with the Na-

tional Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts. Earl White, Isaac Thomas, and Elwood Tucker, as members of the NACD Council, and long-time friend Cashar Evans, past director of NACD, among others, have performed outstanding service.

I would like to leave with you tonight a deep feeling of partnership with those of us in the Federal service whose job it is to help meet local needs through national programs.

SCS help can be applied effectively only on local terms. Our technicians will help you determine what those alternative terms are, from a conservation standpoint. But it is your land, your water, your county, and your economy. It is a complex mix of needs, potentials, and special interests. It takes a lot of sound common sense, a good salting of understanding, compromise, and cooperation, in recognizing the essential needs, in making the most of the potentials, in accommodating the many and varied interests, public and private, for the general good.

Even in Delaware, Washington can seem a long way off. We need to understand the nature of our partnership. In this respect, SCS has an advantage over many other Federal agencies. We have conservationists in each of the States and in every conservation district. You have someone right at home to turn to. And in Washington we have an all-important liaison with every part of the country.

We in SCS prize this relationship. We appreciate its importance in a time of growing pressures on land and water resources.

Now, more than ever, resource conservationists need to unite in their efforts to assure an environment with quality. Accomplishing this will require dedicated teamwork involving both rural and city people and organizations, with strong support from government at all levels.

According to the updated Conservation Needs Inventory, about 90 percent of Delaware's land is privately owned or owned by local government agencies. Urban uses still take only about 7 percent of the land space. Sussex is the least urban of all Delaware's counties.

In the last 10 years urban buildup in Delaware increased by about 17,000 acres. Urbanization has been moderate in Delaware. The State remains, and probably will remain for some time to come, except for Wilmington and Dover, predominantly rural. But you are in the mainstream of the growing urbanizing pressures from Boston to Richmond, in fact all along the East Coast.

These facts emphasize the continuing major role assigned to the soil and water conservation districts.

A high percentage of private ownership of land requires broad understanding and cooperation at the district level. There must be continuing, meaningful local dialog so that all legitimate long-term interests are served.

When SCS entered into its first memorandum of understanding with the Sussex district in 1944, the primary needs were technical assistance and heavy earth moving equipment to continue and expand the work most recently done by the Civilian Conservation Corps.

In cooperation with other district leaders, you enlisted the aid of private citizens, the county government, and the State. Tackling the drainage problem, you persuaded the county and State to help underwrite the cost of Tax Ditch projects. You re-wrote the State Drainage Law and helped create the office of the State Drainage Engineer. One of Sussex's most distinguished citizens, Senator John J. Williams, is generally credited with having water disposal included as a purpose for P.L. 566 watershed projects.

As a result of all this you have made excellent progress in solving the drainage problem.

One of the Soil Conservation Service's first assignments in Delaware was the completion

of the engineering survey and design of the Pocomoke River project. At the time it was described as the largest drainage project east of the Mississippi. The Sussex district coordinated the massive effort needed to accomplish the job.

The Pocomoke River project is an early example of the effective partnership between SCS and the Sussex District.

State Conservationist Bill Ratledge has reminded me of the vital role the districts have also played in establishing suitable beachgrass on the coastal dunes.

SCS has benefited, too, in helping out with plant selection and testing to find better strains of beachgrass at our Plant Materials Centers at Beltsville, Maryland, and at Cape May, New Jersey. This work is still going on. And it is not limited to the dunes. It extends to stabilizing ditch and road banks, heavily used recreation areas, and the banks of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

SCS cooperation with the districts in plant materials, soil survey and other conservation work has brought conservation needs to the attention of many State and County agencies. We welcome this interest on a broad conservation front.

Amendment of the basic District Act in 1963 and updated memorandums of understanding with the U.S. Department of Agriculture have made it possible for Delaware districts to extend their services to all segments of the community. Through district channels, SCS assistance is provided to areas undergoing rapid changes in land use. The approach to soil and water conservation, the tools we have available, apply wherever our mission takes us and whatever the purpose.

In fiscal year 1968, SCS allocated over 3,000 hours to working with 255 non-farm people, groups and official agencies in Delaware. Most of the services related to soil survey interpretations for planning boards, developers, engineering firms and others.

The classification and mapping of the soils of Delaware have been a cooperative program of conservation districts, SCS, and the Delaware Agricultural Experiment Station over the past 24 years.

The Sussex County survey is about 85 percent complete. We estimate that about 2 man-years of work will be necessary to complete the 90,000 acres remaining to be mapped. Soils information in the county is geared to highway, recreation, and urban-type land use planning, as well as for agricultural needs. The SCS compilation "Soil Survey Interpretations of Delaware," published by the State Planning Office, is being used by State agencies and planning offices. State planning officials are working with the Sussex County Planning Commission and SCS in community development based on soils information for Seaford and Lewes.

The Delaware conservation districts are to be commended for their help in extending SCS soils interpretations to community planners, engineering firms, land developers, and other non-farm interests. Delaware's Senator J. Caleb Boggs played a leading role in the enactment of a bill, S-902, 89th Congress, clarifying the use of soil surveys for non-agricultural purposes.

Delaware has an outstanding guide for future development in the Preliminary Comprehensive Development Plan prepared recently by the Delaware State Planning Office. The Plan is an excellent analysis of Delaware's assets and potentials. The introduction to the Plan states that it is also "a strategy for long range physical development, geared to the needs of the people and cognizant of the land on which they live. This strategy will be of use to decision makers, public and private, and to the public in general." It goes on to say that the Plan "is designed to guide growth toward the kind of environment Delaware citizens want."

You are more familiar with the Plan than I am; but I was struck by the concern for open space around planned urban develop-

ment, and for recreation and conservation facilities. This is gratifying to a professional career conservationist.

Sussex County, with more than 250,000 acres of forests, provides prime areas for income-producing recreational development. Vacation farm enterprises are another possibility. As these developments take place, and as Delaware's beach resorts and facilities move inland to accommodate an increasing flow of vacationers, and part-time and full-time residents, this comprehensive development plan will be an invaluable guide to countryside and community development.

Every conservation program, every change in land use, should be considered in relation to the total needs and potentials of the community.

You conservation district leaders, in cooperation with other conservation-minded citizens, have a heavy responsibility in assuring that this is done. The future environment of Sussex County depends upon how effectively your mission is carried out.

Environment is the key word.

You will be interested in the attention given to the environment at the latest meeting last October of the Secretary of Agriculture's Public Advisory Committee on Soil and Water Conservation.

The Advisory Committee observed that "the modern concept of conservation is as broad as the whole out-of-doors." And "that to be effective the conservation job must be done under local leadership with State and national government serving as working partners."

That plans and programs of all public agencies—Federal, State, and local—involving both rural and urban land use—should be fully coordinated and integrated to achieve a high quality environment for all the people.

That regional planning and development of natural resources on private lands in rural and urban areas are needed now.

That investment of more private talent and capital in the field of conservation must be strongly encouraged.

That State and local governments should accelerate their financial support for increased soil, water, and related conservation efforts.

That conservation districts are "logical catalysts for bringing together within local communities all interested individuals, groups, and agencies—both rural and urban—who will benefit from the results of conservation efforts."

That local soil and water conservation district governing bodies should include representation from the general public as well as agricultural interests.

These thoughtful and challenging guidelines should inspire us to greater effort and broader cooperation.

These virtues have made the conservation district movement the outstanding success that it is throughout our country.

Assuring an environment that satisfies the needs of the human spirit as well as the material needs of the individual, requires a lot of down-to-earth understanding, a willingness to compromise, and a desire to cooperate.

I know the people in the agricultural areas are wondering how well their interests may be represented in any partnership with the more populous and economically stronger urban community. You farmers may well ask whether the Department of Agriculture will continue to operate at the old stand, serving agricultural interests as well in the future as in the past.

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin, at the recent National Agricultural Outlook Conference, said: "It is quite evident that the Department of Agriculture is going to continue to be involved, as it has been through all the years, with farm programs and all of the activities associated therewith."

Secretary Hardin pointed out that the Department—in its assistance programs—

among other responsibilities must place emphasis on improving the quality of living in rural America.

The quality of living—or the environment—in rural America is directly related to much overcrowding of our cities. If we can provide economic opportunity and the other amenities in the spacious countryside, urban overcrowding can be relieved and prosperity can be brought to the neglected rural areas.

In his Outlook Conference talk, Secretary Hardin said: "We are going to be increasingly involved in the whole area of things that we call rural America—activities outside the metropolitan areas."

The Secretary said it is the intention of the Department of Agriculture that the economic development of rural America doesn't "get lost in the shuffle" as government and the private sector become increasingly preoccupied with the problems of the large cities.

Secretary Hardin spoke of the need to establish new "growth points" throughout America—in our smaller cities, county seat towns, and new cities. This is the plausible alternative to more influx into the Nation's larger cities where the added numbers cannot easily be absorbed in an acceptable way of life.

You will be interested that Secretary Hardin is a member of two Executive-level councils which are concerned with national growth and prosperity: the Urban Affairs Council and the Council on Economic Development. In those councils there is a strong commitment to active partnership of rural and urban America.

The SCS-District partnership always has stressed conservation as a dynamic process that embraces consumption and renewal of resources as well as protection.

The challenges we face together now emphasize the dynamic nature of our conservation mission.

Together, over the years, we have accomplished water management on thousands of acres; brought greater value to the land and profit for the land owners through assistance in proper land use practices; provided information on soils for proper land use planning, and on conservation plants for erosion control. And in many other ways we have contributed to the improved quality of the environment in rural Delaware.

Now, as we broaden the conservation mission, your continuing assistance is needed to:

Accelerate erosion control on agricultural lands not adequately treated.

Provide technical assistance and guidelines to counties and municipalities in soil interpretation, site selection and erosion control.

Work with local officials and individual landowners to attack erosion problems on critical sediment source areas such as roadbanks and streambanks.

Give dynamic leadership in developing water storage and distribution projects for municipal, industrial, and recreation uses.

Unite with other agencies and organizations in drawing the greatest possible benefits from water and related land resources as a local community effort.

The American success story is based as much on cooperative community action as it is on rugged individualism. The colonists who huddled on a strange and fearsome shore had to unite if they were to survive. The pioneer relied on his neighbor, and communities were founded, and the Nation grew on the strength of united dedication, determination, and effort.

I hope the American people will never fully satisfy the zest for personal attainment in pioneering new frontiers. But, the complex relationships in our modern society require cooperative and coordinated pursuit of common goals if we are to make the most effective use of our talents, skills, and natural resources.

I hope I have helped to define here tonight the vital role of the soil and water conservation districts in assuring a quality environment for Delaware and the Nation.

Working together, I am confident we can achieve our loftiest goals.

REMARKS BY EARL WHITE, MEMBER, DISTRICT BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, SUSSEX SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT

As we pause here tonight for a few moments, to observe the 25th Anniversary of our District, there are many accomplishments that could be mentioned to the credit of the District program.

I shall mention only a few, to illustrate the progress that has been made by our District in the conserving and wise use of the natural resources here in Sussex County. I shall call them milestones of progress.

The first was the organization of our Sussex County Soil Conservation District in 1944.

Second, the loan of a used surplus dragline to the District by the Federal Soil Conservation Service in 1945.

Third, the loan of the money needed to purchase our first new dragline by Mr. Norvil Pepper in 1946. This money was repaid as the dragline worked. This demonstrated the soundness of this procedure and provided the basis for securing state funds, on loan, to be used for purchasing equipment and to be repaid as the equipment worked. Today the District owns 6 draglines, 6 bulldozers, a tile trencher and a power grader—all purchased in this manner and paid for as they operate.

Fourth, through the years our District has worked with more than 100 tax ditches in the County providing improved drainage. This has resulted in greater efficiency for the production of agricultural crops.

Fifth, in 1958 the Bearhole Watershed Project was started in our District, the first watershed in the United States. It was completed in 1961. Since that time two additional watershed projects have been approved in the District and much of the work has been completed on them. They are the Nanticoke Watershed and the Marshyhope Watershed.

Sixth, this year our District is cooperating with the Agricultural Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in a Water Quality Research Project for Delmarva. We have provided a mobile home to be used as an office and laboratory for this work. It is located at the Agricultural Substation and work on the project should start by April first of this year.

Seventh, there are 1,600 cooperators in our District; we have dug 1,400 miles of ditches, including outlets and farm ditches; we have provided conservation plans for all cooperators; we have worked with other groups and agencies concerned with conservation of our natural resources. Our District publishes a bi-monthly newsletter which is mailed to all cooperators and many other interested people.

Tonight we—your District Board of Supervisors—say "thank you" for coming and helping to make this 25th Anniversary meeting a success. We hope the next 25 years will be even more exciting and our District will contribute even greater things in the work of conservation here in Sussex County.

QUOTAS ON IMPORTS OF MINK

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill today having to do with the establishment of quotas on imports

of mink. This industry is an important one for the State of Minnesota. In 1967, nearly 10 percent of the entire total production came from Minnesota and were raised on 429 ranches. This number of ranches had declined by nearly one-fourth in just 1 year. There is no denying that the flood of nearly unrestricted foreign pelts has been the material factor in forcing bankruptcy on our American producers.

In the 90th Congress, a total of 86 Congressmen authored this type of legislation indicating the real concern and the extent of damage that is done to our local industry from these lower priced imports. I sincerely hope that this Congress will take action on this needed legislation in this session.

HEARINGS OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, a growing number of my colleagues in the Congress are becoming more and more concerned over the depressing "shrinkage" of the projected post-Vietnam fiscal dividend. The President's Cabinet Coordinating Committee of Economic Planning for the End of the Vietnam Hostilities estimated a fiscal dividend of \$19 billion at the end of 10 quarters. Now Secretary of Defense Laird announces that \$7 billion is a more realistic estimate.

This is the latest evidence of what economists refer to as the "defense expenditure ratchet," a set of inertial forces that prevent defense spending from falling back to its initial level once the original rationalization for increased spending is no longer valid.

Although the main purpose of our hearings is to determine the necessity of a commission on government procurement, I think an equally important objective of our committee is to examine how procurement decisions are actually made. By this I mean what assumptions, data, and analyses are these decisions based on, especially as they concern major new weapons systems.

A second, and possibly more critical question is whether the President is being given an independent analysis of these Defense requests by someone who is able to look at the Defense Department objectively in light of other departmental budget considerations?

My research into the budget interplay between the Defense Department and the Bureau of the Budget has left me quite disturbed over what appears to be the inability of the Bureau of the Budget to scrutinize the Defense Department to the same extent that it reviews non-Defense spending.

This is the result of both inadequate manpower and the nature of the Defense budget process itself.

For example, there was one BoB examiner assigned to the Headstart program, and one examiner assigned to the anti-ballistic-missile system. There is something basically wrong when a government gives equal Budget Bureau attention to an ABM system, with projected expenditures of anywhere from \$6 billion to \$50 billion and the Headstart program which has an estimated expenditure of \$338 million in fiscal 1970.

Of course, I am not advocating that there be a 1-to-1 ratio dollarwise, but pointing up the fact that there presently seems to be a severe imbalance with only 10 percent of the Bureau professional staff examining nearly half the budget.

Furthermore, domestic agency budgets are given different and more intense scrutiny than the Defense budget. In all departments of Government, except for the Defense Department, budget examiners conduct an independent analysis and review which is submitted to the Director of the Budget. In Defense, budget examiners work not independently, but with their Defense counterparts, and the analysis and review are submitted first to the Secretary of Defense rather than to the Budget Director. Only after the Secretary has approved it, is the review submitted to the Budget Director. The result of this procedure is that whereas other Secretaries must go to the President to have him overrule the Budget Director, in the case of Defense, the Budget Director must go to the President to overrule the Secretary.

This process, of course, shifts the whole budget process power structure and renders the Bureau almost impotent as a force for independent analysis of military procurement programs.

Edwin Dale, writing in the New York Times on March 17, said:

The Budget Bureau in its normal role, does not exist only to make operations more efficient or to save pennies, but to challenge entire concepts and programs.

Again on Wednesday, March 19, the New York Times on its editorial page discusses the phenomenon saying:

One of the advantages that the military establishment exploits in pressing for ever larger budgets is the reluctance of outsiders to challenge the effectiveness of its programs. Sloganeering patriotism is used to silence potential critics.

On the same day, the Wall Street Journal, editorialized:

Certainly the time has come for Congress to insist that the Bureau of the Budget give more thorough and skeptical analysis to the defense budget. Inexcusably, the military has too often evaded the public accountability normally required of other government agencies.

At this point, I should like to include the full text of the Dale article and the two editorials in the RECORD:

CLOSE LOOK URGED AT DEFENSE FUNDS: CONGRESS FUNDS SCRUTINY BY BUDGET BUREAU IS SLIGHT

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, March 16.—A growing number of members of Congress have made a new discovery that concerns them: The Budget Bureau does not scrutinize and criticize the defense budget as it does the budget of every other agency of Government.

Both the House and Senate heard speeches on the matter last week. The new director of the budget, Robert P. Mayo, is aware of the issue and giving thought to it.

The Congressional concern reflects a new mood of skepticism about military spending that has emerged this year.

In the end, there could be a major change, with the Budget Bureau becoming a far more challenging and independent critic of the nation's defense policy, and defense spending, than it is now.

Of the 300 officers in the Budget Bureau, only about 30 are assigned to the defense budget, which is more than half the total budget, excluding Social Security and other trust funds.

AGREE WITH PENTAGON

Unlike the budget review of other agencies, the Budget Bureau officers agree with their Pentagon counterparts and submit recommendations to the Secretary of Defense, not to the Director of the Budget.

Thus, as Representative William S. Moorhead, Democrat of Pennsylvania, told the House last week, the "appeal to the President" procedure in defense is different from that of every other program.

"The result of the procedure," Mr. Moorhead said, "is that whereas other Secretaries must go to the President to have him overrule the Budget Director, in the case of defense, the Budget Director must go to the President to overrule the Secretary."

Other officials make clear he seldom does so.

Senator William Proxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin, saying "the time of the blank check is over," told the Senate, "We must have a much sterner and more critical review of the military budget by the Budget Bureau itself."

NOT IN GREAT DETAIL

He quoted Charles J. Zwick, former Budget Director, as conceding, "We obviously do not get into as great detail in that department as we do in some other departments."

The Budget Bureau, in its normal role, does not exist only to make operations more efficient or to save pennies, but to challenge entire concepts and programs. Thus any effort by it to scrutinize defense spending more closely would inevitably involve it in the entire issue of military strategy and the requirements of national security.

But, in addition, Senator Proxmire has emphasized what he called waste in military methods of procurement, poor performance by contractors and frequent "overruns" of estimated costs. These, too, could be the subject of Budget Bureau challenge if the present system were changed.

Mr. Mayo will probably be questioned on the issue soon by a House Government Operations subcommittee looking into the issue of Government procurement, and defense procurement in particular.

CUTTING OUT DEFENSE FAT

President Nixon's decision to reduce the Johnson Administration's request for defense spending by \$2.5-billion is a small, but important step in the right direction. Defense Secretary Laird will provide details on these economies when he testifies before a Congressional committee today, but apparently the revision of the Sentinel system will account for almost one billion dollars of the reduction.

One of the advantages that the military establishment exploits in pressing for ever larger budgets is the reluctance of outsiders to challenge the effectiveness of its programs. Sloganeering patriotism is used to silence potential critics. But times are changing. The present debate over ABM deployment is accompanied by increased questioning of other components of the huge defense budget.

Writing in The Washington Monthly before Mr. Nixon's last news conference, Robert

S. Benson, who used to work in the comptroller's section of the Pentagon, argued that more than \$9 billion could be safely trimmed from the Johnson defense budget. Mr. Benson noted that \$1.8 billion could be saved this year by halting all work on the Sentinel system. Other economies would be realized by abandoning dubious projects, eliminating duplicative programs and reducing waste and inefficiency in the deployment of personnel and the procurement of goods and services.

The Bureau of the Budget is nominally empowered to scrutinize charges of waste such as Mr. Benson advances. But Representative William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania has contended on the House floor that that watchdog agency cannot deal effectively with the Pentagon. In all other government departments, Budget Bureau examiners conduct independent reviews of requests for spending authority. But in defense matters, Budget examiners work with their Pentagon counterparts and their "reviews" are first sent to the Defense Secretary before they go to the Budget Director.

The result, Mr. Moorhead reports, is that whereas "other Secretaries must go to the President to have him overrule the Budget Director, in the case of Defense, the Budget Director must go to the President to have him overrule the Secretary."

A tight rein must be kept on the growth of Federal spending to combat inflation. Simultaneously, budget priorities must be realigned to meet the needs of the cities. Cutting the fat out of the defense budget offers the best hope of achieving both goals.

REVIEWING THE MILITARY

The new tendency in Congress and in the public at large to question growing influence of the military—most recently exhibited in the Sentinel controversy—is, it seems to us, a healthy development. A rigorous civilian review of the role of the military in national life is long overdue.

The military, surely, is not immune to current criticisms which have proved valid for other major institutions. A list of its failings have a familiar ring: It has held an exaggerated view of its own power; it has relied too much on technology when complicated social and political aspects of military problems can no longer be ignored; it has unwisely and wastefully committed huge sums of money.

It is this last point which has caused

Congressional antimilitary sentiments to burst into public dialog. Sen. William Proxmire, for example, charged in a recent speech that former President Eisenhower's warning against the excessive influence of the "military-industrial complex" no longer refers to the future. "There is today unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex resulting in excessive costs, burgeoning military budgets and scandalous performances," Sen. Proxmire said in calling for greater control over military spending.

Dissatisfaction with these failings is fanned by public frustration with the Vietnam war and growing domestic unrest. The feeling of many that the individual no longer participates in Government decisions that directly affect his life can be traced in large part to increasing draft calls and the tax requirements of a distant, unpopular war pursued in the face of urgent troubles at home.

Certainly the time has come for Congress to insist that the Bureau of the Budget give more thorough and skeptical analysis to the defense budget. Inexcusably, the military has too often evaded the public accountability normally required of other Government agencies.

In one recent case, Army officials pleaded "security reasons" in refusing to discuss in public a \$1.5 billion program in which mass production of tanks was ordered though no ammunition had been developed for their weapons to fire. We tend to agree with the chairman of a House Armed Services subcommittee investigating the matter, who concluded "this censorship is indeed an attempt to hide bumbling ineptness rather than to protect vital security data."

The most important goal of civilian review, however, should be to determine what sort of military system best suits U.S. participation in modern world politics. If future foreign policy is to be more selective in its commitments—as we think it should be—then a professional volunteer army, limited in manpower but technically expert, would be a more acceptable and effective instrument of policy. By requiring Congress to debate and approve a new draft law to support any massive new commitment, it would also insure public participation in such a major question of military policy, forestalling later controversy.

Only since World War II, with the emergence of the U.S. as a major power, has a military organization of the current magnitude seemed necessary. Now more than ever

there is need for the civilian vigilance Mr. Eisenhower recommended. By its size alone the military has gained profound influence on the economy, and perhaps less apparently, on the formation of foreign policy, since policy often depends on the tools available to implement it.

A large, inflexible military organization unchecked by strong civilian review can lead only to a self-perpetuating drain on national treasure, a demoralized citizenry, and foreign policies dangerously irrelevant in a world moving rapidly away from traditional forms of war and diplomacy. In the truest sense, national strength results not from a large military, but from a military subordinate to the needs of sound civilian government.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY POST-HIGH-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and the American people this interesting letter from the assistant superintendent of the Allegheny County schools in Pittsburgh, Pa., which outlines the post-high-school activities of the 1968 graduates from high schools in the city of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

We in Allegheny County are certainly proud of this fine record.

The letter follows:

From: James S. Snoke, Assistant Superintendent.

Date: March 15, 1969.

Subject: Statistical Summary of Post-High School Activity of 1968 Graduates.

We are pleased to submit this statistical summary of the post-high school activity of all the 1968 graduates of Allegheny County high schools. We express our appreciation to the individual high school principals for submitting the data for the respective high schools.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

[1968 Post-High-School Activity,¹ Mar. 15, 1969]

	Allegheny County		Pittsburgh public		Pittsburg diocese		All schools, ² total		State ³ (percent)	County deviation
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
College or university outside Pennsylvania.....	2,081	13.6	481	10.7	539	13.1	3,101	13.1	8.9	+4.2
Community college.....	1,088	7.2	313	7.0	292	7.1	1,691	7.1	4.2	+2.9
Junior college.....	438	2.9	45	1.0	110	2.7	593	2.5	2.5	-----
The 14 State colleges ⁴	1,881	12.4	207	4.6	622	15.1	2,710	11.4	10.2	+1.2
Other college or university.....	2,470	16.4	644	14.3	904	22.0	4,018	16.9	12.9	+4.0
Higher education subtotals.....	7,956	52.5	1,690	37.6	2,467	60.0	12,113	51.0	38.7	+12.3
Vocational or technical school.....	809	5.4	265	5.9	202	4.9	1,276	5.4	5.2	+2
School for nursing.....	347	2.3	65	1.5	137	3.3	549	2.3	2.6	-3
Business school.....	308	2.0	140	3.1	109	2.6	557	2.4	3.2	-8
Other schools.....	469	3.1	106	2.4	48	1.2	623	2.6	2.7	-1
Postgraduates.....	17	.1	27	.6	10	.2	54	.2	.3	-1
Business—nursing—vocational—technical subtotals.....	1,950	12.9	603	13.5	506	12.2	3,059	12.9	14.8	-1.1
Armed Forces.....	866	5.5	296	6.5	99	2.4	1,261	5.4	6.6	-1.2
Sales.....	500	3.5	265	5.7	56	1.3	821	3.5	3.9	-4
Office employment.....	1,317	8.5	405	9.1	599	14.5	2,321	9.7	9.7	-----
Factory work.....	330	2.5	95	3.1	42	1.0	467	1.9	5.5	-3.6
Trades.....	133	.9	157	3.2	18	.4	308	1.3	2.8	-1.5
Apprentice training.....	116	.8	29	.4	20	.5	165	.7	1.3	-6
Agricultural.....	9	0	1	0	-----	-----	10	0	.8	-8
Other employment.....	741	4.9	328	7.2	189	4.6	1,258	5.3	6.4	-1.1
Employment subtotals.....	4,012	26.6	1,576	35.2	1,023	24.7	6,611	27.8	37.0	-9.2
All others.....	1,210	8.0	611	13.7	129	3.1	1,950	8.3	10.3	-2.0
Total.....	15,128	100.0	4,480	100.0	4,125	100.0	23,733	100.0	100.0	-----

Footnotes at end of table.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES—Continued
[1968 Post-High-School Activity,¹ Mar. 15, 1969]—Continued

	Allegheny County		Pittsburgh public		Pittsburgh diocese		All schools, ² total		State ³ (percent)	County deviation
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
Graduates:										
1969	16,291		4,989		4,124		25,404			
1970 (estimated)	17,424		5,221		4,197		26,842			

¹ Compiled by James S. Snoke, 345 County Office Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
² Private academic schools not included. Estimated graduates, 500 annually.

³ Prepared from data obtained from department of public instruction.
⁴ Includes Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

The 1969 Class is 7% larger than 1968.
The 1970 Class is 13% larger than 1968;
6% larger than 1969.

Percent of all Allegheny County high school graduates—

A. Entering institutions of higher education (51.0%) is 12.3% higher than State;

B. Enrolling in Business-Nursing-Vocational-Technical School—1.1% less than State;

C. Entering Armed Forces—1.2% less than State;

D. Obtaining employment after high school—8% less than State;

E. Enrolling in Out-of-State Colleges—4.2% higher than State;

F. Enrolling in Community College—2.9% higher than State;

G. Enrolling in 14 State Colleges—1.2% higher than State;

H. Enrolling in Other Colleges in State—4.0% higher than State;

I. All others—2% less than State, indicating better follow-up of high school graduate than State average;

J. Office employment is exactly as State average;

K. Entering 2 Year Community or Junior College Program—approximately 10% annually or 2,500 students. These, together with an estimated 12% attrition during the first college year from other institutions of higher education or 3,000, would suggest an annual potential of 5,500 Community College students from current graduates.

Each reader will be able to make other observations according to the individual interest. Your comments or reactions will be helpful in making future Comparative Studies.

PERSONAL INCOME TAX
EXEMPTION

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, it was 30 years ago that the allowance of a \$600 personal income tax exemption for each dependent was established. Since that time just about everything possible has gone up but that tax exemption. Inflation has not had its effect on this item.

We are in a situation where the American taxpayer is faced with a totally unrealistic tax allowance for dependents that needs urgent and immediate attention. With this in mind, I am, today, reintroducing a bill I have sponsored for the past 6 years in the hope that this year will bring relief to the already overburdened taxpayer. This legislation would raise the present \$600 personal tax exemption to \$1,200. Favorable action on this bill will certainly be a bright spot on the tax horizon for the millions of taxpayers who have long hoped for such action by Congress.

SPACE AVAILABLE TRAVEL

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on Friday, March 14, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird made an announcement of vital importance to the morale of the active and retired military personnel and their dependents. Restrictions on space available travel for them were removed by the Secretary.

More than a year ago the Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara announced that all space available travel would be suspended until further notice. He gave as his reason that such travel was detrimental to the U.S. balance of payments.

In restoring this benefit, Secretary Laird said he took the action after a thorough review of all the factors. The balance-of-payments expenditures involved were very small compared to the adverse morale impact on military personnel and their families. He further stated that such travel had been available to active and retired service personnel for many years. He believes its restoration is both reasonable and fair.

Mr. President, I commend the Secretary for this decision. I feel that this decision is but one of many that will be taken throughout the forthcoming administration's term to further enhance the morale and welfare of our military personnel and their dependents. In the past the morale has been severely eroded by shortsighted policies. I also feel that it is another sign of the outstanding team that the President has joined together to head our Department of Defense.

Mr. President, in view of the significance and importance of the Secretary's decision, I ask unanimous consent that Secretary Laird's announcement be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ANNOUNCES REMOVAL
ON RESTRICTIONS ON SPACE AVAILABLE
TRAVEL, MARCH 14, 1969

Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird announced today that restrictions previously imposed by the Department of Defense on space available travel have been removed.

Travel overseas by active and retired servicemen—and their dependents—has been affected by the ban, which was imposed more than a year ago in an effort to help alleviate the country's balance of payments problems. In making the announcement, Secretary Laird said, "I took this action after a thorough review of all the factors. The balance of payments expenditures involved were minute but the morale impact throughout the De-

partment of Defense—and on retired service people—was widespread and substantial. Further, since such travel has been available to active and retired service people for many years, I believe its restoration is both reasonable and fair."

The policy change, which is effective now, will not cause any additional expenditures by the Department of Defense. The DOD transportation facilities concerned are being notified immediately, and that portion of the DOD directive which imposed the restriction is being amended to incorporate the new policy.

MR. BOB HOPE: HOPE FOR
AMERICA

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, during preliminary remarks at the opening of today's session, a reference was made regarding Mr. Bob Hope. On the floor of Congress everyone is entitled to an opinion—hopefully it is an opinion that speaks well for America.

I know that the heart of America speaks well for Bob Hope. To our fighting sons abroad, he has brought the true spirit of Christmas. He has repeatedly sacrificed a Christmas at home to bring a little bit of "home" to others at Christmas.

Okinawa to Vietnam, "The Bob Hope Christmas Special" has brought special hope to Americans abroad.

When you need to raise funds to build a hospital or school or camp for the less privileged—yours is a special hope: Bob Hope. Bob Hope will be there with you giving America his time, his energies, his thought, his humor—giving to America from the very bottom of his heart.

When you are planning a civic drive or civic benefit—you will benefit first with America's "hearty" headliner: Bob Hope. No other man in our time has contributed more to the welfare of Americans in need than Bob Hope.

Bob Hope helps us look at ourselves as we really are, and he understands the heart and humor of America. Wherever Bob Hope goes—he goes for America, and the world of nations knows Bob Hope as a symbol of American compassion and understanding.

Some men shout, some men cry, some men lecture—Bob Hope asks you to laugh and understand. Bob Hope's art is subtle, so subtle that some men might overlook it: Hope comes to humor and never to harm. And America knows the difference.

Just yesterday, Bob Hope brought his special humor to the Members of Con-

gress. In commenting on the Nixon campaign, Hope said:

I used to think that when Nixon held up the two fingers he was symbolizing the "V" for victory sign. But now I found out that those two fingers really meant two—the \$200,000 he would get in a salary increase.

And Congress roared. Bob Hope had taken a sensitive controversy and changed it into a sincere chuckle. Congress laughed and understood.

You know, Will Rogers was a great man in his own time because he was able to bring Congress, the Supreme Court, the President, and many others off their "high horses" and back with the people of America.

Today I am thankful that we have Bob Hope. For when Bob Hope speaks he is in step with the great Will Rogers. And it is Hope for America.

NEED FOR OMBUDSMAN NOTED BY AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association a few weeks ago adopted a resolution commending the institution of the ombudsman as a way of improving the means by which individual citizens can voice dissatisfaction with governmental action and inaction. In their resolution the bar association urged that State and local governments consider establishing ombudsman systems, and further urged that the Administrative Conference of the United States experiment with the ombudsman idea for limited areas of Federal activity and that the administrative conference encourage such experimentation by particular agencies of the Federal Government.

I am very encouraged to note the recognition and support of this institution on the part of the American Bar Association. The resolution on the ombudsman, I feel, merits attention from all public servants whose concern it is to assure quality government that is responsive to citizens. Submitted here for the information of my colleagues is the resolution which closely parallels the recommendations which were set forth by the American Assembly on the Ombudsman in October 1967:

Be it resolved, That the American Bar Association recommends:

1. That states and local governments of the United States should give consideration to the establishment of an ombudsman authorized to inquire into all administrative action and to make public criticism.

2. That each statute or ordinance establishing an ombudsman should contain the following twelve essentials: (1) authority of the ombudsman to criticize all agencies, officials, and public employees except courts and their personnel, legislative bodies and their personnel, and the chief executive and his personal staff; (2) independence of the ombudsman from control by any other officer, except for his responsibility to the legislative body; (3) appointment by the executive with confirmation by a designated por-

tion of the legislative body, preferably more than a majority, such as two-thirds; (4) independence of the ombudsman through a long term, not less than five years, with freedom from removal except for cause, determined by more than a majority of the legislative body, such as two-thirds; (5) a high salary equivalent to that of a designated top officer; (6) freedom of the ombudsman to employ his own assistants and to delegate to them, without restraints of civil service and classification acts; (7) freedom of the ombudsman to investigate any act or failure to act by any agency, official, or public employee; (8) access of the ombudsman to all public records he finds relevant to an investigation; (9) authority to inquire into legality, fairness, correctness of findings, motivation, adequacy of reasons, efficiency, and procedural propriety of any action or inaction by any agency, official, or public employee; (10) discretionary power to determine what complaints to investigate and to determine what criticisms to make or to publicize; (11) opportunity for any agency, official, or public employee criticized by the ombudsman to have advance notice of the criticism and to publish with the criticism an answering statement; (12) immunity of the ombudsman and his staff from civil liability on account of official action.

3. That for the purpose of determining the workability of the ombudsman idea within the federal government, the Administrative Conference should (a) experiment by constituting itself an ombudsman for limited areas of federal activity, and (b) encourage and study experimentation by particular agencies with the ombudsman idea.

4. That establishment of a federal government-wide ombudsman system, whether or not designed to assist congressmen in handling constituents' complaints about administration should await findings based upon the experimentation recommended.

Be it further resolved, That the Section of Administrative Law is authorized to present the views of the Association and to encourage the establishment of ombudsmen in accordance with the provisions of this Resolution, by all necessary and appropriate means.

AN AMERICAN'S PRAYER—BY HELEN BENDIT

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, Helen Bendit, the 14-year-old daughter of Jack Bendit, a member of my staff, was, along with other members of the eighth grade at St. Michael's Parochial School, Annapolis, Va., instructed to write a patriotic essay recently. Her reply, "An American's Prayer," more than fills that assignment. I wish to share her thoughts with Senators. I ask unanimous consent that her remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

AN AMERICAN'S PRAYER

(By Helen Bendit)

Please, God, make our country free
From hunger, crime and war;
So that its citizens can be
Safe from harm for ever more
Help us see no wrong in others
Though their skin be not as ours
You have made them all our brothers
And blessed us with His mighty powers.

KNOWLEDGEABLE, RESPONSIBLE EDITOR COMMENTS ON OUR ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AND THE PARIS PEACE TALKS

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, partisanship was expected to surface certain detractors of any ABM System proposed by President Nixon.

Col. Allen Griffin, editor of the Monterey Peninsula Herald, of Monterey, Calif., is a longtime, perceptive observer of international affairs with special experience and knowledge of Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. Griffin's recent editorial provides extraordinary perspective to the duties, methods, and responsibilities of President Nixon and also of the President's critics.

I insert the editorial of March 17, 1969, and urge every Member to take the time to read it:

TORRENT LOOSED, NIXON CRITICS INESCAPABLE

The conventional phrase is that "the honeymoon is over." That means that the torrent has been loosed, which is what the partisan and other enemies of President Nixon were waiting for and longing for since the day of his election.

Even the press was longing for it, because the President had been adroit enough to frustrate the reporters and pundits by not producing howling headlines and "challenging" programs for them. For eight years the White House had been producing visions, slogans, wars and crises under the late President John F. Kennedy and his successor; and it seemed awfully dull to sit before a skillful expositor who refused to take off into the wild blue.

Then the ABM decision, forced upon the President chiefly by the clamor of his opponents, gave the loud boom. Whatever the decision, however clever or passionate the emphasis, the boom was sure to take place. If it wouldn't be one set of critics it would be another.

The only beneficiary is the Soviet Union. It knows what to do with critics. It has already installed part of its ABM.

The Nixon critics are baying on the trail of the other problem the President inherited from his two predecessors, the ones who started, augmented, and escalated the tragic land war in Vietnam.

It has been no news that the peace talks in Paris have bogged down, nor is it news that the Nixon administration has been seeking the good graces of President Charles de Gaulle and the Soviet Union to assist in bringing the meetings in Paris to the point of discussion.

There is every reason to believe that De Gaulle would like to bring the tragedy to an end; but there are good reasons to believe that the Soviet Union is highly satisfied with the advantages the Vietnam war has brought to it. It has never had a freer hand for its activities in the rest of the world.

The United States has long given up the thought of a military victory. The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong have not given it up. The enemy negotiators in Paris are waiting it out. There seems to be no hope yet for a truce whereby the blood-letting would stop.

This is no simple thing except to those professors, students and a few equally irresponsible politicians whose solution is, "just get out of the place." The French did that

in defeat. But the Vietnamese people who did not want Communist rule had another place to go—to South Vietnam. Now there is no place to go but to wait for the firing squads unless a decent peace may be secured.

This certainly is no time for revengeful partisan politics. The President clearly has his inescapable duties: to improve, where needed, the defense of the United States; to support the armed forces that are in the field, to protect the honor of his country. Methods may be debatable; the conditions of his responsibilities are not.

CALIFORNIA FIRM RECEIVES TOP ACHIEVEMENT AWARD FROM LOS ANGELES AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, a recent edition of Southern California Business, the official weekly publication of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, featured an article on one of the outstanding business enterprises in the 30th Congressional District which I have the honor to represent in Congress.

The article disclosed that this firm, Max Factor & Co., of Hollywood, now celebrating its 60th year in business, had received the chamber's 31st Gold Shovel Award for "significant contributions to southern California's economic growth."

The full text of the article appearing in Southern California Business follows:

GOLD SHOVEL AWARD GOES TO MAX FACTOR
Max Factor & Company, the nation's third largest cosmetic manufacturer, has received the Chamber's Gold Shovel Award for its multimillion dollar investments in Southern California.

Max Factor president Alfred Firestein accepted the award for his company, this year celebrating its 60th year in business.

The company now employs over 1500 people in the Los Angeles area, at its general offices in Hollywood, its manufacturing plant in Hawthorne and its distribution centers throughout the area.

Chamber president John V. Vaughn said, "Max Factor & Company has not only contributed importantly to the area's economy, it has helped make Southern California known everywhere as the beauty capital of the world."

Max Factor & Company's sales last year exceeded \$150 million, and the firm paid over \$13 million in federal income taxes alone. The company is the 31st recipient of the Gold Shovel Award for "significant contributions to Southern California's economic growth."

1969 marks the 60th anniversary year of Max Factor & Co., the internationally-known Los Angeles based cosmetic manufacturer. Down through the years, the company has been influential not only in creating good will for the United States, but in helping to make our country and the state of California, as well as Los Angeles and Hollywood known to the people in the 143 countries of the world where its products are sold.

Since its founding in 1909 by the late Max Factor, Sr., the firm has grown from a tiny make-up and hairgoods business in downtown Los Angeles to one of the world's leading American cosmetic companies. It is the third largest in the United States. In California and the international field it is the largest.

Today, its major United States manufacturing plants, western distribution center, and make-up salon, as well as executive and general office headquarters for its United States and International Divisions are all located in the Los Angeles areas of Hollywood, Hawthorne, and Gardena. These facilities, alone, provide steady employment to more than 1500 people locally—and to more than 10,000 people throughout the world.

UNIQUE CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the custom of sending Christmas cards and letter greetings has greatly expanded in recent times. Many of these "messages of remembrance" are unique and impressive.

For many years, Maurice H. Thatcher, the only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and a former five-term Member of Congress from the old Louisville and Jefferson County, Ky., district has sent to friends Christmas greeting cards or letters, bearing greetings and good will in the form of poems of his own pen. These have been of high excellence and are but a few of the many poems written during a long and useful life of public and beneficial service. Some of these poems have appeared in anthologies, newspapers, and magazines in the United States and Panama; also in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. Thatcher's Christmas letter for 1968 carries a poem, believed to be one of the best in his Christmas series, which is timely, pertinent, and inspiring.

In the course of a very busy and useful life, Mr. Thatcher has found time to write a considerable body of poems of character and worth. Many of these have also been published in newspapers and magazines in this country and in Panama. Thus his versatility is shown. Meantime, he maintains his interest in and, tirelessly and objectively, labors for national parks and parkways, conservation, just benefits for employees of the Panama Canal, and research touching the cause and prevention of tropical disease, thus serving not only the Isthmus of Panama, but the entire world as well.

In and out of Congress, Mr. Thatcher has achieved much for these and other causes of public interest. He is secure in his reputation as lawyer, legislator, executive, patriot, author, and benefactor. His life and deeds are exemplary.

The indicated poem was written last December when the author was more than 90 years of age, and this fact is further evidence of his unabated mental vigor and his grasp of world conditions. Indeed, he is yet active in rendering gratuitous service for national parks and parkways; for just retirement benefits for employees of the Panama Canal, as well as aiding research touching upon the cause and prevention of tropical disease, as previously stated.

Notwithstanding the inclement weather, Mr. Thatcher, now very near a century in age, attended the inaugural ceremonies

of President Nixon at the Capitol. All in all, he attended the inaugural ceremonies of seven Presidents; namely, Taft, Coolidge, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and, of course, Nixon. And he yet closely follows the course of public affairs, both domestic and foreign.

It is indeed a privilege and high honor to insert at this point in my remarks the Christmas letter previously mentioned so that my colleagues and the people of the Nation may have an opportunity to read this inspirational message of this very remarkable, outstanding, fine public servant, and patriotic American:

CHRISTMAS, 1968

Upon this Day we should recall
That Earth was made for each and all,
And not alone for two or three
Who strive to rule in tyranny
Altho the stars might quake and fall.

Mankind must not be held in thrall,
Nor evil ones the good forestall.
Let's ponder well what we should be—
Upon this Day.

None is too great, and none too small,
On this ensanguined astral ball,
To share the quest for Liberty,
As fixed by Heaven's own decree.
May Freedom's strength be as a wall—
Upon this Day!

With greetings, regards, and best wishes,
MAURICE H. THATCHER.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DONALD JACKSON'S NEW JOB

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. BELL of California. Mr. Speaker, it was with great pleasure that I learned of President Nixon's appointment of Donald Jackson to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Don was my predecessor in the Congress and I would like to join his former colleagues in welcoming him back to Washington. The high esteem in which Don is held is well expressed in an editorial from the Santa Monica Evening Outlook which I would like at this time to commend to the attention of the House:

[From the Santa Monica (Calif.) Evening Outlook, Feb. 27, 1967]

DONALD JACKSON'S NEW JOB

The appointment by President Nixon of Donald L. Jackson to a vacancy on the Interstate Commerce Commission will be applauded by the many friends of Mr. Jackson, one of the most popular citizens of the Santa Monica Bay Area who ever served in Congress.

Elected as representative of the old 28th Congressional District in 1946, after distinguished World War II service in the Marine Corps, Donald L. Jackson served six terms, and might easily have won re-election in 1960, had he not refused to run. During this 14-year period he was an outstanding member of the GOP delegation in the House and also of the Committee on un-American Activities.

Always a fine public speaker, Jackson in recent years has starred on radio and TV programs which unfortunately could not reach a national audience.

With such a background of Washington experience and with long knowledge of the more important government commissions,

Donald Jackson should make a valuable member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. His appointment will not change the party lineup on the commission (6 Democrats and 5 Republicans) since he will fill the unexpired term of another Republican, Grant E. Syphers, for four years.

It is gratifying that President Nixon, who entered Congress in the same year as Donald Jackson, wants this old friend of his congressional days to return to government service in Washington.

THE AMERICAN LEGION'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, this is a proud time for a great American organization—the American Legion, and I am indeed happy to pay tribute to an organization which has done so much for this country and continues to serve the veterans, their widows, and children.

The American Legion was conceived at a caucus held in Paris, France, by the members of the American Expeditionary Forces on March 15 to 17, 1919. Two months later, at St. Louis, Mo., another caucus adopted a tentative constitution.

The American Legion was chartered by an act of Congress on September 16, 1919, and its present membership is drawn from all walks of American life. It is from these roots in the community life of America that the American Legion draws its immeasurable strength, vigor, and public support. The people of these communities know of the American Legion's good local works and they stand behind it.

Only last week, I had the great honor to present a fellow New Jerseyan, William C. Doyle, of Vineland, to the members of the Veterans' Affairs Committee of which I am a member. Mr. Doyle is the national commander of the American Legion, the first Jerseyite so honored by this great organization. Because of this, the 50th anniversary of the American Legion is of particular significance to the legionnaires of New Jersey.

On the occasion of this golden jubilee, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in this House, an article which appeared in the Sunday Star Ledger on March 9, 1969, written by Barbara Kukla, on New Jersey's observance of the birth of the American Legion. The article follows:

JERSEY HELPS SALUTE LEGION'S 50TH BIRTHDAY
(By Barbara Kukla)

It's a long way from the battlefields of World War I in France to those of Vietnam, but veterans of both wars as well as the two in between are in the midst of honoring the American Legion on its 50th anniversary.

While 2.6 million Legionnaires throughout the nation are sponsoring numerous observances, the golden jubilee year is particularly notable for New Jersey. For the first time in the Legion's history, the national commander is a Jerseyan—William C. Doyle of Vineland.

Doyle will preside next Saturday—the anniversary date—at the Legion's annual dinner for Congress in Washington, D.C.

REMOTE CONTROL

As the national organization's anniversary gift to the nation, Doyle, by remote control, will light the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier from the dinner at the Park-Sheraton Hotel.

In commemoration of the Legion's founding, a six-cent postage stamp, depicting the organization's insignia in red, white and blue, will be issued the same day and dedicated at the dinner.

Heading the New Jersey contingent, representing 75,000 members and 420 posts, will be Jack W. Kuepfer of Clifton, state commander. William Huggard of Newfoundland is the state anniversary chairman.

New Jersey also boasts 24,000 auxiliary members, headed by Mrs. Franklin Sickle of Long Valley.

FREEDOM TREES

At home, a series of programs and dinners 'round the state will be capped with the presentation April 13 of 22 Freedom (cherry) trees to the state, one for each county and one for the state organization. The trees will be planted at the new state complex in Trenton.

In addition, most county organizations are presenting gifts such as trees and flagpoles to county governments. Individual posts are holding dinners and awarding special citations to 50 year members and veterans of World War I.

The anniversary theme, "50 Years of 100 Per Cent Americanism," focuses on the many programs which the Legion has sponsored to inspire patriotism and to assist veterans, their families and youth.

KEEPS PACE

"The principles of the organization as stated in our preamble will never change," says Kuepfer. "But our programs are continuously changing to keep pace with the times."

From its inception, a major concern of the American Legion has been the plight of the disabled veteran. Instrumental in passage of much legislation, the Legion has continuously sought to provide better care and rehabilitation for the disabled.

The auxiliaries, too, have concentrated efforts on rehabilitation, sponsoring parties and social events at veteran's hospitals.

Closely allied with the same concern is the Legion's interest in the welfare of the children of deceased veterans, at first assuring the care and protection of veterans' children and later seeking to improve conditions for all children.

At the core of the youth program is the American Legion Child Welfare Foundation, Inc., founded in 1954. It has made innumerable grants in the fields of juvenile delinquency, retarded children, mental health, education and physical medicine.

Another major project, central to the Legion's motto—"For God and Country"—is its commission on Americanism, whose efforts are channeled into educational programs and citizenship activities for youth.

Through the work of the commission, millions of American children have gained a better understanding of the Constitution of the United States as participants in the national high school oratorical contests.

Thousands of other youngsters have taken part each summer in workshops on government, known as "Boys State." The workshop, which has been held annually in New Jersey at Rutgers University has outgrown facilities there and will move this June to Rider College in Lawrenceville.

Each year hundreds of thousands of American boys improve their physical fitness and develop a keener sense of sportsmanship, citizenship and fair play through participa-

tion in American Legion baseball, which has been in existence since 1926.

To support outstanding citizenship, the Legion also presents awards to 27,000 school-children annually and has been affiliated with the Boy Scouts of America, as troop sponsors, since 1922.

In addition, the Legion also operates citizenship schools for aliens.

GI BILL

But perhaps its greatest single achievement was the enactment in 1944 of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, more popularly known as the GI Bill of Rights.

Extended in the 1950s to benefit veterans of the Korean War, the GI Bill provides for the hospitalization, education and employment of veterans as well as for loans for home, farm and business.

In New Jersey, one of the projects in which Legionnaires take great pride is the memorial chapel at the United States Naval Air Station in Lakehurst.

Informed of the lack of facilities and furnishings for worship at the station in 1928, Legionnaires conducted a drive and arranged for construction of the chapel. The cornerstone was laid in 1932, but the depression and curtailment of personnel at the base, postponed its completion and dedication until Oct. 26, 1947.

All of this and more is the result of a meeting of 20 servicemen, who met in Paris in 1919 to discuss some sort of program to keep their colleagues occupied following the end of World War I.

Led by young Theodore Roosevelt Jr., who is considered the "Father of the American Legion," the men decided that the fraternity should include all who has served in the armed forces during wartime, whether at home or abroad.

A month later at a caucus in Paris, the American Legion received its name. Plans for a more permanent policy, however, were left for a later and more representative meeting in the United States.

Thus, it was in early May of 1919 that a general caucus was held in St. Louis and the blueprint for the American Legion was drawn.

In New Jersey, the state organization received its permanent charter on Aug. 1, 1920. It was issued by the national headquarters and signed by Franklin D'Olier, the first national commander. A Pennsylvanian, D'Olier later became president of the Prudential Insurance Company in Newark.

Originally headquartered in Newark, the Legion moved its state offices to Trenton in 1922 and since 1932 has operated out of the War Memorial Building there.

And further, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert as part of my remarks an article from the Herald-News of March 12, 1969, on the activities of Jack W. Kuepfer, of Clifton, the State Legion commander in connection with the State's participation in the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion.

The article follows:

CLIFTON MAN, AS STATE LEGION HEAD, PLAYS MAJOR 50TH ANNIVERSARY ROLE

TRENTON.—Jack W. Kuepfer, of Clifton, state legion commander, presented a 50th anniversary plaque to Governor Richard J. Hughes, who is serving as honorary chairman of the Legion's 50th Anniversary Advisory Committee. This state committee is similar to a national committee of 100, headed by former President Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Just prior to the presentation, Governor Hughes signed a proclamation, designating March 15-22 as American Legion Week and the remainder of 1969 through Nov. 11 as

the American Legion Golden Anniversary Year. He asked all citizens in the state to pay tribute to the good works of the American Legion as a token of public appreciation of wartime and peacetime services Legionnaires have given to the community, state and nation.

Kuepfer announced today that the American Legion counties and posts all over the state are now in the process of developing or completing community projects and activities as part of their contributions to the anniversary observance, because "The American Legion is a special interest group—and our special interest is America. Legionnaires will continue to give their time, effort and money to every aspect of the existence of the community, state and nation, so as to contribute to a stronger, and better America."

Kuepfer further stated, in connection with the Legion's 50th Anniversary—That . . . "during this golden anniversary observance, Legionnaires everywhere will take time to look to the future and prepare themselves for a second half century of meaningful service."

The State Legion planning of the Golden Anniversary observance is under the direction of William R. Huggard, past state commander, now of Newfoundland and a former Bergen County resident.

TO CORRECT A MISTAKE

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of last week the Armed Services Committee heard testimony from members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This testimony was designed, in part, to familiarize the members of the Armed Services Committee with the current situation with respect to major defense issues and problems preliminary to the initiation of our hearings later this month in connection with the fiscal year 1970 procurement authorization request. This testimony was taken in executive session and no members of the press were admitted.

I was dismayed to learn that since that testimony was taken, members of the news media made irresponsible and inaccurate statements concerning the testimony given to our committee. Specifically, I refer to reports that on the "Huntley-Brinkley" show of Thursday, March 13, and the "Today Show" of the 14th, it was alleged that General McConnell, the Air Force Chief of Staff, had told our committee that he favored a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam.

As I have stated, the testimony of all members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was given to our committee in executive session.

I do not know the source of the statements made by these television commentators to the American public, and it is not my purpose here today to engage in a witch hunt. Rather, my purpose is solely to correct the record with respect to the testimony of the general. It is not my intention to state at this time what the general said—but I do want the record to clearly reflect that

these commentators have inaccurately reported the facts. In so doing, these men have done a disservice and injustice to General McConnell.

VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in conjunction with the statement by Dr. Richard Barnet on the alternatives before the Nation with regard to the Vietnam war which I yesterday placed in the RECORD, I note that the Washington Post today contains an editorial which also emphasizes that it is time for a decision. The Washington Post editorial advocates a revision in the present military strategy and a reduction in U.S. troop strength in Vietnam as the first steps toward achieving a genuine deescalation of the war.

Secretary of Defense Laird's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee yesterday has left many doubts as to just what the administration's "objectives," as Secretary Laird termed it, are in Vietnam. Less than 2 weeks ago, in Saigon, Secretary Laird stated that he thought it would be possible to bring 50,000 American troops home from Vietnam within the next year. Yet yesterday, in his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Secretary Laird reported that he saw "no indication that we presently have a program adequate to bring about a significant reduction in the U.S. military contribution in South Vietnam." He further stated that the MACV—Military Assistance Command, Vietnam—had told him that "no reduction in U.S. personnel would be possible in the absence of total withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops."

These comments simply do not square with the almost universal agreement during last year's political campaign—and, indeed, President Nixon's own statements as a candidate—that the war must be speedily terminated. If the administration's "objectives" in Vietnam continue to call for the indefinite presence of U.S. forces in South Vietnam, it is up to the Congress to make it clear to the President that these objectives are no more acceptable now than when they were advanced by the Johnson administration. As the Washington Post today urges, the administration must recognize that "it is not a war to be won but a problem to be solved. In other words, the solution is not military but political; and this administration ought to take the first step in acknowledging that."

I insert at this point in the RECORD the editorial from March 20, 1969, Washington Post:

THE NECESSITY FOR CHOICE

The talks drag on at the Hotel Majestic in Paris, as each side waits for the other to modify an old position or propose a new one. The Saigon regime, growing in its confidence, sees to it that the militant Buddhist youth leader, Thich Thien Minh, receives a ten-year prison sentence (five of it in solitary confinement) on a charge of "harboring

rebels, and concealing weapons and illegal documents." The killing continues, 400 American dead two weeks ago, 300 last week, in the episodic savagery of the war. On Tuesday, some 10,000 American and South Vietnamese troops launched an offensive near the Michelin plantation north of Saigon, where enemy divisions were said to be massing for a new assault. The American command calls its latest offensive Operation Atlas Wedge. So the killing will continue, while the waiting game proceeds at Paris.

The President and his advisers appear to believe, on what basis it is unclear, that there is time, perhaps as much as eight months' time, to come to terms in Paris. They appear to believe that the public will sit still for a strategy of talk-and-fight. It has been that way for some time, not only before the election but during the interregnum and after it. In November there were 664 battalion-sized offensive operations by the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN), and 89 by U.S. forces; there was one enemy battalion-sized offensive. In December, there were 824 ARVN operations, and 84 U.S. operations. The number of enemy battalion-sized offensive operations in these two months is, for some mystifying reason, classified. It is true, as the Pentagon has pointed out, that American battalion-size operations are down this year from last (129 in January 1968 vs. 84 in January 1969), and the ARVN way up—a demonstration, according to the military, of Saigon's increasing capacity to take care of itself. It ought also to be noted that American battalion-sized offensives are down because General Creighton Abrams, the American commander in South Vietnam, has decided to de-emphasize them; the emphasis is now on the small-unit patrol. Thus, while battalion-sized maneuvers may be down, the level of violence is not.

The general American offensive went on and lately the enemy has retaliated with its now-customary assault at Tet. It is problematical whether Hanoi or the National Liberation Front would have ceased and desisted if the Americans and Saigon had ceased and desisted, and in any case irrelevant; neither side did. Monotonous on television, relegated to the inside pages of the newspapers, the war is largely forgotten by the public.

It requires more than a cry of "Stop the killing!" to end a war; and it takes two sides to reach an agreement. But the Nixon Administration ought to understand that its period of grace is not limitless, that the silence from the war critics, in Congress and out of it, will not endure indefinitely. Senator McGovern's speech Tuesday is only a foretaste of what is to come; the Nixon Administration, McGovern said, lacks the courage to reverse President Johnson's "tragic course" in Vietnam. It must now be clear to everyone that it is in the national interest to positively de-escalate the war, and that *stasis* is not a policy. Secretary Laird's grim assessment of the war is a startling example of this Administration's naivete. What he is saying essentially is that the allies cannot win (or, anyway, that they are not winning now), and that Saigon is not ready to assume its share of the struggle. Those are facts which everyone has known for three years or more. Change has been marginal, where there is any at all.

The White House is now proceeding with its own review of the war, and from that will assemble a new estimate of the situation on the ground in Vietnam. A new round of escalation is not only unthinkable, but from all the available evidence unnecessary (the two have not always gone together). It is all very well to be cool and guarded in press conferences, to issue warnings only once, to evince concern, to appear in control, and build public support. But at some point the Administration is going to have to choose; and the President and his associates should not mistake the current silence from the critics as acquiescence in the pres-

ent course. The firebrands, along with the rest of us, are waiting and watching for some sign that the new men in power understand the realities of the Vietnam war. First among them is that it is not a war to be won but a problem to be solved. In other words, the solution is not military but political; and this Administration ought to take the first step in acknowledging that. For openers, it might revise the rules of engagement in South Vietnam; and next, it might begin the process of reducing the American expeditionary force. Secretary Laird, in his posture statement, indicated that a troop reduction would not be possible because the South Vietnamese could not handle the insurgency. If Mr. Laird reads the record of the Vietnam war, he will find skeletons everywhere of men who pleaded for a bit more time, a bit more effort to convince the Saigon generals that this or that ought to be done. It is nonsense, of course. The Saigon government will never undertake its share of the war until it is forced to do it, and the only way to force it is for the Americans to begin the process of disengagement.

FLYING IS SAFER, NOT MORE DANGEROUS

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, a new book was recently published which I believe merits the attention not only of the public and the Government agencies directly involved, but of the Members of Congress and other branches of Government.

The title of the book is "Loud and Clear," by Robert J. Serling. It probes deeply every aspect of aviation safety today—how crews are trained, what planes can and cannot do, what happens and why in fatal accidents and what is being done to forestall such accidents in the future.

It seems to me that in a world that depends so much on the quality of its transportation—and to an increasing degree, on the quality of its air transportation—Mr. Serling's frank and knowledgeable treatment of flight safety is both timely and significant. Mr. Serling is well qualified for the task he set for himself, being the author of several earlier books on aviation safety. He is thus well acquainted with the men and the world behind the airline scene. Mr. Serling is also a former aviation news editor of the UPI in Washington.

I was impressed by the review of Mr. Serling's book by Arnold B. Crank, which appeared in the Kansas City Star last month. It is so good that I thought it should be shared by my colleagues. For that reason I have asked the review be preserved for the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, Feb. 4, 1969]

FLYING IS SAFER, NOT MORE DANGEROUS
(By Arnold B. Crank)

Like the blast of cold, clear air following a fast moving cold front, Robert J. Serling's *Loud and Clear* cuts through the murk surrounding the state of safety in the air at the end of a decade of operations in the jet age.

Seeking neither heroes nor goats, he keeps straight on course with the chips of special

interest flying where they may in a lucid and fair exposition of an often emotion-ridden subject.

Serling's *Probable Cause*, published in 1960, contained many of the elements of this book, but in more uncertain, immature ways. Experienced might be a better description of *Loud and Clear*. He always moved with certainty in the Washington hearing rooms where air crash investigations were underway. Now he has an expanded, more complete overall view with a better grasp and explanation of technical problems in air operations.

A searching view of air safety statistics reduces their seemingly overwhelming (underwhelming?) low accident death rate to something more believable and at the same time adding luster to a completely outstanding safety performance by the U.S. airlines. He shows how a fine-performing new airliner can lure a few of its pilots into a dangerous state of over-confidence, with others performing near incredible feats of skill in impossible-appearing emergencies.

The Federal Aviation Administration—he both pats and pans as he does Washington lawmakers who scream for air safety in public and sneak in a "no" vote when funds are needed to correct the very same situation they screamed about.

Fire is the "prime enemy of air safety," Serling points out. "The problem is simple. When a plane crashes, impact forces can tear open fuel tanks. The fuel thus is released in large quantities. This sudden and massive release results in rapid vaporization into a fine mist as the fuel instantly mixes with oxygen. All that is needed is an ignition source—and this is supplied with deadly ease. Just a spark generated by the friction of torn metal scraping a runway or other metal. Or the enormous heat from engines that have been operating at high temperatures, these white-hot components coming in contact with the fuel spray at impact."

"It is plain, therefore," he continues, "that prevention or suppression of fire after impact theoretically could have saved at least nine out of every 10 lives lost in previous crashes." He adds:

"It is to aviation's discredit—airline and government alike—that so little has been done in the past to conquer post-impact fire. Up until three years ago, there was very little research under way in this vital area . . .

"But if past research was dilatory, lackadaisical and even feeble, current efforts are not. There is almost as much attention being paid to the fire problem today as in prevention of air collisions. There has been no real break-through, but the outlook is promising and optimistic."

Serling looks to the very near future in an analysis of the safety engineering of the new "airbus" family of jumbo jets, one of which is the Boeing 747, a 450-passenger, 700,000-pound, 600-plus miles an hour transport. The ship is no dream; it nears test flights and perhaps for the first time designers seriously made safety a prime concern before rather than more or less an afterthought.

With a ship of this size and a price tag of 20 million dollars and up, mostly up, the result of an accident could shake the entire manufacturing, airline and insurance business to say nothing of the possible 400 or so dead passengers and crew.

Every component going into the ship is approved by five hand-picked, nit-picking safety experts who can overrule any or all of the 2,500 designers working on the 747 project, if any single design raises the slightest safety question. Similar close attention is being paid to the other current airbus designs, the McDonnell-Douglas DC-10 and the Lockheed 1100. Serling believes the result will be the safest airplanes ever built.

If the book serves only one purpose, it will be well worth the effort. In referring to many given situations, an easy way of

communication is the "label" or "catch phrase." One such facile nothing-teller is "the crowded skies." Its use is easy for anyone who wishes to quickly indicate his complete ignorance of an extremely complex subject.

Serling adds more understanding by pointing out the "crowded skies" are limited not only to a relative handful of terminal areas, but to periods of the day when (1) air traffic peaks in these areas and (2) weather is bad. The FAA's air traffic control system then will not accept traffic which it cannot handle safely, and he concludes the inadequacies of air traffic control result in delays far more than in danger.

He points out, however, the present system is saturated and projected traffic increases must be met with funds, engineering, technical sophistication and continued effort by all in the universally accepted goal of complete aerial safety.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion, composed of patriots and dedicated to God and country, recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. As a member of Moody-Davis Post No. 122, Utica, Miss., for 23 years, I was happy to join my fellow Legionnaires in commemorating this historic event Saturday evening here in Washington at the annual congressional dinner.

At the dinner, President Nixon, on behalf of his countrymen, accepted the American Legion's gift to the unknown soldiers of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war.

In a moving ceremony, President Nixon turned on the lights at the tombs of the Unknown at Arlington Cemetery, shortly after 9 p.m., March 15, 1969. Henceforth, Mr. Speaker, the tombs of these vallant men, symbolic of all Americans who have made the supreme sacrifice for freedom, will never be in darkness.

The earthly remains of these three men entombed in Arlington represent the bravery and courage of millions of Americans, both dead and alive, who were, and are, willing to protect and defend this great Nation.

In a fitting tribute to Mississippi Legionnaires, an editorial was published in the March 16 issue of the Clarion Ledger-Daily News, Jackson, Miss. It follows:

LEGION'S VITAL WORK TOLD IN 50TH YEAR OBSERVANCE

A salute goes today to the American Legion, a patriotic organization of war veterans that performs so many public and civic services that it would take seven legal-sized pages to innumerate them. The Legion is celebrating the 50th anniversary this year with the specific dates of March 15-17 marking a half century since the organization was formed in Paris in 1919.

The American Legion of Mississippi has grown from 1,000 members in 1919 to an average membership each year of 30,000, and nationally the Legion is the largest veterans organization with an average membership of 3,000,000 and a record of impressive influence in national, state and community affairs.

The story of the founding of the Legion in Mississippi is an interesting one. The spark-plugs of the movement began work in April 1919, after the order was formed in Paris only one month earlier.

The guiding lights of the Legion who gave unselfishly and unstintingly of their time, money and efforts. They traveled during any kind of weather over roads that at times were almost impassable if there was a chance of forming a Legion post.

It is to these men that the veterans of today owe an unrecorded debt of gratitude.

The names of most of these men exist only in the minds of some of the older members, but the results of their work has been written, and is still being written, into the history of this state and nation.

Alexander Fitz-Hugh of Vicksburg might be called the Father of the Legion in this state, because he called the meeting of ex-servicemen in April here in Jackson to form a temporary organization and elect delegates to the national caucus in St. Louis, May 12, 1919, to complete the national order's formal organization.

The temporary organization elected Fitz-Hugh as chairman; Major Frederick Sullens, colorful editor of the Jackson Daily News, was vice chairman and John M. Alexander of Jackson as secretary.

The following delegates were elected to attend the meeting at St. Louis; Alexander Fitz-Hugh, Fred Sullens, J. M. Alexander, A. B. Clark of Indianola, J. S. Fleming, Jr. of Natchez, W. T. Adams, Jr., Corinth, George C. Haskins of Brookhaven, R. Burnett, Vicksburg, Arthur Dunn, Vicksburg, C. R. Dalbey of Jackson, Paul Chambers of Jackson, and James H. Price, Jr. of McComb. These men were some of the founders of The American Legion.

We join all patriotic Mississippians in tribute to these men and salute the American Legion on its anniversary with the wish that they continue their fine services of their three vital programs under the Americanism Council, the Rehabilitation Council.

Their work is massive, running from baseball training teams to Boys State to widow's pensions and rehabilitating and getting a job for a crippled brother.

EDUCATOR RETIRES

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, not often does an individual pass through our lives whose very existence exemplifies the true meaning of dedication and service. I am proud that we in the First District have such a man in the person of Mr. A. H. Gnann, who has retired after 46 years as an educator, 23 of them as superintendent of the Burke County schools.

Mr. Gnann was born at Stillwell, Effingham County, Ga., on July 26, 1899, the son of Alvin Osgood Gnann and Lena Exley Gnann, who passed away on March 1 of this year.

Mr. Gnann attended and graduated from Effingham Academy in Springfield, Ga., and his first teaching assignment was at Stillwell Elementary School. From there he went to his second assignment, Effingham Academy, where he had been a student.

Following, Mr. Speaker, is an article which appeared in the True Citizen, Waynesboro, Ga., about this outstanding

educator, whose vital part in the First District's public school system is unparalleled:

EDUCATOR TO RETIRE AFTER 46 YEARS

A career school man for 46 years, and the superintendent of Burke County schools for 23 of them, retires this year.

A. H. Gnann, who saw the county school budget go from \$260,000 in 1945 to a proposed \$2,400,000 for 1968, will not seek reelection to an office he's held for six consecutive terms.

He was born in the little town of Stillwell in Effingham County of parents who will celebrate their 70th wedding anniversary this year. His father, a school teacher for 20 years and a farmer, is 101 years old; his mother is 94.

Mr. Gnann attended Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute, has an AB degree from Newberry College in South Carolina and an MA degree from the University of South Carolina. He was principal three years at Chapin High School in South Carolina, then came to Sardis as principal of the school there in 1928. He and Mrs. Gnann, the former Miss Pearl Frick of Chapin, S.C., came to the Burke County town as bride and groom. She also taught in the Sardis school for a year.

"In the '30's, a principal did almost everything," he remembers. "I was coach, teacher, janitor, secretary, typist, ran the lunch room and kept records, all in my capacity as principal." He said when the school needed some extra money, and they often did, the faculty got together and put on a play in which they were actors, directors and producers. One he remembers netted \$55 after weeks of work.

In 1945, after 17 years as principal of the Sardis school, he was appointed by the county board of education to fill the unexpired term of Frank Palmer who died just as he was beginning his fourth term in the office. Mr. Gnann has run successfully for the post since that time, with opposition only once.

Active in church and professional organizations, he was elected to honorary lifetime membership in the Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers. He was a member of Pi Kappa Delta fraternity in college, has served as president of the First District Music Association, First District High School Association and district director of the State School Board Association. He was one of three men appointed by the State Board of Education to work with the state department to develop a curriculum program for all the state's schools. He is currently a member of the district and state County Superintendents Associations and is a former president of the county chapter of the Georgia Education Association.

A Sunday School teacher since college days, he is now a member of the board of trustees of the First Methodist Church of Waynesboro, is former chairman and secretary of the board of stewards and church charge leader. He currently teaches the adult men's Sunday school class.

Through the years he has been active in Boy Scout, Easter Seal and Red Cross work. He is a charter member and first president of the Sardis Lions Club, a former president of the Waynesboro Civitan Club and now president-elect of the Waynesboro Rotary Club. He is a member of the county board of health and the county library board and is listed in "Who's Who in the South and Southwest" and in "Georgia's Coastal Plain History" published by Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

Mr. and Mrs. Gnann have three children. Elaine, Mrs. Rabun O. Smith, formerly worked with the Department of Family and Children Services here and in Marietta. Heyward is a teacher in Gainesville. Mrs. W. R. Whitley Jr. (Shirley) is a former teacher in Newnan and at Ft. Benning. Her husband, Major Whitley, is a career Army officer.

He's seen remarkable changes occur in

Burke County's schools in 23 years. For example, when he first became superintendent, there were 86 schools in the county. Currently there are 10 sites, 11 divisions. He was a principal during the depression years when teachers earned \$45 a month. "Often workers on the campus grounds were earning \$3.25 a day, while teachers were getting \$2.25 a day," he said.

The county school budget was \$260,000 for the 1945-46 school year, when Mr. Gnann first took over as principal. The proposed budget for the 1968-69 year is \$2,400,000.

"These are the greatest changes", he said. He noted that enrollment figures have not changed greatly during the years and attributes that to the out-migration of Negro population due to farm mechanization.

He points with pride to the improvement of the certification of teachers, quality of instruction and better curriculum.

He believes some of the schools' greatest needs, "in addition to the big need, more money," include an overall county-wide institutional supervisor, reading specialists, more in-service training for teachers, a program to care for the needs of students who could better use vocational rather than academic training, more classes for the retarded, and a kindergarten tied in with the school program.

"The biggest problem through the years has been in financing, attracting and holding good teachers," he said. "We need the money to go out and find the best and make them feel secure; we've had to fill places, rather than seek teachers," he continued.

"Better educated young people come out of today's high schools than did 20 years ago; better is offered, of course, and they seem to realize that the need for better educated people is greater today than ever before," he said.

"I have always been interested in the growth and development of boys and girls and will miss my contacts with them when I retire. I've seen many changes and will follow with interest the future educational course of the county."

With those words, a dedicated professional with nearly a half century of service to education, retires.

A HEARTENING DEVELOPMENT

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, just recently press accounts reported that a favorable development would soon be forthcoming in the case of Otto F. Otepka, the State Department security officer who gave documents to a Senate subcommittee to refute false testimony against himself rendered by one of his superiors. Specifically, it was reported that Mr. Otepka would be offered a position with the Subversive Activities Control Board, a quasi-judicial body which hears cases involving organizations and individuals charged with activities in the field of subversion.

Yesterday, the press accounts were proved to be true with the announcement from the White House that President Nixon was sending the nomination of Mr. Otepka to the Senate for confirmation as a commissioner of the SACB. This is certainly a reassuring turn of events in a case which saw two State Department officials resign in the face of possible perjury charges while Otto

Otepka gave nothing but truthful testimony throughout this case of over 5 years' duration.

During this long and arduous conflict, the power of the press was used to its fullest by Willard Edwards, of the Chicago Tribune, who did yeoman work in keeping the American public aware of the latest developments over the years. I include the article, "Nixon To Ask Senate To OK Otepka for Subversive Board," by Mr. Edwards, and appearing in the Chicago Tribune of March 20, 1969, in the RECORD at this point:

NIXON TO ASK SENATE TO OK OTEPKA FOR SUBVERSIVE BOARD

(By Willard Edwards)

Washington, March 19.—The White House today announced that President Nixon was sending to the Senate the nomination of Otto F. Otepka as a member of the subversive activities control board.

Acclaim for this action came from both Democrats and Republicans. Swift Senate approval was predicted, thus writing a triumphal climax to one of the most celebrated legal struggles against government harassment in modern history.

"Justice has triumphed," said Chairman James O. Eastland [D., Miss.] of the Senate judiciary committee which will consider the Otepka nomination. He said he saw no obstacles to speedy committee and Senate indorsement of the appointment.

HAILED BY DIRKSEN

"The nomination is Otepka's vindication after years of persecution," said Sen. Dirksen (R., Ill.), minority leader, also a committee member. "It gives justice to a man badly treated for conscientious performance of his duties."

Otepka, notified of the Presidential nomination by his attorney, Roger Robb, agreed that the nomination constituted vindication and "complete refutation of the charges against me by the state department" under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

TELLS HIS AIMS

Noting that he had been stripped of security duties by former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Otepka said:

"I am particularly happy and grateful to President Nixon for his expression of confidence in returning me to a position properly related to my experience and background in the security field.

"I intend to devote to my new duties the same industry and conscientious effort to advance the cause of national security and to improve the merit system which characterized my entire service."

Ronald Ziegler, White House press secretary, was asked if the President regarded the nomination as "vindication for Otto Otepka."

Noting the White House statement which recited Otepka's 35 years in government service which gained him the high rank of deputy director, office of security, in the state department under the Eisenhower administration, Ziegler replied:

"The appointment speaks for itself because Mr. Otepka is experienced in subversive activities. He is well qualified to fill the vacancy on the subversive activities control board."

TOP U.S. AGENCY

The board is a top federal agency, exercising a quasi-judicial authority in ruling on individuals and organizations accused by the attorney general of subversive operations.

Members of the five-man board receive a \$36,000 annual salary. The term to which Otepka was appointed expires Aug. 9, 1970, but the chairmanship will be vacant before then and Otepka's supporters in Congress are urging that he be given that post.

In November 1963, Otepka was fired by Secretary Rusk on charges of conduct unbecoming a state department officer.

As the state department's top security officer, Otepka had refused to waive security investigations for high officials appointed under the Kennedy administration. He had also given candid testimony to the Senate internal security subcommittee about lax security in the department, furnishing evidence which forced the resignation of two officials detected in false testimony under oath.

His ordeal was described by the subcommittee, after four years of investigating, as "extraordinary and calculated harassment" of a government employe for performing his duties. It included isolation, surveillance, phone-tapping, and planting of evidence to justify trumped-up charges.

Otepka never surrendered. He fought back in hearings before a state department panel and the Civil Service commission. Rusk was forced in December, 1967, to drop most of the charges and cancel the discharge.

RUSK CUT SALARY

But Rusk ordered a severe reprimand noted on Otepka's hitherto unblemished record and demoted him a grade, cutting his salary from \$20,000 to \$14,000. He also forbade him to engage in security work.

Dirksen noted that Otepka's restoration to security duties was highly significant.

"It places Otepka in a role where he can carry on in a high capacity to improve the security of the nation," he said.

NO CHINA STRATEGY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, economists turned nuclear war strategists have suggested to our Foreign Affairs Committee that we have no strategy to follow in case of war with mainland China and described any possible use of nuclear force against Red China as "witless and tragic."

Perhaps what the economists were really trying to tell the country is that we have no blueprint for war—all our plans have been predicated on surrender, we just cannot decide to whom. The Chinese Reds cannot even decide who is running Red China.

Mr. Speaker, I submit a news release by Mr. Orr Kelly of March 19 from the Evening Star for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, March 19, 1969]

U.S. STRATEGY FOR CHINA WAR CALLED LACKING

(By Orr Kelly)

It would be both "witless and tragic" for the United States to use against China nuclear force with which it has threatened the Soviet Union for the last 20 years, a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee has been warned.

Dr. Thomas Schelling, professor of economics at Harvard and a nuclear war strategist, told the subcommittee yesterday that the U.S. has neglected to develop a strategy that it could follow in case of war with mainland China.

"I dislike mentioning this, because it sounds too warlike, and I do not feel warlike towards Communist China," Schelling said. "My worry is that the Vietnamese war or a Korean crisis or another crisis over Taiwan or another attack on India might possibly escalate into something involving the Chinese mainland."

"And I would not like to see our nuclear behavior towards China guided by some concept, like 'assured destruction,' as were developed over the years in relation to a very different kind of adversary and a very hypothetical war."

SEES ALLY TO UNITED STATES

"I like to remind myself from time to time that every Chinese civilian is a citizen of a country allied to the United States, and one of our responsibilities in case of war is to protect them and their homeland."

"Punishing virtually millions of Chinese for the sins we impute to a usurping authority that we do not even recognize as their government, and doing it merely because this is what for 20 years we essentially threatened against Russia, and because for 20 years this is the way we equipped ourselves, would be both witless and tragic."

Another witness, Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute and a prolific writer on the problems of thermonuclear war, agreed with Schelling on the problem but said he thought that more attention had been given to it than Schelling indicated.

WOULD LIMIT CASUALTIES

Both men agreed that, in event of war with China, the United States would want to keep civilian casualties among the Chinese to a minimum while striking at the Chinese war-making potential through bombing or even seizure of some part of Chinese territory.

"We should be particular in avoiding civilian loss," Kahn said. "We don't want to kill 100 million Chinese and then discover we didn't have to. . . . One thing we can't do is kill 100 million or 200 million Chinese for relatively frivolous reasons."

Schelling and Kahn both told the committee they favored the President's decision to deploy a missile defense system although Schelling said he had been violently opposed to the Sentinel system.

"We have been given a reasonable—perhaps the best—schedule and deployment of a ballistic missile defense," Schelling said.

MAFIA POSTAL OPERATION

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I note with satisfaction the action of a Federal grand jury in New York City which yesterday indicted four Post Office Department officials and the members of a Mafia-connected firm that was leasing mail delivery trucks to the Department.

This incredible contract, whereby the U.S. Government was doing business with racketeers and thugs, went on for 3 years.

Further—and equally disturbing—these underworld characters got loans of hundreds of thousands of the taxpayers' dollars from the Small Business Administration to finance their trucking company.

This latter deal has yet to result in grand jury action, but I am confident that a thorough Justice Department investigation will result in the opening of yet another atrocious misuse of Federal funds.

I include for the RECORD at this point a newspaper article outlining the charges brought by the grand jury against this firm and the Post Office Department officials who dealt with them:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 20, 1969]
**ALLEGED MAFIA MEMBER, OTHERS ARE ACCUSED
 OF POST OFFICE FRAUD—MASIELLO, ANR
 LEASING, AND FOUR POST OFFICE OFFICIALS
 NAMED IN BRIBERY-CONSPIRACY INDICTMENT**

NEW YORK.—A Federal grand jury indicted a reputed member of the Genovese Mafia family, his son, an official of one of the companies he controls, and four U.S. Post Office officials on charges of bribery, conspiracy to defraud the U.S. Post Office Department, and violation of the Federal antiracketeering statute.

Also named as a defendant in the 19-count indictment was ANR Leasing Corp., one of the companies controlled by John A. Masiello, the reputed soldier in the Vito Genovese Mafia family. Randen Trucking Co., a "shell" company allegedly created by Masiello to secure a Post Office contract, was named as a co-conspirator, but not as a defendant.

Last week, in testimony before the New York State Investigation Commission, it was disclosed that Masiello, who also has been identified as a prominent loan shark in the New York area, received \$466,000 in Small Business Administration loans for his companies. The matter currently is being investigated by Federal authorities.

Testimony during the State Investigation Commission hearings on organized crime's infiltration into business also disclosed that Masiello received \$292,000 and 25,000 shares of Nylo-Thane Plastics Corp. common stock from the company's chairman, who said he paid out \$458,000 and 65,000 shares of stock for protection "to keep the hoodlums of Long Island off my back."

Indicted with Masiello, who is 49 years old, were his son, John A. Masiello Jr., 22, and Thomas A. McKeever, 48, an ex-convict who is vice president and secretary of ANR Leasing. According to State Investigation Commission, the ANR Leasing, a Bronx, N.Y., truck and car leasing company, is part of Masiello's Setmar Holding Corp.

The Post Office officials indicted were Isidore Kihl, 67, superintendent of vehicle operations for the New York Post Office; Andrew T. Daly, 52, assistant superintendent, Joseph A. Maisto, 49, tour superintendent, and Michael J. Albanese, 52, administrative assistant to the superintendent.

Robert M. Morgenthau, U.S. Attorney here, said that ANR Leasing provided the Post Office with trucks and tractors from April 1965 until June 1968 on a lease basis. The contracts were secured through competitive bidding, Mr. Morgenthau said. According to authorities, the contracts were valued at about \$2 million.

When ANR Leasing's contract was canceled by the Post Office in June 1968 because of Masiello's "lack of suitable integrity," Mr. Morgenthau said, Masiello relet the same equipment to the Post Office through Randen Trucking, the corporate shell. According to the indictment, the postal officials concealed from their superiors the fact that the two Masiellos and McKeever owned and operated Randen.

While the contracts were in effect, Mr. Morgenthau said, the postal officials received "favors" ranging from \$200 cash to paid expenses at the Montmartre Hotel in Miami Beach for overlooking complaints about Masiello and the service he was providing, and for concealing Masiello's interest in Randen.

The indictment also charges that the two Masiellos and McKeever paid two of Mr. Kihl's Miami hotel bills amounting to a total of more than \$1,000, and obtained a color television set for him at a reduced price. Mr. Daly was paid \$650 over a three-year period, according to the indictment, and Mr. Maisto was paid \$150. Hotel bills totaling \$750 also were paid for Mr. Maisto and Mr. Albanese.

James D. Zirin, the assistant U.S. Attorney who presented the case to the grand jury, said that Masiello, his son and McKeever, if

convicted, could each receive a maximum of 95 years' imprisonment and be fined \$130,000 each.

Mr. Kihl could be sentenced to a maximum of 45 years in jail and fined \$70,000, he said, and Mr. Daly could receive 50 years' imprisonment and a \$70,000 fine. Mr. Maisto, if convicted, could be sentenced to 40 years in jail and fined \$60,000, and Mr. Albanese could be imprisoned for 25 years and fined \$40,000.

LEVI ESHKOL

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, recently, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency, presented an inspiring and fitting eulogy to Prime Minister Levi Eshkol of Israel. Dr. Neumann has been associated with Zionism and the State of Israel since World War I, having performed such important tasks as serving as the president of the Zionist Organization of America and is presently chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency. He was involved in the negotiations with the U.S. Department of State and offered testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in the crucial days prior to the rebirth of the State of Israel, and also appeared before the United Nations during the deliberations on the Palestine partition plan.

As a man long associated with the State of Israel and a personal friend of the late Prime Minister of Israel, it was appropriate that Dr. Neumann offer the tribute to Levi Eshkol at the national memorial service held in New York. Just as Levi Eshkol worked diligently throughout his life for the cause of Israel, so has Dr. Neumann devoted his formidable talents to the cause of his fellow Jews.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Neumann's eloquent tribute follows:

LEVI ESHKOL—A EULOGY
 (By Dr. Emanuel Neumann)

We are met today to join with our brothers and sisters in Israel and throughout the world in mourning the passing of Levi Eshkol, Prime Minister of Israel. It is fitting that we do so, both because of the exalted office he has occupied and because of himself: the man, the pioneer, the builder of a new nation and a new society.

His career was exemplary in its inner harmony, its integrity and the classic purity of its outlines. There was not a year, not a month, hardly a day that he did not devote to the central objective of his life: the recreation of a free Judea as the seat of a free and flourishing Jewish civilization.

Levi Eshkol came to Palestine as an eighteen year old, as part of the Second Aliyah. He came determined to put into daily practice all that he had learned and accepted of the purposes and principles of Halutzut. He settled in Degania, a mother and model of halutz settlements. It was there in Degania that his love for the soil of the Homeland deepened into a consuming passion which glowed within him throughout life and illuminated his personality. Within a few years he blossomed out. It became his ambition and appointed task to assist and direct other groups of would-be settlers to find themselves, to strike root, wherever it might

be, throughout the land. In the end there was hardly any part of the country that did not bear the mark of his care and concern.

He loved the soil; but soil also meant water! Water was the critical factor in increasing the fertility of an area, and therefore also its absorptive capacity. This truth led him into that great and determined quest for water, wherever it could be found. It was a quest which filled years of his life before and during World War II, and involved him deeply in the great Water Company, Mekorot.

While soil and water were thus at the core of his Zionist concerns, he could not insulate himself from other aspects of the life and problems of the Yishuv. Foremost among these was physical security. And again Eshkol placed himself, as necessary, at the disposal of the Haganah. He became Ben-Gurion's right-hand man in matters of defense and especially in arming and equipping Haganah units.

Throughout his manifold endeavors and his steady rise, Eshkol retained his simplicity, his natural modesty and his remarkable ability to remain close to people, to relate to them and their problems, personally, and in comradely spirit.

For many years Eshkol was a leading Member of the Jewish Agency Executive, as its treasurer and as head of its Agricultural Settlement Department. Those of us who were privileged to sit on that Executive can never forget with what love and devotion he applied himself to those responsibilities. At the same time he was in growing demand, so far as the government was concerned. He finally joined the Cabinet, officially as Minister of Finance—and unofficially—also as the trusted friend and counselor of the Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion. In those capacities he carried many crushing burdens on his shoulders. When he wound up as Prime Minister, this honor appeared to come as the climax and crowning glory of the long and adventurous journey. But it was not so, for he was to face the greatest challenge of his life in the Spring of 1967 and the Six Day War.

That he headed the government during that grave crisis, that he surmounted and survived it, that he led his people in triumph and lived to see that great outpouring of devotion, of generosity, of identification with Israel which swept through the Jewish communities of the world and has not spent its force to the present day—these are things for which we should be grateful, things that can serve to assuage our grief.

Over the years Eshkol had built up and maintained an ever closer relationship with our people in this country. He visited and revisited America, ever weaving the web of partnership in our common endeavor. We, all of us, were of the family.

Indeed, to many of us, to most of us here, Levi Eshkol has been a real friend; and we part from him now in warm friendship. He was deeply human. His was the kindly eye, the witty saying, the apt quotation, the quick sympathy, the helping hand, the understanding heart. He was generous of spirit, viewing friend and foe alike, without malice. He sought to allay tensions, to reduce the distances that separated man from man and group from group. He was essentially the peacemaker. Constantly he would seek the healing effect of compromise.

All of his qualities, including the notable absence of searing faults, his complete dedication, his tenacity of purpose, his perseverance, his all-embracing love—these and many other gifts—raised him high in the esteem and affection of his people. Certain it is that he will continue to live on in our midst; and certain it is that he has won for himself an honored place in the annals of our people, where his name will be forever noted as that of a great builder of Israel. May his memory be a blessing!

BETTY KLARIC HONORED FOR
ANTIPOLLUTION EFFORTS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, clean water should be the right of every U.S. citizen. Since her first assignment for the Cleveland Press, this has been Miss Betty Klaric's motto as in the true spirit of Susan B. Anthony and Jane Addams, she has spent the past 5 years crusading vigorously for clean air and water. In her efforts to arouse public interest and awareness of the critical pollution problems facing our Nation's cities and Cleveland in particular, Miss Klaric has demonstrated the powerful influence of the press in affecting vital policy decisions.

Her influential role in affecting passage of the city's \$100,000,000 antipollution bond issue is a well-acknowledged fact, as she launched her campaign last year to "Save Lake Erie Now."

Miss Klaric's enthusiastic and tireless endeavors have won her a distinguished tribute from the Scripps-Howard Foundation. In recognition of her outstanding contributions in the field of conservation, Miss Klaric was recently honored as the first prize winner of the Edward J. Meeman Awards.

I would like to congratulate Miss Klaric on this occasion and urge her, in behalf of the Cleveland community, to continue her excellent work. As one who shares her commitment to clean air and water for every American, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for the attention of my colleagues, the following article from the Cleveland Press commending Miss Klaric:

[From the Cleveland Press, Mar. 7, 1969]

BETTY KLARIC WINS POLLUTION AWARD

Betty Klaric, The Press' and Cleveland's crusader for clean water and air, today was named winner of a \$1000 first prize by the Scripps-Howard Foundation's Edward J. Meeman Awards.

The Meeman Awards are for reportorial efforts in the cause of conservation. They are named for the late editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar and Scripps-Howard conservation editor.

Since Miss Klaric was assigned to report the pollution problems of this community five years ago she has won many awards and honors, national and local, for making the public aware that water and air pollution are critical urban ailments.

There is little doubt that her anti-pollution writings effectively set the stage for voter approval of a \$100,000,000 bond issue to transform the city's anti-pollution program from talk to action.

Miss Klaric was cited today for her year-long 1968 crusade to arouse public support in her "Save Lake Erie Now" campaign.

Second prize of \$750 was awarded to Robert H. Sollen of the Santa Barbara (Calif.) News-Press. Months before the disastrous Pacific Ocean oil well leak, he wrote a series warning that oil spills from offshore drilling could ruin Santa Barbara shore environment.

Five \$500 third prizes went to Seymour Marks, Long Island Press; William V. Shannon, New York Times; Dave Otto, Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette; Lou Grant, Oakland Tribune, and Alton Blakeslee, Associated Press.

Three \$250 fourth prizes went to Andrew Sparks, Atlanta Journal-Constitution; David A. Zarkin, Boise (Ida.) Statesman, and John Hanchette, Niagara Falls Gazette.

LIFE

HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased to include the following poem entitled "Life," which was written by 10-year-old Kathi Starkey, of route 306, Monsey, N.Y., while she was a patient in Good Samaritan Hospital in Suffern, N.Y.

Kathi may face further hospitalization. In addition, her twin sisters, age 6, have both been stricken with cerebral palsy which may serve to explain the remarkable outlook and knowledge of this little girl which should serve as an inspiration to all of us during these difficult days.

The poem follows:

LIFE

(Written and composed by Kathi Starkey)

Life can be joyful—Life can be sad,
The times had, can be good,
And at times, it may be bad.
Yet, life still goes on.

These are the things I think from my heart,
We should be one nation and not apart,
People should walk, hand in hand
And help each other to the Promised Land.

All you hear is war, war, war
And when you ask people to help, they slam
the door.

I look up at the sun, over the tree
And I think, how lucky "I" am, that God
made me.

But, some people can't see these things,
Some people can't walk outside, to see the
sun,

And some people can't talk—to anyone.
Now, these wars are sad, but these are only
a few

And I think it's a shame, if you think of
only You.

People say, "What can I do?"

Just think though
The only person that can help is you!

We can't be smart
We don't use our head,
And we don't use our heart
To really care about anyone, until he is dead.

But, if you stop and help right now,
Constructive work—not asking "How".
Then in your heart, something happens
there—

You have stopped being selfish and began to
really care.

This isn't as easy, as it may seem
But this is my prayer, this is my dream,
"That people lacking the pleasures—
Can someday gain these little treasures."

Why do you think, God sent us down?
But to help in our country and here in our
town.

Some people yet, don't realize this
And the whole point of life—is what they
miss.

I do pray, these wars turn out all right,
Why can't we be free?

Free, from all these fights.
Don't you agree?

(NOTE.—My thoughts in this poem is taken from my everyday life. The "wars" I refer to, are the wars I read about and hear about now. I also think that "war" means, the integration problem, the sick, the poor, the aged, the handicapped, every hurt in life is war, these are my thoughts.)

STARVATION IN BIAFRA

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the international effort to eliminate starvation in Biafra, the United States has offered to the International Red Cross the use of eight cargo planes which will be able to deliver 300 tons of food to Biafra each day.

We have given over \$23 million in relief assistance—surplus food, medical supplies, and other materials necessary to combat manmade famine.

Hundreds of thousands of Biafrans, most of them children, have already died of hunger. While our efforts and those of the international relief mission may slow the death rate, they will not stop it.

We should make every effort to eliminate this human misery and, although we have taken great steps forward in this effort, we are now confronted by another problem—the lack of local food to complement our shipments.

In connection with this new problem of aiding Biafra, I include an excellent article written by Desmond O'Grady as a special report to the National Catholic Reporter, a weekly newspaper published in Kansas City and distributed throughout the United States.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues and urge that it be given serious thought with the hope that we can take some action which will further intensify our efforts to aid the starving people of an embattled country:

NEW CRISIS LOOMS IN BIAFRA

(By Desmond O'Grady)

ROME.—The soaring starvation rate in Biafra has leveled off, at least temporarily, but there's another crisis dead ahead.

That's the gist of the report Father Anthony Byrne brought to Rome this month when he reported to Caritas Internationalis on the Biafran airlift. Father Byrne, 36, is an Irish Holy Ghost missionary who is in charge of the relief flights from the island of Sao Tome.

"During Christmas week in Biafra, I saw the first results of the relief flights; the spread of kwashiorkor disease (malnutrition) among the children, has been arrested," he told an interviewer. "Instead of the children being listless with swollen bellies and scabies, they have begun smiling again and their skin is healing."

"The morale in Biafra is much higher now than three months ago, but another acute crisis is brewing."

The crisis will be caused by a lack of local food, he said.

He explained that the mercy flights have been bringing concentrated protein into Biafra, and the shipments are mixed with local foods. However, the food shortage last year was so acute that hardly any of the yams—Biafra's staple food—were kept for their seeds and new crops were not planted.

As a result, in a few weeks there will be scarcely any local foods to mix with the proteins.

This means the mercy flights will have to somehow include carbohydrates as well as proteins, Father Byrne explained.

The four U.S.-supplied Globemasters may solve even this problem, he added. The priest calculated that when the giant cargo planes go into operation next month they will triple the average of 100 tons of supplies delivered to Biafra nightly.

On the night of Jan. 2-3, church operation (involving Caritas Internationalis, U.S. Catholic Relief services and two European Protestant agencies, Diakonische Werk and Nordchurchaid) completed its thousandth flight since they began in March, 1968.

Flights have become progressively more difficult. Nigerian gun boats and radar-guided land batteries have intensified their activity. Since November, relief planes have been followed to the improvised airport and bombed after landing. Two planes have been hit and one destroyed.

Toward the end of 1968 Caritas began to move some children from Biafra. It established a hospital for them on the island of Sao Tome. Some 150 are being treated there and care is assured for another 750, in Gabon.

But the problem seems less urgent with the establishment in Biafra of more than 900 feeding centers serving more than 200,000 meals per month. For the moment most of the children are being fed. Those rehabilitated in Sao Tome return to Biafra and their place is taken by others.

But whether the slight improvement in the Biafran food situation will be maintained depends in the short-term on the employment of the Globemasters alongside the six planes of the joint church aid group and the International Red Cross craft.

It also depends on the flow of aid. Caritas officials in Rome admit the difficulty of convincing people that the Biafran situation remains dramatic.

"We have always been wary of sensational figures," said Father Nicholas Frank of the Caritas secretariat, "but people are dying of starvation there and we can be involved in an even greater tragedy in coming months. Nobody thought it would continue this long and, inevitably, people begin to lose interest. But the problem is still there."

"It is a pity," said Father Byrne, "that the effort could not have gone into development work."

Instead, \$2,318,992 has gone into keeping an emergency operation going. The joint church effort is spending \$1,000 daily just to get the supplies, most of which are donated, into Biafra. Funds at the moment are sufficient to cover flights for little more than a month.

The future of Biafra is obscure, but it seems likely that relief for the area torn by this civil war will continue for many years. Both voluntary agencies and governments have to estimate the repercussions of their immediate aid on future relations with Nigeria.

The Nigerian government protested against the U.S. initiative in providing four Globemasters for the joint church operation and another four for the International Red Cross. The Red Cross relief flights from Fernando Po have been blocked since December while an agreement with the island's new government is being negotiated.

The Lagos Post, on Dec. 30, described the U.S. grant of the planes as "a hostile act."

"We know," the paper said, "the United States government works through several agencies such as the CIA, the International Committee of the Red Cross, church organizations like Caritas, and even private individuals in the guise of business tycoons."

The tone of the editorial showed that although the Nigerian bishops, after their visit to Rome in December, rejected the accusa-

tions that the Pope and Caritas were aiding the Biafra secessionists, the suspicion persists.

Statements like this ignore Caritas' \$1 million worth of aid to Nigeria as well as the \$1.5 million to Biafra in the last quarter of 1968. But they indicate the bitterness which will remain even if the shooting stops.

WESTERN ELECTRIC CO. TO LOCATE IN NEWARK

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to bring to the attention of my colleagues the recent decision of Western Electric Co. to build an 18-story office building in the city of Newark, in the 10th Congressional District which I have the privilege to represent.

I welcome wholeheartedly this decision and I hope that Western Electric's example of confidence in the future of the city will spur other businesses and industries to share in the revitalization of this great but ailing city whose tax ratables have suffered in recent years.

Physically, the new \$20 million structure will enhance the Newark Plaza project. And equally important is the help that Western Electric will provide the city in revenue to assist in balancing the city's declining ratable base.

Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased with the "vote of confidence" that Western Electric has given to Newark, and I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent editorial from the Star-Ledger of March 18, 1969, describing Western Electric's heartening and enlightened action.

A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

The decision of Western Electric Co. to build an 18-story office building in Newark could provide a significant economic impetus for a city that is undergoing radical changes in a massive redevelopment program.

The new structure, which could enhance the Newark Plaza project already under way, represents a move in a constructive direction for a municipality that must look toward a revitalization of its property tax base.

Newark's ratables have suffered from a steady attrition in recent years; a large chunk of valuations has been removed from the tax rolls by tax-exempt construction that includes the Rutgers-Newark College of Engineering complex, the State College of Medicine and Dentistry and the site for the proposed Essex County Community College.

The \$20 million W.E. building will be a welcome addition to the city's reduced valuation, and along with the Plaza project should do much to reverse the downward trend. In a land-scarce built-up urban community, high-rise commercial structures constitute highly desirable assets.

The new structure not only will help the revitalization of an area that deteriorated radically in recent years but it will complement the general physical character of the section, which will include office buildings, bank, theater, motel and stores. It is the nucleus of an entirely new business center for Newark.

It is the kind of positive corporate affirmation that a re-building city sorely needs as an impetus to attract other large capital

investments by business and industry. An economic expansion of this type would provide a healthy offsetting revenue producing balance that would aid materially in broadening the city's ratable base.

RETALIATION—CONTRASTS IN WORLD LEADERSHIP

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, our policymakers and advisers give greater weight to so-called world community opinion than to the lives of American fighting men and their families.

Yet, in the Mideast four Israeli soldiers are killed by a mine, and what happens—their government orders a swift retaliation by air strikes against guerrilla positions in Jordan.

On a desolate island between Soviet Russia and Red China, a few loud-mouthed Communists exchange words, get into a "cuss fight," then a shootout. What happens—the Soviet command is now threatening the Red Chinese with atomic missiles.

Even Britain will bristle, as shown by her majestic military strength being thrown against little Anguilla, an island just off the coast of the United States with a population of 6,000.

The Peruvian Government orders its warships to fire on U.S. fishing vessels and in final retaliation captures our men and boats.

Our diplomats' excuse is that regardless of U.S. losses we must refrain from retaliation because the Soviets and other countries might not sign the Nonproliferation Treaty.

Have we so deescalated ourselves that we have retreated from a "no win" policy to a "no defense" policy? What American really subscribes to any theory that self-defense is not permissible because it may offend a mythical "world community opinion?"

I place several articles from the Evening Star for March 19 at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

ISRAELI JETS POUND ARABS IN RETALIATION FOR ATTACK

TEL AVIV.—Israeli jets streaked across the Jordan River today for the third time in four days to hammer Arab guerrilla positions at the foot of the Gilead Mountains.

Flames and smoke rose as about four warplanes alternately strafed and bombed.

The raid followed a mortar attack on Israeli forces near Neve Ur, nine miles south of the Sea of Galilee. The army said there were no casualties in that action.

On Monday, Israeli jets hit three major Arab guerrilla bases in Jordan, one only six miles from Amman, the Jordanian capital. Today's action appeared concentrated at Al-Manshiya, just south of the Sea of Galilee.

The Israeli radio reported that four soldiers were wounded today when their vehicle ran over a mine at Khan Yunis, on the Mediterranean Coast.

In Amman, a Jordanian military spokesman said Jordanian forces wounded three

Israeli soldiers during a 25-minute clash in the northern Jordan valley today.

He said the Israelis started the fighting by firing machine guns and mortars on Jordanian forces at Noshan. The fire was returned and the Jordanians suffered no losses, he said.

In Beirut, the Lebanese newspaper Al Jarida speculated that King Hussein of Jordan might abdicate if the Middle East crisis is not resolved soon. The paper said Hussein told President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Saudia Arabia's King Faisal he found his situation "intolerable" and planned to convey the same message to President Nixon.

"Hussein has made certain arrangements pertaining to him personally and to his family in preparation for any possible step," said Al Jarida.

In Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir said yesterday she would be glad to talk about peace in the Middle East with Hussein if he is interested.

"It depends entirely on the king," Mrs. Meir told her first news conference. She added she had only one question for Arab leaders: "Are you prepared to live in peace with Israel?"

In 1947, the former Milwaukee school-teacher slipped secretly into Jordan to meet Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, in a vain attempt to prevent an Arab-Israeli war when the British gave up control of Palestine.

(In Cairo, the semi-official Egyptian newspaper Al Ahran said today Israel was massing missiles for an attack on Arab positions along the Suez Canal, United Press International reported.)

(Al Ahran said Egyptian artillery gunners inflicted severe losses on the Israelis in that battle despite Israel's use of moving tanks and armored cars firing from deep within the Sinai Peninsula.)

("All reports indicate the enemy might try to engage us again using mobile rocket launchers he is massing at great distances inside Sinai," the newspaper warned.)

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

SOVIETS BROADCAST A-THREAT TO CHINA (By Victor Zorza)

LONDON.—The Kremlin has implied the threat of nuclear retaliation against China in the event of serious trouble on the border.

The threat was made in Moscow broadcasts to China, which claim to be replying to the "display of might on our border." The Moscow reply said that "the whole world knows that the main weapons of the Soviet armed forces are their missiles" with nuclear warheads of an "unlimited" destructive power.

They could hit targets with pinpoint accuracy, the radio said, and also could be launched from nuclear submarines or aircraft.

NO NUCLEAR WARHEADS

The Chinese language broadcast also carried, as a separate item, the recent Soviet note to Peking which said that Russia would give a "crushing rebuff" to Chinese attempts to violate Soviet territory.

What forces could Mao Tse-tung muster? The radio broadcast asked. "Does he have rockets capable of carrying warheads? As we know, the Chinese armed forces have no such weapons," it said.

As against Soviet aircraft that could fly at very high altitudes at twice the speed of sound, the broadcast said, China has only "a limited number of fighters," very much out of date, and greatly inferior to Soviet aircraft in speed, ceiling and firepower.

China's ground forces, too, rely on out-of-date equipment, while the Soviet army's "great combat strength" is based on tactical nuclear missiles. Its mobility enables the Soviet army to maneuver with lightning speed and to mount operations in his rear, the broadcast said.

One such "rear area," presumably is Sinkiang, in the western sector of the Sino-Soviet frontier, whose native population has strong links with the nationalities on the Soviet side.

Soviet broadcasts, which often had sought to stir the people of Sinkiang against their Chinese rulers, have been beaming dangerously provocative propaganda to Sinkiang since the island incidents on the Ussuri River.

They tell the Sinkiang Kazakhs that they are being "shamelessly exploited" by the Chinese.

The broadcasts say that fresh Chinese forces which are being moved into Sinkiang, under the pretext of border trouble with Russia, now number some 400,000 men.

These troops were "suppressing" the local people, deporting them from the border areas, forcing them to leave their fertile soil for sterile, barren lands, and "exterminating" the non-Chinese nationalities.

PHOTOGRAPHS PUBLISHED

"The people of Sinkiang," said the broadcast, "are no longer masters of their birthplace," and the Chinese military administration established in their area was "now ready to proclaim a state of war."

The Soviet warning to China shows how seriously the Kremlin regards the danger of escalation. But the Russians also may contribute to the very escalation which they fear.

Today's Moscow newspapers again speak of the continuing buildup of forces on the Chinese side of the border, while Peking papers published photographs of the "crime" committed by Soviet troops in infringing the Chinese border.

A poem by Evgeni Evtushenko, the popular Soviet poet, reminds the Russian people of Chinese designs on their land, and rejects Chinese dreams of ruling over Russian people.

Peking's own propaganda is more restrained than it has been for some days—but this looks very much like the quiet before the storm.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

BRITISH LAND ON ANGUILLA, MEET WITH NO OPPOSITION

(By Smith Hempstone)

LONDON.—British paratroopers landed on the rebel Caribbean island of Anguilla shortly before 6 a.m. today. They encountered no resistance from President Ronald Webster's breakaway regime, a Foreign Office spokesman said.

Webster late last night had appealed to the islanders to submit if there was an invasion, saying: "There's no use in shedding blood foolishly."

Two groups of paratroopers paddled ashore from the frigates Minerva and Rothesay. A third group landed by helicopter, the spokesman said.

The Foreign Office said about 200 men participated in the three landings in the operation, officially named Sheepskin but dubbed by many here as the Bay of Piglets.

SECEDED IN 1967

There were no reports of the whereabouts of Webster or of the so-called "Mafia-style" elements whom the British claim are supporting him. The island seceded from the St. Kitts-Nevis Federation on May 30, 1967, and declared itself a republic earlier this year.

Apparently no opposition to the landings was put up by the "Mafia" elements nor by cousin John Webster's 250-man Anguillian home guard.

The name of John Holcom, a former Miami policeman, has been mentioned by the British in connection with the unsavory elements around "President" Webster. Between 6 and 24 Americans, black and white, have been reported on the island, which has a population of 6,000.

PROCEEDED PEACEFULLY

British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart told the House of Commons this afternoon that the occupation "had proceeded peacefully."

Stewart said that the invasion, made under the authority of a Royal Order in Council made yesterday, is "in accord with the United Nations Charter and our legal responsibilities."

He said that he expected the military occupation to be "very brief" but that a British commissioner, who will act on instructions from London, not St. Kitts, may remain on the island for "a number of years."

Stewart said that the commissioner, Anthony Lee, "will assemble an advisory council (of Anguillians) and put this as soon as possible on an elective basis."

The troops were flown from England yesterday to the neighboring island of Antigua in three Royal Air Force VC10 jet transports. They were greeted with jeers of "Go to Rhodesia" by the Antiguan as they boarded the frigates in St. John's harbor.

Ian Smith's equally illegal white settler Rhodesian regime has maintained its independence in Central Africa for three years without armed British intervention, although London has imposed a trade boycott. Rhodesia is relatively strong and certainly would resist British intervention.

A third British frigate, HMS Rhyll, also is standing by off Anguilla. It may be used later today to land a special force of 40 Scotland Yard constables who were flown out to Antigua yesterday. They are "the police" mentioned in the leaflet distributed by British troops on their arrival on Anguilla this morning.

The three frigates each carry a helicopter, a complement of marines, and a small naval landing party that could be used to reinforce the paratroopers should the need arise.

The landing force is under the command of "SNOWI," senior naval officer West Indies.

British aid was cut off in February after Webster asked for the recall of Lee, who had been the commissioner on the island for a year. He had been seeking a solution to Anguilla's secession. Anguilla had sought incorporation into Britain or the United States. When this failed the island declared itself an independent republic.

Lee accompanied the troops landing today, the Associated Press reported.

It was about this time the British say, that Webster began to fall under the influence of gangster elements. The British infer that they have considerable evidence of such influence from both the U.S. and other Caribbean governments.

In addition to this concern, the other associated states, which have their own problems with secessionist-minded smaller islands—St. Vincent with Bequia, St. Lucia with Carriacou, Antigua with Barbuda—were fearful that Anguilla's example might be followed within their own borders.

As evidenced by the breakup of the West Indian Federation in 1962, the entire Caribbean is an area of considerable political instability.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

TEARFUL ANGUILLANS YIELD TO BRITISH PARATROOPS

ANGUILLA.—British paratroopers wearing the red berets of the Red Devil regiment moved quickly, on landing here, to check the people for weapons. The troops landed without resistance on this rebellious island today.

The island population yielded quietly and with some tears.

The paratroopers, carrying automatic arms, invaded at several points.

They searched island residents for possible weapons and checked their identification. Then they released them, with the warning that they must remain near their homes.

A number of men and women wept as the British rounded them up. But there was no shouting or insults.

The whereabouts of President Ronald Webster and other leaders of the rebel government was not known.

The whirring of helicopters awakened sleepers and most of the people on this 35-square-mile coral island were outside their homes when the paratroopers landed. Two other groups of paratroopers landed on the island's beaches.

The Anguilla airport, the only link with the outside world, remained open and planes were allowed to land.

However, the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration advised pilots against flying to Anguilla and said it could not be responsible for their safety.

Before the landing, many of the 6,000 Anguillians had conceded privately that they could not hope to repel British troops. But their comments for publication, made to scores of newsmen who converged on the island were defiant.

"We are prepared to fight," said Webster yesterday. "The people of Anguilla have contemplated the possibility of armed invasion for the past 21 months and have prepared themselves accordingly."

But he added: "It is difficult for us to believe that England, as a world power of respected integrity, would proceed contrary to its own stated policy."

Later last night Webster appealed to the islanders to submit if there was an invasion, saying: "There's no use spilling blood foolishly."

Small groups of volunteers had kept watch at several potential landing beaches, armed with an assortment of ancient rifles and a Napoleonic cannon. Apparently they were not used.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

PERU WARSHIP SEIZES U.S. FISHING BOAT

A Peruvian warship reportedly boarded and seized one American fishing boat 23 miles off the coast of Peru today and took the vessel in custody to the port of Talara.

There is an unconfirmed report that a second U.S. tuna boat also was seized at about the same time and place, the State Department said.

The report of the seizure came from the American Tuna Boat Association in San Diego, Calif., which has direct radio contact with the vessels of the South Pacific fishing fleet, and was relayed to the State Department by Rep. Thomas M. Pelly, R-Wash.

State Department officials said the embassy in Lima had not heard of the incident, but has sent a naval attaché to Talara to investigate.

According to August Felando, president of the Tuna Boat Association, the intercepted vessel was the San Juan. He said Peruvian torpedo boat No. 22 made the interception about 23 miles northwest of Point Sol at 5:50 a.m. EST.

Felando said he was awaiting confirmation that a second tuna fisher, the Cape Anne, also was seized.

The San Juan was attacked by the same warship Feb. 14 with machine guns and .50 mm gunfire. More than 50 holes were counted in her hull and superstructure.

Capt. John Virissimo on that occasion fled into waters claimed by Ecuador and took refuge in the port of Salinas.

When Ecuadorian officials announced they intended to fine the San Juan for fishing in waters claimed by that country, Virissimo sailed his vessel out of port under cover of darkness and escaped.

Peru and Ecuador, as well as Chile, claim 200 miles of sovereignty off their coasts. The United States and most world powers recognize only 12 miles.

The seizure of the San Juan comes at a delicate moment in U.S.-Peruvian relations.

Ambassador John Irwin, a special representative of President Nixon, is now in Lima attempting to find a solution to a controversy which started nearly six months ago when the military government of President Juan Velasco Alvarado expropriated properties of the American-owned International Petroleum Co. and announced it would not pay or negotiate settlement.

The United States is bound by the Hickenlooper Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act to cut off all aid and premium price sugar purchases if Peru fails to comply with the requirement to enter into meaningful discussions toward settlement.

If an agreement is not reached, aid will be cut off on April 4 and sugar purchases on April 9. Peru would lose about \$65 million.

SEEKING SOLUTION

"This latest provocation by Peru, while our presidential emissary John Irwin is in their country seeking solutions to these problems, clearly indicates their lack of sincerity," Pelly said.

"I have consistently sought negotiations with the Peruvians and the Ecuadorians to achieve agreement on fisheries in the Eastern Pacific, but to take military action against Americans on the high seas at a time when attempts are being made to establish those negotiations is an insult to our emissary, the American President and to the American people," he said.

Pelly said there have been nearly 80 illegal seizures of American tuna boats off some Latin American countries since 1961. Costs and fines imposed on the boat owners, he said, have totaled more than \$675,000.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

U.S. DRIVE IN VIETNAM CALLED A COUNTERATTACK

Nixon administration officials characterize the new offense moves by U.S. forces in South Vietnam as a counterattack rather than an escalation of our war effort to punish the Communists for their shelling of cities and base areas.

White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler made this view clear when asked late yesterday if the U.S. offensive is the "appropriate response" that the President was speaking about in his March 4 press conference.

Nixon said then that he and his aides were examining the enemy offensive very carefully to determine whether it violated the understanding on which former President Johnson stopped American bombing of North Vietnam.

That understanding was to the effect that the bombing halt would be difficult to maintain if the enemy shelled South Vietnamese cities or violated the demilitarized zone.

The President warned that "an appropriate response to these attacks will be made if they continue."

Ziegler evaded a direct reply to the question about whether the current U.S. offensive is the "appropriate response" Nixon had warned about. But the tenor of his remarks indicated it was not.

"I would characterize the counterattack," Ziegler said, "as being an integral part of our over-all military effort in South Vietnam and as being specifically designed to disrupt and defeat the enemy's offensive plans in the Saigon area."

He then referred newsmen to the President's press conference last Friday, in which he said that any escalation of the war in Vietnam has been the responsibility of the enemy and "if the enemy de-escalates its attacks, ours will go down."

Ziegler also pointed out that Nixon emphasized that "we are trying to do everything we can in the conduct of our war in Vietnam to see that we can go forward toward peace" in the negotiations in Paris.

The President's schedule today included a conference with Dean Acheson, who was secretary of state in the Truman administration. Ziegler said Nixon wanted to seek Acheson's views on major world issues, including Vietnam and problems in Europe.

THE SCREAMERS AND SHOUTERS NEED TO LISTEN

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the critics of President Nixon's decision to go ahead with a modified antiballistic-missile program have done a lot of screaming and shouting the past few days. If public reaction were measured in terms of decibels only, one would conclude that there are many more opponents than proponents of the ABM decision.

The fact is, of course, that the screamers and shouters are much more vocal than numerous and constitute a relatively small group, both on Capitol Hill and elsewhere. Happily, among all the din the voices of commonsense can still be heard. One of those voices belongs to Richard Wilson, whose column entitled "Democrats May Blunder in Challenging Sentinel," appeared in last night's Washington Star. Mr. Wilson points up very well some of the problems the screamers and shouters are creating for themselves, and, in the event some of them may have been too busy making noise to have seen it, I take this opportunity to draw it to their attention.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 19, 1969]

DEMOCRATS MAY BLUNDER IN CHALLENGING SENTINEL

(By Richard Wilson)

"If Nixon goes ahead with the ABM he will have signed his own political death warrant and we'll elect a president in 1972," said one of the most prominent Democratic leaders:

Nixon has gone ahead, on a modified basis, with the multi-billion dollar anti-ballistic missile program. Congress will probably approve his slow beginning. And the Democratic leadership may find that it has picked the wrong issue at the wrong time.

The political consequences of the modified Sentinel decision were carefully weighed as perhaps the single most important factor. This led to the modification of moving the launching sites away from the cities, except for Washington, and positioning these sites to protect hardened missile bases.

But the beginning is being made in somewhat different form than in the Johnson administration, and once begun the deployment of this missile defense system is not likely to be ended soon.

There are several reasons, why the Democratic leadership may be making a serious blunder in opposing deployment of the ABM. Nixon's proposal for an initial outlay of \$800 million was coupled with an announcement that the total defense budget will be reduced by \$2.5 billion. The argument that the ABM is robbing urgent domestic programs therefore becomes harder to sustain.

Even harder to sustain may be the argument that deployment would be a hostile act driving the Russians away from negotia-

tion on nuclear arms limitation. Nixon has apparently correctly judged the Russians on this point. They want negotiation on nuclear arms limitation for urgent reasons of their own. What is to be talked about is not destroying or dismantling existing offensive and defensive weapons systems. The subject of negotiation will be limiting future offensive and defensive weapons systems. Both sides desire limits beyond which neither will go.

On another point the Democratic leadership may encounter a rough road. It is harder to prove that the anti-ballistic missile system won't work than to establish a prima facie case that it will work, especially since the Russians have already deployed 67 of their missiles.

The Democratic fault runs deeper because it is based not alone upon the ABM deployment but on the general proposition that unless Nixon pulls back on nuclear arms, gets us out of Vietnam and reduces American commitments all over the world he will have misjudged the reasons for his election and will lose public support.

Unless Nixon acts soon in Vietnam, the argument goes, Johnson's war will become Nixon's war and he will suffer as much politically from it as Johnson, and perhaps even more. This argument, too, is difficult to sustain in view of the North Vietnamese spring offensive while peace negotiations are going on. The offensive illustrates clearly that U.S. forces cannot do what the war critics call for, a static remaining in place of our forces there and a steady reduction in the level of fighting. The North Vietnamese will not permit that. If they accepted that condition they would have to abandon their war objective of preventing the formation of a stable South Vietnamese government under the unharassed protection of American arms.

The alternative of a phased, unilateral American pull-out leaving a weak South Vietnamese government to the mercies of the Northern Communists is not acceptable, either, to the rational war critics. In the end their dilemma is as great as Nixon's. They can describe an ideal condition but they do not know how to create that condition without the cooperation of an enemy who shows no disposition to cooperate.

Nixon is in a position to initiate a peace offensive and he undoubtedly will do so when the time is right. If such an initiative proves again that the North Vietnamese will not stop fighting, their refusal to stop will be hard to blame on Nixon, although, of course, he will be blamed for it by people who also do not know how to stop the war.

Reducing our commitments in the world, limiting nuclear arms, getting out of Vietnam—these are all easily stated objectives which lose plausibility when the time comes to act. When presidents are called upon to act they make decisions like Nixon's on the ABM, and they do not significantly back away from the continuous policy of worldwide involvement of the past 25 years.

ROLE OF AFRICA IN TODAY'S WORLD

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, Ghana's Ambassador to the United Nations, the Honorable R. M. Akwei, delivered an address on the problems and the potential of the economic development of Africa.

The African view of its own situation is, I think, a vital part of our under-

standing of these new nations, and should be taken into consideration in our efforts to devise the most meaningful and effective approach to assist them in the task of nation building.

Closing the gap between the "have" and the "have not" nations of the world is a difficult and slow-moving endeavor, and often without tangible or immediate gratification of our efforts, but we must move forward in this direction if we are ever to see progress toward our goals of international cooperation and peace throughout the world.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs African Subcommittee, and the Anglo-American Parliamentary Conference on Africa, and one who has long been concerned with the process and problems of development, it is an honor to present Ambassador Akwei's comments here for the interest and consideration of my colleagues:

ROLE OF AFRICA IN TODAY'S WORLD FROM THE ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW

(Text of address by H. E. Ambassador R. M. Akwei of Ghana, Chairman, Second Committee on Economic Affairs, 23d session of the United Nations General Assembly, delivered February 27, 1969, to a seminar on Economic and Social Development in Africa, convened by Church Women United, held at the Church Center at the United Nations, New York City)

PARADOXES IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Madam Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I feel especially honored and privileged to have been invited to deliver the closing address of this seminar on the Role of Africa in today's international economic development. It is perhaps hardly surprising that you should have chosen the economic development of Africa as the subject of your seminar, for Africa today finds itself in the paradoxical situation of being potentially the richest continent in the world and yet the poorest in terms of economic development. My address will therefore be oriented towards this end.

NECESSARY TRANSITION FROM UNDERDEVELOPMENT TO DEVELOPMENT

I am convinced that Africa can contribute towards the realization of the solemn pledge enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". This she can do by making as quickly as possible the transition from a state of underdevelopment to one of development and thus in the process forge a much-needed atmosphere of tolerance and good neighborliness among the multi-racial societies of this continent. But I am equally convinced that this transition which is so earnestly desired by us all cannot be made by Africa alone. The efforts of the African countries must be accompanied by the concerted and active support of the international community.

Let us examine the foundations and tools for this transition. The foundations for the economic transformation of the African continent are already laid in its rich and abundant mineral, agricultural, and industrial primary resources, and in its energy potential. The continent is more than three times the size of the United States; it forms 20 percent of the landmass of the world and has a population of 300 million which is larger than that of the United States; 65 percent of the world's gold supply; 96 percent of the world's diamonds and at least 25 percent of its known copper reserves. In addition, large deposits of offshore oil have been discovered along the west coast of Africa. Guinea and Ghana possess some of the world's richest sources of bauxite, from which aluminum is made. It is estimated that between the years

1945 and 1955, Western firms exported from the Congo alone, copper, rubber, cotton and other goods valued at \$2,773 billion, and that from South Africa (which I shall discuss separately) Western gold mining companies drew a profit of \$814 billion. A great deal of the uranium, which is used for nuclear power, of the copper for electronics, of titanium, of iron and steel, and of other mineral resources come from Africa.

In the field of agriculture, Africa possesses a vast unused potential. Africa's uncut forest area is twice that of the USA and her arable and grazing land greater than that of the Soviet Union. It is reckoned for example, that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world.

The continent's energy potential is almost unlimited. The Sahara desert which was thought barren is now uncovering its rich stores of petroleum. Africa has vast resources of coal, and its potential hydro-electric power is estimated at 42 percent of the world's total.

It is these natural resources and their future exploitation and development that Africa's role in the world, already an important one, will depend upon. In the midst of such enviable and abundant natural wealth, however, African countries remain poor. It is estimated that the combined gross domestic product of thirty-nine out of the forty-one developing independent African states, excluding the Republic of South Africa, is less than two-thirds that of Italy. Only seven countries have a per capita income of \$200 per annum while for 15 countries per capita income is less than \$70. Against this may be measured the per capita income of about \$1,320 for Western Europe and \$3,272 for the United States of America. It has been estimated that at current rates of development, if the United States were to stand still, it would take the developing African countries 343 years to catch up with the U.S.A.

The reason for this paradox is not difficult to find. It lies largely in the lack of capital and technical know-how. But its historical causes lie in the prolonged period of European domination of Africa, when our continent supplied the raw materials needed for the industries of the rapidly expanding economies of Europe. The emergence from colonial rule by many African countries has hardly changed this traditional role. Today, the economies of these countries to a large extent still follow the pattern of colonial times. There is, therefore, little diversification, and in hardly any of these countries is there a single integrated industry based on its natural resources. This state of affairs is aggravated by the fragmentation of the continent into small non-viable states, making it impossible to achieve economies of a scale which are essential for transforming the economy of the continent.

TOOLS FOR DEVELOPMENT

What are the tools with which to effect the transition from poverty to affluence? The three indispensable tools for economic development are *Human Resource, Capital, Technical and Managerial Know-how*. The first one Africa has in abundance but not the last two.

However, before these tools can be effectively used and their advantages fully realized, African countries must undertake the structural and social transformations which are essential for rapid economic growth. Some of these changes relate to the system of *land tenure*. To say this is not to urge the dispossession of anyone's land. But it is known that in some countries the system of land tenure is unfavorable for rapid industrialization because of the communal system of land ownership. Moreover, for industrialization to take the necessary roots, it is necessary, for example, to adjust the ratio of the population engaged in agricultural production to that engaged in industry. This

may in turn entail the establishment of larger farm settlements than those which prevail now so as to produce food more economically and efficiently to feed the industrial population.

Economic planners used to think of development solely in terms of capital and projects. It is only recently under the impact of the thinking of such enlightened men as George Woods and McNamara of the World Bank that this Institution has ventured into the arena of social investment and infrastructure—schools, roads, bridges, housing, water supply and agricultural improvement. For until the human reserve of a country is educated and healthy it will be a drag on its development. However, the same intrusion into the social sphere of development has generated an opposite theory which has resulted in a delicate concept of artificial population control which as far as Africa is concerned seems to me exaggerated, with the possible exception of the United Arab Republic. What Africa needs in terms of human resource is not population restriction but intensification of development of her economic potential.

INTRODUCTION OF EFFECTIVE TAX SYSTEM

In many African countries there may also have to be changes to introduce more effective tax systems. While the tax systems should not be such as to turn away private investors, assuming that there was scope for the private sector in a given country, they should also be such as to give the Government the necessary resources. The tax system can be effectively employed to accelerate economic growth, but it may also act as a brake on such growth. In many African countries, largely under the influence of such international organizations as the World Bank, the OECD and individual governments, liberal tax holidays of up to 10 years or so have been adopted in order to attract, as the theory goes, foreign private capital into the country. In Ghana, for example, it is estimated that we are subsidizing the Valco to the tune of some one million £s annually in the purchase of hydro-electric power. You therefore have the curious situation of the poorer country bribing the shareholders of the richer country to undertake any industrialization at all. A more equitable balance must be struck somewhere. I submit, to the advantage of the poorer nations in this whole area of tax holidays and incentives. Such imbalances almost always lead to demands for nationalization in the developing country concerned with all the consequent political problems flowing from such acts.

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

In many of the African countries development planning and plans are a recent phenomenon, and the past few years have been a period of learning and experiment. However, more attention ought to be paid to *development planning*. Too often plans have existed only on paper. Sometimes the cause of this has been quite beyond the control of the country concerned. There is little that a country can do to prevent a sudden deterioration in the price of the primary product on which it depends, or a bad harvest. But at other times these plans have lacked the degree of realism that would make their implementation possible. There have been plenty of targets without carefully considered policies or strategies for attaining them.

There is an increasing awareness among African countries like other developing countries, that the acceleration of their economic growth will require a more effective mobilization of their domestic resources. It is necessary that we should adopt effective policies to realize the necessary domestic savings, but where income levels are so low it is hardly to be expected that any substantial domestic savings can be generated unless more income-generating production is stimulated in the country concerned.

I have discussed largely the industrial sector but it is important for African countries to realize that without sacrificing the drive for industrialization, agricultural improvement and diversification may perhaps yield quicker economic development if properly planned. It is estimated that the present level of crop production can be multiplied many times over by the use of mechanical implements, by improved methods of water control, by using fertilizers and insecticides and by bringing more areas under cultivation. This is where agricultural education and pilot farm schemes can prove of direct benefit to the economy.

Madam Chairman, I have mentioned some of the measures that African countries may take in order to promote their economic growth, given the necessary resources and technology. *These measures so far involve African countries on an individual basis.*

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

However, it seems to me that while we make these efforts we cannot afford to neglect the wider issue of economic integration of our continent for our accelerated economic development.

The principal objective of such integration is to enable the countries participating in it to achieve both individually and collectively, higher rates of progress than could be attained in isolation. Efforts in this direction took a new turn in 1965 when the Economic Commission for Africa decided to set up at an early date at the sub-regional level, inter-governmental machinery which would be responsible for the economic and social development of the sub-regions. Unfortunately, progress towards integration has been slow and uneven and specific projects for cooperation have yet to be elaborated and implemented.

A series of meetings were held in the West African sub-region in 1967 and 1968 in an attempt to bring into closer economic cooperation the various English-speaking and French-speaking countries of the sub-region, perhaps through a common market, or a customs union. But these meetings have not led to any significant or concrete action on account of the difficulties that have been encountered. A major difficulty involved in the formation of a West African Economic Community is the unwillingness of the French-speaking African countries to give up the preferences that they enjoy in their trade with the industrial countries of the European Economic Community and the mischievous desire of the European Economic Community countries, at least some of them, to retain client states in Africa where they enjoy reciprocal trade preferences with those states to the detriment of inter-African trade.

In Central Africa, the Equatorial African Customs Union, which is a closely-knit trading group established in 1966 on the basis of pre-independence relationships, has yet to attract to its membership the Democratic Republic of the Congo which is the largest and perhaps the richest country of the sub-region.

The East African Common Market which embraces Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania, barely provides a viable basis for many branches of industry. For this reason there appears to be a real possibility that it will be enlarged to include a number of other countries such as Ethiopia, Malawi, Somalia and Zambia, which need to be associated with the Common Market in order to break out of their economic isolation and the constriction on their economic progress due to their small size.

In North Africa, the four countries Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia which had established in 1964 a system of joint institutions with a view to coordinating their development agreed in 1966 with the Sudan and the United Arab Republic to explore jointly the possibilities of extending cooperation within the framework of the Magreb institutions to all six countries of the sub-region.

Apart from the creation of machinery for economic cooperation at the subregional level, a number of institutions have been established on a continental scale. These include the African Development Bank, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the Conference of African Statisticians and the Conference of African Planners.

One of the most important questions which economic integration raises is the equitable distribution of the benefits of integration, for the benefits of integration tend to concentrate on the more developed countries of the integrated group. Besides, some countries may lose from integration although the area taken as a whole may gain. It is obvious that the losers would not long continue to adhere to a union which instead of bringing them benefits deprived them of some sources of income which they had before union. Furthermore, each state participating in economic integration is politically committed to the rapid economic development and advancement of its peoples. If economic growth is concentrated in some states while others remain backwaters, considerable strains may be created and the weaker countries may prefer to go it alone however uneconomic. Thus whether an economically integrated African continent endures or not might well depend on the equitable distribution of the benefits of integration. The economic integration of the African continent, however desirable, cannot be achieved overnight. But this should not be used as a pretext to withhold the tools for development from African countries. Even when integration is achieved capital and technical know-how will still be needed to achieve the rapid development of our continent.

CAPITAL

Let us consider the second tool for development, capital. Capital may be obtained in a number of ways—through the transfer of resources, through trade, and through domestic savings which I have already mentioned. The transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries was one of the measures that was considered essential for the realization of the objective of the current United Nations Development Decade. It was proposed that the economically advanced countries should endeavor to supply to the developing countries financial resources of a minimum net amount approaching one percent of their aggregate national incomes. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which was held in Geneva in 1964 recognized the inadequacy of the growth of the developing countries and stepped up this amount. In spite of these exhortations the "leveling off" of the total net amount of capital flow to the developing countries which started in 1961 continues. Over the six years from 1961–1966 the net outflow of resources, from the developed market economies to the developing countries and to international institutions that provide financial and technical assistance increased from \$8.4 billion to \$9.1 billion. But as a percentage of the gross national product of the developed market economies the flow receded from 0.86 to 0.63. No significant progress was made during 1967 or 1968. The situation would not be so desperate perhaps if some of these transfers did not flow back to the developed countries in the form of income from investment, and in the form of interest on these loans. Indeed it is estimated that if the present trends of borrowing and repayments continue, net lending would be negative by 1970.

There is perhaps a glimmer of hope in the fact that when the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development agreed in New Delhi in February/March of last year, that the developed countries should endeavor to transfer one percent of their gross national product to the developing countries, there were assurances from a number of countries that this target would be

achieved by 1970. However, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, two of the main donors, were unable to give any such undertaking, pleading balance of payments difficulties. The Socialist countries of Eastern Europe have unfortunately not yet been able to commit themselves to the one percent target established by the second UNCTAD.

It has been estimated that a net inflow of resources of \$18 billion of public and private capital will be needed annually by the developing countries by 1975 and could be absorbed by the developing countries. This level could readily be achieved if only the advanced countries were to transfer resources amounting to one percent of their gross national product.

MEASURES FOR ACHIEVING TARGETS

It seems to me that there are various measures that could be taken by the developed countries to help them meet the target more easily. One of the most direct measures would be to earmark revenue for foreign assistance. This is the practice in Norway, where a direct tax a quarter of one percent on personal income was introduced in 1964 for the explicit purpose of development aid. Another measure would be the institution of tariffs on imports from developing countries, and on the investment income payments and the reimbursement of capital from the developing countries. A third method would be to earmark savings on military expenditures, in the event of disarmament or even in the slowing down in the growth of defense expenditure following a reduction of international tension. A fourth method which would be radical would be for the international community to institute an international tax system which would be a machinery for making substantial and growing transfers without repayment obligations—transfers that can be relied upon to support general long-term development plans.

It is not only important that the flow of financial resources should be increased and more assured, but also that these resources should be made available on favorable terms and conditions. The terms and conditions are as important as the volume of aid. The tendency of aid-tying is increasing among the donor countries. By aid-tying I mean the limitation of financial aid by a donor to a specific project and/or the requirement by the donor that the equipment needed should be procured from its country. In this way, the real value of aid may be diminished as the project may not necessarily occupy a place of priority in the development of the recipient country, and the equipment may be more expensive in the donor country than elsewhere. Quite apart from this, more transfers should be made on interest free terms. Ghana has been fortunate enough to receive a few of such loans.

The international trade of the African countries is also an important source of capital. The share of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in world trade has steadily declined from just under 31.2 percent in 1950 to 19.1 percent in 1966. If petroleum exports are excluded the decline over the same period was from 24.4 percent to just under 14 percent. Moreover, the share of primary commodities on which most African countries depend for their foreign exchange earnings has continued to diminish while those of manufactured products have maintained an upward trend. Ghana, for example, is the world's biggest producer of cocoa and depends on cocoa for about two-thirds of her foreign exchange earnings. Besides cocoa, African countries also depend on groundnuts, oilseeds, coffee, cotton, sisal, etc. Many developed countries are also manufacturing synthetics to take the place of the primary commodities produced by the African countries, thus depressing further their already dwindling share in world trade.

The progress of UNCTAD so far has fallen short of the expectations of the developing countries. No new commodity agreement has yet been concluded on account of the lack of cooperation from the consumer countries. The attitude of the consumer countries is typified by the lobbies established in London and Washington against an international cocoa agreement. It is imperative that an agreement should be reached on cocoa as soon as possible. Such an agreement should be workable and should benefit both producers and consumers. An agreement on cocoa would open the way for agreements to be reached on other primary commodities on which African countries and other developing countries depend.

The conclusion of international commodity agreements is not the only measure that may be taken to assist the developing countries. At the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi, agreement was reached on the early establishment of a mutually acceptable system of generalized non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory preferences which would be beneficial to the developing countries. But the Conference was not able to go much beyond this. While the developing countries insisted that if such a preferential system was to be meaningful it had to cover processed agricultural products which constitute the bulk of their manufactured exports, the developed countries were unwilling to include such products and wished to see the system cover highly sophisticated manufactures over which they have a monopoly. It is urgent that a generalized system of preferences should be worked out as soon as possible, not only to encourage the manufactures of the developing countries, but also to help restore to them a fair share of international trade.

The period in which African countries can achieve the transition from their present state to a state of affluence depends on the speed of progress. Happily the world today is a treasure-house of technology. African countries, like other developing countries of Asia and Latin America, therefore, need not go through an experimental period. So much can easily be adopted and assimilated from the accumulation of technological know-how. But this will only be possible if the developed countries, and the more developed among the developing countries place their most modern technological know-how at the disposal of African countries, and share their experiences with them.

It is this third tool of economic development which has lagged behind the first two. A debate is said to be now proceeding in the new Nixon administration as to whether greater concentration should not be put on transfer of skills rather than on spectacular economic projects. In the long-run it is probably the transfer of skills which will prove basic but this can be effective only when it is widely distributed on the continent, through a network of technical schools and institutes and colleges. The volume of aid presently spent on hiring foreign experts could better be spent in establishing local technical institutes on the spot.

The measures I have discussed above, those to be taken by African countries, and those to be taken by the international community as a whole could find their place in an international development strategy for the second United Nations Development Decade. The necessity for such a strategy which would be the mainspring of economic action by the developing countries, the developed countries and international bodies is gradually gaining acceptance. The target rate of development in such a strategy should be bold and realistic. Cautious targets which are not different from performance that can be expected from present trends would frustrate the very concept of a Development Decade, which entails a special effort on the part of all to accelerate the economic

growth of the developing countries. On the other hand, impossible targets would bring discouragement and despair. The target rate of growth should be supported by measures to be taken by the developing and developed countries, and the international community as a whole for achieving them. There should also be firm commitments on the part of all to carry out these measures and supervise such implementation measures.

This leads me to a discussion of the political will. The progress that we make now or during the second Development Decade depends on the political will of the African countries, the developed countries and the international community as a whole to achieve that progress. The old saying that "where there is a will, there is a way" is as true today as when it was first said. It is not sufficient to state that the political will exists. This must be demonstrated by translating that will into concrete and meaningful action. The economic integration of Africa which is so desirable and even necessary depends on the political will of the African countries to make it succeed. A striking feature of the second session of UNCTAD, for example, was the unwillingness of the world community to take the resolute steps to translate into practical action the lofty aims of UNCTAD set forth at its first session in 1964. Thus a major opportunity for advancing these aims and the development of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America was lost. Similarly a development strategy for the second United Nations Development Decade, however perfect, will remain a dead letter unless it is founded on the will to achieve its objective. In the final analysis it is the political will which constitutes the mainspring of international action.

PROBLEMS OF APARTHEID AS RELATED TO DEVELOPMENT

Madam Chairman, a discussion of Africa's role in international economic development would be incomplete without mention of the problems of colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa for these have a direct impact on the economic development of the continent of Africa. The entrenched forces of colonialism and racism in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia (South West Africa), Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa have set these countries apart from the rest of our continent. Economically, the Republic of South Africa is for the moment the richest and most developed country of the African continent, but her inhuman policy of apartheid designed to suppress and stifle millions of indigenous Africans has rendered it impossible for African states to enter into economic relations with her. It is doubtful whether such economic power can endure for there is an ever-increasing danger of conflict in that unhappy country. Similarly, the prosperity of the racist and illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia cannot endure. Added to this are the allied problems of Namibia, formerly called South West Africa, the problem of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea where Portugal, under the ridiculous theory that these African countries are extensions of her territorial boundaries, is only interested in despoiling their natural wealth without any regard for the interest or welfare of the indigenous people; much less any attempt at serious economic development of these territories. The developed countries of Europe and America have the means to end this appalling situation in Southern Africa through economic and trade sanctions against the oppressive and inhuman regimes of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. Unless this is done the countries of Southern Africa will remain outside the mainstream of African economic development and it would be impossible to enter into mutual and fruitful economic cooperation with them.

More particularly economic resources which should normally be nationally spent in the African countries for the development of their peoples would be spent on training freedom fighters, buying military equipment for them, promoting painful international political alliances to support them, even deliberately destroying economic projects which would otherwise be useful for the further economic development of Africa, all for the sole purpose of destroying a political myth—apartheid. Of course these efforts on the part of nationalist independent African states will generate counter measures from South Africa and her allies, driving more resources into useless destructive armaments rather than economic development. The stage is being set, ladies, for more costly Vietnams in the future of Africa. Can we learn from history? In this connection responsible voices have been raised concerning how the \$30 billion annual expenditure on the Vietnam war could be spent more usefully on urgent domestic socio-economic problems. The present trading partners of South Africa must assist in eliminating apartheid before they become involved in an economically wasteful war there against nationalist Africans.

Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in a shrinking world such as ours, African countries together with other developing countries cannot remain backward while the rest of the world progresses, undisturbed by our poverty and state of under-development. The fast means of communications—the written word, radio, television—enable the poor countries to see how much better off people in the developed countries are. Thus the poor countries are even more dissatisfied with their plight. If we are to have lasting world peace the international community must take resolute steps to accelerate the economic development of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The international community is capable of rising to the challenge.

In the long run the economic resources of the African continent, when fully developed, will act as a point of polarization in both international trade and politics, between the West and East, thus accentuating the already important role of the continent in the world. If the dangers of this polarization are to be avoided in the world's politics then there can be only one basic imperative for the means of deploying these tools of development—they should be channeled on a multilateral basis, with no political motive but solely for the creation of economically viable, self-sustaining communities exchanging their wealth in a free system of international trade.

TWO DISTINGUISHED SOUTH CAROLINA LADIES RECEIVE HONORS

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, two of the most remarkable ladies it has ever been my privilege to know, received honors of singular distinction this past weekend in South Carolina. They are Mrs. James F. Byrnes, of Columbia, wife of South Carolina's elder statesman, and Mrs. James F. Risher, Sr., of Bamberg.

Mrs. Byrnes was named honorary Mother of the State of South Carolina, and Mrs. Risher received the Mother of the Year award for 1969.

Mr. Speaker, I am especially pleased to inform the Congress and the Nation

of these events, since Mrs. Byrnes and Mrs. Risher have received on untold occasions the affectionate commendations and heartfelt thanks of grateful Americans everywhere.

In addition, I am honored and very proud that these ladies are my constituents.

Both of these lovely, charming, dear ladies have unselfishly given of their very valuable time to assist youth everywhere. Mrs. Byrnes and her husband, the beloved former Secretary of State, U.S. Senator, Supreme Court Justice, and Governor of South Carolina, James F. Byrnes, has made it possible for almost 400 youth who were orphans to receive a college education. Mrs. Risher and her distinguished husband, Col. James F. Risher, have been instrumental in preparing thousands of young men to meet the challenges of the future at Carlisle and Camden Military Academies in South Carolina.

As we all know, Governor Byrnes has been confined in the hospital for more than a month now. Americans everywhere have been praying for a rapid recovery, and it is my understanding that he is showing much improvement, especially for a man 89 years of age. Mrs. Byrnes also entered the hospital this week, and at present we have no word of her condition. I am sure that all of us wish for her a speedy recovery. Certainly, no two people have ever been more dedicated to each other, and their marriage these many years has been an inspiration to us all. I know that this latest honor conferred upon Mrs. Byrnes will be heartening to the Governor.

Likewise, the Rishers are a couple whose lives reflect great devotion to each other. Some of our colleagues know one of their six children, Gene Risher, one of the most outstanding and respected newsmen in this country. Another son, Bill, is among my dearest friends. He is headmaster of Carlisle Academy and his brother, Lanning, is headmaster of Camden Academy. These two military preparatory schools are among the finest in America.

Colonel Risher is a former grand master of the Masonic Order in South Carolina, and is one of the most sought after speakers in our State despite recent illnesses which have curtailed some of his appearances. Just recently, The Citadel, one of the greatest military institutions in the world, awarded Colonel Risher the honorary doctor of laws degree.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no two ladies more deserving of such magnificent tributes than Mrs. Byrnes and Mrs. Risher. Therefore, as a part of my remarks I include the following Associated Press story about these awards as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Mar. 16, 1969]

SUMTER (AP)—Mrs. James F. Risher Sr. of Bamberg who has six children and helped minister to the needs of countless others at Carlisle Military School, Saturday was named South Carolina Mother of the Year for 1969.

At the same time, Mrs. James F. Byrnes of Columbia, wife of South Carolina's elder statesman, was named honorary mother of the state.

The selections of Mrs. Risher and Mrs. Byrnes were announced by Mrs. James C. Cuttino Jr., of Sumter, chairman of the state mothers committee.

Mrs. Risher has worked with Carlisle Military School since she and her husband came to Bamberg in 1931. Later they opened Camden Military Academy to take care of the many applicants.

Mrs. Risher is still active as supervisor of the mess hall at Carlisle. Her husband is president of the school.

One of their sons, William Risher, is headmaster of Carlisle. Another son, Lanning, is president and headmaster of Camden.

Another son, Eugene, is a newsman for a wire service in Washington, D.C., with reporting experience in Vietnam.

A daughter, Mary, is married to Col. John M. Tatum of Washington.

Mrs. Risher has two step-children. James Risher is a retired Air Force colonel and now personnel director for an Atlanta life insurance company. Her stepdaughter, Sara, teaches music in the Pageland public schools.

Mrs. Byrnes has been active in the James F. Byrnes Foundation, established by her husband in 1948. Since then the foundation has helped finance the college education of nearly 400 young men and young women who were either orphans or without one parent.

Byrnes, former U.S. secretary of state, U.S. Supreme Court justice and South Carolina governor, established the foundation with royalties from his book about experiences in government.

Mrs. Byrnes joins Mrs. Irvine Belser Sr. of Columbia and the late Mrs. J. R. Westmoreland, mother of Gen. William Westmoreland, as honorary state mothers.

Mrs. Risher, the former Emma Jane Varn, will be presented a pin by Gov. Robert McNair in ceremonies in the governor's office at Columbia, April 22. Mrs. Risher and the other state mothers will be honored at a conference beginning in Los Angeles April 29.

The national mother of the year will be named May 3.

CALL FOR HELP ANSWERED IN ATTLEBORO: LA SALLETTE HOUSE BECOMES REHABILITATION CENTER FOR DRUG ADDICTS

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, nationwide concern is now focused on the persistent and increasing problem of drug abuse, especially by our young people. A number of approaches have been suggested for helping those who have become physically and psychologically dependent upon drugs.

As the search for cures progresses, we must never lose sight of the human element. To be sure, drug addiction contributes to the problems of society as a whole; however, the real tragedy occurs on the individual level, where a person's life becomes a trial of agony. I believe that progress in this area must be measured primarily in terms of the individual's benefit.

One step in the direction of rehabilitation has been taken in Attleboro, Mass., where members of the La Sallette missionary order provided accommodations to a group of young people seeking help. I call to the attention of my colleagues an account of this act of compassion:

[From the Attleboro (Mass.) Sun. Mar. 10, 1969]

CALL FOR HELP ANSWERED IN ATTLEBORO: LA SALETTE HOUSE BECOMES REHABILITATION CENTER FOR DRUG ADDICTS

(By Yolande Murphy)

On a cold and dreary day last December, 40 men and women reached Marathon House on Fish Pond Road in Coventry, R.I.

"We're tired; we're hungry; we need help," they told Jim Germano, the executive director, "They've closed Day-Top and we've no one to turn to but you."

Thirty-year old Jim knew from what depths the cry for help was coming. He was a "graduate" of Day-Top—he had made it.

In the sea of faces before him was mirrored the nine years that he had been hooked on drugs, beginning at age 13. He knew the desperation that had kept this band together on the better than 150-mile trek from New York City during the almost blind search for Marathon House, somewhere off a country road.

Still physically weak from the pangs of withdrawal, it could have gone the other way. Anyone or all could more easily have settled for temporary euphoria. But, the realization that they couldn't make it alone was the driving force.

"Come on in, share our table," pressed Jim, but thinking, "Where am I going to put them? We have 40 acres of this state-owned land, but the temperature is below freezing; we can't improvise for the night out there—and the two dorms are overflowing with the 34 that are undergoing rehabilitation. There isn't enough to feed all of them; we've got to find some other way."

Help sometimes comes from out of the most unexpected chance meetings.

A week earlier Jim, through Dr. Joseph Kerrins Jr., medical director of Progress for Providence, had been introduced to a missionary of the La Salette Order in Attleboro. "Don't hesitate to call on us if you need help," was the missionary's parting remark.

Well, if there ever was a need to take up the offer, it was now.

A call to Attleboro, and Jim was assured that the Day-Top group could be housed in the five-story building which until recently had served as a seminary for a group now on campus at Ottawa.

"But neither we nor they have money," warned Jim. "So, they need shelter now," was the reply, "get them here and we'll find a way."

The night of Dec. 4, thirty-four arrived at what is known now as the La Salette Provincial House, each carrying his personal possessions only. The one thing they didn't need at the time was the heralding of their arrival, and the priests respected their right for privacy.

The group mostly in the 18 to 35 age bracket, didn't enter the missionary house for religion, nor do the missionaries impose their way of life upon them. However, there are no sub-divisions in the house; the 12 priests and seven brothers occupy the same quarters as they did heretofore.

The Rev. Rene Lemoiné local chapter superior, says, "It was a matter of people being without a home. Ours is vast, with many rooms to spare; we are sharing."

"It is certainly unique for a religious house to have become a rehabilitation center for drug addicts, while yet remaining a religious house. Both groups function simultaneously and smoothly, although not without a few inconveniences."

"They call themselves a 'family,' and so do we; we have much to learn from each other. Furthermore, we share a common objective. They seek reconciliation with themselves, with one another, and with society. Our existence as a religious community is to carry out works of reconciliation, although primarily, those favoring a reconciliation of man with God. Only insofar as a

person becomes aware of his human dignity can he accept the relationship that God wishes to establish with him."

The Rev. Raymond Isabelle, treasurer, takes a practical, indeed necessary view: "We are happy to have been able to help our new friends. But, as you can well imagine, our food bill alone has soared since December and we, who depend on charity for our own sustenance, are finding it more and more difficult to meet these additional ones. The important thing is that we were able to meet emergency, and now we will seek the means."

RANKS OF OUR MILITARY ARE A TRIBUTE TO YOUTH

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very capable columnist in the Buffalo, N.Y., Courier-Express, Mrs. Anne McIlhenney Matthews, recently visited several Federal installations, including Redstone Arsenal, Ala., Fort Bliss, Tex., and the Air Force Academy.

She came back with some very strong impressions about our youth of today as exemplified by those on duty in the service of our country.

She talked with both young men and officers, and summarized her findings in a column which merits wider circulation.

Following is the text of her March 16 column:

GI RANKS A TRIBUTE TO YOUTH

(By Anne McIlhenney Matthews)

Fort Bliss, Texas—Fear Not!

The student riff-raff who made a shambles out of the well-intentioned drug meeting at UB two weeks ago are just the scum on the surface of a pot of fine stock that will well nurture the body of America.

One afternoon at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama; one day visiting basic training units in Fort Bliss in Texas; one briefing by Lt. Gen. George V. Underwood, Jr., at Aradcom headquarters in Colorado Springs; one tour of the adjacent Air Force Academy, made this an irrefutable fact.

The nine Western New Yorkers from the Niagara Falls area (plus me from Buffalo) who toured these places last week as the latest in a group of people to engage in "Operation Understanding" of the activities and capabilities of the Army's Air Defense Command, returned last Saturday saying "I saw it with my own eyes!"

They were briefed in a series of staccato sessions at Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala., by a group of polished, erudite, articulate, superbly motivated, and magnificently trained young lieutenants, most of whom had returned from active service in Vietnam. They "knew" the weapons they took apart and explained inch by inch because these had spelled survival for themselves and improved models will do the same for many other Americans who will face baptisms of fire-power in the future.

After this impressive series of performances, the Buffalo-Niagara group visited Delta company at Fort Bliss and were given an exhibition of the end result of eight weeks of drilling and classes to "Learn to Survive". This had as features a display of the brawn needed to swing along a ten foot high horizontal ladder for a record number of rungs in a record number of minutes; a lightning movement along a furrow in an "alligator walk" simulated for cover under fire, also

timed; and a performance of dramatic close-order drill. Later, each member of the party dined in a typical mess hall with soon-to-be graduates and talked about how they felt to be voluntarily or involuntarily inductees.

General Richard T. Cassidy had sketched in their backgrounds in a welcome session.

"In 1968 we trained 40,000 young men here", he said. Of this number, 800 were discharged after basic training. Of the 800, 700 were released for 'administrative' reasons such as hardship at home, family problems, or medical reasons. There were just 100 discharged for punitive reasons and I think this is an unbeatable percentage."

"This is an outstanding tribute to the young men of America."

The youths each escorted a civilian in the mess line and were instructed to say anything they liked to the touring groups. I polled the "guests" afterwards and I heard none whose GI escorts "didn't like it just fine."

One told Mayor Donald L. Creasey of the City of Tonawanda that he had been in trouble before he joined up. He declared:

"This sure straightened me out."

Most had selected the branch of the service in which they wanted advanced training and quite a few said that they would make a career out of military service.

All were puzzled about what "those creeps on campus are demonstrating about."

"If they don't want an education why don't they just move out and make way for those who do?", the two Texas youths at my table stated.

Later in the week, Lt. Gen. George V. Underwood Jr., commanding general of the Army Air Defense Command, who had been in charge of Fort Bliss and who now commands all Army units committed for air defense of the continental U.S., was to paint the "other side of the picture." In a speech of indoctrination at Colorado Springs, he declared that these youths who return from foreign service are given short shrift by a shamefully apathetic public.

"Unfortunately, our country has been so preoccupied with debate over whether we should be in Vietnam, how we became involved, and how we might disengage, that the exploits and sacrifices of the American fighting man have not been recognized as widely and enthusiastically as in former wars. It seems to me that in some segments of our society, frustration over this war may have translated itself into a form of indifference toward the man who is called upon to carry the colors. At any rate, the serviceman in Vietnam is having an experience that is new in our country, at least in this century. He is learning what it is like to fight a war for a country that is not solidly behind the war. And he is undergoing the painful experience of returning from Vietnam to find in general that the many expressions of welcome and appreciation come only from his family and immediate friends," he said.

"The soldier is used to being forgotten in peacetime, but it is unusual for him to be overlooked in wartime."

"So I suggest that each citizen and civic organization, in their own way, find a way to let this fine Vietnam returnee know that while as a nation we may disagree over many political aspects of the war in Vietnam, we are strongly united in our respect and appreciation of the superb performance that the American fighting man has given on behalf of his nation and his fellow Americans."

"I would suggest, too, that we demonstrate to the returning combat veteran of Vietnam that there is more to America than white power, black power, student power, flower power and the rest. Show him that America has also generated 'patriotic power.' He will need proof of this fact as he reenters civilian life and finds that some elements of our society consider patriotism an outmoded word. He will welcome evidence of 'patriotic power' as he encounters the unwashed,

psuedo-intellectual who thinks it is the 'in' thing to be against every manifestation of anything of value in America.

"Patriotism is not the special obligation of the man in uniform. It is also the shared obligation of every citizen who cares about our country and our way of life.

"I would also like to strike a public blow on behalf of the much maligned younger generation. In three consecutive command assignments over the past three years involving 75,000 soldiers in Europe and the United States, I have served closely with this fine young American.

"I tell you the indisputable truth that the American Army never had young officers and soldiers like those coming into the Army these days. They are smarter and better educated than those who entered the Army in my time. They are better informed. They are better physical specimens. And, most importantly, they have high morale and strong motivation. I do not claim that they are all delighted to be in the Army—far from it. But although many are serving involuntarily, almost all are determined to do their best while under arms. And their best is mighty wonderful!

"The American youth is not getting the credit he deserves for being as good as he really is. Unfortunately, the way our society operates, excessive attention is focused on the youth who is out of step, who is fighting the problem, who is shirking his obligation, who is loudly and even violently protesting. As a result, the misdeeds of what is actually a small minority are emphasized out of all proportion to their true importance.

"This younger generation will in its time write a superb record of accomplishment that will disprove the gloomy prophesies spawned by the antics of the yuppies, the hippies and other odd dissenters. I would expect much of this record to be written by the mature veterans of Vietnam as they become participating citizens and as they take charge of their generation."

THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWRY

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the plight of Soviet Jewry is a matter of deep and growing concern on the part of members of the academic community. This fact was recently brought to my attention by an ad that appeared in the New York Times. The ad was signed by 2,000 professors from over 100 major universities, including Nobel laureates and Pulitzer Prize winners.

The plight of Soviet Jewry should be a matter of deep concern to all of us, not just the members of the academic community. For that reason I submit the academic appeal that appeared in the Times on January 31, 1969, for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 31, 1969]

WE APPEAL FOR THE JEWS OF SILENCE

Soviet Jewry, three million strong, constitutes the last great remnant of the vital, creative East European community destroyed by the Nazis. It is the inheritor of no less noble and illustrious a cultural tradition, and an even more ancient one, than that of any other people residing on Soviet territory—a tradition of learning and idealism, of cultural vitality and moral grandeur.

And yet, fifty years after the October Revolu-

tion, Soviet Jews, alone among the multitude of Soviet nationality groups, remain deprived of virtually every institutional opportunity to perpetuate their cultural, religious and communal life, despite legal and constitutional guarantees of such rights, which all other groups in fact enjoy.

Hence, gravely concerned with the current situation of Soviet Jewry, the undersigned call upon the Soviet government to demonstrate its wholehearted adherence to the humanitarian ideals incorporated in the Soviet constitution, and:

1. To embark upon a systematic educational campaign to combat antisemitism. The resurgence of "anti-Zionist," i.e., anti-Jewish, propaganda in the wake of the Six-Day War represents a clear violation of the principles laid down by Lenin in the early 1920's.

2. To enable Soviet Jews who so desire to lead culturally fulfilled lives as Jewish Soviet citizens by restoring to them the necessary educational and publication facilities in Yiddish and Hebrew, as well as Russian. There is a manifest need not only for printed works in such fields as Russian Jewish historiography and textbooks, as well as belles lettres and the arts, but for advanced scholarly research.

3. To support newspapers and periodicals of Jewish interest in Yiddish, Hebrew and Russian.

4. To sponsor professional repertory theatres in Moscow and the other great centers of traditional Jewish culture and population.

5. To facilitate the formation of clubs and centers where Jewish youth and students may come together for cultural, educational and social purposes.

6. To provide channels comparable to those assured other Soviet nationalities through which Soviet Jews may maintain close cultural, intellectual and communal ties with Jewish communities in other countries.

7. To secure for the large Soviet Jewish religious community the same kinds of institutions and prerogatives accorded all other religions—for contact and communication among congregations at home and with religious bodies abroad, for the education of rabbis and other religious functionaries, for the production and distribution of religious publications and materials.

8. To open the door to the emigration of those many thousands of Soviet Jews who wish to be reunited with families living in the United States, Israel and elsewhere, families that were shattered in the ghettos and extermination camps of the Nazi era, and for those who would choose Israel as their national homeland.

This appeal goes beyond mere institutions, beyond even the values of language, literature, culture, religion and history. It goes to the very heart of human dignity, to the right of the Jews to live as Jews.

FREE FOOD STAMPS

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues a recent letter to the New York Times from my good friend and distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. REID)

I want to associate myself with the views of Mr. REID with regard to the distribution of free food stamps and the urgent need to reassess our laws and priorities so that there need be no hunger and malnutrition in the world's most affluent society.

The gentlemen from New York's 26th District has made many significant contributions to the fight against poverty and deprivation, both here and abroad. His comments deserve our careful consideration.

The letter follows:

FREE FOOD STAMPS

WASHINGTON, March 7, 1969.

To the EDITOR:

The recent decision of the Agriculture Department to go over the heads of local officials to issue free food stamps in two pilot counties in South Carolina signals an important advance in the nation's fight against hunger. [News story March 4.]

In the past, the Federal Government's effort to combat hunger have been severely obstructed by the indifference of local bureaucrats. Whether this indifference has had its genesis in ineptitude or in calculated cruelty is irrelevant. The poor went hungry and the Federal Government did nothing.

It is most commendable that the Government has now shifted its order of priorities, to set the needs of people above the whimsy of bureaucrats. But the pilot program in South Carolina is only a start.

According to the Department of Agriculture, there are one and a quarter million persons living in 476 counties in the United States who are eligible for Federal food assistance, but have no programs available to them. In all, it is estimated that fourteen million of the nation's 22 million poor are, for whatever reasons, receiving neither food stamps nor commodities.

We in the North have, perhaps, deluded ourselves into thinking that hunger, if it exists at all, is limited to a few areas of the rural South. The fact is that there is a hunger problem in our own back yard, about which we have been doing little. This callousness must not continue.

I trust that, without undue delay, the Agriculture Department will extend its own program into every county that gives no food assistance to its hungry. I also trust that the Federal Government will effectively monitor those counties where programs ostensibly exist, but where the poor, somehow, still do not get fed.

I believe, furthermore, that Congress must reappraise our laws, so that the United States—the greatest agricultural country in the history of the world—does not pay for the curtailment of food production while its citizens go hungry.

OGDEN R. REID,
Member of Congress.

ANOTHER STEP TOWARD THE MOON

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Hotz, in an editorial of March 17, 1969, in Aviation Week & Space Technology, reviews the outstanding accomplishments of Astronauts McDevitt, Scott, and Schweickart in the flight of Apollo 9. This outstanding demonstration of man and machine in space is well summarized by Mr. Hotz. As he so aptly points out in the editorial, the need for major decisions in our national space program is now upon us and I urge Members of Congress, the executive agencies, and the American people to heed his words on the need for national decisions at an early date on our national space effort.

The editorial follows:

ANOTHER STEP TOWARD THE MOON

The success of the Apollo 9 mission marks another major step toward putting men on the moon this summer. In a steady progression, beginning with the Apollo 7 mission last October and continuing with the spectacular Apollo 8 circumlunar flight in December and the 10-day exercise of Apollo 9, the U.S. manned space flight program has been marching inexorably and successfully toward its goal of landing men on the moon and returning them safely to earth. Rebounding from the tragedy of the 1967 fire, Apollo has been demonstrating a technical and management capability that is truly astounding the world and capturing its imagination.

Although Apollo 9 lacked some of the public appeal of a lunar mission, it was actually the most technically complex and difficult mission yet flown by man in space. Col. James McDivitt, mission commander; Col. David Scott, command module pilot, and Rusty Schweickart, lunar module pilot, took the Apollo system over this most difficult hurdle so far with a flawless flight. It is perhaps ironic that the only serious glitches in Apollo 9 were not in any of its complex mechanical systems but in the frailty of man and the uncertainties of the weather.

MAGNIFICENT PERFORMANCE

The colds of the crew that delayed the Apollo 9 launch by three days and the stormy Atlantic weather that postponed its recovery for 90 min. could not detract from the magnificent performance of the first complete lunar landing spacecraft system, its crew and the ground support establishment. In fact, the delay moving the recovery area farther south into calmer seas gave the world its most dramatic view to date of a manned spacecraft floating down on its main chutes to splash down within television camera range of the Navy aircraft carrier Guadalcanal.

Biggest achievement of Apollo 9 was, of course, the flight testing of the Grumman lunar module through its full range of lunar maneuver requirements short of actual landing. The performance of the LM on this initial test flight was remarkable, for it represents a fourth generation of manned spacecraft and the first specifically designed to operate solely in the environment of space. It was also the first test in space of the lunar landing suit and portable life-support system with which the Apollo 11 astronauts are scheduled to walk and work on the lunar surface. These systems, too, established the validity of their design and operational concept for the tasks ahead.

Less spectacular than the Apollo flights, but equally impressive, is the manner in which the Kennedy Space Center team is operating its vertical assembly and checkout complex. Even before Apollo 9 had completed its flight, the Apollo 10 stack, mounted on its mobile launcher, was dragged by the gigantic crawler out of the Vehicle Assembly Building, (VAB) into position for launch from Pad 39B. Meanwhile, the stack of Apollo 11 hardware is already well into assembly and can be ready soon for launch from Pad 39A. This smooth and swift assembly and checkout operation has proved the validity of the original vertical assembly concept—a daring innovation when it was first proposed nearly a decade ago. It also has given NASA the operational flexibility to speed the lunar landing by launching Apollo 11 before No. 10 if this appears prudent after the data from the recent flight is analyzed. Without the two launch pads and the capacity of the VAB, NASA would have no choice but to follow in sequence no matter what advantages might accrue from a reshuffle:

DECISIONS NEEDED

It should be apparent to the American public and its Congress now that the Apollo

program has built a vast technical foundation for space exploration and operations that extends far beyond a lunar landing mission. The facilities at the Kennedy Space Center, Houston and Huntsville, plus the vast industrial and scientific network that supports them, have grown into a unique major national resource that simply didn't exist anywhere in the world at the beginning of this decade.

Even while its attention is riveted on the spectacular flights of Apollo carrying man out of his terrestrial environment, this nation must decide what it will do with the enormous capability it has developed as a result of these missions.

The present pinnacle of space exploration was reached as a result of decisions made seven and eight years ago. The decisions on where we go beyond the lunar landing should have been made several years ago. Instead, they have been postponed until now the need is so acute that, despite the success of Apollo the nation's space program faces the prospect of sterile decline in the decade ahead.

Some small but significant decisions must be made immediately in the Fiscal 1970 budget now before Congress to avoid the inevitability of decay in the next decade. These are simply finger-in-the-dike types of emergency funding to keep key development programs afloat. They cannot wait for the Agnew-DuBridge-Laird-Paine program to emerge next fall for the Fiscal 1971 budget.

The past leaders of this nation had the foresight and courage to lay a bold and sound foundation to achieve pre-eminence on this vast new frontier of technology. Those now exercising leadership must make the decision whether to build on these foundations or to let them crumble and decay into an historical relic of what this nation might have been.

ROBERT HOTZ.

BAR FEDERAL AID TO INSTITUTIONS PERMITTING SEGREGATED "BLACK STUDIES" AND HOUSING

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter I have sent to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, expressing my opposition to the extension of Federal aid to any institution of higher education which permits racially segregated courses of studies and housing accommodations for black students only.

The text of my letter follows:

MARCH 19, 1969.

HON. ROBERT H. FINCH,
Secretary, Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing to you with respect to the implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by your Department. I am particularly concerned with the establishment of separate programs for minority group students in institutions of higher education receiving Federal financial assistance.

As you may know, I sponsored the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and managed its passage through the House of Representatives. Enactment of Title VI of that Act marked the culmination of many years of arduous and dedicated work by those who firmly believe that the Federal Government cannot financially support segregation and other discrimination on racial grounds. The Constitution precludes direct racial discrimination or segregation by Federal, State or local gov-

ernments. Title VI prohibits indirect support of such discrimination by the Federal Government.

The operation of the Afro-American Studies Institute at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, challenges the national policy expressed in Title VI. In his letter of February 19, 1969, to your Department, the President of Antioch College, James P. Dixon, acknowledges that the Afro-American Studies Institute is not open and available to all students without regard to their race or color. He also indicates that racial restrictions favoring black students to the exclusion of white students have been applied to dormitory accommodations to those enrolled in the Institute program. In addition, President Dixon makes the following statement in replying to your request for information explaining the policy of Antioch College in this matter:

"We are dealing here with a delicate and crucial question. I have no doubt that a literal interpretation of the Civil Rights Act, without taking into account the special context of an educational institution and particularly one that is experimental, might have the result that black students would be denied the specification of their educational needs because they were black. For this interpretation to hold, in my view, would be a great tragedy and a genuine intrusion of public policy into the academic community."

President Nixon's reply obviously fails to meet the legal objections of Title VI. This conclusion is manifest if one would consider a similar course of instruction open and available solely to white students. Similarly, separate housing in a university or college receiving Federal aid in which only whites could be assigned and all blacks excluded further demonstrates the basic conflict with our national goals.

You have done well to give officials of Antioch College another chance to rectify this situation. The national policy, as expressed in Title VI, is opposed to the fostering of two separate societies, black and white, by means of Federal financial assistance. In 1964 the Congress recognized that "separate but equal" can never be equal. I am confident that you will implement the clear statement of national purpose expressed in present Federal law. Indeed, I believe duty compels you to do so.

Sincerely yours,

EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman.

CALIFORNIA LABOR-MANAGEMENT DISPUTE

HON. ROBERT B. (BOB) MATHIAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the April 1 issue of Look magazine includes an article relating to a California labor-management dispute which has assumed national implications. Mr. E. L. "Ted" Barr, Jr., of Sanger, Calif., president of the California Grape & Tree Fruit League, has wired the editors of Look magazine in response to their article, and has sent me a copy of his telegram. At the request of Mr. Barr and constituents of my district I am placing the contents of this telegram in the RECORD at this point:

It is a frightening and shocking thing when, in the face of the record, a responsible national magazine such as Look gives the

credibility it does to the false "non-violent" preachments of Cesar Chavez.

It is equally shocking that *Look* would permit the use of its columns for Mr. Chavez to challenge the integrity of the President of the United States and the government itself.

But the editors of *Look* do not bear the sole responsibility for Mr. Chavez' latest diatribe because Mr. Chavez has been hacking away with his phony campaign for so long now that thousands of people have come to believe him notwithstanding the falsity of his crusade. Those who have not yet been taken in by Mr. Chavez, however, might expect that responsible editors would check their facts for themselves.

The Chavez interview in *Look* is a falsely pious disclaimer from violence which just doesn't stand up in view of the terror tactics visited upon the grocery outlets of this nation which handle California table grapes.

For example, last October 24, *The New York Times* reported that three A & P food stores in the greater New York area had been fire bombed the previous night by unknown vandals. Two store employees were burned, one seriously. The city's chief fire marshal was quoted as saying that the one fact which linked all these and two earlier bombings was that all were selling California table grapes, all had been picketed and all had been warned not to sell the grapes.

In addition, Mr. Chavez and UFWOC, by their own admission, are totally allied in their boycott and organizing efforts with the Students for a Democratic Society and the Third World Liberation Front axis now tearing apart college campuses across the country. Normal democratic processes are not good enough for these radical organizations, and they aren't good enough for UFWOC either.

Mr. Chavez' challenge to the President is even more irresponsible, if that is possible, because it comes at a time when President Nixon has asked his Secretary of Agriculture and his Secretary of Labor to assemble the facts on the farm labor dispute in order that his Administration might participate in seeking a just solution to the problem.

Mr. Chavez doesn't want a solution, however, unless it is on his terms. He doesn't want a Presidential Task Force involved because he doesn't want the truth known by the American people and their law making representatives.

We hope that the editors of *Look* will delve a bit deeper into the story and bring to their readers the real truth about the California table grape industry and its workers.

Mr. Speaker, because of the importance of the issues involved to the national consumer economy, and in the interest of fairness, it is to be hoped that the matters discussed in Mr. Barr's telegram be studied, not only by the editors of *Look*, but by Members of Congress and the general public.

DEMOLAY'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the youth of our Nation and our world are exposed to serious criticism because of dissident minorities, I think it fitting and proper to call attention to the young people whose ideals and behavior merit strong recognition. The International Order of DeMolay, which

this week celebrates its 50th anniversary, is composed of just this type of outstanding young men.

The International Order of DeMolay was founded on March 18, 1919, by Frank S. Land. Beginning with a membership of only nine teenagers, its strong foundation and goal of building better citizens enabled it to grow to an organization of great size and status. It now enjoys a membership of 166,000 young men of ages 14 to 21 in over 2,500 chapters throughout the world.

This continued growth of the DeMolay has been greatly aided by the Masonic bodies who sponsor the individual chapters, and provide advice and facilities for the members to utilize. It was a Mason, Frank Marshall, who wrote the impressive ritual which composes the initiatory and DeMolay degrees, providing the participants with a sense of fidelity and an appreciation of the virtues upheld by the order.

The ideals which are grasped by DeMolays—loyalty and service to God and their fellow man—create in them a stability and purpose, and help them to become responsible and confident citizens.

I am happy to say that in my own State of New Hampshire there are 23 active DeMolay chapters performing vital services for their communities through self-improvement and good citizenship. I salute and congratulate them for their efforts, and thank them for their interest in the welfare of their communities, their State, their Nation, and their world.

STRENGTHEN THE U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as a longtime member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I am glad to call to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people the statement, "Strengthen the U.S. Foreign Assistance Program," of the AFL-CIO executive council.

It is heartwarming to read this statement of support for the U.S. efforts to assist the developing nations.

It is a pleasure to include these views and recommendations of the AFL-CIO executive council in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STRENGTHEN THE U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Bal Harbour, Fla., Feb. 24, 1969)

The security and freedom of our country requires a variety of efforts—political, diplomatic, economic, military, cultural, and humanitarian. In this realization, Democratic and Republican Administrations alike have recognized the necessity of rallying our nation for generous assistance in various forms, particularly to the developing countries. Without the successes which have been achieved in the pursuit of this course, important areas, now centers of economic progress and advancing social justice, would today be pockets of political chaos and pawns

in the hands of aggressors bent on world domination.

Over the years, mistakes have been made and shortcomings manifested in carrying out the nation's vast foreign assistance program. Certain lessons could be learned only through practical experience. By and large, little time was lost in improving administrative procedures and reducing the chances of misuse of help to a minimum. On the whole, the AID program and its humanitarian endeavors have been a great credit to the American people.

Last year, the U.S. contributed more than any other country to help the developing nations get on their feet. Thus, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Turkey were enabled to have harvests. Every one of the fifteen nations which received 84% of AID's economic assistance last year can attest to its effectiveness in helping them achieve self-sustaining growth—economic progress, advances in health, education and the building of democratic institutions.

Moreover, in helping others, our country has also helped itself. Last year, 98% of AID's commodity requirements were American-purchased and 91% of its total expenditures were made in the U.S. P.L. 480 appropriations, which are a rather substantial part of the development assistance program, have been a source of significant support for the income of our nation's farmers.

Despite these constructive results, recent years have witnessed considerable criticism and opposition to the continuation of our country's development assistance program and projects. Much of the criticism has no basis in fact and is unfair.

For instance, it has been falsely charged that AID has discouraged private investments in development assistance. The fact of the matter is that, in regard to the developing countries, American private investors have not been in step with the "wealth and vigor" of our country's financial community. In order to improve this picture, AID's Private Resource Development Service has been encouraging and supporting with guarantees a number of private undertakings in the developing countries. Setting up a new, separate and parallel agency to foster such private investments would only lead to confusion and conflict. We must realize that, though private investment can and should play a vital role in the developing countries, it can only be supplemental to and not be a substitute for the government assistance program.

Some have argued that the very success of this assistance program makes its continuation unnecessary and that its mission has been fulfilled. Others, embittered by the failure of our Allies to help us in the Vietnam conflict, have turned to neoisolationism. Still others are demanding that our country reduce drastically its world responsibilities and stop helping others in view of the magnitude and urgency of some of our domestic problems.

Just as America cannot long enjoy peace and freedom in a world ridden with totalitarian dictators bent on global conquest and domination, so our country cannot long remain prosperous in a world steeped in poverty, ignorance, and disease. No one can deny that famine and poverty are still a massive peril in many parts of the world. What is more, by now it should be clear to everyone that poverty is not necessarily due to lack of natural and human resources, but is rather the result of a failure to use adequately and effectively the potential resources at hand. On a world scale, 80% of the natural resources and 90% of the human resources are today untapped. In this situation, our country with its great technological expertise and industrial capacity can render enormous assistance to the expansion of world economic development and human well-being. There is no better road to the elimination of

poverty, disease and ignorance which are so assiduously exploited by the Communists in their drive for world power.

The U.S. has provided only 0.85% of its national income for overseas economic assistance—a lower proportion than the 0.93% expended on the average by the sixteen industrially developed countries which constitute the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Hence, no one can reasonably maintain that our foreign assistance program has been a drain on our nation's resources and capacities for dealing with its pressing urban and other domestic problems. No doubt, our country can do much more in the realm of development assistance while improving our domestic conditions.

We of the AFL-CIO are not particularly concerned with what new name the new Administration might give our nation's development assistance agency. There is no reason to chase novelty for the sake of novelty. Sound improvements can be made only on the basis of experience and without hesitation to take new steps for meeting changed or new situations. However, the Executive Council will oppose vigorously all moves—regardless of their guise—to sap the strength or to alter the basic nature of AID by "restructuring" it in such a way as to deprive it of its vital functions. We hope, in this connection, that President Nixon will utilize the great opportunity he has to exercise energetic initiative and leadership in overcoming the tacit and explicit lack of concern in certain sections of our population for the less developed countries.

Towards enabling our country to fulfill ever more effectively its world role and responsibilities in promoting freedom, peace, and social justice, the AFL-CIO Executive Council urges that:

(1) Regardless of the new name which the overseas development assistance program will have, the organization should pursue the essential purpose and preserve the basic structure of AID so as not to divest it of its vital functions.

(2) The overseas development assistance program should be given greater authority and stability of funding through biennial Congressional appropriations.

(3) The Director of the new organization should be made an Under-Secretary of State for Economic Assistance Cooperation in order to strengthen its authority, enhance its mobility of operations, and reduce the frustrations of bureaucratic red tape.

(4) The new agency's career service should be improved by according its working staff the same status and prerogatives as enjoyed by the Foreign Service personnel of the Department of State.

(5) For reasons "both of national interest and humanitarian concern" and also "for the practical mutuality of its benefits", the Congressional appropriations for the foreign assistance program should equal no less than one percent of our national income.

(6) In line with the aims and spirit of Title IX of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act it should be so amended as to provide help to democratic institutions and social projects (education, research, cultural exchanges, cooperatives, trade unions, etc.) even after countries become economically viable, that is, self-sustaining with respect to capital assistance on liberal terms.

(7) To insure that the great mass of the people, rather than any privileged minority in the developing countries, are the primary beneficiaries of American assistance, increasing emphasis should be put on expanding the activities of organizations like the AIFLD, AALC, and AAFIL which promote the building of democratic institutions (free trade unions, cooperatives, private local impact projects, etc.)

(8) Military assistance and aid for economic and social development should be separated from each other by legislative enactment.

NATIONAL BOYS' CLUBS WEEK, MARCH 16-22, 1969

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the eight branches of the Boys' Clubs of Greater Washington now serving 7,000 youngsters in the Metropolitan Washington area will celebrate National Boys' Club Week March 16 through 22.

A member of Boys' Clubs of America since 1923, the Boys' Clubs of Greater Washington is only one of 800 clubs throughout the Nation who will honor their youth for participation in "juvenile decency"—the very opposite of delinquency; the sum total of all the positive things that Boys' Club members accomplish through the leadership and guidance of their local Boys' Club. These youngsters practice juvenile decency everyday but you do not hear about them—they do not get into trouble.

Boys' Club Week is just one reminder that while, indeed, there is such a thing as a bad boy, they are relatively few. And, more important, we should also remember that there are many millions more who are "good kids."

From the White House on down to State and local government, officials will join in the tribute, while leaders of business and many fields will add their applause.

In a recent speech, President Richard M. Nixon, now BCA honorary chairman who actively served 4 years as BCA board chairman, had this to say about Boys' Clubs:

Of all the things I have done, nothing has been more heartwarming, nothing has meant more to me than to be chairman of the Boys' Clubs of America.

Jot down the dates on your calendar: National Boys' Club Week, March 16 to 22. It is a time worth noting.

And, a cause worth supporting.

SECRETARY SHULTZ STREAMLINES MANPOWER ORGANIZATIONS TO IMPROVE SERVICES

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when a major Federal agency, on its own, takes important steps to improve management, and thereby efficiency, through the elimination of duplication and consolidation of functions, it certainly deserves praise from Congress.

Such was the action taken last week by the Department of Labor in the reorganization of its Manpower Administration. In announcing the plan, the new Secretary of Labor, George P. Shultz, noted that the revised organization should "eliminate diffusion of authority, duplication of effort, and unnecessary layers of administration and reporting

practices that have tended to insulate national officials from field operations."

These are commendable objectives, these are ambitious objectives, they are important objectives—objectives that should be reemphasized. I, therefore, under unanimous consent place into the RECORD Secretary Shultz' statement on the reorganization of the Manpower Administration, a story from the Washington Post by Frank Porter, a story from the New York Times by Robert B. Sample, Jr., a column from the Washington Daily News by John Herling, and an article by Stephen E. Nordlinger in the Baltimore Sun:

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY

The Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor is being reorganized to provide effective manpower services to the Nation through a sound system of management and improved communications.

The new Manpower Administration will decentralize its functions, give more authority to regional offices, and eliminate excessive lines of communication between Washington and the field.

The new plan of action should eliminate diffusion of authority, duplication of effort, and unnecessary layers of administrative and reporting practices that have tended to insulate national officials from field operations and to delay effectiveness of the program.

These revisions should speed the delivery of services costing over \$2 billion to the persons and organizations that the Manpower Administration is designed to serve.

For example, suppose the Manpower Administration here authorizes a job training project in a certain State. Under the prior arrangement the authorization would typically go through a national bureau, two separate regional directors, a district office, and then to the State.

Under the new Administration, the authorization will begin at one regional office and then pass directly to the State.

It is logical to integrate training and employment. That is being done. A new unit, the United States Training and Employment Service, is assigned responsibility for the employment, work-experience, and training programs in the Department.

That combines the functions of the Bureau of Work Training Programs and the United States Employment Service.

We further strengthen the Manpower Administration by vesting daily operating responsibility in the Manpower Administrator, thereby permitting the Assistant Secretary to give greater attention to policy formulation and to executive direction of the Manpower Administration.

There will be no change in the functions of the Unemployment Insurance Service, Veterans Employment Service, Farm Labor and Rural Manpower Service, and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

The reorganization will be effective on Monday, March 17, in Washington, and in the regions on March 21.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Mar. 14, 1969]

JOB PLACEMENT REORGANIZATION SET BY
SHULTZ
(By Frank C. Porter)

Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz announced a structural overhaul of the \$2-billion-a-year Manpower Administration yesterday to facilitate better delivery of its services to the Nation's disadvantaged and hard-core unemployed.

A similar though far from identical reorganization plan was offered by Shultz's predecessor, W. Willard Wirtz, last fall. It was

rebuffed by President Johnson after strong opposition developed at the state and local level.

As a result, Wirtz offered to resign. There were reports that the opposition had been encouraged by Mr. Johnson.

The Shultz plan incorporates the most controversial feature of the earlier proposal by merging the job placement activities of the Bureau of Employment Security (BES) with the Bureau of Work-Training Programs. The combined operation will be called the U.S. Training and Employment Service.

Where Wirtz had stirred the enmity of a Federal-state BES bureaucracy jealous of its relative autonomy, Shultz apparently won acquiescence and support through a series of discussions with leaders from Congress, executive agencies, Employment Security workers, labor, employers and veterans' groups.

The other half of BES, the Unemployment Insurance Service, will now operate as a separate entity reporting directly to the Manpower Administrator.

The new plan consolidates both a multiplicity of staffs at the top of the organization and a variety of bureaus at some 2000 locations throughout the country.

The result, said Shultz, is "a single line to the field" from Washington and one-stop centers where the whole range of Manpower Administration programs can be tailored to the individual rather than vice versa.

In a separate statement, President Nixon said the reform "opens the door to reorganization of the Job Corps and an elimination of those phases of the program which have proved both inefficient and ineffective in meeting the problem of job training."

The Job Corps presently is operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity but the President has indicated it will be moved to the Manpower Administration as part of his policy to consolidate training programs within a single agency.

Shultz declined to specify what changes might be made in the controversial Job Corps program, saying that they are still under study.

Shultz said everyone, including Wirtz and former Manpower Administrator Stanley Ruttenberg, felt the present system is unwieldy and should be reorganized.

He produced an organizational chart of the present manpower setup—a baffling maze of boxes and lines—and observed that Arnold Weber, the Assistant Secretary for Manpower, had said it looked like "a wiring diagram for a perpetual motion machine."

A chart of the revamped organization Shultz also furnished looked cleaner and simpler although some reporters professed skepticism about the difference.

Shultz said his plan differs from the Wirtz proposal in that it provides both an Assistant Secretary for Manpower and a Manpower Administration, the first to serve primarily as a policymaker and the latter as operational head.

Another difference, he said, is the special attention given to veterans and farm labor by assigning separate staff functions to both areas.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 14, 1969]

NIXON APPROVES CONSOLIDATION OF U.S. MANPOWER PROGRAMS

(By Robert B. Sample, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, March 13.—President Nixon announced today a major overhaul of the Labor Department's manpower services in an effort to sharpen his Administration's attack on poverty and hard-core unemployment.

The principal architect of the reorganization was Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz, who explained the changes at a White House briefing this morning.

Mr. Shultz has thus succeeded where his predecessor, W. Willard Wirtz, failed. Mr. Wirtz tried to bring order to the Govern-

ment's scattered manpower retraining programs, but his plans, similar in many respects to those announced today, were blocked by President Johnson after a bitter dispute last November. Mr. Wirtz offered to resign shortly afterward.

GOAL OF REORGANIZATION

In general, the changes are aimed at improving the "delivery" of the Government's manpower programs to those who are supposed to benefit from them—business and labor organizations, local and state governments and, ultimately, the unemployed. The reorganization is intended to reduce red tape, paperwork and the number of bureaucratic steps that must be taken to build effective manpower programs on the local level.

There are more than a dozen manpower programs spending \$2-5 billion annually, funded separately by Congress and scattered among five different Federal agencies. Today's reorganization encompasses only the manpower efforts of where the Department of Labor, where the bulk of the retraining programs are concentrated, and does not affect those in other agencies.

The three most important moves would do the following:

Give the department's manpower Administrator full operational authority for all manpower programs—authority that he divided with an Assistant Secretary of Labor under the old arrangement;

Eliminate several more administrative layers by establishing a single line of authority between the Manpower Administrator and the department's field offices in eight geographic regions and the District of Columbia;

Establish a single new office—to be called the United States Training and Employment Service—to oversee the activities of eight separate training programs as well as the recruitment and job-placement functions of the old United States Employment Service, which has now been eliminated.

Officials are particularly hopeful that the new "direct line" between the bureaucracy here and the field offices will do much to improve morale locally and to speed the execution of manpower programs.

Under the old system, for example, a manpower project in, say, Kentucky would not only require authorization from the Manpower Administration in Washington but, typically, from the now-abolished Bureau of Work-Training Programs here, from two separate regional directors and from a district office. Only then would the state be able to start actual retraining.

Under the new plan, the Manpower Administrator in Washington would continue to issue general policy guidelines, but regional administrators would have full authority to approve and undertake specific retraining projects with state and local officials.

Accordingly, state government, state employment services and antipoverty community action agencies seeking Federal help in providing jobs for the poor would have for the first time, a single line of communications to Washington.

The establishment of the new United States Training and Employment Service is viewed by officials as an equally important step. The object of the move is to bring under one roof, again for the first time, the programs that train a man for a job and the agencies that find a job for the man.

Among the programs incorporated into the new unit are the Manpower Development and Training Act; New Careers; Operation Mainstream; the Neighborhood Youth Corps; the Work Incentive Program; Apprenticeship Outreach; the concentrated employment program for hard-core slum areas, and Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, which is administered in conjunction with the National Alliance for Businessmen.

[From the Washington Daily News]

MANPOWER SHUFFLE

(By John Herling)

With the full power of the White House behind them, Labor Secretary Shultz and Assistant Secretary Arnold Weber have achieved a reorganization of the \$2 billion Manpower Administration.

The Shultz-Weber plan differs in no essential respect from that proposed by Labor Secretary Wirtz and Stanley Ruttenberg last fall under the previous administration. Unfortunately, however, Messrs. Wirtz and Ruttenberg not only lacked the support of President Johnson, but LBJ's personal displeasure with the Labor Secretary last fall led to his undercutting the plan. This scandalous performance had been hinted at in January, but in the two months since, Mr. Johnson's curiously destructive role has been as nearly confirmed as such things can be.

At any rate, the fact that the Wirtz-Ruttenberg plan had been proposed despite its eventual abortion by LBJ, somewhat simplified the task of Messrs. Shultz and Weber. The latter not only could refine what had been previously proposed, but could profit by the experience of their predecessors with the various interest groups involved.

President Nixon and the new Manpower Administration "will decentralize its functions; a single line of authority from Washington to the field will be established; the regional offices will assume greater responsibility; the overlapping of functions among various bureaus will largely disappear."

An important administrative difference between the Shultz-Weber plan and the Wirtz-Ruttenberg proposal is the creation of a Manpower Administrator, separate from but under Assistant Secretary Weber. As a result, the latter will be able to give greater attention to policy formulation and to executive direction of the Manpower Administration.

The newly created Manpower Administrator becomes director of field administration. It will be headed by Nicholas Peet, formerly Oregon's Commissioner of Employment, who supported the original Wirtz-Ruttenberg plan.

Both plans had arranged for the dissolution of the peculiar bureaucratic empire, known as the Bureau of Employment Security, (BES), long administered by Robert Goodwin. Functions previously centered in BES have been separated out among the following: Office of Controller (in charge of Trust Fund, Budget and Financial Control); the Unemployment Insurance Service; the U.S. Training and Employment and the Office of Policy and Evaluation. This dissolution of BES is considered indispensable to the success of the reorganization.

For many years, Mr. Goodwin's close liaison with the organization known as the Interstate Conference of Employment Security, Administration—financed out of BES administrative funds—had undermined efforts at organization and policy change, dating at least back to Labor Secretary Mitchell. In his last interview with me Mr. Mitchell said the thing he regretted most about his term in office was not to have cracked down on Mr. Goodwin's BES. Labor Secretary Goldberg, the doubtless chafing, could do nothing about BES. Finally, in the sweep of the great changes in departmental responsibility in the manpower field, Messrs. Wirtz and Ruttenberg, and now Messrs. Shultz and Weber, made their move.

At the White House, Mr. Shultz was asked to account for his success in overcoming the historic obstacles to the changes he has now effected. Said he: "I can only say that in developing our ideas and talking about them we did consult widely with the Interstate Conference group, with members of the Congress who know an awful lot about this, and with people in the Urban Affairs Council and, of course, with the governors."

It appears that Secretary Shultz is very persuasive as well as competent.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun,
Mar. 14, 1969]

**NIXON REORGANIZATION PLAN ON
JOB-TRAINING OUTLINED**

(By Stephen E. Nordlinger)

WASHINGTON, March 13.—The Nixon administration announced today a major reorganization of the Labor Department's manpower programs as part of its attack on poverty and hard-core unemployment. The reorganization mainly establishes anew the United States Training and Employment Services, which will consolidate the vast array of programs dealing with on-the-job training, recruitment, counseling, testing and placement.

A total of \$2 billion a year is involved in the operation of these programs under the department's Manpower Administration.

The reorganization follows the lines announced but quickly suspended last fall by the Johnson administration because of protests by governors and other state officials.

Cancellation of the program by President Johnson led W. Willard Wirtz, former Secretary of Labor, to offer his resignation in the closing weeks of the administration.

Labor department officials disclosed that some careful consultation with governors and other state officials had won over the former opponents. This effort to ease the way to the reorganization had not been taken before the Johnson administration announced its plan last October, it was reported.

EYE ON JOB CORPS

President Nixon, in a statement on the reorganization, indicated that the change might lead to a revamping of the controversial Job Corps, which he has ordered transferred to the Labor Department from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

"This administrative reform opens the door to reorganization of the Job Corps, and an elimination of those phases of the program which have proved both inefficient and ineffective in meeting the problem of job training," the President said.

George P. Shultz, Secretary of Labor, told a news conference at the White House that the fate of the Job Corps within his department had not yet been decided.

Mr. Shultz joined President Nixon earlier for a 70-minute meeting with George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. According to the secretary, the discussion covered a broad range of subjects including foreign policy, the need for more housing and labor-management relations.

Under the reorganization, which takes effect Monday at the Washington office and March 24 in the field offices, the major programs of the United States Employment Service and Bureau of Work-Training Programs will be transferred to the major new office, the U.S. training and Employment Service.

The office will administer on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act as well as such programs as New Careers, Operation Mainstream, Neighborhood Youth Corps, work incentive programs and Job Opportunities in the Business Sector with the National Alliance of Businessmen.

KILLING OUR MERCHANT MARINE

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have been addressing the Members of this House

during the past 10 years on the misbegotten philosophy that shapes our foreign trade policy.

This policy of freer trade has been at cross-purposes with our domestic economic policy by exposing our industries, mines, farms, and their workers to foreign competition that derives its advantage almost entirely from low wages. While we strove to lift our own economy to higher levels through a variety of enactment that placed higher cost burdens on our industries and reduced their ability to compete, we tore down our tariff, as if free trade would deliver us into the promised land. We reduced the effectiveness of our tariff an average of about 80 percent, from roughly 50 percent to just above 10 percent, during the past 35 years.

Today we are being swamped by imports of consumer goods. Industry after industry is feeling the bite. Not only textiles and steel, but numerous other products, such as glass, footwear, meat, vegetables, pottery, household goods of all kinds, consumer electronics, typewriters, sewing machines, automobiles.

Our balance of trade has suffered much more than the Department of Commerce press releases would have us believe. Instead of an export surplus of some \$700 to \$800 million in 1968, we suffered a deficit of more than \$3 billion. The official outgivings count our AID and food-for-peace shipments and other giveaway transactions. If these were omitted, as they should be if our trade balance is to reflect our competitive muscle, our weak position would be shown in its true light.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken at length over the past decade on the folly and shortsightedness of our foreign trade policy; and what I predicted in past years we now see coming true.

There is one sector, however, that has not received the attention that it should have. Those Members of this body who come from our great seaport cities are aware of the plight of our maritime industry and the inexcusably low state to which we have permitted it to fall. Others are not sufficiently aware of the facts.

Because ships are not imported and because merchant shipping is a service and not a commodity our merchant marine has not come under the scope of our foreign trade policy. Yet it is directly affected by that policy as a little exploration will show.

Our maritime industry provides us with a perfect example of what would happen to many of our other industries under free-trade conditions. The industry would have been sunk without a trace had we not come to its rescue in order to preserve a completely barebones vestige of it. As it is, ships that fly the American flag carry only about 6 percent of our total imports and exports; and it would carry a zero percentage if it were not subsidized in both its ship construction and ship operation enterprise. Our costs, by actual Federal wage surveys both here and abroad, are a little over 100 percent above the foreign costs. That this is not a matter of relative inefficiency is shown in the study that I will offer for the RECORD shortly.

What I am saying, Mr. Speaker, is that the maritime industry could be marked

"Exhibit A" as evidence of what free trade would do to our industries.

Let me be clear about it. Our inability to compete does not arise from a lower degree of productivity in our industries than in the foreign. I know of no manufacturing industry in which our output per man-hour or man-year is not higher than that of our foreign competitors. Very often we cannot compete because our lead in productivity is not as far ahead of our competitors as our wages stand above theirs. Our lead is not long enough to cancel the lower foreign wages; but we are ahead in point of absolute efficiency.

Mr. Speaker, without going into greater detail I offer a study of our treatment of our maritime industry that will be an eye opener to many of us. We have turned a deaf ear to an industry that is actually deserving of national gratitude for its service in two World Wars and its readiness at all times to come to our rescue. I insert at this point in the RECORD a study of the comparative treatment of our merchant marine prepared by O. R. Strackbein who is chairman of the Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy:

KILLING OUR MERCHANT MARINE

(By O. R. Strackbein, March 13, 1969)

The American merchant marine has been victimized by the nation it serves as perhaps no other legitimate industry has been mistreated in the history of the republic.

So incredible is the true story of the discriminatory treatment of the merchant marine that only incontrovertible facts can sustain the charge. The American public is not remotely aware of the mistreatment inflicted on our merchant fleet and the shipbuilding industry; and it seems fair to say that the Government is also unaware of the degree of discrimination. Only a few members of Congress have a notion of how deeply the unfair usage runs.

To bring to view the supporting facts that will sustain the above charge, it will be desirable to examine relative treatment of certain other industries in comparison with that accorded the merchant marine.

First in the order of treatment we may examine the subsidies extended to certain other industries and to the maritime industry. The basis of the subsidies will be examined later.

Secondly, the additional support extended to other industries but not to the maritime industry to enable them to cope with foreign competitors will be examined.

Third, the relative degree of foreign competitive exposure imposed on the maritime industry in contrast with that of other industries will be brought into the open.

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES

The largest single subsidy paid by the Federal Government is in support of our agriculture. In 1967 this was in the magnitude of \$5½ billion. The largest single item was that of price support which was some \$3½ billion.

The Federal Aviation Agency received an estimated \$510 million and the Civil Aeronautics Board some \$66 million. The Department of Labor dispensed an estimated \$598 million, nearly all of which went into unemployment trust fund administration. Public housing and urban renewal received an estimated \$641 million. The postal service was given an estimated \$504 million. The Maritime Administration received \$185 million for ship operation subsidies and administration. The Department of Commerce dispensed \$71 million for merchant ships and "other". The Coast Guard, navigation aids and "other", absorbed \$300 million. (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1967, Table 548, pp. 394-5.)

Aviation and rail transportation have enjoyed further extensive subsidization in the form of special appropriations for development of the supersonic air plane and fast railway transportation.

Total subsidies set forth in the table were estimated at \$8.04 billion for 1967. The amount received by the merchant marine was a relatively minor item. The direct subsidy was about \$255 million, while the indirect aid was an indeterminate part of the \$300 million dispensed in behalf of the Coast Guard and navigational aid. Agricultural subsidies alone exceeded the maritime outlay by more than ten to one.

DIFFERENTIAL IN OTHER ASSISTANCE

The merchant marine received no assistance in the form of an import duty. There is no tariff on ships bought from foreign sources. A ship provides a service but does not pass through the custom house into the country.

The average duty on dutiable imports is about 11%. The merchant marine does not participate in that style of protection. In 1966 total duty collections were \$2.6 billion, none of which benefited the merchant marine.

WHEAT AND WHEAT FLOUR

Beyond receiving a subsidy in the form of price supports, which enables the wheat farmers to compete in foreign markets at world prices, wheat farmers and flour millers, enjoy the protection not only of a tariff but of a highly restrictive import quota that delivers some 99% of the domestic market to them.

The American merchant marine enjoys no restriction on foreign competition, with the exception of cargo preferences. These are minor privileges compared with the import quotas on wheat and flour.

RAW COTTON

American cotton producers also enjoy price supports in the form of a subsidy that enables them to sell in the world market. Beyond that raw cotton is also protected by a tight import quota. This assures the domestic cotton growers over 95% of the American market.

Again, the merchant marine enjoys no such guarantee of a high share of incoming and outgoing ocean cargo, with the strictly minor exception of cargo preferences on military and foreign aid shipments.

CIVIL AVIATION

The civil aviation industry beyond enjoying subsidies in excess of those paid to the merchant marine, also enjoys virtual monopoly of air travel within the United States.

The merchant marine engaged in foreign trade enjoys no analogous or remotely comparable support.

The value of reserving the domestic market as a virtual monopoly to the industries cited can hardly be exaggerated. It permits a reasonable basis of profitable operation, free from the extreme pressure that low-cost foreign competition would provide.

What is said about the other subsidy programs is not offered in a critical sense. Without the subsidies the domestic industries in question might be in the same desperate straits as the merchant marine.

THE MERCHANT MARINE'S NARROW STRAITS

The unconscionable difference in treatment extended to the other industries cited and the merchant marine becomes all the more apparent if the share of the domestic market enjoyed by these industries is compared with the lot of our ocean shipping.

The share of the domestic market available to the wheat growers, flour millers, cotton growers and civil aviation is upwards of 95%. Our merchant marine, flying the American flag, carries only some 6% of our total imports and exports. This means the same as 12% of half of our trade. Since imports and

exports combined represent our total trade, we could expect to carry only a half of it, leaving the other half for other countries.

This is a case then of 12% vs 95% or more. The ratio is about 8 to 1 against the merchant marine!

LIMITATIONS ON THE MERCHANT MARINE

Aside from the free-trade status of the merchant marine so far as tariff protection is concerned, the size of the American flag merchant fleet is limited by what is estimated by the national defense agencies to be the minimum tonnage needed for the national security. This, as it has shaken down is, as noted above, about 6% of the tonnage needed to carry all of our world trade or 12% of half of it.

Were other industries placed under an effective ceiling that would limit their output or service to the defense needs, many of them would also be on the edge of extinction. Assume that the production of the textile industry, the shoe industry, the automotive industry, the meat industry, or the steel makers were limited to the needs of the national defense! Such a limitation would be regarded as senseless and suicidal.

What then is the philosophy behind the reasoning that restricts the merchant marine to this level? The question has not had an answer.

THE NATURE OF THE MERCHANT MARINE LIMITATION

There is indeed no law against the building and operation of merchant ships or passenger vessels beyond the amount supported by the Federal subsidy. The limitation is nevertheless as certain and as tight as if it were illegal to build and operate tonnages beyond these limits.

The proof is not far to find. The cost of building ships in this country and of operating them under the American flag is slightly more than double that of building in foreign yards and operating with foreign crews. This ratio of over 2 to 1 is arrived at through surveys conducted by the Federal government under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. The ratio has indeed widened somewhat instead of narrowing in the past ten years. Since foreign wages are from 25 to 40% of ours the 2 to 1 ratio of our costs reflects our higher productivity or efficiency.

Therefore, the right of our shipyards to build more ships than the construction subsidy supports is a pure mockery; and the same is true of ship operation under the American flag.

So great is the difference between domestic and foreign costs of ship-construction that if a ship is built in an American yard it cannot compete with a foreign-built ship operated by a foreign crew even if the American ship could be operated without a crew!

The cost of a ship is measured not only by the work applied in the shipyard. This is not much more than an assembly operation. Most of the cost has already been incurred in the production of all the materials and equipment that go into the ship. All of this material (with the exception of some imported items) is produced at the American wage level and this generally is of a level comparable to that prevailing in our shipyards, and in some cases higher.

Again, if a ship were built in a foreign yard it could not be operated with an American crew and hope to compete with a foreign-built ship operated by a foreign crew. Competitively it would be beaten the moment it put into effect domestic wage rates and instituted American crew standards and safety regulations. Yet maritime wages are demonstrably no higher than wages in comparable occupations in other industries.

The upshot is that the extent of the Federal subsidy effectively and de facto limits the tonnage of the American flag fleet. Except as a heavily losing venture not a single ton

of nonsubsidized shipping could be built and operated.

This means that the American merchant marine is straitjacketed by the limits of the Federal support—as no other industry in this country is straitjacketed. The merchant marine is unique along the whole industrial front in its confinement to the trusses provided by the government.

For this there is no justification in economic policy, public policy or equitable and equal treatment. The merchant marine industry has committed no crime. It has responded to every call of war with promptness and readiness to serve; and it has served well on each occasion.

Much of the blame must be attributed to public ignorance which in turn arises from apathy and failure to be concerned about the misfortunes of a highly necessary and useful industry. There is also a nearly total failure to understand the source of the high costs that produce complete dependency on the subsidy. It does not rest on wages that are out of line with wages in general.

FURTHER SHORT TREATMENT

The merchant marine industry suffers from yet other forms of inequality of treatment; and, again, the unfair treatment may be unconscious and wholly without malice.

Official import statistics record the amount of imports of merchandise and products of all kinds. If a foreign-made aircraft is imported it is recorded as an import; and it pays a duty. It passes through the customs formalities. If a locomotive is imported it is also recorded as an import. The same is true of other transportation equipment, such as automobiles, trucks and buses. These incoming products are all recorded as imports into the country.

Foreign built ships ordered by an American owner, on the other hand, are not regarded as an import unless they are registered under the American Flag; and this is a most rare occurrence, if it occurs at all. The foreign-built American-owned ships may and do touch our ports, load and unload cargo the same as an American flag ship, and may, as indeed they do, compete directly with the American maritime industry the same as any other imported product competes with the American industry; but they (the foreign-built ships) are not recorded as imports!

The explanation is that foreign built ships for American ownership do not pass through the custom house. There is no tariff classification for such ships, nor is there a statistical classification for them in our import statistics. They are treated as private foreign investments!

From our import statistics it would therefore appear as if our shipyards had no competition from abroad. From the point of view of maritime labor it also appears as if it suffered no competition from foreign investment, whereas it means something close to a hundred per cent exclusion! American labor is not employed in foreign yards nor is it usually hired by ships of American ownership built abroad and registered under a foreign flag. This explains the virtual exclusion of American labor. Yet American-owned ships built abroad exceed the tonnage built in American shipyards by a wide ratio. In recent years the ratio has been 3 or 4 to 1. In 1966 United States yards built 146,000 gross tons to 538,000 built for American companies abroad. The ratio is widening alarmingly, not shrinking, in recent building contracts. This foreign building has the same competitive effect on the American industry as import penetration produces in other industries.

Consider for example, what would be the competitive effect should the American automobile industry be limited de facto, not by law, but by insuperable competitive reality, to supplying 12% of the domestic market (call it 12% in place of the present 6% inas-

much as our merchant marine at the maximum would be entitled to carry only 50% instead of 100% of inbound and outbound ocean cargo). Of a 9-million annual car market our own manufacturers producing in this country would supply only 1,080,000 cars!

The domestic automobile industry would shrink to a mere shadow of itself, even as the maritime industry has progressively shrunk!

Assume further that direct private investments of the American automobile companies in foreign countries were at least as large as those existing in this country (since foreign flag vessels of American ownership now slightly exceed in tonnage those flying the American flag and employing American crews). Imports from these sources would then be in the magnitude of 1,080,000 automobiles or as many as were manufactured here and they would pay no duty. The remaining 7,920,000 automobiles needed to fill out the consumer market for 9,000,000 cars would all be imported! This would be comparable to the situation in which our merchant marine finds itself trussed and frustrated.

As it is, imports of automobiles reached about 1,020,000 units in 1967 or a little over 10% of the total market. These imports included those shipped to this country by American-owned foreign plants. This penetration of 10% corresponds to the analogous penetration of 88% suffered by the American merchant marine industry.

COMPARISON WITH PETROLEUM, TEXTILES, AND DAIRY PRODUCTS

The petroleum industry is protected under the national security provision of the Trade Expansion Act (Sec. 232) through an import quota. Under this limitation petroleum imports represent 12.2% of domestic consumption.

The contrast, though not as sharp as in the limitations on importation of wheat and cotton or the restriction on foreign aircraft operation in this country, previously cited, nevertheless looms incredibly against the 88% penetration allowed in the shipping industry: as 12.2 is to 88; while the maritime industry is subjected to an oppressively low ceiling.

Import penetration of textiles, which is regulated by the equivalent of an import quota (with the exception of man-mades and woolsens) in 1966 was just below 5%, although the penetration (share of the market supplied by imports) was indeed much higher in some important items. Again, the less than 5% penetration in textiles compares with the 88% suffered by merchant shipping. Moreover, textile imports pay a duty. Foreign-built American ships, as we have observed, pay none; nor does shipping. The government justifiably rescued the cotton textile industry, while the maritime industry cannot develop beyond its present atrophied condition. Without the rescue the textile industry would be in a similar state.

In the case of dairy products the market penetration by imports has been severely limited by an import quota imposed under Sec. 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Section 22 was enacted in 1935 to prevent imports from rendering various agricultural programs ineffective. Similar concern and care was not extended to shipbuilding and ocean shipping.

THE GREAT DISPARITY

Enough has been said to show the shocking degree of discrimination practiced in fact against the American merchant marine industry. It is a blot on the honor of the American system that prides itself on equality of treatment and equal protection of the law.

In one industry after another, with a market penetration of imports that is from 1/7 to 1/50 as extensive as in the maritime industry, import quotas have been instituted.

It does not seem possible that such a disparity in treatment could survive public knowledge of the contrast!

Yet, under the budgets submitted to Congress in recent years, funds for shipbuilding reflected no concern over the desperate state of our maritime industry. Only one conclusion is logical—the final phasing out of the merchant marine as a viable industry on the American scene unless the policy is reversed.

NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON HIGH-SPEED PHOTOGRAPHY

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to have the opportunity today of joining with my good friend and fellow colleague from California, the Honorable WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, in cosponsoring House Concurrent Resolution 178, to express the sense of the Congress that all interested agencies of the Federal Government should participate actively to the greatest practicable extent in the Ninth International Congress on High-Speed Photography to be held in Denver, Colo., in August 1970, under the sponsorship of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers.

As members of the California congressional delegation, Mr. MAILLIARD and I are happy to coauthor this resolution because of the close and historic association of the State of California with the development of modern photography.

Today, especially, as we see unfold the wonders of our Nation's new era of space exploration, Americans are justly proud of the vital role in that vast endeavor being played by high-speed photography.

The Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers, whose membership comprises among others the photography experts of the motion picture and television industries, has since 1952 been an active participant in the biennial congresses on high speed photography.

The Ninth International Congress, which is to be held in Denver, Colo., in August of 1970, is to be sponsored by the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers.

Preceding Congresses were held in Washington in 1952, in Paris in 1954, in London in 1956, in Cologne in 1958, in Washington in 1960, in The Hague in 1962, in Zurich in 1965, and in Stockholm in 1968. All of these conferences have been endorsed and assisted by the government of the country in which they were held.

The Washington meeting of 1960 was preceded by the adoption by the 86th Congress in August 1959, of a concurrent resolution endorsing the meeting and urging active participation by the Federal agencies most concerned with the subject.

It is our hope, therefore, that our jointly sponsored resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 178, will also receive similar favorable consideration from the present Congress.

Because of its importance to international understanding and good will, I would like to include the text of House Concurrent Resolution 178 in the RECORD at this point:

H. CON. RES. 178

Whereas high-speed photographic techniques can magnify the time scale of scientific phenomena revealing parameters for research, engineering, and testing that are extremely important to every nation; and

Whereas the First and Fifth International Congresses on High Speed Photography were held in the United States of America, as organized and conducted by the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers; and

Whereas the Fifth International Congress on High Speed Photography in 1960 was supported by the Federal Government, as expressed in the S. Con. Res. 75 in 1959; and

Whereas other meetings were held in Paris, London, Cologne, The Hague, Zurich, and Stockholm, and in each instance these meetings have received the recognition and the support of the Governments of the respective host countries; and

Whereas with each meeting the International Congress on High Speed Photography has grown in prestige and stature, and attracts more countries in a continuing growth pattern; and

Whereas the importance of high-speed photography is reflected in nearly all of the physical sciences, including medical, biological, space, and many other fields; and

Whereas the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers is once again sponsoring the International Congress on High Speed Photography in Denver, Colorado, in August 1970 and is desirous of representing the United States of America as the host country in the best possible light; and

Whereas the Congress is fully appreciative of the importance of assuring this international scientific meeting is conducted in a manner which will bring credit and enhanced prestige to the United States of America; and

Whereas it is the belief of the Congress that—

(1) the democratic environment of the free world is the best environment for the achievement in science; and

(2) scientists and engineers have special advantages and opportunities to assist in achieving international understanding since the laws and concepts of science cross all national and ideological boundaries; and

(3) high-speed photography is a universal tool in science, important to nearly all sciences internationally, and the International Congress to High Speed Photography is an excellent means of disseminating the advances in technology; and

Whereas the Congress is interested in (1) promoting international understanding and good will; (2) enhancing the excellence of American science, both basic and applied; and (3) furthering international cooperation in science and technology by creating the necessary climate for effective interchange of ideas: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that all interested agencies of the Federal Government should participate actively to the greatest practicable extent in the Ninth International Congress on High Speed Photography to be held in Denver, Colorado, in August 1970, under the sponsorship of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers.

CHARLES D. ROCHE

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride, tinged with sadness, that I rise today to pay tribute to a friend,

former White House aide Charles D. Roche, who recently enlisted in the ranks of private enterprise.

Pride, because Chuck Roche played a major role in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in securing passage of some of the most progressive, important, and needed social legislation in three decades. Unquestionably, he was one of the most articulate and persuasive advocates on Capitol Hill in behalf of those two great Presidents, the Democratic Party, and the Nation that he served.

Sadness, because Chuck Roche's comradeship and experience will be missing from Capitol Hill.

Chuck is a product of Boston, Mass., and Harvard College. He earned his basic training in politics as a journalist and editor before signing on as an invaluable aide in John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign for the Presidency.

After President Kennedy's victory, Chuck became a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee where he saw his labors rewarded with the successful election of a tide of Democratic Congressmen throughout the Nation.

And from there he went to the White House, where he toiled tirelessly until the end of last year as an adviser to the President for congressional relations.

Although repeatedly lauded for his liaison work with Congress in assisting in the passage of important legislation, Chuck is proudest of his lovely wife and nine healthy, wonderful children—all Democrats.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, and most important, Chuck Roche is a close personal friend whose guidance and counsel I consider invaluable. His knowledge of the workings of the Congress is encyclopedic. His experience will be missed on Capitol Hill.

I wish him the best of luck in his new endeavors, and I hope he will return to the Hill often to say hello to his many friends.

THE LUMBER PRICE CRISIS: THE EXPORT PROBLEM

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the soaring prices of lumber and wood products have reached the point of a national crisis, as I am sure all my colleagues are aware.

This is a many faceted problem that has developed from a simple focal point—the lack of supply to satisfy demand. One aspect of the situation which is immediately correctable is the drain on domestic timber by foreign purchasers.

A recent column by Gerry Pratt, business editor of the Portland Oregonian, deals with this aspect of the lumber crisis. I would like to commend it to my colleagues in the Congress so they may have a more complete understanding of the entire picture. Here, then, is Mr. Pratt's article:

LOG PRICE "CRUNCH" EXPECTED IN SPRING

(By Gerry Pratt)

A log exporter, with between 70 and 100 million feet of logs in inventory, looked with covetous eyes on his timber this week and admitted: "If we could have turned that inventory loose on the domestic log market we could have retired to Palm Springs."

His dilemma? "We have 11 log ships under charter. You have got to keep this wood coming for them." The charters, he adds, were set up on a seven-year basis, but not so hard and fast that they cannot be changed, before the seven years run out.

Now this is a year of decision as far as the Japanese are concerned. Their problem will be to decide whether to continue to buy wood here or somewhere else and it depends on the economics of the situation, log exporters admit. So far, the economics are good.

That's how you come to a situation reported in the Forest Research News this past week showing log export volume up more than 50 per cent in January over January a year ago, up 24.9 per cent over December's exports. Oregon and Washington's log exports to Japan reached a new monthly high of 199 million board feet, 33.4 per cent above what this area exported in December.

WHAT ABOUT U.S. CURBS?

What happened to the federal government's restrictions?

The facts are that this country exported more than 2 billion feet of logs to Japan last year and will export more than 2 billion feet to Japan this year, despite restrictions that limit federal timber to be exported at 350 million feet a year.

Chuck Caffal, president of Caffal Brothers, 40 years in the log export business and one of the major shippers, says logs are coming from the "pipeline" of timber already purchased by the Japanese in this country.

"We will start going ahead and operating just as any other year this spring shipping logs again. We have another 1.5 to 2 years of shipments in the pipelines already bought for export. But a lot of Japanese companies are going to feel the pinch this year. They are going to have to back off or meet the price. I am not a bit optimistic about the Japanese being able to meet the present stumpage prices we are seeing today."

STUMPAGE PRICES SOAR

The Forestry Research figures reported that Douglas fir in the January export figures had cost the Japanese an average of \$104 a thousand. Other softwood shipped averaged \$96.98 a thousand. Since the days when that timber was bought, stumpage prices alone have increased more than 50 per cent. What the logs would cost at shipside would be more like a 100 per cent increase.

That is why Caffal can lament that if he were free to turn the logs in his "pipeline" loose to the highest bidder, they would probably go for a 100 per cent profit and to American mills, now paying the highest timber prices in history just to keep in business.

Exporters admit, too, that some Japanese exporters, not committed like Caffal to a sailing schedule of chartered ships, are turning their logs bought for Japan back into the domestic American market. At Coos Bay, Caffal says, export logs have already been stopped at the dockside by the lure of higher profits in the U.S. These have been reloaded onto trucks and shipped to mills in the Eugene area, sold by the Japanese to the Americans.

What of the "glut" that we have heard exists on the Japanese domestic log market, a glut built up by the frenzied buying before the Morse amendment restricting log exports took hold.

JAPAN "GLUT" TO FADE

"A surplus? That is rapidly becoming not true," according to Caffal. "And by spring

it will be not true. But I don't think we are through with this export trade."

Caffal claims there is not a single sale on the books of Japanese log export history with prices as high as the domestic American mills are paying today. "I think," Caffal adds, "that the Japanese are going to be in here on a manufactured basis. They are going to have to buy some form of manufactured wood."

"Log ships are designed to carry squares as well as the round product. The main deterrent is that some installed capacity in Japan has got to go down the drain when this starts to happen. This is as unpalatable to them as it would be to us."

Meanwhile, the outlook for the big private timber holders such as Weyerhaeuser, the largest exporter of logs; G-P, which ships mostly cedar, and Crown Zellerbach, and the holders of federal government timber that comes under the export allowance, the prospect is for a profitable spring.

Somewhere between the time when Japan decides that the American prices are too high for them to survive, is going to be a cliff-hanging period on log prices. The Japanese still feel American timber prices may break. They won't back off without a scramble to stay in the bidding.

In finance, the word for a squeeze such as that is now called a "crunch." This spring we should see the "crunch" on log prices.

FREE GUIDE SERVICE FOR THE CAPITOL

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, last year and again this year I have introduced a bill that, if passed, would provide for a free guide service to the people who visit the Capitol Building. It is my feeling and belief that there is no better place in the world where people can come and learn about representative government and about the history of a Government that deals with freedom. People who come here and pay taxes for all of the Government programs should not be forced to pay a fee as they are now to be given a guided tour of the building. So, it is my hope that the committee will act on my bill or Mr. FRIEDEL's bill so it can be presented to the House so we may have the opportunity to vote on this bill to provide free guide service for the millions of free citizens of our country and from all over the world.

Recently, Mr. Joseph McCaffrey on WMAL Radio spoke of the problem eloquently and effectively and his statement follows:

TODAY IN CONGRESS

(By Joseph McCaffrey)

For years, the capitol guides have been struggling, to little avail, to get themselves on the legislative pay roll. And unlike other trends at the Capitol these days, they are willing to take a pay cut to do it.

At present the guide force is an independent group, deriving its salary from a small charge to tourists. In past years business has been good, but not always.

Last year's riots, for example, hurt business, and sharply reduced their income.

Not only that but if a guide is sick, he or she gets no pay while off work. If a guide was at retirement age, the only thing he has to

look forward to is social security. He pays the full cost of his hospitalization.

Although he is the spokesman for Congress to thousands and thousands of tourists, he is not adequately taken care of.

Once again in this congress the guides seek legislation which would put them on a fixed salary, give them retirement benefits, similar to those paid other Hill employees, sick leave, and most of all, free tours for the taxpayers, instead of the present charge.

Bills have been introduced by Senator Dirksen, Congressman Sam Friedel of Maryland and Fred Schwengel of Iowa to improve the guides positions. And this year, there is hope there will be action taken on them.

EXPERT HELP FOR DOT

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 20, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I was indeed pleased to learn of President Nixon's recent nomination of Secor D. Browne to the position of Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology in the Department of Transportation. He is one of the most knowledgeable men in the field, having been a transportation consultant, an associate professor of air transport, and a widely recognized authority in civil aviation and aircraft engineering.

In Browne, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe will find an able assistant in his efforts to solve the Nation's air transportation problems.

The following articles from the Boston Herald Traveler speak highly of Browne's capabilities, and, under unanimous consent, I place them at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, Feb. 28, 1969]

EXPERT HELP FOR DOT

President Nixon's nomination of Secor D. Browne of MIT to be Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology in the Department of Transportation is a welcome development in the administration's effort to confront the nation's deepening air transportation problems.

John A. Volpe, the Secretary of Transportation, said recently that the aviation crisis is "the most serious problem" facing his department. In Browne, he will have the assistance of one of America's most knowledgeable men in the field of civil aviation technology.

In addition to teaching at MIT, where he has been on the faculty since 1958, Browne has administered a series of Flight Transportation Seminars in the Institute's Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics, has been a frequent consultant on aviation matters and for three years has been chairman of the board of governors of Flight Safety Foundation, Inc., a respected non-profit organization devoted to flight safety. He also has served as president of Browne and Shaw Co., Inc., of Waltham, and corporate vice president of Bolt, Beranek and Newman, Inc., of Cambridge.

Moreover, his witty, and straightforward manner should serve him well in bringing together the various—and not always compatible—factions of the commercial aviation community, which includes governmental agencies, aircraft manufacturers and airline and airport operators.

Browne's approach to the problems of aviation, on the governmental level, may have been foretold in a special article he did for the Herald Traveler in November. In it, the Lincoln resident emphasized the need for more thorough planning and co-ordination among all aviation groups, and among both public and private agencies, to achieve a total air transportation system.

Vital elements in such a system, he said, should be modernization of the airways control network and the expansion and development of airports, including "satellite" general aviation airports and downtown STOLports for the coming generation of short-take-off-and-landing aircraft in the busy transportation corridors. All this would be aimed at getting the most efficient utilization of both airspace and ground facilities.

In short, Browne indicated, the problems created by the growth of aviation must be dealt with directly and realistically, and with adequate funding, and should not be papered over with stopgap measures.

Three weeks ago, Secretary Volpe announced the appointment of Dr. Paul W. Cherington, a Harvard professor and nationally known transportation expert, as his Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs, and of Charles D. Baker, vice president of a Boston consulting firm, as Deputy Undersecretary of Transportation.

With the selection of Browne, whose nomination should be speedily approved, Volpe's team has been enhanced by the addition of still another fellow Bay Stater.

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, Feb. 28, 1969]

VOLPE CALLS PROFESSOR BROWNE, OF MIT, A "REAL IDEA MAN"

WASHINGTON.—Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe yesterday formally introduced MIT Prof. Secor D. Browne as "a real idea man" to be his new Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology.

Volpe, still experiencing some pain from a pinched neck nerve which hospitalized him for several days last week, said the 52-year-old Browne is well suited "as a widely-recognized authority on transportation" for his new post.

Browne, a resident of Lincoln, has been Associate Professor of air transport at MIT since 1958 and is a graduate of Harvard.

It was the former Massachusetts Governor's first news conference since being confirmed by the Senate as head of the Transportation Department.

Volpe said his recommendation on the controversial supersonic transport (SST) program would go to President Nixon by the end of March.

Nixon must decide whether to construct the \$1.4 billion aircraft or continue further studies.

Volpe also said he had not had time to keep abreast of developments on the testing of the New York to Boston high speed train. He said he did not know when the train would be put in service and added:

"Boston is a place, I understand, where they are having a little bit of snow and that train in service might be quite helpful."

SOVIET TANKS AND WORLD BANK

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on March 18, the Indian Government became con-

cerned about a delivery of Soviet tanks to Pakistan.

The following day, the World Bank announced a \$40 million loan to Pakistan.

No one would believe the U.S. taxpayers' money is buying Soviet tanks for Pakistan—especially since our U.S. arms policy prohibits arms to either the Indians or Pakistanis. But we do know how funds earmarked for one account can release funds for other purposes.

Under unanimous consent I submit the clippings from the Los Angeles Times for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

SOVIET TANKS FOR PAKISTAN STIR INDIA

(By William J. Coughlin)

NEW DELHI, March 18.—India is greatly concerned over news that the Soviet Union has delivered an initial shipment of about 50 tanks to Pakistan.

Russian aid to Pakistan, first announced last year, hitherto has consisted of vehicles and communications equipment, according to reliable sources.

Reports of the tank deliveries were front-page news here and Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh was subject to questioning in Parliament. He confirmed the reports, as did other diplomatic sources here.

This raises anew the question of U.S. arms policy for the subcontinent.

Ever since the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1965, in which both sides employed American-supplied arms, the U.S. has followed a hands-off weapons policy toward both countries. Military aid missions in both Pakistan and India were withdrawn. The only direct military aid now supplied consists of spare parts and certain non-lethal items.

India's military aid now comes from the Soviet Union. Pakistan gets arms from both China and Russia.

High Indian government officials are uncomfortable about the situation. That concern was made plain earlier this month to Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko during a visit here which preceded a tour of Pakistan. Grechko's visit was before news of tank deliveries to Pakistan was confirmed.

In fact, it is probable that one purpose of his mission to New Delhi was to assure the Indian government that Pakistan would not be permitted to use Soviet-supplied arms against India.

That argument does not set very well here because it is the same one the U.S. used and which proved false in the 1965 flareup over Kashmir. The Kashmir question is touchier than ever here now because of the political uncertainty within Pakistan.

Russia has gotten itself into the same uncomfortable position from which the United States succeeded in extricating itself. As a result of the decision to provide military aid to Pakistan, the Russians have reaped considerable ill-will here.

WORLD BANK TO LOAN PAKISTAN \$40 MILLION

KARACHI, March 19.—The economy of Pakistan was bolstered today by news that the World Bank has approved a \$40 million loan, the largest in the nation's history.

Coming when Pakistan is torn by political dissent and plagued by strikes which have brought many industries to the verge of paralysis, the World Bank decision is regarded here as an expression of confidence that Pakistan will surmount its troubles.

The previous high in World Bank loans to Pakistan had been \$25 million in 1967. The latest loan brings the World Bank total here to \$183 million.