

I present the report on the "concern and guilt" of our race-sex attitudes which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star for April 13 to follow my remarks:

[From the Sunday Star, April 13, 1969]

CONCERN AND GUILT: RACE-SEX ATTITUDES SCORED

American attitudes toward interracial sex—and thus toward race itself—will never be fully understood until positive aspects of sexual attraction between races are more thoroughly examined.

That suggestion came yesterday from Dr. Gertrude Hunter, medical director of the nationwide Head Start program, as she led a free-wheeling "Sex and Racism" discussion at the American Association of Sex Educators and Counselors' annual conference here.

Dr. Hunter, a Negro, said black militant Eldridge Cleaver's recent writing on the black man as a "superbody" and the white man as an envious "supermind" turned her to one of the few scholarly studies on the topic, the late J. A. Rogers' three-volume "Sex and Race," published in 1940.

THE NEGATIVE APPROACH

"We go at this problem in the negative," Dr. Hunter said, referring to the Cleaver

thesis that the black man seeks revenge against the white man by attracting the white woman.

Rogers, she said, indicated there may be more to interracial liaisons than just "getting even."

"He said the white man is attracted to black women but can't always acknowledge it," Dr. Hunter continued. "Is this just lust? Or is he afraid black women will reject him in favor of black men?"

Noting that white slaveholders apparently turned with some frequency to black women for their sexual outlets, Dr. Hunter suggested it was possible these men preferred black women, even though the relationships were admittedly less complicated than with white women. If so, she asked, why?

Stressing that she is not an expert in matters of sex and race, merely an intrigued and concerned citizen, she called for more research on why "the object of the most intense hatred in our society is the black man," and why such hatred is not directed at the black woman.

"We also have to look at what is motivating whites," she added. "Most of the analysis is from the viewpoint of blacks."

Her questions drew a wide variety of reactions from the predominantly white and female audience of about 75.

LEGACY OF SLAVERY

One black woman maintained that "sex is sex anywhere," and that feelings about interracial sex are rooted in economic problems and the legacy of slavery. This was vehemently denied by a young black man, while a middle-aged white man posed the theory that opposites attract ("Capt. John Smith and Pocahontas").

"Until we start to address ourselves to this question (of sex and race)," Dr. Hunter warned in conclusion, "we will not have come to a final answer to our current problem."

The extent of concern over interracial sex was illustrated by a white listener, who said a local psychiatrist had many teen-age white female patients who expressed interest in interracial sex to "show their concern" and atone for white guilt.

A young black man immediately retorted that the white psychiatrist had described his patients' problems in those terms rather than admit white girls could normally be attracted to black men. "We don't accept anything the white establishment says any more," the young man added.

The three-day conference, attended by some 1,000 sex education teachers, counselors, Planned Parenthood workers and others, concludes today at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, April 17, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*I must work the works of Him that sent Me, while it is day.—John 9: 4.*

God of our fathers and our God, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit that we may truly love Thee and worthily serve Thee this day.

May our hearts be with Thee as we seek solutions to the grave and global problems that confront us and our Nation.

In this dear land of our birth, help us to close ranks in a greater unity of spirit as principalities and powers without seek to destroy our heritage of freedom, with liberty and justice for all.

Make us great enough in spirit that we may be equal to every experience, ready for every responsibility, and adequate for every activity.

In the name of the Master Workman, we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### WE HAVE RUN OUT OF "OTHER CHEEKS"

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, North Korea, which was allowed to wallow in propaganda and self-glorification over the *Pueblo* incident, now has committed another act of war against the United States. There should be retaliation in kind. It should be immediate, and sufficiently drastic that there will be no further problems of this nature with

North Korea. It is incomprehensible that we not be aroused when Americans are killed or tortured at will by irresponsible powers and U.S. planes and ships destroyed or captured. We took no action on the *Pueblo* except to prostrate ourselves before the world, and this undoubtedly has led to the assumption that similar acts can be committed at will. I would hope we have not reached this point. America must stand for something. We cannot continue to turn the other cheek. We have run out of cheeks to turn.

I trust that our country has reached the end of the line in patient acceptance of acts of warfare against us by Communist nations. The Red Chinese have charged that we do not have the courage to stand by our principles. Our enemies must not be permitted to be secure in the knowledge that hostile acts can be committed without forceful action from the United States to protect our own interests.

I have listened as one commentator after another has urged on the networks that there be no retribution against North Korea. No consideration was shown to the fact that Americans were shot down in cold blood, that the flag has again been fired upon, that these are acts of war pure and simple. To me it is sickening that there are those who publicly will urge this country to do nothing to protect its own interests. Surely they realize such a course is a deadend street. America must stand up for its flag, its people, its property. When this involves a retaliatory strike against the offenders, we must get on with it. That is now the case. Otherwise, we shall soon find ourselves stripped of pride at home and leadership in world affairs.

I am introducing a resolution which states in substance that it is the sense of Congress that armed protection should be provided for all manned U.S. intelli-

gence-gathering planes and ships in danger areas. Neither the *Pueblo* nor the missing aircraft were afforded this protection, nor was an effort made to send help. Either condition is intolerable. Congress should express itself at least to this degree in an effort to insure a greater interest in the protection of the lives of our servicemen who are assigned on dangerous missions.

### LIBERALIZING THE CHILD CARE PROVISIONS OF OUR TAX LAWS

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code relating to the deductibility of child-care expenses of working mothers require drastic change.

There are many women who want to work in order to supplement their family's income. In a period of inflation, many families desperately need such additional income. Yet our tax laws provide no deduction for child-care expenses to a family whose adjusted gross income exceeds \$6,000.

I am introducing a bill today that completely removes any family income limitation. If a businessman is entitled to deduct expenses for wine and dining a customer, surely any working mother should be able to deduct the expenses for the care of her children.

In addition, my bill would increase the maximum deduction allowed from \$600 to \$800 for one child and from \$900 to \$1,200 for two or more children. This is a reasonable increase considering that the cost of living has risen 33 percent since 1954 when the original dollar limits were established.

I would venture to guess that any revenue loss resulting from my amendments

would be offset by the revenue gain arising from additional income earned by working mothers. But more important, the tax amendments I propose would encourage women who want to work. Why should our tax laws continue to discourage them from seeking to better themselves and their family's living standards?

**GOVERNOR MANDEL, OF MARYLAND, ADDRESSES INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL ON THE GROWING PROBLEM OF JUNKED AND ABANDONED CARS**

(Mr. FRIEDEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include a speech by Governor Mandel.)

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I attended a breakfast this morning and had the pleasure of hearing the great Governor of Maryland make a very enlightening speech about the problems of junked automobiles and what adverse effects they have on our cities and States.

Governor Mandel's address covers this subject much more thoroughly than I could and I am sure it will be of great interest to all of my colleagues as well as to the Governors of other States and city and local officials who are faced with the same problems. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to include it at this point in the RECORD. Governor Mandel not only points out the problems, but offers some suggestions for solving them. The address follows:

**REMARKS OF GOV. MARVIN MANDEL, BEFORE THE INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 17, 1969**

No one single problem underlies the thousands of junked and abandoned cars on the streets of cities and on various plots of ground throughout the countryside.

Junked cars mean acres of land kept from more productive use. Junked cars mean an increasing problem in solid waste disposal. Junked cars mean that something has changed in the relationship between demand and supply for scrap. It means technological advances in the steel industry which no longer utilize number two scrap bundles to the same extent as before.

But above all else, it means a lack of research in the preparation of scrap to meet the new needs of the steel industry. For the citizens of our communities—in Maryland and in every other State across the Nation—junked cars mean an inefficient use of resources in the steel industry which result in higher priced and less consumer oriented products. They mean higher repair cost and less service.

During the last year we have tried to solve this growing problem in Maryland. This year, the bill introduced in the 1968 General Assembly and vetoed by my predecessor, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, because a provision requiring scrap yards to accept every car brought to them might be unconstitutional, was amended to establish a program designed to curb the proliferation of junked and abandoned cars.

The program has two basic points:

- (1) A \$10 bounty would be paid to scrap processors for every car scrapped thereby raising the price of junked cars and encouraging their removal to the scrap processor.
- (2) A \$5 fine would be imposed on junk dealers who kept junked cars more than six months.

The responsibility assumed by State gov-

ernment in Maryland then is one of adding velocity to the scrap cycle. For some time the problems created by the supply of technologically unacceptable scrap and a changing demand by the steel industry for scrap have been partially solved by the private sector. The additional problem of aesthetics is being worked on at the Federal level.

But despite all these efforts—and despite the partially successful results across the Nation—

Cars continue to be abandoned at an increasing rate;

A huge inventory of stripped cars are awaiting processing across the country;

Shredding operations for reducing abandoned cars to their most technologically usable form are available in certain geographical areas only and at a high cost;

Air pollution problems present a considerable social cost to all persons.

But these dismal facts measure only some of the problems. They fail to reveal the fact that no workable method of supplying technologically useful scrap from the thousands of abandoned cars across the country has been achieved to meet the needs of the steel industry for scrap. It is not simply scrap that junked cars represent. They also are a unutilized resource until they can be adequately converted into a valuable resource. And this is especially serious because of the great numbers of autos in Maryland and in every State across the Nation.

By 1970 it is estimated that 86 million cars will be in use in the United States;

By 1970 at least 10.5 million cars will be produced in the United States;

By 1970 car scrappage is estimated at 8.5 million cars.

Clearly then, the main focus must be on providing for the effective disposal of junked and abandoned cars throughout the country. This task has not yet begun nationwide.

But Maryland has begun this task. And, of course, it costs money. It costs the citizens of Maryland. But action is required to alleviate the problem of junked cars. The private sector is unable to take on the burden.

Once a car is abandoned, finding the owner is difficult and not always possible. But even if the owner is found, how does a person dispose of a car?

The maximum cost of the program might be figured by multiplying the number of junked and abandoned cars in Maryland (approximately 160,000) by \$10.

If all these cars were scrapped the total cost would be \$1,600,000. If cars are scrapped at the estimated rate of 23,000 per year from now on the program would cost about \$230,000 a year.

Maryland intends to raise the money by imposing a \$1 "burial tax" on title registrations. The burden on the car buyer is presently \$1 in Maryland. Each year 600,000 cars are titled in the State. By 1970 when the bounty becomes effective, Maryland will already have been collecting the burial tax for a year. No problems are seen in paying for the program under this time schedule.

The Maryland program is not a panacea, but these efforts demonstrate that the problem of junked and abandoned cars can be attacked through the cooperation of Federal, State and local governments and the efforts of the private sector.

But new efforts are also needed—efforts towards the solution of the problems of air pollution from burning junked cars before scrapping them, of decreasing the high cost and time consuming efforts of stripping a car before scrapping, of reviewing current laws and titling requirements to aid vehicle collection and disposal.

We must somehow match the oversupply of scrap from all these junked cars with the needs of the steel industry. The role of the private sector in this area is either to lead or to complement the efforts of government.

But there must be new industry concern. There must be more research initiated through which the need of industries which are potential utilizers of scrap products communicate with suppliers of scrap.

It is essential for the success of the research program that industry demands be coupled with available supply.

Private corporations are, of course, responsible to their stockholders. Large-scale investment in research towards utilizing an inefficient resource will be costly and difficult. If the private sector is to play its full part in relation to the problem of junked cars therefore, it must have the support of Government to help make up for the increased costs.

And most important there must be full participation of both Government and the private sector in the development and implementation of any program. Government policies should be shaped by the active participation of the private sector. What government seeks is not just greater programs, but greater participation—through the utilization of the talent and experience of the private sector which can best determine how to use its own resources.

This is the approach we have aimed for in trying to solve the junked car problem in Maryland.

**FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE**

(Mr. ASPINALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to inform my colleagues that a young American citizen from the U.S. Virgin Islands, Miss Carol-Anne Roberts, is a winning contestant in the annual "Voice of Democracy Contest."

This contest is sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary. This year the "Voice of Democracy Contest" had as its theme "Freedom's Challenge," and attracted the participation of over 400,000 students competing for five scholarships.

The significance of Miss Roberts being a winning contestant is in the fact that she hails from Christiansted, St. Croix, in the U.S. Virgin Islands, a territorial possession of the United States. Miss Roberts clearly demonstrates in her speech the attitude and loyalty of our island citizens.

Mr. Speaker, it is more refreshing to know that the majority of our young American citizens are not committed to the forces of unrest and violence so rife in our society today. Moreover, it is the expressions of responsible young Americans like Carol-Anne Roberts, which display an intelligent understanding of "Freedom's Challenge," that reward our confidence in the young of our Nation and the future of its democratic form of government.

Mr. Speaker, it is with sincere pleasure that I ask unanimous consent to insert in the body of the RECORD the winning speech of Miss Carol-Anne Roberts on "Freedom's Challenge."

**FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE**

Freedom! A beautiful word! What do we think of when we hear this? What pictures flash through our minds as we are confronted with this word? Do we see a small group of ragged soldiers struggling against a larger and better equipped foe? Do we envision the signing of a great document, the

Declaration of Independence? Does the vision of a cracked bell which symbolizes our freedom come before us and remind us of our heritage? Do we hear the strains of the Star Spangled Banner and America the Beautiful drum in our ears? Or are we unaffected, unmoved by a word with such moving connotations?

Here is another important question! Are we taking our freedom for granted? Do we realize how beautiful it all is? Are we accepting freedom's challenge?

But, then we stop and think for a moment! What is the challenge thrown at us by our freedom? Can there possibly be such a thing?

Yes, Americans! There is such a thing and it can be summed up in one word. Responsibilities! That's right! Responsibilities to our nation, state, town, friends, family, ourselves, and God! For it was He that gave man freedom.

We think of freedom in terms of free speech, free press, and the right to worship one's own god. But do we ever think of freedom as being an opportunity by which every individual helps his fellow man and country, and contributes his ideas and work to each? This is man's greatest freedom! The right to give to society his talents, his uniqueness of person, his intelligence, his love. No man may ever take away this freedom.

Then, again, do we consider being free as being able to do anything we want?

This is the danger in our democracy! True liberty also has to have its restrictions. Can you imagine what would happen if every motorist decided to do what he wanted? Our traffic system would collapse and come to a crashing halt! This is an example of one of freedom's challenges.

There are many other possibilities that are even more dramatic and serious. Freedom has restrictions because the right of one person to do exactly as he pleases can interfere greatly with the freedom of others. Men would become "so free" that our democracy would become an anarchy with no controls to protect us from the unscrupulous persons in our society.

So, the challenge that freedom presents is man's ability to accept and shoulder his responsibilities toward his fellow man, his nation, and his community.

Then up springs the question! What are our responsibilities? One of the main ones in our American society is using the voice we have in our government by taking part in it. Another is responding to the laws of our society which promote a true spirit of well being for all concerned.

Don't you like the feeling of being completely free? Well you, your community, our whole nation, and even the world, can have this feeling even though we shoulder our responsibilities, by being citizens of our society, by participating in community life, by accepting our challenge, the world's challenge. . . . Freedom's Challenge!

#### WITHDRAW SUGAR QUOTA FROM REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing, with the support of 24 of my colleagues, a bill to withdraw the sugar quota currently granted to the Republic of South Africa under the 1965 amendments to the Sugar Act. Identical legislation will be offered tomorrow in the Senate by the distinguished assistant majority leader, Senator KENNEDY, also with bipartisan cosponsorship.

Mr. Speaker, the Republic of South

Africa has in recent years achieved a tragic distinction among the nations of the world. For South Africa is the only country whose legal structure is frankly—indeed, aggressively—based on race, so that its laws apply unequally to its citizens according to the color of their skins.

We in the United States began our history as an independent nation with laws which were similarly grounded, and which permitted human beings to be kept as chattel slaves. The pressures of civil war struck down that legal framework over 100 years ago. We have spent the ensuing century trying to cure the evil consequences of slavery, trying to root out the inequities and discriminatory practices which persisted long after the institution of slavery was formally abolished. Today, we are still far short of the society we seek, in which full and equal opportunity for the development of human potential will be assured to all. But we are moving toward that goal, not away from it.

Elsewhere around the world, the decades since World War II have seen a similar trend of peoples toward self-determination and self-fulfillment. The rule of European colonial powers has receded from its previous sway over nearly all of South Asia and Africa. New nations have emerged—nations in which much needs to be done before the dreams of their citizens will become reality; but nevertheless nations which control their own destiny and are moving, however haltingly, toward the better life their people seek.

There has been, inevitably, resistance to this trend. Some governments have been reluctant to grant their citizens a meaningful role in guiding the course of their own countries. Yet even in such dictatorships of left and right as the Soviet Union and Spain, the overall trend clearly has been toward liberalization, albeit limited, of authoritarian rule. Even the most recalcitrant colonial power, Portugal, has merely stood on the status quo in its African territories and has not sought to move perceptibly backward in its administrative policies.

South Africa thus stands out glaringly as the only country that is moving morally and politically against the current of events in the rest of the world. Economically, South Africa is very much in tune with other developed nations, and the Government of the Republic likes to cite this economic progress as evidence that its basic direction is compatible with that of the world in which it lives. But the contradictions between economic development and sociopolitical retrogression are posing problems even within South Africa, and the smoke screen of economic advance becomes daily less adequate to conceal the basically regressive nature of the Republic's policies.

Mr. Speaker, the racial policies of the Republic of South Africa are anathema to the conscience of the world. They have been condemned, in the United Nations and elsewhere, by nearly all the countries on the globe. They have grown steadily, inexorably more extreme and more authoritarian since the first Afrikaner Nationalist Government took power in 1948 with apartheid as its rallying cry. On

three occasions, Afrikaner reformers have raised fleeting hopes that the trend might be reversed; this has never taken place. The relentless course of South African racism was clearly outlined by the country's sole remaining Progressive Party member of Parliament, Mrs. Helen Suzman, in a bitter exchange last June in the House of Assembly. Mrs. Suzman, a woman of rare courage, is the lonely spokesman for human dignity in that once-august legislative body, but her cause receives short shrift in its debates. As a comment on recent reports of enlightenment in South Africa, I shall include at the end of my statement the full text of Mrs. Suzman's remarks and of an introductory note by Dr. Vernon McKay.

In view of this deplorable situation, the United States has been moving in recent years, though gradually and uncertainly, to loosen the close ties which once linked us to South Africa. We have justified the slow pace of our disengagement by citing our desire to retain some influence with the South African leaders who were moving in their racial policies farther and farther from the accepted norms of the civilized world. It has become evident, however, that South Africa's present Government is basically unresponsive to world opinion. Neither our representations, nor the quiet pleading of other longtime friends, nor the condemnation visited on South Africa by the United Nations and other international bodies have swayed the South African Government from its grim suffocation of human dignity. The hope that close ties can help us to influence South Africa toward greater sanity has thus been shattered by the Republic's own actions, and consequently no longer offers a valid justification for such ties.

Our remaining ties to South Africa take several forms. We maintain full diplomatic and consular relations. Trade between the United States and South Africa is flourishing, and American investment plays an important role in South African economic growth. American airlines fly to South Africa, and South African Airways has just inaugurated a reciprocal service under a 1947 bilateral agreement. An American space-tracking station stands on South African soil; the atomic energy authorities of the two countries cooperate under still another bilateral accord; and South Africa benefits from a quota under the Sugar Act of 1965.

Mr. Speaker, I seriously question whether this kind of business-as-usual attitude is appropriate to the relations between the United States—a nation which takes pride in its democratic heritage and practices—and South Africa, the only avowedly racist society on earth. I share the view of my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Dicks), who chairs the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Committee, that the United States should more rapidly disengage from this relationship in both the public and private sectors. I think it behooves us to begin that process of prompt disengagement with the official actions for which we in Congress, along with the executive branch, bear direct responsibility.

It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that I am today joining with a bipartisan group of my colleagues in introducing a bill to withdraw the quota presently granted to South Africa under the Sugar Act Amendments of 1965. There are, in fact, two ways to accomplish this end. In addition to the legislative route which we are proposing today, the President may withhold or suspend a quota under the provisions of section 202(d) (1) (B) of the Sugar Act whenever he finds that its continuation "would be contrary to the national interest of the United States." In a letter of February 18, I urged the President to take just such action, but the proposal has received only a promise of "careful scrutiny." I shall include both my letter and the reply at the conclusion of my remarks. Consequently, it is up to the Congress—which voted the South African quota in the first place—to take necessary action to bring to an end this subsidy for apartheid. Our proposed bill, incidentally, would prorate the South African quota, according to a formula already spelled out in the Act, to the other non-Western-Hemisphere countries—including independent African nations—who presently benefit from quotas under the act.

I should like to take just a few minutes to review briefly the history and economics of the quota for South Africa, neither of which in any way rebuts the moral and political arguments which cry out for its abolition. South Africa received its first quota—in essence, its first permission to sell sugar to the United States—in 1962. At that time, it was allotted 0.71 percent of the total quantity reserved for foreign countries other than five designated nations. Its basic quota was thus quite small, but between 1962 and 1964 South Africa also supplied a large part of the sugar which had come from Cuba in the years before relations with the Castro regime were broken. In 1965, a substantial portion of the former Cuba allocation again went to South Africa, this time by decision of the Secretary of Agriculture. During the first 3 years of South African sugar sales in this country, United States domestic prices were lower than world market prices, the opposite of the normal situation, and it has been estimated that South Africa producers earned \$3.6 million less by selling in the United States than could have been earned elsewhere.

When Congress came to set new quotas in the 1965 amendments to the Sugar Act, South Africa benefited from the fact that it had been willing to supply sugar to the United States during a period of worldwide shortage. The administration recommended a basic quota more than four times that granted in 1962. After scaling down by Congress, it still came out to 1.06 percent of the quantity reserved for foreign countries—in tonnage, more than double the basic level of the 1962 law. Former Senator Morse made an effort to scale the quota down still further, from the 66,000 tons which the Senate proposed—a figure of 48,000 tons finally emerged from conference—to a nominal 10,000 tons. His amendment was defeated by voice vote, as Senator Long argued successfully that we had an obligation to reward South Africa for its fidelity in supplying

us with sugar at a time when higher prices were available elsewhere.

Insofar as such an obligation may have existed in 1965, it has certainly been amply met. According to the Department of Agriculture, South Africa more than recovered the \$3.6 million in lost potential earnings during 1962–64 in the very first year after world sugar markets returned to normal. In 1965 alone, South Africa earned \$7.6 million more by selling sugar in the United States than it could have obtained in any other market. This "bonus" represented the difference between the United States domestic price and the world price, a difference which in 1965 was slightly under 4 cents a pound, or about \$74 a ton. This windfall profit per ton, multiplied by the 103,000 tons which South Africa sold in this country in 1965, make the "bonus" quite substantial. In each of the 2 succeeding years, South Africa sold about 55,000 tons of sugar to the United States under its newly reduced quota. Shifting world and domestic sugar prices, however, moved the premium per ton sold to about \$90, so that South African growers collected a windfall profit of about \$4.9 million in each of those years. Prices in 1968 were about the same, so the bonus came to about \$5.5 million on the 60,000 tons sold here last year.

This extra profit, incidentally, should be about the same in 1969 as it has been in recent years. The adjusted quota for South Africa is once again about 56,000 tons, and the world market price for sugar remains significantly below our domestic price level.

It should be made clear that the extra profit made possible by the quota is not, in the purest sense, a governmental subsidy. In some ways, it is far worse. For this is a subsidy paid by unknowing American consumers to South African sugar plantation owners—a subsidy which strengthens the base of an apartheid policy which is totally repugnant to most of those who pay it. Nor does any of that subsidy benefit South African plantation workers, whose average wage in 1965, including the value of rations and housing, was slightly over 86 cents a day. Ironically, the Sugar Act includes stringent provisions to protect American workers in the cane and beet fields, while at the same time it provides a windfall profit to growers overseas whose laborers toil under far worse conditions than would be permitted in this country.

Mr. Speaker, there is no excuse for the preservation of the sugar quota for South Africa. Like the other ties which still bind us to South Africa, the quota looms large in the eyes of the world as evidence of serious contradiction between our words about apartheid and our deeds. This particular provision has the further effect of making the American consumer an unwitting supporter of the South African economy and thus of the apartheid system which it sustains. Withdrawal of the quota would have only minimal economic effects either here or in South Africa, since it represents slightly over 1 percent of our sugar imports and only about 6.5 percent of South Africa's sugar exports. There is consequently no reason for

delay, and I therefore urge my colleagues to lend their support to the bill which we are introducing today to withdraw the South African quota.

Before closing, I should like to express my particular appreciation to those colleagues who have joined with me today in presenting this bill, including the distinguished chairman of the African Affairs Subcommittee, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Diggs). The full list of cosponsors is as follows:

Hon. FRANK J. BRASCO, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., Democrat, of California.

Hon. WILLIAM "BILL" CLAY, Democrat, of Missouri.

Hon. JOHN C. CULVER, Democrat, of Iowa.

Hon. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., Democrat, of Michigan.

Hon. THADDEUS J. DULSKI, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. DON EDWARDS, Democrat, of California.

Hon. LEONARD FARBSTEIN, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. DONALD M. FRASER, Democrat, of Minnesota.

Hon. WILLIAM J. GREEN, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, Democrat, of Wisconsin.

Hon. EDWARD I. KOCH, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. ABNER J. MIKVA, Democrat, of Illinois.

Hon. RICHARD L. OTTINGER, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. BERTRAM L. PODELL, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. OGDEN R. REID, Republican, of New York.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, JR., Democrat, of New Jersey.

Hon. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. WILLIAM F. RYAN, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN, Democrat, of Rhode Island.

Hon. JAMES H. SCHEUER, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. ROBERT O. TIERNAN, Democrat, of Rhode Island.

The following is the full text of the bill which we have today offered to the House and which will be introduced tomorrow in the Senate:

H.R. 10239

A bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948 to terminate the quota for South Africa

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That Congress hereby finds that it is not in the interest of the United States to provide official support in any form to a country whose racial policies are anathema to the conscience of the world and have been so denominated by the United Nations, and that the Republic of South Africa, having adopted such policies, should therefore not enjoy the privilege and benefit of a quota under the Sugar Act of 1948.

SEC. 2. Section 202(c) (3) (B) of the Sugar Act of 1948 is amended by deleting

"South Africa..... 1.06".

Sec. 3. A quantity of sugar equal to the amount of the quota withdrawn from South Africa shall be prorated in the same manner as deficits are prorated under Section 204 of this Act.

The following is the text of my letter to President Nixon on this issue, and the texts of the two replies I have thus far received:

FEBRUARY 18, 1969.

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The racial policies pursued by the Republic of South Africa are anathema to the conscience of the world. They have been condemned, in the United Nations and elsewhere, by nearly all the countries of the world. They are repugnant to our own ideals.

Under these circumstances, I believe the United States has a clear moral responsibility to reduce to a minimum its official dealings with South Africa. Through such steps as withdrawal of the NASA tracking station, phasing out of cooperative arrangements with the South African Atomic Energy Board, and termination of the sugar quota for South Africa, we can better suit our actions as a government to the words we have repeatedly uttered about apartheid. Once our official hands are thus cleansed, we can with greater justification ask American private interests to join in a wider range of actions which will further express our condemnation of South African racial policies.

I am planning in the near future, to introduce legislation which would terminate the quota currently granted to South Africa under the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. The legislative route to this end will, inevitably, be slow. I would therefore urge that you take prompt action under the provisions of Section 202(d)(1)(B) of the Sugar Act to suspend the South African quota until such time as the legislation can be considered and acted upon by the Congress. We are presently subsidizing South Africa and its unacceptable policies with over \$4 million per year in quota premiums under the Sugar Act. This anomaly can be brought to an immediate end only through your action.

I also urge, Mr. President, that you take the necessary steps to remove our tracking station from South African soil and to end intergovernmental cooperation in the atomic energy field. Both programs have become of only marginal importance to the United States, but they loom large in the eyes of the world as evidence of a serious contradiction between our words and our deeds.

We have been moving gradually and uncertainly, in recent years, toward greater disengagement from our formerly close ties with South Africa. As the racial policies of the Republic become steadily more violative of civilized principles, we must increase our distance from its Government in order to make clear our disapproval of apartheid both to South Africa and to the world. The specific actions I have proposed are the logical next steps in this direction. I hope you will agree with me that they should be taken promptly.

Sincerely,

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, February 24, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: The President welcomes your observations respecting South Africa. They are being most carefully considered, and you will hear further very soon.

Your thoughtfulness in sharing your views with the President is much appreciated.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS,  
Deputy Assistant to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, March 7, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I am pleased to respond further to your February 18 letter suggesting steps toward reducing official United States commitments with the Republic of South Africa.

Your views are thought-provoking and merit consideration in the new Administration's review of existing policies. Since the steps you urge may have substantial impact on our national interests and in some cases may involve repudiation of existing agreements, their advisability must be carefully weighed within the context of our overall interests and objectives.

The United States should and does go to great efforts to make clear its concern over apartheid, as demonstrated by our comprehensive arms embargo. Whether severance of specific relationships such as those you mention would serve a constructive purpose is a matter for continuous review, and will, I assure you, receive most careful scrutiny. We welcome your interest and your forthright comments.

Sincerely,

BRYCE N. HARLOW,  
Assistant to the President.

The following is the text of the exchange in the South African House of Assembly to which I referred in my remarks, in which Mrs. Helen Suzman clearly depicts the relentless manner in which apartheid has been applied to ever-wider areas of South African life. The exchange is preceded by an introductory note written by Dr. Vernon McKay, one of America's foremost academic specialists on the problems of southern Africa:

[From Africa Report, October 1968]

A DAY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT

(NOTE.—A popular weapon in the worldwide propaganda offensive of South Africa's whites is the current contention that a new group of Afrikaner verligtes (enlightened ones) are moving South Africa toward a progressive racial policy under the flexible, pragmatic, and outward-looking leadership of Prime Minister B. J. Vorster. Both the local and the overseas press have given much attention to a controversy between the verligte and verkrampte (narrow-minded) wings of the governing National Party, obscuring the fact that the overwhelming majority of the party is solidly behind the Prime Minister in his determination to maintain white supremacy.)

(Afrikaner reformers have raised hopes on several occasions in South African history. In fact, the verligte effort might be called the third such attempt since the National Party took office in 1948. The founding of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) by Afrikaner intellectuals in 1954 seemed at first to offer hope of limited reforms within the general framework of apartheid. But SABRA's reform-minded leaders were purged in 1961 and conservatives took over the organization. At a recent SABRA conference, they made it clear at the start that the meeting had been assembled not to question apartheid, but to discuss ways and means of making it work.)

(A second ray of hope appeared fleetingly on the horizon after the 1960 Sharpeville shooting when Paul O. Sauer, then Minister of Lands, Forestry and Public Works, made a much-publicized speech at Humansdorp on April 19, 1960. The "old book" of South African history had been closed a month ago at Sharpeville, he said, and South Africa must reconsider its whole approach to the native question. For several weeks thereafter, the Rand Daily Mail and other English-language newspapers wrote wishfully of an impending

"new deal" and of a "split" in Nationalist ranks which might form the basis of a major party realignment under Sauer's leadership. On May 15, the Sunday Times contended that nearly 50 Nationalist MPs had joined the new dealers. The government soon clamped down, however: Sauer kept discreetly silent and was sent to Argentina on an official visit. And on May 20, 1960 the Cabinet put an end to speculation by informing Parliament that it would not depart from the policy of separate development.)

(To witness the verligte-verkrampte tempest in 1968 is therefore rather like seeing "Gone With the Wind" for the third time. At the least the verligte movement will have to produce much more than an occasional visiting African diplomat if it is to be taken seriously. The government, however, gets its increasing majorities not from the intellectuals but from the rank and file of its supporters, who have moved to the right in the 1960s. That is why South African policy remains unenlightened, as is clearly demonstrated by Mrs. Helen Suzman, the lone remaining Progressive Party MP in the South African Parliament, in the following speech delivered in the House of Assembly on June 18, 1968.—VERNON MCKAY.)

Mrs. SUZMAN. We have now had two full sessions of what I call the Vorsterian era. This era commenced on September 13, 1966. I will leave aside the first short and unhappy session, because one did not know what was going to happen and how the new era was going to develop. We have now had two full sessions under the new Prime Minister, however, and let us have a look at this era of enlightenment and let us try to see just where it has made any changes in the internal policy in South Africa.

J. E. POTGIETER. It is just the same.

Mrs. SUZMAN. Yes, it is just the same, the mixture as before. I cannot agree more with the honorable Chief Whip. It is the mixture as before with a little extra gall added. I am not interested in the outward-looking policy, although I welcome it and am all in favor of delegates and diplomats from African states. It will be fine if we can make some adjustments which will help us in our relations with the outside world, but let not one of us kid ourselves for one solitary second that that has made the slightest difference to the way in which policy has been carried out inside South Africa or that it has made the slightest difference to the race relations of South Africa, except to make it worse. I am not a believer in the enlightened era, because it has not dawned and it will not dawn under a Nationalist government, irrespective of who the prime minister is.

Let us have a look at some of the legislation that has been passed in the last two years. I would be very interested if somebody on either side of the House could tell me where the glimmer of enlightenment is in these laws. I want to mention the laws by name and will leave it to other people to tell me where the enlightenment is. In 1967 we had further amendments to the Anti-Communist Act, which made it possible to strike lawyers and advocates off the roll. We had the National Education Act, which placed the whole control of education in the hands of the honorable Minister and which gave him the powers to impose a system of deadly uniformity on education in South Africa. We had the Population Registration Amendment Bill, and what did that do? That made it more difficult for those people who could cross the color line to do so, because, for the first time, an absolute test of descent was introduced. It also introduced a whole lot of criteria to make it more difficult for those people who could perhaps avoid the descent test.

The Planning Act was introduced last year, which put the whole of the expansion of industries in the existing metropolitan areas into the hot little hands of the honorable Minister of Planning. He is the man who is now responsible and decides whether an industry may expand or not. He, together with

his friends, i.e. the cheerleader of the Nationalist Party, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, and also the honorable Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, who also exercise the powers in this regard. What experience these gentlemen have ever had of industrial development I honestly do not know. All I can say from the views that they have expressed in this House, is that they obviously do not have the faintest glimmer of understanding of the dynamics of industrial development and what is required for South Africa to maintain its flow of growth. They only think in terms of migrant workers. They have no knowledge of technological changes, which mean more skilled workers and not less. They make no real effort to retrain white workers who are going to be displaced by the technological changes. Where are the big programs for deployment of labor and for the retraining of labor? I do not hear of any of these, but only of regulations to make use of migrant African labor, but I will come back to that later.

**THE MINISTER OF PLANNING.** Do not pretend that you know something about the warmth of my hands.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** Oh, no, not a bit. I can see they are hot. Some feminine instinct tells me that they are. Then we had the Terrorism Act last year which, going beyond 90 days solitary detention and, where not even the nearest relatives are informed, tightened up everything and placed tremendous powers in the hands of the honorable Minister of Justice and the police to hold people indefinitely in solitary confinement. The Sobukwe clause came in again, of course. [The "Sobukwe clause," a provision of the General Law Amendment Act of 1967, empowers the Minister of Justice to order the continued detention of a person who has completed a term of imprisonment for a political offense. Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, remains the only person detained under this measure.—Ed.] That is just a brief assessment of some of the legislation of 1967, the first full session of the enlightened era under the present Prime Minister. This session has not been any different as far as legislation is concerned. We had a further amendment to the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.

We have, of course, had the three measures which completely removed the last vestige of representation of the Coloured people from Parliament from the end of the 1971 parliamentary session. If that is enlightenment, I want someone to explain where it is enlightened. In return the Coloured people received a council, which existed anyway, with slightly enlarged powers, but no powers that really affect the lives of the people concerned. They have no powers to pass legislation touching on group areas, job reservation, separate amenities, or any of the other things that really affect their everyday lives. If this is enlightenment, I must be wearing very dark glasses. We have also had the law which prohibits multiracial political parties. Is this an enlightened attitude in this day and age, namely to cut further the contact between races by legislation? I would like honorable members on either side of the House to tell me how this, by any stretch of the imagination, can be described as "verligte" legislation. We have also had the imposition of the pattern of the Bantustans on South West Africa. This, as far as I am concerned, once again takes us away from the main stream of thinking in the world, namely separation in South Africa as against the removal of all the actual racial barriers in other countries of the world. We have also had the Sobukwe clause re-enacted.

Let me come to the administrative side, which I believe depicts the most depressing, unutterably depressing picture of the tightening up in every possible respect of the implementation of the policy of apartheid. There is no lessening up, but a tightening up

of that policy. The Group Areas Act is being implemented up to the hilt. Ask Coloured people and Indian people whether they think matters are becoming easier for them and whether there has been a lessening of the tension and the insecurities they have suffered since this government under its new Prime Minister started functioning. I will not even mention the same old nonsense with regard to passport refusals, visa refusals, all those, what I would call, examples of "enlightenment" that we have in South Africa.

As far as the Africans are concerned, the pass laws and influx control have all been tightened up. The administration has been tightened up in every possible respect. There has been the five percent reduction of African labor in the Cape, the prohibition on employment of African migrants in certain categories of labor and the great hardships affecting African women in the urban areas, who since the new administrative regulations have been applied are finding it increasingly difficult to prove their right to be in the urban areas and to stay in houses in which they have lived for years with their children, if their husbands die, desert them or divorce them. Enlightenment? Honorable members have no idea of what is going on only 10 miles outside of Cape Town. They would not know. The honorable Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration and Education said yesterday again that only people unlawfully in the area were endorsed out. But I never denied that when I spoke previously. He said "bring me the examples." I can bring him only the law and the way in which it has been administered.

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION.** You want the unlawful to remain there.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** But what is "unlawful"? This is where we differ. "Unlawful" today... [Interjections.] Will honorable members just let me finish what I am saying? "Unlawful" today has become such that nobody can prove that he is lawful anywhere. This is the point. Has the honorable Deputy Minister, either of them, or the Minister, heard of the Houghton-Hishlane judgment of Judge Corbett in a case that was decided in 1964 or 1965, which affects the whole position of Africans who believe they had the right to be here under section 10? Not one of those gentlemen has heard of this case.

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION.** That only applies to women.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** It does not only apply to Bantu women. It affects every African who used to be able to prove that he or she was here lawfully under section 10. Now it has been made virtually impossible, because the administrative machinery to prove that those people were here for 15 years before 1952, when section 10 of the Urban Areas Act was passed by this government, did not exist. There was no administrative machinery for registration of contracts or for the compulsory registration of women, or even the reference books introduced by the Abolition of Passes Act. So it has become since that judgment virtually impossible to prove lawful residence. Will honorable members now tell me that these people are unlawfully in the area, when the government passes a law but does not set up the administrative machinery at the same time to enable people to prove their rights under the very law that the government has passed? Now we are having another example of this situation. On April 1, new regulations were gazetted which migrantize every African worker not presently in employment, every one who cannot prove his rights under the most difficult circumstances under section 10, or who is not already in employment. The minute such a person loses a job he has to go back to the reserves and register, except when he is in the Transkei, because this has not yet been applied in the Transkei. Now let me tell the honorable Deputy Minister and the Minister

that the machinery for that has not been set up properly.

The labor bureaus, which had to be set up in the regional authorities, have not been set up. I asked the honorable Minister a question only the other day, and he said that the information was not readily available. It can only be obtained by extensive inquiries from district officers. He does not know how many depots for accommodation have been set up. In fact, he says none. He says he does not really know what is going on at all. But that does not stop him from promulgating regulations. They were promulgated and they came into force on April 1. I would tell the honorable Minister and Deputy Ministers that there is going to be a chaotic situation in the labor market as the result of this. There are no labor bureaus. All is left in the hands of the local chiefs and headmen. They have not the faintest idea how to administer this law. They do not know how to fill in a form. There is no accommodation for them.

**G. F. VAN L. FRONEMAN.** It is absolute nonsense!

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** It is not absolute nonsense. Let me tell the honorable member for Hellbron: Already it has been suspended in Umlazi because such a chaotic situation has arisen. What sort of enlightened government is this that does not set up machinery for the regulations that have been promulgated? How are migratory workers to register, how are they to get work? These are unemployed people. They have no resources to fall back on while they are waiting for jobs. Their whole family depends on them. How are industrialists to cope with the situation when they are not getting the labor that they require? I say that the situation is absolutely chaotic. It is disgraceful that honorable ministers without any consideration whatever of the practical implications of the regulations that they have promulgated and the laws that have been passed, insist that these measures be put into action. This is the "enlightened" government under Mr. Vorster.

I could go on like this ad nauseum to show that, as far as I am concerned, it is anything but enlightened. The removal at Limehill and now in Pretoria from Eersterus to a place with the charming name of Stinkwater, some 35 miles outside Pretoria, has taken place. Eersterus was a squalid slum, admittedly a squatter camp, but where have they been put? Better conditions? Oh, no! They are put on to the veid of Stinkwater with tents in this icy Highveld winter, with absolutely no preparation made to receive those people. It is the same, a repetition of the disgraceful episode at Limehill. The government never learns.

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION.** Your allegations are disgraceful.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** I am disgraceful, because I expose these conditions! The people who go to help are "agitators." The churches that do their best to offset the conditions they find these people in are "neo-communists." We get sick and tired of all this.

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION.** We have heard all these ridiculous stories already.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** They are not ridiculous stories. The honorable Minister can go and have a look for himself. It is disgraceful. I take the removal of the 30-year leases from people who put all their aspirations into owning their little houses under 30-year lease in Johannesburg and elsewhere. They are just destroyed like that. The honorable Minister could not care less. I take the decisions not to have any more high schools up to matric in the urban areas so that the Africans who long for higher education for their children have to send their children out to the country schools at great expense, costing at least R100 to R120 per year, which they can ill afford. Or go without higher education. It was easier for an African child living in

Durban or Johannesburg to get high school education up to matric a generation ago than it is today. When those children go out of the towns, unless their parents have taken every possible precaution to notify the superintendent of the township to keep their names on the housing permit, to show that they have been paying the school fees, they are not allowed to come back when they have finished school, because their registration books are issued in the country districts and they are not allowed to come back to the towns. The officials do not warn the parents concerned about these difficulties.

As a final little example of "verligthed," or whatever one might call it, of this government, I want to quote the speech made by the honorable Prime Minister about no shop apartheid. Instead of just saying that it is ridiculous in this day and age to contemplate shop apartheid, he said that his audience should imagine what would happen if a law of this nature was enforced in South Africa. He said: "Any White who was not able to go to a shop would not then be able to send his non-white servant. One can imagine what chaos would ensue." I do not need to say anything more. That is an "enlightened sentiment." But it is not that this goes counter to every bit of thinking of the twentieth century.

**THE MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.** Do you not send your non-white servant to the shops?

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** Naturally! But I would not have shop apartheid under any conditions. Does the honorable Minister not understand that?

(Business suspended at 12:45 p.m. and resumed at 2:20 p.m.)

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** When the House adjourned, I had completed the major part of my speech and I hope that I have disposed of the verligteverkrampde myth fairly conclusively. There is only one other point I wish to make in the few minutes at my disposal.

I want to deal with the interesting exchange which took place yesterday between the honorable Minister of Transport and the honorable Leader of the Opposition in regard to the rate for the job. The honorable Leader of the Opposition talked with about a minimum wage for Whites. I simply want to point out in that regard that his is, of course, the dilemma of the United Party. One cannot say in one breath that one is against job reservation and at the same time say that one is in favor of upholding the industrial color bar. The two things are mutually contradictory, and one must make up one's mind. One can have an open economy with free competition and the rate for the job, but that has nothing to do with a minimum wage for Whites, because the minute one talks about a minimum wage for Whites one has given away the whole argument in favor of the rate for the job. [Interjection.] No, not if the Leader of the Opposition makes a point of saying there must be a minimum rate for Whites, because that means that certain jobs by virtue of having a certain high wage rate, are reserved for white people. That is all it can mean: the rate for the job is a flat rate per occupation. So one cannot talk about having a minimum rate for Whites. One should have a minimum rate for every job, which I believe should be high enough to cover the poverty datum line for even the most unskilled and menial jobs. [Interjections.] I was talking to the gentleman behind me for a minute. I would point out that production would in fact increase because when you are dealing with a class of people who are underpaid and cannot feed themselves properly, then the chances are that when you give them enough money with which to feed themselves properly, their production will increase. That has been found everywhere. [Interjections.]

**T. G. HUGHES.** The Deputy Minister said there should be a minimum wage for everybody.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** Of course there should be. **Mr. SPEAKER.** Order! The honorable member for Transkei must play the game; he cannot get too close to the honorable member. [Laughter.]

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** With respect, Sir, he will have to play the game much more skillfully. The point I was trying to make as far as the honorable Minister of Transport is concerned is that he interjected at one stage and said: "What do I do about the hundreds of thousands of white workers who do not have an education above Standard Six?" I think I understood him correctly to say that. Everybody sympathizes with the predicament of the government in this regard, and every government has this predicament of how to look after people who by their own shortcomings, for which they cannot be blamed, are unable to acquire higher skills. Naturally such people must be given some form of sheltered employment, or their housing must be subsidized, but they have to be cared for by the State.

**Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF.** Then pay them the minimum wage.

**Mrs. SUZMAN.** No, it is not only a minimum wage; it is more than that. They have to be looked after and placed in certain types of employment, but not at the expense of the whole economy. That is the point. It should not be done at the expense of not training the non-Whites because you want to keep those jobs reserved for Whites who cannot do any better themselves. The point is—and I am talking now to the honorable Minister and not to the honorable Leader of the Opposition—that it should not be done at the expense of the whole economy. Sir, I do not believe anyone in South Africa has to make sacrifices. The apostle, as he calls himself, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said that we should rather have a poor South Africa but a white South Africa. [Interjections.] That is absolutely uncalled for, because there is enough for everybody. That is why. This country is a rich country and not like some of the African states. We have vast resources waiting to be developed, and the one thing which is holding back our really tremendous growth is the fact that we do not use our manpower resources properly. We do not need to make any sacrifices; not that the Deputy Minister has any intention of making any sacrifices: I am quite sure of that, and not that it is ever really intended that the white people should make the sacrifices. The sacrifices have to be made by non-Whites, by keeping them in unproductive employment, or by keeping them under-employed. What we should be devoting all our energies to is developing our resources by training our labor and allowing the full productive use of our non-white labor to assist white labor who have been caught—not only the unskilled and the semi-skilled but the skilled white labor—in a dilemma because they have been caught between the pressure of automation, for which they are not trained, on the one side, and the fragmentation pressures on the other side. What we have to do is to retrain our white labor and give them redeployment allowances and so on, so that we can take advantage of the third industrial revolution, which is the phase that South Africa should now be entering upon.

#### CORRECT THIS ERROR

(**Mr. DADDARIO** asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

**Mr. DADDARIO.** Mr. Speaker, I was disappointed to learn today that Dr. Franklin Long, of Cornell University, had been asked to withdraw his name from nomination as Director of the National Science Foundation. Dr. Long is highly qualified for this post and the adminis-

tration would have been highly commended for having named him.

It is my understanding that the unfortunate series of events of which we have just learned began when Dr. Long agreed to become Director upon the invitation of the administration. Apparently Dr. Long was subsequently asked if he would agree to support the administration's anti-ballistic-missile system. When he refused to do so he was advised that he could no longer be considered. It is unfortunate that the Nixon administration is sacrificing the National Science Foundation on the altar of the ABM, and, by so doing, seriously affecting its unique capability to be of service to our country.

Dr. Long has a distinguished record in academic accomplishment, university administration, and public service. An outstanding physical chemist in his own right, he is presently vice president for research and advanced studies at Cornell University. Between 1950 and 1960, he was chairman of the Cornell Chemistry Department. His record of Government service has been truly outstanding, and includes participation in the National Defense Research Committee during World War II. Since the Second World War he has made many other contributions which strengthen our national defense. For instance, he has been a member of the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board and chairman of the chemistry advisory committee of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research. He has been a consultant for the Army's Ballistics Research Laboratory and an Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. As a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee during the early 60's he made his talents available to our Government at the highest level in the area of science policy. One cannot even remotely consider Dr. Long to be unconcerned about the quality and adequacy of our defense posture in the light of such a record.

I am amazed that Dr. Long's reservations concerning the Sentinel ABM system, which were known to the public through his past writings, should preclude his appointment as Director of the National Science Foundation. Are we to consider NSF a part of the Defense Establishment? Many of Dr. Long's colleagues in the scientific community, probably a large majority, share his views regarding the proposed ABM deployment, whether in the Sentinel or Safeguard configuration. I have my own serious doubts as to the wisdom of deploying the present Safeguard system. Furthermore, this is a vital policy issue upon which scientists have a real duty to study and comment. The technological questions involved in the present ABM debate are truly staggering, and we find many of the foremost experts in the field opposing deployment because of their considered judgment that "it will not work" in its present form. The administration, rather than penalizing such forthright scientific judgments, should encourage their presentation for careful consideration by the Executive and Congress. To involve selection of the Director of the Nation's basic research in the ABM question is absurd.

Since President Nixon's inauguration

I have been pleased with the competent and businesslike job Dr. DuBridges has done in his position as science adviser. I am convinced that he is personally endeavoring to assure the appointment of science and research administrators solely on the basis of competence and ability. This was to a large extent reflected in the original decision to appoint Dr. Long as Director of the National Science Foundation. The fact that Dr. Long is a Democrat emphasized the non-partisan character of the Science Foundation and the willingness of outstanding scientists from all political persuasions to offer the administration their services in the interest of the Nation. The unhappy events of the past few days cast serious doubt on the ability of the administration to make important decisions in public policy for science which can attract the support of the Nation's scientists and other citizens of our country.

It is self-evident that recruiting a Director for the National Science Foundation of the desired competence and ability and who will have the confidence of the scientific community, will now be extremely difficult, if not impossible. I hope this has only been a gross misunderstanding and that the administration does not seriously propose to make support of the ABM a prerequisite for public service. The Nixon administration still has an opportunity and a responsibility to rectify what I believe is a very serious error in Executive judgment, and I hope it will take immediate action to correct this error.

#### TRAGIC DESTRUCTION OF RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT OFF NORTH KOREA

(Mr. MARSH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the recent tragic and unwarranted destruction of our reconnaissance aircraft off North Korea is a worsening trouble spot. It appears to be a part of a plan to gradually intensify the level of military activity by the North Koreans.

Although South Vietnam has had the spotlight in that part of the world, there is growing evidence every day that indicates we cannot ignore a situation that is growing more serious in Korea.

The seizure of the *Pueblo* and the destruction of the Navy EC121 aircraft are serious international incidents that receive worldwide attention. Not as well known is that for nearly 2 years, there has been a determined attempt to try and expand the war effort in South Korea by a stepped-up infiltration of South Korea by North Korean infiltrators. The purpose of this may be to start a guerrilla warfare effort similar to the type that we find now confronting us in South Vietnam.

American forces in South Korea are required to be in a continued state of readiness and the efforts to infiltrate the southern portion of Korea are reaching the stage where they cannot be dismissed as random and isolated incidents.

It is becoming increasingly clear that

North Korea is developing a highly trained guerrilla force and resorting to all types of clandestine efforts to infiltrate these guerrilla forces to harass not only American units but to intimidate South Korean citizens and conduct raids and ambushes on South Korean military forces.

A part of this effort may be to cause the withdrawal from South Vietnam of South Korean forces presently employed there, or it may be a broader plan to try and get a full-scale guerrilla war effort underway similar to the type of struggle that is raging throughout Southeast Asia. In all events, the most recent destruction of our reconnaissance aircraft points out that we cannot take anything for granted, nor can we assume that simply because an aircraft or vessel like the *Pueblo* is operating well within international skies or waters it is safe from attack.

It seems certain that with the attitude of North Korea, we must furnish adequate protection of aircraft and vessels that are not capable of defending themselves, whereby attacks such as this can be repulsed, in order to protect the lives of American service personnel as well as to insure successful accomplishment of these vital intelligence missions.

#### PUBLIC OPINION STRENGTHENS CONSERVATION EFFORTS

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, our environment is deteriorating before our eyes. We are exhausting the finite amounts of clean air, pure water, and available land at a wastefully astonishing rate. We and our children will pay a prohibitive price for this activity. Only recently have we begun to realize the menaces we face.

For years conservation organizations have been voices in a void, seeking to warn us. One among them is the National Wildlife Federation, which performs marvelous work on behalf of all the people in preserving our environment and its inhabitants.

They recently retained a major polling organization to query a cross section of Americans on a variety of environmental issues. Findings are revealing, indeed, as we see a major upswing in public attitudes towards pollution of all kinds, wildlife preservation, pesticides and preservation of open green spaces.

We must become more aware of what is facing us. We must take stronger action against those who pollute our air and water—against thermal, noise, and oil pollution—against those who ruin the land and take away from the quality of our lives. The National Wildlife Federation has performed another public service by having this survey made, and I insert highlights here in the RECORD for the enlightenment of other Members of this body:

#### THE U.S. PUBLIC CONSIDERS ITS ENVIRONMENT INTRODUCTION

##### Objectives of the study

The overall objective of the study was to provide information about the public's at-

titudes toward our natural surroundings. Specific objectives included:

1. Finding out to what extent the public is concerned about the degradation of our environment;
2. Investigating preferences for urban versus suburban or rural living;
3. Learning what is considered the most pressing problem with regard to our natural surroundings and what the public thinks should be done about the problems;
4. Determining whether or not the public favors setting aside more public land for conservation purposes.

##### Design of the research

The objectives of the study were carried out by means of a personal interview survey conducted with a national sample of 1503 adults, 21 years of age and older. The interviewing took place during the last ten days in January, 1969. The following questions were asked:

1. You may have heard or read claims that our natural surroundings are being spoiled by air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, destruction of wildlife and so forth. How concerned are you about this—deeply concerned, somewhat concerned, or not very concerned?
2. How much would you be willing to pay each year in additional taxes earmarked to improve our natural surroundings—a small amount such as \$10.00 or less, a moderate amount such as \$50.00, or a large amount such as \$100.00 or more?
3. It has been said that it will, at some time, be necessary to limit the human population (number of people) if our present living standards are to be maintained. Do you think this will be necessary or not?
4. Which of these kinds of places would you find most pleasant as a place to live?

Respondents were shown a card which read as follows: Mountains, Seashore, Rural area, Small city, Suburbs, Large City, Somewhere else?

5. In this country, which one of these do you think is the most pressing problem connected with our natural surroundings?

Respondents were shown a card which read as follows: Air pollution. Water Pollution. Soil erosion. Wildlife preservation (birds and animals). Preservation of open green spaces. Pesticides (chemicals used to kill insects).

6. In your opinion what can be done to correct this problem? (Problem chosen in the above question.)

7. Are you in favor of setting aside more public land for conservation purposes such as national parks, wildlife refuges, bird sanctuaries, and so forth, or not?

Information about the composition and design of the samples and tables of sampling tolerances to have in mind when reading the report will be found at the end of the report.

##### SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF THE STUDY

*Concern about our natural surroundings.*—About half (51%) of all persons interviewed stated that they are "Deeply concerned" about the effect of air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, and destruction of wildlife on our natural surroundings. About one-third (35%) said they are "Somewhat concerned" about the problem and twelve per cent said they are "Not very concerned." A greater proportion (62%) of those who have attended college than of those with less formal education are deeply concerned about these environmental problems. More of the men (56%) than of the women (46%) said they were deeply concerned. Also more of the people living in the western and midwestern states than of those in the East or South are deeply concerned.

*Willingness to pay taxes to improve our natural surroundings.*—When those interviewed were asked about their willingness to pay additional taxes to improve our natural surroundings, almost three of every four peo-

ple interviewed said they would be willing to pay something. It was found that those who had said they were "Deeply concerned" about our environmental problems were willing to pay more in taxes to help solve the problems than those who did not express as much concern.

*The most pressing environmental problem.*—When those interviewed were shown a list of problems affecting the environment and asked which one they consider most pressing, replies divided as follows:

	Percent
Air pollution	36
Water pollution	32
Pesticides (chemicals used to kill insects)	7
Preservation of open green spaces	6
Wildlife preservation (birds and animals)	5
Soil erosion	4

In cities of over 1,000,000 in population 55 per cent said air pollution was the most pressing problem while only twenty-three per cent of those in small communities and rural areas gave this answer. Preservation of wildlife was of greater concern to people in rural areas than to those in the urban areas.

Those interviewed were also asked what they think can be done to correct the problem chosen as most pressing. Results were as follows:

*Problem and most frequently mentioned corrective action*

**Air pollution.**—Find way to control auto exhaust; control of chemical and industrial wastes. Provide filters, smoke control devices.

**Water pollution.**—Stop industrial pollution; Enforce present laws, pass new legislation.

**Soil erosion.**—Plant or maintain vegetation; Use proper agriculture methods.

**Wildlife preservation.**—Enforce game laws; Reduce hunting; Establish wildlife reserves, parks.

**Preservation of open green spaces.**—Set aside land for parks, forests; Better zoning.

**Pesticides.**—Use different, improved pesticides; Government controls, laws.

*Will it be necessary to limit human population?*—The U.S. public is evenly divided as to whether or not it will, at some time, be necessary to limit human population if our present living standards are to be maintained. Younger adults, those who have attended college, and those in the upper income brackets are more inclined to consider limitation of human population necessary than other groups.

*Areas thought most pleasant as a place to live.*—If a pleasant place to live were the principal consideration influencing the public, there would be a marked reversal of the trend away from rural areas. Those interviewed were shown the following list of areas and asked which of them they think would be most pleasant as places to live. Results divided as follows:

	Percent
Rural area	30
Small city	25
Suburbs	18
Mountains	15
Seashore	9
Large city	6
Other	1

Analyses by size of community show that many big city dwellers have a yearning for smaller places and those in rural areas have no yen for the big city.

*Should more land be set aside for conservation purposes?*—Three of every four people interviewed favor setting aside more public land for conservation purposes such as national parks, wildlife refuges, bird sanctuaries, etc. Young people, those who have attended college, and those in the eastern states are more inclined to this view than other segments of the population.

**GRANTING COURT LEAVE TO EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WHEN CALLED UPON AS WITNESSES IN CERTAIN JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS ON BEHALF OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

(Mr. HENDERSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to grant court leave to employees of the United States and the District of Columbia when called as witnesses in certain judicial proceedings on behalf of State and local governments.

Existing law permits an employee to appear as a witness on behalf of the Federal Government or the District of Columbia, or in his official capacity, without charge of leave or loss of pay. There is no such protection for an employee appearing as a witness on behalf of a State or local government. This omission has caused hardships.

For example, one employee lost 2 days' work when he was subpoenaed by an attorney general as a witness to a highway accident. In another instance, an employee took 3 days of annual leave to serve as a witness for a county in a robbery case. In still another case, an employee lost an aggregate of 18 days' annual leave when he was subpoenaed as a State witness in a murder trial.

These examples point up the obvious inequity of the existing law. My bill would simply amend the law to grant court leave to employees called as witnesses on behalf of State and local governments. It also provides that any amount received by such an employee for service as a witness shall be credited against his pay.

In these days of deep concern over crime and crime control, employees should not be penalized when called upon by a State or local government to serve as witnesses. I strongly urge passage of the bill.

**CHINESE FREEDOM UPRISING**

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, receiving little fanfare in the communications media was the announcement that anti-Communist freedom fighters in Communist China had risen up to free their country from tyranny, oppression, and despotism of the Maoist Red regime.

Possibly because the leftwing elements in the United States are well aware of the crumbling structure accounts for the efforts to suppress word of the people's uprising to liberate themselves and restore a Chinese Government responsible to the people on the mainland and to insure an enduring peace.

Anyone who would call for recognition of Red China with full knowledge of these developments must be trying to divert public opinion from significant changes in the China picture and attempting to rehabilitate the desperate and defunct totalitarian government of Mao Tse-tung.

So that our colleagues might know the extent of the Chinese anti-Communist uprising and the popular success among the masses of long oppressed people, I include a news release from the Chinese Information Service of April 7:

**KMT UNITS ON MAINLAND SCORE VICTORIES OVER REDS**

TAIPEI, April 7.—Clandestine Kuomintang organizations in Tibet, Yunnan and Kwangtung scored a series of victories in their military actions against the Peiping regime late last month just before the opening of the 10th National Congress of the Kuomintang in Taipei on March 29, informed sources said yesterday.

According to reports reaching here from the China mainland, the anti-Communist military action in Tibet started in late March when armed KMT forces joined hands with 3,000 anti-Communist Tibetans to attack Communist organizations in southern Tibet.

They fought three fierce battles with Communist infantry and cavalry units and killed 112 Reds. They looted 22 horses in addition to weapons and food. The anti-Communist forces also suffered casualties, but the exact number was not given.

Now the vast grass plain in southern Tibet is in the hands of anti-Communist forces, the sources said.

At the same time, anti-Communist forces raided Communist organizations at Tingri, Shekar and Sakaya area near the Tibetan-Nepalese border and killed many Communist cadres and destroyed bridges, granaries and broadcasting stations, according to the sources.

In Yunnan province, the guerrilla forces of the National Salvation Army started a series of attacks since mid-March. They raided Communist barracks and outposts at Cheli, Fuhai, Wenglien and southern Yunnan bordering Burma.

Anti-Communist guerrilla forces engaged Communist troops 16 times and eliminated 330 Red soldiers. They also seized a big quantity of weapons, documents and destroyed Communist warehouses, banks and other targets, the sources added.

In Kwangtung area, KMT workers in Canton launched a concerted attack on Communist organizations with local anti-Communist forces on the night of March 21. They attacked the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee and Canton Municipal Revolutionary Committee simultaneously.

Anti-Communist forces also attacked the "propaganda teams for Mao Tse-tung thoughts" at seven colleges and universities in Canton.

With the support of anti-Communist elements, the attacking forces blasted the newly completed "people's bridge" across the Pearl River, the export corporation at Changti, the lumber yards at Tashatou and Shahuo railway stations.

Then they raided a reformatory camp at Kuangchingtang near Shahuo and freed several hundreds of inmates.

Before the March 21 raid, KMT agents in Kwangtung launched extensive attacks at Swatow, Lufeng, Haifeng, Hualai, Chungshan, Paoan and Chuhai counties and destroyed more than 40 targets including the Maoist revolutionary committees, barracks, radar stations, granaries, highways and bridges.

**DREW PEARSON SYNDROME**

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I understand that columnist Drew Pearson is accusing me of endorsing what he labels Neo-Nazis

Pearson is a man whose whole career

has been built around slander for hire and purpose. Most Americans understand that this man smears only people who are trying to do something for America. Any attack by Pearson at this time must be an acknowledgement that his victims are having some degree of success in hurting the enemies of free men.

When the people at home read Ole' Drew for laughs the way we do here in Washington, he will have the influence he merits—merely another senile ultra-left extremist.

I am about as concerned over this new personal attack from Pearson as I would be over one from his hero, Castro, or any of the Russian Communists he entertains at his country villa.

But now that Drew—who has never found any fault in the Communist left—suddenly promotes himself as a great fighter of mythical Nazis in 1969, I wonder what he was doing to combat national socialism during World War II when I was fighting real live Nazis as an American infantryman—and, after the Battle of the Bulge spending some time as a prisoner of war in a Nazi prison camp.

If Drew Pearson is going around the country suggesting that JOHN RARICK is linked with any Neo-Nazi outfit, I suggest he make an appointment with a good psychiatrist.

#### ROGERS SAYS WORK NEEDED ON TV RADIATION PROBLEM

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, once again we have found need to advise the American public that there are potential dangers from radiation as emitted from color television sets.

A survey conducted in New York which was released last week indicates that we still have much work to do in this area, although we passed the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act last year.

Under that law, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is charged with establishing standards and safe levels of radiation. And under the law the Secretary is charged with conducting studies to establish what safety precautions are needed for any device which has the potential to emit harmful radiation, and this, of course, goes beyond television.

One of the tasks which the Secretary should consider as soon as possible is the appointment of the 15-man Technical Electronic Product Radiation Safety Standards Committee. This is the technically qualified body which prescribes standards for the Secretary's consideration.

Until that committee is constituted and working, we are far from realizing the goals which we set when we passed Public Law 90-602.

I hope that in the very near future the House Interstate and Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Public Health will conduct hearings and review just what has been accomplished since we first moved against the problem.

One item which I think will be helpful and which I hope will be included in the Secretary's standards would be a requirement for manufacturers of television sets to fix the level of voltage at a position which will not allow TV servicemen to increase that voltage.

We learned through hearings that this is a common practice and in doing so, the voltage increases the chances of causing radiation emissions. I think it will be reasonable for industry to make this adjustment and to hold down voltage in the same manner that a governor holds down the speed on an automobile.

I am pleased to see that the Government has watched closely the survey conducted in New York and has issued a statement on the proper distance for people to sit from a color television.

The New York survey has omitted some information which would have helped us pinpoint the problem in regards to when the sets were made, but on the whole, I am pleased that health officials are also keeping a surveillance on the problem.

The manufacturers have been working, I am advised to check sets now being manufactured. The best way to insure that sets previously built are holding to safe levels is to have the manufacturers stress the development of better components parts for replacement. Some companies have gone to solid state circuits and have thus eliminated some of the problem areas, and they are to be commended for this improvement.

But I would hope that they act now to develop better component parts for critical areas so that during replacement, the offending parts can be eliminated.

#### PRESENT FINANCIAL CRISIS MUST BE FACED BY THE PEOPLE

(Mr. EDWARDS of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, unless the American people demand a halt, the Federal Government will spend this country into catastrophe. After more than 6 years of congressional service, it is my considered judgment the present financial crisis is one that must be faced by the people themselves. Neither Congress nor the President has any intention of dealing with this issue.

The Federal Government is a spend-thrift one. This year it will take from the American taxpayers some \$135 billion. Eighty billion of those dollars will go to the military, much of it to be wasted. The results of the present spending policy are and will be increased inflation and a large gold drain. At the same time there simply is not enough money left at home in our cities and towns to meet critical local needs.

The crisis faced by the people of my congressional district is repeated in every part of the country. Although we enjoy one of the highest average family incomes, our families are taxed to and beyond their limits by State and local governments. Even so, not enough money is generated by these collections to pro-

vide necessary services. We need schools, public transportation, parks, and teachers. We need many millions for sewage plants to stop the pollution of San Francisco Bay. Air pollution is reaching a crisis stage. We must have imported water to replenish underground supplies and to halt land subsidence.

The pattern is nationwide. The results are poverty and hunger for the unskilled and the minorities. Housing becomes harder to find for those with the low incomes. Here is the source in our society for increases in crime and disorder.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 10100, to limit military expenditures to \$50 billion in fiscal 1970, starting July 1, 1969. I am seeking nationwide support for this legislation. I consider its passage absolutely essential if we are to reverse the trend toward catastrophe facing America today.

Under my bill the \$30 billion in savings would be paid to the country's local governments. The formula is strictly proportional as to population and \$150 would be paid for every inhabitant.

We are talking about a lot of money going back to the neighborhoods of America under H.R. 10100—to be spent for crying local needs under local direction.

Take Santa Clara County, Calif., for example: With its 1 million population it would receive \$150 million. This amount represents 76 percent of all the property taxes collected in Santa Clara County in 1967 by the county, cities, school districts, and special districts. The \$150 million is 40 percent of the total fiscal 1967 revenues of Santa Clara County from all sources including property taxes, other taxes, and State and Federal contributions. Other parts of the country would benefit thusly:

Washington, D.C.	\$131,000,000
New York City	1,200,000,000
State of California	3,000,000,000
Los Angeles	1,050,000,000
San Francisco	107,000,000
Alameda County, Calif.	154,000,000
San Diego County	180,000,000
State of Massachusetts	810,000,000
State of Pennsylvania	1,740,000,000
State of Minnesota	535,000,000
State of Illinois	1,600,000,000
City of Chicago	810,000,000
City of Detroit	405,000,000
City of San Jose	64,000,000
City of Milpitas	3,900,000
City of Fremont, Calif.	15,000,000
City of Newark, Calif.	3,900,000
City of Morgan Hill, Calif.	800,000
City of Santa Clara, Calif.	12,750,000
Union City, Calif.	1,725,000

The fiscal 1970 military budget of \$50 billion in my bill would not endanger the security of the United States. The \$30 billion represents the yearly cost of the Vietnam war. My proposed military budget would give the Pentagon this year's funds, less the Vietnam war costs. Indeed, my bill's passage should encourage the settlement of this unfortunate war, recognized now by the great majority of Americans as a disastrous mistake.

The military budget authorized by my bill would not endanger our security vis-a-vis Russia. The \$50 billion represents roughly the Soviet military expenditures in actual purchasing power plus 20 per-

cent. We should have confidence that our military people can utilize properly this generous sum and provide the protection to which we are entitled.

I am not alone in my conviction that a \$50 billion budget is logical. In a chapter on "Military Strategy, Military Forces, and Arms Control," in Agenda for the Nation published by the Brookings Institution late last year, Carl Kaysen, formerly of the Kennedy White House National Security staff and now director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, argues for a post-Vietnam budget of \$50 billion.

Says Kaysen:

The proper conclusion of such a reexamination is that our security interests and needs require great changes in understanding the rationale of our military policy and in the force structure which are the concrete expressions of that rationale. Our policies should determine our weapons, not vice versa.

I do not intend to pinpoint in this statement where the military should cut in order to live within the \$50 billion budget. However, we maintain many overseas military bases which are no longer needed. For example, in World War II we needed the Azores as a ferry base because of limited range of aircraft. Fifteen years ago nuclear submarine and aircraft bases in Spain seemed necessary because our missiles had only a 1,200-mile range. All of these bases are still in expensive operation although unnecessary to our military security.

Of the 1,500,000 American military men overseas, 600,000 are in Vietnam. The remaining 900,000 are scattered among 330 military bases and a hundred countries. Perhaps half can be brought home.

Is \$350 million per year an excessive expenditure for germ warfare? Could not the \$75 million annual expenditure for defoliation be slashed? Should the Pentagon have had the funds to increase its civilian employment by 378,249 in 1968?

It is now clear that President Nixon will do no better than President Johnson in controlling military spending. As Joseph Kraft pointed out on Tuesday:

This is the basic message of the revised 1970 budget.

Mr. Kraft concludes that—

Even sophisticated men with an aversion to the indiscriminate must now consider the possibility that the only way to control defense spending is through the favorite crudity of the Congressional conservatives. That is by putting an arbitrary ceiling on defense spending for next year.

I agree with Mr. Kraft. Unless the American people insist otherwise, President Nixon and Congress will not reduce military spending should the war in Vietnam end. The ABM system, according to Senator SYMINGTON, former Secretary of the Air Force, could cost up to \$400 billion. The Pentagon has already announced that it has unmet needs requiring an increase in annual spending of up to \$100 billion.

The military and appropriation committees of Congress provide no critical scrutiny of the military budget. Committee members are the most conserva-

tive and military minded in Congress. The committee members overwhelmingly supported every Vietnam escalation, the Dominican intervention, the draft and the ROTC. A review of past years reflects that the Military Appropriations Committee has rubber-stamped military budgets from the White House. No meaningful cuts are ever made.

No adverse witnesses to the military budget are heard by the committee. Ninety-nine percent of the witnesses on the military budget are military officers or Pentagon civilians. The chairman of the House Armed Services Committee has greeted Air Force witnesses thusly:

If you don't have any friends on this Committee you don't have any friends. We are your voice in Congress. We are the only official voice, there aren't any others.

In conclusion we have ignored our people, our cities and our land in the false belief that the more we spend on the military, the more secure we will be. We have done this at a cost which cannot now be calculated to our environment, to our torn and bloody cities, to the minorities and the poor and to our war dead in Vietnam.

We must bring our military expenditures under control so that we can treat the cancers of our society. A \$50 billion ceiling is adequate. The \$30 billion savings can be used to bind up the wounds of the Nation and to reunite our divided people.

#### O. ROY CHALK SHOULD BE RELIEVED OF CONTROL OF D.C. TRANSIT, INC.

(Mr. STEIGER of Arizona asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, O. Roy Chalk, the president and majority stockholder of D.C. Transit, Inc., will make his annual pilgrimage to Congress on Friday to tell us why the taxpayers should further subsidize his company. And this less than a year after Congress granted him an annual school fare subsidy of over \$1 million.

Granted, the company appears to be in financial difficulties but this unquestionably is due to Chalk's unbridled avarice and total disregard for the public interest. Having studied the financial machinations of the man, I am absolutely opposed to any further handouts to Chalk. In fact, he should, in the public interest, be relieved of control of the company immediately. Inasmuch as the public will be ill-served by Mr. Chalk's continued control of the company and inasmuch as he has gained back many times over his original capital investment of \$500,000, it is my intention to find a way to relieve Chalk of control of the company and his franchise. There is a provision in the franchise which permits Congress to lift the 14-year-old franchise from Chalk anytime after 7 years; this provision I hope to trigger. Further, I will look into the possibilities of having the company legally condemned without compensation for the purpose of taking it out of Chalk's hands and either selling

or delivering it to a new management or to a public authority.

I yield to no man as a firm advocate of the free enterprise system, but the Chalk operation has only the barest resemblance to free enterprise. The company is heavily subsidized directly and indirectly by the taxpayers and operates under a franchise granted by Congress which gives it exclusive transportation rights within the District of Columbia. And yet, Chalk has thoroughly abused his unique privileges and the public. He has plundered the company of its assets. He has spun off, or is attempting to spin off, so-called nonoperating company properties which are estimated to be valued at over \$18 million. The properties which have already been spun off are now lodged in subsidiaries designed to secure them from recovery for any transit-related operations. These valuable properties by rights should be used by the company to maintain a healthy transit operation. As a matter of fact, the transit company now borrows funds from some of these subsidiaries for which the company is required to pay a healthy interest rate.

Last year Chalk claimed that he was losing money by carrying schoolchildren at a reduced fare. Congress caved in and granted the school fare subsidy. This subsidy is on top of the generous indirect subsidies granted by Congress when it gave Chalk the exclusive franchise. These subsidies take the form of forgiveness of such local taxes as the franchise tax, gross sales tax, compensating use tax, the motor vehicles title tax, the tangible personal property tax, and the mileage tax. Furthermore, exemptions are allowed for the motor vehicle fuel tax, and taxes on realty used in transportation operations to the extent needed to allow a rate of return on operations which is determined by the regulatory Commission.

In addition to the huge profits he will realize from the spinoffs, Chalk has made excessive profits through dividends, paying himself handsome dividends even while the company was losing money through his own mismanagement.

As easily as he accepted the tax forgiveness granted in the franchise, he has on the other hand reneged on a major franchise obligation imposed on him which requires him to remove the remaining 70 miles of old streetcar tracks. It is calculated that the track removal will cost \$18 million at present prices.

The only removal Chalk has engaged in has been to remove the company's valuable assets through the spinoff procedure thus abstracting properties which could be used to maintain the integrity of the company.

In addition to his failure to remove the tracks, Chalk has also reneged on his contractual obligations to the drivers' union pension fund which at this moment is short approximately \$2 million owed to it by Chalk. Understandably dismayed, the union has threatened to strike. The other day Chalk cavalierly informed the union that he will make up the pension deficit only if the Congress comes through with a further subsidy. Why cannot Chalk sell some of the

spunoff properties to make up the deficit? In view of Chalk's past "crisis" tactics, it is quite apparent that he is deliberately trying to precipitate a strike to force the Congress to deliver the subsidy. He has used these tactics before with Congress, all too successfully.

The market value of the properties which Chalk has spun off plus those which he is attempting to spin off is estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$18 million. Add to that the approximately \$5 million in dividends which the company has paid to the stockholders. The majority stockholder is, of course, himself. Add to all that the approximately \$70,000 in salaries which Chalk annually pays to himself and his wife. In sum, Chalk has milked the company dry and incurred company indebtedness to a point where the net worth of D.C. Transit is zero.

Now, with the property worth nothing, Chalk wants a generous subsidy to be used to keep the company going and, incredibly, to reinstate dividends of approximately \$600,000 per year.

Indisputably, Chalk has duped the public and the Congress much too long. The company and the franchise should be taken from his responsibility post haste without a penny of further compensation.

Furthermore, the city and the regulatory Commission should be diligent in recovering for the company and the public the properties which Chalk has siphoned off.

#### WATER QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT

(Mr. COUGHLIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying that this House yesterday passed the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969 by a vote of 392 to 1.

Although I was present yesterday for the debate in support of the bill, I was called from the floor for an appointment and my return was delayed until after the rollcall was complete. Had I been present I would have voted yea.

Nothing is more important than the conservation of our precious natural resources. Actual pollution and the threat of even more disastrous pollution of our water resources have become intolerable. It behooves industry, as well as the private citizen, to recognize that despoiling of our natural assets must be stemmed and eventually stopped before we have so debauched these resources that all of us will have suffered irreparable harm.

Industry and the private citizen could not enjoy the benefits of today's American society had we not been blessed with the huge reservoir of natural resources nature entrusted to us as a nation. The time has long passed when we can cite the materialistic accomplishments of our technological age as excuses for the crimes we have perpetrated against our natural resources.

In this quest to save our environment from pollution beyond recall, each of us

must assume his responsibility—individually or corporately—for doing his utmost to reverse the unfortunate trend of past decades. The Water Quality Control Act of 1969 is a logical and reasonable effort to help reverse this trend. I would hope that all concerned abide by and consciously act to make this measure every bit as effective as we intend it to be.

#### COMMENTS ON THE JENSEN ARTICLE ON INTELLIGENCE

(Mr. WHITEHURST asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I request permission to address the House for 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, recently the Harvard Educational Review carried a 100-page report written by Dr. Arthur Jensen, School of Education at Berkeley. This article deals with the problems of heredity and environment as determinants of an individual's IQ. Some sections of this report have been publicly evaluated out of context.

In response to these evaluations, the Washington Post recently carried two articles by Dr. William F. Brazziel, the director of general education at Norfolk State College. These articles, dated March 21, and April 8, 1969, not only brought the context to bear on these evaluations, but also included additional comments by the author, Dr. Jensen.

Mr. Speaker, I feel Dr. Brazziel's articles have much merit and should be called to the attention of my colleagues. For this reason, I ask unanimous consent to have it inserted into the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 21, 1969]

#### THE JENSEN ARTICLE ON INTELLIGENCE

Joseph Alsop's analysis of Arthur Jensen's article on intelligence (March 12) deserves comment. There seems to be a great deal of confusion about what Jensen said, what he was actually trying to say and even about who Jensen is. From what I can glean from correspondence with Dr. Jensen, he feels he is being misinterpreted—at least by the Klan types who are embracing him as their very own.

1. Jensen is not a professor in the department of educational psychology at Berkeley. He is a professor in the School of Education.

2. Jensen's 100-page article in the *Harvard Educational Review* did not deal solely with black-white differences in IQ. Only three pages dealt with race. He should have known, however, that these three pages would make the headlines and that his real story would remain untold—at least by the mass media. Ironically, his thesis could have been presented without the treatment of race. These three pages could have been omitted.

3. In the spring issue of *HER*, four eminent psychologists will rebut, or place in what they consider proper perspective, Jensen's contentions regarding heredity versus environment in IQ. It was a grave editorial blunder to postpone comment until spring. The contentions and the rebuttals should have been placed back-to-back.

4. Jensen's main thesis was that heredity plays a major role in all IQ and that the "environmentalists" (this is an extension of an old-age feud) were leading people astray

by over-promising and under-producing in their Head Start, compensatory and mental retardation programs.

5. Significantly, Jensen also stated on the last two pages of his article that IQ tests do not tap the full capabilities of disadvantaged black kids. He stated that he had developed a test which showed better than most their true potentials.

6. He noted that these kids rely heavily on old-fashioned associative learning similar to that taught by basic educationists of the 1930's and that the source of failure of compensatory education lay in the fact that since Sputnik I most American teachers relied heavily on abstract conceptions. He urged a greater individualization of instruction and a shift to highly intensive instructional methods such as the Bereiter-Engelmann program. He said the programs of art and music for the "culturally deprived" were a waste of money.

7. On race, Jensen stated that a higher proportion of black than white children were apt to have been malnourished, under-stimulated and under-educated and that self concepts and learning were affected by 3.5 centuries of isolation and bigotry. And that of these factors all combined to produce low IQ's. He noted that families who were affected most by these conditions also had the large families, that the black middle class families with high IQ's had small families. He implied that unless some food, money, jobs and family planning or selective breeding entered the picture any statistical portrait of black IQ would be low and place black people in a bad light. In fact, the statistics would get worse. All of this has been said before.

8. In leading up to these conclusions which in general are quite sound and deserve attention. Jensen winnowed through 40 years of research on black-white IQ, all of which was inconclusive. He came to the same conclusion of most psychologists in this area, i.e., black people seem to think in a different fashion from white people, our present tests (his new test excluded) don't measure the black mind correctly and we have no way of ascertaining how much of this difference is genetic and how much is environmental.

Extremists and self-anointed psychologists seem to be seizing upon the report as medicine for whatever ails them. It has already been used in a school desegregation case—for the defense. New York black nationalists are pleased to learn that black people think differently from white people etc. They consider it a blessing. The list is much longer. Few people have actually read the article.

Someone should try to bring some order to the situation—right now. There are good implications in the article for policy planning in school integration, compensatory education, anti-hunger and family planning programs, and for the new programs of infant stimulation such as are now in progress in the NIH complex and OEO demonstration centers. It would be shameful to let the thing slide into another Moynihan affair.

WILLIAM F. BRAZZIEL,  
Director of General Education, Virginia State College.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 8, 1969]

#### FURTHER COMMENT ON THE JENSEN ARTICLE

Joseph Alsop's analysis of my letter on the Jensen article deserves comment. I was happy to see Mr. Alsop indicate that the main thesis of Dr. Jensen's article was the hereditary-environment controversy and that, contrary to the impression many people received from his columns, black IQ was not the central theme. Whether three or 16 pages of the article directly dealt with racial differences can be debated but is probably not important here.

In Mr. Alsop's columns on the matter the

most troublesome statement seems to have been: "Yet there is no use being mealy mouthed about it. Dr. Jensen is really saying that in addition to the handicaps wickedly imposed by prejudice and discrimination, the average black American begins the race of life with a detectable genetic handicap." This statement sent many hard-line segregationists into orbit.

In my request for clarification from Dr. Jensen regarding his views on racial inferiority in intellect, I received a letter with the following statements:

1. Obvious differences in inborn mental ability between races are reporters' words, they are certainly not mine. Furthermore, the statement is quite indefensible.

2. The complex causes of differences in mental abilities among individuals or between racial groups are not at all obvious. Research so far has been inadequate as a basis for definitive conclusions about racial differences in intelligence.

3. My own work is not aimed at this aspect of the problem but at the description and analysis of individual differences in various types of learning.

I want also to express disappointment with Mr. Alsop's decision to withhold analysis of the rebuttals of the article although he had them in hand when he wrote the column. He is engaging in the same questionable practices which many persons are now taking the *Harvard Education Review* editorial board to task for.

Fortunately, the *New York Times* saw fit to release the gist of the rebuttals in their Sunday, March 30 paper. Professor Steven Vandenberg, a University of Colorado geneticist, said that Dr. Jensen's interpretation may have been overzealous and that Jensen should have been more careful about the racial question. Dr. Lee Cronback, a University of Pittsburgh psychologist, accused Jensen of overstatement and misstatement, and Dr. J. McVicker Hunt, a University of Illinois psychologist, said that odds are strong that we can boost both IQ and scholastic achievement substantially. There was dissent in this vein from several others. Most people will never learn about it, however, because of the way the article and the rebuttals were handled.

I think Mr. Alsop is on the right track in urging that we assure good nutrition, prenatal care, early stimulation, early education and the best of schools for all children from homes with modest incomes.

I believe this will result in a reduction in the learning problems we are all concerned about. We might also buy Dr. Jensen's new test which he claims will tap the potential of poor children far better than any devised so far.

I surely hope we can avoid arguing among ourselves until we can get this job done.

WILLIAM F. BRAZZIEL, Ph. D.,  
Director of General Education,  
Virginia State College.

NORFOLK.

#### ALONG WITH THE SURTAX

(Mr. SCOTT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the *RECORD* and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, my mail is very heavy from constituents on tax matters. Probably, people are more concerned about heavy taxes and tax inequities than any other domestic matter. We will be faced soon with a decision as to whether the 10-percent surtax should be extended, reduced or eliminated entirely. My vote will be to eliminate the surtax and to eliminate the need for it by reducing expenditures.

The *Free Lance-Star*, a newspaper

published in Fredericksburg, Va., contained an editorial recently regarding the surtax which gives the editor's opinion of the surtax which I believe merits our consideration.

Certainly, the Ways and Means Committee has a difficult task in recommending ways to eliminate inequities in the system and providing that each citizen pay his fair share of the tax burden. I believe they will make progress in this respect.

The editorial is inserted herein for the information of the House.

[From the *Fredericksburg (Va.) Free Lance-Star*, Apr. 14, 1969]

#### ALONG WITH THE SURTAX

One hears more and more variations on the theme that, while we must retain the 10 per cent surcharge on income tax, this should be accompanied by significant tax reform. The point is well taken. Congress can scarcely justify keeping the surtax, which falls as such a burden on middle-income taxpayers, without acting against devices whereby the rich get by without paying a fair share of taxes.

It is sometimes argued, though rather lamely, that this is not really much of a problem because the rich are small in number. This attitude was disclosed in recent testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee by Walker Winter, vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He told the congressmen that "too much emphasis has been placed on the relatively small number of taxpayers who have arranged their affairs so as to minimize their tax liabilities."

If Congress heeds this siren song, it may find that talk of a "taxpayers' revolt" has become more than talk. For if there is one thing that galls the average taxpayer is the thought that, whereas he must dig deep, some huge corporations and some enormously wealthy men pay little or no taxes.

An article published recently in many newspapers called attention to the fact that last year 21 Americans with incomes of a million dollars or more paid no taxes whatsoever. The fact that this taxless status also applied to about 150 with incomes in excess of \$200,000 has been well publicized, too. These are extreme examples—but examples of a fairly common phenomenon, evasion of proportionate income taxes by corporations and wealthy individuals.

It is a phenomenon that the American people increasingly feel they would like to dispense with. That is something for Congress to consider with care when debating whether to retain the 10 percent surtax.

#### INFLAMMATORY REMARKS BY JULIUS HOBSON, WASHINGTON SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER

(Mr. SCOTT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I note from the news media that Julius W. Hobson, an employee of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, made a recent talk before a group of Georgetown University students and indicated that he was a Marxist Socialist who believes that the American free enterprise system must be overthrown by force and violence before the gap can be bridged between the Nation's haves and have-nots.

It seems to me that if anyone overthrows the American free enterprise system by force and violence, it would be

tantamount to the overthrow of the U.S. Government and I am writing to the Department of Justice suggesting that it try to ascertain the full text of the Hobson statement, investigate his other activities, and determine whether he is violating any criminal statute. Since he is also a Government employee, I am also contacting the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine whether this is a suitable person to be on the Government payroll, and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to determine whether Mr. Hobson has violated any civil service laws or regulations.

It seems unreasonable to me for a man to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government of this country and still be on the payroll of that Government.

His speech also states that Washington students have nothing to lose by raising hell, even if they take over control and occupy schools; that nothing more can happen to them and they have nothing to lose by such activity. This raises the question as to whether he is inciting people to riot in conflict with Federal and District of Columbia law.

Approximately 1 year ago, prior to the so-called Poor Peoples' March on Washington, Mr. Hobson complained of Federal discrimination in employment and circulated a petition among Federal employees seeking congressional hearings. He stated at that time that in the event officials did not respond favorably to the petition, he would consider civil disobedience tactics in Federal buildings.

After learning of this, I contacted the then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Attorney General, and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, urging investigation and the taking of appropriate action against the offender. Nothing was done by the Johnson administration. It will be interesting to learn whether the present administration takes any action against this militant on the Federal payroll and the use of seditious language by a self-styled Marxist Socialist.

#### THE RUSSIAN FISHING OFFENSIVE

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the *RECORD* and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a week ago today I flew in a Coast Guard plane out over a group of some 100 Russian fishing trawlers busy at work in the Atlantic off the coast near Norfolk, Va.

The trawlers themselves are supported by at least seven large factory ships which process the catch right there on the scene. I also saw a refrigerated freighter which carries the product either back to Russia for home consumption or to Latin America or elsewhere for sale.

I am informed that I saw only about half of the Russian vessels now operating off our Atlantic coasts. And I understand also that some 25 Polish trawlers are fishing in the same area.

Some of the Russian trawlers from the fleet I saw had violated the American

12-mile limit in early February, coming to within 8 or 9 miles of the U.S. coast.

When I saw them, they all were about 40 to 50 miles outside the 12-mile limit, but their presence near our shores, and the great volume of fish they are taking must be considered a significant development. It is a sign of Russia's great fishing offensive which actually is a world-wide fact.

They are outfishing us in our own waters and they are rapidly advancing to become one of the world's leading fishing nations. It is quite possible that some of the Russian catch eventually is imported into the United States by one exporter or another in competition with U.S. fishermen.

Incredibly, we import about 75 percent of the fish we consume, including shrimp, tuna, and rainbow trout and other varieties to which U.S. fishermen have good access.

The reason I made the flight last week was to obtain a firsthand view of Russian fishing in at least one area near our coast. The Russians are also to be seen off the coasts of California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska with increasing regularity.

I have heard a report that they have also been seen in the Gulf of Mexico, but I have no confirmation of this.

The trawlers I saw from about 300 feet of altitude were catching herring primarily. But they are using huge nets which bring in whatever fish are there. My understanding is that they are throwing nothing back. And cod, bluefish, and other valuable varieties are likely to be taken.

Our Government has signed fishing agreements with Russia. But the problem here is that while they have much to gain by extensive fishing near our coasts we have almost nothing to gain by reciprocal arrangements for American trawlers to fish off Russian coasts.

In 1967 an agreement was reached between several nations with fishing interests in the North Atlantic. And while, so far as I know, this is a useful agreement from our national standpoint, experience tells us that the overall world fishing situation requires urgent attention beyond the matters treated in regional agreements.

The use of factory ships with which to process the fish catch introduces a new element into the expanding world fishing situation. This practice allows fishing fleets to range far and wide and, therefore, the question of territorial and fishing limits becomes even more important.

I have introduced a resolution to deal with our policy with regard to our territorial sea claim. It is House Joint Resolution 605 which calls for a policy of reciprocity in the matter of claims to territorial sea. Instead of setting a limit which would apply to all ships of all countries our policy would be to impose on every country the territorial sea limit which that country itself claims. Of course we would retain our own minimum limits.

Since Russia claims a 12-mile zone as territorial sea, then our policy with regard to Russian ships would also be 12

miles. We now claim only a 3-mile limit of territorial sea. This proposed policy would at least serve the purpose of preventing espionage ships from approaching to within 12 miles of our coasts.

But the fishing limit problem is another matter. The picture of various national fishing limits around the world is a picture of great chaos. Peru, Ecuador, and some other nations claim 200 miles, and have attacked U.S. tuna boats on the basis of that claim and have gotten by with it.

There is a great need for a new worldwide agreement on fishing limits. Attempts were made in 1958 and again in 1960, and they failed. But since then it has become more obvious that worldwide fishing activity is growing fast. Competition is going to become fierce as the demand for fish as a relatively cheap source of protein grows.

Even more important we need to revitalize the U.S. fishing industry. In only 13 years we have slipped from second place to sixth place among the world's fishing nations.

We are a nation blessed with three long coastlines rich in valuable fish resources. And yet we are a nation which centers its food production attention on land agriculture only.

Vast studies are being made in this country by government, by foundations and other responsible institutions on the subject of the world food problem. And they generally give only slight reference to fish and the vast source of valuable protein represented by marine life. Some of these studies fail to even mention this aspect of food production.

But in a world of swiftly expanding population, when the problems of food production are of a critical nature, fish is the food resource of the future.

The Russians, the Japanese, and some others know this and are acting on it. We have not yet come to know it. So we are falling far behind in the work to build and retain a fishing capability to match the times. It is vital that we begin to do something about it.

#### REAPPORTIONMENT AND THE SUPREME COURT

(Mr. SAYLOR asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court's latest ruling on reapportionment further documents the need for a procedure to restrain the judiciary from appropriating legislative powers. The decision is akin to its redistricting of State legislatures in 1966, at which time Justice Harlan said in his dissenting opinion:

Had the Court paused to probe more deeply into the matter, it would have found that the Equal Protection Clause was never intended to inhibit the States in choosing any democratic method they pleased for the apportionment of their legislatures.

This is shown by the language of the Fourteenth Amendment taken as a whole, by the understanding of those who proposed and ratified it, and by the political processes of the States at the time the Amendment was adopted.

It is confirmed by numerous State and Congressional actions since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, and by the common understanding of the Amendment as evidenced by subsequent decisions of this Court, before *Baker vs. Carr*, supra, made an abrupt break with the past in 1962.

He said further:

The Constitution is an instrument of Government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens.

This Court, limited in function in accordance with that premise, does not serve its high purpose when it exceeds its authority, even to satisfy justified impatience with the slow workings of the political process.

In his summation of the decision, Justice Potter Stewart wrote:

To put the matter plainly, there is nothing in all the history of this Court's decisions which supports this constitutional rule. The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 states, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year history of our Federal union.

Mr. Speaker, in recent years even more severe criticism has come from other Supreme Court Justices who recognize the judiciary's usurpation of powers that the Founding Fathers placed in the legislative branch of this Government. The inclination has become more recognizable of late, though the threat has always been latent and elicited this warning from Thomas Jefferson in 1821:

The judges are, in fact, the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the States, and to consolidate all power in the hands of that government in which they have so important a freehold estate.

Jefferson made this proposal even before the Constitution was adopted:

The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of its society, depend so much upon an upright and skillful administration of justice, that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislative and executive, and independent from both, that so it may be a check upon both, as both should be checks upon that.

Because there is not now any check whatsoever upon the judiciary despite its incredible power over both the legislative and executive branches, most Members of Congress have come to realize that there is a critical deficiency in the system which depends upon effective checks and balances for its very existence. It is for this reason that I introduced House Joint Resolution 82 to enable Congress by a two-thirds vote of each House to override any decision of the Supreme Court.

In its 5-to-4 decision on reapportionment of congressional districts, the Supreme Court has again whacked at constitutional principle and intent. Ironically, tomorrow, or next week, or next month, should a Justice die or resign and be succeeded by a person of contrary opinion, an exact opposite ruling would be forthcoming if the same case were at issue.

The Constitution provides that two-thirds of both Houses of Congress or the legislatures of two-thirds of the States

may initiate amendments that do not become effective unless ratified by three-fourths of the States. In contrast, a single individual sitting on the High Court can make the determination—irrefutable as of now—that affects the lives, the property, and the rights of all the people of all the States.

Today the general public is crying for relief from the Supreme Court decision prohibiting prayers in schools, and I am confident that Engle against Vitale will be the first ruling to be rescinded if my resolution is adopted. Other decisions marked for reversal by public demand include those which give preference to criminals over police officers and society in general, allow publication and distribution of obscene literature, and permit Communists to work in defense plants.

The Court's most recent ruling on reapportionment is another in a long line of decisions that accentuate the obligation of Congress to adopt House Joint Resolution 82. It is an invitation to the people of this Nation to encourage their State assemblymen to pass resolutions supporting a constitutional amendment that will give the citizens of this Nation, through their elected representatives, an opportunity to curb the excesses of a branch of Government that has gone far beyond its designated authority.

**LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM**

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the rest of this week and the program for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished minority leader, we have no business for the balance of this week.

The program for next week is as follows:

Monday is Consent Calendar day; and there are two suspensions. The first is H.R. 8794, to extend for 1 year the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; and the second is H.R. 8434, to provide additional free letter mail and air transportation mailing privileges for certain members of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Beginning on Monday and continuing until completed there will be consideration of H.R. 514, the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969, under an open rule, with 4 hours of debate, making it in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill for the purpose of amendment, and the bill to be read by titles instead of by sections, and waiving points of order against lines 10 through 15 on page 13, and lines 6 through 16 on page 20.

This announcement, of course, is made subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time and any other program may be announced later.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. As I understand it, there are to be 4 hours of general debate under the rule. Would it be the intention to run late and finish the general debate, if it does run late on Monday?

Mr. ALBERT. I have no knowledge that we intend to run late. We hope to dispose of as much as possible of the general debate.

**DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT**

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

**ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1969**

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

**THE JOHNSON RESEARCH BUDGET**

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MICHEL) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, those of us who want to see the budget balanced, the debt reduced, and the tax burden lightened have been encouraged by the steps that President Nixon and his associates in the executive branch have taken to reduce governmental spending. We who serve in the legislative branch must supplement the efforts of the Chief Executive.

Those who are seeking for places to economize should not overlook the huge sums that are being spent year after year for research and development. As I went through the budget that Lyndon B. Johnson submitted to the Congress a few days before he retired from the Presidency, I was astounded when I noted that it calls for well over \$15,000,000,000 for a multiplicity of research and related activities.

Worthy as the goals of many of these programs are, it is obvious that substantial sums can be saved by the elimination of overlapping and duplication and by postponement of programs that can, without harm to the Nation, be deferred for a while.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting a compilation of the research programs that the taxpayers have been supporting and will continue to support if Mr. Johnson's final budget is put into effect without substantial change. As far as I am concerned, we owe it to the taxpayer to do all in our power to cut that budget in

order that we may achieve a surplus without hidden gimmicks, trick book-keeping, and fiscal legerdemain. This list of research programs and the lists of education, health, and manpower programs that I inserted before the spring recess should be helpful as we look for places to cut expenditures. While there are a few programs that I did not include because funds for research could not easily be separated from money for other items, the list that I am inserting today is about as comprehensive as is possible to make it.

There are other reasons besides economy for a close and careful scrutiny of the research programs. I am reminded of the words that Dwight D. Eisenhower addressed to the Nation on January 17, 1961, 3 days before he retired from the Presidency. It was in this speech that President Eisenhower stated that "we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

Many of my colleagues have cited these words during the 8 years that have elapsed since Mr. Eisenhower retired from public life. This afternoon I would like to point out that immediately after he had warned his listeners about the military-industrial complex, he went on to tell them about the "danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

Here are the pertinent paragraphs from his farewell address:

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government.

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present—and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

The list of research and related programs follows:

	[In thousands of dollars]		
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT</b>			
Council of Economic Advisers:			
Advances and reimbursements:			
Economic research	30		
Office of Emergency Preparedness:			
Salaries and expenses, telecommunications: Research and development	544	554	800

**Research and development.** This activity will finance technical studies of telecommunications matters which are too broad in scope to be undertaken by any single department. Examples of such studies include methods of interconnecting the communications systems of individual agencies, and means of increasing the survivability of telecommunications resources.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 estimate
State and local preparedness and research and development: Research and development.....	3		
<b>FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT</b>			
Foreign assistance:			
Military assistance: Adjustment of prior-year research and development obligations.....	-39		
Economic assistance:			
Grants and other programs:			
International organizations and programs, grants:			
World Health Organization, medical research.....	150	150	150
Special Foreign Currency activities:			
Department of Agriculture—Translation of publications and scientific cooperation: Agricultural and forestry research.....	201	206	
<b>DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE</b>			
Agricultural Research Service:			
Salaries and expenses:			
Research:			
Farm research.....	101,308	98,660	100,786
Utilization research and development.....	33,155	33,264	33,443
Nutrition and consumer use research.....	4,184	4,278	5,453
Marketing research.....	9,384	8,558	8,488
Construction of facilities.....	9,226	19,007	10,294
Contingencies.....		1,000	1,000

**Farm research.** Improved breeding, feeding, and management practices, including management of animal wastes, are developed for farm livestock, poultry, and domestic fur animals. Practical methods are sought for control of diseases, parasites, and insect pests affecting them and to protect them from toxic chemical poisons and other hazards.

Investigations are conducted to improve varieties of food, feed, fiber, and other plants, and to develop new crops; to improve crop-production practices, including methods to control plant diseases and nematodes, and reduce cost of production; and to develop safe chemical, biological, and other methods for control of harmful pests affecting farm production.

Investigations are conducted to improve the management of natural resources, including investigations to improve soil and water management (including salinity and saline soils), irrigation, and conservation practices; to study hydrologic problems of agricultural watersheds; to determine the relation of soil types and water to plant, animal, and human nutrition; and to apply engineering principles to improve efficiency and reduce costs of agricultural production.

The research is aimed at the profitable production of an adequate supply of food, feed, fiber, and other agricultural products of desired quality at minimum costs. Attention continues to be given to the production of agricultural products having industrial uses. Increased attention has been given to studies on protection of plants, animals, and natural resources from harmful effects of polluted soil, water, and air. Research also concerns the application of remote sensing techniques in meeting agricultural problems. The proportion of farm research funds going into basic research is currently estimated at 45%

of the total funds for this research. The basic research is fundamental to and strengthens the other research efforts.

The increase requested for 1970 would provide for research in the following areas: improve methods to control avian leukosis in poultry; study of resistant micro-organisms resulting from the use of antibiotics in livestock and poultry production; studies on low-income rural housing; pollution research concerned with animal waste management; and expand remote sensing research, including the acquisition of an aircraft.

**Utilization research and development.** Chemical, physical, and biological research is conducted to develop increased industrial uses of farm products, and new and improved foods, feeds, and fabrics; and to develop improved methods for processing agricultural commodities.

The research aim is to expand the demand for farm products by developing new and improved products and economical processes tailored to the requirements of the domestic and foreign markets. The research conducted includes studies to protect food and feed products from harmful micro-organisms and naturally occurring toxins and studies of health-related problems of tobacco. Increased effort is being given to the processing of agricultural commodities to minimize waste formation and to utilize waste products to avoid pollution.

The increase requested for 1970 would be used for research on processing characteristics of new varieties and upgrading the quality of peach products.

**Nutrition and consumer use research.** Studies are made of human nutritional requirements, composition and nutritive value of foods, and consumer and food economics. The research aim is to determine nutrient requirements and how foods can supply these to best assure nutritional well-being of people throughout their lifespan, to provide up-to-date information about food consumption and nutrition of the population, and to develop improved procedures for household preparation, care, and preservation of foods which will preserve their nutritional, sanitary, and wholesome quality. The increase requested for 1970 would be used to expand information on the nutrient value of foods, to identify factors contributing to poor nutrition, and to provide guidelines for improvement of programs to better the nutritional well-being of people.

**Marketing research.** Practical answers to reduce costs and maintain product quality in moving products from farm to consumer are sought through research. For farm products as they pass through marketing channels, efforts are made to develop safe methods to protect against insect attack, find objective methods to determine quality, reduce losses from waste and spoilage, and improve efficiency in physical handling. The work includes research at each stage of marketing, such as assembly points and storage facilities, and of transportation at terminal or central markets. Research is also concerned with mycotoxins in agricultural products in relation to off-farm handling, conditioning, and storage.

**Construction of facilities.** An increase is requested in 1970 for planning, construction, and improvement of research facilities. This includes a facility for bluetongue research and a fruitfly laboratory.

**Contingencies.** These sums are to meet urgent research needs that develop unexpectedly when such needs cannot be met by redirection of resources from other projects.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Salaries and expenses (special foreign currency program):			
Market development research.....	1,942	1,600	1,400
Agricultural and forestry research.....	4,892	5,000	5,600

Work is carried on through agreements, in both basic and applied fields, by research institutions and organizations in foreign countries. In addition to developing scientific information of great importance to American agriculture, the research under this program is making a contribution to the solution of agricultural production and related problems of the countries in which it operates. It serves to preserve and expand existing markets and develop new ones for agricultural commodities, including cotton, dairy products, fats and oils, grain, feed, livestock and meat, poultry, and fruit and vegetables. It also provides for research supplementary to domestic programs on farm, forest, marketing, utilization, agricultural economics, and human nutrition problems.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>Construction of facilities:</b>			
Construction of facilities (program costs, funded).....	42	7	
Change in selected resources.....	-35	-6	
Total obligations.....	7	1	

These funds are for construction of facilities for research, including completion of a laboratory for research on biological control of insects and installation of laboratory equipment at a soil and water research laboratory.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>Working Capital Fund, Agricultural Research Center, maintenance and operation of central facilities and services:</b>			
Cost of materials sold or applied.....	1,371	1,370	1,370
Other expense.....	3,560	3,620	3,575
Total operating costs, funded.....	4,931	4,990	4,945
Capital outlay: Purchase of equipment.....	65	55	55
Total program costs, funded.....	4,996	5,045	5,000
Change in selected resources.....	-8		
Total obligations.....	4,987	5,045	5,000

This fund finances, on a reimbursable basis, central facilities and services furnished to agencies at the Agricultural Research Center.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Advances and reimbursements:</b>			
Research.....	1,961	2,861	2,643
<b>Cooperative State Research Service:</b>			
Payments and expenses:			
Payments to agricultural experiment stations.....	49,630	51,684	53,757
Grants for cooperative forestry.....	3,369	3,485	3,785
Contracts and grants for scientific research.....	1,408	1,902	2,070
Grants for facilities.....	943	2,114	1,315
Penalty mail.....	310	198	160
Federal administration.....	1,470	1,685	1,878
Total program costs, funded.....	57,130	61,069	62,965
Change in selected resources.....	1,756	-2,158	765
Total obligations.....	58,886	58,911	63,730

The Service administers funds for payments and grants to State agricultural experiment stations and other eligible institutions for the support of research in agri-

culture, the rural home, the rural community, and forestry. This administration involves supervision of the funds, and close advisory relations with the State agricultural experiment stations, schools of forestry, and other institutions eligible to receive funds. This agency participates in planning and coordination of research programs among the States and between the States and the United States Department of Agriculture.

**Payments to agricultural experiment stations.** Grants are allocated to agricultural experiment stations of the land-grant colleges for agricultural research including investigations and experiments to promote a permanent and efficient agricultural industry and improvements in the rural home and rural community. In 1970, emphasis will be placed on food and nutrition, community improvement, and pollution research.

**Grants and cooperative forestry research.** These are allocated to land-grant colleges or agricultural experiment stations and other State-supported colleges and universities offering graduate training in the sciences basic to forestry and having a forestry school. In 1970, emphasis will be placed on timber production and forest products utilization research.

**Contracts and grants for scientific research.** These funds are for the support of grants on specific research problems at nonprofit institutions of higher education or nonprofit organizations whose primary purpose is the conduct of such research.

**Grants for facilities.** These funds providing additional facilities for research are allocated to State agricultural experiment stations. Assistance is available to the States for construction, acquisition, and remodeling of buildings, laboratories, and other capital facilities which are necessary to more effectively conduct research in agriculture and sciences related thereto.

**Penalty mail.** Funds to cover the cost of penalty mailings for State agricultural experiment station directors are provided under this appropriation.

**Federal administration.** A coordinating and review staff is maintained to examine research projects and assist State institutions and Federal agencies.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE</b>			
Salaries and expenses:			
Farm economics.....	5,718	6,342	6,517
Marketing economics.....	2,989	3,428	3,428
Domestic and foreign economic analysis.....	3,190	3,617	3,617
Total program costs, funded....	11,897	13,387	13,562
Change in selected resources.....	667		
Total obligations.....	12,564	13,387	13,562

**Farm economics.** Research is conducted to measure, appraise, and analyze on a continuing basis, economic changes that occur in farming and in the use of human and natural rural resources and to indicate needed adjustments.

Research on the economics of farm production includes the economics of organization and management of farms; adjustments in production to prospective demands, and changing technologies; appraisals of costs and returns on farms representative of important types, sizes and locations, and the appraisal of costs of producing important commodities; development of measures of farm output and productivity; problems of farm size and capital requirements; financing of farm enterprises; and appraisal of

alternative agricultural production policies and programs.

Natural resources economics is concerned with the economics of use, conservation, development, management, and control of natural resources and their relationship to economic activity. It includes economic analysis of land and water resources, resource institutions, and the economic and social conditions affecting use of resources.

Economic development is focused upon the well-being and opportunities of rural people. It includes a broad research program on economic development of rural areas, opportunities and employment of rural people, and factors affecting them, including local governments and other organizations. Special attention is given to the poor who are found in heavy concentrations among rural people.

The increase requested in 1970 would permit development of economic indicators of change in the rural economy.

**Marketing economics.** This activity covers economic aspects of marketing farm products, including the nature of farmers' bargaining power; potentials for new products and new uses; market structure, costs, and margins; the economic effects of school feeding programs, food stamp, and direct food distribution programs.

**Domestic and foreign economic analysis.** Domestic economic analysis is concerned with identifying, measuring, and analyzing: the factors affecting demand, supply, and price of agricultural commodities; relationships between agriculture and the national economy; farm income and the income of the farm population; demand and consumption of farm products; long-term projections of economic growth and demand for farm products; and historical developments in the policies, programs, and organization of the Department.

Foreign economic analysis includes trade studies and investigation of supply-demand relationships. The trade and market studies focus on the problems of developing foreign markets and the effect of these developments on United States agricultural production. Research is carried on for more than 100 countries around the world, focusing on the forces affecting supply, demand, and trade in farm products, and their impact on U.S. agricultural exports.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Economic research:			
Agriculture.....	143	139	139
Other agencies.....	917	627	627
Foreign agricultural research and development, integrated foreign agricultural development pro- gram:			
Agricultural research and de- velopment, costs—obligations.....			4,150

This program is a new initiative in agricultural assistance that will produce a rapid and sustained rate of growth in the agriculture of developing nations.

The approach rests on the premise that improved farm production can be achieved only through the detailed planning and adoption of a system that provides a continuous flow of technology to farmers and to related business in an environment that is conducive to adoption. An effective system will be established by developing the private and public institutions needed for research, extension, and agribusiness activity and by supplementing existing technological and managerial capacity so as to operate this effectively.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Forest Service:</b>			
Forest protection and utilization:			
Forest research:			
Forest and range manage- ment.....	16,179	16,537	16,819
Forest protection.....	9,560	10,368	10,748
Forest products and engineering.....	7,735	8,137	8,484
Forest resource economics.....	4,624	4,996	5,160
Forest research construc- tion.....	4,784	2,949	474
Total, forest research.....	42,846	42,987	41,685

**Forest research.** Research is conducted at regional forest experiment stations, the Forest Products Laboratory, and the Institute of Tropical Forestry.

**Forest and range management.** This research provides private and public land managers and owners with a sound basis for management of timber, forage, and watershed lands. Studies are conducted to maintain a sustained yield of products at the lowest possible costs; increase habitat for domestic livestock and improve habitat for wildlife without damage to soil, watershed, or other values; assure maximum regular flow of usable water, and reduce floods and sedimentation; and improve methods for developing and managing recreation resources.

**Forest protection.** Research is conducted to develop sound measures for the protection of forests from damaged by fire, insects, and diseases. Forest fire research provides improved methods of predicting fire danger, and preparing for and combating fire by combinations of ground and aerial methods. Insect and disease research develops direct controls, silvicultural measures, and biological agents to combat forest pests.

**Forest products and engineering.** Studies are conducted to develop new and improved forest products, reduction and utilization of waste, and use of low-quality wood and less-desirable species. They include studies to reduce costs of logging and wood utilization, and to develop basic knowledge of wood and disseminate this to forest owners, manufacturers, fabricators, and consumers. Research is also conducted to advance the mechanization and efficiency of forestry operations, and to develop and evaluate machines and similar equipment for such operations as logging, planting, timber-stand improvement, and protection of forests.

**Forest resource economics.** These investigations are conducted to inventory and appraise the condition of forest lands, volume and quality of standing timber, ownership of timber resources, annual growth and depletion, and the potential need for timber products. Studies of the economics of forest crop production and of marketing of forest products are also included.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Forest research at experimental forests and ranges, and for for- eign countries.....	905	870	870
Cooperative work (trust fund): Re- search investigations.....	651	700	700
<b>DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE</b>			
Business economics and statistics:			
Advancements and reimburse- ments: Economic research in water resource development....			
Bureau of the Census:	456	456	500
Salaries and expenses:			
Operating costs: Research and development.....	516	713	713

**Research and development.** This is conducted on survey methods and techniques, including sample survey methods and theory, questionnaire design, response errors, equipment design and utilization, computer editing, analytical techniques, including techniques of geographic analysis, and administrative operations for the purpose of increasing accuracy, output, and usefulness of statistical data per unit of cost.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Science and technology, Environ- mental Science Services Adminis- tration:			
Research and development:			
Weather forecasts and warnings.....	11,235	11,896	12,559
River and flood forecasts and warnings.....	725	802	818
Earth description, map- ping, and charting.....	1,738	1,948	2,090
Marine description, map- ping, and charting.....	2,854	3,192	3,351
Telecommunications and space services.....	6,408	5,591	5,838
Environmental satellite.....	2,562	2,726	2,775
Total program costs.....	25,522	26,155	27,431
Depreciation included above.....	-1,590	-1,500	-1,500
Total program costs, funded.....	23,932	24,655	25,931
Change in selected resources.....	557	1,053	75
Total obligations.....	24,489	25,708	26,006

**Weather forecasts and warnings.** This consists of meteorological research and development designed to improve the weather forecasting and warning services by gaining a fuller understanding of the composition, dynamics, and circulation of the atmosphere by developing better instrumentation and techniques for weather observing and forecasting. The 1970 increases provide for extension of forecasting and data gathering programs to a worldwide scale.

**River and flood forecasts and warnings.** This includes research and development for further improvements in river and flood forecasting services and development of specialized equipment related to forecasts and water resources services. The 1970 increase provides for data acquisition system studies.

**Earth description, mapping, and charting.** This includes research directed toward understanding the intricate processes and phenomena of the solid earth, such as geomagnetic observations, seismological studies, preparation of warnings of seismological events, determining the size and shape of the earth, and improvement in the aeronautical charting program. The 1970 increase provides for automation of aeronautics chart production.

**Marine description, mapping, and charting.** This includes research directed toward the further improvement of oceanographic data systems and nautical charting systems leading to understanding of ocean properties and processes, including ocean and environment interaction. The 1970 increase provides for development of improved capability for ocean-atmosphere interaction studies.

**Telecommunications and space services.** This includes research leading to improved understanding of the propagation of radio and light waves, directed toward improvement in predictions of propagation conditions, warnings of electromagnetic disturbances, and effective use of radio and light waves for telecommunications.

**Environmental satellite.** This provides for research in the environmental satellite program to determine the most beneficial method of data selection, collection, and use by operational programs. The 1970 increase will provide for expanded efforts to develop additional satellite sensors.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Research and development (special foreign currency program):			
Weather forecasts and warnings, River and flood forecasts and warnings.....	64	176	145
Earth description, mapping, and charting.....	53	205	85
Marine description, mapping, and charting.....	4	142	125
Telecommunications and space services.....	119	61	145
Environmental satellite.....	3	44	100
Total program costs.....	243	628	675
Change in selected resources.....	-70	96	-75
Total obligations.....	173	724	600

The special foreign currency program utilizes foreign currencies, which are excess to the normal requirements of the United States, to supplement domestic research and development activities and to encourage greater international cooperation in environmental research and allied sciences. The program consists essentially of a succession of individual projects which fluctuate from year to year. These are conducted under contract by foreign government agencies, universities, and other research organizations, to support current Environmental Science Services Administration requirements. The program planned for 1970 includes:

**Weather forecasts and warnings.** Study of agricultural potential of arid areas where rainfall amounts are marginal and studies of techniques for regional analysis and prediction of marine environmental factors.

**River and flood forecasts and warnings.** Studies of meteorological characteristics of watersheds and river basins for use in developing hydrologic models and improving river forecasting techniques.

**Earth description, mapping, and charting.** Studies of the earth's magnetic field and its secular changes, and studies of energy dissipated along fault lines as compared with the latent energy which is built up in other areas.

**Marine description, mapping, and charting.** Studies leading to a better understanding of the large scale motions of the ocean system and its interaction with the atmosphere.

**Telecommunications and space services.** Studies of the influence of water vapor, irregular terrain, climate, and weather on radio wave propagation.

**Environmental satellite.** Utilization of satellite data in studies of meteorology, geomagnetism, ionospheric physics, and radio propagation.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
National Bureau of Standards:			
Research and Technical Services:			
Standards missions:			
Basic measurements and standards.....	10,410	11,806	12,965
Reference materials.....	2,926	3,172	3,406
Standard reference data.....	1,756	1,860	2,200
Data on properties of matter and materials.....	10,684	12,170	12,472
Technological standards.....	3,175	3,774	4,650
Special central missions:			
Computer science and technology.....	1,621	1,872	2,142
Federal clearinghouse.....	1,164	1,262	1,279
Invention and innovation.....	168	184	186
Total program costs, funded.....	31,904	36,100	39,300
Change in selected resources.....	379	800	
Total obligations.....	32,283	36,100	40,100

The proposed increase will strengthen the Bureau's program, principally with regard to the central core of the physical measurement system, materials measurements and standards, including the Standard Reference Data System, technological measurements and standards, including particularly fire research and safety and research into the flammability of fabrics, and automatic data processing research. It will provide also the first major budget increment needed to implement the Metric System Study Act.

**Basic measurements and standards.** This includes research, development, analysis or specifications relating to standards for physical measurement; method of precise measurement of physical quantities; and precise values of fundamental physical constants suitable for tying measurement systems together. Most of the work in this subactivity deals with a basic core of 50 physical quantities such as length, electric current, temperature, sound pressure, etc., which are fundamental to all physical measurements and for which a standard representing unit magnitude is maintained. Each quantity must be measured over a very wide range from very large to very small magnitudes, and at each magnitude it must be measurable as accurately as the current state of technology requires.

The increase budgeted will be applied to help meet the increasing demands of our technologically oriented society to extend the range and improve the accuracy of the measurement of many of these basic quantities. The greatest emphasis is planned for measurements of length, frequency, pressure, temperature, and for electrical and magnetic quantities in the higher frequency ranges.

**Reference materials.** This includes description and development of methods of description of the essential features of composition and structure of selected materials which govern their behavior in technologically important environments, preparation and development of methods to prepare materials of precisely known composition and structure, and preparation of reproducible, stable sample materials for use as measurement standards and as specimens in the measurement of behavioral characteristics under given conditions.

The increase in 1970 will be used to prepare and characterize research or reference materials including samples of polymers, pure crystals, and alloys containing known trace amounts of impurities, and reference samples of biologically important compounds.

**Standard reference data.** This includes programs arising as a result of the Bureau's responsibility for developing a Standard Reference Data System and other programs concerned with standards reference data. Work is directed toward systematically obtaining from the scientific and technical literature and evaluating critically numerical data in the physical sciences needed by scientists and engineers. These data are the numbers that describe the properties of nature, the strengths of high temperature materials, the masses of atoms, the rates of chemical reactions, the wavelengths of light in emission spectra, and many others. Programs involve analysis of needs, acquisition of data from all available sources, critical evaluation, and compilation of data for dissemination.

**Data on properties of matter and materials.** Data concerning the behavioral characteristics of matter and materials is generated in areas of technology where urgently needed and not readily attainable elsewhere. This program is a major resource for research scientists and design engineers in areas such as electronics, polymers, metallurgy, ceramics, communications, defense, and nuclear energy.

The increase will be applied to the acquisition of data in fields where the need is most critical with particular attention to infrared wavelengths as potential frequency standards, mechanical characteristics of glass and polymer composites, and measurements of the heat released in reactions involving very small amounts of materials.

**Technological standards.** This includes research and development of test methods and standards of performance which serve as a basis for specifications, standards, and codes pertaining to materials, products, and systems used in industry and commerce; participation in technical committees for standardizing bodies such as the United States of America Standards Institute; administration of procedures for voluntary industrial standardization; participation in international standardization activities; and provision of information services pertaining to standardization activities.

The increase will be used to implement the provisions of the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1968, and for research on flammability of fabrics, building technology, and research on methods of analysis of technical problems.

**Computer science and technology.** This includes technical activities of the Bureau aimed at improving the effective utilization by Government of automatic data processing equipment and computer-based data processing and information-handling systems. It includes, but is not limited to, investigation, design, and evaluation of complete systems, and the rendering of advice, consultation, and technical assistance to agencies of the Federal Government in connection with the design, selection, acquisition, and utilization of such systems. Closely connected with these technical activities are the following: providing technical leadership for and monitoring the Federal Government's participation in the development, measurement, and testing of voluntary commercial automatic data processing standards in a manner consonant with Government requirements for a compatible complex of equipments, languages, and practices; determining the need for and recommending establishment of uniform Federal standards where necessary to supplement voluntary commercial standards; and maintaining a specialized information service in support of all of the foregoing activities.

The increase will be devoted to development of standards for automatic data processing in the Federal Government and to research supporting standards development.

**Federal clearinghouse.** The Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information provides the following services: Collection of all technical reports generated by the Federal Government except those withheld for reasons of military security; indexing, reproducing, abstracting, announcing, and distributing these reports; analyzing, evaluating, and digesting contents of these reports and providing for special dissemination to regional centers and industries; and maintaining a clearinghouse for foreign technical translations.

**Invention and innovation.** This includes programs related to the Bureau's broad mission which serve either to encourage invention and innovation or to encourage the greater use of technology by Government and industry.

The research program financed by this appropriation provides a capability and competence for many services performed by the Bureau for the Government, science, industry, and commerce, including, for example, publication of scientific information; calibration of measuring instruments; tests of materials, products, or systems; production and sale of standard reference materials; consul-

tation and advice on scientific or technical problems; and specialized research on specific technical problems of other Federal agencies.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Research and Technical Services</b> (Special foreign currency program):			
Standards missions:			
Basic measurements and standards.....	40	32	23
Standard reference data.....	124	105	105
Reference materials.....	75	209	514
Technological standards.....	50	54	275
Total program costs, funded.....	289	400	917
Change in selected resources.....	155	500	-417
Total obligations.....	444	900	500

The responsibilities of the Bureau for basic and applied research, improvement of standards, collection and dissemination of standard reference data, and the certification and distribution of standard reference materials are of sufficient breadth to encourage utilization of research capabilities in other countries. The foreign currency program supplements the Bureau's existing program, allows an acceleration of research effort in selected areas, and permits economies to the Bureau's regular appropriations over the long term.

Foreign currencies determined by the Treasury Department to be excess to normal requirements of the United States will be used in non-Soviet bloc countries where scientific talent is available to augment the in-house capabilities of the Bureau in the areas of standard reference materials, standard reference data, and technological standards.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Civilian industrial technology:</b>			
Support of industrial research (program costs, funded).....	222	138	-----
Change in selected resources.....	-83	-99	-----
Total obligations.....	139	39	-----

This program assists the textile and apparel industries in developing and making more deliberate and extensive use of scientific and technological resources for economic growth.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Working capital fund: Technical program:</b>			
Standards missions.....	46,149	50,783	53,554
Special central missions.....	8,517	9,560	9,621
Miscellaneous services.....	1,763	1,575	1,575

**Technical program.** Research and technical services are conducted upon request of other Government agencies and the public, as well as in support of the Bureau's own research program.

The 1970 program calls for an expansion of the previous activity level to improve the competitive position of the United States merchant marine and maritime industries. The Government-industry cooperative program will concentrate on advanced shipping systems, development of intermodal transportation, modernization of cargo handling methods and similar technological advancements.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Ocean shipping:</b>			
Maritime Administration:			
Research and development:			
Advanced shipping systems.....	427	1,692	3,451
Joint surface effect ship program.....	2,420	3,333	-----
Technological development.....	1,244	1,417	6,031
Technology support.....	92	350	1,281
Administrative expenses.....	871	982	-----
Total program costs, funded.....	5,054	7,774	10,763
Change in selected resources.....	900	219	-3,063
Total obligations.....	5,954	7,993	7,700

**Advanced shipping systems.** This activity provides for long-range research directed at the conceptual system approach to cargo movement, and will provide new and more competitive shipping concepts, tools, and systems.

**Technological development.** Research under this activity is aimed at resolving maritime problems affecting the development and operation of ships, ports, feeders, and their interfaces.

**Technology support.** This activity is directed at increasing the basic knowledge of marine science disciplines, improving industry's understanding of existing and ongoing maritime related research and resolving the attendant economic problems involved in ship operation.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Salaries and expenses: Research and development administration.....</b>	794	893	1,000

**Research and development administration.** This provides for the cost of technical and administrative support required for research and development type contractual activity. An increase in funds has been requested to support the expansion of the research program.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Advances and reimbursements:</b>			
Maritime Administration: Research and development.....	95	106	-----

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—MILITARY

**Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation.** The programs funded in this title provide the Department of Defense with scientific and technological capabilities for the development, test, evaluation, and improvement of weapon systems and related equipment and techniques. Many investigative and engineering activities are performed, including scientific research of defense interest, design and fabrication of weapons and equipment for the future, and testing of these items to evaluate their military utility. This work is performed by Government laboratories, universities, industrial contractors, and nonprofit organizations.

The Nation's strategic forces are being enhanced by continued development and improvement of the Air Force's Minuteman

and the Navy's Poseidon ballistic missile systems and the Army's Sentinel antiballistic missile system. Other major strategic programs include the advanced manned strategic aircraft which enters design competition in 1970, and several air-to-surface missiles which reach full-scale development. An airborne warning and control system, designed to improve continental air defense, begins engineering development in 1970.

Some of the major development efforts contributing to future general purpose and tactical warfare forces include the Navy F-14 fleet air defense fighter/interceptor, the Air Force F-15 tactical air superiority fighter and the VSX antisubmarine warfare aircraft. The advanced surface missile system to enhance fleet air defense enters engineering development. Design of a new guided missile frigate is proposed, as is design of a new submarine. Other developments in 1970 will substantially increase interdiction, air mobility, counterinsurgency, antisubmarine warfare, and land air defense capabilities.

Systems nearing completion of development in 1970 include the C-5A transport aircraft, the Cheyenne armed helicopter, and the Dragon antitank and Standard anti-radiation missiles.

Vigorous support of important applied sciences, such as biomedicine, materials, and social and behavioral research, continues in 1970. The Themis program is aimed at providing sound research in support of Defense needs and establishing new centers of research excellence at the Nations' universities.

The estimated obligations under appropriations in this title for the Army, Navy, Air Force, Defense Agencies, and the emergency fund are summarized below.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Military sciences.....	540,791	575,828	632,541
Aircraft and related equipment.....	1,208,554	996,856	1,338,617
Missiles and related equipment.....	2,506,858	2,464,683	2,484,918
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	1,073,563	1,178,553	1,152,238
Ships, small craft, and related equipment.....	257,832	342,400	345,500
Ordnance, combat ve- hicles, and related equipment.....	322,361	324,400	303,200
Other equipment.....	1,129,114	1,232,104	1,332,233
Programwide management and support.....	420,804	486,711	523,053
Emergency fund.....		49,005	50,000
Total direct obliga- tions.....	7,459,877	7,650,540	8,162,300

**Military sciences.** This activity supports research in the physical, mathematical, environmental, engineering, biomedical, behavioral, and social sciences, adding to the store of fundamental scientific knowledge and leading to applications of potential military significance. Examples of phenomena of special interest include deep submergence biomedicine, boundary layer turbulence, propulsion and explosive chemistry, superconductivity, electro-optics, acoustics, and information processing.

The principal support for such organizations as the Naval Research Laboratory, the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratory, and some of the Federal contract research centers, is also provided here. In addition to the amounts directly provided for in this activity, basic and applied research is also performed by industrial contractors supported by certain allowable indirect costs which may be allowed under contracts funded by both the research, development, test, and evaluation and procurement appropriations.

**Aircraft and related equipment.** This activity funds research, development, test, and

evaluation related to airframes, engines, and other installed equipment. Major programs in 1970 include continuing full-scale development of an initial and follow-on version of the Navy F-14 fleet air defense fighter/interceptor, the Air Force F-15 advanced tactical air superiority fighter, the VSX antisubmarine warfare aircraft, and the completion of development of the F-111A strike aircraft, the C-5A transport, and the Cheyenne armed helicopter. The advanced manned strategic aircraft, the utility tactical transport aircraft system and a new heavy lift helicopter are entering initial stages of development in 1970.

In addition, the program supports development of components and subsystems to improve existing aircraft, demonstrator engines, V/STOL technology, better avionics equipment, improved airborne ASW detection capability and applied research in flight dynamics and advanced aircraft propulsion systems. Research and development centers, such as laboratories, are funded here.

**Missiles and related equipment.** This activity provides for research, development, test, and evaluation of missile systems of all types. The strategic ballistic missile systems, Poseidon and Minuteman, remain high-priority programs. Development of both the Sentinel antiballistic missile system as well as other antiballistic missile system concepts and subsystems will be pursued to assure maximum effectiveness of both retaliatory and defensive systems. Tactical interdiction missile systems, such as the Maverick air-to-surface missile, continue in development, as does exploration of concepts leading toward advanced strike weapons. Also under continuing development are tactical air defense missile systems for protection of both land-based and sea-based forces, with increased emphasis being placed on the problems of defending ships against cruise missiles.

In addition to funding contracts with industry in the missile research and development program, this activity is a major source of financial support for the operation of certain test and evaluation facilities, such as the Eastern and Western Test Ranges, the White Sands Missile Range, the Naval Weapons Center at China Lake, and the research and development programs at the Army's Redstone Arsenal.

**Military astronautics and related equipment.** This activity provides for programs directed toward the improvement of space technology for military purposes and investigations and development of specific military applications of space vehicles. Major programs include the manned orbiting laboratory, military communications satellite systems, ballistic missiles early warning, and the Titan III launch vehicle. Support of flight experiment programs and ground based applied research and technology development programs in such areas as bioastronautics, secondary power sources, navigation, guidance, sensor, reentry, and propulsion systems will continue. Both contractual and in-house efforts relating to space technology are funded from this activity.

**Ships, small craft, and related equipment.** This activity provides for design of new types of ships and for development of shipboard equipment. Funds are requested in 1970 for contract definition of a new guided missile frigate ship and design of a new class of submarines. Antisubmarine warfare is receiving increased emphasis, with the development of new and improvement of existing sensors in this activity along with mission related aircraft, weapons, and communications equipment under other activities. Development of improved ship antimissile defense systems, exploration of advanced surface craft concepts, development of command and control equipment and improvement of

nuclear and nonnuclear propulsion plants, are also included. A significant portion of the effort at the Naval Ships Research and Development Center is funded under this activity.

**Ordnance, combat vehicles, and related equipment.** This activity provides for the development, test, and evaluation of improved artillery, guns, rocket launchers, mortars, small arms, mines, grenades, torpedoes, depth charges, conventional air-launched weapons, combat vehicles, and landing craft, as well as exploration and evaluation of new fuzes, propellants, explosives, detonators, dispensers, and armor. Systems contributing to increased mobility, improved firepower, and counterinfiltration in limited and unconventional warfare in remote areas continue to receive major attention. The principal support for research and development activities at several Army arsenals and for the Naval Ordnance Laboratory is funded here.

**Other equipment.** This activity provides for research, development, test, and evaluation of equipment not separately provided for under other activities. Examples of the types of equipment developed for the three services are as follows: deep submergence systems for personnel rescue and underwater research, chemical and biological agent detection and protective devices, combat clothing, night vision and imaging devices, tactical data processing systems, communications and electronic warfare equipment, improved logistics and materiel handling, mapping and geodetic systems, and improved oceanographic instrumentation. Major programs supported by this activity include the airborne warning and control system and the Mallard communication system. Much of the support for the research and development effort at the Army Electronic Research and Development Laboratories, the Mitre Corporation, and the Lincoln Laboratories is provided under this activity.

**Programwide management and support.** For the Army and the Navy, this activity provides for those costs of operation, management, and maintenance of research, development, and test facilities which are not distributed directly to other budget activities. For the Air Force it provides for certain costs of central administration such as the Air Force Systems Command headquarters and divisions as well as several large research, development, test, and evaluation centers.

**Emergency fund.** The emergency fund enables the Secretary of Defense to support the exploitation of new scientific developments and technological breakthroughs and to provide for other unforeseen contingencies in the research, development, test, and evaluation programs.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Research, development, test, and evaluation, Army:			
Direct:			
Military sciences.....	163,050	172,200	182,500
Aircraft and related equipment.....	124,029	132,300	128,800
Missiles and related equipment.....	668,321	745,400	884,600
Military astronautics and related equip- ment.....	9,989	10,500	13,400
Ships, small craft, and related equip- ment.....	638	400	500
Ordnance, combat vehicles, and re- lated equipment.....	167,607	170,400	193,200
Other equipment.....	327,891	359,500	366,100
Programwide manage- ment and support.....	34,196	53,000	52,900
Total direct.....	1,495,721	1,643,700	1,822,000

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Research, development, test, and evaluation, Army—Continued</b>			
Reimbursable:			
Military sciences.....	8,820	10,000	13,500
Aircraft and related equipment.....	3,822	5,600	2,800
Missiles and related equipment.....	16,188	15,400	18,100
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	696	270	370
Ships, small craft and related equipment.....	30	30	30
Ordnance combat vehicles and related equipment.....	8,395	18,600	19,600
Other equipment.....	20,516	27,800	28,000
Programwide management and support.....	3,197	3,300	3,600
<b>Total reimbursable.....</b>	<b>61,644</b>	<b>81,000</b>	<b>86,000</b>
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>1,557,385</b>	<b>1,724,700</b>	<b>1,908,000</b>
<b>Research, development, test, and evaluation, Navy:</b>			
Direct:			
Military sciences.....	141,258	149,000	160,000
Aircraft and related equipment.....	283,564	385,000	580,000
Missiles and related equipment.....	776,345	702,000	552,000
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	14,863	18,000	23,000
Ships, small craft, and related equipment.....	257,194	342,000	345,000
Ordnance, combat vehicles, and related equipment.....	154,754	154,000	110,000
Other equipment.....	249,364	232,000	282,000
Programwide management and support.....	99,238	133,000	152,000
<b>Total direct.....</b>	<b>1,976,580</b>	<b>2,115,000</b>	<b>2,204,000</b>
Reimbursable:			
Military sciences.....	5,535	8,000	8,000
Aircraft and related equipment.....	127	200	200
Missiles and related equipment.....	15,519	34,000	28,000
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	371	400	400
Ships, small craft, and related equipment.....	18,922	18,000	18,000
Ordnance, combat vehicles, and related equipment.....	124	200	200
Other equipment.....	2,069	4,000	4,000
Programwide management and support.....	229,402	230,200	230,200
<b>Total reimbursable.....</b>	<b>272,069</b>	<b>295,000</b>	<b>289,000</b>
Subtotal.....	2,248,649	2,410,000	2,493,000
Intrafund obligations.....	-134,108	-135,000	-135,000
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>2,114,541</b>	<b>2,275,000</b>	<b>2,358,000</b>
<b>Research, development, test, and evaluation, Air Force Direct:</b>			
Military sciences.....	143,899	150,528	159,541
Aircraft and related equipment.....	793,433	478,356	629,817
Missiles and related equipment.....	950,643	946,283	975,318
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	1,046,575	1,147,253	1,112,738
Other equipment.....	282,902	389,104	403,733
Programwide management and support.....	277,505	289,211	308,153
<b>Total direct.....</b>	<b>3,494,957</b>	<b>3,400,735</b>	<b>3,589,300</b>
Reimbursable:			
Military sciences.....	12,388	25,214	22,995
Aircraft and related equipment.....	6,195	2,382	1,523
Missiles and related equipment.....	73,334	100,195	101,450
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	88,813	81,690	75,115
Other equipment.....	7,666	6,326	7,898
Programwide management and support.....	16,204	14,193	21,019
<b>Total reimbursable.....</b>	<b>204,600</b>	<b>230,000</b>	<b>230,000</b>
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>3,699,557</b>	<b>3,630,735</b>	<b>3,819,300</b>

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Research, development, test, and evaluation, Defense agencies:</b>			
Direct:			
Military sciences.....	92,584	104,100	130,500
Aircraft and related equipment.....	7,528	1,200	-----
Missiles and related equipment.....	111,549	71,000	73,000
Military astronautics and related equipment.....	2,136	2,800	3,100
Other equipment.....	268,957	251,500	280,400
Programwide management and support.....	9,865	11,500	10,000
<b>Total direct.....</b>	<b>492,619</b>	<b>442,100</b>	<b>497,000</b>
Reimbursable:			
Military sciences.....	385	550	550
Aircraft and related equipment.....	69	-----	-----
Missiles and related equipment.....	1,150	2,050	2,050
Other equipment.....	573	6,300	6,300
Programwide management and support.....	2	100	100
<b>Total reimbursable.....</b>	<b>2,179</b>	<b>9,000</b>	<b>9,000</b>
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>494,798</b>	<b>451,100</b>	<b>506,000</b>
Emergency fund, Defense:			
Research and development contingencies (reserve for transfer) (obligations).....			
		49,005	50,000
Civil defense:			
Research, shelter survey, and marking:			
Direct: Research and development.....			
	7,320	5,350	5,000
Reimbursable: Research and development.....			
	30	30	30

**Research and development.** This provides for improvement of the technical basis for ongoing and potential future civil defense programs and operations. Emphasis in 1970 will be directed toward providing a basis for evaluating the cost, effectiveness, and feasibility of future programs in relation to the Sentinel ballistic missile defense system and other strategic offensive and defensive systems. Continued emphasis will also be given to research on radiation shielding, fire problems, emergency medical care, and post-attack problems.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Special foreign currency program:</b>			
Research.....	601	4,055	1,840
<b>Revolving and management funds:</b>			
Navy Industrial Fund: Research.....	175,445	204,200	211,511
Air Force Industrial Fund: Research activities.....	52,045	50,855	-----
<b>DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—CIVIL</b>			
<b>Department of the Army:</b>			
General investigations:			
Research and development:			
Coastal engineering research and development studies.....			
	1,770	3,080	3,300
Hydrologic studies.....			
	228	232	235
Civil works investigations.....			
	2,609	3,361	4,100
Mississippi Basin model:			
Construction.....			
	8	6	-----
Maintenance.....			
	174	164	60
Mississippi River comprehensive studies.....			
	219	177	40
Nuclear explosives studies for civil construction.....			
	1,399	2,513	2,400
International hydrological decade.....			
	62	111	495

**Research and development.** Coastal engineering research and development studies deal with physical phenomena, techniques, basic principles, and remedial or control measures, related to shore protection and improvement.

Hydrologic studies include investigations of storms, rainfall, streamflow, sedimenta-

tion, and other phenomena to provide basic data used in the design, construction, and operation of water control structures.

Civil works investigations are made to improve procedures for analysis of hydrologic and engineering data, refine design methods, develop better materials and practices for the construction and maintenance of hydraulic structures, and improve procedures used in formulating plans for water resources development.

The Mississippi River Basin model is being utilized to improve operation of the reservoir system in the basin and to study potential flood levels on the lower river. Funds requested will be used for maintenance of the model and completion of the reports on comprehensive model tests.

Nuclear explosive studies for civil construction are carried out as part of a joint research program with the Atomic Energy Commission. The objective is to develop an engineering capability to use nuclear explosives in construction of public works projects. The Corps of Engineers has primary responsibility for chemical explosive experiments and development of engineering, construction, and cost data.

The International Hydrological Decade (1965-1974) is a joint effort by some 100 countries to advance scientific knowledge of water to meet the growing demands for this resource more effectively. The Corps of Engineers component of the United States effort will be largely devoted to preparing for and conducting studies relative to the International Field Year on the Great Lakes in cooperation with Canada.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE</b>			
<b>Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service: Food and drug control: Scientific research and evaluation:</b>			
Grants.....	870	870	870
Direct operations.....	15,320	15,508	15,969

**Scientific research and evaluation. Grants.** This activity awards research grants to State agencies and other qualified investigators to promote the study of pesticide-caused hazards. **Direct operations.** Biological and chemical research is conducted intramurally and through contracts, to support the agency's regulatory mission. Regulations are developed and promulgated for pesticide residue tolerances and exemptions, food additives, color additives, and food standards; scientific evaluations are made of the submissions required by those regulations and of the labeling of hazardous products. Methods and bases for the evaluation of petitions and the establishment of tolerances are developed. Scientific activities of the agency are coordinated, and a scientific information system is maintained. A facility has been established in the field to support regulatory activities through expeditious analysis of drug samples.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Air pollution control: Research, development, and demonstration:</b>			
Grants and contracts.....	7,614	24,701	31,300
Direct operations.....	14,327	20,943	22,033

**Research, development, and demonstration. Grants and contracts.** Grants are made to public agencies and communities for surveys to assess their air pollution problems and to demonstrate control techniques. Grants are

also awarded to universities and other non-profit institutions to conduct research into air pollution problems. Contracts relating to fuels and vehicles are used to accelerate research and development into new and improved methods, having industrywide application, for the prevention and control of air pollution resulting from the combustion of fuels. *Direct operations.* This activity includes research into the nature and extent of air pollution; its transport and atmospheric behavior; the effects on humans, other biological systems, property, and the atmosphere itself; and improvement in means for controlling pollution. The 1970 program will continue and expand the ongoing research in the three principal areas of automotive vehicle emissions, sulfur oxides pollution, and development of air quality criteria, and will place primary emphasis on research areas designated for special attention by the Air Quality Act of 1967. These include accelerated research into new and improved methods, having industrywide application, for the prevention and control of air pollution from the combustion of fuels; development of air quality criteria and emission control techniques as preliminary to subsequent application and regulatory enforcement measures; a comprehensive economic cost study; and a program of registration by manufacturers and processors of all additives placed in fuels used for combustion.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Buildings and facilities:</b>			
Solid waste research facility.....		2	
Arctic health research center animal facility.....	84	1,049	
Arctic health research center.....	150	52	
Research laboratory No. 1.....	25	4,593	
Research laboratory No. 2.....		700	250
<b>HEALTH SERVICES AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION</b>			
<b>Mental health, support and conduct of research: Grants:</b>			
Research.....	72,306	81,159	82,273
Hospital improvement.....	10,491	10,610	8,000
Early child care demonstrations.....			1,000
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Intramural research.....	14,625	17,339	18,259
Planning, development, and administration.....	3,262	5,070	5,775
<b>Total, support and conduct of research.....</b>	<b>100,684</b>	<b>114,178</b>	<b>115,307</b>

*Support and conduct of research. Grants. Research.* Grants are awarded on a project basis for behavioral, clinical, psychological, and applied research in the area of mental health. Clinical research centers and general research support grants are also supported from this subactivity. *Hospital improvement.* These project grants to State institutions for the mentally ill are designed to improve the quality of care, treatment, and rehabilitation in these institutions. *Early child care demonstrations.* These grants are designed to demonstrate and evaluate various methods of contributing to early, healthy child development and preventing emotional disturbances and mental illness among young children from poor and culturally deprived families. *Direct operations. Intramural research.* Laboratory and clinical research is conducted in the behavioral and biologic sciences; e.g., psychiatry, socioeconomic studies, neurobiology, and neurochemistry. Additionally there is laboratory and clinical research in special mental health problems of neuropharmacology, clinical psychopharmacology, narcotic addiction, and alcoholism. *Planning, development, and administration.* This subactivity supports the planning, development, and administration of grant and contract programs in behavioral sciences re-

search, applied research, clinical research, and psychopharmacological research. It also includes those multidisciplinary programs which focus and coordinate the Institute's efforts in special areas of concern, such as alcoholism, suicide prevention, crime and delinquency, schizophrenia, and the mental health of children and families.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>St. Elizabeths Hospital:</b>			
Operating costs: Research.....	469	585	
Capital outlay: Research.....	25	35	

St. Elizabeth's Hospital conducts or cooperates with others in scientific research activities dealing with mental illness.

Effective October 30, 1968, St. Elizabeth's Hospital was reorganized as the National Center for Mental Health Services, Training, and Research. The goal of the new organization, among other things, is to accelerate research efforts to provide a better understanding of mental illness.

*Research.* Funds in this activity support the Division of Clinical Research of the National Center which carries our coordinated research programs for the purpose of obtaining a better understanding of the causes of mental disorders, and of the factors bearing upon their development, treatment, and possible prevention.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Health services research and development:</b>			
Studies, training, and systems development:			
Grants and contracts.....	25,641	37,362	40,672
Direct operations.....	2,755	2,703	3,312
Program direction and management services.....	369	857	991
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>28,765</b>	<b>40,922</b>	<b>44,975</b>
Change in selected resources.....	1,905		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>30,670</b>	<b>40,922</b>	<b>44,975</b>

The National Center for Health Services Research and Development has the general mission of working with the providers of health services to build a research and development capability that will continuously improve health services for the benefit of all people.

*Grants and contracts. Research.* Grants and contracts are awarded to organizations, institutions, and individuals for carrying out research investigations dealing with the organization, financing, utilization, quality, availability, and delivery of health services. *Training and fellowships.* Grants are awarded to institutions and to qualified scholars for supporting research training programs in the health services field.

*Direct operations.* This activity provides staff with the operational capability for both extramural and intramural research programs. The activity permits utilization of Federal direct health services and federally funded programs for the disadvantaged for the development, testing, and demonstration of improved health services techniques, and also the strengthening of research and development in such areas as economic analysis, the improvement of health service institutions, and manpower utilization. The 1970 increase will provide for additional specialized staff to concentrate on the above areas. It will also provide for consultative services associated with the center's program and to develop research training programs in universities and other appropriate settings. *Program direction and management serv-*

ices. This includes top management and staff services for the national center, including central management services.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Advances and reimbursements:</b>			
Health services research and development.....	28		
Research grants.....	1,250	1,275	1,337
<b>NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH</b>			
<b>A distribution of obligations for research follows:</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	617,086	616,812	634,166
Regular.....	(461,327)	(454,363)	(464,165)
Special.....	(101,542)	(109,504)	(116,364)
General research support <sup>1</sup> .....	(54,217)	(52,945)	(53,637)
Fellowships.....	52,192	56,287	53,582
Training.....	134,951	141,440	136,418
<b>Total, grants.....</b>	<b>804,229</b>	<b>814,539</b>	<b>824,166</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	77,760	85,554	89,161
Collaborative research and development.....	111,787	121,306	127,400
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	9,018	9,550	9,958
Review and approval of grants.....	17,629	18,904	19,914
Other.....	25,211	28,699	29,177
<b>Total, direct operations.....</b>	<b>241,405</b>	<b>264,013</b>	<b>275,610</b>
<b>Facility planning and construction.....</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>500</b>
<b>Total, research institutes and divisions.....</b>	<b>1,045,635</b>	<b>1,079,052</b>	<b>1,099,776</b>

<sup>1</sup> Excludes the National Institute of Mental Health's share which totals \$5,483,000, \$7,755,000 and \$7,863,000, respectively. (Thousands already added.)

*Grants. Research.* Research grants constitute the principal activity of the research institutes and divisions of the National Institutes of Health. Regular grants are awarded to individuals for health related research projects, following their review for scientific merit and relevance by discipline-oriented and disease-oriented study groups, and their approval by disease-oriented national advisory councils. Grants are also awarded to support various special programs designed to enhance the Nation's capability to conduct research and research training; these include the support of clinical and specialized research centers. All institutes provide funds for general research support grants which are awarded to institutions to strengthen their overall biomedical research program. These grants are of two types: A formula grant which provides funds in proportion to the institution's involvement in biomedical research; and a project grant aimed at expanding the number of outstanding academic research institutions engaged in biomedical research throughout the Nation. *Fellowships.* Fellowships are awarded to individuals in order to increase research manpower in the medical sciences. There are several different types of awards, such as predoctoral, postdoctoral, research career development awards, and foreign research fellowships, each designed to support a specific phase in the development of a research scientist. *Training.* Training grants are awarded on the basis of competitive review to various academic or research institutions which have demonstrated the ability to design and conduct successful training programs in one or more of the biomedical sciences.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** The research institutes and divisions conduct research activities within their own laboratories and in a commonly shared clinical center facility. **Collaborative research and development.** Collaborative research and development programs are conducted by National Institutes of Health investigators in collaboration with other Federal and non-Federal institutions largely through contracts. These programs are strongly oriented toward the solution of specific health problems in certain categorical areas where the state of knowledge is sufficiently advanced to permit a more targeted approach. Included are such directed activities as the development of artificial organs, vaccines, and chemotherapeutic agents. **Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.** Data relating to the incidence of disease in various population groups and regions of the world are collected and analyzed with the tools of modern statistics. **Other.** Additional activities under direct operations include international research, computer research and technology, and biologics standards. Funds are also included for program direction, research support and service activities, and review and approval of grants.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	79,163	80,052	80,488
Fellowships.....	4,019	4,374	4,201
Training.....	11,050	11,641	11,186
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>94,232</b>	<b>96,067</b>	<b>95,875</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	15,082	16,114	11,778
Collaborative research and development.....	66,719	64,380	66,102
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	1,265	1,380	1,565
Review and approval.....	2,427	2,459	2,598
Program direction.....	1,079	1,019	1,084
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>86,572</b>	<b>85,352</b>	<b>88,527</b>
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>180,804</b>	<b>181,419</b>	<b>184,402</b>
Change in selected resources.....	-4,897		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>175,907</b>	<b>181,419</b>	<b>184,402</b>

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants and specialized research centers. **Fellowships.** Postdoctoral and special fellowships will be supported, as well as career award and career development fellowships. **Training.** Grants are awarded to accredited schools for the improvement of instruction in the curriculum; clinical training grants are awarded for training in such fields as surgery, pathology, radiobiology, radiotherapy, and internal medicine; and grants are awarded to research training centers for individual traineeships.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Research includes laboratory research in the fields of biochemistry, biology, pathology, and physiology and clinical research in the fields of dermatology, endocrinology, immunology, metabolism, and surgery. **Collaborative research and development.** Research is conducted in the areas of etiology and cancer therapy. This activity includes several task forces including breast cancer and lung cancer and the special virus-leukemia program. Research efforts include field studies, investigations, and contracts with public and private organizations and universities for the acquisition, development, and application of new knowledge pertinent to the prevention, control, and treatment of cancer. **Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.** This program is designed to analyze defined populations having unusual risks to

specific cancers or known exposure to high risk environments, in order to reveal statistically significant cause-and-effect associations and disassociations leading to the discovery of etiologic factors and agents.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>NATIONAL HEART INSTITUTE</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	104,825	99,666	101,307
Fellowships.....	6,769	7,604	7,309
Training.....	17,267	18,150	17,442
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	12,017	13,168	13,641
Collaborative research and development.....	10,500	17,354	18,148
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	1,199	1,692	1,724
Training activities.....	142	225	204
Review and approval of grants.....	2,253	2,561	2,723
Program direction.....	652	590	643
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>155,624</b>	<b>161,010</b>	<b>163,141</b>
Change in selected resources.....	5,689		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>161,322</b>	<b>161,010</b>	<b>163,141</b>

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, categorical and specialized research centers, and the heart cooperative drug study. **Fellowships.** Awards will be supported. **Training.** For undergraduate training, funds will provide assistance to schools of medicine, osteopathy, and public health. Funds will also provide for grants for graduate research and clinical training.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Research is conducted to aid in the understanding of the cardiovascular system and its diseases, with emphasis in therapeutic agents, diagnostic instrumentation, surgery, and clinical medicine. **Collaborative research and development.** Funds will support the artificial heart-myocardial infarction program, heart cooperative drug study, and a national blood program. **Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.** This activity conducts and supports epidemiological, biometrics research, and clinical trial studies to seek knowledge of the causes and prevention of cardiovascular disease. Causal factors are sought both by intensive study of "natural experiments" in population groups and by experimental modification of suspected factors. **Training activities.** Inservice training is provided for positions requiring unique combinations of cardiovascular training and experience.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>National Institute of Dental Research:</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	15,521	15,055	15,559
Fellowships.....	1,724	1,795	1,694
Training.....	5,280	5,609	5,390
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>22,525</b>	<b>22,429</b>	<b>22,643</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	4,394	4,687	4,947
Collaborative research and development.....	662	845	942
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	375	431	436
Review and approval of grants.....	608	689	763
Program direction.....	294	338	331
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>6,333</b>	<b>6,990</b>	<b>7,419</b>
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>28,858</b>	<b>29,419</b>	<b>30,062</b>
Change in selected resources.....	169		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>29,027</b>	<b>29,419</b>	<b>30,062</b>

**Grants. Research.** Project grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, clinical research centers, and dental research institutes. **Fellowships.** Fellowships will be supported. **Training.** Grants will be awarded to schools for training individuals for academic teaching and research careers in the various fields of dental science.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Research is conducted in the fields of dental caries, periodontal diseases, growth and development, oral surgery, microbiology, histology, pathology, and biochemistry. **Collaborative research and development.** The programs in this activity are concerned with investigations and contracts with public and private organizations for the accumulation, development, and application of new information related to oral health. **Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.** The programs in this activity are concerned with epidemiologic activities or field studies related to oral diseases and conditions.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases:</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	94,203	91,691	92,289
Fellowships.....	6,574	6,737	6,475
Training.....	15,383	16,109	15,480
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>116,160</b>	<b>114,537</b>	<b>114,244</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	13,774	15,891	15,664
Collaborative research and development.....	4,439	6,498	6,670
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	554	706	712
Review and approval of grants.....	2,101	2,279	2,373
Program direction.....	253	321	305
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>21,121</b>	<b>25,695</b>	<b>25,724</b>
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>137,281</b>	<b>140,232</b>	<b>139,968</b>
Change in selected resources.....	1,617		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>138,898</b>	<b>140,232</b>	<b>139,968</b>

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants and clinical research centers. **Fellowships** will be supported. **Training.** Grants will be awarded to accredited schools for the improvement of instruction.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Research is conducted in the fields of arthritis, rheumatism, diabetes, and other metabolic disorders, as well as studies in the major disciplines including pharmacology, physiology, biochemistry, nutrition, chemistry, pathology, endocrinology, physical biology, molecular biology, chemical biology, gastroenterology, hematology, and biomathematics. **Collaborative research and development.** Collaborative research and development projects are conducted cooperatively and under contract with individuals and institutions, including comprehensive programs in scientific communications, such as the preparation of abstracts on specific areas of research interests; research and development conducted cooperatively and under contract leading to improved methods of hemodialysis and the development of a simpler, more economical and less cumbersome artificial kidney; and projects directed toward the preparation and distribution of hormonal substances. **Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.** Research and epidemiological studies are conducted on arthritis, diabetes, cholecystitis, iodine metabolism, and hyperuremia in special population groups, including long range studies in the Southwestern United States.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke:</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	50,524	59,134	59,506
Fellowships.....	2,694	3,213	3,085
Training.....	11,130	15,659	15,047
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>64,348</b>	<b>78,006</b>	<b>77,638</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	8,488	9,879	10,100
Collaborative research and development.....	9,651	9,742	10,092
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	2,790	3,016	3,028
Training activities.....	66	74	72
Review and approval of grants.....	1,894	2,058	2,114
Program direction.....	579	490	441
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>23,468</b>	<b>25,259</b>	<b>25,847</b>
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>87,816</b>	<b>103,265</b>	<b>103,485</b>
<b>Change in selected resources.....</b>	<b>12,365</b>		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>100,181</b>	<b>103,265</b>	<b>103,485</b>

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, clinical research center grants, and specialized research center grants. *Fellowships.* Fellowships will be supported. *Training.* Graduate training grants will be supported. These grants are made to training institutions to establish and improve programs to train teachers and clinical investigators in neurology, ophthalmology, and otology. Traineeships will be awarded to individuals for specialized postgraduate training.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Research is being conducted on disorders of the brain, and spinal cord and peripheral nerves, such as epilepsy, multiple sclerosis, apoplexy, and Parkinson's disease; on neuromuscular disorders, such as muscular dystrophy; hearing impairment; and the perinatal physiology studies using primates. *Collaborative research and development.* These studies include the coordination and central service activities for the collaborative project on cerebral palsy, mental retardation, and other neurological and sensory disorders of childhood. *Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.* These studies include epidemiological, biometric, and international studies relating to cerebrovascular disease, speech and hearing disorders, and research on viruses and their effect on the central nervous system. *Training activities.* Support is given for inservice training of qualified staff members in subjects related to neurological and other sensory disorders.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS DISEASES</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	58,520	60,185	60,582
Fellowships.....	3,911	4,362	4,191
Training.....	8,856	9,488	9,118
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>71,287</b>	<b>74,035</b>	<b>73,891</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	13,530	14,581	15,182
Collaborative research and development.....	9,677	12,630	12,855
Training activities.....	154	165	155
Review and approval of grants.....	1,394	1,438	1,531
Program direction.....	269	324	308
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>25,024</b>	<b>29,138</b>	<b>30,031</b>
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>96,311</b>	<b>103,173</b>	<b>103,922</b>
<b>Change in selected resources.....</b>	<b>1,919</b>		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>98,230</b>	<b>103,173</b>	<b>103,922</b>

**Grants. Research.** Funds will support grants, including those for the United States-Japan cooperative medical science program. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, clinical research centers, the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory and International Centers for Medical Research and Training. *Fellowships.* Awards will be made for postdoctoral, special, and research career fellowships. *Training.* Funds will provide grants to train individuals in allergy and immunology, tropical medicine, infectious diseases, parasitology, mycology, and rickettsiology.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Laboratory and clinical research is conducted in the broad fields of allergic infections and parasitic diseases. The increase in 1970 provides for expanded research in clinical allergy and immunology, chronic and degenerative, and viral diseases. *Collaborative research and development.* Contracts are programmed in the areas of vaccine development and testing, research reagents development, production and distribution, issue transplantation immunology, and for the geographic medical science program. *Training activities.* This activity provides two-year training of promising young scientists to work abroad as members of the United States biomedical research groups in medical research related to problems of an international nature which cannot ordinarily be undertaken in the U.S.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL SCIENCES</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	83,217	83,717	84,263
Fellowships.....	20,207	21,373	20,040
Training.....	44,729	46,901	45,568
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>148,153</b>	<b>151,991</b>	<b>149,871</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Collaborative research and development.....	3,924	3,295	3,288
Training activities.....	381	449	337
Review and approval of grants.....	2,741	3,125	3,251
Program direction.....	829	1,095	1,056
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>7,875</b>	<b>7,964</b>	<b>7,932</b>
<b>Total program costs, funded.....</b>	<b>156,028</b>	<b>159,955</b>	<b>157,803</b>
<b>Change in selected resources.....</b>	<b>-278</b>		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>155,750</b>	<b>159,955</b>	<b>157,803</b>

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, research and training resources, and research centers in diagnostic radiology and anesthesiology. *Fellowships.* Fellowship awards will be made. *Training.* Grants will be awarded.

**Direct operations. Collaborative research and development.** Studies in the biomedical sciences and supportive areas are conducted by contract with institutions. *Training activities.* This activity supports a program for training pharmacologists and toxicologists.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>National Institute of Child Health and Human Development:</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	36,474	41,679	46,564
Fellowships.....	2,953	4,193	4,027
Training.....	7,272	10,012	9,621
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>46,699</b>	<b>55,884</b>	<b>60,212</b>
<b>Direct operations:</b>			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	5,754	6,065	6,373
Collaborative research and development.....	1,299	3,975	6,721

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>National Institute of Child Health and Human Development—Con.</b>			
<b>Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....</b>			
Training activities.....	89	2,022	2,176
Review and approval of grants.....	1,829	1,956	2,037
Program direction.....	676	809	807
<b>Total direct operations.....</b>	<b>10,128</b>	<b>14,916</b>	<b>18,199</b>
<b>Total program costs funded.....</b>	<b>56,827</b>	<b>70,800</b>	<b>78,411</b>
<b>Change in selected resources.....</b>	<b>9,552</b>		
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>66,379</b>	<b>70,800</b>	<b>78,411</b>

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, clinical research centers, and mental retardation research centers. *Fellowships.* Postdoctoral and special fellowships will be supported. Also, career awards and career development fellowships will be supported. *Training.* Training grants will be supported.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Laboratory and clinical research is conducted in five major program areas of child health and human development. *Reproduction and population research—*reproductive biology, endocrinology, and ecology. *Perinatal biology and infant mortality—*maternal-child interactions; maturation of motor and behavioral systems; nutrition and development. *Growth and development—*neurophysiology, neurochemistry, and nutrition. *Adult development and aging—*cellular biology, biochemistry, physiology, and psychology. *Mental retardation—*biochemistry, neurophysiology, and behavioral research. *Collaborative research and development.* This activity supplements and complements the Institute's intramural research programs. It is one of the most effective ways for coordinating program development in family planning, perinatal biology, growth and development, aging, and mental retardation. The main thrust of the Institute's population research program is accomplished by contract efforts within this activity. Program liaison is maintained and advanced through support of interdisciplinary research conferences and symposia and through scientific information centers. *Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.* Through contracted research, this activity supports the Institute's scientific staff in planning and conducting studies dealing with the incidence, distribution, and control of health problems in certain populations. Efforts are also being made to develop more effective and reliable means for measuring health problems, to collect and analyze health data, and to make statistical studies for use in initiating and evaluating scientific programs. *Training activities.* This activity represents the Institute's career development program designed to help overcome the shortages of professional manpower in pediatrics and obstetrics and the lack of the necessary cross-disciplinary training required in the basic research programs of the Institute.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE</b>			
<b>Grants:</b>			
Research.....	14,086	16,206	19,660
Fellowships.....	354	676	650
Training.....	2,703	3,603	3,462
<b>Total grants.....</b>	<b>17,143</b>	<b>20,485</b>	<b>23,772</b>

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE—</b> Continued			
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research....	610	737	754
Collaborative research and develop- ment.....	168	349	349
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.....	267	303	317
Review and approval of grants.....	366	366	466
Program direction.....			120
Total direct operations.....	1,411	1,755	2,006
Total program costs funded.....	18,554	22,240	25,778
Change in selected resources.....	2,612		
Total obligations.....	21,166	22,240	25,778

**Grants. Research.** Grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants and clinical research center grants. **Fellowships.** Fellowships will be supported. **Training.** Graduate training grants will be supported. These grants are made to training institutions to establish and improve programs to train teachers and clinical investigators in ophthalmology. Traineeships will be awarded to individuals for specialized postgraduate training.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** Research is being conducted in the causes of blindness and disorders of the eye including glaucoma, disorders of the cornea, infections of the eye, disturbances of eye movements, and refractive errors of vision. **Collaborative research and development.** These studies include contractual programs for collaborative research on blinding eye diseases and visual disorders. **Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies.** Special studies in the fields of epidemiology and biometry will be developed to determine causes of blindness and eye disorders.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>Environmental health sciences:</b>			
Grants:			
Research.....	8,496	8,406	8,967
Fellowships.....	42	200	194
Training.....	3,763	3,892	3,740
Total grants.....	12,301	12,498	12,901
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research.....	4,357	4,432	5,322
Review and approval of grants.....	396	440	443
Program direction.....	266	312	338
Total direct operations.....	5,019	5,184	6,103
Total program costs funded.....	17,320	17,682	19,004
Change in selected resources.....	-764		
Total obligations.....	16,556	17,682	19,004

**Grants. Research.** Regular research grants will be supported. Environmental Health Institutes will also be supported. This activity supports research on the phenomena associated with the source, distribution, mode of entry, and effect of environmental agents on biological systems through grants to universities, research institutes, and other public or private nonprofit institutions. **Fellowships.** Under the fellowship program, predoctoral, postdoctoral, and special grant awards will be made to graduate students and scientists for training in the field of environmental health sciences. **Training.** Grants will be supported. The graduate research training program supports the availability of high-quality training opportunities in environmental health. It has a threefold goal: To increase the number of highly qualified scientists primarily concerned with environmental health; to enable training institutions to strengthen and to enrich their

research training capabilities; and to expand opportunities for environmental health research training in a greater number of graduate institutions throughout the United States.

**Direct operations. Laboratory and clinical research.** This activity supports the in-house research programs in environmental health sciences at the National Environmental Health Sciences Center in the Research Triangle Park, North Carolina. Included are research efforts in cell biology, pharmacology and toxicology, analytical and synthetic chemistry, biophysics and biomedical instrumentation, animal science and technology, pathologic physiology, epidemiology, biometry, epidemiologic pathology, and scientific information as well as the supporting services for these laboratories and branches. **Review and approval of grants.** The scientific and administrative staff responsible for the review, negotiation, processing, and awarding of all grants is supported by this activity. **Program direction.** This activity supports the Office of the Director of the Division and scientific administrative staff who assist in the planning, supervision, and technical direction of the program.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>General research and services:</b>			
Division of Research Facilities and Resources:			
Grants:			
Research.....	56,797	60,871	64,831
Fellowships.....	148	154	146
Training.....	368	376	364
Direct operations:			
Collaborative research and development.....	1,193	1,488	1,483
Review and approval of grants.....	1,123	1,533	1,615
Program direction.....	471	643	641
Division of Computer Research and Technology: Direct operations.....			
	3,395	4,611	4,753
Engineering development:			
Direct operations:			
Collaborative research and development.....		750	750
Program direction.....	101	259	226
Total program costs funded.....	63,596	70,685	74,809
Change in selected resources.....	1,640		
Total obligations.....	65,236	70,685	74,809

The appropriations for general research and services finances the Division of Research Facilities and Resources whose programs are oriented toward providing the resources and facilities necessary for the conduct of biomedical research; this includes support for the maintenance of laboratory animals and the provision of specialized resources such as large-scale equipment to improve multidisciplinary research capabilities of institutions. The appropriation also finances the engineering development activity, and the Division of Computer Research and Technology which plans and conduct research, developmental, and demonstration programs in mathematical and other computer related sciences.

The activities for the general research and services appropriation are described below:

**Grants. Research.** Funds will provide the following: General Clinical Research Centers, Special Resources, and animal resources and primate centers grants. **Fellowships.** Fellowship awards will be supported. **Training.** Training grants will be supported.

**Direct operations. Collaborative research and development.** Research is conducted in collaboration with Federal and non-Federal institutions through contracts. Included are chemical/biological information handling program, special research resources, surveys of animal resources, development of standards for laboratory animal facilities, and the applying of engineering and technological innovations to biomedical problems in such

areas as the development of artificial organs, synthetic materials, and the automation of clinical and laboratory measurements.

**Division of Computer Research and Technology.** This activity conducts research in mathematics and the computer sciences as they relate to biomedical problems, provides professional advice to other areas of the National Institutes of Health, serves as a focus for training activities in computation and data processing and operates a central computing facility for the Institutes.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>JOHN E. FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES</b>			
Grants:			
Research.....	229	150	150
Fellowships.....	1,378	1,636	1,570

**Research.** Funds will support grants. In addition, funds are provided for scientific evaluation.

**Fellowships.** Fellowships will be supported.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>Dental Health:</b>			
Grants:			
Research.....	1,121	1,259	1,339
Fellowships.....	79	150	150
Training.....	2,598	3,850	5,276
Direct operations.....	4,200	4,926	5,123
Total program costs funded.....	7,998	10,185	11,888
Change in selected resources.....	1,418		
Total obligations.....	9,416	10,185	11,888

**Grants. Research.** Research grants support studies in the prevention and control of oral diseases, more efficient methods for delivering dental services, and the effective use of dental manpower. **Fellowships.** Research fellowships support candidates for advanced degrees to prepare them to conduct research to help improve dental health by obtaining information about preventive dentistry, dental diseases, dental education, and more effective methods of delivering dental services. **Training.** In 1970, three new dental schools will initiate developmental programs to train students to use dental auxiliaries. The increased funds will permit existing programs to lengthen the training and to include other types of auxiliaries such as dental hygienists. Research training grants enable institutions to establish training programs in fields urgently in need of researchers in dental science. A dental continuing education grant program provides for upgrading the skills of dentists and auxiliaries through a national network of dental school programs.

**Direct operations.** Funds are provided for programs to study the supply, utilization, and distribution of dental manpower, to increase the productivity of dental practitioners, and to assist dentists to keep abreast of the latest concepts and techniques in dentistry. Funds also provide for disease prevention control programs, for studies related to the organization, delivery, and financing of dental health care services, and for research and development in dental technology.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>Construction of health, educa- tional, research, and library facilities: Health research facilities.....</b>			
	38,368	20,640	

**Health research facilities.** Matching grants are made to public and other nonprofit institutions to assist in the construction of new facilities, and replacement of outmoded facilities, for the conduct of research in the sciences related to health.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mated	1970 esti- mated
National Library of Medicine:			
Grants: Research.....	980	1,285	1,442
Direct operations: Research and support contracts.....	1,032	248	
Buildings and facilities:			
Cancer research facility.....	3,695	2,331	
Child health and human development research facility.....	94	383	
Gerontology research facility.....	2,739	655	50
Neurology-allergy virus research facility.....			114
Neurology-child health facility, Puerto Rico.....	32	500	1,762
Scientific activities overseas (special foreign currency program):			
Foreign health research— Total program costs funded.....	7,830	17,460	15,322
Change in selected resources.....	5,560		
Total obligations.....	13,390	17,460	15,322

The research efforts supported with foreign currencies are directed toward the solution of disease and health problems which hold promise of contributing knowledge of value and significance to the advancement of medical research in the United States and other countries. Research projects in the field of human reproduction and family planning will be supported. The collection and analysis of morbidity and mortality data as well as other scientific activities overseas such as research training, international conferences, and translations of research publications will also be supported.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Expired accounts:			
Construction of mental health-neurology research facility (program costs funded).....	3,229	1,124	
Change in selected resources.....	-3,131	-607	
Total obligations.....	98	517	
General research support grants, obligations.....	59,674	60,700	61,500

This provides grants-in-aid to universities, hospitals, laboratories, and other public or nonprofit institutions for the general support of research and research training in sciences related to health. This program is supported with funds provided for research grants through the appropriations for the National Institutes of Health and the Appropriation for Mental Health.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
National Institutes of Health man- agement fund: Research services.....	12,640	14,897	15,181

**Research services.** These provide the central administration and operation of services for the conduct of research activities such as the planning and supervising of design, construction, and development of new research activities; providing laboratory animals, culture media, and glassware; design and fabrication of laboratory instrumentation; operating the Institutes' medical reference

library including the translation of medical literature; scientific photography and medical arts; maintenance and alteration of all physical facilities including utility services; and environmental engineering services.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Service and supply fund:			
Research animals:			
Cost of goods sold.....	182	156	160
Other.....	1,275	1,208	1,418

**Research animals.** The Institutes' animal facilities provide small and large research animals to the research laboratories. The facilities include breeding, holding, and conditioning facilities for mice, rats, guinea pigs, rabbits, hamsters, dogs, cats, primates, and ungulate animals.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Advancements and reim- bursements:			
National Institute of Den- tal Research.....	2	6	2
Office of Education:			
Education for the handi- capped: Research and innovation.....	10,794	14,600	18,350

**Research and innovation.** Grants and contracts are awarded for the development of new curricular materials, teaching techniques, research and development centers, and other research and demonstration projects including physical recreation and education. Grants or contracts are awarded for the establishment and operation of regional centers to develop and apply the best methods of appraising the special educational needs of handicapped children. Grants are also made for model centers to provide diagnostic, educational, and related services to deaf-blind children.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Research and training:			
Research and develop- ment.....	73,565	74,976	68,800
Training.....	6,164	6,750	6,750
Construction.....	624	29,581	585

**Research and development.** Contracts are awarded to educational laboratories and research and development centers, and contracts and grants are awarded to institutions of higher education, States, local educational agencies, and private enterprise. Educational laboratories devote primary attention to the development and validation of curricular and instructional alternatives for use in the Nation's schools. Research and development centers concentrate on studying such specific problem areas as early childhood learning, teacher education, higher education, problems of the disadvantaged, educational administration, and educational policy. In 1970 research emphasis will be shifted toward minority groups in education, and toward basic research in reading processes, learning, and motivation. Major development efforts will include work on secondary school curriculum systems and the use of television for early childhood education. The amount includes a transfer of \$2,000,000 to the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities for joint projects involving scholars, practitioners, artists, and writers in the classroom. It also includes \$2,000,000 for con-

tinuing support of a national study of the educational attainment of the population.

**Training.** Grants are awarded for the training of manpower to carry out educational research, development, evaluation, and related activities. Awards are also made to develop materials for use in such training programs.

**Construction.** Grants are made to procure major program equipment items and to construct educational research and development facilities.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Research and training (special foreign currency program):			
Research in foreign education.....	80	231	
Salaries and Expenses:			
Research.....	3,959	3,932	3,990
Advances and Reimbursements:			
Survey of research activities (National Science Foundation).....	175		
Educational and information service research (NSF).....	45		
Social and Rehabilitation Service:			
Mental retardation.....	126	126	126

**Research.** Grants are awarded to organizations, institutions, and individuals to provide new knowledge and data relative to mental retardation. In 1970, grants will be awarded to support appropriate research activities to explore the health and care needs of the mentally retarded.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Maternal and child health: Research.....	5,580	6,200	7,700

**Research.** The main focus of this program is to improve delivery of health services to needy mothers and children through research grants, contracts, or jointly financed cooperative arrangements. In 1970, projects to be funded will include those emphasizing improved delivery of family planning services.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Child welfare: Research and demonstration.....	3,996	4,400	4,600

**Research and demonstration.** Grants, contracts, or other jointly financed cooperative arrangements are made for the conduct of research and demonstration projects in child welfare which are of regional or national significance, demonstrate new methods or facilities or demonstrate utilization of research and research findings.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Development of programs for the aging: Research and demonstra- tion.....	3,936	4,155	3,500

**Research and demonstration.** Grants and contracts for research, development, and demonstration are made with public, nonprofit and private agencies, organizations, institutions, and individuals after consultation with the appropriate State agency. Grants and contracts are made for the following purposes: to develop new knowledge about social, health, and economic factors

affecting the aged; to determine what kinds of services, resources, and living arrangements are needed to foster independent, wholesome, and meaningful living; and to develop or demonstrate new approaches, techniques, and methods which can provide older people with increased opportunities for community participation, social contacts, and productive, satisfying retirement years.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Rehabilitation research and training:			
Research and demonstrations.....	21,304	21,325	21,325
Special center program.....	10,235	10,275	10,275
International research (domestic support).....	94	100	100

**Research and demonstrations.** Grants and contracts support research and demonstration projects which hold promise of making a contribution to the solution of vocational rehabilitation problems common to all or several States. Grants are made to public and private nonprofit organizations to cover part of the costs.

**Special center program.** Support is provided to special rehabilitation research and training centers with the capability for continuing comprehensive programs of clinical research and training to advance the rehabilitation of the disabled.

**International research (domestic support).** This is for maintenance in the United States of foreign scientists concerned with rehabilitation research projects supported by excess foreign currencies and for the purchase in the United States of equipment for such projects unobtainable with excess foreign currencies.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Cooperative research or demonstration projects:			
Research grants.....	1,981	1,750	1,750
Directed research.....	1,169	1,400	4,750
Total obligations.....	3,150	3,150	6,500

The Social Security Act authorizes grants to States, grants to public and nonprofit organizations and contracts (including contracts with private organizations and agencies) or jointly financed cooperative arrangements for the conduct of research or demonstration projects relating to programs carried on or existing under the Social Security Act and related programs. The program is administered by the Social and Rehabilitation Service in cooperation with the Social Security Administration.

Funds appropriated are used to support cooperative research or demonstration projects in areas such as: the prevention and reduction of dependency, effecting coordination of planning between private and public welfare agencies, and improving the administration and effectiveness of programs carried on or existing under the Social Security Act and related programs. During 1970, \$3,000,000 will be used for income maintenance experiments.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Research and training (special foreign currency program): Social and rehabilitation research and related activities.....	4,645	5,936	5,000

Research, demonstration, and research training programs are supported primarily with foreign currencies accruing to the United States through the sale of surplus agricultural commodities and through other sources.

**Rehabilitation.** Research and demonstration programs are directed to the solution of problems which hold promise of contributing knowledge to the advancement of rehabilitation both in the United States and in other countries. Research training and fellowships are provided and exchanges of rehabilitation experts are arranged between the U.S. and cooperating foreign countries to increase the rehabilitation research resources both here and abroad.

**Maternal and child health.** Studies, research, research planning, and research training including the interchange of experts and research fellowships in maternal and child health and handicapping conditions are conducted in special applied health fields to gain knowledge of value to the United States, to the country involved, and internationally.

**Social welfare.** Studies of urban social welfare and delivery of social services are conducted in countries selected because of country experiences and research facilities in programs such as urban social services, community development, methods to strengthen family life, improve child care, control and prevent juvenile delinquency, and services for the aging. Cooperative projects including seminars and expert consultation contribute new knowledge valuable to social welfare programs in the United States, the country concerned, and internationally.

**Aging.** Based on methodology developed in a study in three industrial societies, projects in India, Israel, Poland, and Yugoslavia are obtaining basic knowledge to test assumptions which have serious implications for social policy and for programs to meet the diverse needs of older persons. Continuing collaboration among investigators from different disciplines engaged in this gerontological research maximizes the benefit of findings and increases the possibility of drawing general conclusions of cross-national applicability.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Salaries and expenses: Research and demonstrations.....	1,882	2,051	2,074

**Research and demonstrations.** This activity provides support for many program activities. Representative of these efforts are the intramural research program, the cooperative research and demonstration projects related to social security programs research for rehabilitation of the disabled, experimental or demonstration projects in public assistance and medical assistance, the social work manpower training program, and the foreign currency research and training program. Special Institutions.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Gallaudet College:			
Salaries and expenses: Organized research.....	110	143	204
Howard University:			
Salaries and expenses: Organized research.....	3,161	4,000	4,000

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Metropolitan development:			
Urban transportation: Research, development, and demonstration.....	4,143	2,500	3,900

**Research, development, and demonstrations.** The Department makes contracts and grants to assist in establishing and carrying on comprehensive research and investigations into problems of urban transportation as they relate to comprehensive urban development or increase understanding of transportation system and service impacts on urban areas.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Urban technology and research:			
Contracts, studies, and performance of research.....	1,258	6,025	11,340
Housing and urban data services.....	188	750	760
Administrative expenses.....	330	525	900
Total program costs funded.....	1,776	7,300	13,000
Change in selected resources.....	8,192	3,700	12,000
Total obligations.....	9,968	11,000	25,000

Housing and related legislation authorizes a program of research into housing, urban technology, metropolitan growth, and urban problems. The program involves research directed at basic areas of urban development and which are the direct responsibility of the Department. These include decent housing, adequate and efficient local public facilities and services, the physical and social environment of urban communities, and the management of governmental activities in community development. Studies will also test and demonstrate innovations which promise cost reductions and more systematic ways of solving problems of housing and community development, as well as encourage and promote the acceptance and application of new and improved techniques and methods of constructing, rehabilitating, and maintaining housing and advancing the state of urban technology.

**Contracts, studies, and performance of research.** The program for studies and research is carried out primarily through contracts with other Federal agencies, educational institutions, nonprofit private research organizations, and private corporations. When economy and effectiveness would be served, studies may be carried out by staff of the Department or by a combination of staff and contract work, as best suits the problem.

**Housing and urban data services.** Statistical data series reflecting current conditions and changes in the housing and mortgage markets of the country are necessary to help in policy formation by the Secretary and top officials of the Department. Starting with 1969, an annual report by the President to Congress will deal with progress toward the goal of providing, during the next decade, by construction or rehabilitation, 26,000,000 housing units, including 6,000,000 for low and moderate income families.

**Administrative expenses.** This activity covers the costs of the Office of Urban Technology and Research in connection with the general planning, supervision, and direction of the research program. The office must develop, review, and evaluate specific research proposals, monitor and evaluate research activities, and other activities related to the direct performance of research. The activity includes costs in connection with administering related research activities, such as under the low income housing demonstration grant program, urban renewal demonstrations, urban planning research and demonstrations, surveys of public works planning, and studies and publications under the open space land program. In addition, the activity includes a related share of certain overall supporting expenses of the Department.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Public land management:			
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation:			
Salaries and expenses: Plan- ning and research.....	2,554	2,805	2,980

**Planning and research.** Funds are provided for: preparation of a nationwide outdoor recreation plan encompassing all aspects of outdoor recreation, taking into consideration activities of the Federal, State, and local governments and the private sector; the conduct of recreation studies and reporting on river basins and water resource projects, and for the conduct of studies of other areas having significant potential for meeting outdoor recreation needs; and for the conduct of research studies and reports on factors and conditions relating to current and future outdoor recreation resources, uses, and needs.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
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Mineral resources: Geological			
Survey, surveys, investigations, and research, direct program, water resources investigations.....	26,836	27,576	28,937

**Water resources investigations.** The program includes determinations of the flow and sediment discharge of rivers, location and amount of underground waters, chemical quality and temperature of waters, changes caused by nature and by man, availability and suitability of water supplies for present and future demands—all of which provide water data essential to planning and water management. Research is conducted to increase our understanding of fundamental principles of water occurrence, movement, and interaction with its environment, and also to increase the accuracy and usefulness of water data by improvements in technology. Funds requested for 1970 will be used to accelerate the Geological Survey's activities under Bureau of the Budget guidelines for coordination of Federal activities in acquisition and dissemination of water data; strengthen the nationwide effort in basic-data collection and analysis; continue the automation of data services to provide better service to users, and the development and application of instruments and techniques for improved data; conduct research on basic principles, especially in the fields of geochemistry, geophysics, limnology, glaciology, geomorphology, sedimentology, ground-water hydrology; continue support of education and training in hydrology, and timely publication of water data and results of investigations. Increased funds are requested in 1970 for expanding the Federal-State program in data-deficient segments of the national water-data system; for flood-plain delineation in urban areas vulnerable to flooding; for planning for water-use data acquisition; for accelerated implementation of the national plan for coordinating data acquisition; for research and experimentation in artificial recharge; for evaluation of ground-water potential in broad regions; and for studies in urban hydrology.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
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Bureau of Mines: Conservation and Development of Mineral Resources: Research:

Coal.....	6,893	6,963	6,363
Petroleum.....	2,376	2,494	2,494
Oil shale.....	1,470	2,287	2,567
Metallurgy.....	13,377	12,793	11,493
Mining.....	4,694	4,736	5,936
Marine mineral mining.....	1,278	1,478	878
Explosives.....	585	606	606

**Coal.** Scientific research is carried out on the chemical and physical properties of coal and lignite and their preparation, combustion, carbonization, and gasification. Research is emphasized on the development of methods for reducing or eliminating industrial air pollution caused by sulfur oxides released to the atmosphere during combustion of fossil fuels. The 1970 estimate provides for scaling up research on a new coal hydrogenation process.

**Petroleum.** Research is conducted to conserve petroleum and natural gas resources by improving the processes of recovery and utilization and to promote improved efficiency in processing and use of raw materials produced from these resources. Research will be continued on fuel combustion and utilization as related to air pollution by automotive emissions. The work is carried out in cooperation with Federal and State agencies and with industry associations and is partially supported financially by many of these agencies and associations.

**Oil shale.** Research is carried out on oil shale to determine the composition of the various products obtainable, to test the applicability of those products to different uses, and to determine the basic chemistry and physics essential to the development and evaluation of new retorting concepts. The 1970 estimate provides for an expansion of research on extraction of minerals associated with oil shale and an increase in oil shale processing and waste disposal research.

**Metallurgy.** Research is carried out seeking improved processes for extracting metals and nonmetals from their ores and for reducing and recovering mineral wastes. Multidiscipline investigations develop better methods to recover metals by physical, chemical, and electrical techniques and find means to produce superpure materials. A parallel effort integrates the structure of metals, alloys, and ceramic compounds with optimum preparation and utilization. Basic to all investigations is fundamental research to delineate the physical and thermodynamic properties of materials and to analyze the rates and mechanics of high-temperature chemical and metallurgical reactions.

**Mining.** Research effort applies physics and mining engineering principles to all phases of mineral mining. Fundamental studies range from the physical nature of rock structures through the application of rock mechanics to exploration, development, and operational problems of mining. Highly specialized research is conducted on the mechanisms of penetrating and breaking rock. The problem of ground control which is attacked by developing methods of stabilizing underground openings and techniques for designing efficient open-pit slopes is of prime importance. Work will continue on extension of applied rock mechanics studies into coal mines to develop engineering principles required for safe economic physical design of modern coal mining systems, engineering application of results of previous studies in underground

metal mines, and studies of nature and behavior of rock and rock masses in relation to the mining processes. A research program will be initiated to develop a technology necessary for abating the hazards from mining in a methane environment.

**Marine mineral mining.** Research is devoted to the conception, development, testing, and evaluation of instruments and hardware of undersea mining. Investigations are concerned with the nature and extent of oceanic deposits and the mining and processing of materials recoverable from such deposits.

**Explosives.** Research is conducted to provide information and guidance to industry, other Federal agencies, and State and local governments on safe handling and use of commercial explosives and blasting agents; the safety characteristics of explosives certified for use in underground coal mines; the hazards of gas and vapor explosives from flammable liquids and/or gases; and the means of controlling fires in mineral fuels and their products.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Health and safety: Health and safety research.....	2,092	2,277	3,337

**Health and safety research.** Research is conducted on the support of mine roof and control of overburden, ventilation of mines, methods of allaying harmful and combustible airborne dusts, preventing accumulations of combustible dusts, preventing underground fires, safe blasting practices, and safe electrical installations. Other research is directed toward developing mining procedures and devices to avoid, detect, or control those aspects of mining and the working environment which involve potential personal hazards to mine workmen and physical hazards to mine operations. Various machines and devices are tested for use in mines and plants where explosive or harmful gas or dust may be liberated or encountered. The 1970 estimate provides for expansion of the Bureau's health research activities in order to combat the debilitating diseases of pneumoconiosis, silicosis, and lung cancer which endanger the health and life of the workers in our mines.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Helium fund: Research expense.....	837	945	928

The Helium Research Center will continue its program in basic and applied research. Emphasis will be placed on improvements in processes, production methods, purification, liquefaction, and utilization, in order to increase technical literature and knowledge of helium and helium-bearing gas mixtures.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Contributed funds: Health and safety research.....		1	

Funds contributed by States, counties, municipalities, and private sources are used to conduct research and investigations to

promote the conservation and development of mineral resources and health and safety in the mineral industries.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Office of Coal Research, salaries and expenses:			
Administration and contract supervision.....	354	408	448
Contract research.....	11,537	13,327	12,852
Total program costs funded.....	11,891	13,735	13,300
Change in selected resources.....	-877		
Total obligations.....	11,014	13,735	13,300

The Office of Coal Research develops, through research, new and more efficient methods of mining, preparing, and utilizing coal and contracts for, sponsors, cosponsors, and promotes the coordination of, research with recognized interested groups (including, but not limited to, coal trade associations, educational institutions, and agencies of States and political subdivisions).

The Office is responsible for developing the full potentiality and versatility of coal as the Nation's largest energy resource to the maximum benefit of the United States. The Office is devoting its efforts to expand the use of coal through development of new uses as well as within presently known fields of utilization. The scientific and technical aspects of the program are performed through a program of contract research.

**Administration and contract supervision.** This portion of the program performs all necessary functions relating to contracts. This includes drafting, negotiation, and execution of the contracts, together with review and monitoring of technical and administrative phases of the contract work. Proposals are evaluated to ascertain technical and economic feasibility and eliminate possible duplication with other work.

**Contract research.** The entire research activity cited above as the responsibility of the Office is represented in the contract aspect of the Office's operation. Contract research activities are conducted with profit and nonprofit research organizations. Only applied research and development projects are undertaken. No basic research or grant research programs are entered into.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Fish and wildlife, parks, and marine resources: Bureau of Commercial Fisheries: Management and investigations of resources:			
Research.....	12,386	12,859	13,021
Research on fish migration over dams.....	1,493	1,453	1,254

**Research.** Research is conducted: on variations in abundance of important commercial food fishes and other aquatic animals, on declining species and fishery resources, on cultivation of aquatic animals, including shellfish, and in the design of fish protective devices.

**Research on fish migration over dams.** Investigations are conducted to determine factors influencing direction and rate of movement of anadromous fish over dams, for consideration in designing future dams.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Management and investigations of resources (special foreign currency program): Research.....	157	120	55

**Research.** These funds finance biological research conducted on: variations in the abundance of important commercial food fishes and other aquatic animals, discovering and conserving declining species, cultivation of fishery resources, and a translation program to gain biological research information from foreign fishery publications and reports.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Federal aid for commercial fisheries research and development: Aid to States.....	5,117	4,723	4,353

**Aid to States.** States are reimbursed up to 75% of the cost of approved commercial fisheries research and development projects, within their respective apportionment of funds appropriated for such purposes.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Promote and develop fishery products and research pertaining to American fisheries:			
Research.....	4,891	4,154	4,038
Research on fish migration over dams.....	43	51	57

**Research and Research on fish migration over dams.** These funds supplement moneys appropriated to the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries for the same purposes under the appropriation for Management and Investigations of Resources.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife: Management and investigations of resources:			
Fishery research.....	3,747	3,970	4,010
Wildlife research.....	7,245	7,981	7,981

**Fishery research.** Research is conducted to provide information needed for improved methods of sport fishery management. The program includes: studies of the factors governing sport fish productivity in the natural environment, both marine and freshwater; studies of how hatchery fish can be produced more efficiently and used more effectively; studies of the effects of pesticides on fish and to develop methods of controlling fish that are pests.

**Wildlife research.** Research is conducted on game and nongame, resident, and migratory forms of wildlife. Results are used by the Bureau as well as cooperating Federal, State, and private agencies to improve wildlife management and conservation practices. Wildlife units are also maintained to give technical training in wildlife management, conduct research, and demonstrate improved management practices.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Water and power development: Bureau of Reclamation: General investigations: General engineering and research.....	5,981	7,712	7,210

**General engineering and research.** Studies are directed toward improvements in planning procedures and in engineering methods and materials. Included are studies of atmospheric water resources and suppression of losses due to evaporation as a means of increasing project water supplies.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Water Quality and Research, Office of Saline Water, saline water conversion:			
Research and development.....	20,929	19,500	21,000
Construction, operation, and maintenance:			
Test beds and facilities.....	3,274	4,000	4,000
Modules.....	242	750	2,250
Administration and coordination.....	1,729	1,815	2,100
Total program costs, funded.....	26,174	26,065	29,350
Change in selected resources.....	-738	-391	-2,350
Total operations.....	25,436	25,674	27,000

This program finances the research on and development of low-cost processes for converting saline water to fresh water in quality suitable for municipal, industrial, and agricultural uses.

**Research and development.** Both basic and applied research, engineering and development, and evaluation work are accomplished by means of contracts or grants to Federal or non-Federal agencies, institutions, commercial organizations, and consultants.

**Construction, operation, and maintenance.** This activity provides for the design, construction, acquisition, operation, maintenance, and modification of saline water conversion test bed plants, facilities, and modules to determine the practical application of the conversion processes under development.

**Administration and coordination.** This activity provides for the necessary planning, supervision, and administration of the saline water conversion program.

[In thousands of dollars]			
	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Federal Water Pollution Control Administration: Pollution control operations and research: Research, development, and demonstration.....	30,255	61,394	49,193

**Research, development, and demonstration.** Grants and contracts are made to public and private agencies, institutions, and individuals for research and for field investigations and studies of an applied nature. Their purpose is to test and illustrate the applicability of research findings and newly developed techniques to problems of water pollution and particularly those related to industrial waste pollution problems, combined sewer problems, advanced waste treatment, water purification, and joint treatment of

municipal and industrial wastes problems. Thirty per cent of the estimate is to carry out activities in the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration laboratories, to conduct field studies and demonstrations, and to provide technical management for the grants and contract programs.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
Advances and reimbursements: Research, development, and demonstration.....	87	95	95
Secretarial offices: Underground electric power transmission research: Administration and contract supervision.....			462
Contract research.....			538
Total program costs funded.....			1,000
Change in selected resources.....			1,000
Total obligations.....			2,000

The Department will carry out research on underground electric power transmission in cooperation with concerned private, public, and Federal agencies.

**Administration and contract supervision.** The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Water and Power Development will perform all necessary functions related to the administration of research contracts.

**Contract research.** The contract research will be conducted with commercial organizations, educational institutions, nonprofit research organizations, and other governmental agencies where expertise may exist.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Coal research.....	212		
Water resources research.....	5		
Office of Water Resources Research: Salaries and expenses: Assistance to States for institutes.....	5,052	5,100	5,100
Matching grants to institutes.....	2,621	3,000	3,000
Additional water research.....	1,005	2,000	2,000
Scientific information center.....	201	506	506
Administration.....	464	575	623
Total program costs funded.....	9,343	11,181	11,229
Change in selected resources.....	1,779		
Total obligations.....	11,122	11,181	11,229

The objective of this program is to stimulate, sponsor, provide for, and supplement present programs for the conduct of research, investigations, experiments, and the training of scientists in the fields of water and of resources which affect water, in order to assist in assuring the Nation at all times of a supply of water sufficient in quantity and quality to meet the requirements of its expanding population.

**Assistance to States for institutes.** This activity provides for specific grants to the States and Puerto Rico for assistance in carrying on the work of a competent and qualified water resources research institute at one college or university in each State. The function of such institute is to conduct research, investigations, and experiments of either a basic or practical nature, or both, in relation to water resources and to provide for the training of scientists through such research, investigations, and experiments. States may elect to use their grants in sup-

port of regional institutes in which several States participate.

**Matching grants to institutes.** This activity provides for grants to match funds made available to institutes by State or other non-Federal sources to meet the necessary expenses of specific water resources research projects which could not otherwise be undertaken.

**Additional water research.** This activity provides for grants to and contracts and matching or other arrangements with educational institutions, private foundations, or other institutions, with private firms and individuals whose training, experience, and qualifications are adequate for the conduct of water research projects, and with local, State, and Federal Government agencies, to undertake research into any aspects of water problems related to the mission of the Department which are deemed desirable and which are not otherwise being studied.

**Scientific information center.** This activity provides for the operation of a water resources scientific information center. The objective of center operations are to be responsive to the water resources scientific information needs of Federal water resources organizations, to avoid replication of research, and to improve communications and coordination of efforts among all those engaged in federally sponsored water-related research.

**Administration.** This activity provides for the administration of the Water Resources Research Act including the prescribing of rules and regulations; review and appraisal of institute programs and research proposals, making of allotments, contracts, and grants; establishment and maintenance of cooperation and coordination among the centers and between the centers and Federal and other organizations concerned with water resources.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
1968 actual			
1969 estimate			
1970 estimate			

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous  
Drugs:  
Salaries and expenses: Research.....

**Research.** The objective of the research program is to determine how drug abuse can be prevented. Studies are made to ascertain the most effective means of eliminating or reducing the illicit supplies of narcotics and dangerous drugs, and to explore the sociological and psychological factors which motivate the abuser, with a view toward learning how to neutralize or redirect these drives.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
1968 actual			
1969 estimate			
1970 estimate			

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Wage and Labor Standards: Wage  
and Hour Division: Salaries and  
expenses: Research and legisla-  
tive analysis.....

**Research and legislative analysis.** Research is conducted on the effects of the provisions dealing with wages, hours, age, equal pay, and child labor in the acts administered. This involves gathering meaningful data on the socioeconomic characteristics of employees for use in making new legislative proposals and developing programs that will achieve the social and economic goals and objectives of the acts administered. This information is used to assess appropriate minimum wage standards, the relationship of wage standards to youth employment, and the problems re-

sulting from wage discrimination. Data is also collected and analyzed for use in the development of administrative policies and in support of litigation activities.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
1968 actual			
1969 estimate			
1970 estimate			

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Current authorizations out of postal  
fund: Research, development,  
and engineering:  
Operating costs, funded: Con-  
tract research and develop-  
ment.....

**Contract research and development.** This activity includes funds for the design, development, test, and evaluation of new postal equipment, materials, and techniques required to reduce costs, improve service, and improve employee working conditions. The work is primarily performed by other Government agencies or by private industry under contract. Funds are also included for supplies, materials, and equipment used in testing and evaluating equipment at postal laboratory facilities.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
1968 actual			
1969 estimate			
1970 estimate			

DEPARTMENT OF  
TRANSPORTATION

Office of the Secretary, transporta-  
tion planning, research, and  
development:  
Transportation policy and plan-  
ning.....

**Transportation policy and planning.** Research and studies are conducted on a broad range of transportation policy problems to determine national transportation requirements and to provide the Secretary with statistical planning information and analyses needed for national transportation policies and programs. Included is the on-going program to develop plans for meeting the transportation needs of the Northeast Corridor. The 1970 amount includes funds for carrying forward a study of automobile accident compensation systems.

**Transportation facilities.** Research and studies in this area are aimed at reducing the costs and removing the impediments to the rapid and efficient flow of passengers and cargo by modernizing our systems of transportation documentation and procedures. Projects will also be directed at realizing the economic and technological benefits of important transportation developments which can be achieved through cooperative research and development arrangements with foreign countries.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
1968 actual			
1969 estimate			
1970 estimate			

Advances and reimbursements:  
Transportation research.....

Total program costs funded—  
obligations.....

This appropriation provides for administration and conduct of basic and applied scientific research, development, test, and evaluation with maintenance, rehabilitation, lease, and operation of facilities and equipment.

**Search and rescue.** The program on search planning and survival equipment will be continued and efforts will be intensified in the development of a detection system for locating distressed persons, small craft, etc. A program in domestic icebreaker research will be undertaken in 1970.

**Aids to navigation.** Additional effort will be applied in 1970 to development of lightweight buoys for protected waters. Further developmental stages of a high-precision, all-weather harbor approach will be instituted in 1970, while continuing developmental work toward further replacement of lightships with more economical aids.

**Marine safety.** The program under this activity includes continued investigation of construction standards in new fields such as non-military submersibles, the operation of the Shipboard Fire Test Facility in support of continued efforts in fire safety standards, and the continuation of research efforts with interagency groups such as the N.A.S. Advisory Committee on toxic chemicals and the Ship Structure Committee.

**Marine law enforcement.** Under this activity, the program provides for intensified research efforts in the control of pollution by oil or other wastes of our navigable waters. This program includes advanced development of airborne sensors for detection, booms and gelling agents for control, and containers for defueling of wrecks. A companion project will be continued for development and testing of systems to reduce pollution by the Government's facilities, including Coast Guard cutters. Research in support of the Boating Safety program will be undertaken in 1970.

**Oceanography, meteorology, and polar operations.** This program includes oceanographic research and data collection in the Arctic area, advanced development of iceberg detection and tracking capability, and development of instrumentation for data collection on Coast Guard offshore structures, vessels, and buoys. In 1970, the advanced development phase will commence for the national data buoy developmental project designed to collect oceanographic and marine meteorological data from the deep oceans and coastal North America.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
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Federal Aviation Administration:  
Operations: Research direction... 10,066 10,702 11,327

**Research direction.** This activity covers: the planning, direction, and evaluation of the research and development program, the direct project costs of which are financed under the Research and development appropriation; and related administrative support for the operation of the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
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Facilities and equipment: Research, test, and evaluation facilities... 1,503 2,304

**Research, test, and evaluation facilities.** This activity provides for the construction and improvement of plant and facilities at the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center. It also covers the procurement of

capital items of equipment for use in the research and development program.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT</b>			
Air traffic control.....	24,376	24,897	35,254
Aviation.....	3,950	5,150	4,500
Aviation weather.....	574	564	450
Aircraft safety.....	4,046	3,350	5,346
Aviation medicine.....	1,705	2,180	1,950
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>34,651</b>	<b>36,141</b>	<b>47,500</b>

The Federal Aviation Administration carries out a program to improve and modernize the national system of aviation facilities through the development of new systems, procedures, and devices. The agency also carries out a program of medical research to aid in the development of rules and regulations governing the certification of airmen and to assure aviation safety.

Research and development is conducted through contracts with qualified firms, universities, and individuals, or by agency staff or other Government agencies. The data, procedures, or equipment resulting from this program are tested and evaluated to determine their potential value in meeting a variety of needs of the overall National Airspace System.

**Air traffic control.** This provides for improving the airways system by applying existing technology to air traffic control problems to effect in-service improvements as required, by system modernization where necessary, and by long-range research and development to meet future needs. Studies of present airways system operations and future requirements and work in the fields of data processing and display, data acquisition, and communications are included.

**Navigation.** This provides for modernization, expansion, and improvements of the common system navigation facilities in the United States and in overseas areas where international agreements require U.S. participation. Work in the fields of landing systems, short and long distance navigation, and flight inspection is included.

**Aviation weather.** This provides for a program, coordinated with the Departments of Defense and Commerce, to develop devices and improve techniques for the communication and display of weather information to aviation users. The effects of weather in air traffic management techniques and systems are also analyzed.

**Aircraft safety.** This activity provides for a program, coordinated with the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to study, develop, and evaluate devices to enhance the safety of civil aircraft by providing practical solutions to critical safety problems and a sound basis for airworthiness standards and safety regulations. Also included are efforts directed toward the analysis of noise and sonic boom problems related to aviation and the solution of these problems.

**Aviation medicines.** This provides for conducting an aeromedical research effort directed toward the identification and elimination of those physical, physiological, and psychological factors which may jeopardize safety in flight.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Civil supersonic aircraft development: Civil supersonic aircraft research and development—costs, obligations.....	62,734	137,538	55,264

This program is to assist the aviation industry in the development of a competitive commercial supersonic transport aircraft. The objectives are to develop a safe airplane, superior to others of its class and economically profitable to build and fly. During early 1969, the prototype construction was deferred to permit redesign for correction of technical problems to assure program objectives can be attained before accelerating outlays. An evaluation and decision on the revised design will be made later in 1969. Recommendations for the program in 1970 will be transmitted to the Congress later.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION</b>			
Limitation on General Expenses: Program development: Research and development.....			
	10,484	11,881	15,330

**Research and development.** This is direct and contract research and development relating mainly to traffic operations, new construction techniques, and the social and economic aspects of highways.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Other Federal Highway Administration trust funds: Contributions for highway research programs.....	5	5	.....

**Contributions for highway research programs.** In association with the General Services Administration and the Department of Defense, tests of highway equipment are conducted for the purpose of establishing performance standards upon which to base specifications for use by the Government in purchasing such equipment.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>FEDERAL RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION</b>			
High-Speed Ground Transportation Research and Development: Research and development.....			
	10,985	14,000	14,000

**Research and development.** This includes materials, aerodynamics, vehicle propulsion, vehicle control, communications, guideways, and research testing on new systems, components, and techniques.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Railroad research: Railroad research (program costs funded).....			
	5	300	500
Change in selected resources.....	30	166	.....
<b>Total obligations.....</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>466</b>	<b>500</b>

This appropriation provides for research which deals exclusively with railroad matters. During 1969 and 1970 emphasis will be placed on conducting research studies relating to railroad safety, rail-highway grade crossing safety, policy formulation involving a wide range of rail industry problems.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Urban Mass Transportation Administration: Salaries and expenses: Research administration...	345	250	796

**Research administration.** This activity covers the costs of developing and supervising the Administration's program of research, development, and demonstration projects designed to encourage widespread application of new mass transportation systems, techniques, and methods.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION</b>			
Operating expenses:			
Physical research.....	264,712	274,820	286,000
Biology and medicine.....	88,109	89,480	92,000
Civilian applications of nuclear explosives.....	17,826	14,450	14,000

**Physical research.** This program comprises basic and applied research in the physical sciences. Major categories are: High energy physics, Medium energy physics, Low energy physics, Mathematics and computer research, Chemistry research, Metallurgy and materials research, and Controlled thermonuclear research.

The Commission serves as executive agent for the Nation's high energy physics program. The increase in research costs in 1970 is primarily associated with design and construction of the 200 BeV accelerator, increased utilization of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center and use of the improved capability of the Alternating Gradient Synchrotron.

The increase in medium energy physics is primarily to continue construction related research and development on the Los Alamos Meson Physics Facility and to support operation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology electron linear accelerator. The increase in low energy physics will permit operation of new research facilities such as the Oak Ridge electron linear accelerator and the Tandem Van de Graaff at Brookhaven National Laboratory.

The increase for chemistry and metallurgical research will be used to advance basic knowledge related to practical operations of the atomic energy program.

The objective of thermonuclear plasma research is to determine whether the energy released by thermonuclear reactions can be controlled and made useful. This research is expected to expand in 1970 to complete the fabrication of large new experimental devices needed to test recent concepts for improved plasma confinement and expand the research associated with these new concepts.

**Biology and medicine.** Research is conducted on the effects of radiation of living organisms and on the environment, protection against the injurious effects of radiation, and development of methods for using radioactive materials in the diagnosis, treatment, and understanding of human diseases such as cancer. The program includes the measurement and study of the effects of radioactivity (including fallout) in the atmosphere, soils, and surface waters for the establishment of standards to insure that the Commission's activities are conducted with safety. The program recognizes the responsibilities of other Government agencies conducting programs in biomedical research.

In 1970, emphasis will be given to research on production and utilization of kilogram quantities of carbon 13, and isotope which is

potentially valuable for chemical, biological, and medical studies. Emphasis will continue on hazards resulting from inhalation of radon and radon daughters by uranium miners.

**Civilian applications of nuclear explosives.** This program provides for the investigation, development, and demonstration of peaceful uses for nuclear explosives. The 1970 budget provides for research and development aimed at a fundamental understanding of nuclear explosive design and explosion phenomenology; development and testing of a cleaner device for use in nuclear excavation projects; a cratering experiment to extend the development of excavation technology; work on special nuclear explosives for producing transuranium elements; and development of underground engineering technology capable of being used in the recovery of natural resources.

(In thousands of dollars)

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Plant and capital equipment: Facilities and equipment for physical research.....	63,547	126,600	141,180
<b>GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION</b>			
Records activities: National Archives gift fund: Historical research and publications.....	274	344	402
<b>National Aeronautics and Space Administration Research and development:</b>			
Direct program:			
Manned space flight:			
Gemini.....	4,808		
Apollo.....	2,489,182	2,310,000	1,675,000
Apollo applications.....	127,551	216,000	369,000
Advanced manned mission studies.....	3,933	4,000	10,000
Scientific investigations in space:			
Physics and astronomy.....	177,902	158,800	135,200
Lunar and planetary exploration.....	169,177	113,000	152,500
Bioscience.....	43,812	37,000	34,000
Launch vehicle development and support.....	99,627	60,000	70,050
Space applications.....	107,628	107,000	141,800
Space technology.....	245,096	217,200	203,950
Aircraft technology.....	70,694	87,000	96,400
Supporting activities:			
Tracking and data acquisition.....	285,002	295,000	321,700
Sustaining university program.....	40,473	26,000	23,000
Technology utilization.....	4,320	4,000	5,000
Total direct program costs funded.....	3,869,205	3,635,000	3,237,600
Reimbursable program:			
Manned space flight:			
Gemini.....	1	84	
Apollo.....	261	709	555
Apollo applications.....	12	665	
Scientific investigations in space: Physics and astronomy.....			
Physics and astronomy.....	8,132	11,292	494
Space applications.....	35,386	65,257	34,601
Space technology.....	34,748	26,455	28,300
Aircraft technology.....	3,234	7,423	2,550
Supporting activities:			
Tracking and data acquisition.....	243	678	500
Technology utilization.....	42	4	
Total reimbursable program costs.....	82,059	112,567	67,000
Total program costs funded.....	3,951,264	3,747,567	3,304,600
Change in selected resources.....	-69,980	-174,860	-68,700
Total obligations.....	3,881,284	3,572,707	3,235,900

This appropriation provides for research and development activities of the National

Aeronautics and Space Administration as follows:

**Manned space flight.** These estimates include the Apollo, Apollo applications, and advanced manned mission studies programs. Funding supports all NASA manned space flight missions, the production of space vehicles, the development of earth orbital and lunar experiments and design studies of advanced manned missions including a low-earth orbit space station. Manned space flight programs provide a national capability for manned operations in space. The manned lunar landing is a major demonstration of this capability. Apollo. The Apollo program has created and demonstrated the capability to perform major manned operations in space. During 1969, five more manned Apollo missions are planned. The first two will conduct operational testing of the Command and Service Modules and the Lunar Module in earth orbit and in lunar orbit. Depending on the progress of the missions, a lunar landing is planned on one of the three remaining flights. Apollo applications. The program consists of manned earth orbital missions of increasing duration. The Saturn I Workshop and revisit missions serve as a means for accomplishing the medical, human factors, engineering technology and operational objectives established for long duration manned space flight. The solar astronomy mission is designed to support space science through the participation of trained scientist-astronauts in the operation of a complex space observatory. Accomplishment of these objectives will contribute to design and operation criteria for future space exploration as well as demonstrates the long duration usefulness and ability of man in performing complex scientific, engineering, and technology tasks in space. Advanced manned mission studies. This program will examine advanced manned space flight program concepts and develop technical information and cost data upon which future program decisions can be based. Included in these activities are further design studies and system, experiment and component investigations for a multi-purpose long-duration space station, capable of several years operation in low earth orbit, and on economical and practical methods of ferrying men to and from the station.

**Scientific investigations in space.** The objective of this activity is to increase our knowledge of the earth, interplanetary space, the moon, the sun, the solar system, other stars and galaxies, and the effects of the space environment on living organisms. The flight systems used are sounding rocket probes, orbiting spacecraft, and spacecraft designed for planetary and interplanetary missions. Physics and astronomy. This program is directed toward the increase of our knowledge of the space environment of the earth and the sun; the sun's relationship to the earth's environment and to interplanetary space; stars and nebulae. It is a coordinated research program with national and international participation. A variety of tools are used in this research including automated observatories, manned spacecraft, interplanetary spacecraft, explorers, sounding rockets, balloons, aircraft, ground based observatories, laboratory and theoretical research. Lunar and planetary exploration. Mariner spacecraft flights to Mars are planned in 1969 and 1971 to photograph the Martian surface, to provide atmospheric profile measurements, and to identify certain atmospheric constituents. 1973 missions to Mars are planned using the Titan III D/Centaur launch vehicle. These missions will include both orbiters and soft landers to make the first direct measurements on the surface of the planet. In addition, Pioneer spacecraft will be utilized to explore the interplanetary medium at distances as far out as the orbit of Jupiter in 1972 and 1973. A new class of planetary explorers will

be developed commencing in 1970 for investigations of both Mars and Venus, and a Mariner class spacecraft will be launched to Mercury in 1973 utilizing the energy augmentation available by a Venus swing-by. Lunar exploration effort will be devoted to continuing laboratory investigation, theoretical and planning studies to increase our scientific knowledge of the moon and to improve experiments on future missions. *Bioscience.* This program will continue to investigate the effects of weightlessness, radiation, and other space phenomena on animals, plants, and other biological organisms. Another major objective is to obtain knowledge of the origin, nature, and distribution of life in the universe. Information for these investigations will be obtained from biosatellite spacecraft, planetary missions, and manned flights. *Launch vehicle development and support.* This program includes those launch vehicle procurement activities which are not specifically chargeable to spacecraft missions, such as range support, launch operations, and maintenance engineering necessary to sustain and improve the performance of existing vehicles.

*Space applications.* The objectives of this activity include development of meteorological, technological, earth resources, and geodetic satellites, and studies of communication and navigation components and systems. Specific objectives are to improve satellite instrumentation and data handling technology; to provide data for atmospheric earth resources, and geodetic research; to participate in design and development of operational satellite systems as required and, to study advanced satellite systems. The earth resources survey program will continue to develop the technology for surveying the earth's resources from space. The major areas of interest are: agriculture/forestry, geology/mineralogy, hydrology/oceanography, and geography/cartography. In 1970, development will begin on a new Earth Resources Technology Satellite for experimental application of the technology developed in the earth resources survey program. Flight experiments and activities will also be carried out with the Tiros, Nimbus, Applications Technology, and Geodetic Satellites, on an experimental synchronous meteorological satellite, and on meteorological sounding rockets.

*Space technology.* This activity is comprised of research and development effort relating to space vehicle systems and operations, and associated equipment and components for space missions. Emphasis is placed on space vehicle structures, auxiliary power systems, propulsion systems, and life support technology. The program includes development of a flight type NERVA I nuclear rocket engine having a thrust of about 75,000 pounds to provide basic propulsion capability for future high energy, high payload missions. The improvement of electronic systems for control, data acquisition, and communications will be continued. Much of this and other basic research is conducted in laboratories and special ground-based test facilities located at the various NASA centers.

*Aircraft technology.* The objective of this activity is to extend the national capability in aeronautics in support of other Government agencies having aeronautical interests and responsibilities such as the Departments of Defense and Transportation. Aeronautical research will continue in VSTOL, subsonic, supersonic, and hypersonic technology in support of civil and military aircraft development. Emphasis will be placed on research in noise reduction and alleviation.

*Supporting activities. Tracking and data acquisition.* Operation and equipment of the stations of the NASA tracking and data acquisition networks are provided for here, as well as research and development to increase the capability of the specialized ground

equipment. *Sustaining university program.* This program includes training grants awarded for graduate studies in specialized engineering and other fields, and multidisciplinary research grants to universities. *Technology utilization.* The objective of this program is to accelerate the transfer into the economy of new advances in technology generated by NASA and NASA contractors.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Construction of facilities:			
Direct program:			
Space technology.....	14,824	15,000	11,000
Aircraft technology.....	4,910	10,000	6,000

*Space technology.* Funds for this activity will provide for a computer-instrumentation research laboratory and extension to the center support facilities at the Electronics Research Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Aircraft technology.* This activity includes funding for an aircraft noise reduction laboratory at the Langley Research Center.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Research and program management:			
Direct program:			
Scientific investigations in space.....	77,139	73,600	78,000
Space technology.....	143,026	142,700	142,000
Aircraft technology.....	52,840	55,400	56,000
Reimbursable program: Space technology.....	487	570	600

This appropriation provides for expenses of research in Government laboratories, management of programs, and other expenses for the operation of NASA installations.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION</b>			
Medical and prosthetic research:			
Operating costs, funded:			
Medical research.....	38,433	42,023	49,826
Prosthetic research.....	1,354	1,422	1,639
Total operating costs, funded.....	39,787	43,445	51,465
Capital outlay, funded:			
Medical research.....	5,364	6,971	8,135
Prosthetic research.....	32	35	38
Total capital outlay.....	5,396	7,006	8,173
Total program costs, funded.....	45,183	50,450	59,638
Change in selected resources.....	403		
Total obligations.....	45,586	50,450	59,638

*Medical research.* Medical research projects are conducted in Veterans Administration laboratories or other institutions on a contract basis, whichever is more advantageous or economical. In addition to amounts provided for the medical research program by direct appropriation, an amount of \$15,690,529 was available in 1968 in grants from the National Institutes of Health and from other organizations sponsoring research. It is anticipated that approximately the same level of funding from these outside sources will be available in 1969 and 1970.

*Prosthetic research.* This is a research program to develop and test prosthetic, orthopedic, and sensory aids for the purpose of improving the care and rehabilitation of disabled eligible veterans, including amputees, paraplegics, and the blind.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities: Research facilities.....	1,244	3,758	5,839

*Research facilities.* This activity provides for construction of medical research facilities.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Medical and prosthetic research..	435	400	400
<b>ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY</b>			
Arms control and disarmament activities: External research and field testing.....	4,500	3,498	3,973

Approximately 42% of the 1970 request will be devoted to external research and field testing activities conducted through contracts or grants with nongovernmental research organizations and through reimbursement agreements with other United States Government departments and agencies. In 1970, the Agency plans to devote particular attention to the control of strategic offensive and defensive weapons systems.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: External research and field testing..	60	70	70

**FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION**

Salaries and expenses: Research and planning in communications technology.....	1,435	2,007	2,732
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*Research and planning in communications technology.* The Commission undertakes broad studies designed to improve the utilization of the radio spectrum, approves certain equipment for public use, and licenses experimental radio stations. Some of the studies being considered for 1970 include a further study into broadband communications technology, frequency assignment techniques for microwave radio systems, the social and economic values of communications, and a study of future requirements of the public, industry, public agencies, and individuals for land mobile services. In 1970, the Commission also proposes to initiate a program for the development of an augmented data bank to make available additional technical information regarding licensed stations for use in developing rules and in communications systems planning.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
<b>NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION</b>			
Support of scientific research:			
Scientific research project support.....	170,615	177,300	195,000
Specialized research facilities and equipment.....	18,942	7,000	15,000
National research programs.....	15,483	13,000	23,200
National research centers.....	31,464	25,700	25,700
Planning and policy studies.....	2,446	2,500	2,900

**Support of scientific research.** The budget provides for the award of grants and contracts in the various activities as follows: *Scientific research project support.* The Foundation's support of research in the sciences is provided through grants to investigators principally at colleges and universities. *Specialized research facilities and equipment.* The Foundation provides support for major items of specialized scientific facilities and equipment primarily at colleges and universities. *National research programs.* The Foundation supports broad national programs of scientific research including the Antarctic research program, the International biological research program, the Weather modification program, and an Ocean sediment coring program. *National research centers.* The Foundation supports the development and operation of national research centers for optical and radio astronomy and atmospheric sciences.

**Planning and policy studies.** This activity supports surveys and analytical studies of research and development within the various sectors of the economy and the current and projected status of scientific manpower and other resources required for the conduct of scientific activities. These studies are related to the formulation of the national policies concerning science.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION</b>			
Salaries and expenses: Research contracts.....	128	150	150

**Research contracts.** Research studies designed to reveal matters materially affecting the competitive strength of small business and the effect on small business of Federal laws, programs, and regulations are financed under this activity.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION</b>			
Salaries and expenses: Research and scholarship.....	7,250	7,559	8,724

The Smithsonian Institution conducts research in the natural and physical sciences and in the history of cultures, technology, and the arts. During fiscal 1970, the relocation of the Radiation Biology Laboratory to adequate research quarters will be continued. Ecological research and the management of natural preserves will be stressed at the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute, and the Chesapeake Bay Center for Field Biology.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>MUSEUM PROGRAMS AND RELATED RESEARCH (SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM): GRANTS FOR MUSEUM PROGRAMS AND RELATED RESEARCH IN THE NATURAL SCIENCES AND CULTURAL HISTORY (PROGRAM COSTS FUNDED).....</b>			
Change in selected resources.....	2,026	2,666	4,977
Total obligations.....	8	12	.....
Total obligations.....	2,034	2,678	4,977

*Grants for museum programs and related research in the natural sciences and cultural*

*history.* The Smithsonian Institution will continue the program of awarding grants to American universities, museums, or other institutions of higher learning interested in conducting research or excavations in archeology, research on systematic and environmental biology, and programs in museum sciences in the excess foreign currency countries.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>TARIFF COMMISSION</b>			
Salaries and expenses:			
Direct program:			
Research, investigations, and reports.....	3,257	3,525	3,466
Executive direction and administration.....	423	424	484
Total direct program costs funded.....	3,680	3,949	3,950
Change in selected resources.....	51	-110	.....
Total direct program.....	3,731	3,839	3,950
Reimbursable program: Research, investigations, and reports.....	11	10	10
Total obligations.....	3,742	3,849	3,960

The major responsibility of the Commission is to assess the impact of foreign trade policies of the United States and of other countries on domestic industries and to provide the President, the Congress, and the public with reports on these matters. The increasing complexity of the Nation's foreign trade relations, the increase in its foreign trade in recent years, and the greatly changing patterns of world trade continue to emphasize the need for research, investigations, and reports on tariff and trade matters.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>TEMPORARY STUDY COMMISSIONS</b>			
Commission on Obscenity and pornography, salaries and expenses: Investigation and recommendations—obscenity and pornography (costs—obligations).....			
		621	1,249

Research is directed toward analysis of existing laws and their enforcement, traffic in obscene and pornographic materials, and the effects of such materials on minors and crime in general.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 esti- mate	1970 esti- mate
<b>U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY</b>			
Acquisition and construction of radio facilities: Research and development.....			
	102	206	181

**Research and development.** Research will continue in engineering development, equipment design, and radio propagation techniques applicable to the Voice of America.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1968 actual	1969 estimate	1970 estimate
Grand totals.....	15,096,535	15,484,971	15,703,980

**H.R. 10250—THE SUPPLEMENTAL FAMILY ALLOWANCE ACT**

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI), is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, "the welfare system is designed to save money instead of people and tragically ends up doing neither." This was the view of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in March of 1968, and it is now the view overwhelmingly shared by those responsible for the administration of the present system.

There are approximately 8.5 million people in the United States receiving welfare today. In fiscal 1967, the total welfare cost was \$6,981,511,000. In fiscal 1968, it was \$8,866,220,000 with the Federal Government paying \$4.7 billion, the States \$3 billion, and local governments \$1.1 billion.

Despite increases in payments and programs and the unprecedented and largely unforeseen expansion of welfare rolls throughout the Nation, welfare in and of itself has not been adequate enough to aid recipients to climb above the poverty level.

The system, developed during the depression of the thirties, is not working properly, and this view is held by recipients, administrators, and the taxpayers who pay the actual bills.

To quote from a study concluded recently by the Urban Coalition, reviewing the effects of the Kerner Commission Report 1 year later:

Between 1959 and 1968, the increase in welfare caseloads nationally was 74.9%. But caseloads in the 10 States with the highest welfare benefits increased 148.7%, while caseloads in the 9 States and Puerto Rico with the lowest benefits increased only 11.1%. Similarly, the 10 high-pay States increased their share of the welfare dollar from 21.2% to 30.1% in the same period. The other 10 decreased their share from 30.3% to 19.2%.

Our American welfare system is deficient in two major ways:

First, it excludes large numbers of people who are in serious need and who, if provided a decent level of support, might be able to become more productive and self-sufficient, and

Second, the assistance provided is well below the minimum necessary for any humane standard of existence and it imposes penalties and restrictions that encourage continued dependency on the welfare system itself.

In other words, our present welfare system locks people in to dependence on the public dole.

Until recently, all wages earned by adult welfare recipients on outside jobs, with the exception of small allowances for expenses, were deducted directly from the welfare payments the recipients would otherwise have received. This practice, required by Federal law, has seriously undermined and successfully blunted any incentive recipients might have to seek either part-time or full time employment.

Our welfare system is paralyzed in the ganglia of its own regulations and standards. It thwarts the taxpayers who support it and the recipients it is pri-

marily designed to help. Unless we completely revise the present system, we can expect higher and higher costs with ever-diminishing results.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure we will find no quarrel from any mayor in this country or any Governor in this country or any administrator that the rising cost of public welfare is the single item that can destroy the fiscal security of community after community. Something has to be done.

Therefore, I am today proposing a major revision of America's welfare system in the form of legislation to be known as the Supplemental Family Allowance Act. Briefly, this legislation would:

First, provide more adequate levels of assistance of the basis of uniform national welfare standards. This would significantly curb the current migration of low-income people to the urban areas of the Nation.

We have a situation today where one State pays a family of four only \$40 a month in welfare assistance. We have other States that pay that same family \$280 a month. So it is no surprise that we have a great movement of people and a great migration of people seeking better opportunities, particularly into the urban areas of this country.

In my own State, the State of Illinois, 49 percent of the welfare recipients are from the single State of Mississippi.

In my judgment, we need uniform national standards to arrest this migration, this movement of people from one community to another seeking greater opportunities in the case of public assistance.

Second, my bill would create a new incentive to work by permitting the retention of a larger portion of outside earnings. The supplemental family allowance would be reduced by only 50 cents for every dollar earned by the recipient. This would mean that every able-bodied person would participate in some form or another in helping himself.

Mr. Speaker, one of the great tragedies of our time is that today in Cook County alone, County Commissioner Harry Semrow recently made a study of 6,000 welfare ADC mothers and found that 2,000 of those 6,000 women were capable of working and wanted to work and who had members of their own families or their relatives or neighbors who were willing to take care of their youngsters while they were working. The only thing that was holding these women back from working was the fact that actually they were receiving more money from public assistance than they would receive from jobs for which they had not been trained.

So, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me incongruous that we are providing welfare to such an extent that some individuals receive more welfare assistance than they would receive from employment.

Under my proposal we would permit people to keep their earnings and reduce the money they would be entitled to under public assistance by only 50 percent of their earnings so that all in all they would improve their economic status by their own initiative.

Supplemental family allowances are designed to help people first of all earn

their way out of public assistance and, second, require that the Government shall continue to contribute some share to their personal needs until such time as they earn enough to raise them above the poverty level. By giving this family a supplemental allowance, we would be doing just that, because we would be giving an incentive to people to augment and hopefully replace the assistance they receive from the public agencies through their own capacity and their own earning ability.

Third, my bill would free the State and local governments from financing public aid programs. In Illinois alone this would mean that my State could divert \$1.4 billion in each biennium to other uses or to tax cuts.

Mr. Speaker, this idea of the Federal Government taking over the full responsibility for welfare programs makes sense when we recognize the huge mobility of the people in this country today. I do not believe that host States—and my own State of Illinois, for example—should be compelled to provide \$1.4 billion of State money to provide assistance to indigent families who have exercised their Federal rights, their Federal constitutional rights, of moving from one State to another or of moving from one community to another so long as we allow this free movement. I am not suggesting that we should not allow such movement. This is a Republic of 50 States, and all Americans have the right to move from one State to another or to move from one community to another. But so long as that right exists as a Federal constitutional right, it occurs to me that the Federal Government should assume the responsibility of providing welfare assistance for those people who move from one community to another. I do not believe that the host community should be burdened with the total cost of providing public assistance.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Of course I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT. I wonder if the gentleman in the well has thought this through to the extent that the Federal Government, as I understand it, would assume all welfare responsibility, or would there be anything to keep the States or localities from supplementing the welfare program. What assurance does the gentleman have that the States and localities would not continue and that this would not be an added benefit that the Federal Government would eventually have to assume?

Mr. PUCINSKI. If the gentleman will be kind enough to listen to the rest of my statement, I believe these questions will be answered as we go along. However, I do thank the gentleman from Virginia for his question.

My bill would:

First, provide more adequate levels of assistance on the basis of uniform national welfare standards. This would significantly curb the current migration of low-income people to the urban areas of the Nation.

Second, create new incentives to work by permitting retention of a larger portion of outside earnings. The supplemental family allowance would be re-

duced by only 50 cents for every dollar earned by welfare recipients. This would mean that every able-bodied American would participate in some form of employment and earn at least part of his needs.

Third, eliminate the burden on State and local government by financing assistance costs entirely with Federal funds. In Illinois alone, this would mean the State could divert \$1.4 billion in each biennium to other uses or to tax cuts.

This threefold approach is designed to bring order out of chaos. By setting up a uniform series of standards on the basis of need, the Federal Government would have the opportunity to remove the basic inequalities in public assistance programs.

As Farris Bryant, Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recently stated:

The problem of welfare is no longer a local one, but one that has national dimensions.

Although the Federal Government now contributes about 50 percent of the money going into assistance funds—as contrasted to slightly over 40 percent in the early years of the program—it has not assumed responsibility for assuring that the program is a workable or just one.

Chairman Bryant further said:

In recommending Federal assumption of all public assistance costs, the Advisory Commission recognizes a fiscal fact of life—the Federal Government with its superior fiscal capacity is far better able than hard-pressed States and local governments to deal with this pressing domestic problem.

I would like to add here, Mr. Speaker, that there can be no question but that there is not a State in this Union that today is not faced almost with bankruptcy simply because of the rising costs of public assistance programs in that State. I do not know of a single Governor in America who is not spending sleepless nights trying to figure out how to meet this great problem.

The cost of local government is one of the problems that Americans are beginning to realize is becoming an almost insurmountable expense. Chairman Bryant makes an excellent suggestion in urging the Federal Government to take over this responsibility.

Only about one-third of those individuals defined as poor under the Social Security Administration's poverty index are now receiving welfare. A national welfare standard which would increase the payments in a number of States would extend welfare assistance to more of the poor, and by providing incentives for the able-bodied to find and retain full- or part-time employment, we will provide the opportunity for needy recipients to pull themselves above the poverty level.

Basically, the States have great autonomy in setting income standards and resource levels under each type of public assistance program. At the present time, selection of the income standard actually expressed in dollars for each type and size of family, has two important effects on an individual State's program:

First, it largely determines the number of people who are potentially eligible for assistance, since all of those whose in-

comes are below that standard are theoretically to receive payments to bring their work up to standard.

Second, the level of the standard clearly determines the amount of the assistance payments.

The Nixon administration task force recently recommended a national minimum standard of payment for the Nation's 8.5 million welfare recipients. Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur Cohen, advocated both uniform Federal standards and Federal assumption of a larger financial load. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York echoed these sentiments at the Republican Governors' meeting in December and repeated his support before the Nixon administration's Urban Affairs Council. Gov. Richard Ogilvie of Illinois also has asked the Federal Government to assume a larger share.

The current Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, indicated in his first press conference that national welfare standards were to have high administration priority.

The necessity for national standards is borne out when we encounter the variation of one State paying \$40 to a family of four per month, and another State paying \$280 to that same family of four per month.

It is well to consider a few pertinent statistics in discussing our present welfare system. Of the more than 8 million individuals receiving some form of public assistance each month 2.8 million are over 65, blind, or otherwise severely handicapped; 3.9 million are children in the aid for dependent children program whose parents do not or cannot provide financial support; 1.3 million are the parents of children on AFDC. Of these, more than 1 million are mothers and less than 200,000 are fathers. About two-thirds of the fathers are incapacitated.

In addition to the AFDC program, almost all States have a program of general assistance to provide minimum payments based largely or entirely on need. No Federal funds, however, have ever been available for the millions of unemployed or underemployed men or women in the United States who are in need but are neither aged, severely handicapped or parents of minor children.

In 1966 it was estimated that this reservoir of human beings who are poor but unassisted amounted to 21.7 million persons with incomes below the poverty level of \$3,445 for a family of four, as determined by the Social Security Administration. Only one-third of these people received assistance from major public welfare programs.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders listed some of the most troublesome statutory requirements and administrative practices in our welfare system that preclude its effectiveness. They are:

First, in most States benefits are available only when a parent is absent from the home. Thus, in these States an unemployed father whose family needs public assistance in order to survive, must either abandon his family or see them go hungry. This so-called "man-in-the-house" rule was intended to prevent payments to children who have an alternative potential source of support. In fact,

the rule seems to have fostered the breakup of homes and perpetuated reliance on public welfare.

Second, until recently all amounts earned by adult welfare recipients on outside jobs, except for small allowances for expenses, were deducted directly from welfare payments they would otherwise have received. This practice appears to have taken away from many recipients the incentive to seek part-time or full-time employment.

Many of the hard core unemployed, because of serious educational limitations or perhaps because of physical limitations are only capable of earning minimum amounts of money. Some of these people can never rise beyond the minimum wage standard. In many States people receive more from public assistance than they can earn in private employment. Consequently, many of these people even if they do go to work find that they cannot work simply because the welfare check itself would be greater than their own earning capacity would indicate.

Third, in most States, there is a residency requirement, generally averaging about 1 year, before a person is eligible to receive welfare. These regulations appear to have had little impact on migration and have frequently served to prevent those in greatest need from receiving assistance.

Title II of the legislation I am introducing today provides for supplemental family allowances.

A basic component in recovering the wasted human resources that have characterized our system of welfare up to the present would be to provide economic incentives—cash, if you will—for those who will seek part-time or full-time employment. My bill provides \$50 per month for the head of families and \$40 per month for each dependent.

If a recipient locates a job that permits him to earn more than the maximum provided in this bill, he would be permitted to keep his salary, as well as up to 50 percent of his welfare allotment until he has earned his way out of the poverty cycle and is able to support himself and his family without assistance, based on their minimum needs.

Thus, a family of six, the husband, wife and four children, would be entitled to \$50 a month for the father and \$40 a month for each of the five dependents. This would mean that this family would be entitled to \$250 a month in public assistance.

If the breadwinner went out and got a job paying the minimum wage of \$64 a week and earned \$256 a month through his own resources by going to work, he would keep the \$256 and we would then deduct one-half of the \$256—or \$128—from the \$250 of the public aid to which he is entitled, and so we would then pay that family the remaining \$128 so that that family would be receiving \$384 a month—\$256 from his own earnings and \$128 from the supplemental family allowance. This would bring this family out of the poverty cycle. As this family earned more and more money from its own resources, the Federal assistance would be diminished by 50 percent of the amount, until the family reached the point where, if the breadwinner earned

\$500 a month for his wife, his children, and himself, he would then not become eligible for any further Federal assistance.

In this way, Mr. Speaker, I believe that we can have an incentive program which will be an incentive for people to actively seek and retain jobs. Our advantage would be that instead of paying that family \$250 a month of the taxpayers' money, we would be reducing that amount by \$128, which is half of what this man earned through his own resources.

I believe that unless we find some way of reducing the cost of public welfare—and, in my judgment, this is one way to do it—we are going to see the American taxpayer look with greater and greater concern at the humane structure and basic ethics of this country of helping its more needy. For that reason it seems to me that the supplemental family allowance is one way to encourage people to earn their way out of poverty.

My hope is that if this legislation is adopted, we will see the day when every able-bodied American is going to contribute something to his existence. I think the American taxpayer is deeply concerned with the fact that today some able-bodied people are not doing anything. The original welfare program was passed in the middle 1930's when we had 14 million people unemployed. The whole purpose of welfare then was to help people feed themselves and their families and clothe themselves because we had the most horrible depression ever to hit this country, but that is not the situation today.

Today we have labor shortages. Today we have industry looking for people. All you have to do is look at the Sunday want ads and you will see hundreds of jobs being advertised. Many of these people could fit into those jobs either on a full-time or on a part-time basis if we did provide some incentive.

Mr. Speaker, we must recognize that when we talk about the hard-core unemployed, when we talk about the migrant who leaves the cotton fields of Georgia and migrates to the industrial centers of Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, or New York, or when we talk about the white Appalachians who leave the foothills of Appalachia and move into urban communities, those persons most probably are incapable of holding down any meaningful jobs. They are incapable of making enough money to provide for the needs of their families simply because they do not have the ability or the preparation.

Under this supplemental family allowance plan we will continue to help such a person so long as he needs that help. But we want him to help himself first. I think the American people would be willing to support a program of public assistance where each recipient would indeed help himself through his own initiative and through his own resources.

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, testified before the Senate earlier this week and he said that the main problem facing the poor people is not a failure of food programs but a lack of money. Mr. Heineman emphasized his belief that the Federal Govern-

ment should provide cash allowances to bring a family's income up to a certain minimum level.

Last August the Office of Economic Opportunity began sending checks to 200 families in Trenton, N.J., with no strings attached except the requirement that once a month they report their full income. Soon this experiment will be expanded to include 1,000 families in New Jersey's six largest cities. In all, seven plans will be tried with two key variables: the percentage of the gap between family income and poverty level income that is guaranteed, and the percentage in the amount of support as family income rises. The families will continue to receive their checks even if they leave New Jersey.

The cost to the Federal Government to provide supplemental family allowances would amount to approximately \$4 billion annually over and above the present welfare cost. In other words, what we would be doing is relieving the local governments of some \$4 billion they are now spending in the programs. The entire cost to the Federal Government for assuming full financial responsibility for public assistance programs, including the supplemental family allowance, would be about \$10 billion annually. This is the cost to the Government. This is not necessarily additional money. This is money that is now being spent by the States.

What we would be in effect doing is transferring the burden from the State to the Federal Government.

Let me stress the point that supplemental family allowances are neither radical nor utopian. Similar methods of equitable and humane welfare assistance are provided today by France and Canada and numerous other nations.

I might also add that these forthright programs provide a generous measure of dignity to the entire public assistance process.

Numerous bills have been introduced in the House and Senate in this session and in the previous sessions that have been designed to make our own welfare system more effective. We are all familiar with the countless reports and studies pointing toward the self-perpetuating despair and enervation resulting from the present system.

The bill which I am introducing today, Mr. Speaker, the Supplemental Family Allowance Act, hopefully will effectively end the cycle of poverty. By establishing uniform national welfare standards, by providing cash incentives to people to use their talents and initiative to earn their way out of poverty, by removing the inequities and burdens of State and local governments, and by requiring the Federal Government to assume responsibility for the entire cost of public assistance, we will once again be able to draw upon the human resources of this Nation which have been neglected as irredeemable for far too long. I urge my colleagues to read this bill carefully and to give it their full support.

In conscience America cannot afford the caprices of today's public assistance programs. This bill provides a comprehensive and I believe an effective alternative to our present confused and inefficient system.

There are those who might argue that a person in Appalachia does not need the same amount of money to feed a family of four, or five, or six, that a person in Chicago does. I do not share that view. I believe that if there is poverty in Appalachia it is only because of the insufficient standards of assistance, if we have national standards and if we can raise the standards of living in Appalachia, we will bring that great region of America into the mainstream of the American economy.

I believe a careful study of this act will show it is designed to help Americans fight their way out of poverty with their own ability, with their own resources, and with the assistance of the Federal Government.

I believe that the Federal Government will actually be able to save large sums of money. Many of the poverty programs we now have, which are being criticized from all sides, might very well be eliminated if we establish a program such as I have outlined, and if we would strengthen the manpower programs in the Labor Department to help educate and train these hard-core unemployed and prepare them for gainful employment. Working in this direction it is my judgment we can help people get off relief in this country.

I say to my colleagues that I know of no greater waste of human resources than having a family on the public dole. It is a waste to the family because it destroys its dignity. It is a waste to our economy. This Nation is going to be a trillion dollar economy early in 1970, 1971, and 1972. We are going to have a labor force of 100 million people to sustain this economy, so this Nation can no longer afford an unemployed American. We need these people in the mainstream of this economy. We need them in the labor force. The way to bring them into the labor force is through the incentive plan I have outlined to my colleagues today.

#### NATO TASK FORCE REVIEW

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ASPINALL). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the announcement of the selection by President Nixon of Mr. Robert F. Ellsworth as U.S. Ambassador to NATO, coinciding as it does with the 20th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty, makes timely a review of the work of the House Republican task force dealing with NATO and the Atlantic community during the 88th, 89th, and 90th Congresses.

The work of this group, which most recently was identified as the House Republican task force on Western alliances, becomes especially significant, because Mr. Ellsworth, as a Representative from Kansas, helped to organize it early in 1963 and took an active role in its work until he left the Congress at the end of 1967.

In the spring of 1965 Representative ALBERT H. QUIE and I discussed the idea of a task force to conduct a thorough study of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with particular emphasis on the state of unity that prevailed within

that organization. Furthermore, the task force was to have the responsibility for making recommendations whereby the alliance could be strengthened and made more effective.

Representative QUIE was receptive to the idea. Disturbed by the decay of NATO, he had spoken of the gradual disintegration of the alliance in his own Minnesota First District, and on college campuses.

The plan was discussed with Representative GERALD FORD of Michigan, and Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON, both of whom strongly endorsed the plan. Representative JOHN J. RHODES, of Arizona, chairman, special projects subcommittee of the House Republican policy committee gave it his approval.

On August 5, 1963, the House Republican project on NATO unity which was later changed to the task force on NATO unity, was formed with 12 members, three of whom were also members of the House Armed Services Committee. Representative ALBERT H. QUIE was appointed chairman and serving with him were Representatives E. ROSS ADAIR of Indiana; John F. Baldwin, Jr. of California; WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD of Michigan; Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri; Robert F. Ellsworth of Kansas; PAUL FINDLEY of Illinois; GERALD R. FORD of Michigan; CHARLES E. GOODELL of New York; HASTINGS KEITH of Massachusetts; ROGERS C. B. MORTON of Maryland, and ALEXANDER PIRNIE of New York.

For many weeks the task force held meetings with experts in the various fields that touched NATO: Adm. Arleigh Burke, U.S. Navy retired, former chief of naval operations and Gen. Lauris Norstad, U.S. Air Force retired, former NATO commander, who discussed both military and political problems in NATO. Officials of the Embassy of the German Federal Republic provided the task force insight into the thinking of a NATO partner. Former Secretary of State Christian Herter, late chief trade negotiator of the administration and the Honorable Gabriel Hauge, former chief economic adviser to President Eisenhower, discussed at great length economic aspects of problems facing the alliance. Clarence Streit, distinguished editor of *Freedom and Union*, discussed the Atlantic union proposal as it applied to NATO. These experts all prefaced their discussions with the task force by stating that the alliance was in a dangerous state of disarray.

From these briefings there emerged two basic problems into which the task force must delve:

First. The basic causes of NATO disarray.

Second. Methods by which the disunity or disarray might be overcome.

Creation of the task force came at a period of contradictory events that were highly disturbing to the 14-year-old NATO.

President Kennedy in his state of the Union message on January 15, 1963, declared that in his meeting with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan at Nassau in December recognized that NATO was an "alliance of proud and sovereign nations, and works best when we do not forget it."

Five months later, on June 25, 1963,

while visiting Europe, President Kennedy reaffirmed America's guarantee to defend Europe and the principle of partnership.

But his words were contradicted by U.S. policy. In 1962 with no prior discussion in NATO councils, the United States and British Prime Minister Macmillan appealed to Mr. Khrushchev for an agreement on a test ban treaty. In April 1963, again with no prior discussion in NATO councils, the United States and Russia agreed to establishment of a "hot line" between Washington and Moscow.

#### HOT LINE SHOULD NOT BYPASS NATO ALLIES

On August 24 the House project committee on NATO unity sent a letter to President Kennedy urging that the hot line agreed upon by the United States and Soviet representatives at the Geneva Disarmament Conference earlier this year—1963—should not bypass our NATO partners completely. It was signed by ALBERT H. QUIE, chairman, and all other committee members.

The letter said in part:

The "hot line" bypasses our NATO partners completely . . . We give the appearance of treating our NATO partners as irresponsible children . . . and more interested in establishing a private line with our enemies than with our friends.

If the Soviets should push the nuclear button, it will be far more important for us to have instant communication with our NATO partners . . . than with Mr. Khrushchev, to whom words are but weapons in the cold war to be employed and buried.

The fate of the entire free world may hang on the messages exchanged over the Washington-Moscow "hot line" but our free-world partners apparently are to be left outside—to wonder, worry and wait. Let's let them listen in, and at the same time create a communications system useful to NATO . . .

We strongly urge:

A NATO "hot line" in addition to the Washington-Moscow "hot line". It would connect all NATO capitals so they could instantly communicate with each other. It would also have a "listening device" which could automatically relay to NATO capitals all messages carried over the separate Washington-Moscow "hot line" . . . This action would strengthen the NATO partnership.

The reply to this suggestion by the Secretary of State was not entirely responsive to the proposal and made no change in committee attitude.

#### WHEAT DEAL

On October 4, 1963, 6 days prior to President Kennedy's announcement to Congress of the pending unilateral wheat deal with Communist Russia, the GOP task force on NATO unity urged President Kennedy to immediately call for a top-level NATO conference to discuss ways and means of achieving economic solidarity within the NATO alliance.

The 12 Congressmen released the following statement:

The recent Canadian-Russian wheat deal and a possible U.S.-Russian wheat deal point up the need for greater NATO unity. Both deals developed on a bilateral basis and apparently without due regard for their broad implications on free world security.

The Communists use trade as a weapon in the cold war. . . . They use trade to "divide and conquer," create dissension among the free nations, make individual nations dependent and therefore vulnerable, as well as to fill their own strategic shortages.

We urge that the authority of NATO be increased so that it would have the responsibility and the authority to strengthen and develop free competitive practices in world commerce and to resist any monopolistic state-dominated trade warfare of the Communists.

NATO is united in moral purpose. It must also be united in economic purpose.

Article II of the original NATO treaty states that the NATO countries will "seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any and all of them." Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson was the author of this important provision.

We urge the President to issue a call for an immediate top-level NATO conference to give consideration to this proposal.

#### ENERGY OF TASK FORCE PRAISED

In obtaining advice from experts on all phases connected with NATO, 10 of the 12 members of the House GOP task force on NATO unity plus Representative CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan, member of the House Armed Services Committee, held a 2-hour secret luncheon-conference with General Eisenhower on November 15 at Gettysburg.

Some weeks after the meeting with General Eisenhower, Clarence Streit, editor of Freedom and Union, impressed with the diligence of the GOP task force on NATO unity, wrote:

House Republicans who recently seized the leadership in Washington for stronger Atlantic unification are energetically pushing forward with evidence of growing support in their party. When established in September, some thought that this group, then entitled the "House Republican Project Committee on NATO Unity" had the pious blessing rather than the active backing of the House Republican Policy Committee.

I find the creation of this Task Force and the energy it is showing especially significant for two reasons: This initiative comes from Midwest Republicans, notably its chairman, Albert Quie of Minnesota, Gerald Ford of Michigan, Paul Findley of Illinois and Robert Ellsworth of Kansas.

#### SHARE NUCLEAR KNOW-HOW WITH NATO ALLIES

In a speech in the House on November 19, 1963, I warned:

Secretary McNamara apparently is suffering from the dangerous delusion that the present NATO structure is strong and durable . . . The fact is NATO is built on sand, and the sand shifts with each wind that blows. The free-world alliance is today weaker than at any time since World War II.

Mr. McNamara would be wise to concentrate on building solid unity in NATO instead of emphasizing a detente with the Soviet Union.

Mr. McNamara's appraisal of the relative strength of NATO and Russia is grossly misleading. NATO today is a rapidly deteriorating paper alliance. Its military might is impressive only when the parts are added together, as they were by Mr. McNamara.

But the parts are not truly unified. They are unified only on paper, and in a showdown each member of NATO—ourselves included—will follow the course of action which at the moment seems to be most expedient . . .

In nuclear power, we cling to the ridiculous policy of secrecy in dealing with our NATO allies. We deny to the nations to whom we must look if a showdown comes the know-how and weapons which we know the enemy already possesses.

As a minimal first-step toward strengthening NATO, we should abandon without further delay the obsolete policy and share weapons and knowhow with our allies. . . . we should provide them with tactical nuclear weapons . . .

NATO nuclear power is actually U.S. nu-

clear power and our nonnuclear friends in NATO know it . . . Under present circumstances, they may properly wonder if we actually would defend their cities with our nuclear power. After all, they can point with alarm and concern to our weak follow-through in Cuba and Berlin, our withdrawal of missiles from Italy and Turkey, and our avid promotion of a nuclear test-ban agreement with Russia . . .

They are at the mercy of our own uncertain national policy and to a lesser degree, we are at the mercy of theirs.

A report in November 1963 advocated that the United States make available to NATO member nations "smaller tactical—or so-called battlefield—nuclear weapons to be kept within their care, custody, and control." The report continued:

Such weapons "have a strategic value of a magnitude which would indicate that they should be thought of in terms of conventional weaponry and not as weapons of retaliation for massive nuclear attack" . . . (and) would go a long way towards strengthening the Alliance . . . (which would be) of prime importance in view of the considered withdrawal of substantial numbers of U.S. troops now stationed in Europe.

Other conclusions in the report were:

The Alliance has been weakened by a "near crusade to alleviate tensions which exist between ourselves and the Soviets" now being carried on unilaterally by the Kennedy Administration.

The United States attitudes toward our Allies is one which would treat our NATO partners as "minions who should do our bidding without question" instead as equal partners.

Trade disagreements between NATO partners tend to weaken the military alliance.

The report also called for patient negotiations of such issues by a special group set up within NATO for that purpose.

The second session of the 88th Congress followed the assassination of President John F. Kennedy with elevation of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson to the Presidency.

The second session of the 88th Congress also saw an additional member added to the NATO task force, Charles E. Chamberlain, who made the fourth member of the House Armed Services Committee to join.

The task force met on February 26, 1964, with William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for a briefing. Following a few introductory remarks, by the Secretary, he was questioned by members of the task force.

The NATO Foreign Minister's Geneva meeting May 14-16, 1964, was the most troubled session so far. Policy rifts between the NATO member-nations had occurred especially the question of trade with Communist nations, and the civil war in Cyprus.

On the home front, a plea by the House Republican task force on NATO unity for greater stress on economic and political aspects of the Atlantic alliance by the Johnson administration had proved fruitless.

A letter to President Johnson on May 15 reiterating the plea for a "blue ribbon panel" and pledging bipartisan support was signed by Chairman ALBERT QUIE and the other 13 members of the task force. Here are some excerpts from the letter.

We strongly commend your efforts of recent date to unify North Atlantic Treaty Organization policy in regard to Cuba and South Viet Nam, and deeply regret they have not been more fruitful.

We believe the time has come for an immediate and thorough study of the NATO structure itself . . . (to make) NATO more durable and effective in serving the many common interests of the North Atlantic community—economically and politically, as well as militarily.

The task is urgent and vital. It calls for the very best talent the United States and other NATO nations can offer. We therefore urge that you invite former Presidents Dwight B. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman to head a blue-ribbon delegation of U.S. citizens to meet with similar groups from other NATO nations for the purpose of formulating and proposing for ratification improvements in the structure of NATO.

Our committee consists entirely of Republicans, but we view this as a responsibility and opportunity which calls for full bi-partisanship. We therefore offer our fullest cooperation and would like to meet with you at your convenience.

Early in June the task force met with Secretary of State Rusk. Mr. Rusk suggested the task force leave the invitation for a convention in the hands of a private organization such as the Atlantic Council rather than have the President initiate it.

The Republican platform committee was meeting in San Francisco prior to the national convention. A statement of criticism and recommendations by the NATO task force for consideration by the platform committee was forwarded:

NATO is in dangerous array, largely due to faltering inept leadership by the Democratic Administration. During the administration of a Republican President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, NATO was powerful and promising. Now it is on the ropes: exactly where Krushchev wants it to be.

Structural changes are . . . needed to make it more durable and effective in serving the many common interests of the North Atlantic community—economically and politically, as well as militarily.

The U.S. should take the initiative in calling a convention for the purpose of formulating and proposing for ratification improvements in the structure of NATO.

An early highlight in the 89th Congress for the House Republican task force on NATO unity was a private conference with former Vice President Richard M. Nixon on March 8, 1965. Those attending the morning session were E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana; CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York; THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Missouri; JAMES C. CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire; CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan; ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and myself.

Mr. Nixon was quoted as describing "the decline of NATO" as the Johnson administration's "worst foreign policy failure." To illustrate the decline of U.S. leadership in the free-world alliance, Mr. Nixon declared that French President De Gaulle, whom he described as "the only strong leader in free Europe today" is "not on our side."

The House Republican task force on NATO unity in its 20-month span under Representative ALBERT H. QUIE had won its laurels. At the reorganization on March 22, 1965, Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, chairman of the committee on planning and research, announced that task force responsibilities

would be expanded to include long-range Republican examination of Atlantic community problems. Said Representative GOODELL:

They have demonstrated their awareness of the impact affairs in the Atlantic Community can have both throughout the world and here at home. They have exceptional capability to evaluate the problems and to come up with solid Republican proposals to meet those problems.

Resignation of his task force chairmanship also was announced by Representative ALBERT H. QUIE. In moving over as chairman of the newly organized Republican task force on education which he had proposed, Representative QUIE stated he thought it better to bring in new committee leadership with each Congress thereby bringing out greater involvement of membership.

Appointment of myself as chairman of the 12-member task force was announced with the following members: E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana; JOHN F. BALDWIN, Jr., of California; CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan; JAMES C. CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire; ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, of Kansas; HASTING KEITH, of Massachusetts; JAMES D. MARTIN, of Alabama; ROGERS C. B. MORTON, of Maryland; ALEXANDER PIRNIE, of New York; ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota; and OGDEN R. REID of New York. Four original members resigned: Representative GERALD R. FORD became minority floor leader; CHARLES E. GOODELL became chairman of the Republican committee on planning and research; THOMAS B. CURTIS, who had been appointed to two additional committees—Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and Joint Committee on Organization of Congress; Representatives CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN, JAMES D. MARTIN, and OGDEN R. REID were new members; JAMES C. CLEVELAND had been a member of the task force for several months.

Before adjourning the meeting, Representative GOODELL pointed to the importance of the task force in declaring:

To me, this is one of the most important responsibilities and opportunities presently before the Republican Party (deterioration of NATO). Our committee will continue to work as a team, as it did under the excellent leadership of Rep. Albert H. Quie, drawing upon every available resource in the Republican Party and beyond in order to develop constructive proposals. We are willing and anxious to be the focal point for exchange of ideas and information in this vital and critical field.

The thesis of many task force statements had pinpointed U.S. unilateral actions followed by requested approval of the NATO Council as one source of allies disunity. U.S. involvement in Vietnam provided a major test.

The NATO Council meeting in late March 1965 revealed that consultation in foreign policy by the United States with our European allies was woefully inadequate. Among Council members there was anxiety and open criticism of U.S. action in Vietnam which they felt was of potential danger to them. Lack of consultation to insure concerted action and U.S. unilateral trade agreements with NATO enemies reaped its harvest—free world shipping to the Communist government in North Vietnam was steadily

increasing, with Great Britain leading the way.

Against this background the first statement of the newly organized task force made the following statement:

We submit that a new far-reaching strategy for the Vietnam war is badly needed—and should be developed jointly with our NATO allies. Winning in Vietnam would be an expensive victory if it is won at the cost of wrecking NATO.

Although U.S. power is crucial in this struggle, it need not stand alone. The broad base of power which can confront, confound and eventually overcome Communism is the Atlantic Community of nations . . .

The task force advocated:

That the North Atlantic Treaty Organization be used to the greatest extent possible to develop unified free-world policy on critical problems like Vietnam which have world-wide importance . . . (and)

Recognizing that the structure of NATO needs to be improved, we strongly urge the President to appoint a blue-ribbon group of U.S. citizens to meet with similar groups of other NATO nations to study the NATO structure and recommend improvements.

The following day, on April 6, the task force issued another critical statement of administration policy in Vietnam headlined "Republican Groups Warns That Our Go-It-Alone Posture in Vietnam Puts New Strains on NATO."

Reiterating some points made the preceding day:

The free nations of NATO should act as one when they are confronted with foreign-policy problems of common concern like the Communist threat in South Vietnam . . .

We submit that a new far-reaching strategy is badly needed. It should be developed jointly with our NATO allies.

It should be broad enough to assure unity in meeting future thrusts and parries by the Communists. We should reason together with our allies and permit them to share in making the decisions. Vietnam is but the latest episode in the long-range struggle between Communism and freedom . . .

After-the-fact consultation with our allies must be replaced by effective, durable teamwork.

We urge that NATO be used automatically to develop unified free-world policy on all critical problems which, like Vietnam, have world-wide importance.

We strongly urge the President to appoint a blue-ribbon group of U.S. citizens to meet with similar groups from other NATO nations. The purpose of the meeting would be to study the alliance structure and recommend improvements."

On April 21, speaking for the Lost Lorie, I stated:

Misunderstanding between friends threatens to split asunder the free world's most essential institution—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

Today it is common knowledge that NATO is nearly "split asunder". National leaders voice their concern, but nothing is done.

Most obvious of the forces splitting NATO are the conflicting policies and actions of France and the United States . . . two nations . . . essential to the North Atlantic Community and to the cause of freedom for whose protection NATO was formed . . .

President Kennedy must have momentarily recognized the importance of close accord with France when, in 1961, he announced that his first state visit would be to French President De Gaulle and to him alone. But this meeting was relegated to a mere stop-over on a journey . . . to confer with Communist Leader Krushchev. President De Gaulle was affronted.

Despite this affront, France immediately

pledged us her support in the Cuban missile crisis, and President De Gaulle later risked personal safety to attend the Kennedy funeral. At that time he paid his respects to President Johnson.

The Presidents of France and the United States have not conferred personally with each other for four long and fateful years. During that time each has conferred with the leaders of almost all other nations of the alliance. Meanwhile, the icy discord . . . has engendered broader disunion in NATO and thus endangers individual liberty everywhere.

We believe it is high time for the Presidents of the two great republics to confer with each other. We urge that the U.S. President be the one to break the ice, and make the kind of visit to President De Gaulle that President Kennedy originally planned but failed to carry out.

We urge that he go to Europe at the earliest possible date for the single purpose of conferring with the French executive . . . we believe this mission has overriding importance and urgency.

The discussion might guide us to a more effective way to handle critical problems like Vietnam. Our President could get the French President's views firsthand, reason together with him . . . work out a consensus . . . on how to strengthen NATO.

This is not an easy task, but we are sure President Johnson would agree that the best way to gain a consensus on difficult problems is by meeting man-to-man with those who hold differing views.

The discussion might well be the historic first step down a long and mutually rewarding road of free-world teamwork.

On April 20 the task force released a letter to President Johnson which stated:

Misunderstandings between friends threaten to split asunder the free world's most essential institution—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

President Kennedy spoke of this danger in his inaugural address when, alluding to our NATO alliance, he warned, ". . . we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder."

A few months later, as Vice President, you spoke at ceremonies observing the tenth anniversary of SHAPE, NATO's military agency. You declared, ". . . the United States is resolved to do everything within its power—and I emphasize the word everything—to enhance the strength and unity of the North Atlantic Community."

That was the promise in 1961. The promise has not been fulfilled.

A telegram to President Johnson on May 10, 1965, from the task force stated:

I respectfully urge that you send Secretary of State Rusk, as originally planned, as the United States Delegate to the NATO Ministerial meeting which begins tomorrow in London.

In substituting an undersecretary for our top foreign policy official, you imply a greater concern for the Dominican crisis than for the problem of NATO unity.

The telegram may have had effect.

A press release by the Johnson administration on June 2, 1965, brought words of praise from the task force:

Today's Washington Post reports that the United States is prepared to propose the establishment of a net of hot lines which would permit instantaneous consultation among NATO capitals. This proposal is in close accord with and complements a suggestion made by the House Republican Task Force on NATO to President Kennedy in August 1963, following the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to establish a Washington-Moscow "hot line".

Responding for the President, Secretary

Rusk stressed the importance of "even speedier communications with our NATO allies" and indicated that a study of improved communications would be undertaken with the assistance of the Department of Defense.

It is gratifying to find that this study has developed to the point where a specific proposal can now be made to our allies. As you consider this, we hope you will have the opportunity to review our initial suggestion which stresses the importance of having our allies "listen in" on the Washington-Moscow line to allay any suspicions they might have of U.S.-Soviet dealing to which they are not privy.

#### THE PARIS MISSION

When I was appointed chairman of the House Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic Alliance on March 22, 1965, I stated:

NATO has been sadly neglected. My plan is for the Committee on NATO and the Atlantic Alliance to continue its examination of the alliance, to clarify the reasons for its steady deterioration and to propose ways to strengthen it.

At a meeting of the Republican research and planning committee chaired by New York Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, now Senator, I suggested a fact-finding mission be sent to Paris. The plan was strongly endorsed by Representative Melvin Laird, of Wisconsin, now Secretary of Defense, who was chairman of the House Republican conference. It was approved by the full conference on June 2, 1965. A press conference announcing the plan and naming the members of the mission was held.

Members were HASTINGS KEITH, of Massachusetts; James D. Martin, of Alabama; and E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana, whose place was taken by ALEXANDER FIRNIE, of New York, when the Indiana Representative was unable to go. I was designated chairman. Mr. Laird read the House Republican conference resolution:

Whereas:

Misunderstandings between friends threaten to break up the free world's most essential institution, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The growing rift between two historic allies—the United States and France—appears to be the major reason for the grave difficulties in which NATO finds itself and the most formidable obstacle to rebuilding and strengthening this vital alliance.

The decline of NATO is so sharp it endangers free-world security. This crisis deepens unnoticed because it has none of the violence and drama of trouble-spots like Vietnam which monopolizes Governmental and public attention.

Therefore, be it resolved that:

In recognition of this grave and unmet danger, the House Republican Conference hereby endorses and sponsors a mission drawn from its task force on NATO and the Atlantic Community. The mission will make a fact-finding trip to NATO headquarters in Paris as soon as scheduling permits.

Through this, the Conference hopes to—

1. Alert the American people to the deepening crisis in NATO and contribute to a better understanding of its gravity.
2. Learn firsthand the basis and depth of Franco-American disagreement as viewed by the French.
3. Aid our government in moving swiftly and wisely to meet these problems.

Following Mr. Laird's statement, I made the following observation:

NATO's fall or even the withdrawal from NATO of a single nation like France would

constitute a military and political setback of major magnitude for us and for our allies. It would reduce sharply the effectiveness of free world arms.

NATO's decline comes at a time when the need for free-world unification is greater than before. Military, monetary, nuclear and trade problems that affect the vital interests of the entire Atlantic Community mount rather than recede.

President De Gaulle is widely portrayed in the U.S. as the sole cause of all American difficulties in Europe . . . (however) many Europeans accuse the United States of seeking to dominate all Europe.

The announcement received wide attention. It was the first time such a mission had been undertaken and it was likewise unprecedented that it was entirely financed by a political party—the Republican conference. No public funds were involved.

Detailed plans for the mission moved rapidly. A distinguished and authoritative consultant for numerous organizations, author and lecturer on foreign affairs, Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, director of the foreign policy research at the University of Pennsylvania was dispatched to Paris to line up interviews for the mission.

Announcement of the mission was sent to all Republican Senators and Governors; to 228 statesmen, scholars, and other persons keenly interested in NATO with a request for suggestions and comments. Editors and publishers of most major newspapers and periodicals were also contacted. In addition to responses from Congressmen, letters were received from former NATO Ambassador Burgess; former Supreme Allied Commanders Gruenther and Ridgeway; Mr. Allen Dulles; Mr. George Meany, AFL-CIO; Mr. David Lawrence, U.S. News & World Report; Mr. Walden Moore, director of Atlantic Unity; Dr. Hans Morgenthau, director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign and Military Power at the University of Chicago; Mr. George Weaver, Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor; Gen. Mark Clark; Mr. Will Clayton, former Under Secretary of State, and other knowledgeable persons.

With few exceptions the 100 replies to the letters regarding the trip to Paris were favorable. It was felt much good might be accomplished by the proposed fact-finding mission.

Consultation was held with prominent and influential persons and groups as well as Government agencies directly concerned with foreign affairs in the European sector of NATO. Nor were congressional committees bypassed. These included Republican members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Banking and Currency Committee, Ways and Means Committee, and Armed Services Committee.

At the State Department the mission was briefed by the congressional relations representative; Assistant Secretary of State Douglas MacArthur II, who was political adviser to Eisenhower when the former President was NATO Commander; and the NATO political affairs representative, George S. Vest.

Another important meeting was with Assistant Defense Secretary John T. McNaughton and Adm. Alfred G. Ward, U.S. member of the NATO Military

Council known as the standing group which is located in Washington.

A conference was held with former Vice President Nixon on June 8 in his New York City apartment.

A 2-hour conference with General Eisenhower, first Supreme Allied Commander, and frequently termed the "Architect of NATO," was held at Gettysburg on June 9 attended by Representatives KEITH, PIRNIE, Martin, and myself.

ROGERS C. B. MORTON, also a member of the House Republican committee on NATO but not one of the Paris-bound group was also present.

#### PARIS TRIP PREPARATION

On June 10, I reported to the House of Representatives as follows:

Mr. Speaker, the Republican fact-finding mission will leave tonight for NATO headquarters in Paris after a week-long series of briefings and conferences here.

Sponsored by the House Republican Conference, the mission consists of Reps. Alexander Pirnie of New York, Hastings Keith of Massachusetts, James D. Martin of Alabama, and myself. The Republican conference is headed by Representative Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin, and includes the full GOP membership in the House of Representatives. The NATO mission was selected from the House Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic Alliance.

No government funds are involved and the group is taking Pan American flight No. 114 from Kennedy International Airport in New York departing at 8:30 p.m. The group will board a National Airline flight No. 289 at Washington National Airport at 5:55 p.m. to connect with (the) plane in New York.

The schedule of conferences in Paris is not complete but it already includes the following: Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe; NATO Secretary General Manlio Brosio; Ambassador Thomas K. Finletter, U.S. Representative on the NATO Council; French Minister of Defense Pierre Messmer, and officials of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Final briefing in preparation for the trip was early today with Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania, who serves as consultant to the mission and has been in Paris for the past week arranging appointments.

Yesterday we met with Assistant Defense Secretary John T. McNaughton and Admiral Alfred G. Ward, U.S. member of the NATO military council known as the Standing Group, which is located in Washington.

The previous day we met with NATO's first Commander former President Eisenhower at Gettysburg and later with Assistant Secretary of State Douglas MacArthur II.

On Monday we were in New York where we conferred with former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Our pretrip conferences and consultations have convinced us that our concern over the sharp decline in the influence of NATO is widely shared.

We leave with the benefit of counsel from high officials, past and present. The encouragement and advice of public officials on both sides of the political aisle, scientists, military experts, and economists have been most gratifying and helpful.

This will be a factfinding, not a fault-finding mission. Our group seeks to understand the attitude of French and other officials toward NATO and our role in the alliance.

Through this mission, we hope to alert the American people to the deepening crisis in NATO and to contribute to a better understanding of its gravity; learn firsthand

the nature of Franco-American disagreement as viewed by the French; and hopefully to aid to our government in moving swiftly and wisely to meet these problems.

Interest in the factfinding mission to Paris continued high throughout the United States as evidenced by national publicity.

The factfinding mission which arrived in Paris on Friday morning June 11 was accompanied by Mr. John A. Mathews, a member of my staff, who devoted his time exclusively to NATO affairs and served ably for 4 fruitful years. Also accompanying the mission was Dr. Charels O. Lerche, Jr., newly appointed dean of the School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C., who had been employed for the summer as foreign policy consultant by the House Republican conference.

On the first day of our arrival we participated in a ceremony honoring Sgt. Russell Kelly, of Altoona, Pa., the first American fatally wounded in the liberation of Paris in the fall of 1944. The ceremony was held at the Invalides, a national shrine which includes Napoleon's tomb, a veterans' hospital, and the Kelly memorial.

The fact-finding mission, all members of the American Legion, participated in the wreath laying ceremony at the Tomb of the French Unknown Soldier at the Arch of Triumph in Paris on June 13.

On arrival in Paris, I told newsmen:

We are here on a fact-finding, not a fault-finding, mission.

The statement made prior to departure from the United States—that no press conferences would be held—was adhered to. Ground rules were followed carefully.

While on foreign soil, no comments to the press or otherwise which could be interpreted as critical of either the French or United States administrations; no public discussion of any topic, finding, or conclusion developed from conferences; no attributing of remarks or ideas that were presented during discussion with French or NATO officials then or at any time in the future; no identification of people with whom conferences were held unless approved.

The New York Times Service did cable the Minneapolis Tribune that the mission had arrived and was financed by the House Republican organization. The cable also included the statement:

U.S. official spokesmen were at pains to dispel any belief in Europe that the legislators were on an official congressional mission.

Shortly after arrival in Paris, the mission plunged into a heavy schedule of conferences and briefings, mainly with NATO and French officials. The few social affairs given in our honor provided an opportunity to meet French citizens of importance outside official circles.

Within a few hours after arrival in Paris, the mission conferred briefly with NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, in his office, then accompanied him to the staff conference room for a briefing on the purpose and structure of NATO. That was followed by another discussion with General Lemnitzer and his staff. Those present were: Gen. T. W. Parker, Chief of Staff; Lt. Gen. P. Montjamont, Deputy

Chief of Staff for Logistics and Administration; Lt. Gen. W. Baudissin, Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations; Maj. Gen. A. U. Nielsen, Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations; Maj. Gen. J. Garot, Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans and Policy; Maj. J. M. F. Cavin, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence.

American officials and citizens with whom they conferred included the following: Ambassador Thomas K. Finletter, U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO; Gen. Jacob E. Smart, Chief of Staff to General Lemnitzer, in his secondary role as commander in chief, U.S. European Command; U.S. Ambassador to France, Charles Bohlen; Mr. Theodore Achilles, Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Atlantic Council of the United States, who has arrived for a brief visit in Paris following a London meeting of the Council of the Western European Union; Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, the well-known New York Times columnist and an authority on foreign affairs, who entertained the mission at lunch; Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, editor of the Western World which was discontinued about 1960.

The mission conferred at NATO Headquarters with Mr. Manlio Brosio, NATO's Secretary General, in which Gen. di Martino of Italy, a NATO officer participated; a second conference with Mr. Brosio was at his invitation just prior to leaving France. A conference was also held with Gen. Jean Crepin, commander in chief of the Central European Command, NATO.

At the suggestion of Mr. Newlin, assistant for political affairs and a member of General Lemnitzer's staff, a conference was held with the Belgian, Canadian, and Netherlands permanent representatives to NATO, which was arranged by Mr. Newlin and held at NATO headquarters.

A breakfast conference was held with Dr. W. Baron van Kessenich, mayor of Maastricht, the Netherlands, who came to Paris especially to confer with the mission.

The factfinding group held conferences with the following high ranking French officials: French Foreign Minister M. Maurice Couve de Murville at the Foreign Ministry; M. Maurice Schumann, President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies; Defense Minister M. Pierre Messmer at the Defense Ministry; Gen. Andre Beaufre, director of the French Institute of Strategic Studies and his staff; M. Jacques Vernant, director of the Center for Foreign Policy Studies and his staff, which included former French Ambassador to the United States Henry Bonnet; Prof. Leo Hamon; Mr. Philippe Devillers; Captain Eyraud; Commander Lechat; General Gallois; M. Diomedee Castroux, former Minister for Air and later Armament.

Conferring with the mission was M. Jean-Danielle Jurgenson, head of the American desk, and his staff. M. Jurgenson also hosted a dinner for the mission and included as guests M. Edmond Giscard d'Estaing, M. Arnaud Wapler, and M. de le Grandville, both of the Foreign Office, Gen. Pierre Billotte, M. de Bratillat, Mr. Funkhouser, and Mr. McGuire of the U.S. Embassy.

A reception and dinner honoring the mission was given by the French Association for the Atlantic Community followed by a seminar on NATO problems to which the following additional influential and prominent men were invited: Senator Georges Portmann, M. Alain Montmoreau, former Deputy Pierre Mahais, French Deputy Joel le Theule, M. Pierre Emanuelli, M. Alfred Coste-Floret.

At a luncheon conference given by France-America, the guests were M. Jacques Chastenet, of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences; M. Edmond Giscard d'Estaing, president of the International Chamber of Commerce; M. Henri Bonnet, former French Ambassador to the United States; M. Gillion Georges-Picot, former French Ambassador to the United Nations; Marquis de Messy; Baron Christian de Waldner; M. Jean Delorme; Colonel Brunschwag.

A luncheon was also sponsored by former Ambassador Walter Dowling, director general of the Atlantic Institute, honoring the mission and included Mr. A. E. M. Duynstee of the Netherlands and representative in the Council of Europe; M. Francois Fontaine of France, member of the Monnet Committee and Director of the European Community Information Bureau in Paris; M. Etienne Hirsch of France, former President of the Euratom Commission; M. Serge Hurtig of France, professor at the Study Center for International Relations; M. Lucien Radoux of Belgium, Member of the Parliament of Europe and Director of the European Foundation for International Exchange; M. Andre Felix Rossi of France, Member, Chamber of Deputies.

A reception in honor of the mission was also held by Mr. Clement Brown, president of Olin-Matheson International, to which Paris representatives of major American banking and industry and several officials from the U.S. Embassy were invited.

Following the second conference with Mr. Manlio Brosio, 23 conferences and briefings have been held in 9 days, the mission enplaned for the United States.

On that same June 19 the New York Times International edition headlined on page 1 a report written on the 18th by their Paris correspondent, Richard E. Mooney, "GOP Ends Staid Trip." The correspondent wrote:

The Republican Congressional fact-finding mission to Paris had ended in failure. It failed to live up to scornful predictions. The Congressmen did not spend their night at the Lido or the Folies-Bergere.

Their behavior was impeccable. Their activities were almost all official. They had 23 sessions, day and night, with high, low and nonranking French and Americans. They leave tomorrow, impressed with the fact that Paris-Washington relations are not all bad but that there is need for more 'dialogue' . . . they stuck to business . . . Congressman James D. Martin of Alabama taped his weekly broadcast to his constituents . . . and Congressman Hastings Keith of Massachusetts whose district includes many Portuguese-Americans, had a date with the Portuguese Ambassador . . .

The group was due to see the French Foreign Minister, Maurice Couve de Murville, this afternoon, but at the last minute they all went to the airport to see Vice President Humphrey and the astronauts arrive. The

other highest ranking official on their list was Pierre Messmer, Minister of Defense.

The leader of the group, Representative Paul Findley of Illinois, said today the mission was "without precedent" as no political party had ever sent a mission overseas before. The party paid, he noted. It was estimated ahead of time that the trip might cost about \$2,800.

The intent was so strictly to avoid expense to the taxpayers that the Congressmen came by commercial airliner. And to avoid being caught having fun, they came on an airline that does not show movies.

I gave a full report of the findings and recommendations of the fact-finding mission to the House Republican conference and then the House of Representatives on June 30. I pointed out the underlying source—the root factor in NATO disintegration and the Franco-American rift with an analysis of needed remedial measures:

"Although the possibility of Soviet attack remains, the situation otherwise is substantially changed. The nations of Europe have rebuilt their economy and are willing and anxious to take a larger responsibility in the alliance."

"A thorough re-evaluation of American policy is required."

"Had he (de Gaulle) not invoked latent forces that were potent and durable, not only in France but also in the rest of Western Europe, the French effort would not have succeeded."

"De Gaulle is not a lonely anachronism. His policies are not apt to disappear from the world scene when he leaves office."

"De Gaulle actually rides powerful currents of opinion which flow throughout all of Western Europe, and the problem posed by his challenge of U.S. policies is only partially to be formulated in exclusively French terms."

"The foremost problem is to give substance to the ideal of partnership. We must shift the structure of the Alliance from the leader-follower basis—which was almost inevitable in 1949—to one of true partnership."

"The European nations which the United States must now recognize as ready for true partnership are not those of 1949. The years since the war have witnessed the revival of their economies and, more important, the reinvigoration of their intellectual resources and political aspirations."

"The assumption by European nations of more responsibility for the consummation of common purposes could do more than anything else on the horizon to lighten the burden American taxpayers now bear."

"To accomplish this, the United States should be not only willing but eager to make necessary adjustments in its own policies. Friendly gestures are needed.

Gestures of friendship are not signs of weakness. President Theodore Roosevelt once said, "Magnanimity is more becoming in the strong than in the weak." If this be true, any overtures of friendship in this hour of America's greatest power will be warmly received. Arbitrary positions should be avoided if the United States is to escape the charge of trying to dominate its friends instead of cooperating with them.

Any tendency to procrastinate in the handling of common problems by France and the United States can lead only to deterioration of the climate for successful negotiation.

If it is wise to attempt to ease tensions with the Communist world, is it less so with a friend and ally?

Together France and the United States . . . should press the search for adequate and constructive solutions. The past of neither nation is free of errors.

France and the United States have fought shoulder to shoulder in two world conflicts

in this century. Ties formed of common peril should not be broken by pettiness or neglect.

Citing the need for full partnership in NATO responsibility by our allies, the fact-finding chairman also supported true partnership in technology:

The renewed strength . . . of our European allies suggests that they are not ready to assume a larger share in the responsibilities of the alliance.

We welcome this increased capability and we should recognize the contributions our Europeans partners can make and should gladly grant them more responsible roles in the alliance.

Franco-American relations should be conducted in an atmosphere of greater cordiality.

However small the force-de-frappe may be compared with that of the United States, it is completely committed to the defense of the free world, and in the spirit of the traditional links between Paris and Washington, the United States should actively seek an understanding that will unite the two capabilities for a common purpose . . . Failure to cooperate now could further erode the links that tie France to the Atlantic Alliance. No task is more urgent than reaching some understanding with France on nuclear matters.

A way must be found to bring together the vast scientific and technological resources of the entire Atlantic community.

Any U.S. policy that deprives our Nation of the fruits of the work of the many brilliant scientists of Europe is unwise.

Without true partnership in military procurement, our allies become more dependent on the U.S., thus thwarting their scientific initiative and development, the Congressman pointed out.

Europeans generally question—and many resent—the recently accelerated effort by the United States to market arms and military equipment in Europe . . .

It defies common sense to employ American strength in a manner which weakens America's allies. The consequences of aggressive merchandising of munitions are not only economic, but also psychological and scientific.

Deprived of the economic opportunity to experiment and develop new principles and new systems, the intellectual resources of a nation which becomes completely dependent upon American military equipment will tend to dry up . . .

The United States should get to work without delay to develop in coordination with its allies a NATO-wide system of military procurement that will assure the participation of each member on a level commensurate with resources.

True partnership with our allies in making decisions and thereby sharing costs, especially in employment of nuclear weapons, is the decision facing the United States, declared the speaker.

A basic disagreement within NATO today concerns the European desire to participate more effectively in making decisions especially in the employment of nuclear weapons, both tactical and strategic—and on the other hand, the American wish to have the nations of Europe share, to a much greater extent, in the costs of the elaborate and expensive structure of defense.

True partnership presently exists in neither field. And we must recognize that the attainment of partnership in one is impossible without attaining it in the other as well.

The French claim they cannot be expected to trust their security ultimately to the willingness of our President to commit the United States to a nuclear war for the defense of France. This is one of the factors that complicates Franco-American relations.

A fuller partnership in decisions and costs is the only viable alternative to a number of unpleasant costly, and possibly dangerous

consequences for the United States and its allies.

Conclusions reached by the fact-finding mission were enumerated as unilateral actions to be undertaken by the United States in order to alleviate some of the more pressing difficulties of the Atlantic Alliance:

1. Recognize the fact that France is a nuclear power, whether we like it or not. Nuclear proliferation of course carries grave danger, but the time for arguing whether this is good or bad in the case of France is long past.

The United States should immediately re-examine its policy on technological and scientific cooperation. We should take full advantage of any discretionary provision of our Atomic Energy Act, and if need be amend it, to the end that the nuclear capabilities of France and the United States may be fully coordinated.

2. Clarify our policy with respect to employment of nuclear weapons in the defense of Europe . . . removing all doubt and uneasiness as to our response in the event of an attack on Western Europe.

We should reaffirm our determination to participate fully in the joint defense of Europe, and at the same time declare our desire to work out a means for more fully sharing decision-making with our allies.

3. Propose the establishment of a Diplomatic Standing Group . . . (to) aid the NATO Council in political matters in much the same way the Military Standing Group now aids the Council in military affairs.

4. Demonstrate our continuing friendship to France. The most impressive demonstration would be a trip to Europe by the President of the United States for the single purpose of visiting the French President.

After detailing the four specific suggestions to stop further erosion of NATO strength, I proposed the first and mandatory action in upgrading our allies from their secondary role in NATO:

As the first step in progressing from the leader-follower basis in the Atlantic alliance to one of fuller partnership, our mission suggests a top-level planning conference consisting of a select few, highly qualified, and distinguished representatives from each of NATO's 15 member nations.

This group would be charged with developing at the earliest possible date, a detailed plan for the establishment of a fuller partnership among NATO nations in (a) technical research and development; (b) military procurement; (c) financing of defense; and (d) strategic decisionmaking.

In concluding the report, we declared:

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization—the world's most essential institution—is in troubled waters . . . it is neglected. It must have immediate attention.

Press reaction throughout the United States centered mainly on the suggestion for a face-to-face meeting between President Johnson and De Gaulle; however, major points in the report were well covered by most newspapers.

#### AFTER THE PARIS MISSION

A special commission to study NATO was urged in a resolution introduced in the House on July 13, 1965, signed by 10 members of House Republican committee on NATO and the Atlantic community but was not a committee resolution. It followed by 1 day an identical resolution introduced in the Senate by Senators Frank Carlson, of Kansas; CLIFFORD CASE, of New Jersey; FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho; Joseph Clark, of Pennsylvania;

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky; and THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut. Signing the House resolution were Representatives John F. Baldwin, of California; JAMES C. CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire; Robert F. Ellsworth, of Kansas; PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois; CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York; HASTINGS KEITH, of Massachusetts; James D. Martin, of Alabama; ALEXANDER PIRNIE, of New York; ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota; and OGDEN REID, of New York.

In the press release we pointed out:

In our committee's letter of May 15, 1964, we suggested that the President invite former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman to head a blue-ribbon delegation of U.S. citizens to meet with similar groups from other NATO nations for the purpose of formulating and proposing for ratification improvements in the structure of NATO.

We also pointed out that the fact-finding mission to Paris, among its recommendations to President Johnson, had urged appointment of former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman to head a blue-ribbon delegation of U.S. citizens to meet with similar groups from other NATO nations for the purpose of formulating and proposing for ratification improvements in the structure of NATO.

One way of strengthening NATO was suggested by the House Committee on NATO and the Atlantic Alliance in a letter to President Johnson, dated August 6, 1965. The letter said in part:

We earnestly urge that you give consideration to elevating the position (of Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to cabinet level, a rank long accorded the Representative of the United Nations . . . this action would significantly enhance the prestige of this position and thereby the effectiveness of our participation in NATO.

In a letter to President Johnson on December 16, 1965, we said:

West Germany has served an adequate postwar apprenticeship, and has cooperated fully in NATO affairs. It deserves an equal role in establishing and controlling whatever allied nuclear ventures may be undertaken.

On Wednesday (15 December 1965) Secretary of State Rusk made a very commendable statement to the NATO Council, in which he gave assurance that Russia will not be permitted a veto over allied nuclear arrangements. Certainly no rights of Germany—or any other ally—should be bargained away in attempts to conciliate the Soviet Union, (to) secure a pact regarding non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Your discussions this weekend (of 17 December 1965) with Mr. Ludwig Erhard, West German Chancellor, present an historic opportunity to demonstrate the determination of the United States to strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty organization . . . (and) an opportune moment for you to give substance to our NATO commitment as follows:

Propose that NATO speak with one voice in regard to a pact on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and with that in mind, announce that the United States will place the pact question before the NATO Council and delay further discussions of the proposal at Geneva until NATO has reached a policy position.

This statement would eliminate any fear on the part of West Germany that the United States will participate in bargaining away the rights of any of its NATO allies in regard to nuclear matters. It would also show our desire to utilize the alliance as a means of policy development on questions of world-wide importance.

A letter dated January 7, 1966, to President Johnson urged inclusion in his state of the Union message:

Policy on all problems which have world-wide importance should be developed automatically within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization . . . (and) U.S. willingness and desire from this day forward to follow policies that are developed jointly with our allies. If we are ever to achieve cooperative action, we must accept cooperative policy-making. We must treat our allies as responsible and trustworthy partners.

We must set goals worthy of the tremendous sacrifices now being made in Vietnam. Long-range objectives of the free world must be defined. Free world institutions . . . must be brought together and strengthened.

#### DEFENSE PLEDGE TO NATO

Release by the White House of January 15, 1966, of secret correspondence requested by the Government of Turkey brought forth a statement placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD January 18, 1966. The statement took issue with a key sentence in a letter dated June 5, 1964, to Prime Minister Inonu of Turkey from President Johnson which had stated:

I hope you will understand that your NATO allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the Soviet Union if Turkey takes a step which results in Soviet intervention without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies.

Mr. Inonu wrote in reply:

Our understanding is that the North Atlantic Treaty imposes upon all member states the obligation to come forthwith to the assistance of any member victim of aggression.

If NATO members should start discussing the right and wrong of the situation of their fellow-member victim of a Soviet aggression . . . the foundations of the alliance would be shaken.

The task force cited article 5 of the NATO obligations which pledges action automatically to assist in defense of a member nation that is attacked. We then declared:

So far as we can determine, this is the first time any member of the NATO Alliance has questioned the automatic character of the mutual defense pact.

The automatic character of allied response was absolutely clear in the treaty. So far as we can learn, the NATO Council did not at any time authorize President Johnson to be the alliance spokesman in regard to Turkey's action in Cyprus.

Pointing to reaction of our allies and the Soviet Union as a result of U.S. action regarding Turkey, we said:

This major treaty qualification in regard to Turkey . . . may raise questions about the credibility of our commitments to other allies. No doubt, Soviet leaders will read with intense interest the texts of these letters.

If, in a tight and tense minor crisis, the most powerful member of the alliance will qualify its obligation to one of the less powerful and most vulnerable, what may be expected if a major crisis arises?

A letter dated February 22, 1966, marked the third request in a year that President Johnson visit President de Gaulle as a "gesture of friendship" between the two nations whose "opposing views" had "hardened to an alarming degree."

Within a month, on March 17, I again wrote President Johnson urging a visit

to President de Gaulle—the fourth such appeal in a year.

Deeply concerned about the crisis and effect on all NATO countries, I wrote:

French-American relations have plunged to the lowest point in many years . . . with emotional outbursts on both sides of the Atlantic . . . (which) may destroy in a matter of days the friendship built up over two centuries between these oldest allies and cause difficult new problems throughout the Atlantic alliance.

. . . The Communists must not succeed in their major postwar objective, which of course is to break up the alliance of free nations.

Therefore I once again urge that you visit Paris as soon as possible for a long overdue meeting with the French President . . . (which) would be a sign of responsible concern and common sense, not of weakness.

U.S. plans for removal of NATO political offices from France prompted a letter on March 30 to President Johnson from the task force:

News reports today indicate the United States will soon demand that NATO political offices be withdrawn from France. . . . If the proposal should come up for review, we urge that it be rejected.

President de Gaulle has stated repeatedly France's desire to stay in the alliance, even though he finds the present military structure unacceptable. If we demand that the NATO Council and Secretariat be removed from France, would this not suggest a stubborn our-way-else attitude?

As leader, we hope you will not only reject this negative approach but step in personally with affirmative action to bridge the growing chasm between these historic friends before it is too late.

A reported decision by the French Government to bar the annual ceremony at Napoleon's tomb honoring the first American fatally wounded in the liberation of Paris was the subject of a cablegram dated April 14, 1966, from the four members of the Paris Fact Finding Mission. We had participated in the wreath-laying ceremony the preceding year while on a factfinding mission to Paris to study NATO problems and ascertain the cause of the rift between France and the United States. We had been entertained in Paris by M. Edmond Giscard d'Estaing, president of the France-American Committee and it was to their former host the cable was sent which said in part:

I hope your committee will use its influence to persuade the French government to reconsider its reported decision to bar the annual ceremony as Les Invalides in Paris, honoring the memory of Sgt. Russell Kelly . . .

It has taken many years to develop French-American friendship . . . but the goodwill of centuries can be destroyed in a very brief period . . .

Here is an opportunity for France to set a tone of magnanimity and friendship which hopefully will inspire our government to follow suit.

Our cable was acknowledged on April 20 by M. Jaques Chastenet and Edmond Giscard d'Estaing, president and former president respectively of the France-American Committee in Paris. The cable stated:

We are asking a meeting with Mr. Messmer, Minister of the Armies, in order to urge the action you advocate.

A cable, dated April 29, was received from the president and the former presi-

dent of the France-American Committee in Paris who stated:

Following our telegram of 19 April 1966 we have been received today by the Minister of the Armies. Desiring to show sentiments particularly toward American soldiers the minister has promised us to consider for the benefit of Sergeant Kelly possible waiver of the general regulation. He will make known shortly a definite answer.

Wearing two hats, one as spokesman for myself and 20 of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, the other as chairman of the House Republican committee on NATO and the Atlantic community, I appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Europe of which Representative Edna F. Kelly, of New York, was chairman, on June 1, 1966. The subcommittee was holding hearings on "The Crisis in NATO."

I said:

In my opening statement I said:

NATO is in a period of deep crisis. . . . One of the most significant documents that I have seen as a result of this inquiry was the letter presented to you by former President Eisenhower.

My testimony as spokesman for 20 of my colleagues was critical of U.S. nuclear policy toward France which had led to French-Soviet collaboration in nuclear development and refinement. I questioned the substitution of a "flexible response" for that of "massive retaliation," a policy that had undermined our allies confidence in the U.S. commitment to "press the nuclear button" if necessary for defense of Western Europe. Also questioned were the paternalistic posture of the United States toward our allies which left them weak, disarmed and dependent, thus ignoring natural needs and pride of progressive nations.

In urging reform of NATO, mandatory to prevent further fragmentation, I suggested abandonment of U.S. insistence for removal of NATO political headquarters from Paris and a personal trip to Paris by President Johnson for discussion of the divisive issues between France and the United States.

Donning my second hat, that of chairman of the House Republican committee on NATO and the Atlantic alliance, I submitted for inclusion in the record a supplemental statement which reviewed specific recommendations made by the NATO committee over a 4-year period. This supplemental statement pointed up the similarity of NATO committee proposals with suggestions made by Senator FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on his recent return from Europe.

Almost identical suggestions made by Senator CHURCH and prior and reiterated proposals by the House Republican committee on NATO and the Atlantic alliance were: Summit meeting of Presidents Johnson and De Gaulle; Europeanize command positions in SHAPE, specifically the appointment of a European general as SACEUR; establishment of a "hot line" communication system linking together heads of the NATO governments which would provide for immediate consultation in emergencies; retention of NATO's military function but

also a unified policy on expansion into economic areas.

#### ATLANTIC STUDIES PROGRAM

The Atlantic studies program was a series of nine analytical studies of the deterioration of the North Atlantic Alliance sponsored by our task force with the cooperation of 26 eminent scientists, military experts, and scholars.

In a press release December 8, 1965, announcing the Atlantic studies program, we stated in part:

The White House Conference on International Cooperation held last week showed dramatically the need for this type of research . . .

The principal Atlantic-community topics we will consider are foreign-policy coordination, cooperation in advanced technology, international monetary reform, arms control and trade expansion.

We believe the Atlantic Community, broadly defined, has vast potential for advancing peace and human freedom if it can be more effectively united. The Vietnam war and other explosive world events have monopolized the attention of the U.S. Administration and the public to such an extent that storm clouds gathering in the Atlantic have been given too little attention.

Divisive . . . forces are growing within the (Atlantic) Community, and these have grave implications for the United States and its NATO allies . . .

NATO, the Atlantic Community's principal institution, is undergoing great internal stress. Its breakup, or even the withdrawal of a single nation like France, would be a setback of grave proportions for the United States and for the whole western world.

The broad goal we seek is a more perfect union of the Atlantic Community.

Fashioned in 1949 to fit the immediate military needs of nations ravaged by war, NATO must now be revised and strengthened taking into account progress in technology and economic growth . . . Now ways and means must be found so NATO can serve this great Community economically and politically, and thus fulfill non-military objectives of the original Treaty.

Although formation of the panel was still underway, we announced the names of those who had accepted the invitation to write a paper embodying their opinions on revitalization of NATO in their respective areas of knowledge. Those accepting were:

Prof. Maurice Allais, professor of economics at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines and the Institut de Statistique de l'Université de Paris; research director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Prof. H. C. Allen, department of history, University College London; author of "The Anglo-American Predicament." Gen. Pierre Billotte, former Minister of Defense.

The Honorable W. Randolph Burgess, a director of the Atlantic Treaty Association and the Atlantic Council of the United States; U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO 1957-61.

Adm. Arleigh Burge, director executive board, the Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown University; former U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, 1955-61.

Prof. Harold C. Deutsch, Department of History, University of Minnesota; radio and TV world news analyst; Fulbright research fellow and author.

Dr. Edgar Furniss, director of the Mer-shon Center for National Security Pol-

icy; lecturer for Army, Navy, Air, National War Colleges; author of "France Troubled Ally"—1960.

Gen. Pierre Gallois, Deputy, French National Assembly, former Minister of Defense; prominent military strategist.

The Honorable Thomas S. Gates, chairman of the board, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.; former U.S. Secretary of Defense.

Dr. William R. Kintner, deputy director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; author of many books relevant to the Atlantic community.

Dr. Hans Kohn, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; visiting professor at numerous universities; author of numerous books dealing with history.

Prof. Burton Marshall, research associate, Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research and visiting professor, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Ben T. Moore, associate director, the 20th Century Fund and consultant of the Atlantic Institute; author of "NATO and the Future of Europe."

Vice Adm. Friedrich Ruge, lecturer at the University of Tubingen. Former Chief of the German Navy.

Sir John Slessor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force; vice president of the institute for Strategic Studies, London; former chief of the air staff; author of many books including "The Great Deterrent"—1957—and "What Price Coexistence?"—1962.

Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, founder and director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; member of research council of Atlantic Institute; author of many books including "Building the Atlantic Community."

Clarence K. Streit, president of Federal Union, Inc., and International Movement for Atlantic Union; editor of "Freedom and Union"; author of numerous books and articles on political union of the free nations.

Dr. Ellsworth Tompkins, executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals; chairman, Education Branch of the Atlantic Treaty Association.

Dr. Harold C. Urey, University of California; Nobel Prize in chemistry 1934, Davy Medal, Royal Society of London, 1940, and numerous other awards; author and contributor to scientific journals.

Ethelbert Warfield, lawyer, firm of Satterlee, Warfield & Stephens, New York City; member American, New York State, and Philadelphia Bar Associations.

The addition of five foreign-policy specialists to the above named was announced on December 21, 1965, by the committee:

Mr. Christopher Emmett, executive vice president, American Council on Germany.

Dr. Richard J. Goodman, economist with Great Plains Wheat, Inc.; agricultural international trade specialist; consultant to GATT on cereals.

Prof. Ruth C. Lawson, chairman, department of political science, Mount Holyoke College, contributor of articles and reviews to political and law journals.

Mr. Leslie Lipson, director of studies, the Atlantic Institute, Boulogne-sur-Seine, France; lecturer at the National War College.

Prof. Eugene V. Rostow, dean, Law School, Yale University; adviser to the Department of State; author of books and articles on economics.

The five additional names totaled 26 eminent experts in the Atlantic studies program as Mr. Ben T. Moore withdrew on ascertaining that his position as consultant to Ambassador Dowling and the Atlantic Institute was bipartisan.

Nine reports pertaining to and within the scope of the designated categories were completed. Essays submitted that were not directly pertinent to the format of the Atlantic studies series were not reported to the House of Representatives but held for publication elsewhere subject to approval by the author.

Gen. Pierre M. Gallois' essay entitled "The Problems of the Atlantic Community" was the first report delivered in the House by myself on May 25, 1966. It was followed by comments made by Representative GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, Republican, of California, who with his colleague, ALEXANDER PIRNIE, Republican, of New York, had reviewed the paper submitted by General Gallois. Both statements were carried in their entirety in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 9, pages 11442-43.

General Gallois pointed out that long-range ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads have made the United States as vulnerable as any Western nation to nuclear attack, intimating doubt of U.S. commitment to defense of NATO nations.

Building on this basic thought he maintained the United States with nuclear weapons under its sole control should not have the power of life or death over Western Europe in a confrontation with an aggressive Soviet Union.

Critical of American diplomacy he stated that despite intellectual, scientific, and industrial potential, Europe has been denied the ability to develop modern means of defense and has been told to provide foot soldiers and conventional weapons—that the United States would furnish advanced armaments.

As a counter to U.S. control of nuclear weapons, he urged that NATO finance research and development of nuclear weapons which would be distributed to member nations who would then determine what risks they were willing to take in case of aggressive action against an individual state by the Soviet Union.

Dr. Hendrik Brugmans' subject, "Atlantic Policy in Perspective" was placed in the RECORD on July 14, 1966, the second paper in the Atlantic studies series. Dr. Brugman's essay was reviewed by Congressman Robert F. Ellsworth, of Kansas, whose comments were placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 12, pages 15779-15780.

Dr. Brugmans proposed an Atlantic Council for World Affairs to which the United States and the states of Europe would surrender part of their political and military sovereignty, with European unity as a precondition of Atlantic integration.

With reference to the political aspect, he declared that the diminishing mili-

tary threat by Russia and economic resurgence of Western Europe which no longer looked to Washington for "help, guidance and advice" has resulted in a "Europe—which—already asks itself how it might achieve a position of equal partnership with America, not only in words but in reality."

He foresaw nuclear defense systems under control of a number of medium-sized states, despite U.S. moral condemnation, pointing out that pressing of the atomic trigger will be done by a small team or one man alone but the action "should not be isolated from the community in the name of which and for the protection of which they ask, with the political popular consensus to be achieved before," and that Europeans should have their own frontier guards backed up by Atlantic nuclear defenses.

With a reunited—not fragmented—Western Europe, the promotion of detente between East and West could be escalated by an economic and cultural "Marshall plan" for Eastern Europe financed by the United States and West Europeans but administered by all concerned; added inducements would be recognition of a buffer-region between Western Europe and the U.S.S.R. thus assuring Soviet border safety, and recognition of the Oder-Neisse borderline by Bonn leading to reunification of Germany.

In presenting the third dissertation of the Atlantic studies series, I stated that the essay by Adm. Arleigh Burke, U.S. Navy, retired should be viewed in light of the recent meeting of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee, Geneva, Switzerland. Entitled "The Impact of Arms Control and Disarmament Proposals on the Atlantic Community," it appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 13, page 16883. Indiana Congressman E. ROSS ADAIR's review of the essay appeared the same date on pages 16883-16884 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Admiral Burke emphasized that westward expansion by the Soviets had been deterred by NATO's military power which should not be upset or curtailed by any arms control measures whereby Russia might decide military aggression would not entail a high degree of risk.

Pointing out that no political institution existed that could guarantee protection against aggression, the admiral favored specific arms control measures conducive to cementing cooperation among NATO states thus decreasing the possibility of war between the Soviet and NATO blocs.

He described the Communists as hard, realistic negotiators and said the United States should be equally as hard and realistic. That the U.S.S.R. tried and frequently received advantages from negotiations but that conditions could be established making it clear that it was better to accept rather than reject a proposal by presenting a more disadvantageous alternative, and that the United States would follow through.

Wary of U.S. unilateral initiatives in seeking agreements with the Soviets, he did not foreclose discussion with the U.S.S.R. on reducing dangers of surprise attack or lessening the threat of nuclear attack on Western Europe, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons to nonnuclear

states, and of similar partial arms reduction. He advocated, however, that such peace gestures or overtures should not abrogate measures to alleviate political, economic, and social losses to our NATO allies resulting from a Soviet nuclear attack.

The fourth study of the series was announced in the House on August 4, 1966. Written by Dr. Eugene V. Rostow, and entitled "Prospects for the Alliance," it was in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 14, pages 18257-18259. Representative OGDEN R. REDD, of New York, and CHARLES A. MOSHER, of Ohio, reviewed the commentary which the latter introduced as the speaker whose remarks appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 14, page 18259.

Dr. Rostow's critical commentary was based on policy choices available to the United States from the viewpoint of national security interest of the United States in its relationship with other nations which take an active part in the military and political programs of the cold war. As part of worldwide national security, he stressed the vital need for geographical expansion of the alliance as a counter to Communist ambitions.

Dr. Rostow said:

Expansion of NATO into a worldwide arena is vital, due to . . . efforts of the Communist movement to seize power in various countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America . . . in pouring oil on the fires of so-called "anti-colonial wars of national liberation" (in Russian attempts to outdo the Chinese in the world Communist movement).

Discussing the conflict in NATO and effect on worldwide security, he stated:

It is apparent that the struggle for order and progress in the free world would be far more likely to succeed than is the case at present if it were conducted by an Alliance working in close cooperation . . . It is equally obvious that continued friction between Europe and the United States would give the Soviets . . . hope that some day . . . they might deal separately with each . . . and a withdrawal into isolation here (in the United States).

These are risks of the utmost gravity, which it should be the first aim of American prudence to eliminate.

Admiral Ruge's statement entitled "Nature of the Alliance," was delivered in the House on September 29, 1966, and the entire text may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 18, pages 24506-24508. It was reviewed by Representative, now Senator, CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, and Representative ROGERS C. B. MORTON, of Maryland, who discussed his views on the House floor on September 29, 1966, the text of which may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 18, pages 24508-24509.

Warning of the brief existence of coalitions of nations unless they succeeded in evolving a close union with a common governing authority responsible at least for foreign policy and defense, Vice Admiral Ruge, retired, declared:

The first task of the Western Alliance should be to bring about closer cooperation with the aim of creating a supranational authority. . . .

The Atlantic peoples can hope to survive in their way of life only when they are united in their policies and purposes. Therefore to make the Alliance more stable politically will

have to be the common goal in spite of all temporary reverses.

Terming technological cooperation as only one step in a stronger NATO, he declared it to be unsatisfactory and subject to improvement depending on "political developments."

On September 30, 1966, the essay of Dr. Edward Teller, famous for his work in the development of the hydrogen bomb, was placed in the RECORD. The subject was "Memorandum on Nuclear Cooperation in NATO," and the full text was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 18, pages 24651-24652, as the sixth of the Atlantic studies series. The analysis of Dr. Teller's memorandum was made by Representative CRAIG HOSMER, of California, whose statement was in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 18, pages 24652-24653.

In his introduction, Dr. Teller made the following observations: The weakened NATO cooperation may be blamed partly on De Gaulle's policy but a more basic cause is dissatisfaction by our Western European allies with the NATO structure. Our NATO allies, excluded from the nuclear preparedness program, feel active participation has been ruled out. They know that the vital decisions of life or death for them which rests solely in U.S. hands is due to U.S. nuclear system restrictions.

He regarded U.S. space research as a popular area for cooperation with our NATO allies and pointed out that—

European contribution (toward space exploration) in scientific and technical talent could turn out . . . to be decisive . . . (and) result in a considerable advantage in the field of defense.

Continuing his thesis of collaboration in space research, he observed:

In the nuclear age surveillance is one of the foremost safeguards of continued peace. Surveillance as part of the space effort could be carried out jointly by the NATO allies.

Such a program would have the following advantages, according to Dr. Teller:

1. In case of opposition by Russia, we would not have to stand alone.
2. The sharing of the technical effort would insure greater efficiency and would result in lesser expense.
3. The joint enterprise would give our allies a sense of participation.
4. Those of our allies who are closest to the Iron Curtain (the Germans, Danes, Norwegians, and Italians) would have the greatest possible interest in having prompt information concerning any signs of danger—(and) we could be of particularly great service to some of our allies.

The seventh essay in the Atlantic study series dealt with trade, written by Richard J. Goodman and entitled "Agricultural Trade Policy and the Atlantic Community." It was delivered in the House of Representatives, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 19, page 26297. Mr. Goodman's paper was reviewed by Representatives ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota, and LAURENCE J. BURTON, of Utah, both of whom expressed their opinions in House speeches on October 12, 1966. The complete text of their remarks is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 19, pages 26299-26300.

The October 13, 1966, CONGRESSIONAL

RECORD, volume 112, part 20, page 26701, contained a study of future NATO functions as outlined by Dr. Edgar S. Furniss, Jr. The eighth of a series of Atlantic studies, it was entitled "Western Alliance Development and Technological Cooperation," and was reviewed by Representatives FRANCES P. BOLTON, of Ohio, and JAMES D. MARTIN, of Alabama, with comments by the latter carried in the same CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 20, page 26704.

Mr. Furniss discussed the minimal military cooperation by NATO allies of the United States which he ascribed largely due to abeyance of military threat by the Soviet Union. He pointed out a larger concept—a larger role—provided for in the treaty and stated:

Only lack of imagination—not lack of money—stands in the way of an internal revolution within the Alliance.

His study concluded with this observation:

If military force remains the sole function of the Alliance, then at best history will record that it served its purpose and was cast aside. At worst the verdict will be that a system which remained unchanged became a system hampering, possibly preventing the attainment of the very objectives for which it was formed . . .

The ninth and final paper in the Atlantic Study Series, prepared by Professor Lipson, was delivered in the House on November 1, 1966. Lipson's paper was entitled "The Coordination of Foreign Policies in NATO." The entire text was in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 19, page 26701, and was reviewed by Representatives WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, of Michigan, and JAMES C. CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

#### ENLARGED SCOPE

The House Republican conference of the 90th Congress enlarged the policy area of the former House Republican Committee on NATO and the Atlantic Alliance to include the Rio Treaty states of Latin America. This necessitated a change in the name of the committee and it became the House Republican Task Force on Western Alliances.

The reorganized committee lost three and retained four Members of the previous Congress: Representatives ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana; ALEXANDER PIRNIE, of New York; ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota; and Chairman PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois. Newly appointed to the committee by Representative CHARLES GOODELL, chairman of the Republican Conference Committee on Research and Planning, were: Representatives WILLIAM O. COWGER, of Kentucky; SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York; SHERMAN P. LLOYD, of Utah; WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California; WILLIAM V. ROTH, of Delaware; HERMAN SCHNEBELI, of Pennsylvania; CHARLES W. WHALEN, of Ohio; LARRY WINN, Jr., of Kansas; WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida; and MARVIN L. ESCH, of Michigan.

The House Republican task force on western alliances, in its press release of April 21, 1967, demanded open hearings on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In pointing to the unanswered questions raised at the treaty negotiations of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva, it advocated public debate to

ascertain the effect of the treaty of NATO.

In this context, said the committee, there should be answers on questions pertaining to possible foreclosure of a nuclear defense force controlled by NATO, and elimination of any possible partnership with NATO nations in nuclear technology for space exploration and other peaceful purposes, as well as military.

Also to be determined would be the obligation of "the United States to defend other nations against nuclear attack if the nuclear attack is actually provoked by conventional military action."

Discussion should include possible reversal of Soviet or Communist China policies toward the United States or vice versa.

In advocating discussion now, the committee observed:

When the treaty is presented to the Senate for ratification, open-minded discussion and evaluation will be virtually impossible . . . the prestige of the Presidency will have been pledged, and for that reason some Senators may forego the searching scrutiny they would otherwise give . . . (and) support it despite reservations.

A telegram to President Johnson dated May 19, 1967, from the House task force on western alliances urged that—

The United States should promptly and unequivocally re-affirm its commitment under the North Atlantic Treaty to aid Greece and other NATO nations automatically in case of armed attack. (and) . . . be accompanied by a strong expression of hope for an early return to constitutional processes in Greece . . . (but) leave no doubt about our determination to protect that country from attack.

Creation of a North Atlantic Assembly with official status through amendment of the North Atlantic Treaty by the 15 NATO nations was suggested in a message to President Johnson on June 9, 1967, from the task force.

The message detailed previous efforts for establishment of such an assembly, first initiated in 1953.

The advantages and necessity were cited:

Such an assembly would improve the exchange of ideas by representatives elected directly by the people of these nations. Its public debates would tend to moderate nationalism and some of the abrasive tendencies of bureaucracy. The need for this has just been dramatically demonstrated by the disarray of the NATO nations in reacting to the mid-east crisis.

A critical in-depth analysis depicting failure of U.S. leadership in NATO which was prepared by Representatives SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York, and MARVIN ESCH, of Michigan, was issued on June 13, 1967. This analysis was one of three such studies later incorporated into a booklet entitled "Will NATO Survive 1969?" The analysis stated in part:

Our perception of the Atlantic Alliance, formed when the Soviet threat to Europe was immediate, is being challenged on the basis of present date realities.

The United States, as leader of the free world, cannot afford to turn a deaf ear to these new and evolving developments . . . precarious for our future relations with Europe would be a stubborn, Pavlovian-like defense of the status quo . . . without making a consummate effort to join our allies in dealing with the real NATO difficulties . . .

through joint discussion and decision and not through unilateral action.

The analysis pointed to the political changes—the new nationalism and self-confidence fostered by economic resurgence—that have taken place since NATO's formation in 1949.

It also asserted that another factor in the crumbling walls of NATO is the yearning by our allies for detente with the Warsaw Pact nations, resulting from Russia's "more subtle and sophisticated cast" of strategy that it is no longer a military threat to their security.

As a counter to Russia's new strategy the report declared:

Our NATO partners certainly wish to preserve in their own self-interest, the American commitment to Europe, which is the keystone to their security.

The report emphasizing that although the United States has been preoccupied with problems outside the NATO circumference, the destinies of the free world center on the alliance.

Critical of U.S. failure to consult our allies on strategic decisions affecting their security, the report stated:

The difficulty of aligning key NATO partners behind the draft nuclear non-proliferation treaty testifies to the need and the practical wisdom of securing during the formative stages the advice and cooperation of the Alliance. A treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons, however desirable in the context of world stability, relates to the future of the Alliance, its security, and the question of nuclear sharing. These important matters, as well as the treaty's inspection machinery, should have been thoroughly explored in the NATO councils before and during the negotiation period.

In diagnosing the ills of NATO and recommendations for rehabilitation, the two analysts reported:

The political context in which NATO exists and functions has changed, and it is absolutely essential that the NATO nations attempt to arrive at a common understanding of these changes and, where appropriate, a common reworking of the objectives, obligations, decision-making arrangements, and other Organization features.

A critical in-depth assessment of results of the nonproliferation treaty negotiations with recommendation that the slate be wiped clean for a fresh start on the treaty negotiations was prepared for a task force by Representatives E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana and LARRY WINN, Jr., of Kansas. The statement was issued July 5, 1967.

The report detailed Russian actions adverse to the cause of peace during negotiations:

The Soviets have stepped up their aid to North Viet Nam. They have refused to ratify the Consular Treaty. . . . They are reported to be continuing to send arms in great quantities to the Middle East. . . . They are actively engaged in harassing our fleet on the high seas. They are daily poaching in our domestic fishing grounds. The east European satellites are assisting North Viet Nam. The Soviets refuse to consider cutting back on their anti-ballistic missile system. . . . They continue to arm Cuba and support subversion in Latin America.

The report also cited reaction by our NATO allies to United States seemingly desperate haste to conclude the non-proliferation treaty with the U.S.S.R.:

Germany is rapidly becoming both suspicious and alienated . . . forced to take a back seat in nuclear technology . . . (and) left defenseless from attack from a nuclear power.

Italy has expressed misgivings concerning the treaty . . . (and has made an unconfirmed statement) that the treaty could become a serious bar to future unity moves in Western Europe in the field of political and military institutions.

The question of nuclear weapons was a significant factor, most people seem to feel, in President DeGaulle's decision to "go it alone" . . . and (is) proceeding on every front . . . to become a true nuclear power . . .

A recent statement by George Ball, former U.S. Undersecretary of State, suggesting that Great Britain should surrender her nuclear deterrent to America as a 'contribution to peace' brought a strong reaction. The London Daily Express stated: "Such interference in our affairs is futile and impertinent".

This points up, and the report that said—

The Soviet Union is in no hurry to sign such a treaty . . . as the mere fact of negotiating tends to split the Alliance . . . (and) the more seeming concessions we make to the Soviets . . . the more suspicious grow among our European NATO allies that they are somehow to be left out in the cold . . . (it also) increases the stature of President Charles DeGaulle and his third force concept of Europe.

In advocating withdrawal of our proposed treaty and a fresh start, the task force statement declared:

We could then proceed to hammer out a new treaty draft acceptable to all of NATO . . . (with opportunity of achieving a truly integrated NATO nuclear command).

The task force suggested:

We should press forward with plans for an anti-missile system—to close the ABM gap . . . (which) should be done in collaboration with our NATO allies . . .

The indictment of the negotiations expressed by the statement concluded with this declaration:

We should never sacrifice the interests of a major part of the free world—NATO—just to secure a signature on a nonproliferation treaty that might or might not help the cause of world peace.

A factual, chronological record of administration failures in its relationship with NATO, prepared by Representatives SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York, and MARVIN L. ESCH, of Michigan, was issued on July 5, 1967 entitled "U.S. Policy Toward NATO: The Long Retreat from President Kennedy's July 4 Declaration of Interdependence," it was the second such in-depth examination by the committee.

The indictment of U.S. policy toward NATO charged:

United States foreign policy under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, despite repeated verbal assurances to the NATO commitment, has served to undermine the unity and vitality of the Atlantic Alliance. Political and military decisions taken by our government and the frequently unilateral method of reaching them, in disregard of NATO, have helped weaken NATO's importance in a fast-changing world.

The statement declared:

The decline of NATO, as an instrument of diplomacy and solidarity, is a bitter disillusionment when measured against the expectations raised by President Kennedy's 1962 Declaration of Interdependence, when

he called at Philadelphia for a renewed drive toward Atlantic partnership.

#### The indictment charged:

Our apparent indifference to Alliance principles strengthens the notion that NATO as a military pact and political entity can no longer play a major role in shaping allied policy.

This apparent indifference, noted the task force statement, "has helped to shape the apprehensions and doubts now being voiced by a resurgent Europe and concerned Americans."

#### The report also pointed out:

It is not possible to reform our basic approach, and pose realistic solutions to NATO's deterioration, without thinking seriously about the past.

The detailed charges against these past U.S. policies and actions fall into five broad divisions, some under one or more overlapping categories as follows:

There was increasing distrust of the United States commitment to NATO by the following incidents or decisions detailed by the task force:

May 1962: Defense Secretary McNamara's abrupt announcement of the new NATO strategy of "flexible response" as a substitute for "massive resistance" which had emphasized use of tactical and strategic nuclear weapons in defense of Europe. The "flexible response" strategy relegated our allies to a beefed-up conventional role—a wall-of-flesh—against aggressors.

October 23-24, 1963: "Operation Big Lift raised doubt about the U.S. commitment of troops to NATO." (Operation "Big Lift: 14,500 American soldiers are flown from the United States to Germany to demonstrate that the United States is able to reinforce NATO forces in Europe in emergency.)

June 1964: President Johnson's qualification of the NATO commitment to Turkey in the Cyprus crisis, which interpretation of the treaty obligations was promptly challenged by the Turkish Prime Minister.

December 1965: "United States commitment to NATO put in doubt by nuclear non-proliferation negotiations in Geneva."

There was increasing distrust by refusal of the United States to utilize NATO for consultation when crises erupt or strategic decisions are pending which were cited by the task force:

May 1961: "The North Atlantic Council expressed concern over bilateral consultations initiated by President Kennedy with the Soviet Union on disarmament."

Fall of 1962: "No consultation within NATO prior to U.S. ultimatum to Soviet Union and blockade of its vessels en route to Cuba despite direct impact on allies if war ensued."

January 1963: "U.S. abruptly withdrew missiles from Turkey and Italy." (Apparently as a unilateral concession to the Soviets by the Kennedy Administration following the Cuban crisis, according to unconfirmed reports at that time.)

June 1963: "U.S. negotiated nuclear test ban with Soviet Union and 'hot line' between Moscow and Washington."

January 1964: "U.S. sold wheat to Soviet Union at super discount."

July 1965: "Pierrelatte overflight by U.S. NATO plane not adjudicated through NATO."

March 1966: "U.S. initiated proposal to move the North Atlantic Council from France."

There was increasing distrust by routine employment of allies as mere executors of American military doctrine cited by the task force:

May 1962: "NATO strategy altered at U.S. insistence."

December 1962: "U.S. cancelled Skybolt missile project and proposed substitution of a multilateral force of Polaris submarines." (An official communique from Nassau announced President Kennedy's decision which forged a new British-American nuclear working partnership with no prior discussion nor official notice to de Gaulle, who first learned of the deal through the press. France was offered the same Polaris deal but rejected it; when American officials were questioned, the U.S. Administration hedged about exporting nuclear data to the French, thus refusing to treat England and France as equals, in essence discrimination against an ally—France.)

May 1963: The Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Ottawa, Canada, approved the Nassau deal of the British V-bomber force and three American Polaris submarines assigned to SACEUR who is to appoint a Deputy responsible to him for nuclear affairs.

There was increasing distrust by U.S. unwillingness to adapt and adjust our attitude toward a unified, Western position on world problems cited by the task force:

#### The task force statement charged:

The U.S. evidently lost the power and art of productive leadership . . . (It is the) bankruptcy of American diplomacy toward the West that is wrecking the institutional ties provided by NATO.

In this category emerged a clear picture of discrimination against France—and attempt to humiliate and relegate her to a second-class nation, not to be trusted. The task force statement observed:

Despite obvious differences, however, a U.S. policy which quarantines France or abstains from endeavoring to reach accommodation on matters of mutual concern, is clearly detrimental to the interests of the Alliance as a whole.

The task force report spoke of U.S. "scornful regard for the French nuclear program, the unreadiness to cooperate fully with France on nuclear matters when the force de frappe became an irrevocable fact, however negligible or even dangerous as a deterrent, which served to underwrite De Gaulle's claim about Anglo-Saxon collusion and again stressed the unfettered dominance of American interests in alliance politics."

De Gaulle's charge of Anglo-Saxon collusion was clearly pictured in the multilateral nuclear force—MLF—concept deal at Nassau, December 21, 1962, which the report declared "was an ill-conceived gimmick aimed at broadening NATO control over nuclear deterrence without surrendering the American veto."

Following De Gaulle's announcement in 1966 of withdrawal from NATO, the task force noted:

American policy geared itself to mobilizing European opinion in defense of the status quo and against the French attitude . . . In any case the tactless outpouring of anti-De-Gaulle sentiment on the part of highly-placed American diplomats could hardly reverse the situation, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion . . . that U.S. policy prefers to corral off France from further NATO concerns.

It should be pointed out that France withdrew only military cooperation from NATO.

In addition to the United States-

French divisive policies already cited, the task force enumerated the following:

June 1961: "President Kennedy downgraded his special visit to President De Gaulle by making it only a stopover on his trip to Vienna to meet Chairman Khrushchev."

During 1964: "U.S. refused to license export of computer to France lest it be used to develop nuclear weapons."

March 1966: "U.S. rebuffed French request for consultation on troop and base agreements—aligned other 13 allies against French position."

April 1966: "U.S. rejected the date for withdrawal of troops from France—U.S., United Kingdom and Germany formed a group to deal with France."

The task force concluded its report observing:

The overriding need is to reform our thinking about the Alliance and give it a meaningful political role.

The late former President Dwight D. Eisenhower was presented a calligraphic scroll on July 21, 1967, by the members of the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances.

Troop reduction and other NATO problems were discussed during the breakfast at the former President's Gettysburg office, the fourth such conference with the general since 1963.

A far-reaching program for revitalizing NATO, issued August 14, 1967, by the House GOP Committee on Western Alliances, and prepared by Representatives SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York and MARVIN ESCH, of Michigan.

The statement entitled "The Rebuilding of NATO," capsuled the situation saying:

NATO is at a critical crossroads, reflecting the state of inter-allied diplomacy and worldwide political change.

#### Reported the task force:

The withdrawal of France from the command structure constitutes the most dramatic and unnerving spectacle of the long NATO crisis . . . (and to off-set the impact) at the instigation of Washington, the so-called McNamara Committee was launched to give some Europeans a closed-door education in American nuclear strategy.

#### Other observations were made.

Despite urgency for "profound re-examination of the 'Atlantic Debate', is centered exclusively in the Congress and among troubled private observers."

The present administration appears fogged out to "the seriousness of the NATO problem and allied relations" and bogged down in "entrenched attitudes" and unable to lift itself from the quicksands of "familiar cliches."

Viewed as a first and essential step is "a thorough appraisal of the NATO situation—by the U.S. Government—toward developing a more realistic and meaningful policy toward NATO and Western Europe. At the same time, the European states should be encouraged to come forward, collectively, with proposals for improving allied diplomacy and for recasting NATO in a manner that meets their interests and concerns."

The recommended reexamination and reappraisal of NATO by both the United States and its allies should provide multilateral decisions in these divisive questions.

To determine if NATO, militarily organized, provides for present and future

security; to determine if NATO and its military policy are a roadblock in central Europe security, German reunification, and other political objectives; to determine the need, if any, for revision or redrafting of any articles of the treaty; to determine Europe's role in the burden and responsibility for nuclear deterrence; to determine the advisability for expansion of the Council's responsibility from a purely military role to areas of common interest such as East-West relations, aid to underdeveloped nations, and the international monetary question; to determine the NATO image as seen by Western Europe, and ascertain possible strengthening of the Organization if necessary.

To revitalize NATO and make it into an organization for true interallied accommodation and decision, the committee report, pinpointing a basic defect in the structure, advised "correction of the psychology and reality of imbalance, brought about by American power and predominance."

The committee recommendation for establishment of a "strategy council" included the following observations:

The proposed strategy council must have the benefit of expert staff, and European members must have access to American nuclear planning information. This does not require that the United States relinquish control over strategic armaments and their employment. Rather it means rearing a European awareness and sophistication sufficient to earn the right to participate in the evolution of deterrent doctrine for the Atlantic area, and hence the capacity to judge and propose as an intellectual peer.

For instance, the European states should weigh the suitability of a cooperatively-owned nuclear capability on the continent, assigned to NATO.

In explanation of its position, the report explained:

The object is not merely to make Europeans conversant in nuclear affairs and keep them abreast of changing American doctrine . . . (but also) to bridge the technological gap and bring about genuine European participation in matters of strategy and nuclear defense . . .

It is time to openly encourage our allies to formulate, in reply to their own conceived interests, a workable format for continuing close Atlantic military cooperation.

To further rectify the imbalance of American predominance and power, the committee advocated:

The NATO Council or any other agreed-to-grouping, be utilized on a continuing basis for diplomatic consultation among the allies. This forum should emerge as the principal instrument for allied political decisioning, to resolve Alliance problems, determine strategy as recommended by the proposed strategy council, consult on crises erupting within our outside NATO territory, harmonize policy on matters of mutual concern such as East-West relations, and exchange and review intelligence on a daily basis.

These heavy and diverse responsibilities for the Council, as a factor in revitalizing NATO, depend mainly upon the attitude of the United States, according to the committee report which warned:

Clashes will occur and differences of opinion will become more obvious. It means that we must be prepared to consider the advice of allies on matters which perhaps affect us more than them . . . our willingness to use

fully Alliance channels has been due, in part, to our apprehension about splitting the Alliance and implanting the impression of discord.

An honest endeavor to utilize Alliance organs fully, to make NATO a relevant instrument for accommodation and decision, carries its own risks. The greater gamble, however, is to allow NATO a steadily, diminishing influence.

The report suggests that within the framework of duties assigned to the NATO Council or any other agreed-to-grouping, a newly refurbished political arm, "an attempt be made to reach positive agreements on the broad questions of East-West trade, and relations with Eastern Europe generally, on present and future disarmament moves, on the reunification of Germany, on aid to the underdeveloped countries, worldwide security problems.

"The proposed group should also be equipped to bring allied thinking to bear on crises which erupt anywhere in the world."

To quiet American criticism of the heavier burden borne by the U.S. taxpayer in costs of U.S. troops assigned to NATO, and other European defense expenses, both a factor in the unfavorable balance-of-payments controversy, the committee suggested renegotiation.

To still some U.S. Government voices, other voices both in and out of Congress, the committee stated,

Targets, quotas, and force-levels which are presently and patiently ignored should be revised through Alliance negotiation in response to conceived security needs and domestic concerns.

Referring to previous such recommendations, the committee urged, that, commensurate with its official duties, the North Atlantic Assembly be official status as a part of the NATO organization.

The tight checkrein held by the President of the United States in appointment of SACEUR should be loosened, was a recommendation of the committee in these words:

Consideration should be given to a more equitable distribution of NATO command positions, including the appointment of a European officer as SACEUR and a revision of existing practice under which SACEUR is . . . assigned and discharged by the U.S. President.

The report also declared that machinery should be set up for collection and review on a continuing basis of worldwide intelligence material.

The ninth and final step leading to resurrection of the NATO that once existed, was clarification of U.S. nuclear policy toward the alliance. The committee report stated:

As the Europeans emerge from their abdicated strategic role, a clarification of our nuclear course of action must, of course, flow automatically.

The problem of nuclear sharing has been pictured . . . (as a) tangible grant of nuclear control to our allies, who presumably desire a finger on the trigger . . . (as) the sole answer to their insecurity and impotence . . . (but) it does not fully represent the true situation.

As analyzed in the committee report:

Europeans' desire to acquire nuclear weapons on their own or gain some authority over the U.S. deterrent . . . is symptomatic of

deeper frustrations . . . Many Europeans . . . who speak harshly about the U.S. hegemony, would rather leave the crucial decisions up to Washington.

This frustration, observed the committee, is due to, "misgiving about American strategic doctrine and doubts about the American guarantee which have been a far more persuasive factor in convincing Europeans that a 'hardware' solution may be necessary.

"Our recommendation to develop a genuine Europe function in the determination of Atlantic defense is certainly urgent in redressing the European sense of weakness and removing uncertainties."

Warning against U.S. hasty replies to NATO's serious problems and urging the necessity for solidification of official European opinion, the committee declared:

We believe that our European allies should share the initiative in jointly resolving the question of a European nuclear role in NATO which . . . must evolve from the thorough and basic re-evaluation of Alliance affairs . . . (furthermore) American cooperation toward the erection of an essentially European-owned nuclear deterrent, linked in some manner to NATO, should come only after official opinion abroad has coalesced.

The essential factor, as determined by the report, "is that the European NATO states should be encouraged to formulate a unified position on the question of obtaining a European nuclear force to which the United States, presumably, would render support and assistance."

With reference to the review of NATO objectives and enlarged role for Europe in strategy determination, the committee report took the position that:

A nuclear non-proliferation treaty should not foreclose a European option to develop, on the basis of existing national capabilities, a European deterrent force which is responsive to their conceived interests . . .

In evaluating the overall situation, the committee stated:

While the urgency of the military threat from Moscow may have receded, a closely aligned program for defense of the Atlantic area remains essential.

It warned that adjustment to the shift in political interests and changing patterns of thought does not negate the need for preserving sound military structure against the Communist wrecking crew and cautioned:

The Soviet effort of today is geared to loosening French ties to NATO, to nourishing area of allied discord, and ultimately to neutralizing the military potency of the Alliance, as members tend to go their separate ways . . .

In failing to grasp the significance of contemporary pressures and events, in allowing NATO to flounder and grow less vital to the member states, the United States risks playing directly into the hands of Moscow and its long-range strategy of disabling the Atlantic Alliance.

Pinpointing the basic element in deterioration of the alliance as "lack of political will", the committee report asserted:

The real challenge in preserving NATO is to reclaim for it a positive role in shaping political decisioning among the allies, including questions of nuclear strategy.

With the comprehensive re-assessment proposed . . . (and) institutional changes

geared to updating Europe's role in Alliance affairs, NATO can regain an essential relevance in dealing with needs and interests of its membership.

Research work for these statements was handled ably by Bill Vanden Toorn.

The August 24, 1967 press release by the task force announced a 2-hour conference that day with Secretary of State Rusk on detailed recommendations for revitalization of NATO made by the committee on August 14.

Members present were WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida; MARVIN L. ESCH, of Michigan; SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York; SHERMAN P. LLOYD, of Utah; WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California; ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota; WILLIAM V. ROTH, of Delaware; CHARLES W. WHALEN, of Ohio; LARRY WINN, JR., of Kansas, and myself.

#### EISENHOWER COMMENTS ON NATO

The essence of the important statements made by General Eisenhower at his Gettysburg office on the July 21, 1967, meeting with the House GOP Committee on Western Alliances were released in a statement on August 25 by the committee.

General Eisenhower opposed reduction of U.S. troop strength in Germany at this time due to current NATO difficulties.

Terming the present six U.S. troop divisions in Europe inadequate against Soviet aggression, he said they served only as a token of U.S. commitment to NATO.

The former President concurred in the recent statement of the House GOP Committee on Western Alliances in its recommendations of steps for new life and dedication through revitalization of NATO with higher and broader levels of cooperation thereby engendering a new spirit in NATO. He warned that the alternative would be a return of European states to purely national interests.

The general felt that establishment of new force levels provided for in NATO revitalization recommendations should enable reduction of U.S. force levels in Germany to two divisions.

As the first SACEUR, General Eisenhower had hoped NATO would expand beyond military affairs.

In discussing East-West trade, he opposed any all-inclusive policy and declared that only when advantageous to the United States should we trade with Communist countries.

#### ABM SYSTEM MAY RUPTURE NATO

Deployment of the "thin" ABM system could fatally rupture NATO was the warning issued on November 6, 1967, by the committee.

Pointing to the divisive policy problems in NATO created by the national nuclear ballistic missiles in the late 1950's, the committee hoisted the danger signals of purely defensive nuclear weapons. It predicted a widening of the gap between the two superpowers and the nations of the world. And that inevitably our European allies will develop positions of defensive neutrality—fragmented middle-sized states—vulnerable to Soviet power squeezes which has been a long-standing goal of Soviet foreign policy.

The committee emphasized:

To prevent this calamity the United States must—without further delay—explore fully with her NATO allies the possibility of developing a NATO ABM system . . . serving the entire community on the basis of cooperative funding and construction. . . .

Echoing previous criticism of U.S. foreign policy—failure to consult our NATO allies—brought this observation:

Despite the reported discussion by the NATO nuclear Planning Council, . . . there is no evidence that the basic concept (of an ABM system) has been considered by the North Atlantic Council. . . . Prominent foreign policy analysts have reported that our allies were merely "informed" not "consulted" about the ABM decision. . . .

With a leeway of a 5-year span needed for deployment of the "thin" ABM system in the United States, it provides an opportunity for consultation with our allies, noted the committee, then made these pertinent remarks:

We must share more responsibilities so that western unity in international politics may be strengthened. It is neither necessary nor desirable that the U.S. counter the Soviet threat alone. Our unwillingness to share nuclear responsibility with our allies in the past has led to the present rift in NATO. We should not seal NATO's demise by rushing into the development of an ABM system alone.

Anti-missile defenses can be either a stumbling stone or a stepping stone toward western solidarity . . .

Announcement of the ABM deployment duplicated a previous gaffe of the administration and a major flaw in its foreign policy according to the committee. Centering its fire on President Johnson, the report continued:

The decision to proceed with an ABM system . . . was certainly momentous enough to have warranted full coordination with our allies and use of the full prestige of the President's office to explain it to the American public and our NATO allies . . . (instead of) relegating the task of Secretary McNamara as the subject of a speech before a press services gathering of editors and publishers in San Francisco . . .

Another critical observation was:

The Secretary's speech was . . . assurance to the Soviet Union that we intend it no harm, and a continuation of his plea for a non-proliferation treaty unpopular with many of our European allies.

The committee report generated nationwide news coverage and was the second time in 1967 that statements made by the House GOP Committee on Western Alliances made the front page of the New York Times. The November 13 issue of the Congressional Newsletter headlined the news story, "ABM System for United States Should Not Preclude a NATO ABM System."

With recessing of the first session of the 90th Congress, the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances inventoried the year's work.

There had been 15 conferences. In addition there had been held a number of working luncheons where experts and knowledgeable persons had spoken, two of whom were: Mr. William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who discussed international monetary problems; Mr. Clarence K. Streit, correspondent for the New York Times during the last days of the League

of Nations, author of several books advocating federation of major free world nations, editor of Freedom and Union, who spoke on two occasions concerning the international monetary crisis.

Through the courtesy of the Committee on Research and Planning of the Republican Conference of the U.S. House of Representatives the committee published a booklet appraising the failure of the Johnson administration to grasp the evidence of NATO decay, and recommending a program to rebuild the alliance. The booklet entitled, "Will NATO Survive 1969?", a condensed analysis of which appears in this history, contained three position papers issued by the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances. They were: "NATO In a Changing World" released June 13, 1967; "Partnership: The Road Not Taken", released July 5, 1967; "The Rebuilding of NATO", released August 14, 1967.

The supply of booklets was quickly exhausted by requests for a copy from individuals, governmental bodies, organizations, educational institutions.

Committee membership remained intact: Representatives E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana; WILLIAM O. COWGER, of Kentucky; WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida; MARVIN L. ESCH, of Michigan; SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York; SHERMAN P. LLOYD, of Utah; WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California; ROGERS C. B. MORTON, of Maryland; ALEXANDER PIRNIE, of New York; ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota; WILLIAM V. ROTH, of Delaware; HERMAN SCHNEEBELI, of Pennsylvania; CHARLES W. WHALEN, of Ohio; LARRY WINN, JR., of Kansas, and myself.

The first meeting of the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances after the opening of the second session of the 90th Congress was a conference February 28, 1968, with the Honorable Harlan Cleveland, U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO. He discussed the final communique of the December 1967 NATO Ministerial Meeting and also clarified statements in his article which had appeared in the November 1967 "NATO Letter."

Indicative of deep concern about the strained United States-French relations was the first statement issued March 1, 1968, by the House Republican task force on Western alliances.

In attempting to prod President Johnson into filling the vacant post of U.S. Ambassador to France, the statement, made these comments:

France is one of our major allies, occupying a position of great importance to the United States in military, monetary and trade matters. . . .

Recrimination has reached a point where the long-standing friendship of the French and American people is being dangerously eroded.

Due to the strained relations between the two countries and the tottering NATO, the committee urged that the post be filled "by a person eminently qualified by knowledge of France, Europe and the Atlantic community, and skilled as a diplomat for the challenging task of easing tension and building Franco-American good will."

## TASK FORCE MEMBERS BRIEFED

At a task force luncheon meeting on March 25, 1968, Sir Michael Wright discussed trade problems and opportunities in the Atlantic community.

Sir Michael, formerly Britain's chief negotiator at Geneva, was chairman of the Atlantic Trade Study set up in 1967 to reappraise basic trade policy and search for an alternative to Britain's failure of entry into the Common Market.

In his discussion, Sir Michael suggested a free trade association without an external tariff. He felt it should have an Atlantic nucleus with the United States, Canada, and Japan as charter members and that the proposed free trade association should maintain an open door policy for inclusion of any country.

Adm. Arleigh Burke, U.S. Navy, retired, chairman of the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies, was the guest speaker at a working luncheon on April 3 of the task force.

In his off-the-record talk, the admiral discussed worldwide developments with special emphasis on NATO's problems with the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean.

The third and final briefing to provide background and to update task force members prior to study of NATO problems and offer suggestions toward solutions was held on June 10, 1968. Speaking at this session was Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe' who gave his assessment of the political situation in Greece following a recent tour of the country.

## BLUE RIBBON COMMISSION

The first statement issued by the 10-member House Republican task force on Western alliances since its reorganization in March was on June 20, 1968. It was a clarion call for a blue ribbon commission on NATO reform.

Detailing the domestic turmoil, financial instability, strikes and student rebellion, political disintegration and breakdown of democratic processes in various European countries; violent crimes and riots in the United States already beset with divisiveness over the Vietnam war, the task force sternly warned:

The nations of NATO forget their long-and-widely recognized interdependence, and fail to deal effectively with common problems. Local disorder is turning inward the concern of the people and their national governments.

Characterized as a "bitter disappointment" was the Harmel exercise, an inward examination of NATO, oriented toward its self-destruction by indifference of some allies to their own self-defense.

In failing to grasp the painful cactus, the Harmel exercise, widely heralded as a "blueprint to alter the basic nature of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and reform the alliance to face new diplomatic tasks foreseen for the 1970's, the exercise has proven to be almost totally unproductive" reported the task force.

In an indictment of the Harmel exercise's Waterloo, the task force declared:

It could have led to specific action on Western trading policy toward the East, German reunification, NATO-Warsaw pact-to-

pact negotiations, a North Atlantic parliament, and specific exploratory steps to test the thesis of North Atlantic political integration.

The task force's clarion call was for "a new initiative for a stronger structure not merely for defense but also for the advancement of individual freedom."

In pursuit of this objective and despairing of NATO's rejuvenation, the report stressed:

We propose that the President, in consultation with the Congress, appoint a blue-ribbon commission to help organize an international conference of the NATO nations apart from the existing North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Recommended for study by the proposed commission were:

## First:

The fundamental mission of NATO . . . as to membership and purpose . . . several nations and areas have been suggested for consideration (in expansion of membership) . . .

In detailing the possibilities beyond NATO's military role, the statement suggested "coordination of global foreign policies of its members; technological cooperation in fields such as communication, computerization, space, oceanography; cooperation in monetary systems, aid to underdeveloped nations, and cultural affairs; and the liberalization of trade among the Western nations and coordination of their trade with the Communist nations."

Second, Reiterating the essence of previous suggestions, the report urged "the reform of NATO by giving official status to the North Atlantic Assembly with specific responsibility in alliance affairs, and by establishing a tribunal for the adjudication of disputes which may arise from alliance projects."

## Third:

The reunification of Germany.

## Fourth:

Adjustment and settlement of World War I debts—including the matter of German reparations.

## Fifth:

The reconciliation of France with the Alliance, and full coordination of its strategic military forces with those of NATO.

Differences to be encountered and thorough study required in carrying out the proposals were listed:

## First:

Evaluation of . . . (Communist) threats . . . to individual freedom throughout the world and of methods to counter these threats . . . (which would include) the struggle in Vietnam.

## Second:

Evaluation of past and future development of nuclear weapons, existing and proposed treaties concerning nuclear weapons, the proposed development of antiballistic missile systems, and the future implications of these.

## Third:

Study of overlap and conflict of purpose of the numerous institutions already established to coordinate the defense, economics and foreign relations of the free nations . . .

Such institutions of conflict would include NATO and the Western European Union; Organization for Economic Co-

operation and Development—OECD—and article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty; the Council of Europe—which includes almost all the nations of the Common Market—and the European free trade area.

## Fourth:

Studies of the attitudes of the leaders and the public of these nations toward long-and-widely advocated reform of international political structure . . .

The clarion call for a blue ribbon commission reiterated:

NATO must be more than a military alliance—a "tin Lizzie" vehicle that cannot serve in a supersonic age.

## The report warned:

Domestic fiscal problems are bringing insistent demands for U.S. troop reduction. The effect of such reduction would not be adverse if accompanied by basic reform of NATO's purpose and functions.

In these circumstances, a passive or do-nothing attitude on the part of the U.S. would be tragic.

## UNITED STATES-SOVIET SECRET TALKS

Cremation of hopes for lessening of the tightly drawn chains now thrown about Czechoslovakia and its warning to any other country so inclined within the Soviet orbit—is the result of the Johnson administration's recent actions.

Five members of the House Republican task force on Western alliances and its chairman, were joined by 16 other Republican House Members in a statement issued September 17, 1968, labeled "Perils of Secret Discussions by the President With Top Soviet Leadership on Arms Control at This Time."

It has been less than a month since the U.S.S.R. invaded Czechoslovakia which brought cries of moral indignation and worldwide repercussion. But the clamor did not penetrate the walls at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C., where President Johnson calmly persisted in seeking a conference with top Russian leadership to begin discussion on arms control.

Assessing the political overtones of President Johnson's pressure for such private vis-a-vis talks with the Soviets, the 22 House Republicans hoisted the danger signals of such U.S. perfidy:

For the President to go to Moscow to begin secret discussions on matters affecting European security as long as Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops remain in Czechoslovakia would mean two things: (1) U.S. acceptance of the Soviet occupation; (2) political recognition by the U.S. of the concept of an East European sphere of Soviet influence.

Pointing to the inconsistency of U.S. pronouncements and actions, the report stressed:

To pursue such discussions at a time when the Soviets are violating international law and attempting to shift the balance of forces in Europe in their own favor would weaken beyond repair the Atlantic Alliance, hasten the development of independent nuclear deterrents outside the Alliance for some countries and strengthen the forces for neutralization in others . . .

## The House group counseled:

What the President should do—and do quickly—is make clear to the Russians that a policy of detente with the U.S. is absolutely inconsistent with the expansionist policy un-

der which the Soviets seek to exacerbate all instabilities and tensions they encounter in Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

Lifting fog following the Czech crisis revealed to an uneasy world and especially to a fragmented NATO Alliance six basic truths as pointed out in the report:

First. The United States would sacrifice alliance cohesion to achieve detente with Russia whereas Russia would sacrifice good relations with the United States to maintain cohesion in their alliance—by force if necessary.

Second. The superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries over that of NATO in organization, military force and equipment, and intelligence.

Third. The freedom of Western Europe depends on massive U.S. assistance; the French nuclear system is too weak for continental deterrence.

Fourth. Increasing detente between Czechoslovakia and the free world thereby setting a pattern for other satellite states may have motivated military action by the Soviet Union.

Fifth. Unpredictable Soviet leadership—capable of rash, irrational, and violent acts.

Sixth. Sacrifice of cohesion with our allies by the United States in pursuit of detente with Russia has not been reciprocated or lessened hostility toward America.

The GOP group declared:

In view of these developments, the President . . . should improve our political position in Western Europe . . . by announcing firmly and positively that he will give immediate and continuing highest priority to strengthening U.S. relations with our NATO allies and will not negotiate with the Russians on arms control as long as Soviet troops remain in Czechoslovakia . . .

The GOP group also stated:

We believe that such discussions (on arms control) should not occur on a bilateral basis between the U.S. and the Soviet Union but . . . by a European Conference which would include representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Pacts . . . (and) neutral nations.

With reference to the Johnson administration's pursuit of detente with the Soviets, the report stated that—

Such bilateral dealings on our part have led to suspicion and concern . . . (by) some of our allies and encouraged bilateral dealings with the East . . . by others.

The joint statement reiterated its position with the following:

The United States should delay the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in the Senate, suspend plans for U.S. talks with the Soviets on arms control, and initiate action on worsening problems in NATO . . .

It deplored the rashness of our policy induced by a timid, misguided and weak Administration.

Regretfully the Soviet Union was not warned in advance that its invasion would set back U.S.-Soviet relations. . . . For the President to fail to act now in taking political action to express our disapproval of Soviet action and our support for the cause of freedom whenever it is under attack is to invite aggression elsewhere.

Joining in signing the statement were task force members: E. ROSS ADAIR, Indiana; J. HERBERT BURKE, Florida; WILLIAM C. CRAMER, Florida; SEYMOUR HALPERN, New York; LARRY WINN, Jr., Kansas. The 16 House Republicans were E. Y.

BERRY, South Dakota; GARRY BROWN, Michigan; DON H. CLAUSEN, California; JAMES C. CLEVELAND, New Hampshire; JOHN N. ERLBORN, Illinois; Paul A. Fino, New York; JAMES R. GROVER, JR., New York; CRAIG HOSMER, California; Theodore R. Kupferman, New York; CHESTER L. MIZE, Kansas; ALBERT H. QUIE, Minnesota; JOHN P. SAYLOR, Pennsylvania; WILLIAM A. STEIGER, Wisconsin; FLETCHER THOMPSON, Georgia; LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS, Pennsylvania; BOB WILSON, California; and myself.

#### WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ASPINALL). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEN), is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEN. Mr. Speaker, 26 years ago April 19 the sons of David rose up against the murderous Goliath of Nazism in the Warsaw ghetto. From the beginning of the revolt, the Jewish freedom fighters were doomed to death—death, but certainly not defeat. Their cause was one—simply to die a free people at the highest possible cost to the Nazis. This they did with such bravery and faith that I am proud and honored to be a member of the Jewish faith. It was indeed a superhuman effort to keep the Nazis at bay for 42 days and nights considering that all of Poland lasted 26 days in 1939.

Mr. Speaker, one should remember that the amount of arms that the freedom fighters had were sparse indeed: a gun, a Molotov cocktail, even a bare fist. These were their weapons. However, their most powerful weapon was their faith. It sustained them as they saw their children die under the treads of Nazi tanks, or when they were gassed or burned to death in the bunkers. Yes, the world forgets too soon—not only about our brothers in the ghetto, but also those six million who perished in the death camps.

As Emmanuel Ringelbaum, the author of the Ghetto Archives stated:

Even in times of savagery the most brutish barbarians were not devoid of a human spark, for they did usually spare the children. This cannot be said of the Hitlerite beast who is out to devour the most precious ones, the ones who arouse the greatest compassion—innocent children.

During the uprising, the men and women of the ghetto asked for aid from their Polish neighbors and the underground. This was not given to them. Mr. Speaker, I must say that this was not out of the ordinary, for the Jews in Poland have and still are being persecuted to a degree which surpasses all standards of moral and simple human decency. Polish soil throughout the centuries has been literally soaked through with Jewish blood.

Mr. Speaker, there comes to my mind a few lines from Shakespeare which express my sentiment to a considerable degree:

Oh pardon me thou bleeding piece of earth that we are so meek and gentle with these butchers.

The civilized world is indeed too "meek and gentle" with such murderers.

Mr. Speaker, the Jewish people shall

never forget those who were killed in the blazing ghetto or the extermination camps. One does not really die if he lives in the minds of others. On the eve of the 19th, many of my fellow brothers and sisters shall lie awake seeing in their minds' eyes the faces of their loved ones as they saw them for the last time before being gassed or shot to death. These thoughts shall give way to tears and sorrow, for time heals the wound but does not erase the scar of pain.

Mr. Speaker, as a Jew I do not ask for pity for my people. I do not even ask for compassion, for in today's world the Dow Jones average is considered much more important than compassion. Human compassion has no economic value. I merely ask for justice, simple justice, and it is with this in mind that I dedicate my words, my hopes to my brothers who perished in the Warsaw ghetto.

#### CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT AFTER 30 YEARS OF SERVICE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas, (Mr. GONZALEZ), is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am today reintroducing legislation to give our faithful civil service employee the option of retiring after 30 years of service with full annuity, regardless of age.

Under present retirement law, which Congress liberalized in 1966, a civil servant can retire with the full annuity that the average of his highest consecutive 5 years of salary will entitle him to, if he is 55 years of age with 30 years of service, or 60 years old with 30 years of service, or 62 years old with 5 years of service. Of course, retirement for reason of disability, involuntary separation, or reduction in force have special conditions.

However, there are many civil service employees who achieve 30 years of Federal service, including creditable military duty, several years before their 55th birthday. I believe that these employees should be able to retire on full annuity if they so elect. My bill would be simple recognition of their long and faithful service—recognition of their well-earned annuity.

I believe it is false economy not to allow those 30-year Federal employees to leave the workforce if they are looking forward to retirement. Our national workforce is probably the most mobile and highly trained in the world. Few other nations so well reward merit, or have so few encumbrances to job advancement. This is one of the secrets of our economic strength. There must be a continual, unrestricted influx of young persons into the labor force, in order to maintain the mobility, openness and vigor of our economy. This is nowhere more true than in the Federal civil service. I believe it is bad economics to restrict employees with over 30 years of service from leaving Federal employment when they desire, especially at this time in our history when we have so many unemployed young people requiring decent jobs.

Mr. Speaker, I hope and trust that Congress will act with all due dispatch and deliberation on this legislation.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. BROCK (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PUCINSKI), and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FARBSTEIN, for 20 minutes, today.  
Mr. GONZALEZ, for 10 minutes, today.  
Mr. FARBSTEIN, for 20 minutes, on April 21.  
Mr. CONYERS, for 1 hour, on April 22.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SCHWENGEL) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RIEGLE in two instances.  
Mr. CONTE.  
Mr. MCKNEALLY.  
Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.  
Mr. HORTON.  
Mr. SCHWENGEL in two instances.  
Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin.  
Mr. REID of New York.  
Mr. DELLENBACK in two instances.  
Mr. KEITH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PUCINSKI) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. EILBERG in two instances.  
Mr. DENT in two instances.  
Mr. MATSUNAGA.  
Mr. FRIEDEL in two instances.  
Mr. SCHEUER in two instances.  
Mr. TUNNEY.  
Mr. BOLLING.  
Mr. ROONEY of New York.  
Mr. GALIFIANAKIS.  
Mr. RARICK in three instances.  
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.  
Mr. GALLAGHER in two instances.  
Mr. RYAN in two instances.  
Mr. FASCELL in two instances.  
Mr. DULSKI in three instances.  
Mr. FULTON of Tennessee in two instances.  
Mr. KOCH in three instances.  
Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, April 21, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC

689. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need for improvement in procuring and stockpiling jewel bearings, Office

of Emergency Preparedness, Department of Defense, Department of Commerce, General Services Administration, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. OLSEN: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, H.R. 8434. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide additional free letter mail and air transportation mailing privileges for certain members of the U.S. Armed Forces, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-148). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABERNETHY:  
H.R. 10236. A bill to amend the Federal Seed Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ADDABBO:  
H.R. 10237. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise needed additional revenues by tax reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ARENDS:  
H.R. 10238. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to permit the removal of the Francis Asbury statue, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. BINGHAM (for himself, Mr. BRASCO, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. CLAY, Mr. CULVER, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FARBSTEIN, Mr. FRASER, Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania, Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. KOCH, Mr. LOWENSTEIN, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PODELL, Mr. REID of New York, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. SCHEUER, and Mr. TIERNAN):

H.R. 10239. A bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948 to terminate the quota for South Africa; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:  
H.R. 10240. A bill to amend section 204(a) of the Coinage Act of 1965 in order to authorize minting of all new quarter dollar pieces with a likeness of the late President Dwight David Eisenhower on one side; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ESCH:  
H.R. 10241. A bill to amend the act of March 3, 1905, relating to the dumping of certain materials into the navigable waters of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 10242. A bill to provide for a national cemetery at Fort Custer, Mich.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FASCELL:  
H.R. 10243. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide work clothing for postal field service employees engaged in vehicle repair or maintenance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FOREMAN:  
H.R. 10244. A bill to repeal chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code (relating to firearms), to reenact the Federal Firearms Act, and to restore chapter 53 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as in effect before its amendment by the Gun Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 10245. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act so as to permit retirement of employees with 30 years of service on full annuities without regard to age; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT:

H.R. 10246. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Buffalo National River in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HENDERSON:

H.R. 10247. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to grant court leave to employees of the United States and the District of Columbia when called as witnesses in certain judicial proceedings on behalf of State and local governments; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. KOCH:

H.R. 10248. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in relation to expenses for care of certain dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 10249. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to correct certain inequities in the crediting of National Guard technician service in connection with civil service retirement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 10250. A bill to provide for nationally uniform minimum standards and eligibility requirements for public assistance, to provide for a supplemental family allowance program, and to provide that the cost of public assistance under the Social Security Act shall be fully borne by the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H.R. 10251. A bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and research and program management, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 10252. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OBEY:

H.R. 10253. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise needed additional revenues by tax reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 10254. A bill to improve and increase postsecondary educational opportunities throughout the Nation by providing assistance to the States for the development and construction of comprehensive community colleges; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 10255. A bill to extend the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission to cooperatives and municipalities which own or operate generating or transmission facilities used in interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 10256. A bill to amend the Sherman Antitrust Act (15 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) to provide that exclusive territorial franchises, under limited circumstances, shall not be deemed a restraint of trade or commerce or a monopoly or attempt to monopolize, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10257. A bill to provide a deduction for income tax purposes, in the case of a disabled individual, for expenses for transportation to and from work, and to provide an additional exemption for income tax pur-

poses for a taxpayer or spouse who is disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10258. A bill to establish a procedure whereby all candidates for elective Federal office may receive financial assistance from the Treasury to assist in defraying their election campaign expenses, and to repeal the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PERKINS (for himself, Mr. DENT, Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. WAMPLER, Mr. KEE, Mr. CARTER, Mr. SLACK, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. BRAY, Mr. CLARK, Mr. FLOOD, Mr. POLLOCK, Mr. CORBETT, Mr. GRAY, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. OLSEN, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, and Mr. YATRON):

H.R. 10259. A bill to provide Federal financial assistance to States to enable them to pay compensation to certain disabled individuals who, as a result of their employment in the coal mining industry, suffer from pneumoconiosis and who are not entitled to compensation under any workmen's compensation law; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 10260. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for removal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 10261. A bill to repeal the Gun Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 10262. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head-of-household benefits to unmarried widows and widowers, and individuals who have attained age 35 and who have never been married or who have been separated or divorced for 3 years or more, who maintain their own households; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RONAN:

H.R. 10263. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to make additional immigrant visas available for immigrants from certain foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 10264. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide grants to develop training in family medicine; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 10265. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 10266. A bill to amend the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to provide relocation payments for persons displaced from their places of residence or business as a result of construction financed thereunder; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 10267. A bill to provide Federal financial assistance to States to enable them to pay compensation to certain disabled individuals who, as a result of their employment in the coal mining industry, suffer from pneumoconiosis; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. STRATTON:

H.R. 10268. A bill to nullify the interim procedures adopted by the Federal Communications Commission on December 12, 1968, halting major television market proceedings involving community antenna television systems; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 10269. A bill to prohibit deceptive packaging or display of nondairy products resembling milk; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

My Mr. WAMPLER:

H.R. 10270. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that an individual may become entitled to widow's or widower's insurance benefits (subject to the existing actuarial reductions) at age 50 whether or not disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.R. 10271. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 10272. A bill to provide that each State which has a toll road included in the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways either be given additional equivalent mileage on the Interstate System or be paid the Federal share of the construction costs of the toll road; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WILLIAMS:

H.R. 10273. A bill to establish the Federal Medical Evaluations Board to carry out the functions, powers, and duties of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare relating to the regulation of biological products, medical devices, and drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WINN:

H.R. 10274. A bill to provide for the investigative detention and search of persons suspected of involvement in, or knowledge of, Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10275. A bill to amend chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to strengthen the penalty provision applicable to a Federal felony committed with a firearm; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10276. A bill to amend chapter 207 of title 18 of the United States Code to authorize conditional pretrial release or pretrial detention of certain persons who have been charged with noncapital offenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAMS (for himself, Mr. DRIGGS, Mr. FRASER, Mr. GUDE, Mr. HORTON, and Mr. KYROS):

H.J. Res. 658. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.J. Res. 659. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAHILL:

H.J. Res. 660. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to grant to citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 18 the right to vote; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.J. Res. 661. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period May 11 through May 17, 1969, as "Help Your Police Fight Crime Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIEGLE (for himself, Mr. BARING, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. BUSH, Mr. CARTER, Mr. COLLIER, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. ERLBORN, Mr. GUDE, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HORTON, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SIKES, Mr. STANTON, Mr. STUCKEY, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. WINN, and Mr. WYLIE):

H.J. Res. 662. Joint resolution to declare the policy of the United States with respect to its territorial sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. Con. Res. 204. Concurrent resolution

expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the protection that should be provided ships and planes of the Armed Forces of the United States sent on intelligence-gathering missions; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. STRATTON:

H. Con. Res. 205. Concurrent resolution to rescind certain actions of the Federal Communications Commission relating to community antenna television systems; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. Con. Res. 206. Concurrent resolution to direct the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct an investigation and study of Federal regulation of community antenna television systems; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas:

H. Con. Res. 207. Concurrent resolution, Gen. Omar N. Bradley; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H. Res. 367. Resolution to establish a special committee of the House of Representatives to investigate student disorders and propose appropriate legislation to deal with such disorders; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FLOOD (for himself and Mr. DERWINSKI):

H. Res. 368. Resolution authorizing the printing as a House document of Captive Nation Week proclamations and pertinent material; to the Committee on House Administration.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

120. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to Federal indemnity for tuberculosis- or brucellosis-reacting cattle; to the Committee on Agriculture.

121. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, relative to legislation to permit the States to consider revenues derived from title I of Public Law 81-874 as part of the local contribution in development of basic foundation programs for support of public schools in areas affected by Federal activity; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

122. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to restricting minors from entering Mexico; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 10277. A bill for the relief of Michele Perrone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 10278. A bill for the relief of James L. Smith; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 10279. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. John Anagnostopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H.R. 10280. A bill to authorize the use of the vessel *Mouette* in the coastwise trade; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 10281. A bill for the relief of Eleanor Fishberg; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 10282. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Pimpun Husbunmer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.