

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## LUMBER AND PLYWOOD SUPPLY SHORTAGE

## HON. JOHN R. DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, committees in both Houses of Congress have been focusing on the lumber and plywood supply shortage and the effect this shortage will have on the Nation's housing program.

The April 21 issue of U.S. News & World Report provides one analysis of the problem of the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest. I commend it to my colleagues as a worthwhile explanation of the shortage and price problems that confront us:

[From U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 21, 1969]

## WHY LUMBER STAYS SCARCE AND PRICES STAY HIGH

PORTLAND, OREG.—Builders and buyers of new homes will find little cheer in the news from this center of the Pacific Northwest's lumber industry.

Lumber enough to ease the high prices that have staggered the homebuilding industry in recent weeks is not to be forthcoming from the forests of Oregon, Washington State, northern California, Idaho and Montana.

That is the industry size-up in this region that supplies more of the nation's construction lumber than any other part of the country. A measure of the nation's over-all lumber shortage is seen in an industry prediction that supplies in 1969 will be about 8 billion board feet short of the nearly 50 billion board feet that are needed to meet housing goals set by Congress.

## IN 1 YEAR, A STEEP RISE

The accompanying chart shows how the average price of all types of lumber has been climbing month after month. Basic items, such as plywood and framing lumber, are costing builders up to 70 per cent more than a year ago.

This rising expense is forcing prices on new homes sharply higher. The National Association of Home Builders estimates that lumber prices boosted a \$25,000 house by \$1,200 in the 13 months between December, 1967, and February, 1969.

Northwest lumber-industry officials say there may be an occasional downturn in prices, such as that in March when standard-grade plywood dropped from \$144 per thousand square feet to \$110. But they do not expect this lower price to prevail. They say many mills cannot afford to produce for that figure.

The March cut in prices for plywood and some other products is attributed largely to a wait-and-see attitude taken by buyers when Congress started an investigation of soaring lumber costs.

Reports from around the country appear to bear out this view. On April 6, "The Los Angeles Times" quoted a southern California builder as saying he was postponing lumber purchases, hoping prices would go lower. He admitted, however: "It's a gamble."

## NEW BOUNCE COMING?

Another southern California builder said: "Prices have reached bottom and they should go back as high as they were within two weeks."

The shortage of lumber has been growing for some time. More and more has been required for construction. Home builders, for example, produced 1,196,000 housing units in 1966, 1,321,000 in 1967, and about 1,550,000 in 1968.

But there's more to the story. Exports of softwood logs—mainly to Japan—have risen sharply. Total volume in 1968 was 2.5 billion board feet, 30 per cent more than in 1967 and 12 times as much as in 1960. These exports now represent nearly 7 per cent of total U.S. production of softwood logs and veneer logs.

Output of U.S. forests has not been keeping pace with rising domestic use and exports. Then, this past winter, a series of developments brought the lumber shortage to a near-crisis situation and sent prices through the roof.

## SNOWBOUND LUMBERJACKS

The worst winter for logging in 50 years hit the Pacific Northwest. Lower elevations in Oregon, for example, got 6 feet of snow instead of the normal 8 inches or so. It was impossible to get enough logs to the sawmills. At Eagle Rock, Oreg., Leo Carrigan, a timber-trucking contractor, reported:

"Last year, we worked all winter. This year, we've done little since the first of December." At the end of March, only three of Mr. Carrigan's 23 trucking units were at work.

The hard winter worsened the normal shortage of railroad cars needed to ship lumber east. The problem was compounded by the long dock strike on East and Gulf coasts. Large quantities of lumber from British Columbia were tied up on idle ships.

An average increase of 5 per cent in rail-freight charges, effective last November, added an estimated \$1.50 per thousand board feet to lumber prices in the Eastern U.S.

Still another factor in the lumber shortage has been a threatened strike at sawmills in June, prompting some buyers to add to inventories.

Out of all this came staggering increases in price. By early in March, Boston home builders were paying \$175 per thousand board feet for hemlock that had sold for \$100 to \$105 a year earlier.

In Detroit, Douglas fir used mainly for floor joists was priced at around \$170 per thousand board feet, up \$43 in one year.

A superintendent of Curtis Building Company in Detroit was quoted by the Associated Press as saying:

"A house we built 3½ years ago—a four-bedroom colonial—used to run about \$30,000 to \$31,000. Now the same house on the same lot costs \$39,000."

Not all of this increase, of course, is due to higher lumber prices. The lot costs more, and, according to the Detroit report, there has been a 2 to 3 per cent rise in the cost of brick and concrete, 3 percent for floor tile, 5 per cent for copper, and higher costs for labor and financing of the mortgage.

The Government in Washington is moving to increase output of lumber from national forests. President Nixon, on March 19, ordered an increased harvest of 1.1 billion board feet from federal forests over a period of 15 months. The President also directed the Defense Department to cut back lumber buying.

Restrictions on the export of saw logs from national forests, voted by Congress in 1968, are being enforced.

At best, say industry men in the Northwest, these moves can bring only slight relief to timber shortages.

## NEEDED: A BIGGER SOURCE

In the long term, the large increases of timber that are needed to meet the fast-

growing demand for lumber in the U.S. are going to have to come from the national forests. On that point there is broad agreement among forestry experts in Government and in private industry.

On March 21, Edward P. Cliff, Chief of the U.S. Forest Service, told the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency that private forests have been supplying about 60 per cent of the U.S. softwood-timber harvest. However, said Mr. Cliff, these private holdings are being overcut and supplies from them must decline substantially in the years ahead.

Thus, said Mr. Cliff: "Any sustained increase in log harvests in the West must come from public lands."

Over the long pull, Mr. Cliff told the Subcommittee, annual timber output from the national forests could be increased by about two thirds. These forests now produce some 12 billion board feet a year. A two-thirds increase would mean 8 billion board feet more which would go a long way toward meeting projected U.S. needs.

But, to achieve this increased harvest, Mr. Cliff said the Forest Service would have to be assured of increased funds to build access roads and intensify management of national forests.

Since roads cannot be built overnight, and trees take decades to grow to marketable size, no sharp rise in production of saw logs from the national forests is to be forthcoming soon.

Meanwhile, buyers for sawmills in the Pacific Northwest are bidding record-high prices on timber tracts offered by the U.S. Forest Service at its headquarters in Portland.

A tract of Douglas fir in the Willamette National Forest near Eugene, Oreg., recently brought \$165 per thousand board feet—on the stump. A year earlier, a similar tract went for less than half that.

These are premium timber tracts. But the average for all tracts sold by the Portland office more than doubled in one year, going from \$41.99 per thousand board feet to \$96.14.

## NO END TO PRICE HIKES?

With prices like these paid for timber on the stump, there seems to be only one way that the cost of finished lumber can go up.

Sawmill operators say they cannot pay such high prices and produce standard plywood for \$110 per thousand square feet, the level to which this type of lumber dropped in late March.

Said Cliff Pratt of Rollin Lumber Company at Carver, Oreg.:

"You can go broke in a hurry on a \$165 to \$175 log. On a small purchase, maybe you can absorb that kind of costs, but in a big lot you just can't gamble that high."

At Boring, Oreg., Bud Qualheim, assistant manager of Harris Lumber Company, predicted:

"These prices will probably stop us before long. We used to get the logs the other mills didn't want. Now they want anything they can get."

With the coming of spring after the long, hard winter, more logs are flowing to sawmills in the Pacific Northwest. Critical lumber shortages are expected to ease.

But the long-term outlook is for timber demand to outrun supply, lumber prices to increase, and a new home to cost the American family still more.

W. D. Hagenstein, of Portland, Oreg., who is president of the Society of American Foresters and executive vice presi-

dent of the Industrial Forestry Association, discussed the need for intensified forest management on the Today show of April 10. As one of the most knowledgeable men in this field in the Nation, his comments deserve careful attention.

He notes that the Federal Government owns 54 percent of the softwood timber in the United States, putting the taxpayers "in the biggest timber-growing enterprise in the world."

Hagenstein suggests that the Government finance its forest management program just as it has the highway program. Said Hagenstein:

The national forests, which are one of the few areas where the government makes money from its operation, instead of spending it, has an opportunity to re-invest the monies that it receives from the sale of its timber into capital improvements needed to practice better forestry. By that, I mean not only to make the land accessible for harvesting timber, but to enable the Forest Service to do a better job of reforestation, to do a better job of protection against fires, against insects and disease, and, above all, to salvage the old growth timber that is lost at the rate, in the National Forests in the West alone, of ten billion board feet a year.

I offer the full text of this excellent discussion for the RECORD:

W. D. HAGENSTEIN INTERVIEWED ON THE TODAY SHOW

HUGH DOWNS. A Congressional Committee has estimated that the United States is going to need 26 million new or rehabilitated housing units within the next ten years.

But unless something is done to increase the supply of lumber and plywood used in residential construction, we're not going to make it. And the lumber and plywood industries are justifiably concerned.

This morning, one of their representatives is here to discuss possible solutions to this problem. He is W. D. Hagenstein, the President of the Society of American Foresters, and Executive Vice President of the Industrial Forestry Association.

Welcome to Today, Mr. Hagenstein.

HAGENSTEIN. Thank you, very much.

DOWNS. What are the principal causes of this wood shortage? It surprised me to find that there is a shortage, because replanting had been going on, and I thought we were protected along those lines.

HAGENSTEIN. Well, there really isn't a shortage of timber, it's really a shortage of access to reach it.

One of the problems that we've had since the housing goal of 26 million, you mention—which was established by law last fall in Congress—is the fact that we've had a significant increase in demand for lumber and plywood in the last year, over what we had had for the previous few years. As a result of this, of course, we had a significant increase in price.

Congress can't really effectively repeal the law of supply and demand when you have more bidders in the market place than there are supplies, up goes the price on any commodity.

One of our problems is that for the first 350 years in the United States, lumber that has housed the American people—and 80 percent of our homes are made of wood—has come from the private forests. So today, we have the anomaly that the Federal Government, which on one hand has the goal of 26 million housing units to house our people in the next ten years, is itself the principal owner of timber in the United States. For example, 54 percent of all the softwood timber in the United States belongs to the United States Government. You and I, as the citizens, the taxpayer, we're in the biggest timber growing enterprise in the world, us citizens.

But about 50 percent of the land in the national forests, which are mostly in the Western states, are inaccessible because the Government, to this date, has not been able to get enough money out of the Congress to build the roads needed to really practice forestry.

DOWNS. Are we talking, now, about wilderness areas that would be protected otherwise, or this apart from that?

HAGENSTEIN. No, sir, we're talking about the commercial land, the commercial—

DOWNS. Commercial land.

HAGENSTEIN. Forest land, of which there's 96 million acres in the National Forests.

And, of course, if we're going to do the job, we've got to figure out some more effective ways of financing it; of making the capital investment, just as we've done in the highway program, for example.

We've built this wonderful Interstate highway system in the last ten years we've been working at it, by earmarking the receipts from taxes on rubber, vehicles, and fuel, in order to finance this interstate highway system.

The national forests, which are one of the few areas where the government makes money from its operation, instead of spending it, has an opportunity to re-invest the monies that it receives from the sale of its timber into capital improvements needed to practice better forestry.

By that, I mean not only to make the land accessible for harvesting timber, but to enable the Forest Service to do a better job of reforestation, to do a better job of protection against fires, against insects and disease, and above all, to salvage the old growth timber that is lost at the rate, in the National Forests in the West alone, of ten billion board feet a year.

DOWNS. Well, it's just lost?

HAGENSTEIN. That's lost because of the annual mortality that can't be reached and salvaged today because of lack of roads.

DOWNS. Ah, that's what leads me to my next question. If they did get the access roads, and with this tremendous demand that we see in the next ten years, would replanting be possible in a way that would prevent our being in danger of running out of wood?

HAGENSTEIN. There's no danger of the United States running out of wood if we practice the kind of forestry that the members of our profession are dedicated to, providing, of course, that the Federal Government, as the most significant individual owner of timberland in the United States, and the great corporations that own a lot of the land, and other owners, will apply their best efforts to really grow timber.

DOWNS. Now my second question is, would this program of getting the roads into these areas, in any way endanger those wilderness areas that people concerned with conservation are anxious to protect?

HAGENSTEIN. No, it wouldn't, because under the law, the wilderness areas are not allowed to have roads built into them. The areas we're talking about are the areas outside the wilderness areas, where by law, the Forest Service and the other Federal Agencies that have some of the other Federal land, are obliged to practice forestry.

For example, in 1897, when the National Forest objectives were set forth, the Congress said that in addition to water, the second purpose was to provide an adequate supply of timber for the use of the necessities of the citizens of the United States. And now, with this housing goal, and the Government being the principal timber owner, it's time for us to get with it.

DOWNS. What about this? The Government is the principal timber owner. Recently, didn't they threaten to dump lumber on the market to force down that price that was going up, that you mentioned?

HAGENSTEIN. I wouldn't call it dumping. The Administration has asked the Congress, between now and the end of this fiscal year on June 30, to make more money available

so that they can put an additional billion, one hundred million board feet of timber on the market, to ease the current shortage of lumber and plywood we've had because of all the unusual factors this year: the dock strike, the bad winter in the Pacific Northwest, and the increased demand.

DOWNS. Will there ever come a time, Mr. Hagenstein, where other materials—I know in certain areas stone would be impractical because if you don't have it it would cost a lot to import it—but houses are made of all kinds of things, now, besides wood, even though, I guess, they're predominantly still made of wood.

HAGENSTEIN. You bet.

DOWNS. Would it be possible to stave off any real kind of real danger to the lumber supplies, by examining other materials for building, or is that still in the offing?

HAGENSTEIN. There's research going on all the time, but the interesting thing to me is that in the older countries of the world, in Central Europe, where for centuries the buildings were made from stone, today they're beginning to build houses out of wood because they find it a more practical material.

DOWNS. It is more practical. Is it possible for us then to grow enough wood to keep ourselves supplied in the lumber necessary for our housing?

HAGENSTEIN. I think that in a nation like ours, with more than 500 million acres of commercial forest lands, we have the opportunity, through intensifying our forestry, which we've been doing for 25 years on an ever increasing scale, of growing half again as much timber as we're growing in the United States today. And that will take care of our increasing population for housing, for paper, and all the other essentials that come from wood.

DOWNS. Thank you, very much, sir. It's good to get a glimpse at what this problem is and what can be done about it.

Our guest, W. B. Hagenstein, a representative of the forest industry, with his recommendations for solving the shortage in wood products available for building our homes. Thanks again.

HAGENSTEIN. Thank you.

Another worthwhile report on the lumber and plywood problem is found in the April edition of American Forests magazine:

THE SOUNDING BOARD

(By Ira J. Mason)

CROSSING AN HISTORIC DIVIDE

So you weren't able to trade up to that bigger house you hoped to build last year? Well, if it's any comfort to you, you aren't alone. Perhaps like many you settled by taking a longer camping trip in your favorite national or state park of Forest Service wilderness. If you encountered an area that was crowded you probably deplored the fact that there aren't more of these areas for growing swarms of campers. If you saw a clear-cut area where the timber stood the year before, you may have deplored that too. What many campers and tourists don't realize is that there is a relationship between timber withdrawals for parks and recreation areas and the fact your builder couldn't obtain the wood he required to build your house. The truth is there's a timber pinch in this country and consumers are just beginning to feel it. We are about to cross an historic divide and there will be far-reaching repercussions. Here's how it works.

HOUSING STARTS

In 1968 there were approximately 1.6 million housing starts, just slightly less than the level attained in 1963, but about twenty per cent more than in 1967. Increased home construction in 1968 resulted in a tight supply of lumber and plywood. Prices soared. Until last year, it had been possible to find enough timber to provide for current domes-

tic needs for wood products without paying premiums to overcome scarcities. Even though some mills had timber supply problems, the total supply of lumber and plywood has been adequate if not ample for domestic needs. When lumber supplies are ample to meet overall national needs, price is the primary restraint on lumber production. Stumpage supply problems for many mills in the Pacific Coast and Inland Empire States result in high production costs for them. When lumber production gets ahead of demand and prices begin to drop, these mills slacken production until demand catches up with supply and prices firm.

#### DEMAND EXCEEDS SUPPLY

But 1968 was the year when lumber and plywood demand was always ahead of supply. It was a year with constant price incentives for manufacturers to increase production. The reason production never caught up with demand is that additional timber available for immediate cutting could not be found. Hence 1968 was a year in which we found out how much lumber and plywood can be had when the only significant restraint on production is the timber volume available for immediate cutting. About fifteen percent of the lumber used in the United States comes from Canada, mostly from British Columbia. The price incentives to increase production during 1968 were equally applicable to Canadian as to United States manufacturers. In 1968, lumber imports from Canada increased about fifteen percent to 5.5 billion board feet. Present lumber prices take into account the response Canadian lumber producers could make to 1968 lumber price incentives. Except for totally undeveloped areas in the northern part of the Peace River drainage which will require a long-range program to make commercially available, Canada has restraints much similar to ours in expanding the supply of timber available for immediate cutting. In 1968 lumber and plywood consumption was about ten percent more than in 1967, but plywood prices rose by almost fifty percent. Lumber price increases varied by species with an overall average of around forty percent. Lumber and plywood prices have jumped to new record levels, and are still heading upward with no indication as yet that they are topping out. Lumber consumption is only slightly higher than the levels in the three years 1964-66. Domestic lumber production in 1968 was slightly lower than that attained in that three-year period. Softwood plywood production and consumption has been increasing steadily every since the close of World War II. A ten percent year-to-year increase in its production is not unusual.

#### SOARING STUMPAGE PRICES

Prices for standing timber (stumpage) soared as much as lumber prices in 1968. Compared to 1967, average prices for Douglas-fir, ponderosa pine and western hemlock in national forest sales in the third quarter of 1968 increased by 44 to 57 percent. These stumpage price increases clearly show that scarcity of timber available for immediate cutting is the basic cause of the tight lumber supply in 1968. This stumpage price record also shows that a major share of lumber price increases is being passed from manufacturers to timber growers. This violent price reaction to rather modest increases in consumption in 1968 indicates there is a basic change in supply-demand relationships. It means that we have crossed the divide between ample and tight supplies of softwood sawtimber to meet overall domestic needs for lumber and plywood. Since the rate of home construction in 1968 is still far below the average needed to attain 2.6 million units in the next ten years, which is the goal established in the National Housing Act of 1968, it is evident that domestic needs for lumber and plywood are going to increase greatly. This expanding demand means that from here on out there must be

concern over the annual supply of timber available for cutting.

#### FOREST SERVICE INVENTORY

The Forest Service estimated total inventory of softwood sawtimber in the United States as of January 1, 1963 to be 2,058 billion board feet. The net effect of growth and drain since then is generally conceded to be minor. Timber requirements for production of softwood lumber and plywood in 1968 were about 36 billion board feet. In addition 2.2 billion board feet of logs were exported to Japan. The total for 1968, including log exports, is less than two percent of the softwood sawtimber inventory. The timber supply problem is real and pressing, but it is not a timber scarcity problem. Timber requirements to meet domestic needs for lumber and plywood are not excessive in relation to softwood sawtimber inventory. The real problem is how to manage existing timber resources more effectively so that current domestic needs can be met without the payment of premiums for scarcity. Sixty-five percent of softwood sawtimber is in public ownership, predominantly federal, fifteen percent in industrial ownership and the remaining twenty percent in miscellaneous private holdings. The rate of cutting on the public ownership is regulated at a low ratio between cut and inventory. The cut on industrial ownerships is also generally held to planned rates but at much higher ratios between cut and inventory. Hence there is little flexibility in annual cutting rates for about eighty percent of softwood sawtimber. The remaining twenty percent is subject to widely varying management policies. The sharp rise in stumpage prices is a strong incentive for these miscellaneous owners to sell. Mills also have strong incentives to search out and acquire any remaining private timber within hauling range. As a result, the ratio of cut to inventory is generally high in the miscellaneous ownership category. The major need for this ownership category is to improve productivity after cutting rather than efforts to influence rates of cutting. Because almost two-thirds of the softwood sawtimber inventory is on public lands and because the ratio of cut to inventory is lowest for this ownership category, efforts to improve the timber supply situation will center on increasing the share of timber supplied annually from this source. Here are some of the main issues which will shortly be active.

#### INTENSIVE TIMBER MANAGEMENT

National forests and other Federal commercial timberlands are now being managed at a level which provides little more than protection, annual harvest cutting of about one percent of inventory, and regeneration after cutting. Funds are available to make only a small proportion of the full potential of thinning, salvage, and understory removal sales. Little, if any, individual tree mortality salvage, pre-commercial thinning, advance road construction, and fertilization is being done. The Chief of the Forest Service, Ed Cliff, told Senator Morse's Small Business Subcommittee last November 26, that allowable cutting rates on the national forests could be raised by about two thirds if the Forest Service has assurance of long term funding for roads and intensive management practices. Broadly based and intensive support to establish a policy of intensive timber management for the commercial timberlands in Federal ownership and to get it financed can be expected.

#### ALLOWABLE CUT DETERMINATION

The Forest Service has been making management plans and determining allowable cuts for the national forests for more than sixty years. During this entire period, the supply of lumber to meet total national needs has been ample, even though the demand for stumpage exceeded supply on most national forests in the Pacific and Inland Empire States. Hence one important background

premise of all national forest management planning to date is the assumption of ample supplies to meet current overall national wood needs. With shortage problems presumed to be considerably in the future, an alternative which holds down cutting rates now in order to make it possible to cut at higher rates in the next rotation is the preferred course of action. Since 1968 this is no longer a valid premise. A vigorous demand for review of the premises and objectives under which allowable cut determinations are made, particularly in respect to recognition of rotation ages appropriate for growing timber under intensive management for processing by industrial techniques which can reasonably be expected in the early part of the 21st century, will undoubtedly develop.

#### LOG EXPORTS

Log exports to Japan increased by more than one third in 1968 to around 2.2 billion board feet. Export of logs from Federal lands is now subject to limitations specified in the "Morse Amendment" to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968. This measure, the official discussions held with the Japanese government, the hearings conducted by Senator Morse's Small Business Subcommittee in early 1968, and other public discussions of the problem are all based on concern over the effects of this export trade on the economy of the Pacific Northwest. Virtually no consideration has yet been given to the drain this log trade is making on resources now needed to provide an adequate supply of lumber and plywood for overall domestic needs. The loss of more than two billion board feet of logs which would otherwise help meet domestic needs now overshadows the issues over effects on the economy of the Pacific Northwest. Obviously a full reconsideration of the impacts of this log export trade and the measures needed to control it must be undertaken promptly.

#### WITHDRAWALS

Ironically 1968 was also a year of large withdrawals of commercial timberlands from timber use. Except for the Redwood Park these withdrawals had little if any direct effect on the supply of timber available for cutting in 1968, but withdrawals previously made reduced the allowable cuts and timber offerings which might otherwise have been made from Federal lands. The withdrawals made in 1968 will have similar annual effects from now on. Heretofore consideration of the adverse effects of withdrawals of commercial timberlands has been limited to local economy considerations. Hereafter the impacts of retirement of commercial lands from timber production must include the adverse effects of reduction of timber supply to meet domestic needs.

#### A HISTORIC YEAR

Prior to 1968 forest policy decisions, except during war-time dislocations, were made in an environment of ample current supplies of lumber and plywood to meet domestic needs, and shortages have always been a problem of the future. In 1968 the divide into a short supply situation for lumber and plywood was crossed. This change of environment brings in new people and new forces to bear on forest policy decisions. It brings in new urgencies and new priorities. It requires reconsideration of many positions long considered fixed. It will generate action on many issues in 1969.

SP4C. EDWARD M. KACHMAN KILLED  
SERVING HIS COUNTRY

**HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, Army Sp4c. Edward M. Kachman, a brave

young man from North Braddock, was recently killed serving his country in Vietnam.

I wish to honor his memory and commend his courage and valor, by placing in the RECORD the following article:

#### DISTRICT GI KILLED IN WAR

Army Spec. 4 Edward M. Kachman, son of Desk Sgt. George T. Kachman of the North Braddock police department, has been killed in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced last night.

Spec. Kachman, who was 21 on March 16, was killed April 8—10 days after he had completed six months service in Vietnam. He was also wounded last November and had been hospitalized for a month.

Relatives had no information on how he was killed but in a letter written a week before his death he had said there were 1,500 Viet Cong out in the bushes and his unit was going to hunt them down.

A 1966 graduate of Scott High School, Spec. Kachman was employed at the Westinghouse Electric Corp. in East Pittsburgh until May, 1968, when he was drafted. He is survived by his parents, of 2019 South Ave., North Braddock, and two sisters, Barbara at home, and Mrs. Stephen (Mary Ann) Gardner of Puerto Rico.

#### AMERICAN YARN SPINNERS ASSOCIATION

#### HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, our former distinguished colleague, the Honorable Basil L. Whitener, of North Carolina, has called to my attention the results of the following study by the American Yarn Spinners Association.

It is a very impressive, though disturbing, picture. I think this study will be of interest to all the Members of this body:

THE SPUN YARN IMPORT STORY, FEBRUARY 1969

#### INTRODUCTION

The sales yarn industry is a vital, dynamic segment of the domestic textile complex. Yarn produced for sale, as opposed to that produced for internal consumption, represents roughly 25% of the total spun yarn produced domestically.

AYSA represents sales yarn producers operating on the short staple or cotton system of spinning. Out of the total 20.5 million spindles in this system, it is estimated that 4.0 million are primary sales yarn spindles. At any given time there can be a significant number of spindles within the integrated concerns deployed to sales yarn. These firms, particularly weavers, often switch back and forth from net purchasers of yarn to net sellers, as product mix and balance change.

The customers of the sales yarn industry include knitters, weavers, tufters, thread manufacturers, cordage and twine manufacturers and a host of less substantial users. By purchasing a part or all of their yarn requirements, these industries are able to achieve maximum flexibility and responsiveness while at the same time minimizing their own risk and capital requirements. The independent yarn spinner is a highly efficient specialist who is able to provide his customer with the economic advantages of large scale production with a minimum of commitment by the customer himself.

Sales yarn is sold in a highly competitive environment where a fraction of a cent a

pound can mean the difference in winning or losing an order. Since yarn is the first marketable manufactured product beyond raw fiber stage, yarn prices are extremely sensitive to fiber prices. Thus, the yarn spinner must not only be an efficient manufacturer and good manager, but also a wise and prudent fiber buyer. Failure in either can mean substantial losses.

#### COTTON YARNS AND IMPORTS

Regardless of techniques employed, base periods being compared, etc., it is generally conceded that cotton yarn imports have grown more rapidly than any other major segment of cotton textiles. This growth has been quite erratic, and has not necessarily followed overall import trends.

COTTON YARN AND TOTAL COTTON TEXTILE IMPORTS BY CALENDAR YEAR  
(Millions of units)

	Cotton yarn imports (pounds)	Cotton yarn imports (SYE's) <sup>1</sup>	Total cotton textile imports (SYE's) <sup>1</sup>
1961.....	14	64	720
1962.....	29	132	1,165
1963.....	23	107	1,101
1964.....	16	74	1,058
1965.....	22	101	1,313
1966.....	91	418	1,824
1967.....	37	170	1,485
1968.....	50	229	1,648

<sup>1</sup> SYE's equals square yards equivalent.

COTTON YARN AND TOTAL COTTON TEXTILE IMPORTS BY LTA YEAR

	Cotton yarn imports (pounds)	Cotton yarn imports (SYE's) <sup>1</sup>	Total cotton textile imports (SYE's) <sup>1</sup>
STA base year.....	29	132	1,111
1st LTA (October 1962 to September 1963).....	23	108	1,123
2d LTA (October 1963 to September 1964).....	20	90	1,035
3d LTA (October 1964 to September 1965).....	15	69	1,232
4th LTA (October 1965 to September 1966).....	78	361	1,726
5th LTA (October 1966 to September 1967).....	49	227	1,578
6th LTA (October 1967 to September 1968).....	51	236	1,614

<sup>1</sup> SYE's equals square yards equivalent.

An analysis of this data reveals that there was little growth in yarn imports in the early 1960's and then fantastic growth in the later years. The object of the LTA was to achieve orderly import growth at a rate of approximately 5% annually. The actual rate has been from three to five times this projected rate, depending on the reference periods used.

Another alarming characteristic of the yarn import picture is the growth in percentage of total cotton textile imports represented by yarn. In the six years through 1965 yarn represented 8.6% of cotton textile imports. In the most recent three years, this percentage has reached 16.5% and was a staggering 23% in 1966.

Perhaps even more damaging to the domestic industry than direct volume displacement has been the effect of yarn imports on the domestic pricing structure. As previously noted, cotton yarn is a highly competitive, price sensitive product. It only takes limited quantities of yarn offered at lower than prevailing market prices to exert enough pressure on the market to "break" it. It is interesting and tragic to note that in every period of sustained market strength (as measured by upward movement of the price index) yarn imports increase. Once they reach a level sufficient to reverse the price trend, imports also start to decline as prices decline. Un-

fortunately, price declines spread across the entire spectrum of yarn products, and cannot be effected on a selective basis.

What happened to the LTA control mechanism as it was applied to cotton yarn? It is hard to arrive at any firm conclusion except that it failed, or was allowed to fail. If we use the 1961-63 period as a base, and compare it to the 1966-68 period, yarn imports increased 170% in this equivalent five year span. During this period, the formula of 5% growth would have permitted an increase of 27.5%, or roughly one-sixth that actually achieved. (See Table 1)

Two specific cases illustrate the failure of the administration of the LTA:

1. *Mexico*.—Here, a country with a very low level of imports up through 1965 was allowed to pump in more than 25 million pounds of yarn in 1966, and as a reward for this type performance, now has a negotiated annual yarn quota of roughly 11 million pounds.

2. *Brazil*.—In the five years ending in 1964, this country had exported a total of 2.5 million pounds of yarn into the U.S. In 1966 alone, they were allowed to ship 18 million pounds. Having no bilateral agreement with the U.S., Brazil is now under a unilateral restraining action limiting their yarn exports at a level of approximately 6 million pounds annually.

Very simply, country after country was allowed to hit absurdly high levels of yarn exports before being brought under any control, either bilateral agreements or unilateral restraints.

Six countries in 1968 shipped almost 84% of all the cotton yarn coming into the U.S. (Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, Mexico, Portugal, Spain). It is no accident that most of these countries grow (or have captive sources) practically all of their own cotton. This makes it doubly attractive to export yarn as a source of hard currency. It is also worthy to note that none of these countries are among the principal Far Eastern suppliers of textiles.

Practically all of the bilateral agreements now in existence have "merged" the four yarn categories into one blanket yarn category. Consultation provisions are normally provided for cases of undue concentration into a single category, but the lack of definition has made these provisions impractical to apply in practice. Three of the more significant yarn exporting countries (Colombia, Israel and Spain) still retain the so-called "unlimited swing" provisions that allow shifting of all cotton textile exports into yarn categories if so desired. Thus, a country can explore a number of market possibilities during its agreement year, but always retain the option of using any residual part of their quota for yarn in the last periods of the year.

Another very damaging characteristic of the cotton yarn import problem is the concentration of these imports into specific products and markets. Over any extended time period, 70% of all yarn imports are in the carded singles category. In the domestic market, this category represents some 40% of total production. Taking the case one step further, carded singles yarn imports tend to concentrate even more in the middle and lower-middle count ranges. When carded singles yarn imports reached a level representing 20% of domestic production in early 1968, it can be safely concluded that in these middle and lower middle count ranges, the ration was closer to 40%. Market stability is literally impossible in this environment.

The yarn industry must be just as concerned about the importation of other textile products as it is of yarn. The displacement of our customer's markets will ultimately have the same tragic whiplash on the yarn producers as does the more direct displacement of yarn itself.

The cotton textile market is now generally conceded to be declining, or at best, static.

Cotton sales yarn production has shown these same trends. After several years of growth in the early and middle 1960's, cotton sales yarn production has declined significantly in the last two years.

*Domestic cotton sales yarn production*

	Million pounds
1961	803
1962	845
1963	831
1964	901
1965	988
1966	1,042
1967	875
1968 (estimated)	850

Assuming that this decline will continue, the built-in growth factors in imports become even more damaging. A larger and larger slice is taken out of a smaller and smaller pie.

Cotton yarn imports in 1968 reached a level of 50 million pounds, a level that incidentally was moderated by the threat and actual occurrence of a shipping strike in December. An analysis of the various bilateral agreements reveals that this level could have been 30% higher without any additional violations of the yarn provisions of the agreements. This assumes that there would be no significant "new starters," and that each country under agreement had fully exercised their options in cotton yarn. The year 1968 was not a good year for the cotton yarn industry, and had prices been at satisfactory levels, there is little doubt that yarn import levels would have been at 65-70 million pounds.

*MANMADE FIBER SPUN YARN IMPORTS*

Man-made fiber textile imports have grown almost fantastically over the past few years. As a component of this total growth, spun yarn imports made from man-made fibers have not reached the damaging proportions that they have in cotton. Percentage growth has been high but poundage levels are still reasonably low:

	Million pounds
1966	2.2
1967	3.8
1968 (estimate)	5.1

Japan has exported about 2/3 of this poundage.

The reason for the relatively low import levels of spun man-made fiber yarn is simple. The countries who have a primary man-made fiber industry also have the capability to further process the yarn into fabric and apparel. It is obviously to their economic advantage to do so.

To assume that the yarn industry does not feel the impact of man-made fiber imports is a gross mistake, however. For example, imported knit fabric and apparel has shown one of the highest rates of growth of any segment. These products, when made domestically, are produced by manufacturers who traditionally purchase more than 80% of their yarn. Any sales yarn manufacturer who is selling to the sweater trade can bear eloquent testimony as to what has happened to this market, which is now represented by more than 50% imports.

It is difficult to project the trends of spun man-made fiber yarns at this time. The Kennedy Round tariff cuts of 50% on spun yarn will certainly provide an additional incentive for imports. Whether the yarn is imported in the form of apparel, fabric or yarn is really of secondary importance as long as the market is being displaced.

*CONCLUSION*

The next decade will be a challenging one for the sales yarn industry. Combining new technology, new fibers, new products, new management techniques with basic struc-

tural changes that are now occurring will demand the best in management. There is more than ample uncertainty and challenge without the imposition of the threat of a future with more imports.

The yarn industry, along with other segments of textiles, must be given the opportunity to plan its future with some business rational. The people with the biggest stake are the tens of thousands of employees whose jobs and wage levels will be dictated by our government's policy on textile imports. Given a proper environment, these employees can be paid at competitive wage levels and can look to the future with some certainty. Without such government action, the industry faces a gradual dissipation and abandonment.

The United States government must develop a program that will not only control the aggregate flow of textile imports into this market, but that will also distribute the load on a more even basis. The only practical way this can be achieved is through quantitative controls on a category by category basis. Whether these controls be in the form of negotiated voluntary agreements, or in the form of legislated quotas, is almost secondary to the attitude and posture taken by the government in administering these programs.

The authority and mechanism for cotton textile import relief has existed since 1961,

yet cotton yarn imports have almost trebled during this period. The textile industry simply cannot take another eight years of "controls" such as this, and still be expected to survive.

TABLE 1.—AVERAGE ANNUAL COTTON YARN EXPORTS TO UNITED STATES

(In thousands of pounds)

	Average, 3 years, 1961-63	Average, 3 years, 1966-68	Percent change
Brazil	30	10,100	-----
Colombia	1,500	3,400	+127
Egypt	2,000	3,200	+80
Greece	800	3,300	+313
Israel	1,700	2,700	+59
Malta	-----	1,100	-----
Mexico	1,000	15,100	+1,410
Portugal	12,000	13,500	+13
Spain	1,400	4,300	+207
Subtotal	20,430	56,700	+178
Other	470	2,429	+417
All countries	21,900	59,129	+170

Using the average annual yarn imports for 1961-63 as a base, a 5% annual growth factor would have raised the average level approximately 27 1/2% for the two periods. The actual rate of increase was 170%, or almost six times the objective rate.

U.S. GENERAL IMPORTS OF YARN FROM MAJOR COUNTRIES BY CALENDAR YEAR

(In millions of pounds)

Country	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Brazil	1.3	-----	-----	0.1	1.1	5.5	17.7	7.7	4.5
Colombia	-----	0.6	2.4	1.4	2.1	2.6	3.9	2.3	4.6
Egypt	2.2	.9	3.2	1.9	.2	.1	.3	2.3	2.7
Greece	-----	-----	.9	1.6	.6	.5	4.1	1.3	1.5
Israel	.2	.8	2.2	2.2	1.4	1.2	4.0	1.6	2.2
Malta	-----	-----	-----	.7	-----	-----	1.7	.4	1.1
Mexico	.4	.6	1.7	-----	.6	1.6	25.5	9.8	9.6
Portugal	7.5	9.3	14.5	10.6	7.5	7.0	19.8	7.5	12.6
Spain	2.9	.6	.9	2.7	1.0	2.0	4.5	1.0	7.9
Subtotal	14.5	12.8	25.8	21.2	14.5	20.6	81.5	33.9	46.7
All others	1.0	1.0	2.9	2.0	1.6	1.3	9.3	3.0	3.0
Total	15.5	13.8	28.7	23.2	16.1	21.9	90.8	36.9	49.7
Carded:									
Single	9.5	11.7	20.1	18.3	14.0	18.3	55.9	26.1	33.5
Plied	1.1	.8	1.9	2.2	.8	1.3	9.1	4.2	6.4
Total	10.6	12.5	22.0	20.5	14.8	19.6	65.0	30.3	39.9
Combed:									
Single	4.5	1.2	5.7	2.0	1.1	1.7	21.1	5.7	8.3
Plied	.4	.2	.9	.6	.2	.6	4.7	.8	1.6
Total	4.9	1.3	6.7	2.7	1.3	2.3	25.8	6.6	9.8
Total, all yarn	15.5	13.8	28.7	23.2	16.1	21.9	90.8	36.9	49.7

Note: Totals may not agree exactly due to rounding out of figures.  
Source: Department of Commerce.

**A BILL TO TERMINATE THE SUGAR QUOTA ALLOCATED TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**HON. OGDEN R. REID**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing, with the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) and several of our colleagues, a bill to terminate the sugar quota presently allocated to the Republic of South Africa and pro-rate that quota among other non-Western Hemisphere countries. Senator KEN-

NEDY will offer identical legislation in the Senate.

Under the quota system, which results in payment to the sugar producers of a price higher than the free market price, our annual subsidy to South African sugar producers is approximately \$4 million. This subsidy benefits not the black South African who works on the sugar plantation, but the white minority—which already has one of the highest standards of living anywhere in the world. Our subsidy, and the labor of the black South African, support that standard of living for the white South African.

In my judgment, it is essential that we take action to remove this quota permanently from the Sugar Act. The racial

policies of South Africa are repugnant to many citizens of this country, and have been condemned by most of the countries of the world. Our support for those policies, through a sugar quota which is in effect also a subsidy, is an affront both to our own black citizens and to the nations of black Africa, whose friendship we seek. I hope the Congress will take early action to revoke this quota, which constitutes support for a government intent on perpetuating injustice.

#### FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT CONTROLS

### HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has been holding hearings on the foreign direct investment controls.

The testimony of the witnesses who have appeared indicates that the controls are counterproductive and that a date should be set for terminating them. One of the most effective witnesses was D. L. Commons, the senior vice president for finance for Occidental Petroleum Corp. who testified about the adverse effect of the program on our balance of payments.

Changes in the regulations were announced recently. In this vein, I would refer to Mr. Commons' remarks that no one should be fooled into thinking "that so-called relaxation of the controls will end their further development."

I would just point out that action to reduce the controls at this time, even to skeletal form, may be changed in the future, and the skeleton refreshed.

A program of such vast importance should be set up by Congress, not by Executive fiat.

The statement by Mr. Commons follows:

STATEMENT OF D. L. COMMONS, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, FINANCE OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORP., BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 85, MARCH 27, 1969

Mr. Chairman, my name is D. L. Commons. I am Senior Vice President, Finance, of Occidental Petroleum Corporation and I appear here this morning in support of House Concurrent Resolution 85, which was introduced on January 14, 1969, by Mr. Tunney for himself and a great many others. The resolution would declare it the sense of Congress that foreign direct investment controls are unwise and harmful, and would call upon the President to end such controls as soon as possible.

I

I would like to begin my remarks today by calling the attention of the Committee to a prominent feature of the foreign investment controls which we think clearly illustrates their unwisdom and harmfulness. I refer to the treatment accorded to exports of United States-produced goods and services under the OFDI regulations.

One would normally expect that in a program to stem the outflow of dollars from our country, a proposed foreign investment which

could be made without dollar outflow, by purchasing the needed capital equipment and services domestically, would be most welcome. A foreign investment made in this way can do nothing but benefit the balance of payments.

It cannot hurt, because no dollars are exported, and there is therefore practically no way the investor's expenditure can become a drain on the United States gold supply. On the other hand, as earnings from the investment are repatriated, dollars will flow into the United States, and the balance of payments will be improved—sometimes with dramatic speed. In addition, of course, an overseas capital project in which United States-made machinery and equipment are originally installed will produce lasting benefits to our balance of payments through subsequent orders for complementary products, spare parts and supplies, replacements and so forth.

Despite the obvious desirability of structuring the foreign investment control program so as to promote the making of foreign investments with exports of United States goods instead of dollars, the OFDI regulations do not work that way. They do nothing to encourage such exports, and in fact they are not even neutral: they affirmatively discriminate against such exports, by making it easier and more advantageous to purchase goods and services of foreign origin to construct an overseas capital project. This is how it works:

The OFDI regulations provide that an export of United States-produced goods or services to an overseas affiliate of an investor must be treated as a transfer of capital, just as though dollars had been lent to the affiliate or invested in its capital. As a practical matter, this means the investor must borrow money abroad equivalent to the value of the exported goods and services, and bring the loan proceeds back home—even when he is prepared to pay cash and has no other need to borrow.

The imposition of this borrowing requirement is a needless penalty, in the case of cash purchases, and it works to the actual disadvantage of the American supplier whenever the investor has a choice of buying from either an American or a foreign supplier on substantially equivalent terms: it will almost always be preferable for the investor to buy from the foreign supplier rather than the domestic supplier under the OFDI regulations.

For example, if both suppliers are willing to give long-term credit, the investor will clearly be better off buying from the foreign supplier. He will have no additional OFDI requirements to meet. If he were to buy from the domestic supplier he would still have to negotiate a foreign loan he might not need, or be able to afford, and bring the proceeds back home.

In the opposite situation, where neither supplier will extend credit, the OFDI regulations in effect require the investor to negotiate a long-term foreign loan from someone else to cover the purchase. Again, this will almost invariably favor the foreign supplier. Most European governments—and it is primarily European competition we are talking about—make export credits available on extremely favorable terms for the benefit of their own producers. Needless to say, the same credits are not available if the borrower is simply seeking to finance a United States purchase. Yet if the investor wants to purchase United States goods, and suffer no detriment under the OFDI regulations, he must borrow abroad, except in very limited situations—i.e., where he can obtain so-called "103" money, or Eximbank financing, to cover the purchase. Our experience is that these domestic financing possibilities do not by any means put the domestic supplier on equal footing with his foreign competitor. "103"

money—bank loans that are under the Federal Reserves Voluntary Credit Restraint program and outside the OFDI controls—is extremely hard to come by, and is available only in small quantities, at significant premiums, when it can be found at all. Federal Reserve statistics indicate that domestic banks in the aggregate have significant untapped lending capacity for this type of money, but the statistics are misleading: specific loan inquiries we have made indicate that availabilities are at best meager and in any event non-competitive. By the same token, our experience is that Eximbank financing is not readily available for exports which otherwise would have to be accounted for under the OFDI program, and does not provide a realistic alternative.

The result of all this is that we have been forced to conclude that under the OFDI regulations, domestic procurement is less attractive than foreign procurement, and accordingly we have specifically directed our procurement officials to look first to foreign sources for needed capital equipment. We do not think this is in the interest of American business, but we feel we have no choice. And we are talking about procurement of goods and services which will run to a total of close to \$50 million in 1969, in our own case alone. What we find baffling and frustrating about this is that factually the export of United States-origin goods and services for foreign investments does no harm to the balance of payments, but on the contrary eventually benefits it in numerous ways. There is apparently widespread acceptance of this truth within the government, but we are told that nothing can be done about it.

How has it come about that we have a regulatory scheme which discriminates against the furnishing of United States-origin goods and services to no good purpose? As nearly as we have been able to determine, it is simply a result of the adoption for current purposes of statistical methods of international accounting devised at an earlier time and in different circumstances, under which no provision is made for distinguishing transactions which can result in a drain on our gold supply from those which cannot. This is the way the books have been set up and are being maintained. So we are using a method of accounting which appears not to be meaningful or helpful, in terms of the United States balance of payments problem, but instead of changing the method of accounting to be consistent with our goals, we have evidently changed our goals to be consistent with our method of accounting. This seems to be truly putting the cart before the horse, and is a good illustration of the unwisdom of our foreign direct investment controls.

However, important as it is not to discriminate unnecessarily against exports of American-made capital goods and services, I do not want to pitch our support of House Concurrent Resolution 85 solely on this narrow ground.

We support the resolution for the basic reason that a policy of restricting foreign investment is fundamentally shortsighted. Repatriation of earnings on foreign investments is a major plus factor in our balance of payments, and we need to keep building it. There is something wrong with our priorities when we cut back on new foreign investment so that we can afford to continue to spend dollars abroad in other ways which will never produce a return flow of dollars, nor, in many cases, any other equivalent advantage.

I would like to take some comfort from assurances that these controls are temporary, but I am unable to. We have already begun to see, once again, how so-called "temporary" restrictions tend to stretch on and on. As a matter of fact, I find the recent talk

of "relaxing" the controls more ominous than reassuring. I think we will find it means the structure and organization of controls will be retained intact, so that they can continue to be applied to the few and can readily be extended to the many.

This is not what we should be doing. The organization and administration of a control program is a terribly wasteful, negative, and never-ending process. It requires the expenditure of time, effort and money, not to do, but to avoid doing, and it continually gives off unexpected consequences which make it more and more complicated. Gaps develop; unforeseen side effects appear; the regulations must be expanded to deal with these; inconsistencies show up; the regulations must again be amended to eliminate these; paragraphs expand to pages; definitions multiply and become increasingly artificial; a whole elaborate superstructure appears, which somehow still seems to contain unresolved problems, and the expansion process pushes relentlessly forward. Meanwhile companies gear up to understand and adapt to the developing body of controls; new personnel are hired; new procedures are adopted; some perhaps try harder than others; the control agency organizes itself to verify and police compliance with its regulations; a new batch of enforcement regulations appears and the prosecutors swing into action.

Anyone who has lived with the development of the OFDI regulations during the past year will recognize the foregoing instantly. This is no criticism of the effort that has been made. On the contrary, it is precisely because a high level of dedication, competence and intelligence has been brought to the task of developing a control program that it has quickly become complex, unwieldy and difficult to deal with. This is inherent in the nature of controls. And let no one think that so-called "relaxation" of the controls will end their further development, will simplify compliance for those who remain subject to the controls, or will diminish the machinery of government which has been erected to administer them. On the contrary, if precedent in prior control programs is any guide, what will happen is that many of the most competent personnel will lose interest in the program and move on; regulations, revisions, amendments, interpretations will nevertheless continue to proliferate, and the program will come to seem a familiar, accepted feature of the governmental landscape, too complicated and too hard to understand to remove.

If we are not going to live with investment controls indefinitely we must get rid of them now.

In this connection I note that there has been considerable discussion of phasing out the controls. It seems to have been widely accepted that an abrupt termination of controls would cause a massive dollar outflow which would throw us back into serious imbalance in our international payments. I wonder whether this is really correct? Perhaps at an earlier time such an outflow may have been a substantial risk, but at present or for the foreseeable future it seems to me a rather marginal risk. The fact is that, as money rates have developed, we now have no choice but to continue to do our borrowing in Europe, and to continue to hold our outstanding European loans. Even if credit tightens considerably in Europe, I see no reason to believe that the rate relationships which have developed will be reversed, so as to make it more advantageous to finance foreign investments in the United States than in Europe. For this reason I question the need for a "phasing out" process. I doubt that our balance of payments would suffer if investment controls were removed *in toto* tomorrow, and I would encourage the Subcommittee to so recommend.

Thank you very much for your time and attention.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE  
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the answers to a questionnaire I recently sent to my constituents have just been computer tabulated, and the results show that the citizens of Michigan's Sixth District want less taxation, less Government spending, less Federal intrusion into their private lives, and a more direct voice in choosing their President.

It is clear to me that people are fed up with past Federal spending policies that have increased the crushing burden of taxes with more taxes and that there is a ground swell of public sentiment for a more economical and business-like ap-

proach to Government operations. As evidence of this, 62 percent of those polled want an end to the 10-percent tax surcharge, 74 percent are in favor of a self-supporting corporate postal system, and 86 percent wish to limit farm program payments to \$10,000 for any one producer.

The overwhelming desire to change the electoral college system seems to be of particular significance for I sense that it reflects a sweeping demand for such reforms.

Also impressive was the fact that only 13 percent believe the scope of the Federal census should be expanded. This too brings a message with regard to sponsored legislation to limit the census to basic questions and put an end to unwarranted prying under threat of legal sanction.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I insert the results of the entire poll in the RECORD:

CONGRESSMAN CHAMBERLAIN'S 1969 QUESTIONNAIRE

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No response
Should we:			
1. Lower the voting age to 18?	38	60	2
2. Have legislation to help prevent strikes by public employees?	70	26	4
3. Limit farm program payments to \$10,000 for any 1 producer?	86	6	8
4. Create a Government-owned self-supporting corporation to operate the postal system?	74	18	8
Do you favor:			
5. The registration and licensing of all firearms and users?	41	57	2
6. A Government guaranteed annual minimum income?	17	79	4
7. The 1970 census being:			
	Percent		
Continued as in past years	25		
Limited to basic questions	56		
Expanded to provide more data	13		
No response	6		
Do you believe:			
8. The temporary surtax should be:			
	Percent		
Continued for another year	21		
Reduced to 5 percent	12		
Terminated when law expires	62		
No response	5		
9. Our space program justifies its cost?	43	48	9
10. The electoral college should be:			
(a) Continued as is	9	26	65
(b) Changed to divide a State's electoral vote in proportion to the popular vote	21	13	66
(c) Changed so that if no candidate wins enough electoral votes, a runoff, rather than Congress, would decide the winner	15	14	71
(d) Abolished, with President elected by popular vote	65	7	28

WORCESTER, MASS., AGE CENTER PROVIDES A SUPERLATIVE MODEL FOR THE COUNTRY

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the Age Center of Worcester Area, Inc., is a pioneering, social service agency, dedicated to the encouragement of and promotion of confidence in our community's aged, and the accomplishments of the center have been recognized and acclaimed throughout the country.

As a further forward step in their dynamic programs, the center initiated some 5 years ago a Creative Hands Gift Shop.

This gift shop provides significant leisure activities for older citizens of our community by encouraging them to engage in handicrafts, and adding to their security by providing them with additional income through the sale of their handcrafted items to the public.

Seventy-five percent of the profits

from such sales are returned to the older craftsmen, and the remaining profits are used to offset the operational expenses of the shop.

Mr. Speaker, the Age Center of Worcester is, indeed, a most highly efficient organization that projects a superlative model of service, training, and education for the aged, and the officers, directors, and staff members deserve the highest commendation for their devoted and successful endeavors.

The center, with this most recent projection, truly provides a model for other communities throughout the country to follow in guiding and encouraging our older citizens to a more meaningful and satisfying adjustment to the challenges of later life.

THE LATE WALTER K. LYON

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I note with deep regret the recent passing of a good

and respected friend, Walter K. Lyon. Mr. Lyon served as president and chief executive officer of the Cigar Institute of America.

We came to know each other through our mutual appreciation of a fine cigar, but our acquaintance went far beyond that simple pleasure. My sympathies at this time go to his wife, Patricia, and their two sons. Many of us share their bereavement.

Mr. Speaker, I am attaching an article about Walter, which appeared in a recent issue of the United States Tobacco Journal:

CHICAGO, ILL.—Walter K. Lyon, president and chief executive officer of the Cigar Institute of America, died suddenly here Monday afternoon while attending the annual convention of the National Association of Tobacco Distributors at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

Mr. Lyon, a resident of New York City, celebrated his 70th birthday on March 11.

One of the most prominent and widely respected figures in the tobacco industry, he was one of the founders of the Cigar Institute of America and held the then honorary office of its presidency from 1953 through 1957, when he resigned upon the sale of his own manufacturing company, Pennstate Cigar Corp.

Mr. Lyon returned to the Institute as its president on August 1, 1966, that office having become the organization's chief executive position.

During his absence from the Institute he had served as president of Michigan Peat Inc.

Born in Hartford, Conn., Mr. Lyon began his career in the tobacco industry as sales manager for the leaf company of M. March & Sons of Wheeling, W. Va.

It was during Mr. Lyon's presidency of Pennstate Cigar Corp. that he participated in the establishment of the Cigar Institute. At the time, he was also a director of the Cigar Manufacturers Association.

He was credited with originating many of the innovative public relations programs which have characterized the Cigar Institute's recent activities on behalf of the cigar. He also sought to build the Institute, and succeeded to a considerable degree, by inviting supporting memberships from allied segments of the tobacco and merchandising trades.

Mr. Lyon was to have presided at the traditional Cigar Institute breakfast and marketing seminar held here Tuesday morning as part of the NATD convention program.

In poor health in recent months, the Cigar Institute's president had returned to his job in January following a leave of several months, during which he underwent major surgery.

At the time of his death, he resided at 301 East 41st Street in New York City.

He is survived by his wife, Patricia and two sons, Peter and Michael, both pilots for Pan American Airways.

Funeral arrangements were incomplete at "Tobacco Journal" press time.

#### HELP YOUR POLICE FIGHT CRIME WEEK

### HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest concerns of our Nation today is the rising rate of crime, and the frustration so many of our citi-

zens feel in their efforts to seek ways they can reverse this situation.

Perhaps the most direct and immediate action each individual can take is to publicly express their fullest support for our law officers, and to instill in their children respect for authority and the right of others.

Psychological motivation is a powerful force in our age of instant communications. When this psychological motivation is utilized to its fullest, positive action can result.

If enough law-abiding, patriotic citizens would unite and make a public commitment to stand for and with their law-enforcement officers, we will have taken a major step in solving our crime problem.

It is with pleasure and enthusiasm that I join with my fellow Members of Congress in sponsoring a joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period May 11 through May 17, 1969, as "Help Your Police Fight Crime Week."

During this special week positive efforts could sustain a mood of respect, cooperation, and determination that would bring about a change of attitudes and create a solid psychological force against crime.

I not only hope the Congress will bring about passage of this joint resolution, but that such a week might become an annual observance.

#### THE LINCOLN CHAIR IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS

### HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, today the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia at its monthly meeting heard Clifford D. Owsley speak on Lincoln. He presented an interesting dissertation on "The Lincoln Chair." His observations are worthy of notice and consideration. To further that interest, I ask all colleagues and students to ponder on this. His address follows:

#### THE LINCOLN CHAIR IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS

(Address by Clifford D. Owsley, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, before the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, at the Capitol, Washington, D.C., April 16, 1969)

Chaucer, Shakespeare, Samuel Johnson, Napoleon, Marlowe, John Keats, Francis Bacon, Jonathan Swift, John Milton, Dryden, Pope, Edmund Burke—these and other individual men of history and their works have been taught in universities.

While we would not disparage teaching any one of these, it is an unfortunate oversight that our universities generally have failed to take note of the greatest man our nation, or any nation, has produced—a man who in his own way exemplified, as few men have, a lifelong faith in learning. That man was Abraham Lincoln.

Naturally, most of the discussion about Lincoln deals with history, the past. Today, I would turn your attention in the opposite direction, and look to the future.

I propose that we raise a half million dollars and endow the Lincoln Chair at the American University.

We may be about 140 years late, but it is not too late for us to send Abraham Lincoln to the University.

The American University welcomes this idea with enthusiasm. I hope that the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia will sponsor the effort, and thus be permanently identified with it.

We are already forming a non-profit, educational foundation to be known as The Lincoln Chair Foundation.

There may be those, and once I would have been numbered among them, who would say that there are enough memorials to Abraham Lincoln. There are many fine ones. The Lincoln Memorial here in the capital is probably the most magnificent structure in the whole world. The question is: Can we make a better one? I think so. The Lincoln Chair would be a living memorial that would go on and on, in Lincoln's words, "lighting us down to the latest generation."

The evolution of this idea in my own mind is interesting. I began with the conviction that generally the American people, though recognizing that Lincoln was a very great man, do not really comprehend his true stature; that it is much bigger than a casual knowledge of the man's life indicates. So I began to think in terms of another granite mountain, another Mount Rushmore, but one that would convey some of the relative stature of Lincoln, compared with some of the true giants of the earth.

In my mind's eye, I saw this mountain, with Lincoln's magnificent head at the summit. Flanking Lincoln would be other figures, but at a slightly lower level. These might be Socrates, Aristotle, Pericles, Joan of Arc (we must have a woman in the group), Winston Churchill, and perhaps others. I never completely filled out the cast.

I carried this idea around and let it simmer. Soon I had second thoughts. With the price of mountains today and the price of sculptors, I decided this might well be the impossible dream. So I came around to thinking of a place where Lincoln, his character and ideals, could be taught to succeeding generations—a memorial that would never die—The Lincoln Chair.

An interesting story unfolds in the history of the endowed chair, or professorship. By long-standing tradition, there is a special distinction attached to academic posts supported by their own endowed funds. Many endowed faculty chairs have acquired fame and usefulness outlasting the bricks and mortar of the times in which they were created.

Among the oldest such chairs are the Regius Professorships at Oxford University, established in 1546 by Henry VIII. Today, more than four centuries after their creation, these are among the most honored positions in English academic life.

The term "faculty chair" can be traced back to Elizabethan England. In the custom of those times, the common people sat on wooden stools and benches, the gentry used cushions on the floor, and even the grandest room in a nobleman's castle could seldom boast more than a single piece of furniture that could be called a chair.

Accordingly, when a man in academic life was raised to the position of professor, with an income from a named fund given by some monarch or wealthy prelate, he was presented with an actual chair, symbolizing his status in the world of learning.

More than 200 years ago, Thomas Hollis, a London merchant, created the first endowed university chairs at Harvard, the first in America—the Hollis Professorships in Divinity, Mathematics, and Philosophy. Harvard today has more than 200 professorships thus supported by separate endowments. The gift of Thomas Hollis began a long tradition of endowed chairs at Harvard and most major American universities.

A fully endowed professorship or area of study provides many advantages to the uni-

versity and the individual holding the post—as well as generations of students who, in this case, will come to know a giant of the ages. It assures the holder a salary and support of his research and scholarly publications. The permanency of the endowment makes possible a continuity of effort in a particular field of research and teaching. Such endowed funds create areas of institutional distinction in special scholarly fields, thus adding to the distinction of the university.

An appropriate area of study for the Lincoln Chair would be in a social and political communications.

The American University is now engaged in a major effort to achieve academic distinction and strengthen teaching and research in all its intellectual disciplines. There is no better way to symbolize this effort, and to help the University achieve its aims than through the establishment of endowed university professorships. Where would we ever find a more appropriate place than American University in the nation's capital? The name and the place are peculiarly fitting.

Abraham Lincoln early in life acquired a desire for learning; it never left him. He called himself a "learner." He both demonstrated and exemplified in his life the individual who never stops learning; thus, proving that through learning one may continuously grow.

One day, O. H. Browning, a fellow Illinois politician, had a brief conversation with Lincoln. After Lincoln had gone, Browning remarked that Lincoln was "always a learner," and in that respect was the most notable man he had ever seen. "I have known him for ten years, and every time I meet him I find him much improved. He is now about 40 years old. I knew him at thirty, and every time I have seen him I have observed extraordinary improvement. Most young men have finished their education, as they say, at twenty-five; but Lincoln is always a learner."

Every state in the Union is a benefactor of Lincoln's affinity with education. As President, he recommended and signed the law that established the Land Grant Colleges—incidentally, the first Federal aid to education.

Not only with learning and education, but there is a close affinity between Lincoln and communications or public relations. He often referred to "public sentiment" and its power a half century before the birth of public relations as a business or profession.

He said, "Public sentiment is everything; with it nothing can fail, without it nothing can succeed." President Nixon patterned a sentence after it in his inaugural address.

Lincoln also said, "What kills the skunk is the publicity it gives itself." I don't know how this will hold up for today, since there are always some who will take the chance. And Lincoln easily ranks as the most effective communicator among public men in this or any nation's history.

To begin the fund drive, I plan to make a series of some ten lectures on Lincoln. Some of the topics will be:

- "Lincoln the Relevant Man of History."
- "The Secret of Lincoln's Arguments."
- "Lincoln the Writer."
- "Lincoln the Learner."
- "Lincoln and Women."
- "Was Lincoln a Genius?"
- "Is Lincoln Civilization's Tallest Figure?"

This fall, I expect to teach a course in Abraham Lincoln in the Northern Virginia Center of the University of Virginia. This will be another step in the same direction as the Lincoln Chair—to put the teaching of Abraham Lincoln into college curriculums.

As of now, the Lincoln Chair is a dream but dreams of this kind may be the most powerful force in the universe. They can inspire men and women to sacrifice for a goal bigger than themselves. They can sustain us in dark moments, and light the fires of hope when other support has vanished. They

generate a spiritual energy that may literally move mountains. With faith and perseverance, though arising as invisible waves of imagination, dreams come to life in concrete objects—giant machines, massive buildings of brick and stone, in great paintings and works of literature, in grand universities and beautiful memorials. Yes, dreams have done these things, and they will do it again.

"All noble works is at first impossible," said Thomas Carlyle. This project is surely a noble work. Is it impossible? I don't think so.

In this noble work, I believe we can expect to find helping hands and generous hearts among the American people. And my aim would be to find some way to permanently recognize all supporters. As a subject of interest and study, Abraham Lincoln will never die.

With the help of those who believe that Abraham Lincoln—his life and work—is relevant for today and the future, we can create a living memorial to "the man of the ages." And down through the years it will link the name Lincoln with learning, to achieve that natural affinity which his life so magnificently personified.

THE TERRITORIAL SEA LIMIT

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, on March 26, 1969, I introduced a joint resolution to establish a new policy regarding our territorial sea limit. Today I am pleased to reintroduce this legislation with 20 of my distinguished colleagues.

It is time, Mr. Speaker, for us to re-evaluate an outmoded territorial sea limit which permits aggressor nations to anchor spy ships only 3 miles off our shores while we must keep our vessels four times that distance off their shores. It is ironic that in an age of electronic espionage we permit intelligence ships to anchor a short 3 miles away while we insist that their fishing vessels maintain a 12-mile limit. These countries, such as the Soviet Union and North Korea, should be notified that as long as they claim a 12-mile limit, we will claim an identical limit.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, our resolution would base our territorial sea limit on a policy of mutuality—we will demand a 12-mile limit off our shores for vessels of those nations who require a 12-mile limit off their own coastline. And, for those friendly nations who only require a 3-mile limit, we will reciprocate with a 3-mile limit for their ships. However, we will continue to require a 12-mile limit for fishing vessels of all nations regardless of the limit we set for other types of vessels. It is interesting that only 29 out of 98 coastal nations now observe a 3-mile limit. Most claim the 12-mile limit.

But we should not be satisfied with a permanent policy that would apply several different sea limits to different nations. It is in the interest of world peace that we work to make territorial sea limits uniform and a part of international law. Therefore, we have included a section in our resolution which calls on the President to work through the United

Nations to convene an international conference for the purpose of establishing a uniform, international sea limit applicable to all nations.

Mr. Speaker, I first introduced this resolution during the 90th Congress following the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by North Korea. The need for a change in our outdated policy and for the establishment of international agreements governing territorial sea limits has again been underscored by recent incidents where American fishing boats were seized by Peru in waters 25 to 200 miles off the Peruvian coast.

However, until such an international agreement can be worked out, there is no justification for blind adherence to an outdated policy. The policy we advocate today is consistent with our national security needs and the concept of freedom of the seas.

A resolution identical to the one we are submitting today has been introduced in the Senate by Senator GRIFFIN and 25 of his colleagues. I urge both the Senate and the House to consider this most important change in policy which serves the best interests of our national security and world peace.

GALLAGHER CONTINUING CREDIT BUREAU INVESTIGATION

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on March 21, 1969, I wrote to Mr. John Spafford, executive vice president of the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc., requesting a statement from his association on three areas of concern. Those were first, a report that there is an organization of 950 credit bureaus unaffiliated with the ACB; second, CBS news presentation of the ease with which noncredit granters could obtain allegedly confidential reports on individuals; and third, a Washington Daily News article which disclosed that Welcome Newcomer was connected with the Washington bureau member of the ACB and that calls by its hostesses resulted in credit data being called from the individual's previous residence without his initiating the transfer by applying for credit in his new locality.

As has been customary in my relations with the ACB and Mr. Spafford, his reply is comprehensive and forthright. I was particularly interested to learn that credit bureau files have an underground life of their own which is only tangentially related to the individual they describe in such potentially damaging detail. I can well understand the convenience of being able to immediately gain the privilege of credit in a new locality and I agree with Mr. Spafford that this is socially beneficial. But this constant scurry of dossiers from town to town, from credit bureau to credit bureau, from State to State, is, in my judgment, a legitimate cause for concern. Mr. Spafford is apparently guaranteeing to the consumer and to the Congress that every

person connected with every credit bureau in his association has the same commitment to protection of privacy that he himself has demonstrated. I hope that he is correct in this assumption.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that Mr. Spafford's reply to my letter is an important addition to the record being assembled by the Congress in its consideration of credit bureaus. Therefore, I introduce into the Record at this point my letter and Mr. Spafford's:

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS, SPECIAL STUDIES SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,

March 21, 1969.

MR. JOHN L. SPAFFORD,  
Executive Vice President, Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc., Houston, Tex.

DEAR MR. SPAFFORD: I am deeply concerned over recent allegations involving the activities of member bureaus of Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc. In view of our constructive and candid relationship which began even before the hearings of my Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy in March of 1968, I would like to request from you an immediate statement covering the following issues:

(1) The Arthur D. Little, Inc. newsletter to subscribers states that the National Association of Credit Bureaus has 950 members. During conferences with the ACB, I was frequently informed that there were no more than 200 credit bureaus which were not associated with your organization. This assurance was a major factor in my decision to greet the ACB "Credit Bureau Guidelines to Protect Consumer Privacy" with general approval. If there in fact exists over 900 credit bureaus which are not affiliated with the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc., I would feel obligated to reconsider my position. My staff is initiating discussions with the National Association of Credit Bureaus and I will take note of the results of those contacts. In the meantime, however, I would appreciate a statement from the management of the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc.

(2) On the March 17, 1969, Walter Cronkite Show presented on the Columbia Broadcasting System, it was once again demonstrated that noncredit-granting firms can obtain credit records on individuals. You will recall that prior to the March 1968 hearings of my Special Subcommittee, Dr. Alan Westin of Columbia University was able to do the same thing. In that case, however, there was an established and respected entity named Columbia University; the CBS created firm, Transair Systems, had no such prestige or history behind it. Further, credit reports were gained for this "fictitious" New York-based organization from credit bureaus in Connecticut, Kentucky, West Virginia, Illinois, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Dakota, Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Texas. This raises several specific questions:

(a) Do you interpret the action of those bureaus to be in violation of the existing rules and regulations of ACB before the issuance of the 1969 guidelines?

(b) Do you interpret the action of the credit bureaus to be in violation of the section of the 1969 guidelines which state:

"Credit bureaus shall require service contracts in which the regular subscriber or the occasional user certifies that inquiries will be made only for the purposes of credit granting or other bona fide business transactions, such as evaluation of present or prospective credit risks or evaluation of the qualifications of present or prospective employees."

(c) What has been the response of credit bureaus to the provisions of the "Credit Bureau Guidelines to Protect Consumer Privacy?" Have all your member bureaus re-

ceived copies of the Guidelines? Had the member bureaus received copies of the Guidelines at the time the second test was run by CBS?

(d) What action has been taken against those credit bureaus by the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc.?

Our generally favorable comments on the issuance of the 1969 Guidelines were predicated on the assumption that the ACB was concerned about the acceptance of the Guidelines and was willing to take aggressive action to assure compliance. The disclosures by CBS call into question the effectiveness of the self-policing and self-regulating capacity of the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc.

(3) A story in the Washington Daily News of March 19, 1969, disclosed that the Washington member credit bureau conducted a service known as Welcome Newcomer. The story states that the advertising brochure promises "Credit reporting at its best. You are furnished written up-to-date credit reports on all newcomers who have favorable credit records, and at a greatly discounted rate."

A central contention of ACB at the March 1968 hearings and in discussions since that time is that no credit report is transferred from a previous residence until the individual initiates such action by applying for credit in his new locality. This advertising claim seems to state quite the opposite. I, therefore, would ask the following questions:

(1) Does Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc. own Welcome Newcomer, as the article alleges?

(2) How many member bureaus use Welcome Newcomer or services similar to it?

(3) Is the information gathered by the hostesses of Welcome Newcomer kept separate from the general credit files in your member bureaus?

(4) Under what procedures can an individual's credit record be sent to a new area other than an application for credit?

When I adjourned the hearings into commercial credit bureaus on March 14, 1968, an agreement was reached that the ACB would return to present the proposals to protect consumer privacy and to correct inadequacies which has been disclosed. On January 13, 1969, that obligation was partially fulfilled by the issuance of "Credit Bureau Guidelines to Protect Consumer Privacy." Although I expect you to return to testify further on the actions of the ACB since our March 1968 hearings, these charges and allegations are of such a nature that I would formally request your prompt reply to the issues raised in this letter.

Sincerely,

CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER,  
Member of Congress.

ASSOCIATED CREDIT BUREAUS, INC.,  
April 14, 1969.

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Rayburn House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GALLAGHER: Thank you, Congressman Gallagher, for your letter of March 21, 1969 about various matters concerning the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc. and its Credit Bureau Policies to Protect Consumer Privacy.

We are concerned that the several matters covered in your letter seem to have raised questions in your mind relating to the protection of privacy of the individual consumer and our desire to safeguard this in every way possible. We hope this letter will serve to confirm that what we have said to you during the hearings and during our personal conversations is consistent with this objective.

I will comment on the various questions raised in your letter in the order in which they were presented. We would like also to discuss these matters with you personally at a convenient time to make absolutely certain

that there is no question about our policies or our intentions to accomplish our objectives.

1. When we saw a draft of the Arthur D. Little, Inc. Newsletter, we contacted Mr. Carmody, the author, and questioned the announcement that there is a National Association of Credit Bureaus. We have the impression that NACB isn't in fact a trade association of credit bureaus, but rather a local credit bureau owned by an individual in Johnstown, Pennsylvania engaged in the credit reporting business, who sells rosters of membership to credit reporting agencies, credit bureaus, collection agencies and others in an attempt to set up a forwarding network.

For the past thirty days we have been attempting to determine how many credit bureaus there are in this country which are not members of our Association. We still do not know. We do know there are a number of credit bureaus in the country regularly receiving non-member service from our member bureaus. There are probably many small companies which do some credit reporting but which would not meet our definition of a credit bureau.

Again, I would like to emphasize the point that has been discussed with you and members of your staff personally. I am sure you understand the difference between a credit reporting agency and a credit bureau. In the context of any conversation we have, we relate to credit bureaus and not to agencies which concentrate on insurance reporting or other specialized fields of character reports.

Too frequently, others who speak of the credit reporting industry make all-inclusive statements that relate primarily to specialized credit reporting agencies, insurance reporting agencies, and other agencies that supply reports on individuals. The situation is further complicated by the use of credit reporting names by agencies which are for collection of accounts or commercial debt poolers.

2. We were quite alarmed to see the Walter Cronkite News Show on March 17, 1969. I think our feelings are best expressed in our letter to Mr. B. Russ Bensley, Producer of the CBS Show. A copy of this is attached.

When we were asked to grant an interview it was our understanding that a number of organizations in the credit reporting industry were going to be interviewed and that an overview of the industry would be presented by CBS. We do know for a fact that at least two other organizations were so interviewed. The results of such interviews were not mentioned in any way on the program, and the interview with me was, in our opinion, distorted by editing.

It does not seem to us that a fair basis for the evaluation of an industry, its practices and policies, or those of the individual members of the industry can be based on the use of subterfuge. I hope we have not reached the point where personal privacy is more important than personal sincerity, simple honesty, and fair dealing. We are trying to perform a service of value to society without any sinister motives. We hope CBS can say the same. We are making a thorough investigation of the Cronkite-Wallace incident and will reveal the results to you. We have already discovered that CBS (Mike Wallace) did not have all the facts in some material particulars.

In regard to the specific questions which you asked concerning the CBS telecast, here are our comments:

(a) We are investigating the actions of those bureaus mentioned in the broadcast to determine whether they acted in violation of the rules and regulations of ACB that existed prior to the issuance of the 1969 Policies for Protection of Privacy.

(b) The action of these 17 bureaus, if the facts are as CBS stated, would be in violation of the 1969 Policies referred to in your letter had these Policies been in full official effect.

As we told you in our meeting on January 14, when the policies were presented to you and Mr. Witter, the Board had approved adoption of the policies.

We further stated, however, that because the policies represented a departure from from some of the traditions of credit bureau operation a phase-over period would be necessary, and that the Board at its annual meeting in June (during our conference) would be asked to make them a requirement of membership. In the meantime, as you may recall, we have been carrying out an extensive educational program urging all members to adopt and implement the policies as soon as possible.

(c) The response of our member credit bureaus to these Policies for the Protection of Consumer Privacy has been excellent. We are pleased to see state bureau associations acting to urge compliance by all credit bureaus in their respective states. Local credit bureaus in large numbers are adopting the policies and starting their own local educational programs.

A copy of the policies was mailed to all members in our management communication, UPDATE, on January 25, 1969. They also appeared in the February, 1969 issue of ACB Management (our membership magazine).

Prior to that time the broad outline of the policies was publicized to our general membership during the development stages in overall concept. There were minor changes in the final policies, and although our members have been aware of the general nature of the policies since last summer, only about 60 who serve on the Board or the Credit Reporting Division Committee received the exact draft prior to the January 25 mailing.

Thus, we believe that when the second test was run by CBS late in January, 1969 it is safe to say that most of our members had not yet received a copy of the policies in the final form which we delivered to you on January 14.

(d) The ACB Board will consider what action should be taken against those credit bureaus who may have violated our Qualifications and Requirements for Membership as a result of their responding to the CBS fictitious "Transitaire, Inc." inquiries.

3. In answer to your question relating to the story in the Washington Daily News of March 19, 1969:

(a) The Association does not own Welcome Newcomer nor has it ever owned this organization. For a period of years, however, prior to June, 1965, we did endorse this organization.

(b) Our files do not show how many bureaus use Welcome Newcomer or services similar to it.

(c) We are not familiar with the current policies or procedures of Welcome Newcomer, but know of no reason to assume that there is any misrepresentation or deception involved in its operation.

It is difficult to answer specifically Question 4 because there are procedures by which an individual's credit record can be sent to a new area without the filing of an application for credit. Here are three examples:

(a) We have in our Association a voluntary program called the Automatic Transfer Plan. About 1550 member bureaus participate in the program.

Under this program when it is learned an individual is moving to a new community, the credit record is automatically transferred to our member bureau in that community. Credit bureau members who receive this information on new residents are required to follow all rules, regulations and qualifications and requirements for membership in handling such information. This has proven to be a very valuable convenience and service to individual consumers since it helps to establish their credit much more quickly and conveniently in the new community.

(b) Quite frequently when a company

moves from one community to another it will request that the individual credit records of those moving with the company be transferred to the bureau in the new community. The company itself never sees the records. This is strictly a bureau-to-bureau transfer. Again, the purpose is to help those moving to the new community to establish credit right away.

(c) In many instances individuals will ask the credit bureau to transfer their record to the new community, without the filing of an application. They do this because they recognize that this procedure will save them time in the establishment of credit in the new community.

None of these situations, Congressman Gallagher, are in any way intended to invade anyone's privacy, but rather are designed to help the consumer. To my knowledge we do not have any complaints of record regarding this service which is provided to the consumer. Rather, I think it would be quite easy to obtain many favorable comments from those who have been benefited by such a service when moving from one community to another.

While on this subject, I was concerned to read your statement on page 3 of your letter that we had stated "... no credit report is transferred from a previous residence until the individual initiates such action by applying for credit in the new locality."

In re-reading the transcript of the hearings, I find only one reference to that subject. That relates to regular inter-bureau reports, not the automatic transferring of credit records as covered above. Nor do I recall any conversation during any of our meetings regarding the transfer of records when individuals move from one community to another.

It is our opinion that our comments related to a bureau in one community ordering a report from a bureau in another community as a result of a request from a credit grantor. It is not known whether in all such instances a credit application has been taken. This, in our opinion, is different from the transfer of a credit record from one community to another when an individual actually moves.

We believe, Congressman Gallagher, that a personal discussion of these matters with you and your staff would be most advisable. We hope we will have the opportunity to testify further on the actions of our Association at your coming hearings. In the meantime, however, prior to the scheduling of these hearings, we will be glad to meet with you and your staff not only about any of the matters raised in your letter, but also in connection with all other programs and services provided by the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc. and its members.

Respectfully,

JOHN L. SPAFFORD,  
Executive Vice President.

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the time has again come around when once more we are privileged to share with our Italo-American friends the commemoration of the deeds of a great Italian who ranks high among our American heroes. On tomorrow America pays homage to Giovanni da Verrazano of Florence, one of the gallant and intrepid navigators of all time.

Not one of the host of explorers and sea captains who sailed under the flags of Europe to probe the waters, the rivers and the interiors of the New World was braver or more thorough than the youthful Verrazano sailing under the French flag. This 29-year-old seaman is credited with the discovery of New York Harbor and Narragansett Bay as well as testing and charting most of the U.S. coastline from the Carolinas to Newfoundland. For the 400 years since this eager voyager traversed our shores his maps have proven of value to subsequent captains eager to visit the bays and harbors so meticulously described by Verrazano.

Mr. Speaker, this illustrious Italian seaman is held in great admiration by all New Yorkers and most particularly by those of us who live in Brooklyn. We have sought to obtain greater recognition of this man's contribution to this Nation. We take great pride in having the magnificent bridge which spans the Narrows between Brooklyn and Staten Island named after him. We were proud to have a special U.S. postage stamp issued in his honor.

In the areas where so many of our loyal Americans of Italian birth or descent are living this day will be observed with fitting patriotic ceremonies. I hope that in days to come the public and our schoolchildren throughout the land will celebrate Verrazano Day with honor and reverence akin to that with which they now honor Christopher Columbus.

One of the real tragedies of history is that Verrazano on a subsequent voyage to chart the coast of South America lost his life. Whether or not the 4-century-old rumor is true of his having been captured and eaten by cannibals is of little consequence. What is of importance is that this dauntless navigator was unable to duplicate for posterity the same type of achievements and records for the Southern Hemisphere which he accomplished for so much of the eastern portion of North America.

I hope more and more Americans read of the exploits of this fabulous hero and will then join with their fellow citizens of Italian heritage in paying honor to Giovanni da Verrazano.

UNITED STATES TRAPPED BETWEEN  
U.N., CHROMIUM NEED

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the constant hypocrisy and deceit of Soviet operations throughout the world and the adverse complications upon the United States is dramatized in a Chicago Tribune article April 15 by its veteran Washington correspondent, Willard Edwards.

The naivety of our foreign policy is certainly underscored here and the complications caused by the lack of a realistic foreign policy is especially obvious when we observe the way in which the Soviets brazenly defy gentlemen's agreements.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES TRAPPED BETWEEN U.N.,  
CHROMIUM NEED

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, April 14.—On March 26, according to intelligence reports received here, a Russian ship docked at the East African port of Mozambique and began taking on chromium ore. This event had a critical significance.

The ore had been transported from Rhodesia, bordering Mozambique on the west, in cars marked with the Rhodesian railroad emblem. An examination indicated the ore was of Rhodesian origin.

This transaction was, of course, a brazen violation of the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by the United Nations, with the enthusiastic cooperation of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. The U.N. had discovered a threat to world peace in the refusal of a small white minority in the land-locked country to agree to immediate racial parity for 4 million tribal Africans.

The Nixon administration now is beginning to wonder if another threat—a threat to the national security of the United States—has developed from rigid African adherence to the U.N. edict while other nations flout it with impunity.

Here is an authoritative analysis of why the Mozambique incident aroused deep concern and has strengthened demands in government circles for reappraisal of the Rhodesian policy inherited from the Johnson administration.

Chromium is so indispensable to stainless and other alloy steel essentials to defense that chromium ore and the American-based industry to convert it to a ferrochrome have been declared by the office of emergency preparedness as essential to national security.

RUSSIA, RHODESIA ARE LARGEST SOURCES

Russia and Rhodesia have the largest sources of supply. The chromium ore mines in Rhodesia are owned by two American corporations. Before sanctions were imposed, these companies imported the vast majority of the ore required for the American ferroalloy industry and were the major free world competitors to Russia.

The Rhodesian embargo cut off these supplies. The two companies have ore stockpiled above ground in Rhodesia valued at more than eight million dollars. They own it but are denied access to it. Great Britain, under similar circumstances, gave its industries a period of six months to obtain sanctioned material, including ferrochrome, but the United States imposed an embargo immediately.

American industry has been forced to turn to Russia, now enjoying a virtual monopoly. To nobody's surprise, the price of Russian ore promptly rose from \$32 per ton to \$46, a 44 per cent increase. The profits are so rich, the Mozambique incident indicated, that Russia now is buying ore from Rhodesia illegally. It came from American-owned mines. The comic opera aspects of the situation fade when these other points are considered.

MINE WOULD FLOOD IF NOT WORKED

One of the American-owned mines in Rhodesia, accounting for one-third of the chromium deposits in the country, must be worked continually or it will be flooded. The company kept it going at a cost of \$900,000 annually until January, 1968, when it no longer could afford the expense. The Rhodesian government has operated it since then but could be forced to suspend, causing in the words of a government report, "the irretrievable loss of a significant and vital portion of the free world's chromium ore deposits."

The treasury and commerce departments, supported by the office of emergency preparedness, have urged strongly that the two companies be allowed to import, as quickly

as possible, the ore stored above ground in Rhodesia.

The state department has objected. Rhodesia must be strangled economically, it insists, disregarding objections that Rhodesia would reap no profit from removal of the ore.

This departmental dispute must be settled by President Nixon. The state department is protesting that the United States would be "embarrassed" in the U.N. by any action favoring of relaxation of the sanctions against Rhodesia.

The President must weigh this objection against the massed opinion of the other government departments that an inflexible stand may menace the nation's security.

THE FEDMART CORP.

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. VAN DEERLIN, Mr. Speaker, one of the truly remarkable records in mass merchandising has been logged over the past 15 years by the FedMart Corp. From modest beginning in 1954, the company has grown to the point where it now operates 39 stores in four States: California, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Sales this year are expected to top \$160 million.

But more important than the balance sheet, in my view, are the enlightened policies pursued by FedMart with ramifications extending far beyond the marketplace. The company has rattled some timbers in a few locations with its insistence on decent pay for its employees, and with its reputation for color blindness.

FedMart currently is embarked on an ambitious program for training Navajo Indians in the merchandising trades. This seems most appropriate; for, as FedMart chairman Sol Price has noted:

All of us are aware of imposition on the Indians by traders and retailers.

The federally backed Navajo training program has placed a substantial number of newly skilled personnel in FedMart stores at Phoenix and Window Rock, Ariz.

With the thought that Mr. Price's remarks at a recent meeting of FedMart shareholders may be of interest to my colleagues, I shall include them at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY SOL PRICE, CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, THE FEDMART CORPORATION, 1969 SHAREHOLDERS MEETING

The FedMart Corporation was organized in San Diego in 1954 as a low-margin, mass merchandiser.

Very early we decided that our growth depended on our relationship to the customer, to our employees, stockholders, and the community. We concluded that serving the interests of one would not require that the interests of the others be subordinated, and I am proud to say that FedMart has fulfilled its obligations to each of these groups over the past 14 years.

Our responsibility to the customer is a very simple one: it is to be fair, not to use devices which mislead, trick or confuse him, give him the best values possible to maintain the lowest gross margins, and not to give one cus-

tomers an advantage that another customer pays for. The implementation of this simple philosophy requires extensive procedures and techniques.

We attempt to maintain the lowest gross margins by maintaining the lowest expense ratios and the lowest real estate occupancy costs and the lowest payroll percentages. And even though we think we maintain the lowest payroll percentages in the retail industry, we still pay the highest wages in the industry. To be fair to our customer, we feel we must have the most liberal refund policy available anywhere. I think those of you who shop in FedMart stores have seen the refund clerk at the entrance of the store making cash refunds with no quibbling, no credit slips, and no back talk.

Our responsibility to the customer requires that we not handle merchandise which is not made to the highest standards and which will not give satisfaction in its use. We also feel that our relationship with the customer requires that we analyze which products and which sizes within a product line are the best values for the customer. Usually, the largest size is the most economical.

The implementation of this approach results in a customer loyalty substantially greater than normal. Thus, it requires far less expenditure for advertising and promotion and none for games, gimmicks, prizes, to attract new customers.

As a result of the application of this attitude, our company has grown in 14 years from an initial capital of \$50,000 to a book value in excess of \$15 million, and assets exceeding \$43 million. Our retail sales for the year ended August 31, 1968 exceeded \$135 million, and we are looking forward to a volume this year in excess of \$160 million.

We operate 39 stores in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California—with several more on the drawing boards.

We have brought many innovations to the retail field. We were the first in our industry to market gasoline, to engage in the pharmacy business and to establish full food departments. To our knowledge, we were the first in our field to centrally warehouse the majority of items and to develop our own trucking and delivery system. Last year over 55% of our total volume was handled through our wholesale division.

We feel it incumbent upon us, as responsible managers of this business, to seek out new services and products for the convenience and benefit of our customers. This last year we established our first laundry and dry cleaning operations. We also established a travel agency. We began operations of our first car wash and restaurant. Each of these is a field that has great future for mass merchandising and low margin and should fit with what we are now doing—bring our customers a service or product at a lower price.

While we are proud of the growth of our company, we must never lose sight of the strides which must be taken to accomplish the building of a retailing institution—not only of great monetary value but of great social value.

There has been a source of satisfaction and pride in the knowledge that so many employees have grown with us and assumed greater and greater responsibilities and earned more and more money. This is part of our responsibility to our 2,500 employees. Not only must we pay them the highest wages for the particular work they do, but we feel obligated to make available to them opportunities for advancement and for insuring their futures.

We have extremely liberal health plans for our employees, and, over the past several years, have distributed to them over 6% of the outstanding stock of this company in stock bonuses.

Our responsibility to the community has always been of the utmost importance to us. We feel that we are not just a money

making machine, but must contribute something to the welfare of our community—not necessarily in charity, but in doing what we do to the best of our ability. So, we recall with pleasure the fact that we were—some 10 or 11 years ago—the first major retailer to come into Houston and take the heat for not having separate facilities for blacks and whites and maintaining a snack bar at which everyone was welcome. And we remember our first appearance in San Antonio when we established minimum wages over 250% higher than those being paid in supermarkets at the time, and when we brought revolutionary pricing to cities like El Paso, San Antonio and Phoenix and proved to the businessmen in those communities that paying high wages did not, per se, mean that we could not sell at the lowest prices.

Recently our feeling of responsibility to the community brought to us a most interesting experience. We were requested by the Navajo Tribal Council to establish a FedMart store in the middle of the Navajo Reservation on the northeast corner of Arizona. All of us are aware of the long history of imposition on the Indians by traders and retailers. We have now established such a store and are selling our merchandise to the Indians at the same prices as we charge in Los Angeles, San Diego and Phoenix. We spent some \$57,000 training some of the Indians in our Phoenix store and all but two or three of the employees of the Window Rock store are Indians. It has been many years since all of us have had the emotional thrill at a store opening as we had when we opened the Window Rock store. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was there, Senator Clinton Anderson, Secretary of the Interior Udall—all of them most grateful to FedMart for bringing such a great help to the Reservation. Someday we hope that this technique may be applied in the "ghetto" areas.

So we feel that over and above the volume we have done, the profits we have made, the people we have developed—that we have brought to each community in which we operate an overall lowering of the price structure by reason of the strong and fair competition we maintain. And not only have our customers benefited, but so have the customers of our competitors by reason of our presence in the community.

#### WATER QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1969

**HON. JAMES M. HANLEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1969

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, on April 16, the House of Representatives, reacting responsibly to one of the most pressing domestic problems of the United States, passed overwhelmingly the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969.

Mr. Speaker, as a strong supporter of water pollution control and abatement programs since my first election to the House, I was especially pleased to see this landmark legislation approved by the House, not only because of my interest in the general problem but more so because of my interest in the problems associated in the rehabilitation of small destroyed bodies of water, particularly those in close proximity to urban areas.

Section 5G of the Water Quality Act will enable the Secretary of the Interior to formulate an appropriate research and demonstration program, in consort with

local governments and the scientific and academic community, for the restoration of our once beautiful small lakes. The values of restoration and rehabilitation are countless, but among those more pronounced and immediate, I might cite three specifically: The reestablishment of ample consumable water supplies for our spiraling population increase; the creation of sorely needed recreational facilities, especially for our urban-suburban areas; and, the underscoring of esthetic principles in our drive to preserve our natural resources.

Mr. Speaker, last year, the House passed somewhat similar legislation, under the guiding hand of our colleague, Congressman GEORGE FALLON, chairman of the House Public Works Committee. There is no question that he and Congressman JOHN BLATNIK deserve the thanks of every concerned American for their efforts. Unfortunately, we labored against the calendar, and the matter never became the law of the land. This year, however, we are off to a tremendous start. I am hopeful that our colleagues in the Senate will react with appropriate speed in considering this legislation.

I happen to have the privilege of representing a district with one of the water pollution problems whose resolution is the aim of this act. I have within my district a destroyed body of water, Onondaga Lake, whose rehabilitation by natural process would take, by considered professional judgment, some 200 years. This Lake has been cited by the FWPCA as one of the worst examples of polluted water in the Northeast. It lends itself appropriately to the research and demonstration provisions of section 5G. It is my fondest hope that upon enactment of the Water Quality Improvement Act, Onondaga Lake will become the site of a demonstration program. We have within our community the professional and academic know-how needed to make a demonstration program work; as a community we have the will to make it work.

I commend the House for its judgment in the passage of this bill, and I urge the Senate to do likewise.

#### HOUSE RADIO-TELEVISION GALLERY AND ITS SUPERINTENDENT TO OBSERVE 30TH ANNIVERSARY

**HON. LEE H. HAMILTON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, Robert Menaugh, a native of Salem, Ind., will have served 30 years as superintendent of the House Radio-Television Correspondents' Gallery on the 20th of April.

It was on April 20, 1939, that the House first formally acknowledged on-the-air reporters and established a gallery for them separate from the long-established Press Gallery.

Mr. Menaugh, who was then a House employee, was picked to organize that gallery, and today still serves as its superintendent. Over the years, he has been responsible for the accrediting of corre-

spondents in the media for the Republican and Democratic conventions and also the reporters who cover the inaugural ceremonies.

I would like to pay tribute to the radio-television industry on this anniversary, and most especially to Robert M. Menaugh, who is a native of the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana.

In his nightly program, "Today in Congress," over WMAL radio, which keeps a close watch on what goes on here on the Hill, Joseph McCaffrey briefly reviewed the history of the House Radio-Television Gallery:

On April 20, the House Radio-Television Correspondents' Gallery will be able to celebrate its 30th birthday.

On April 20, 1939, a resolution extending to radio similar privileges accorded to the press was passed by the House. This was a resolution adopting the report submitted by John J. Dempsey, a member from New Mexico.

And the man who was named to preside over that Gallery, Robert M. Menaugh, is still its superintendent, 30 years later.

The men who fought the Gallery through the House, over opposition from the newspaper reporters who were not about to give up their exclusive coverage rights, were Fulton Lewis, Jr., of Mutual Broadcasting, Rex Goad and Fred Morrison of TransRadio Press, H. R. Baukhage and William McAndrew of NBC and Francis "Pete" Tully of Yankee network.

Some months later the first broadcast was made from the new Gallery. It was made by H. R. Baukhage over NBC and Colorado Congressman, Lawrence Lewis, inserted the complete script in the Congressional Record, saying that the broadcast marked an important historical event in news dissemination.

Baukhage's broadcast was made the first day the new Gallery quarters were made available. He pointed out that the Gallery numbered 26 official members. Today, the Gallery has more than 450 members.

Baukhage pointed out that the 26 members is about the same number the press gallery had a 100 years before in 1839, when seats were first set aside in the Senate gallery for correspondents.

And as Baukhage reported from the new Gallery, "Our quarters here, our workshop isn't as large as the press, of course, and if all the members should want to rush in and make use of it at the same time, we'd be pretty crowded; but of course the reporter's job is as much to be where the news is happening at his typewriter or at the microphone." Today, if all the radio-TV reporters tried to get in the cramped House Gallery quarters, there would be chaos.

Baukhage, on this the first broadcast to come from the House Radio Gallery, then introduced the modest Superintendent, Robert Menaugh, calling him a tall, red-headed Hoosier, who knew his way around the Hill because he had worked on the floor of the House for many years.

And Menaugh, in his remarks, proved to be prophetic, when he said: "This method of getting the news out over the air will bring the Senators and Representatives closer to the people, the people they represent. And I know from experience that is really what the Members of Congress want, closer contact with their constituents, and I know from my several years experience right in the midst of things, that it's what the people ought to have. I'm glad radio is here to do the job and I'm mighty glad to help."

When Baukhage signed off, the announcer, who is not identified, said, "This has been the first broadcast from the House of Representatives Radio Correspondents' Gallery, but there will be many more."

And how right he was.

In one day last month on which a record was kept of broadcast from the Gallery, two news conferences were held, covered by film crews, there were 10 interviews with Members of Congress, there were more than 20 radio tape interviews, and there were two live radio broadcasts.

The first chairman of the Radio-TV Gallery Correspondents' Association was Fulton Lewis, with Albert Warner, then of Columbia Broadcasting, as vice-chairman, William McAndrew of WRC and WMAL as secretary and Fred Morrison as treasurer.

The first annual dinner of the Correspondents' Association was held at the Mayflower Hotel in 1940, with the top guest Postmaster General James Farley. Also in attendance was a host of Members of the House and Senate and General George Marshall, then Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army.

That dinner has now become an annual affair, and after the first dinner, President Franklin D. Roosevelt became a regular until his death in 1945.

Today, the House Radio-TV Gallery has a staff of four, with Mr. Menaugh, Mike Michaelson, Max Barber and Larry May.

The Senate Radio-TV Gallery was opened a few months after the House Gallery, and its first Superintendent was D. Harold McGrath, who retired some years ago, being succeeded by the present Superintendent, Robert Hough.

So, two weeks from now, it's "happy birthday" to Robert Menaugh and the House Radio-TV Correspondents' Gallery—30 years of service.

And one of Mr. Menaugh's fellow Hoosiers, Indianapolis Star correspondent Ben Cole, remembered Mr. Menaugh's anniversary with the following article:

#### HOOSIER ON THE HILL

Come the 20th of April and radio broadcasting from the national Capitol will be 30 years old; and Robert Menaugh, a one-time writer for The Indianapolis Star, will have served 30 years as superintendent of the House radio gallery.

People around the Capitol who can remember that far back say Menaugh has changed in appearance not all during that period, nor has he gained an ounce of weight.

A tall, rawboned Hoosier from Salem, Ind. (he swears there's a drugstore in his hometown where you can still buy Jap-Rose soap), Menaugh knows an anecdote about practically every congressman and newsman who has dwelt in the Capital in the last three decades.

Mr. Joseph McCaffrey, the distinguished radio commentator, paid tribute to Menaugh in a special broadcast last week.

Menaugh's wife is the former Miss Helen Hitch of Indianapolis, an alumna of Butler University. Their daughter, Judy, is a lieutenant in the United States Navy.

Despite his fiery red hair, Menaugh is the soul of equanimity; and his associates tried unavailingly last week to recall an instance in his 30 years' tenure on Capitol Hill when he lost his temper or spoke discourteously to another human being.

The Menaughs live in Alexandria, Va., where they are active in the Westminster Presbyterian Church. Bob has discovered an effective method of tending his lawn: He waits for somebody in Columbus, Ohio, to phone for Roulhac Hamilton, a member of the House radio gallery. Then he quickly inquires, "is it raining out there?" If the answer is affirmative, Menaugh knows it's time to put fertilizer on his lawn because it will rain in Alexandria 24 hours later. He's got a pretty lawn and insists his method seldom fails.

## NIXON SOCIAL SECURITY CUTS A CRUEL HOAX

### HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the administration's proposal to reduce Federal expenditures by reducing the proposed request for a 10-percent social security benefit increase to 7 percent is one of the cruelest budgetary hoaxes ever perpetrated on the senior citizens of this Nation.

The administration knows full well that any such savings would not reduce appropriated Federal expenditures one cent.

Funds for the social security trust do not come from general revenues. They come from the employees and employers of this Nation. They go directly into the social security trust fund and can be used for no other purpose other than social security benefits.

Thus when the administration says it is going to reduce Federal expenditures by \$1.1 billion through a 3-percent reduction in proposed social security benefits, what it is really saying is that it is going to ask present and future social security recipients to pay for a budget surplus out of their pocketbooks while the wealthy continue to enjoy many tax-escaping privileges and the tax-gobbling Department of Defense continues to consume tax dollars at a rate of nearly \$80 billion a year.

How can the administration justify this proposal to the American people when, during the 1968 campaign and earlier, Mr. Nixon made statements such as these:

I proposed significant expansion of Social Security as a Congressman, a Senator and a Vice President. I supported Social Security then, and I support it now. More than that, I want to improve and expand Social Security.

We must provide immediately for a cost-of-living adjustment in Social Security and Railroad Retirement benefits.

This is an adjustment alright, an adjustment downwards. If the cost-of-living increase this year equals the 4 percent increase of last year, then the 2-year rise will surpass the proposed administration increase of 7 percent.

In addition, this 7-percent increase probably would not go into effect until 1970. Thus, the Social Security recipients would have seen their benefit dollars eroded by 8 percent over a two-year period, at the end of which the increase would be only 7 percent. There would be absolutely no remuneration for the two years of preceding loss.

If this is economy in the minds of the President and his advisers, then it is pennywise, pound-foolish economy, and a cruel hoax. It should be disregarded immediately with an apology to the American people.

As a member of the Ways and Means Committee which will ultimately determine what will be presented to the Congress as a social security increase, I will

fight to maintain the 10 percent. In addition, I will work to expand, not reduce, the social security program by increasing the minimum benefit, increasing the outside earnings limitation, and broaden coverage in general.

## CONGRESSMAN EILBERG INTRODUCES THE CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DISABILITIES ACT

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced the Children With Learning Disabilities Act. My bill calls for the creation of programs to aid the child that appears normal in every way, both physically and mentally, but who has some special learning problems which prevent him from fully grasping the learning process.

For too long, when a child could not recognize and understand information presented to him in written form but could understand this same information when it was conveyed orally, we have classified the child as lazy or stubborn. Why have we done this? The reason why is the reason I introduced this bill—the definition of "handicapped" which we have been using is not accurate, it speaks only of medically determinable handicaps but says nothing of the psychological and educational handicaps that a child might have while to all medical appearances he is normal.

The children who would be helped by enactment of the bill I have introduced are those whose parents and teachers have become frustrated in their attempts to teach them because the child's problem was misdiagnosed. This failure to identify the child's handicap in educational or psychological terms has led to these children developing greater and greater problems in learning, in emotional adjustment, and it even has affected their later vocational placement.

The programs which would be supported by my bill are not designed to service only the poverty areas of the Nation.

The assistance which my bill would provide will be available on the basis of where the problems are and not the average annual income in the area. I do not want to be misunderstood. I have supported programs which are designed to help our disadvantaged citizens. I have sponsored legislation in their behalf and I will continue to do so. But, I really believe that too many of our educational programs have become overly concerned with reaching the poor per se rather than reaching out to solve problems where they exist regardless of the economic base of the area or of the persons involved.

The programs which will be supported by the Children With Learning Disabilities Act will place the emphasis on help-

ing these youngsters with special learning disabilities where it belongs—not on fancy diagnostic labels, but on an analysis of the learning task, and on the development of special teaching techniques and materials which can be used to find the learning abilities of the child, employ them, and work around specific barriers to learning that he might have.

Coming to terms with these children in designing educational programs is going to help us learn more about education for every child. It is going to help us realize that children have individual learning styles and characteristics, and that we are going to have to pay more than lipservice to these individual differences. Educators should be able, and will be able, to design special, individualized approaches to the learning tasks which face children.

We can make this possible by providing support for carrying out a program of research and related activities in the area of education of children with special learning disabilities. We must use this research as the basis for programs of professional advanced training for people who are preparing to teach these children, and we must develop model centers for the evaluation and education of our children. These centers will in turn assist our State and local educational agencies in making more programs available to children with special learning disabilities.

Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which my bill amends, provides specifically for the education of handicapped children.

This progressive legislation has created a breakthrough in the following three areas: First, it provided Federal grants to the States to finance educational programs for the handicapped; second, it established the 12-member Advisory Commission on Handicapped Children; and, third, it created within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a new Bureau of Education for the Handicapped. In addition, the Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act which we passed in the 90th Congress authorized the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to arrange with either public or nonprofit private agencies for experimental programs for handicapped preschool children.

Mr. Speaker, I support all our efforts to help handicapped children. The bill which I have introduced today will enable us to help those children who have special learning handicaps which are not medically discernible but which at the same time are serious. Members may ask, how many children will this bill help? I wish I could answer that question and quote you an exact figure. But I cannot. As stated in the First Annual Report of the National Advisory Committee On Handicapped Children, "the total number of children involved cannot be accurately determined until more adequate diagnostic procedures and criteria have been developed." This is what my bill will enable us to do. Through enactment of this legislation we can help open

the doors of education achievement for at least 500,000 and perhaps 1½ million schoolchildren whose special learning disabilities have gone largely uncorrected because they have not been accurately diagnosed.

#### CONGRESS HONORS PAN AMERICAN COFFEE DAY

### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it was my extreme pleasure yesterday to be associated with the "coffee break" and reception in honor of Pan American Week and the Pan American Coffee Day. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I served with my colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, in sponsoring this informal occasion.

Those who attended the event included distinguished members of the diplomatic corps from Central and South American countries, government officials active in Latin American affairs and coffee agreements, representatives of the Pan American Coffee Bureau, businessmen with Latin American coffee interests, Members of Congress, and members of the press who write about Latin American matters.

We were also honored by the presence of the distinguished Speaker of this body, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, whose extemporaneous remarks highlighted the event, the able and energetic majority leader, the Honorable CARL ALBERT, and the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Honorable THOMAS MORGAN.

Mr. MCCORMACK spoke eloquently about the long tradition of friendship and understanding that exists between the United States and its Latin American neighbors, and all of those present were moved by his wisdom and sincerity. His excellent statement was splendid evidence of why he has been chosen by his colleagues for his high leadership position.

Our gracious hosts, the Pan American Coffee Bureau, arranged an outstanding "buffet" of coffee products, to the delight of all of the guests. This remarkable display in itself should serve as a tremendous boon to the coffee industry, since all of these products were so delicious. Thanks should be extended, too, to the bureau's personable and courteous personnel, who did so much to make this event a success.

I am sure that I speak for the entire subcommittee and all of those connected with this event in expressing my sincere gratitude to our Latin American friends for their attendance. This social occasion was one more indication of the strong ties of mutual understanding and friendship in the inter-American region.

#### GOD AND THE ARMY

### HON. MARTIN B. MCKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. MCKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, when I learned of the Army's decision to have chaplains refrain from making any reference to God during its moral guidance lectures, I voiced my shocked disbelief. I asked what kind of moral guidance can there be without a Supreme Being.

I simply cannot fathom the motive, purpose, or objective of the American Civil Liberties Union in pressuring the U.S. Army into such a decision. Certainly it stretches the doctrine of separation of church and state beyond rational limits.

If, in conducting these moral guidance lectures, it is the desire of the Army to make good soldiers out of these young men, I commend to the gentlemen who are reconsidering this policy, and to my colleagues, the philosophy of one of the greatest soldiers ever to wear the uniform of the U.S. Army, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

General Eisenhower prepared the article which follows before his death and it appeared in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star on April 6, 1969:

#### A SOLDIER RECALLS "WHY I BELIEVE"

(By Dwight D. Eisenhower)

Of the many instances when faith and Christian prayer have sustained me in life, the first came when I was a teen-ager and marked a turning point in my life. I had fallen, skinned my left knee and, when a painful infection later became so bad I couldn't do my farm chores, my parents discovered my swollen and discolored leg. Old Dr. Conklin, the family physician, took one look at the poisoned limb and immediately advised amputation to save any part of the leg or even my life.

When the horror of this prospect swept over me, I raised my 14-year-old frame from the bed to shout, "Not me! I won't allow it! I'd rather die!" Later I made my older brother Edgar promise not to let the doctor cut off my leg no matter what happened and he literally stood guard duty outside my bedroom. At the same time my parents, probably recalling my River Brethren grandfather and his belief in miracles, began a prayer vigil at my bedside. First, father and mother prayed, taking turns in leading one another; during the second night, Edgar—and finally my other four brothers—would kneel from time to time and join the prayers.

The next morning Dr. Conklin's experienced eye noted that the swelling was going down and the discoloration fading. Later in the day I was able to sleep soundly. In two weeks I was out of bed and able to walk. To me, this demonstration of the power of prayer did more than save my leg; it strengthened my faith for life.

Often during World War II, I turned to God when I had no one else to turn to. Two such crises involved our paratroopers. One night during the invasion of Sicily an armada of American aircraft was reported off course and there was an imminent danger that thousands of our sky troops would be dropped into the sea. I remember praying, "Save them and deliver them, O God. For they are in Thy Almighty Hand." Incredibly enough, the lead plane later regained its bearings and the drop was successful.

Similarly, on the eve of the massive D-Day assault on Europe, the soul-wracking problem arose as to whether to send two American airborne divisions against the Nazi-fortified Cherbourg Peninsula. British Air Chief Leigh-Mallory himself advised against what he termed "this futile slaughter," and yet to cancel the airborne attack would endanger the whole critical invasion of Utah Beach. I could only go to my tent to think and pray, to review every step of our elaborate planning and to ask God's guidance in making the right decision. I finally decided that the aerial attack would go as planned and, with what seemed to be the Almighty's Blessing, the paratroopers accomplished their dangerous mission with comparatively light casualties.

When in peacetime it became my high honor to serve the nation twice as President, I tried to ensure that the government and every person in it was dedicated to honesty and moral principles. To a large extent, I believe, we succeeded. Personally I tried to set the new administration's tone before delivering my inaugural address when I asked all present to bow their heads and I offered a prayer I had written that morning: "Give us, we pray oh, God, the power to discern clearly right from wrong and allow all our actions to be governed thereby and by the laws of the land. Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling." During the ensuing eight years I never opened a cabinet meeting or made a major policy decision without a minute of silent prayer.

A lifetime of soldiering and public service only confirms my conviction that I am as intensely religious as any man I know. Nobody goes through six years of war and two terms of the presidency without faith. And, although I have seldom displayed or discussed my religious philosophy with anyone, a deep Bible-centered Christian faith has colored my life since childhood. Devout Evangelical parents, who loved the Bible as dearly as life itself, made sure of that. Indeed, before I was 18, I had read through the entire bible and discussed it, chapter by chapter, with my mother.

Recalling the long years and the cascade of crisis through which we have passed, I realize that a strong spiritual experience has literally been the staff of life to me. Back in Abilene, Kans., my mother, who was never happier than when reading the Bible, and my father, who balanced his career as a mechanical engineer with the study of scriptures in the original Greek, stressed one truth over and over again: Religion, placed in man by God, is most natural to him. How often, both in war and peace, was I to rediscover this changeless truth.

With equal fervor I believe that faith in God and the Judaic-Christian ethic inspired the founding fathers of the United States. These remarkable men—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Paine, John Adams, John Hancock and Patrick Henry, to name a few of them—were men of deep religious conviction and in the new world they were trying to establish an entirely new form of government. They succeeded because during the fateful decade of deliberation and decision, the 1770's, they put their final trust in almighty God and his moral law. We are a religious nation today because in the Declaration of Independence they stated their full reliance on "the laws of nature and nature's God" and because they published before the world "these self-evident truths: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . ."

In contrast with this concept of the sacredness of life, modern atheistic dictatorships treat men as nothing more than animals or educated mules. How many materialistic psy-

chologists and smart-alec professors sneer that men invented God in a childish search for security; yet, I have noticed that these same men in the fox-holes or at the moment of death turn to some higher power for comfort and courage. Thus, it is that I believe there is nothing wrong with America today that the faith, love of freedom, intelligence and energy of her citizens cannot cure.

Thus, in hope and eternal vigilance, I recall again for America my favorite biblical lines: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

#### TIME TO STOP FINANCING REVOLUTION ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, now that the Students for a Democratic Society have succeeded in virtually taking over the Harvard University campus, let there be no mistake in the minds of those weak-kneed college administrators who up until now actually believed that by accepting the demands of this vociferous group things would cool off—things do not get better with SDS, they get a lot worse.

If SDS can dictate policy for the Nation's best known and oldest university, why should they quit now? The Harvard strike is only the beginning, and college and university officials had best prepare themselves for a long siege. SDS and its counterpart groups announced their intentions a long time ago; however, just like Adolf Hitler proved in the case of his book, "Mein Kampf," no one cares to listen.

But, Mr. Speaker, Harvard University officials better start listening and acting with a little gumption, because in 10 years a degree from Harvard will not be worth a plug nickel. In fact, if SDS has its way, a Harvard degree will be comparable to a degree from the University of Havana.

Mr. Speaker, last September I took the floor to document a case against SDS. I described how Gus Hall, the Communist Party boss in America, pinned his hopes on SDS and other radical student groups to perpetuate the Communist conspiracy. Quote after quote from SDS leaders were contained in my remarks at that time. Typical among them were the prophetic words of Tom Hayden, who boldly stated that SDS would close every college in the Nation unless college administrators became subordinate to SDS.

Hayden is even more up to date on his timetable than Hitler. One year after this prediction, several major colleges and universities are running the risk of being closed down. By comparison, it took Hitler about 10 years after writing "Mein Kampf" to achieve such results.

Mr. Speaker, certainly I do not want to sound like an alarmist and I claim no gift of clairvoyance. But, as we say in South Carolina, it is time to fish or cut bait. The American people, especially those parents whose hard-earned money pays for the education of their children, are disgusted over the namby-pamby method

employed by many college officials in dealing with these student disorders.

Now, I have joined with my good friend and esteemed colleague from Tennessee (Mr. KUYKENDALL) in introducing a bill to terminate all Federal funds to a college or university hit by rioting if the school administration fails to restore order. This is a step in the right direction. With the prodigious amount of higher education legislation passed by Congress in the past few years, virtually every college and university has become heavily dependent upon the Federal Government. Well, these are tax dollars paid by the American taxpayer, and at the present time the taxpayer is getting a poor return on his investment. Harvard is a prime example. It seems to me that the Federal Government is financing anarchy on that campus this very hour.

The fund cut-off bill is not intended to be vindictive. It is not intended to be used as the Sword of Damocles to be held over the head of a college president and the college finance office. But, Mr. Speaker, it is intended to restore some sense of order in the academic community and to allow the student who is sincerely seeking an education to pursue academic excellence without fear of harassment, intimidation and actual bodily harm. What we seek to attain is a commitment from school officials to employ every means at their disposal to quell student disruptions. This seems to be a fair proposition. After all, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 stipulates that all Federal funds can be cut off to a school district not in compliance with the act. As they say, "what is good for the goose is good for the gander." If the Federal Government can deny funds to school districts supposedly not meeting arbitrary HEW desegregation guidelines, it most certainly can deny them to college radicals and the college that condones their rioting.

#### STUDENT DISORDERS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, to a great extent, the lives and hopes of our student generation pivot on the wisdom and judgment of the men of an older generation to whom power and authority has been entrusted.

Surely it is not improper for young people to question the wisdom of decisions and policies that affect their very existence. When there is legal dissent—and I emphasize legal dissent—it is, without a doubt, healthy and progressive because it is both an expression of interest and an act of faith in a democracy.

It is also the machinery for change and improvement; a guaranteed process that is a cornerstone of democracy. History is replete with vivid illustrations of how this process has helped our Nation grow strong and great. Like medicine, the test of its value is not its taste but its effect, not how it makes people feel at the moment but how it makes them feel and act in the long run.

However, I am worried about the other side of the coin—the process of illegal dissent among a minority of students who have turned the campus into an arena for oppression by revolutionaries, vandals, and arsonists.

The bombings, the seizure and burnings of buildings, the window smashing, the manhandling attacks on professors, college presidents, and students trying to reach classes through picket lines—all of these acts of overt physical violence are tragic and a matter of deep concern to most young people, their parents, and the vast majority of all Americans.

Even some of our high schools have been plagued by illegal disorders, though not to the degree, of course, that our colleges have experienced.

At Columbia University last year, a relatively small number of students wrecked property, injured policemen and others, and participated in campus disorders that caused the suspension of classes for days for some 20,000 students. And that has been pretty much the pattern since then across the country.

One police officer, who has children of his own to raise, was injured so badly at Columbia that he will be paralyzed for the rest of his life.

An increasing number of good Americans already burdened by rising taxation are becoming more and more disillusioned as they see colleges torn apart and some of their tax dollars going down the drain.

Consequently, the task is becoming most difficult for those among us who have been working to find and encourage the means of providing greater Federal aid for education.

When one considers all aspects of this problem—all the grave consequences at home and abroad—it becomes patently clear that America is paying a terrible price for the illegal acts of those who constitute no more than a bare minority.

When so few can do so much to so many—when they can trample on our rights and shake the foundation of our educational system—we are faced with a moment of truth. We must ask ourselves: "Can democracy survive the continuance of this onslaught from within?" I am sure no responsible American wants to incur the risk required for an answer to that question.

In the context of our President's statement of position on March 23 informing the Nation that the problem of campus disorders should be left to the colleges and universities, the administrators of these institutions must understand that weakness will not conquer strength.

They must also understand completely that the pursuit of intellectual freedom is genuine and idealistic only when it is accomplished within the framework of the laws of our society.

They must react swiftly and sternly for the singular purpose of ending as fast as possible within the process of the law any illegal campus disorders that might arise. Too much is at stake to do otherwise.

In conjunction with the President's statement of position, the administration has called attention to antiriot amend-

ments permitting a cutoff of Federal aid to students convicted for involvement in campus disorders. I do not believe there is any fairness to this procedure. I say this because students from rich families do not require any Federal aid. Enforcement of these amendments, therefore, would be directed only at students who really need help.

Rich students—some of whom have been found to be among the principal agitators of campus uprisings—would suffer no deprivations and would still have the means of continuing their education. This is surely one-sided justice; the kind of procedure that only tends to complicate and worsen an already severe problem.

I was optimistic not too long ago when President Nixon congratulated Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, the president of the great University of Notre Dame, for his stern but sensible views about student disorders. But later, when our President made his position known, I found it difficult to reconcile how he could issue a statement that bore no resemblance to Father Hesburgh's action and strength.

I am certain that Father Hesburgh—through his enlightened words—has given us basic guidelines to follow if we are to overcome this crisis. For that reason, I think we should listen again.

Father Hesburgh said:

Any group that substitutes force for rational persuasion—

Be it violent or nonviolent—

will be given fifteen minutes of meditation to cease and desist. . . if there is not then within five minutes a movement to cease and desist, students will be notified of expulsion from this community and the law will deal with them as non-students.

Father Hesburgh also said:

We can have a thousand resolutions as to what kind of society we want, but when lawlessness is afoot and all authority is flouted . . . then we must invoke the normal societal forces of law or allow the university to die beneath our hapless and hopeless gaze.

Father Hesburgh's wisdom and understanding of the problem are reflected in this statement, too:

No one wants the forces of law on this or any other campus, but if some necessitated as a last and dismal alternative to anarchy and mob tyranny, let them shoulder the blame instead of receiving the sympathy of the community they would hold at bay.

Yes, Father Hesburgh's words are a light in the darkness; he has surely shown us how to get off the collision course and navigate to safe water.

For the welfare of this Nation, it is my belief that Congress must not only pinpoint the causes of what is happening but must also provide the incentives, the initiatives and the leadership for the remedy. I favor, therefore, a congressional inquiry—and I do not believe we can move too fast for the accomplishment of this.

As an interim measure, I propose the revocation of military deferments for all students who are convicted of illegal acts on college campuses. They would then face the normal process of military in-

duction—provided they are found to be physically and mentally fit. I consider this implicitly fair because it applies to all segments of our student generation—the rich as well as the poor and the middle class.

At the same time, any Federal aid that was earmarked for such students would be cut off automatically, and I am sure that many Americans would agree that those tax dollars can be put to better use.

#### THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

### HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, too many people today are frustrated because they believe that the Congress is no longer being responsive to the wishes of the general public. Because I believe that one of the most important responsibilities of a Congressman is to be responsive to public opinion, I distributed a questionnaire to the people of the Seventh District of Michigan in order to learn how they view the issues. The results of this questionnaire appear in my latest newsletter which I am putting into the Record at this point because I believe that their opinions are representative of the feelings of millions of concerned Americans throughout the United States:

#### CONGRESSMAN DON RIEGLE'S REPORT TO PEOPLE OF SEVENTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

(SPECIAL NOTE.—We have delayed this newsletter so you could have a brief advance report on Congressman Riegle's mission to Vietnam. We are preparing a comprehensive report which will be mailed to you in the near future.)

#### EVALUATING U.S. FOREIGN AID IN VIETNAM, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE MIDEAST

In behalf of the House Appropriations Committee, Congressman Riegle was asked to investigate U.S. economic and military assistance to developing countries. His mission included on-the-spot evaluation—over the February Congressional recess—of U.S. policy and foreign aid spending in Vietnam, Korea, Thailand and India. He also received military briefings at NATO headquarters in Brussels and in Istanbul. Congressman Riegle met with President Thieu of South Vietnam and top U.S. officials in Saigon. He also spent three days traveling throughout the country by helicopter, jeep and on foot assessing the present ability of the South Vietnamese people to defend and rebuild their own country. He concluded: "While the South Vietnamese have improved their fighting capability, the U.S. effort continues on a massive scale, and the military war is far from over. In frank discussions with top South Vietnamese leaders they agreed that the Army of Vietnam must take on more battlefield responsibility and that progressive 'de-Americanization' of combat operations and overall U.S. troop reductions must get underway soon. I believe a beginning of withdrawal of U.S. troops must begin no later than the end of the third quarter of 1969, and the South Vietnamese leaders agreed with this opinion."

On his visit to rural areas, Congressman Riegle said, "The major problem continues to be the basic misalignment of much of South Vietnam's rural population. I learned

that some villages termed 'pacified' still pay more taxes to the Viet Cong than to the Government of Vietnam. The pacification program has shown some progress, but I believe U.S. officials in Saigon must push the South Vietnamese harder on economic re-

form, refugee resettlement and solving the corruption problem."

YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Over 15,000 people in Genesee and Lapeer Counties returned our last questionnaire.

Here are the tabulated results. Because I believe your views are shared by the majority of Americans across the nation, I am entering these results in the Congressional Record where the Congress and the public can study them.

CRIME		[In percent]		
(A) In last 5 years, victims of—		Yes	No	Unsure
Petty crime.....		19		
Robbery.....		26		
Bodily harm.....		6		
(B) Increase spending on crime control.....		60	23	17
(C) Is crime a serious problem?		Very	Serious	Moderate
National.....		78	20	2
Local.....		57	31	12
(D) Correctional emphasis should be on—		Much more	More	Same
Poverty, urban ghettos.....		31	34	35
Drugs, alcoholism.....		43	36	21
Juvenile delinquency.....		55	34	11
Organized crime.....		55	29	16
Rehabilitation repeaters.....		46	31	23
Increased police power.....		67	24	9
(E) In favor of stop and frisk law?		Yes	No	Unsure
		73	17	13

POVERTY, WELFARE, HUMAN PROBLEMS?			
(A) Are present programs adequate?	Yes	No	Unsure
	28	70	12
(B) Which do you favor?			14
Reduce programs.....			2
Continue present programs.....			2
Increase present programs.....			78
Emphasize self-help and involve private business.....			4
Spend whatever necessary.....			
(C) Would you favor a guaranteed income?	Yes	No	Unsure
With work.....	53	38	9
Without work.....	2	95	3
(D) Should these groups do more to provide jobs?			16
Labor.....	75	9	16
Business.....	72	9	19
Government.....	31	35	34

GUN CONTROLS			
Present control OK, need more enforcement.....	Yes	No	Unsure
	64	18	18
Ban mail-order sales of all guns.....	84	12	4
State registration/licensing.....	44	46	10
Federal registration/licensing.....	20	71	9
Tougher penalties for misuse of guns.....	87	7	6

INFLATION, COST OF LIVING			
Cut Federal spending, balanced budget.....	Yes	No	Unsure
	72	13	15
Trim Federal spending, allow small deficit.....	56	27	17
Voluntary controls on management and unions.....	75	16	9
Temporary, strict wage and price controls.....	43	37	20
Increase income taxes.....	5	86	9

NATIONAL PRIORITIES			
	High	Middle	Low
End Vietnam war.....	84	13	3
Public safety.....	79	19	2
Get better people into government.....	75	20	5
Strengthen U.S. dollar.....	68	26	6
Air and water pollution.....	62	30	8
A more responsive government.....	52	31	17
Improve American education.....	49	40	11
Poverty in America.....	41	44	15
Racial and social problems.....	36	41	23
Defense, contain communism.....	30	42	28
World hunger.....	24	40	36
Urban problems.....	23	44	33

INDIVIDUAL AND GOVERNMENT			
Self-government participation should be:	Less	Same	More
Individual citizen.....	1	9	90
Community organizations.....	10	32	58
Private enterprise.....	11	29	60
Labor.....	34	25	41
Local government.....	7	26	67
State government.....	13	35	52
Federal Government.....	44	27	29
Political parties.....	37	31	32

ACADEMY NOMINATIONS

As your Congressman it is my privilege to nominate young men for appointment to the Armed Forces Academies to train as career officers. I have established a committee of community leaders to assist in recruiting and screening applicants and together we select the nominees. All men are in competition and every applicant is asked to submit records of his qualifications—academic and physical aptitude, motivation and character references from teachers and friends. Those who indicate the highest achievement from

this evidence are nominated. As a result of this process, 12 nominations have just been made for this year but final appointments will be made by the academies themselves.

All young men who would like to know more about the academies should contact my district office soon (425 Detroit St., Flint 48502).

G.I. KIDS CHRISTMAS PARTY

My staff and I were most pleased to be able to coordinate the second annual G.I. Kids Christmas Party for over 250 children

VIETNAM			
Which alternatives do you favor in each of the following?			
(A) Military strategy and peace talks:	Yes	No	Unsure
Continue full U.S. military effort.....	30	54	16
Deescalate ground fighting.....	30	54	16
Stop all bombing of North Vietnam.....	16	70	14
Give fighting to South Vietnamese.....	47	34	19
Cut "search and destroy" efforts—concentrate on population centers.....	25	47	28
(B) Diplomatic strategy and peace talks:			
Agree to coalition government.....	28	52	20
Guarantee neutralization of South Vietnam.....	76	13	11
Free elections in South Vietnam, abide by results.....	59	24	17
(C) If peace talks fail:			Yes
Declare unlimited war on North Vietnam.....			25
Step up military activity.....			22
Continue present policy.....			3
Fight while seeking coalition government.....			5
Gradual withdrawal, shift to South Vietnam.....			34
Withdraw at once.....			11
(D) How important is it to continue a major commitment of \$30,000,000,000 per year, 525,000 U.S. troops?			
Extremely important.....			22
Very important.....			12
Important.....			13
Not very important.....			34
Unsure.....			19

PUBLIC STRIKES			
	Right to strike	Accept arbitration	Unsure
Teachers.....	23	71	6
Firemen.....	15	79	6
Policemen.....	15	79	6
Garbagemen.....	26	68	6
Nurses.....	18	75	7
Transportation workers.....	31	62	7

VOTING AGE			
	Yes	No	Unsure
Should it be lowered to 18?.....	40	51	9

YOU AND AMERICA			
Do you agree?	Yes	No	Unsure
A gulf between individual and government.....	80	10	10
Most public officials don't care.....	57	28	15
Your vote influences public policy.....	23	64	13
Voting is your only influence.....	42	46	12
The individual has no influence.....	49	37	14
Government is too complicated.....	71	21	8
Something is really wrong with the United States.....	60	29	11
Individual wants to do more.....	58	21	21
Moving away from pride, self-discipline, and responsibility.....	83	8	9
No progress without law, order, and safety.....	90	5	5

WHO RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE			
Age	Percent	Occupation	Percent
15 to 29.....	24	Hourly wage earner.....	17
30 to 39.....	27	Skilled trades.....	7
40 to 49.....	17	Salaried employee.....	17
50 to 59.....	14	Business or profession.....	20
60 up.....	18	Farmer.....	1
		Housewife.....	24
		Retiree.....	11
		Other.....	3

and wives of our overseas servicemen on December 20th. Once again your generous contributions of time, effort and money made it a great success—plenty of food and gifts, splendid entertainment, and free tickets to the Shriner's circus on January 13th. Family photographs and tape recordings were made and mailed to the servicemen.

During the party it was learned that one family, whose father had died in action, would not be having a Christmas tree. Another's Christmas would be scant because "Daddy was gone." Special arrangements

were made for these and other families from the Christmas party fund.

It was deeply rewarding for all of us to share in making this season a little better for these families—to show community appreciation for such a large sacrifice on their part. My special thanks to Bernard McGuire, volunteer chairman, and all of you who did such a wonderful job on the party.

**THE 91ST CONGRESS—A LOOK AHEAD**

During the coming year, Congress and the people, together with President Nixon and his administration must work on these major issues with a new urgency:

- De-Americanize the Vietnam war
- Combat crime and lawlessness at home
- Reform our tax system and plug loopholes, end or reduce surtax
- Defuse the world arms race, hunger and population explosion
- Arrange a just peace in the Mideast
- Continue the quest for equal opportunity
- Eliminate the causes of poverty
- Overhaul the welfare system
- Fight air and water pollution
- Create incentives for individuals and groups to combat our cities' problems.

As a nation we feel the frustrations that come with sensing urgent problems but not yet seeing the solutions. Real progress will come—not from massive legislation, not from bigger government programs, not from just spending more money—but from the creative spirit and energies of our citizens. We have found that government can't do everything for everybody. Instead we must reshape our government—from the bottom up—to provide incentives for individual and community involvement and accomplishments. People want to be heard, and to have a hand in improving the quality and direction of American life and its institutions. Every citizen can start by looking around at his own neighborhood or community and volunteering his own time and energy where it will do the most good.

**STUDENT AID BOOK**

Going to college? Write or stop into our district office (425 Detroit St., Flint—48502) for our booklet, "Federal Financial Assistance to College Students."

**A PERSONAL MESSAGE**

On behalf of Nancy, the children and myself I want to express our deep thanks for the continued honor of serving you in the United States Congress. Your interest, your concern, and your commitment to good government is a source of strength to me, our community, and to our country.

We all know that our country has tough and urgent problems to solve—but if we apply our best energy and continue to work together—I'm convinced we can accomplish anything we set out to do.

As we begin this new term in Congress I am reminded of the words of John Kennedy who, in 1960, said these words:

*"With a good conscience our only sure reward, and history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love— Asking His blessing, and His help, but knowing that here on earth, God's work must truly be our own."*

**THE DAY OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTER**

**HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, in memory of the Cuban freedom fighters who are now suffering under the yoke

of communism, I would like to have Congress remember April 17, 1969, as "The Day of the Freedom Fighter."

On this date in history, April 17, 1961, 1,500 Cuban patriots, the brigade 2506, valiantly attempted in a vain effort to liberate Cuba. Although they failed for well-known reasons, these patriots have not given up their struggle.

Today we commend Ra'ul Comesañas, La Nacion Americana, the largest Spanish speaking newspaper in New Jersey, and the many loyal Cubans in Elizabeth, N.J. They have not given up the struggle against communism. They will not give up fighting until Cuba is once again free.

**A SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL PLANNING**

**HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MORSE) is noted for his scholarship and farsighted and perceptive proposals. An example is found in his sponsorship of legislation which would establish a national commission for the purpose of planning and organizing a smooth shift from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

The gentleman's proposal was recently analyzed in a thoughtful article by Donald R. Larrabee, Washington correspondent for the Worcester-Telegram.

I offer it at this point in the RECORD and commend it to my colleagues:

[From the Worcester Telegram, Apr. 4, 1969]

**A SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL PLANNING**

(By Donald R. Larrabee)

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Rep. F. Bradford Morse, the Lowell Republican, has been preaching for five years about the need for a national commission to conduct long-range planning so that the economy can shift smoothly into peacetime production when the war in Vietnam is over.

Morse introduced a bill in 1964 to establish such a commission. At the time he was able to interest about 25 of his colleagues but the Johnson Administration wouldn't buy the proposal. The legislation created little excitement in Congress, either, possibly because real peace seemed so remote.

Now, at the outset of the 91st Congress, the Fifth District congressman has filed his bill again with more than 60 other members of the House and Senate joining him. This includes significant bi-partisan support in the Senate from George McGovern, D-S.D., and Mark Hatfield, R-Ore.

"Perhaps," a colleague said the other day, "Brad Morse's suggestion for a serious economic conversion study is one of those ideas whose time has come."

**CRITICAL LOOK**

The Nixon administration, if it is sensitive to the winds that are blowing on Capitol Hill, will embrace Morse's plan. Against the backdrop of a serious start at peace discussions, many congressmen are taking a critical look at heavy outlay for military spending on such systems as the Sentinel anti-ballistic missile (ABM).

There is more and more talk that the big new defense systems which have gobbled up huge chunks of the budget in recent years

must take their place in line for consideration along with scores of unmet needs in the civilian economy.

But this feeling is coupled with a practical judgment that the military planners will not stand by idly and allow all those billions to find their way into anything but the military-industrial complex which seems to be a bottomless budgetary pit.

**THOUGHTFUL CONGRESSMEN**

Some of the more thoughtful members of Congress are saying these days that the biggest mistake anyone can make is to think that when the war ends in Vietnam, all of that multibillion dollar defense budget will somehow automatically be shifted into such things as better transportation systems, improved education, programs to halt urban decay and fill housing needs, expanded health research and a greater attack on air and water pollution.

Morse is saying, simply, that it won't happen until there is a formalized national planning effort now which will focus on the country's most urgent needs.

His proposed commission would be chaired by the secretary of commerce and would be composed of the secretaries of defense, agriculture, HEW, housing, interior, labor and transportation, the head of the Atomic Energy Commission, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the director of the Arms Control agency and the administrator of the national space program.

In addition to the commission's planning work, Morse feels his bill will provide the machinery for two important conversion steps by both government and industry:

(1) Defense contracts would be required to set up provisions in which the contractor would define his capability for converting his resources to civilian uses.

(2) The commission would encourage similar planning by industry associations, labor unions and professional societies.

Morse recognizes that the basic decisions about conversion must be made by the individual business firm, but he thinks government has an important role to play in helping businessmen to make informed, intelligent decisions. What he is suggesting is that the government take a leaf from the big defense industries and the big Pentagon machine to manage the planning of our domestic program needs. Morse would use the so-called systems management technique, developed for the defense establishment, to help solve nondefense, non-space problems.

For example, he would have the Merrimack River, which flows through his district, regarded as a "system," just like an ABM or a TFX aircraft. This would mean looking at the river in terms of its function, taking into account the diverse uses and needs that the river fulfills, and seeking coordinated, rather than patchwork, solutions.

If civilian planners don't have a blueprint ready for a river system, Morse says, the military industrial-establishment will inevitably fill the void with a weapons system.

**GRASSROOTS PHILOSOPHY**

**HON. FRED SCHWENGEL**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, this week we have had the distinct pleasure of having present in our fair city over 65 lovely ladies representing the Iowa Farm Bureau. They are with us on the occasion of their annual visit to Washington, D.C. On Tuesday evening I had the distinct pleasure of hearing a speech

by Mrs. H. A. Schnekloth, of Eldridge, Iowa, a member of the Iowa Farm Bureau. Her speech is the prime example of real grassroots philosophy on farming and farm problems. Mrs. Schnekloth's speech follows. This speech is informative, it is based on experience and thorough knowledge, and deep conviction. It should be read by every Member of Congress and all who receive the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Honorable Senators and Representatives from Iowa, guests and Farm Bureau women, 97 Iowa Farm Bureau women are very happy to be here, in our Nation's Capitol, and especially at this Congressional dinner. Sixty-five of us have never been here before, and it was the first jet trip for 53 of us. I must get a little personal to let you know why it is a special experience for me.

Ever since we have had our two children I have expressed a desire to take a family trip to Washington, D.C. Our children are now 20 and 18. Before plans could be arranged my husband received a trip here with the Farm Bureau National Policy Committee. One of the highlights of that trip was our district congressman's, the Hon. Fred Schwengel, tour of the Capitol, and I wanted to go more than ever so Fred could show me around too. Soon after our son earned a week's stay at the National 4-H Center through the citizenship short course program, but Mr. Schwengel, at that time, had taken a forced leave of absence from his office here. So in the fall of 1964 my chances of ever having Congressman Fred Schwengel give me a guided tour of our Nation's Capitol seem dim indeed. Then my husband received another trip when he was Farm Bureau campaign manager and reached goal in our county. That was it! I knew my chances of getting him back at any near date was pure wishful thinking. To top it all off last summer our daughter earned a county trip for the 4-H citizenship short course and she will fly in again this Saturday as one of two Iowa 4-H girls to attend the National 4-H Club Conference. So—you can see why I'm so thrilled to be here—and I'm especially glad that the voters of the First District put Fred back to work again.

The Iowa Farm Bureau is a family organization. The Farm Bureau women, as Mr. Taylor said, are not an auxiliary but an integral part of the entire program and take an active part in all phases of it. They act on legislative, resolution and special committees, assist in program planning, promote recreational activities, better health programs, marketing, and help with membership. In addition, Iowa Farm Bureau women accept specific responsibility for disseminating information and stimulating activity in Farm Bureau. Our township meetings are educational and informative, not "coffee clutches." Someone of another organization once said, "Farm Bureau women are informed." They are vitally interested in government and its functions. They study State and National issues, they are informed about taxes, they attend meetings to meet their candidates and have learned about their voting rights. Within the last month women from all across Iowa have attended district meetings on legislation and national policy. Some of the topics covered have been government farm programs, marketing programs, international trade, inflation, financing education and welfare, tax treatment for farm losses and farm labor unionization. The information gathered at these meetings will be taken back to the county meetings, where the township representatives will in turn inform their individual groups. We call this "grass roots information" and this is where our resolutions start. As we farm women are not above running a tractor in fields at a busy season or pitching in at other masculine tasks, neither do our men frown on our

trespassing in their fields of policy formation and implementation. They welcome our support and assistance.

Iowa Farm Bureau families have relied on their organization to serve theirs and the Nation's best interests for a half century, as farmers become more of a minority group each year our organizations value to us increases proportionately.

Farmers today live much the same as urban people. Their children go to the same schools and churches, farm people are interested in most of the same things. They enjoy civic music, little theatre, good movies, bridge, golf, cookouts, art—they plan vacations, like nice homes with attractive yards. Many farmers are Kiwanians, Rotarians and Lions. Farm homemakers give of their time to charities and auxiliaries. Eleanor Roosevelt once said farming is not a profession it is a way of life. Today I would say farmers are professionals who enjoy their way of life.

It is impossible in the time available to me to properly discuss all the issues that are of concern to farm women today. However I do feel one of the problems of greatest concern to farm women also has the greatest long term implications for our Nation: this is the threat of run away inflation.

Nearly everyone seems to agree that a "little" inflation is better than a depression. Also most economists would like to have us believe that you cannot have prosperity and a reasonably full employment without some inflation. I also know that talk of a recession or unemployment needs to curb inflation, does not make good campaign material for a Congressman or Senator running for reelection. So all in all it seems inflation has a lot going for it on the surface at least.

Why then, is inflation so feared in countries like West Germany, who have experienced its ruinous effects at one time in their history?

Why are the older folks who vividly remember the boom of the twenties followed by the depression of the thirties so concerned about today's spiraling prices and ever increasing taxes?

One of the reasons is, I believe, that people and nations who have experienced severe inflation know that one of its most damaging aspects is the break down of the moral fiber of the individual citizen. Indeed when the inflation psychology grips a nation, old fashioned virtues of thrift, hard work and restraint seem to be a liability.

The mood of the day becomes one of irresponsibility, try and do as little work as possible for as much pay as the market will bear. Why save money? It will buy less next year. By all means get into debt so you can pay it off with cheaper dollars in the years hence.

In America today we can see some of the results of this living beyond our means already. A staggering national debt, skyrocketing interest rates, and our unfavorable trade balance.

To mention a few things very close to home, our real estate taxes per acre have tripled in 14 years. The implement dealer who charged three dollars per hour for shop labor only five years ago now charges six. A spring coat I purchased a year ago for \$44.95 is priced this spring at \$49.95, an 11% increase in one year.

That inflation is the cruelest tax of all was shown very clearly in the February 17 issue of U.S. News & World Report. A worker who is earning \$7,000 is expecting a pay raise of 6% or \$420. The surtax will take \$92. Increased social security tax \$48. Increase in State and local taxes \$9. Total increased taxes \$149. The higher cost of living, inflation if you please, will take \$220. These two total \$369, leaving \$51 out of a \$420 raise in pay.

I have tried to give some examples of inflation that are very familiar to me. Also I have tried to show that inflation reaches beyond purely financial considerations and actually affects how people think and live.

If this Nation is to remain financially sound and morally right it is time we take stock of our many Government programs that seem to be spending money for the sole purpose of keeping it in circulation. Some Government spending programs or "pump priming" in times of a lagging economy might, I said might, be justified. But to continue to spawn new spending programs into an economic stream already running at flood stage can only lead to disaster.

I have a very strong personal conviction that it is up to leaders to lead. I do not believe that it is always in the best interests of the country to have its people get just what they say they want in the Gallup poll. (Maybe I'm just jealous because I've never been polled.)

America is a great Nation today largely because of the foresight and wisdom of its leaders. Now as never before the cry is for statesmanship and vision, we cannot afford less.

In closing let me say, I was born and raised on the farm. We are living on a farm part of which has been in my husband's family for 110 years. We have a son who hopes to carry on this family tradition. Farming has been a good way of life for our family, there has been hard work and setbacks but also much satisfaction and progress. This is truly a great Nation in which we are privileged to live. Let us all work together to strengthen the moral, spiritual and financial fiber of this country so that our children and their children may also enjoy this privilege.

#### PROTECTIONS FOR PENN CENTRAL EMPLOYEES

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable interest as well as concern as to the effect upon employees of the merger into the Penn Central of two already-huge railroads, the old New York Central Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.

The Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employees, AFL-CIO, has issued a memorandum containing the basic features of the protections which have been negotiated for its members.

In view of the wide interest, I am including with my remarks the text of the union's memorandum:

#### EMPLOYEE PROTECTION: PENN CENTRAL MERGER

Basic agreement provides attrition type protection for all employees of former PRR, NYC, and NYNH & H who performed service for any of these carriers between January 1, 1964 and March 31, 1965 (both dates inclusive), except those who qualified for protection under the February 7, 1965 National Stabilization Agreement and subsequently forfeited that protection. Employees who qualify for the attrition type protection are designated as "Present Employees." Those employees who performed service between January 1, 1964 and March 31, 1965 who do not qualify as "present employees" and those employees hired on and after April 1, 1965 and before February 1, 1968 (date of merger) are entitled to protection under the Washington Job Protection Agreement of May 1936.

The basic merger agreement of May 20, 1964 gave the New Company (Penn Central)

the right to transfer work throughout the merged system. The right to transfer employees was to be handled by implementing agreements and our organization entered into a master implementing agreement on October 18, 1966 which protects the "present employees" at their home location or "home zone" as defined in the Agreement.

If Penn Central elects to transfer work from one location to another, such as Freight Claim work from Boston to Buffalo, and does not request employees to follow the work, the "present employees" in Boston would remain in service at full pay in a utility status until another regular position in Boston becomes available. A non-present employee, under the Washington Agreement, if retained in service, would be guaranteed full wages for five years—and if unable to hold a position would qualify for the 60% coordination allowance with the option to separate (the length of time he can receive the coordination allowance and the amount of separation pay are determined by the formulas set forth in the Washington Agreement).

If Penn Central elects to transfer work from one location to another, such as the Marketing Department from New York to Philadelphia, and requests the employees to follow the work, the "present employees" have the right to exercise one of the three options set forth in the Implementing Agreement of October 18, 1966; that is, follow the work, exercise seniority to another available position in their seniority district, or separate from service. The non-present employees, under the Washington Agreement, are being offered positions in the coordinated office at Philadelphia; therefore, if they refuse to accept such position they are not deemed to have been deprived of employment as a result of merger, consequently, they cannot the Washington Agreement with the option qualify for a coordination allowance under to accept a separation allowance. In other words, if a non-present employee refuses to accept a position either in Philadelphia or New York he forfeits any benefits to which he might otherwise be entitled under the Washington Agreement.

It should be understood that this explanation is merely a basic operation of the Agreements and will, for the most, cover the majority of changes; however, there are variations to fit other circumstances and any employee having a specific question should seek the advice of his local or General Chairman for clarification as to how the agreements apply to his particular situation.

#### ESPERANTO: ONE ANSWER TO THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the difficulties created by the language barrier. One answer to this problem is the development of a common functional language. Esperanto is such a language. It is now 80 years old.

I am pleased that one of my constituents, Allan C. Boschen, of Pittsfield, is a leader in this field. He is the local coordinator for the Esperanto Congress to be held at North Adams State College in North Adams on July 17-20, 1969. In addition, a special summer course will be given in Esperanto at North Adams State College in July. It is expected that these events will be quite popular.

I would like at this time to submit an

article by Mr. Boschen that appeared in Trend magazine, "A Journal of Educational Thought and Action":

#### ESPERANTO: ONE ANSWER TO THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

(By Allan C. Boschen)

One of the most profound problems of mankind is the international language barrier. The truth of this statement is dramatically portrayed by the fact that even heads of state usually cannot converse directly with each other, in spite of all our grand scientific achievements, and regardless of all that might be done by use of computers. Doctors, lawyers, and educators, in many foreign language situations, are stripped of every advantage that normally accrues to their depth of knowledge, for communication is an essential part of everything that people do—and communication in turn requires the vehicle of language.

#### UNIVERSAL SECOND LANGUAGE

The consciousness of this problem is as old as history, as documented by such stories as that of the Tower of Babel. Attempts to deal with it are just as old, usually taking the form of the strong nation imposing its language upon the weak, for obviously the need is for the establishment of one language as the language in common. One lesson should be learned from this history: that this route is fraught with trouble on the one hand, and has had only limited measures of temporary success at best on the other, falling again and again in the long run.

The sensible approach for the solution of this problem was postulated over three hundred years ago by such great thinkers as Descartes and Leibnitz. They prescribed a language designed scientifically to be as simple as possible, short of compromising its functional capabilities, thereby making it feasible that one language could serve the world at large as the universal second language. It would become the communication link available in all cases where anybody found that his native tongue would not suffice. Such a language would also bypass the problem of national rivalries, by virtue of its being native to no one.

The merit of this idea is so obvious that there have been some 600 designs published to date in the effort to fill this need. Many, of course, had serious flaws. No doubt there have been any number, also, which might have been adequate to fill the desired role. Be that as it may, there has been only one which has achieved a breadth and depth of practical use and has weathered the test of time—Esperanto.

#### EIGHTY-YEAR GROWTH

Esperanto has continued to live and grow thru some 80 years, while others have faded. Still, in spite of phenomenal measures of success, Esperanto has not been able to arouse concerned positive action by world leaders. But broadly coordinated planning is required to bring about its general implementation with anything approaching the speed that is generally expected, for though Esperanto is easier to learn by the order of four or even ten to one, still, even at that rate it is too much to expect the average individual to undertake on the merit of ideal alone.

In consequence of disappointment in its slower rate of growth, combined with persistent chauvinistic tendencies in some quarters, gross misconceptions have come to dominate the ideas that many people hold on this subject. Many writers have added to the confusion by documenting as fact rumors that they have neglected to check out. (Nor is it a difficult matter to disprove them, as this writer has already undertaken to do in a separate study). It is not uncommon, then, to hear someone say that Esperanto won't work, that it has been tried and failed . . . etc. The truth is that to the extent that they say that Esperanto has

failed—to that extent it hasn't even been tried. To the extent that it has been tried it has been an overwhelming success, the only element of serious failure to date being the lack of concerted high-level action. Thus man hesitates and falters in the appropriation of the vast potential of this much needed tool, while the problems of international communication become ever more troublesome.

#### GET INTO THE ACT

This country, in its emergence from political isolationism, finds that it must "get into the act" and do its share of language learning. The school curriculums, already overcrowded by ever expanding technological and commercial demands, are forced nevertheless to accommodate grand-scale language learning plans. Yet this is, to be sure, the necessary route in answer today to the problem-of-today in international communication. If this route leaves much to be desired it is because we have not been responsive to the highest order of innovation on this matter in the past.

Since the time of Sputnik the call for sweeping educational reform has been heard over and over again. A recent version has come from no other than Vice President Humphrey, as part of his presidential campaign oratory. The magnitude and persistence of this cry would suggest that there must be something deep and fundamentally wrong in the system. However, the failure to date to identify any specific deficiency of a scope sufficient to match the call for reform suggests that this call is motivated more by a feeling of desperate need—a need to employ every possible means for keeping education apace with the ever growing demands upon it, and possibly to find a means for reducing the strain that it is currently operating under. It would appear, then, that this is not just a matter of streamlining methods in the everyday affairs of education, but also an attempt to put everybody on the alert for ideas which might lead to something on the order of a breakthrough.

To accomplish anything on the order of a breakthrough people must be willing to entertain and try ideas that they might otherwise be inclined to dismiss as visionary and unrealistic. They must consider in depth every possible ramification of such ideas. Still they must not hasten to pump extensive resources into projects of remote or dubious merit—there must be reasonable promise of success. Out of the pressures of need, nevertheless, grow great inventions, sometimes just from trying the obvious. Just such an idea is that of Esperanto.

#### UNILATERAL ACTION

Now certainly no one country can unilaterally establish a universal second language, not even the United States, not even by use of Esperanto. Nor can we afford to gamble our resources, nor the time of our youth, on the mere hope that the rest of the world would follow suit. A knowledge of the facts about Esperanto, however, including its many ramifications, shows that we have fertile soil to work in. First is the possibility of bringing together an international conference, which we would be well advised to try. Failing in that, there still is cause for unilateral action, whether by government, or by schools or individuals, for it would directly reduce the load on education, even as it enhanced the results and as it helped to prepare the groundwork for the breakthrough. There is even the possibility of another breakthrough on top of the first one, for as was indicated above, the scope of language is broad indeed, and success with Esperanto would point the way for other developments—but that is another subject.

The essential facts, in this context, hinge upon the point that Esperanto is the living example of the successful scientific design of a language, a language with a living worldwide community and a beautiful interna-

tional literature. It is a language with 127 specialist dictionaries, over 100 periodicals, and on the order of 10,000 books. It is a language which sustains regular daily and weekly radio broadcasts in various places in the world. It is a language that is used by hundreds of business concerns in daily affairs. It is the one language by use of which people, numbering usually around 2000, from upwards of forty countries, meet in conference every year without the need of interpreters. (There are also numerous smaller conferences.) Esperanto has the potential for enhancing one's enjoyment of his vacation trip abroad, if he is at all interested in meeting people in the places that he visits, whether the natives, or other tourists from far and wide. (To this end it is only necessary to contact an Esperanto organization to learn about scheduled events and tours.) Indeed Esperanto is the one language by use of which people from all over the world may discuss matters of mutual interest on an equal footing and with a minimum of misunderstanding.

#### ELEMENT OF REALISM

The factors which make Esperanto applicable now to the purposes of education are that it is ideal as the introductory "foreign" language, and that in step with its appropriation in that role it can add a new element of realism to such classes as geography and social studies—by correspondence with children of similar age from the areas under study. Beyond these areas of obvious applicability, Esperanto simplifies the study of grammar, including that of English, and it is an excellent exercise in logic. Results reflecting these facts are documented in reports from San Mateo, California, published in articles in *Read Magazine* (March 15, 1967) and the *California Teachers Journal* (May 1968). (This CTA article, incidentally was presented to the Congress of the United States by Rep. Rhodes of Pa., and read in its entirety into the *Congressional Record* (Sept. 17), the second presentation of such an article to the Congress in as many months.) The governments of Poland and New Zealand, moreover, have acted in recent months to "encourage" their schools to teach Esperanto.

Governments hesitate to take the necessary action to bridge the language barrier, and they continue to fumble because of it, in their busy-ness with cold wars, hot wars, and other petty feuds, even as the ticking away continues on any number of time-bombs which Esperanto might very well help to de-fuse. On the other hand, the peoples of the world, in this age of anxiety, are found to be quite warm to the idea of a universal second language, as proven by over 80% endorsement in polls taken in various countries, including the U.S.

Never mind, then, the cynical cant about "... panacea ..." that is so often heard in response to proposals that are broad in the scope of their effects and side effects, but let the judgment of reason prevail. For this, in truth, is one kind of idea that is sought in answer to existing problems, in education and out. Then it is incumbent on those who are conscientious to apply this marvelous language wherever they may find it currently useful, thus at the same time to hasten its growth toward fulfillment of the role that would end this serious void in the channels of international communication.

#### NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the tragic and unwarranted attack on our recon-

naissance aircraft demonstrates dramatically the deteriorating situation in Korea.

In addition to the seizure of the *Pueblo* and the loss of the reconnaissance aircraft, we find an increase in the effort to infiltrate guerrilla forces into South Korea by North Korea. The following item which appeared in the February 14 edition of the *Wall Street Journal* by William D. Hartley points out a lesser-known effort by North Korea to carry their aggression into South Korea.

Because it shows another dimension of North Korean aggression, I think other Members would find it of interest.

The article follows:

**KIM'S AGENTS: NORTH KOREA DISPATCHES ELITE RED GUERRILLAS TO SUBVERT THE SOUTH—SEOUL SAYS INFILTRATORS FAIL TO SPARK VIETCONG-STYLE REVOLTS—MANY CAPTURED—FLOATING IN ON WATERWINGS**

(By William D. Hartley)

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA.—During the final two nights of last October and the first two of November, four 30-man guerrilla teams led by North Korean Lt. Chong Dong-choon slipped ashore on South Korea's rugged and bleak eastern coast. They quickly faded into the mountains.

The North Koreans came well-prepared. Lt. Chong, a slight but muscular 25-year-old, had undergone months of rigorous mountain and field training, plus hours of classroom work in tactics and political ideology. He wore a fake South Korean army sergeant's uniform and carried a veritable arsenal—a Soviet-made submachine gun, three pistols, hand grenades and an antitank grenade.

Lt. Chong, now prisoner, recalls that one of the first South Koreans he encountered was an eight-year-old boy. He asked the boy which men in his village were landowners and capitalists who oppressed the people. "If they had any, we were going to kill them," he says expressionlessly.

Lt. Chong, a trained infiltrator, is an instrument of a new kind of warfare designed to raise havoc on the troubled Korean peninsula, 16 years after the armistice that ended the Korean war. His personal effectiveness is ended, to be sure, now that he is a captive of the Republic of Korea (ROK). But the government here says North Korea's 124th army unit, an elite outfit, has 6,000 such infiltrators trained for action.

#### CAMPAIGN OF STEALTH

U.S. Army Gen. Charles H. Bonesteel, commander of American and United Nations forces here, calls the infiltration struggle "the porous war." The combat differs from that of the Korean war, but the objective of Kim Il-sung, premier of North Korea, is considered to be the same—unification of the peninsula on his terms. He seems unwilling now to launch another all-out attack across the demilitarized zone. But American and Korean analysts here say he is stepping up a campaign of infiltration by hundreds of agents.

South Korean spokesmen say Kim is frustrated by the progress of his southern antagonists toward building a sound economy and capturing the loyalty of the people. Infiltration is said to be his new stratagem for shaking the stability of the south.

South Korea is trying to cope with the threat. It propagandizes its citizens heavily. All around Seoul, grisly posters depict atrocities allegedly committed last fall by Communist agents. At checkpoints along roads leading into Seoul from the north, police and army men inspect papers and search vehicles for infiltrators. Signs calling for information on northern agents are everywhere. A few days ago, a citizens' group suggested that even children's comic books should stress the importance of turning in Communist agents.

#### NEW TACTICS

A Korean government official says the number of known infiltrators into and across the DMZ, plus those entering along South Korea's 1,550-mile coastline, rose to 1,274 last year from 841 in 1967.

Until last year, the North Koreans had seemed satisfied with land infiltration routes across the DMZ, usually sending small groups of men. But capture of the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo* and the abortive attempt to assassinate President Park, both at the beginning of 1968, prompted sweeping improvements of South Korean defenses along the DMZ, according to American observers. Infiltration was hampered.

Though one U.S. military commander on the DMZ says he expected "more probing" there, the Communists recently have focused on coastal entry points. Lt. Chong's relatively large groups of 30 men each came in fast boats disguised as fishing boats, landing at Ul-jin on South Korea's east coast.

Analysts here point out that cold and snow, now hampering movement through the countryside, will be diminishing in the months to come. They expect the North Koreans then to resume the two-pronged approach, making probes across the DMZ in addition to strikes at the coastline.

#### EFFORT FOR SOUTH KOREA

The North Korean guerrilla offensive is forcing Seoul into expensive precautions. The government has created a civilian home guard force, budgeted this year at \$51 million. Tracking down guerrillas is difficult. It took tens of thousands of troops more than a month in the mountains to capture or kill 117 of the 120 North Korean agents involved in the Ul-jin landings (the remaining three are presumed dead).

The U.S., committed to South Korea's defense, also is increasing its spending. U.S. helicopters have been delivered to help South Korean soldiers flush out Communist infiltrators. American troops here number 55,000.

Kim, say observers, is reaping good returns from a relatively small investment of men. Some say that President Park might be prompted to recall for home defense the 55,000 South Korean troops serving in Vietnam. "If I were in Pyongyang (the North Korean capital)," says one American here, "I would hope the ROK government would overreact to my raids and clamp down with some repressive measures to meet the threat. This would cause some unrest."

Some see this happening already. There are plans to create a "strategic hamlet" program in parts of South Korea. The intent, says a senior Korean official, is to move citizens from some remote villages into more secure locations, whether they want to go or not.

Officials here speculate that Kim might shift his emphasis from raids on villages and troops in the DMZ to strikes on industry. "There has been a question in the minds of many people here why Kim hasn't hit industry yet," says one economist. "It would seem this would be better suited to his desires than these terror tactics."

South Korea's economy leans heavily on foreign investment. Foreign capital investment has totaled \$450 million in the last six years. There are fears that terrorist raids might stem the investment flow. "We know that the units who do the landings hold training exercises against factories," says an American military source.

But South Korea spokesmen discount the danger. The factories, they point out, are in heavily guarded population centers. Still, even attempted sabotage might discourage potential investors. One American close to the Seoul business community says the attempt on President Park's life last year caused some companies to reconsider investment plans.

In Pyongyang's version of the story, there are no northern infiltrators; the unrest originates with dissatisfied southerners. "Today the broad sections of the South Korean people are waging a victorious struggle in all fields," Kim has said. "I send warm revolutionary greetings to the revolutionaries and democratic personages, to all patriots in South Korea who are putting up a valorous fight in various parts of South Korea, underground, in mountains or even in the prisons."

The flowery rhetoric from North Korea shows Kim's hope of fomenting a Vietcong-style insurrection in the south, South Korean officials say. North Koreans captured in the Ul-jin landing say their mission was to organize villages into "revolutionary bases," propagandizing the people and turning them into collaborators. Other captured infiltrators have said they intended to set up guerrilla bases for an eventual revolution against Mr. Park's government.

CONFIDENT SEUL

There is little evidence that such an uprising will materialize. "The atmosphere just isn't conducive to a Vietcong movement," says one diplomat. "People remember the war vividly. You can't talk with anyone here who didn't have some member of his family killed in the war."

ROK officials say that 90% of the agents killed or captured last year were spotted and reported by sharp-eyed civilians. Stories of such captures abound. A railroad clerk identified one agent when the man asked for cigarettes but didn't know the names of the South Korean brands. Another was turned in when a waitress noticed that he wielded his chopsticks in an unfamiliar manner. However, patriotism is bolstered by a reward of \$3,600—about 25 times the per capita income last year—for each infiltrator turned in.

The North Koreans apparently have been indoctrinated to expect broad cooperation among the South Korean citizens. "Before I came," Lt. Chong says, "I heard every day that the situation of life in the Republic of Korea is very poor and that every farmer dies of hunger." A few days before his mission began, Lt. Chong heard a rousing talk from Kim Jung-tae, the three-star general said to be the chief of guerrilla operations. "He said, 'When you land, every Korean villager will help your guerrilla activities and you can easily make them collaborators,'" Lt. Chong recalls.

But the villagers resisted, and the guerrillas reacted violently, to the detriment of their missionary effort. Twenty-five civilians were killed, including a four-year-old boy whose jaw was ripped off. "That is a hell of a way to make friends," says one American officer.

But the North Korean effort may have produced some successes. Last summer the South Korean central intelligence agency broke up an espionage ring called the Unification Revolution Party. Members included southerners and some Communist agents. Observers suspect that other groups may still be operating.

THE SELECT UNIT

North Korea's infiltration outfit, the 124th unit, has grown to its present size of 6,000 from 2,400 men a year ago, South Korean officials say. All its men are officers, in good physical shape, and all are Communist party members. Lt. Chong, the son of a woodworker from a Manchurian border village on the Yalu river, joined the 124th in September 1967 after spending six years in the regular army.

In training, all members rise at 5 a.m., according to Lt. Chong. "Before taking breakfast, we had to do cross-country running and mountain climbing carrying 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of sandbags in a knapsack," he says. "Then we studied the ideology of Kim Il-sung for one hour." This was followed by classes on operational tactics, topography,

intelligence studies of South Korea and radio communications.

After dinner, there was more mountain climbing and training in night infiltration tactics. "Then we would run 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) with the sandbags," Lt. Chong says. Sunday was a day of rest. "We used to sleep all day." Men of the 124th get rations double those of the regular army, plus good quarters.

So intense is the training, say U.S. observers, that the guerrillas tend to become fanatical. Each carries a hand grenade that explodes the second the handle is released (standard grenades have a delay of several seconds). This device often is used for suicide to prevent capture.

Infiltrators use some unusual tactics to get across the DMZ. Some have strapped on waterwings and floated with the incoming tide up the Imjin river that crosses the DMZ from the north. Northern agents used to burrow underneath the fence that marks the southern boundary of the DMZ, until the Americans planted 18-inch stakes to halt the tunneling.

"They are trained as much as nine months for a mission," says a young American major stationed along the DMZ. "They spend weeks reconnoitering routes and weeks at the fence, looking for gaps. Probably they have escorts who have been in and out of the zone for years. And they're not foolhardy. When they're discovered, they abort the mission and go back across."

A CITIZEN SPEAKS OUT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Martin P. Broderick, Jr., of Baton Rouge, La., a small businessman, father, and taxpayer from my congressional district, has sent me a copy of his letter to the President of the United States.

I compliment Mr. Broderick for exercising his privilege of citizenship to express his opinion to the Chief Executive and can only hope that more and more of those people of the silent majority will follow his lead in telling their President what they expect from the leader of their country.

The letter follows:

APRIL 14, 1969.

Mr. RICHARD M. NIXON,  
President of the United States,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: This nation yearns for you to display strong leadership qualities. It is time for us to stop talking about giving anyone rights or special privileges and to talk about each individual earning his right to be a citizen of this fine nation.

If we continue to let our Universities be taken over by mobs seeking to destroy these institutions, without punishing the leaders because they claim to do it in the name of free speech, we are not only going to lose these places of learning but also the Republic itself. This is an attack on the very foundations of our government.

Mr. President, the young men of America are puzzled by our policies. We are in a war that three Presidents and their Congress have been afraid to declare. People commit treason in the name of free speech and the Attorneys General of three Presidents are afraid to act. American men are dying today in what is called a limited war that we are not allowing the military to win.

Mr. President, the young men of America are not afraid to fight and die if they know they will win. *Not one American should die unless it is in a quest for Victory!* I urge you to fully commit this Nation to total and immediate Victory in Viet Nam. Mr. President, you only have to whip one bully and the rest will fall into line.

I pray you will have the strength to act in a resolute manner.

Sincerely,

(Signed) MARTIN P. BRODERICK, Jr.

AMERICAN POLICIES TOWARD EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining my colleagues in discussing American policy toward East Central Europe spurred on by the recent memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation pointing toward the twin aims: the promotion of Atlantic partnership leading to an independent, but politically well-coordinated and friendly Western Europe and the creation of a Central European buffer zone including Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, possibly also Rumania and Poland.

In this regard I came across the article of the editorial board chairman of the Studies on a New Central Europe published in New York by political and economic experts from the Central European countries. This article goes even further in analyzing the possibility of the establishment of a buffer zone with international guarantees of its neutrality as a result of negotiation with the Soviet Union and our NATO allies.

I insert the article at this point into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TOWARD A CONSTRUCTIVE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY IN A NEW CENTRAL EUROPE

(By Eugene Padanyi-Gulyas)

An historic course began half a century ago. In retrospect, it can be generally characterized as a disintegration of post-feudal empires. First Czarism was overthrown in Russia, then the Hohenzollern German empire collapsed and the Habsburg monarchy fell apart. The latter was engineered by the Western powers in accordance with the wartime objective expressed in the political writings of the Czech Edward Benes.<sup>1</sup> Twenty years later, with Germany's rise to greater power he had to emigrate a second time. Thirty years later, in 1948 under heavy political pressure of the Soviet Union, Benes became helpless, embittered and died a disappointed man. Czechoslovakia's case is not extraordinary, but typical of the fate of small states in Central Europe. The results of political disintegration were fatal.

October 1968 was the date set to celebrate "fifty years of independence" for Czechoslovakia, Greater Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Flags, posters, books, pamphlets, commemorative speeches and festivals had been readied for the occasion. Then the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet and four other Warsaw Pact Countries demonstrated to the whole world that independence does not and did not exist in the Central Euro-

<sup>1</sup>Edward Benes: "Détruisez l'Autriche Hongrie". Paris, 1917.

pean area. Between 1920 and 1938 Edward Benes formed the Little Entente as a satellite system directed against Hungary, Austria, and Germany, based on French military power, loans and diplomacy. With Hitler's rise, however, Czechoslovakia broke into two parts, both becoming satellites of Germany together with the other Central European small states. Before his return from his second exile Benes concluded a pact with Stalin and Molotov in Moscow and ousted more than three million Germans from Czechoslovakia. This pact led to such reliance on the Soviet Union that his whole country became its satellite and Jan Masaryk, son of Czechoslovakia's first president, committed suicide or, as it is said, was murdered. Hundreds of Czech and Slovak leaders emigrated for a second, and some for a third time.

No matter how great the efforts of small states in Central Europe were to achieve parliamentary democracy, economical development, cultural improvement, the faulty international political system engulfed the leading politicians together with thousands, even millions of families. The suicides, executions, imprisonment, repeated emigration of national leaders during these fifty years are proof that the "independence" of these small states was and is an illusion—with one exception. The only independent country in Central Europe at present is the *neutral and federal Austria* whose neutrality was guaranteed by the great powers together with sixty other states.

After 1918 a few transitional years of democratic parliamentarian experimentation followed the disintegration of the empire. Then came military dictatorships and police states first from the extreme right and then from the extreme left, Hitler and Stalin. Some anomalies occurred at a number of elections in the twenties and thirties; but in the forties and after no elections at all were held worth this name. There was no freedom from the military powers and their "spheres of influence" centered first in Berlin, then in Moscow. The development of new techniques, means of transportation and industrialization continued throughout the last decades although they greatly lagged behind the West. But the advantages of industrial development were counterbalanced by loss of religious freedom, Marxist dominated churches, the muzzling of writers and other intellectuals, Marxist-Leninist dictatorial monopolization of the press and all other means of communication, and by a generally low level of subsistence. "Building Marxist Socialism" did not mean building homes for the people. The elementary need for shelter, housing is still one of the sorest spots in the economy of all satellite states and also in the Soviet Union.

The Germany of the Kaiser and Hitler was replaced by a divided Germany and a divided Berlin with its Wall, and the long Iron Curtain behind which the population seethes. Discontent with the "dictatorship of the proletariat" broke out in the uprisings of 1953, 1956 and now in Czechoslovakia. "In our Czechoslovakia of yesterday," writes the Prague *Literary Listy* of March 28, 1968, "people were driven to trials like cattle to the slaughter house, their heads covered with sacks. Hands and legs tied, they were beaten up till they lost consciousness. Teeth knocked out, skin branded with red-hot iron happened to many. Who will guarantee that such things shall not reoccur?" The Slovak Alexander Dubcek, newly elected First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, demanded equal rights for the Slovaks with the Czechs. The federalization of Czechoslovakia was decided upon. But then Hungarians, Ukrainians, Germans in Czechoslovakia also demanded equal rights.

Between the two World Wars, the League of Nations became submerged in troubled international waters and the first promising

idea of international jurisdiction went down with it. Hundreds of national leaders were persecuted and killed by the so-called "liberators of the people." Ironically this was only the start of persecuting and killing tens of thousands of the same people who were supposed to be liberated. Famine, starvation, executions, concentration camps, purges, genocide, class war, "liberation wars,"—all kinds of wars followed. Freedom of expression, freedom of gathering, freedom of religion, or in one word: *freedom* was destroyed or so manipulated, that the result was equivalent to its destruction. The relative peace of the world guaranteed by a shaky balance of power was replaced by a "balance of terror" with its nuclear deterrent. It is clear now, that other diplomatic ways must be found. A Conference on European Security would achieve better results than theoretical decisions of the United Nations. This organization, with the "veto paragraph" in its charter and with its membership of questionable good-standing, without an international police force and due to big-power rivalries, has repeatedly proved itself incapable of solving major problems—with a special impotence in Central European affairs. Cold war methods with their inefficient practices will bring no solutions either.

But, while looking for new ways, we have to admit that a century ago the theory of Marxism could be, and actually was attractive to a good many dissatisfied people. What might have been attractive to the leaders of suppressed peoples of Russia 50 years ago, or of China 30 years ago, did not, however, mean progress for the people of Czechoslovakia 20 years ago, although Marxist-Leninism took over. Our question is: how was it possible that political parties proclaiming class struggle could attract millions in countries where the standard of living was high? How could union leaders with princely incomes and trade union members with adequate social security and pension systems organize Marxist parties all over the civilized world, to take part in coalition governments only to overthrow them? How is it still possible that professors and their textbooks favor Marxism as a progressive movement in countries where a high level of industrialization was accomplished without the people being deprived of decent housing; where reforms in agriculture were achieved without reducing its productivity, and illiteracy was cured by an educational system that did not require the killing of ten millions in revolutions—"cultural" or other. How could the Marxist political parties in the past be so successful in spite of terror, "dictatorship of the proletariat," Iron Curtain, Berlin Wall, censorship, "socialist realism" in art and literature against the will of the majority or the real desire expressed by their conscientious writers? The answer to these questions seems to be essentially that it was possible because of their *International* organization. Calling their movement international meant real progress in a time when other political parties restricted themselves to one nation, not to mention those parties which were even more restricted to the goals and problems of chauvinistic groups within a nation. By organizing their movement internationally, both the Communists and Social Democrats showed foresight in the past decades during and after the dissolution of empires in all continents. Their theoreticians saw the inevitable trend toward international global cooperation many years before Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, whose philosophy emphasized "social infolding," "universal solidarity" and "coordinated planetary systems" toward which the formidable creative power of evolution forces mankind to fare.

It is, however, also a fact that Marxist political parties tried to restrict their international movement to "the worker's class" or "the proletariat," to "the present clumsy and incomplete application of a totalization"—to use Teilhard's words. Today Marx-

ists fulminate against the kind of capitalism which does not exist anymore. Their "international" methods became antiquated.

It is shortsighted to use all the discoveries made available by technical progress for political aggrandizement or economic exploitation of others, by a superpower striving for world domination. An immeasurable amount of material wealth and uncounted millions of innocent lives were sacrificed on the altar of this false god. To ask for more destruction, to call for a global "class struggle" instead of a global struggle against ignorance and poverty seems utterly outdated. An international movement works better when its program is replaced by updated goals and is adjusted to changed demands. A truly internationally organized political movement to achieve the common goals of mankind in an evolutionary progress is right. To try to achieve today's goals with narrow-minded nationalism and chauvinism or with class prejudices of yesterday is doomed to failure.

#### A NEW ERA OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION AND CONSTRUCTIVISM

Construction rather than destruction, integration rather than division, evolution rather than revolution is the idea of our day. These ideas are in the air. The desire for change is very real. But to find the right words expressing the new trend is not easy.

It was four years before Alexander Dubcek, first Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, started his democratic reforms, when the Alliance of Czechoslovak Democratic Associations called for *positive* constructive movements. The program was significant. Its title is less fortunate.<sup>2</sup> Searching for "nobler and deeper causes," for "new types of international action." Henry Owen refers to a Warsaw philosopher's concept<sup>3</sup> which would eventually replace past national slogans: that of "Community"—and which is, indeed, comprehensive and attractive.

Before looking for more words or slogans, however, and assuming that the nations of a reintegrated, "Helvetized" new Central Europe will sooner or later be in the position of defining their own policies, let us review the goals of such a movement. After the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and the recent "democratization" movement in Czechoslovakia, one thing seems clear: the people living in this area are looking for a *realistic Third Way* in foreign policy, economy and in ideology different from their neighbors to the East or West.

#### NEUTRALIZATION AND HELVETIZATION

The *foreign policy* should be based on the demand, that the zone between Russia and Germany be *militarily neutral, like Austria or Switzerland* and the neutrality of this zone should be *internationally guaranteed*. This was the idea expressed by the Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956 and by the prime minister of their short-lived free government, Imre Nagy, who died a martyr for it.

One cannot, indeed, expect that more martyrs pronounce this demand; consequently we must not wait till the heads of the existing satellite governments declare their independence from the Warsaw Pact. Such a declaration was made on behalf of all the so called "satellites" by the only free government behind the Iron Curtain and was sealed by the blood of the Hungarian martyrs. The people in the whole region remember this. On the tenth anniversary of Imre Nagy's execution the "Literary Listy"—the periodical of the Federation of the Writers in Czechoslovakia—reminded its readers of the merits of this great leader, whose ideas on

<sup>2</sup> "Positive Anticommunism" (Studies for a New Central Europe, Vol. 1, No. 3).

<sup>3</sup> "Foreign Policy Premises for the Next Administration" by Henry Owen, chairman, Policy Planning Council, Department of State USA ("Foreign Affairs", July 1968).

neutrality were premature in his time, but acceptable today.<sup>4</sup>

The wisdom of establishing a neutral zone is obvious. This is the only way for both the American and Russian armies finally to disengage and to pull back to their respective homelands. After this movement—long awaited by taxpayers of both countries—no Warsaw or NATO military pacts can be justified, nor will they be necessary. Eighty to a hundred million people in the "Helvetized" area will take care of their own affairs and will be ready to safeguard the peace of the region, which means a very significant guarantee of the peace of whole Europe. This will be also the time for the major nuclear powers to adjust the objectives of their foreign policies to a realistic assessment of their own capabilities.

The economy of the "Helvetized" region would probably be neither Communist, nor Capitalist. As judged today, the region might have a mixed economy. De-etatization of state enterprises and cooperatives are already on the way, but state and federal economic planning would continue. This practice is accepted also in the West.<sup>5</sup> Mining, heavy industry, railway, postal service and other means of communication would be state or federally owned enterprises with self-management. Many economic organizations for cooperation of states already exist. Besides the COMECON and its committees, there are specialized agencies for cooperation in transportation, electrification, finances, etc. These would be fully developed, but without the membership of any outside major powers, whose presence only would distort the balance and harmony of the Central European community. Terms of trade and contracts would be concluded on an equal basis toward the East and West. The principle of "participation on all levels"—demanded by the Yugoslav, Czech, Slovak and Hungarian workers and students—would prevent unhealthy dictatorship of any of the inflated capital cities and would pave the road toward equality of the member nations, to real democracy without overcentralization.

Thanks to its guaranteed neutrality, the economy of a New Central Europe might be an example of prosperity without giving large sums for massive military budgets that would achieve nothing constructive; an example of continuous full employment without depriving workers of a decent standard of living, good housing, cars and traveling. Considering the world-wide need for construction of homes, roads, power plants, dams and factories; for an updated international system of transportation and communication; for rebuilding the delapidated cities and for building new cities according to the global trend of healthy urbanization—it appears, that making peace profitable is within the reach of mankind. The existing giants in their struggle for world domination have failed to give an example of the prosperity described above. The third way of neutral countries may lead us to it.

#### THIRD WAY IN IDEOLOGY

The ideology of a New Central Europe may also pioneer an interesting third way. Like standing on an ice block with the right foot and on a red-hot plate with the left, one would not feel an average temperature; a neutralized, "Helvetized" zone between Germany and Russia very probably would have its own way of thinking, its own phi-

<sup>4</sup> Oswald Machatka in the May, 1968 issue of the "Literary Listy", Prague.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Schlecht, chief of the policy division of the West German Economics Ministry: "The ad hoc economy, the economy of the light hand, is dead. We have a new economic system now—a tailored economy. We have learned a lot." For further clarification we refer to previous issues of the "Studies", especially to Vol. I, No. 1 and II, No. 1.

losophy. Historic and recent experiences of these people are quite unique. An ideology, different of that of their neighbors, would be a natural consequence. Considering the ideological bankruptcy and confusion around the world, it is time to have some fresh ideas.

Since the World Wars, nations and their best men: writers, thinkers, statesmen are labouring on the problem of how to find the path of peaceful, normal, healthy life of mankind, leading away from extremities. It seems now, that neither the promises of the "rugged individualism," nor those of a Marxist collectivism resulting in an omnipotent state are any longer attractive.

One of the most interesting and honest statements in this respect, while admitting the seeming success of the Russian Revolution, attributes it to the fact, that a number of basic Christian principles were used for Communist propaganda all through its fifty years of history. These principles: the solidarity and brotherhood of all men, the brotherly love of the poor, the freedom and peace on earth, however, were emphasized though sometimes betrayed by Christendom throughout the centuries; and the crisis of Communism today originated from its own rebellious intellectuals, who discovered that these great principles were betrayed by Communism too. Thus the search for a new way starts again.<sup>6</sup>

Millions in Central Europe have learned on their own expense, that in concordia parvae res crescunt, in discordia maximeque dilabuntur—little things may grow united, great ones diminish in discord. The feeling of their solidarity, of their natural community of destiny, was recently expressed more than once. This is the force behind their struggle for independence from outside powers and for intensified cooperation among themselves. The chimera of world domination makes them anxious to separate their way from those who are still pursuing this costly dream. Solidarity, masters in their own home, not domination by others, is their dream.

To start with such a joint venture in this region means that, while preserving the national characters of the respective peoples—their language, their culture, their pride of accomplishment throughout history—their energy will be united to build a new home for themselves according to a plan which would accommodate them at the best contemporary standards. This new home has to be large enough, so that its household could be well organized. Agricultural and industrial production modernized; the best use of the labor force and the forces of nature; tariff-free distribution of goods and smooth flow of traffic on the super high- and railways, on improved waterways and in the air; free exchange of ideas through all channels of modern communication; good schools, good institutions for arts and sciences, open for everyone—this is what a "Helvetized," integrated New Central Europe means. If an industrialist in Prague invents a new product, he could sell it to seventy to a hundred million customers. A new song recorded by Slovaks, Ruthens or Rumanians could soon be popular also in Vienna or Belgrade. A poem, a book, or a newspaper printed in Budapest, in Zagreb or in Kolozsvár could reach readers or subscribers anywhere in a territory of about one million square kilometers. Free trade, free competition, mutual respect and support of every effort in pursuing the common goal are prerequisites for the progress of the inhabitants of the region.

Such endeavor is unthinkable without effective political changes and international

<sup>6</sup> P. Werenfried van Atraten in the "Ost-priesterhilfe" (10-11, 1968). See also the Fourth Dialog of Marxists and Christians (Marianski - Lazne - Marienbad, Czechoslovakia, 1968).

guarantees. To construct the new homes according to old fashioned blue prints; by means of narrow-minded policy of mini-states based on jealousy and chauvinism, or on internationally organized movements aimed at destruction, dictatorship or world domination is impossible. Neither can it be designed by the limited vision and controlled imagination of some dusty old principles of "socialist realism." Therefore a Constructive Central European Internationale is needed, with national parties in the individual countries, to carry a joint program among the different people. To avoid many difficulties arising from too many small parties campaigning and possibly forming inefficient coalition governments, it was suggested that in a "Helvetized" New Central Europe a two-party system is desirable. It would perhaps be premature to go into such details as to restrict the number of parties in different states of so many different nationalities. But it seems that one of the two or more national political parties in every member state should be organized between the states, campaigning on similar platforms and directed by principles and guidelines established at periodical congresses of a Constructive Central European Internationale. This term is used partly for want of a better; but partly because we believe that construction is a concept best characterizing the epoch to come. At the risk of repetition, we must point to the fact, that after a long period of destruction, disintegration, separation by national or tariff boundaries, by Iron Curtains and by walls in Berlin or elsewhere—the time has come for integration and construction. Construction, in the basic sense of this word, of homes for crowded or homeless families. Construction of an integrated New Central Europe for the people of this troubled region. Construction of a better world on our planet for all men of good will.

After all, a good example to prove the possibility of close cooperation and effective government of peoples of different languages, nationalities and religious affiliations is long overdue. Similar problems are waiting for solution in all Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in many places across the world. Our globe, as a whole, presents the same problem today. We have to start somewhere. Why not in a region where such a new beginning would be only one more in a long series . . . maybe better than any of the previous ones. An inspiring example for all.

#### THE F-111 AIRCRAFT

#### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, there has been much unfortunate confusion regarding the F-111 aircraft. Recently our colleague from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT), wrote letters to the Members of the House, the objective being to present a more accurate picture of the F-111. He enclosed articles from two magazines, both of which appeared to be authoritative and threw much light on the subject.

This impresses me as an excellent way to meet unfounded criticism and set the record straight. It is said there is nothing quite as obstinate as a fact, and Mr. WRIGHT's communication is loaded with factual information. He has taken the major criticisms of the F-111 and answered them in a flat, unequivocal manner. He points out, for example, that of

the seven combat aircraft in the so-called Century Series, the F-111, at 20,000 hours of flight, had the best safety record of all these aircraft. Some others in the Century Series had experienced more than twice as many accidents for the first 20,000 hours, and some had almost three times as many accidents. Ask yourself whether you ever saw in the press or heard any comment about the accidents of the F-100 or the F-101 or the F-105 or the F-103, or in fact any of these aircraft other than the F-111. Your answer most probably will be the same as my own: If I ever did hear of these accidents, they certainly did not stick in my mind. Then ask yourself what you heard and read about the F-111 accidents, and your answer will undoubtedly be the same as my own: It seems that I heard little else about the F-111.

But what is the real story: It is just as I have stated it to be, the best safety record of any of them, matched by none of the others, and far better than most of them.

If you have not done so, let me urge you to read JIM WRIGHT's letter. It is filled with vital, meaningful information about the F-111 aircraft.

#### CONGRESSIONAL REFORM: LIGHT IS DIM, THOUGH NEED IS GREAT

### HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1969

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, in the Wall Street Journal of March 27, Norman C. Miller has written a lengthy and provocative article on the continuing failure of the House of Representatives to take action on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1969.

Mr. Speaker, this bill has been before the Rules Committee now for nearly 2 months. The issue, of course, has been before the committee for a much longer time—since March 9, 1967, to be exact.

I will not take the time of the House today to recount the long history of the efforts of some of us to move this legislation through the Congress. I do want to reiterate two consistent points of concern to most of us, however. One is that Republicans have asked repeatedly for action on a reform package embodying no less than the equivalent of the 1967 bill passed by the Senate, and the second is that we have asked repeatedly for the legislation to be brought to the House floor under a completely open rule.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to read carefully Mr. Miller's article.

The article referred to follows:

UPDATING CONGRESS: PRESSURE IS MOUNTING TO OVERHAUL PROCEDURES OF HOUSE AND SENATE—REFORM FORCES SEEK TO CUT COMMITTEE CHIEFS' POWER—NEW BUDGET CHECKS ASKED—McCORMACK EASES OPPOSITION

(By Norman C. Miller)

WASHINGTON.—"The House is like the Black Hole of Calcutta," says one of its harsher critics. Freshman Congressman Al-

lard Lowenstein fully agrees: "Nothing prepares you for its horrors."

Mr. Lowenstein's pungent remark sums up his shock at the deeply embedded Congressional customs and rules that channel almost all power to veteran legislators and, in his view, prevent Congress from responding effectively to many current problems.

Consequently, the New York Democrat, a leader of last year's "dump LBJ" drive, now vows to turn his organizing talents to the less flashy but fundamentally important cause of changing Congressional procedures—commonly known as the Congressional "reform" effort. He hopes to rally a grass-roots "coalition of concerned people," encompassing liberals and conservatives alike, to pressure reluctant members of Congress to back reforms.

Whatever the outcome, Mr. Lowenstein is far from alone in demanding change on Capitol Hill. He is joining the growing ranks of a reform-minded Congressional group led by House Republicans. After years of effort, the bipartisan forces finally seem headed for at least modest success this year, both in improving Congressional efficiency and in shifting some power from senior lawmakers to the rank and file.

#### LOOKING AT COMPUTERS

The efficiency effort aims at installing computers and other machines to help legislators with tasks ranging from answering their mail to analyzing the President's budget proposals. Now, Congressmen often feel helpless in the face of the growing complexity of their work. At least some hopeful signs are evident on the efficiency front. House leaders currently are inspecting a computer system that could store an array of information and answer legislators' queries by flashing data on TV-like screens in Congressional offices.

The much more difficult reform objective is to limit the power wielded by committee chairmen and other senior Congressmen, while opening up more opportunities for rank-and-file legislators to make their influence felt. But here, too, there are indications of movement—notably intraparty pressure that recently prompted the once-remote House Democratic leadership to begin holding monthly party caucuses for discussion of issues. Potentially, a caucus majority now will be able to press recalcitrant committee satraps to move legislation favored by most House Democrats.

Moreover, reformers in both parties are wearing down the resistance of Congressional elders to a general reform bill—the first since 1946—which the House let die last year after it had passed the Senate. Among other things, the long-languishing bill would curb arbitrary actions by the powerful committee chairmen, requiring them to establish written rules of procedure; this would help keep the chairmen from refusing to call committee meetings or hold hearings or vote a bill out of committee. The reform measure would also modernize antiquated Congressional methods of controlling the budget. Reform advocates are confident the Senate will again pass such legislation if, as now seems likely, the House finally acts.

#### MR. McCORMACK'S SWITCH

Elderly Speaker John McCormack's apparent desire to improve his standing with his colleagues is a key reason reformers think House roadblocks to a bill may be removed. The Speaker, newly sensitive to rank-and-file unrest following a January challenge to his leadership by liberal Democrat Morris Udall of Arizona, is passing word that he now favors reform legislation. Close McCormack associates are convinced the Speaker is willing to swallow his past objections.

"Congressional reform has become a sym-

bollic thing to many members, and it's awfully difficult to resist it under those circumstances," says one McCormack intimate. "I think the Speaker has become reconciled to having a bill."

Even such a strong opponent of change as Mississippi's William Colmer, the 79-year-old Rules Committee chairman, now grudgingly indicates he won't try to bury reform legislation as his panel did last year. Mr. Colmer hints he may soon form a special subcommittee to consider a reform bill, which unlike most legislation is under the immediate control of the Rules Committee in the House.

Just how much reform any legislation will actually provide is another matter. Certainly the reform forces' immediate objectives are rather modest. They hope initial steps would lead to more action later, and their bill would establish a permanent joint committee on Congressional operations as a base for further efforts.

Many veteran legislators, on the other hand, hope passage of a watered-down measure this year might sidetrack the drive for substantial change for many more years. Indeed, it's widely believed that House leaders were acting, in part, to undercut demands for major reform when they recently agreed to allow a brief August vacation—long an appealing part of the total reform package.

In any event, senior Congressmen in both parties, including conservatives and liberals, will attempt to weaken the pending reform proposals greatly before they assent to a bill.

Veteran California Democrat Chet Hollifield, in a 47-page memorandum to other senior House members, attacks several key reform measures as "mischievous." He contends they would infringe on legitimate committee powers and expose House leaders to potshots by dissidents. California Rep. H. Allen Smith, the senior Rules Committee Republican, is ready to push a bill of his own that would soften or nullify most proposed changes in committee procedures.

The reformers' demand for a committee "bill of rights" is perhaps the most controversial aspect of their legislative package. While the hallowed seniority system of choosing chairmen would remain, the power of committee chieftains would be clipped. Besides requiring written procedural rules for all committees, thus opening more avenues for a committee majority to override a chairman, the changes would:

Restrict proxy voting by absent committee members, a device that now allows some chairmen and other senior members to control absentees' proxies to use as they wish.

Give members of the minority party the right to hire a few committee staff assistants of their own.

Open committee meetings to the public, with few exceptions, and allow radio and TV coverage of open hearings. (The House now generally forbids broadcasting, and its Appropriations Committee, for one, holds almost all meetings behind closed doors.)

Require public disclosure of all committee votes.

Simply curbing committee secrecy could produce significant changes, reformers believe. "People are going to behave differently when they have to act in the open," maintains Illinois Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, leader of the House Republican reform group.

#### EFFECT OF WRITTEN RULES

But the reformers are also pinning considerable faith on the requirement for written rules of procedure. Without them, critics complain, committee chairmen have sometimes managed to delay or defeat legislation that committee members have favored.

Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James Eastland of Mississippi, for one, has been accused of failing to call committee meetings to act on antitrust or civil rights

legislation. Back in 1965, House Banking Committee Chairman Wright Patman of Texas repeatedly refused to hold a meeting to act on a bank merger bill he opposed; finally an angry group of committee members met without his authorization and approved the measure for floor action.

While pressing for committee reforms, the advocates of change now seem ready to compromise on other controversial parts of their legislative package. Rep. Rumsfeld indicates willingness to negotiate on proposals to tighten controls over lobbying; Republican Sen. Karl Mundt of South Dakota, chief sponsor of reform legislation in the Senate, has dropped lobbying controls from his bill.

Reformers also have discarded proposals to alter the jurisdiction of some committees—proposals that had caused overwhelming opposition by House chairmen. Most important, Republicans are offering assurances they won't renew attempts to split the House Education and Labor Committee into two panels. Such a proposal had caused many liberal Democrats to shy from a reform bill; they deemed it a threat to their control of the strategic committee.

#### CHECKING ON THE BUDGET

Perhaps the least controversial reform proposals are those designed to improve Congressional control of the budget. Among other things, the Executive branch would be required to project its planned spending over several years instead of just one; such a projection might help Congress foresee and restrain the cost of big but slow-starting new programs. The Administration would also have to update its January budget proposals at mid-year; since the early spending forecasts turn out to be too low, the updating would give Congress a more accurate basis for action on appropriations requests.

Moreover, the general reform bill would direct the establishment of a computer system to aid Congressional assessment of the budget. Younger Congressmen, in particular, chafe at Congress' lack of computers. GOP Rep. Chester Mize of Kansas voices a typical complaint: "The Federal budget is sufficiently complex to frustrate any individual member's systematic analysis. We can only grasp at straws" without the assistance of computers.

Congress is moving slowly toward equipping itself with computers, quite apart from the general reform drive. The House has installed a computer to handle its payroll and internal accounting. The Senate is installing another computer to address mail to lists of constituents, and the House intends to follow suit.

Beyond these housekeeping machines, House leaders are considering the computerized "information retrieval" system that would store and serve up data on legislation, the budget and other topics. The House Banking Committee installed a rudimentary version of such a system in January: it feeds information about banking legislation into a Library of Congress computer, which provides data via teletypewriter when the committee staff requests it.

Machinery to improve Congressional efficiency also has political significance, some Congressmen argue. "At present, we're so beleaguered with detail that our capacity as politicians in the House is diminished," says Indiana Rep. John Brademas, a leader of Democratic liberals. "Computers will help get the burden of indispensable trivia off our backs so we can operate more effectively on doctrinal issues."

There may be other electronic innovations even in the tradition-steeped Senate and House chambers. The Senate may soon install what it calls "a voice reinforcement system with auxiliary appurtenances"; that means microphones. The House is looking into an electronic voting setup comparable

to a racetrack toteboard; it wouldn't speed up time-consuming roll calls, but it would help prevent tabulation errors amid the normal hubbub in that unruly body.

### THE VERY REVEREND JOSEPH T. CAHILL AWARDED DOCTOR OF LETTERS DEGREE

#### HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, today I had the honor and privilege of witnessing an impressive ceremony at the Chinese Embassy. The Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill, president of St. John's University in Jamaica, N.Y., was awarded the degree of doctor of letters by the China Academy. A buffet reception followed the ceremony. I was very pleased and proud to attend the conferment as Father Cahill was born in Philadelphia and received his education at the Vincentian Seminary.

The citation to accompany the awarding of the degree to Father Cahill was as follows:

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF AN HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LETTERS TO THE VERY REVEREND JOSEPH T. CAHILL, C.M., BY THE CHINA ACADEMY, HWA KANG, TAIPEI, TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA, APRIL 1969

Confucius said: "In teaching, there should be no discrimination." In visualizing the idea of a cooperative world, the Chinese sage again said: "Throughout the kingdom, carriages have all wheels of the same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for all conduct there are the same rules." These words indicate the importance of international education in relating to the advancement of a new world community. It applied to ancient days; it is even more valid at the present time. Since the inception of the China Academy, we have received sustained support for international cooperation from institutions of higher learning throughout the world, particularly from St. John's University in New York.

This great institution founded by the Vincentian Fathers in 1870, will begin its year-long centennial celebration in 1969. The University has sent forth thousands of dynamic and well-educated alumni into all walks of life; its achievements in the arts and sciences have become increasingly extensive and notable with the passage of time. In recent years, higher education throughout the world, because of the dynamic changes of the times, has experienced all kinds of problems and difficulties. However, under the capable leadership of Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill, C.M., St. John's University has remained as the mainstay of Catholic American education and through the process of self-evaluation, has been able to advance internal improvements with impressive results. These measures towards progress constitute not only a new page in the one-hundred-years' glorious history of St. Joseph's University, but also a timely model to be followed by Catholic higher education on the international level. St. John's University's determined efforts toward international cultural and educational cooperation present a dynamic example of its lofty goals.

Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill was born in 1919 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Attracted by the example of the great apostle of charity, St. Vincent de Paul, he pursued

theological studies at the Vincentian Seminary and in 1946 he was ordained to the priesthood. He devoted himself unstintingly to others both as a priest and as an educator. His first assignment was as Superior and President of St. Joseph's College in Princeton, New Jersey, then later as Superior and President of Niagara University, New York. Since 1965, he has been President of St. John's University.

Because of his deep faith in God and his fellow men and his effective leadership, the University has achieved impressive progress even under the most difficult circumstances. Despite his onerous burden as President, Father Cahill has reserved to himself the pleasure of teaching. He conducts a course in Western Civilization and a course in Christian Living, thus providing us with an illuminating model for a tireless and selfless teacher. Mencius said: "When we examine the sages—both the earlier and the later—their principles are found to be the same." Father Cahill walks in their august company.

Recognizing his deep spirituality, his high purpose and selfless motivation, his love for others, his untiring dedication and distinctive achievements in education, and his outstanding contributions to the interpenetration of Eastern and Western cultures which benefit greatly the spiritual unification of mankind, the China Academy has the honor to bestow upon Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill, C.M., honoris causa the degree of Doctor of Letters.

Done this seventeenth day of fourth month of the fifty-eighth year of the Republic of China (April 17, 1969).

Immediately following the citation, Father Cahill very graciously gave the following acceptance speech:

Your Excellency Ambassador Chow, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is with a great sense of honor and humility that I accept the academic honor conferred upon me by The China Academy. The world in which we live has changed greatly in the last twenty-five years. Because of the marvelous strides in Communication distances have shrunk to almost nothing, countries have become neighbors; and the need for interdependence has grown. All this has brought about a radical change in the social function of the University. Because the university educates for the world of tomorrow, its students must grasp what it means to be citizens of the world. Research and study can no longer concern itself solely with one's own country and people but must reach out to other countries and other peoples. To this end, cooperation among institutes in all parts of the world is essential.

As long ago as 1959, St. John's University began to develop area studies programs with special emphasis on Asia and Africa. In its study of the Asian world, it has received the sustained and generous cooperation of many educational and cultural institutions of the Republic of China, particularly The China Academy.

We are confident that what we have been able to do at St. John's in this field is only a beginning. The China Academy, under the capable leadership of Dr. Chang Chi-yun, has already contributed greatly to the interflow of Eastern and Western cultures. We are sure that the future efforts of the Academy and Dr. Chang for the advancement of international cooperation will bear even greater fruit, and St. John's University is happy to cooperate with them.

May I ask you, Mr. Ambassador, to convey to Dr. Chang and to all the members of the Board of Directors of the China Academy my sincere gratitude for their kindness in bestowing upon me this rare honor which I shall always cherish.

UNITED STATES CANNOT AFFORD  
NOT TO CONTINUE ORDERLY DE-  
VELOPMENT OF SST

**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it recently was pointed out by Robert L. Twiss, associate editor, Seattle Times, that the exports of commercial airliners from one company alone, the Boeing Co., now total \$2.3 billion. I repeat that this is export business; sales to foreign countries which brought money into the United States.

This is a vital issue today when our balance of payments reads more like an "unbalance of payments."

And, at the same time, President Nixon is faced with a decision on whether or not to continue prototype development of the SST. The following article by Mr. Twiss clearly indicates the need for the aircraft from an economic point of view, defines a highly respected aviation leader's analysis of the Russian SST, and again gives reason for our development of the supersonic transport.

Jobs for additional thousands of Americans in the mid-1970's must be of paramount concern to all of us, and the SST will help provide that employment all over the country.

For the information of my colleagues and with the deep conviction that the development of this aircraft is vital to our economy and our security, under unanimous consent I submit the article by Robert L. Twiss for inclusion in the RECORD at this point:

TRANS WORLD EXECUTIVE CITES NEED FOR U.S.  
SUPERSONIC PLANE PROGRAM

(By Robert L. Twiss)

The United States "simply cannot afford to default the era of supersonics to other countries," Charles C. Tillinghast, Jr., president of Trans World Airlines, insists.

Tillinghast, long an enthusiastic supporter for development of an economically sound American SST, outlined his concern about this nation's apparently lagging program in a recent speech in Chicago.

"We dare not give the Russians an exclusive instrument with which they can control and determine the trade routes of the future," Tillinghast said.

"While technology often does not progress smoothly and in accordance with some predetermined schedule, as evidenced by the United States supersonic program to date, we must see to it that, when the day of extensive supersonic travel arrives, United States aircraft lead the way, just as the Boeings, the Douglasses and the Lockheeds have set the pace in more than three decades of world aviation," he said.

Tillinghast said that only the Russians appear to have been making conspicuous progress in the SST field, "and how good their ship is we really do not know."

"Historically, they have not excelled in producing efficient commercial transports, and their SST may prove to be no exception," he said. "But the Russians' ability to master areas to which they give priority, such as space technology, has been sufficiently proved that it would be folly to proceed on the assumption that they are destined to fall at the task."

Tillinghast said, in all probability, our first commercial SST will have to compete with

a second-generation Soviet product. He noted the Anglo-French Concorde SST program has had "serious problems."

The Boeing Co. will develop the United States faster-than-sound airliner if the program moves ahead.

Taking note of criticism in some quarters of the American program, Tillinghast said "there is no factual basis for characterizing supersonic travel either as dangerous or as lacking in popularity."

"It should be as safe as ordinary flight, and I have not the slightest doubt of its popularity," he said.

Tillinghast also placed great emphasis on the nation's balance-of-payments and balance-of-trade problems.

"If one excludes the merchandise we have given away in our various aid programs, we had a net unfavorable balance of \$3.4 billion (in trade) in 1968—this despite a favorable balance of \$2.6 billion with respect to aviation and aerospace products," he said.

"Over the last decade, again excluding giveaways, our net favorable trade balance was \$11.3 billion. Net exports of aviation and aerospace products during this decade reached \$16.4 billion.

"Simple arithmetic shows that without America's enormous aviation-export business, our total U.S. balance of trade would have suffered a \$5.1 billion deficit," he added.

Tillinghast contended that if this nation lets the markets for such highly technical products as supersonic transports go "our defenses of the dollar will crumble fast."

It is interesting to consider Boeing's role in the nation's aviation-exports since the Seattle firm re-entered the commercial transport field in the mid-1950s.

A survey shows that Boeing exports of commercial airliners have climbed to about the \$2.3 billion mark.

Boeing last year alone exported 95 aircraft for \$540 million—48 707s, 17 727s and 30 737s. This was a record export year for the Seattle firm.

Out of 89 airline customers for Boeing transports, 55 are non-United States carriers. Airlines have announced orders for more than 2,030 Boeing jets so far, with about 510 of the number or about 25 per cent going to the export market.

Add to the export sales the value of spare parts, totaling \$190 million since 1959, and Boeing's export total for commercial planes and spare parts reaches the \$2.3 billion mark.

The company has substantial export volume on the books, too.

In the case of the 747, out of 179 planes for which airlines have announced orders 63 or about 35 per cent are for export. This is more than \$1.2 billion in export backlog alone, and the company also is continuing production of 707s, 727s and 737s for the overseas carriers.

THE WELFARE PARADOX

**HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the problems of welfare grow more acute virtually from day to day. In the past 5 years the annual costs of welfare programs in New York City have soared from \$340 million to \$1.3 billion. The situation is similar in most of the other large cities. We must press for realistic solutions to the hopelessly mismanaged welfare quagmire. An editorial in the April 10, 1969, edition of the Zanesville, Ohio, Times Recorder offers some in-

clusive views on this subject. I am inserting the text at this point in the RECORD:

THE WELFARE PARADOX

Some may find it odd that a nation boasting the highest standard of living in the world, a nation in which more people enjoy more of the good things of life than ever before in history, a nation whose people have a tradition of generosity unequaled by any other people and a nation whose elected officials have long been pledged to the widest possible dispersal of material well-being now finds welfare to be its number one problem.

Future historians may come up with some unflattering answers to the paradox of U.S. wealth amidst expanding dependency on public welfare. However, the findings of future historians are of no help in grappling with this problem of the present. Judging by the experiences of the manifold relief agencies and the despair of administrators who continually fight the unequal equation of too many needy people and too little money, welfare can be described as nothing less than a monster that had demonstrated all too forcibly that handouts and hopelessness go hand in hand. The state of New York and the city of New York present a portrait of welfare in its advanced stages that all too clearly reveals what other communities, states and localities will be up against in the years to come—if they are not already.

In a sympathetic and thoughtful article in The New York Times Magazine, Mr. Julius Horwitz, a novelist who has worked in government and social welfare, delves deeply into the human and monetary side of the Empire State's welfare tragedy—and it is nothing less than a tragedy. Mr. Horwitz points out that welfare, as a form of paternalism in New York, began in the 1940's and 50's with the influx of low-income Puerto Rican families who used welfare as an economic stabilizer. The paternalism expanded with the migration of low-income families to New York City from the South. They considered welfare as a "bank" on which they could draw to compensate for lack of jobs.

In stark detail, Mr. Horwitz, through personal interviews with welfare recipients, describes the human disintegration which seems to inevitably accompany the loss of the will or the opportunity to obtain productive employment. It is a desolate tale of drug addiction, family abandonment, illegitimacy, theft, violence, moral and financial bankruptcy. He can find no concrete suggestions to offer for improvement.

What is the answer to welfare? A great many thoughtful citizens are asking this question. A part of the answer may be found in the intensified efforts of government and business leaders to provide jobs and opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed in private industry. A part of the answer lies in removing all artificial and legal barriers to employment that have arisen through custom, tradition, prejudice and the relaxing of the unduly restrictive employment rules and regulations of industry, government and unions. Companies all over the country are stressing "Equal Employment Opportunity" policies.

The chairman of a major oil company went to the heart of welfare and racial discrimination when he said, "People on welfare and unemployed minority groups are really an undeveloped human resource. Developing this resource by helping these people become productive through employment, whenever there are requirements for jobs, is a major answer to the problem . . . it must be solved mainly by individuals in our local communities and businesses." Obviously, the answer to welfare does not lie in simply adding more and more people to the welfare rolls and multiplying the burden on the already generous taxpayers.

CAMPUS DISCIPLINE

**HON. HASTINGS KEITH**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the air is filled these days with reports of university students participating in the so-called politics of "confrontation." This mania has spread throughout the country and recently affected the students at the oldest and one of the finest institutions for higher learning, Harvard University.

We are well aware that there is legitimate cause for protest from our youth. Legitimate protest, however, does not give any individuals, whether or not they are students, the right to violate the law. If the law is broken those that participate must accept the consequences.

This is part of the question at Harvard today—and it is not yet settled. A recent editorial in the Quincy Patriot-Ledger of Quincy, Mass., states very well the case for appropriate action concerning the small minority of students who believe themselves above the law at Harvard. Its basic points should be heeded by all university administrators, faculty, and students:

No university should refuse to discuss student problems and to find ways of resolving them. But no university should bow to force, to illegal and undemocratic power plays, to disruption and lawlessness.

Part of the process of education must be the development of self-discipline and responsibility as a citizen in a democracy.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I suggest that Members of Congress read this message in the Quincy Patriot-Ledger. They may want to pass it on to the academic community within their constituencies.

The editorial follows:

CAMPUS DISCIPLINE

What happened at Harvard University this week was tragic. A small minority of students and others have succeeded in disrupting the entire campus, dividing the student body, the faculty and the administration.

This minority has succeeded in escalating a list of "demands," with which there apparently was little sympathy from the majority of Harvard students, into a serious situation. They have managed to transfer the focus of attention away from their own illegal activities to the Harvard administration's reaction after the college administration building was seized and Harvard deans were evicted.

Under the circumstances, Harvard must act firmly but justly with those guilty of illegal conduct. The university is completely justified in prosecuting under civil law those who took part in the seizure of the building and in taking firm disciplinary action against Harvard students who have violated university regulations. To retreat under pressure or to grant a general amnesty will only encourage future disorder.

Let us not be misled by nonsense about "police brutality," or about the "right to protest" or about "alienated youth." It is unfortunate that police had to be called in to clear Harvard's University Hall, but why is the onus not put where it belongs—on the students who seized and occupied the hall, refused to leave, threw out the university deans, chained the doors, formed a cordon of students to obstruct police, and then claimed to be "peacefully resisting" arrest?

Clearly, the whole incident was a manufactured provocation. The list of demands was a pretext. If these students had been honest in their "cause"—allegedly the abolition of ROTC at Harvard—they could have presented their grievances to university officials in a proper manner. If unsatisfied with the results, they could have followed this up with petitions, or with peaceful picketing.

The tactics employed by this minority—against the advice and vote of their own organization—suggest that their main intent was to disrupt the university, not to gain "reforms." It suggests that they knew their list of grievances would attract little attention or support without dramatic action.

No university should refuse to discuss student problems and to find ways of resolving them. But no university should bow to force, to illegal and undemocratic power plays, to disruption and lawlessness. When such incidents take place, university officials must act decisively and firmly.

Part of the process of education must be the development of self-discipline and responsibility as a citizen in a democracy. If students submit to the discipline of the mind that university education demands, they must also realize that civilization, the art of living together harmoniously, demands a discipline of personal behavior. And part of this discipline means an appreciation of and respect for the rights of other individuals.

Whatever their motivations, their politics or their philosophy of life, no group of students should be permitted to deny the rights of other students to be educated. Students who cannot accept the legitimate processes of democracy, or who cannot accept the discipline of conduct in the university community, have no business remaining in that school.

There are many young people who are willing to accept the obligations of university life and who are looking for places in our overcrowded institutions of higher learning. Those who have demonstrated their inability to accept these obligations, and who have shown their contempt for their colleagues, the institution and society, should be expelled from the campus, whether it is at Harvard or elsewhere.

**MARK ROEMER WINS STATEWIDE AWARD**

**HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am especially proud to call the attention of my colleagues to the achievements of one of my constituents, 15-year-old Mark Roemer from Menasha, Wis. Mark was recently named first place winner of the statewide Ability Counts essay writing contest sponsored by the Governor's committee on employment of the handicapped.

Because of the interest every Member of Congress has in our handicapped citizens, I urge my colleagues to read Mark's essay. I think we all agree with Mark that—

A handicapped person is merely a new kind of specialist—a man who has become proficient in a field which requires the use of his unimpaired abilities.

I congratulate Mark Roemer and salute as well, Bette Kay Kleinschmidt and Nancy Fratt, both of Oshkosh, who received honorable mention in the contest.

At this point in my remarks I should like to include this excellent essay, followed by an article on the contest from the Paper, Oshkosh, Wis.:

STUDENT'S PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY

(By Mark Roemer)

What should every employer know about handicapped workers? When a handicapped person applies for a job (for instance, a deaf person), the employer, if interviewing the person, should not immediately deduce which jobs in his business the person's handicap would prevent him from doing (such as holding the position of a telephone operator). Rather, he should concentrate on what the applicant's disability does not bar him from (in this case the deaf person might turn out to be a marvelous accountant). The employer should be aware of the person's attitude toward working. If the will to work is there, the person can frequently be adapted, with possibly some special equipment, to many jobs. If the negative attitude toward work is present, however, there is usually not much that can be done, even with the newest and best adaptational device.

As I, myself, am a handicapped student and will need a job in the future to support myself, and perhaps a family, I will not want to be turned away from employment offices as "helpless," as the visually-handicapped segment of society was considered not too long ago. I would like my prospective employer to know about the special devices which could help me to adapt to my particular position, instead of having him deduce, "Because you are blind, you cannot possibly perform any of the jobs in my company." I naturally hope that the employer will be aware of my good qualities, and not merely dwell on my limitations. For example, I am very punctual. The only occasions on which I have shown up late for a class were caused by transportation inconsistencies and not by any loitering on my part. I strive to be efficient and prepared daily with my schoolwork. I do not find it difficult to maintain a test average of 99 in mathematics, my favorite subject. This is the subject I believe I shall need most for the business field I plan to enter. But most important of all, I believe I have the will to work. I realize that in order to earn a living I will have to perform some type of work exceptionally well.

In other related fields of disability, deaf people could be employed in machine assembly plants or other factories where the noise level might be abnormally high. A deaf girl might become an excellent transcription typist. A person who has had all of his limbs amputated might be a boon to the world of science, or have an extremely good head for business because of his high mental abilities.

There is much manpower in the handicapped section of our population, and all employers should investigate the benefits to be had by hiring disabled workers. A handicapped person is merely a new kind of specialist—a man who has become proficient in a field which requires the use of his unimpaired abilities. If employers look at handicapped people in this optimistic perspective, their corporations will both progress and prosper.

OHS HANDICAPPED YOUTH WINS ESSAY CONTEST

Mark Roemer, a 15-year-old Oshkosh High School junior and himself a handicapped person, has been named first place winner of the statewide Ability Counts essay writing contest, sponsored by the Governor's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Roemer, who has a severe visual disability and is enrolled in the public school system's visually handicapped program, is the son of

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Roemer, 232 Kaukauna St., Menasha.

As state winner, the OHS student receives a \$200 savings bond and a cash award of \$200 from the AFL-CIO.

He and other winners, together with their parents and teachers, will attend a luncheon on April 14 at the Park Motor Inn, Madison.

The group will tour the capitol and meet with Gov. Warren P. Knowles.

Roemer will also be invited to attend the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, scheduled for May 1-2 in Washington, D.C.

The AFL-CIO award will cover his expenses in Washington.

First place award in the national essay contest on employment of the handicapped is \$1,000.

Roemer, whose English teacher at OHS is Mrs. Marilyn Wille, is the first Oshkosh student to be named first place winner in the annual state competition.

James Bearss, son of the Rev. and Mrs. Robert Bearss, was third place state winner last year.

In addition to his victory in the state employment of the handicapped essay contest, Roemer has qualified as one of OHS's top 11 mathematics students and will compete Saturday in the Wisconsin sectional testing contest of the Mathematics Association of America.

In his award winning essay, Roemer observed that, as a handicapped student who will need a job in the future to support himself and perhaps a family, "I will not want to be turned away from employment offices as 'helpless,' as the visually handicapped segment of society was considered not too long ago."

Pointing out that he does not find it difficult to maintain a test average of 99 in mathematics, his favorite subject, Roemer wrote, "I naturally hope that the employer will be aware of my good qualities and not merely dwell on my limitations."

"A handicapped person," the student's essay added, "is merely a new kind of specialist—a man who has become proficient in a field which requires the use of his unimpaired abilities."

"If employers look at handicapped people in this optimistic perspective, their corporations will both progress and prosper."

Two Oshkosh senior girls received honorable mention in the state essay competition on employment of the handicapped.

They are Bette Kay Kleinschmidt, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. M. C. Kleinschmidt, 2017 Doemel St., and Nancy Fratt, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Homer Fratt, 630 Reichow St.

Miss Fratt was named in January as first place winner of the Winnebago Easter Seal Society's 1968 hiring the handicapped contest.

#### THE JACK C. REDDICK FAMILY

### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of my colleagues a family from my hometown of Sylvania, Ga.—a family that has shown what real service can mean to the community and to the country—the Jack C. Reddick family.

For a total of 66 years, the members of the family of the late Jack C. Reddick served the court with dignity and honor beginning with Jack C. Reddick, who served as clerk of the Superior Court of Screven County, Ga., from 1903 until his death in 1937. He was succeeded

by his wife, Mrs. Lina Evans Reddick; then followed their son, Jack C. Reddick, Jr., who was elected to serve as clerk in 1941 until he entered the armed services in World War II a short time thereafter; and the Reddick family service concluded with another brother, J. H. Reddick, who served 24 consecutive years until his retirement in 1968.

During all those years there was never any worry that the job was not being handled efficiently. There was confidence that the job was carefully and properly done, as evidenced by the petition presented to the Superior Court of Screven County which is described in the following article from the Screven County News of January 30, 1969:

Harold W. Hollingsworth, in behalf of the Screven County Bar, presented to the Superior Court of Screven County, the following petition, the design of which was to honor J. H. Reddick, recently retired as Clerk of Court, and other members of his family, who together filled the office of Clerk for a continuous period of 66 years:

"SCREVEN COUNTY, GA.

"To the Superior Court of Screven County, Ga.

"We, the undersigned members of the Screven County Bar do hereby bring this petition to the Court and respectfully show the following:

"1. That J. H. Reddick did most honorably serve as Clerk of this Court for a period of twenty-four consecutive years, and that he retired from the office at the end of 1968.

"2. That his late father, Jack C. Reddick, deceased, served as Clerk from 1903 until his death in 1937.

"3. That the late mother of said J. H. Reddick, Mrs. Lina Evans Reddick, deceased, served as Clerk after the death of the said Jack C. Reddick.

"4. That the brother of said J. H. Reddick, Jack C. Reddick, Jr., was elected to serve as Clerk in 1941, and served until he went into the Armed Services of the United States in World War II, a short time thereafter.

"5. That the office of the Clerk of this Court, therefore, was held for a continuous period of sixty-six years by members of the family of said J. H. Reddick, all of whom served the Court with dignity and honor.

"6. That we especially appreciate the kind and gentlemanly manner in which the said J. H. Reddick served, his good character, and his willingness to help not only the lawyers and other officers of the Court but also each and every person who called upon him.

"7. That we are proud of his service to the people of Screven County, and that it has been our pleasure and privilege to have worked with him through the past years.

"8. That we wish him continued success, good health and happiness in the future.

"Now, therefore, we do respectfully pray that the Court allow the filing of this petition and that the same be recorded in the minutes.

"LIMERICK ODEM,

"HAROLD HOLLINGSWORTH,

"E. W. HILL,

"HARRY HUNTER,

"L. H. HILTON,

"W. C. HAWKINS."

Order:

The above and foregoing petition, read in Open Court and considered, the same is hereby ordered filed and recorded upon the minutes of this Court.

This — day of January, 1969.

Judge, Screven Superior Court.

The way the country is going these days it seems we should get back to the long-held concept of service and quality

of service such as has been given our community by the Reddick family.

The Reddicks are a truly remarkable family and they should serve as an inspiration to all individuals who enter public office, by remembering that anything worth doing at all is worth doing well and to the best of one's ability.

The Reddicks are the very fiber and heart of American principles and ideals. They have given real service and conducted the duties of office as they are supposed to and they have given attention to the wishes of those by whom they were elected.

I am indeed proud to have the wonderful Reddick family as my friends and constituents.

#### HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES

### HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, Walter Kravitz of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress has prepared a short history of the development of the Committee on Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives. This history is available, of course, to all Members of the Congress. It follows:

#### EARLY HISTORY, SIZE, AND COMPOSITION

From the First Congress, in 1789, there has always been a Committee on Rules in the House of Representatives. For ninety years it was the practice of the House to set up a select committee at the beginning of each Congress authorized to report a system of rules. During this period the committee exercised little, if any, influence over the legislative program or the content of policies. So minor a role did the committee play in early days that no appointments were made to it in the 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th, and 21st Congresses. And for many years in the early history of the House the Rules Committee made no reports.

The committee continued to be a select committee until the rules revision of 1880 when it was made a standing committee, with its membership fixed at five, in accordance with the previous usage. And it has remained a standing committee down to the present time.

In its composition the Committee on Rules has apparently always been bipartisan, with the majority party in the House having a majority of its members. Its size was increased to 10 members in 1910, to 11 in 1911, to 12 in 1917, and to 14 in 1935. Between 1935 and 1944, the party ratio was 10 majority to 4 minority, except during the 78th Congress (1943-1944) when it was 9 and 5. In 1945 the size of the committee was reduced to 12, with a majority-minority party ratio of 8 to 4. On January 31, 1961, at the beginning of the first session under the Kennedy Administration, the House voted 217 to 212 to enlarge the committee for the duration of the 87th Congress to 15 members, 10 majority and 5 minority. That increase was made a part of the permanent rules on January 9, 1963, by a 235-196 vote.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF COMMITTEE POWERS

The powers and privileges of the Rules Committee developed gradually over the years. Until 1841 its responsibility ceased for all practical purposes after it reported a code

of rules at the beginning of each Congress. In 1841 the Speaker's ruling that the committee might "report from time to time" was sustained on appeal by the House. This was the first in a series of innovations that transformed the Committee on Rules into an instrument through which the House may exercise special power for a particular piece of legislation.<sup>1</sup>

The next step came in 1853 when the House adopted a resolution providing that this committee's report "shall be acted upon by the House until disposed of, to the exclusion of all other business, anything in the rules hereby temporarily adopted to the contrary notwithstanding."<sup>2</sup>

In 1858 the House authorized appointment of a select committee, of whom the Speaker was to be one, to revise the rules and report at the next session. This was the first time in the history of the House that its presiding officer had served on one of its committees. From 1858 to March 19, 1910, the Speaker continued to be a member of the Rules Committee, serving as its chairman and exercising its authority. From 1789 to 1911 the Speaker also made all committee assignments, including those to the Committee on Rules. Thus, after 1858, the powers of the committee and the authority of the Speaker were closely connected, a circumstance which served both to enhance the role of the committee and to strengthen the influence of the Chair.

Another major step in the development of the powers of the Rules Committee took place in 1883. In that year the House upheld a Speaker's ruling that the committee might properly report a special order providing for the consideration of a particular bill.<sup>3</sup> This ruling, in which the Speaker supported the authority of a committee of which he was himself chairman *ex officio*, initiated the modern practice whereby the Rules Committee has reported special orders, resolutions, or "rules"—the terms are interchangeable in this context—providing times and methods for the consideration of special bills or classes of bills. Under this procedure the House may take up particular legislation by majority vote instead of being forced to rely on suspension of the rules, which requires a two-thirds vote, or unanimous consent. After 1883, points of order made against reports of the Rules Committee were seldom upheld by the Chair. Prior to that time it had been the custom for each committee desiring to bring a bill to the House floor to propose its own special order. By 1890 the function of proposing special orders for the consideration of business had become the exclusive prerogative of the Rules Committee. Hinds tells us that this procedure was not in great favor during the 48th, 49th, and 50th Congresses, but that it was used frequently in the 51st Congress, "and since 1890 has been in favor as an efficient means of bringing up for consideration bills difficult to reach in the regular order and especially as a means for confining within specified limits the consideration of bills involving important policies for which the majority party in the House may be responsible."<sup>4</sup>

In 1891 the right to report at any time was conferred upon the Rules Committee, and in 1893 it was given the right to sit during sessions of the House.<sup>5</sup>

During the period 1890-1910, the Rules Committee rose to a pre-eminent position in the congressional committee system under the masterful leadership of chairmen like Speakers Thomas Brackett Reed and "Uncle Joe" Cannon. Thanks to a series of favorable rulings by themselves and other Speakers, which were sustained on appeal by the House itself, the Committee on Rules acquired the power (a) to consider and report special orders, (b) to sit during sessions of the House, (c) to report matters not previously intro-

duced, reported, or committed to it, and (d) to have its reports immediately considered.

Even after the Speaker was removed from the committee, its powers increased. In 1920, Speaker Gillett ruled that the committee might "report a resolution providing for the consideration of a bill which has not yet been introduced."<sup>6</sup> And in 1933 Speaker Rainey upheld the committee's right to report a resolution for consideration of a bill on which the House had refused to act under suspension of the rules.<sup>7</sup>

By the exercise of these powers the Rules Committee can sift most of the business coming from the other committees of the House, decide which bills shall have the right-of-way to consideration on the floor, and significantly influence the order in which they shall be taken up. Through its power to report new business, it has original as well as secondary jurisdiction over the legislative agenda. It has the power to, and on occasion does, substitute its own judgment for that of the legislative committees of the House on matters of substantive policy by forcing amendments to bills as a condition for giving them a "green light" to the floor.

The Rules Committee can also determine the procedural conditions under which the House considers most substantive measures, including the duration of debate and the extent to which a measure may be amended. It does this through special "rules," of which there are at least three kinds: (1) closed rules limiting the amendment of pending measures; (2) open rules permitting their amendment; and (3) rules providing that all points of order against a proposition be considered as waived.

Moreover, since the committee is the usual channel through which amendments to the rules of the House reach the floor, it is able to promote or inhibit changes in House parliamentary procedures.

In short, the Committee on Rules is to a large degree the governing committee of the House. To it the House has largely delegated the power to regulate procedure vested in the House itself by the Constitution. Furthermore, by virtue of its influence in determining the order and the content of floor business, the committee may also function as a "steering" committee, steering the House in whatever direction the exigencies of the hour appear to demand.

To what extent the committee exercises its powers in association with or independently of the formal leadership of the House depends upon the circumstances of the moment. Sometimes the leadership has dominated the committee. On other occasions, the committee has exercised its prerogatives independently and contrary to the wishes of the leadership.

#### TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

In 1909, the House adopted a potential restriction on the Rules Committee's power to control access to the House floor when it provided for Calendar Wednesday. Under the rule, each Wednesday is reserved exclusively for the various standing committees to call up for consideration bills and resolutions not otherwise privileged. The leadership of the House has generally ignored this procedure for bringing up measures blocked in the Rules Committee. For many years, the "call of the committees" has usually been dispensed with by unanimous consent, on motion of the Majority Leader. The rule was last invoked in 1962.

The "revolution of 1910," which reduced the powers of the Speaker of the House, left those of the Rules Committee intact. But the Speaker lost his seat on that committee and it was increased in size from 5 to 10 members.

In 1924 the "pocket veto" power of the chairman of the Rules Committee was curbed after Chairman Campbell had exercised his

discretion to the extent of holding in his pocket a number of resolutions which he had been authorized by the committee to report some weeks before. In order to prevent a repetition of such arbitrary action, the House Rules were amended in 1924 by adding the following paragraph:

"The Committee on Rules shall present to the House reports concerning rules, joint rules, and order of business within three legislative days of the time when ordered by the Committee. If such rule or order is not considered immediately it shall be referred to the calendar and if not called up by the member making the report within nine days thereafter, any member designated by the Committee may call it up for consideration."

Subsequently, this paragraph was amended to provide that if such rule or order is not called up within seven legislative days, "any member of the Rules Committee may call it up as a question of privilege and the Speaker shall recognize any member of the Rules Committee seeking recognition for that purpose."<sup>8</sup>

Another change in the rules of the House was adopted in 1924 which, while it applies to every standing committee, was designed in part to restrict the prerogatives of the Committee on Rules. The Discharge Rule, first adopted on June 17, 1910, was amended in 1924, so as to set at 150 the number of signatures required on discharge petitions. This number was raised to 218 in 1935 where it remained until 1959 when the admission of Alaska and Hawaii raised it temporarily to 219. When the size of the House returned to 435 in 1963, the number of signatures required dropped back to 218.

Under this rule it is in order to file a motion to discharge the Rules Committee from the further consideration of special orders of business provided that the special order has been before the committee for at least seven days prior to the filing of the motion to discharge. Twice a month it is in order to call up the motions which have been placed on the discharge calendar. When the House begins the consideration of a bill under this rule, it remains the unfinished business of the House until fully disposed of without intervening motion except one motion to adjourn.

Traditionally, the Committee on Rules functioned as the agent of the majority party in the House, using its powers to facilitate the legislative program of that party, the wishes of its leadership, and the program of the Administration. In 1937, however, the New Deal lost control of the Rules Committee when three of its Democratic members joined with the four Republican members to block or dilute floor consideration of controversial Administration bills. From 1945 to 1960 the coalition consisted of two Democrats and four Republicans, exactly half of the committee's 12 members. From 1955 to 1966 the chairman of the committee was himself generally acknowledged to be a leader of the coalition.

This bipartisan coalition controlled the Committee on Rules from 1937 to the beginning of 1961, except during the 80th Congress (1947-1948) and the 83d Congress (1953-1954) when, dominated by Republicans, the committee again functioned as the agent of the majority party in the House. At the beginning of the 87th Congress (1961), and after a dramatic confrontation on the floor of the House between Speaker Sam Rayburn and Rules Committee chairman Howard W. Smith, the House voted by a narrow margin to enlarge the committee. Two Democrats and one Republican were added, giving the Democratic leadership a majority on most committee votes from the 87th through the 90th Congresses.

As a result of repeated complaints of the "obstructive tactics" and the "undemocratic and arbitrary dictatorship" of the Rules Committee, the House amended its rules at

Footnotes at end of article.

the beginning of the 81st Congress (January 3, 1949) by adopting the so-called "21-day rule." This rule stipulated that a resolution providing for the immediate consideration of a public bill already reported and which had been before the Rules Committee 21 days without being given clearance to the House floor could be called up on discharge days (second and fourth Mondays each month) by the chairman of the committee which had reported the bill, and that "the Speaker shall recognize the Member seeking recognition for that purpose . . ."

Together, eight measures were brought to the House floor under the 21-day rule during the 81st Congress; seven of them passed. Proponents of the rule declared that without it these measures would never have reached the floor, that its very existence forced the Rules Committee to act in other cases, and that the general effect of the rule had been to break the Rules Committee bottleneck on legislation desired by a majority of the House. Opponents of the rule argued that it gave the Speaker unreasonable powers and responsibilities, and that it had stripped the committee of its useful power to prevent consideration of popular but unwise measures upon which Members did not want themselves recorded. Some maintained that the rule encouraged unbridled spending and adoption of socialistic measures. Moreover, they insisted the rule was unnecessary because the committee usually followed the recommendations of the leadership and, in any event, the House could by-pass the committee if it wished by use of the Calendar Wednesday or discharge petition rules. After hearing these arguments, the House abolished the 21-day rule at the beginning of the 82d Congress.<sup>9</sup>

It was resurrected in a modified form at the beginning of the 89th Congress (January 4, 1965). Under the new regulation, when any resolution providing for consideration of a bill had been in the Rules Committee for 21 days, it was in order for the Speaker, on discharge day, to recognize a committee chairman or other authorized committee member to call up the resolution for action. Whereas the rule of the 81st Congress required the Speaker to recognize the member who rose to call up the resolution, the rule of the 89th Congress gave the Speaker authority to act "in his discretion." The rule was used eight times during the 89th Congress. It was rescinded at the beginning of the 90th Congress (January 10, 1967) by a vote of 232 to 185.

Debate on the rescission of 1967 was relatively brief; the arguments were not spelled out in any detail for either side. Opponents of the rule seemed to argue, in effect, that the rule had been abused. The intent, it was implied, had been to prevent unreasonable delay of important measures by the Rules Committee, but in practice, some chairmen had filed resolutions under the rule on almost every measure reported from their committees, often on the same day the

measure was reported and before there was any evidence that the Rules Committee intended to delay its consideration. Proponents of the rule offered no arguments during the debate, but it may be assumed their views were the same as in previous years. Some Members who had voted for the rule in 1965 voted to repeal it in 1967.<sup>10</sup>

Prior to 1965, the Committee on Rules had the power under certain conditions to prevent bills from going to conference. It exercised that right, for example, late in 1960 on an education bill. In 1965, at the same time the House adopted the second 21-day rule, it also curbed that power.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S RULES OF PROCEDURE

Under Rule XI, clause 27(a), the rules of the House of Representatives are the rules of its committees so far as applicable. The clause provides further that committees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent therewith, and many committees have done so. The Committee on Rules first adopted such additional regulations on February 28, 1967, and again on January 7, 1969, as follows:

##### "Rule 1. Meetings

"The Committee on Rules shall meet at 10:30 a.m. on Tuesday of each week while the Congress is in session. Meetings shall be called to order and presided over by the Chairman or, in the absence of the Chairman, by the ranking Majority Member of the Committee present as acting chairman.

"Meetings and hearings of the Committee shall be open to the public except when a majority of the Committee determine that testimony received may bear upon matters affecting the national security. Executive sessions of the Committee shall be closed.

"For the purpose of hearing testimony, a majority of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.

"A printed transcript of any hearing or public meeting of the Committee may be had if the Chairman decides it is necessary, or if a majority of the Members request it.

"A Tuesday meeting of the Committee may be dispensed with where, in the judgment of the Chairman, there is no need therefor, and additional meetings may be called by the Chairman or by written request of a majority of the Committee duly filed with the counsel of the Committee.

##### "Rule 2. Voting

"No measure or recommendation shall be reported or tabled by the Committee unless a majority of the Committee is actually present.

"A roll call vote of the Members of the Committee may be had upon the request of any Member.

##### "Rule 3. Reporting

"Whenever the Committee authorizes the favorable reporting of a bill or resolution from the Committee, the Chairman or acting Chairman shall report the same or designate some Member of the Committee to report the same to the House, as provided in the Rules of the House.

##### "Rule 4. Committee Staffing

"The professional and clerical staffs of the Committee shall be under the general supervision and direction of the Chairman, who shall establish and assign the duties and responsibilities of the members of the staffs and delegate such authority as the Chairman deems appropriate, with the exception of the Minority staff, who shall be selected by and under the general supervision and direction of the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee.

##### "Rule 5. Miscellaneous

"The Committee shall prepare, maintain, and publish for the Members of the Committee, so far as practicable, a calendar listing all matters formally before it. Information on the Calendar shall include the numbers of the bills or resolutions, a brief description of a bill's contents, including the legislative committee reporting it and the name of the principal sponsoring Member. For purposes of this rule, matters formally before the Committee include: bills or resolutions over which the Committee has original jurisdiction and bills or resolutions from other committees concerning which the chairman or designated member of such committee has requested a hearing in writing and forwarded to the Committee on Rules a copy of such bill or resolution as reported, together with the final printed committee report.

"Upon adoption of the rules and procedures of the Committee at the opening of each Congress, the Chairman may have these rules and procedures printed in an early issue of The Congressional Record."

#### STAFF

Until 1950 the professional staff of the committee usually consisted of a single clerk with occasionally an assistant clerk. The minority party was first assigned a clerk of its own in 1950. By 1967 the staff included a counsel, an assistant counsel, a minority counsel, and two additional staff members. The committee also frequently consults the House Parliamentarian in drawing up the technical language of "rules" it reports to the floor.

#### COMMITTEE JURISDICTION

The Committee on Rules has jurisdiction over (a) the rules, joint rules, and order of business of the House and (b) recesses and final adjournments of Congress. Primarily the jurisdiction of this committee is over propositions to make or change the rules, for the creation of committees, and authorizing and/or directing them to make investigations. It also reports resolutions relating to the hour of daily meeting and the days on which the House shall sit, and orders relating to the use of the galleries during the electoral count.<sup>11</sup> In addition, it has been held as recently as August 19, 1964, that the committee may report a resolution fixing the order of business and the manner of considering a measure, even though adopting that resolution would have the effect of discharging another committee from a matter pending before it.

Footnotes at end of article.

CHAIRMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON RULES SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT AS A STANDING COMMITTEE

Chairman	Political affiliation	State	Term of service in House	Term of service as chairman
Samuel J. Randall <sup>1</sup>	Democrat	Pennsylvania	1863-90	1875-81 (44th to 46th Cong.).
Joseph Warren Keifer <sup>1</sup>	Republican	Ohio	1877-85; 1901-11	1881-83 (47th Cong.).
John G. Carlisle <sup>1</sup>	Democrat	Kentucky	1877-90	1883-89 (48th to 50th Cong.).
Thomas Brackett Reed <sup>1</sup>	Republican	Maine	1877-99	1889-91 (51st Cong.).
Charles F. Crisp <sup>1</sup>	Democrat	Georgia	1883-96	1891-95 (52d and 53d Cong.).
Thomas Brackett Reed <sup>1</sup>	Republican	Maine	1877-99	1895-99 (54th and 55th Cong.).
David B. Henderson <sup>1</sup>	do	Iowa	1883-1903	1899-1903 (56th and 57th Cong.).
Joseph G. Cannon <sup>1</sup>	do	Illinois	1873-91; 1893-1913; 1915-23	1903-10 (58th to 61st Cong., 2d sess.).
John Dalzell	do	Pennsylvania	1887-1913	1910-11 (61st Cong., 2d and 3d sess.).
Robert L. Henry	Democrat	Texas	1887-1917	1911-17 (62d to 64th Cong.).
Edward W. Pou	do	North Carolina	1901-34	1917-19 (65th Cong.).
Philip P. Campbell	Republican	Kansas	1903-23	1919-23 (66th and 67th Cong.).
Bertrand H. Snell	do	New York	1915-37	1923-31 (68th to 71st Cong.).
Edward W. Pou	Democrat	North Carolina	1901-34	1931-34 (72d and 73d Cong., 2d sess.).
William B. Bankhead	do	Alabama	1917-40	1934-35 (73d Cong., 2d sess.; 74th Cong., 1st sess.).

See footnote at end of table.

CHAIRMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON RULES SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT AS A STANDING COMMITTEE—Continued

Chairman	Political affiliation	State	Term of service in House	Term of service as chairman
John J. O'Connor	Democrat	New York	1923-38	1935-38 (74th Cong., 1st sess.; 75th Cong.)
Adolph J. Sabath	do.	Illinois	1907-52	1939-46 (76th to 79th Cong.; 81st Cong.) 1951-52
Leo E. Allen	Republican	do.	1933-61	1947-48 (80th Cong.) 1953-54 (83d Cong.)
Howard W. Smith	Democrat	Virginia	1931-67	1955-66 (84th to 89th Cong.)
William M. Colmer	do.	Mississippi	1933-	1967- (90th Cong.- )

<sup>1</sup> Speaker of the House.

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FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> V Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives § 6780.

<sup>2</sup> Globe, 33d Congress, 1st Session, Volume 28, part 1, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> IV Hinds' Precedents § 3160.

<sup>4</sup> IV Hinds' Precedents § 3152.

<sup>5</sup> IV Hinds' Precedents § 4321.

<sup>6</sup> VIII Cannon's Precedents § 3388.

<sup>7</sup> VIII Cannon's Precedents § 3389.

<sup>8</sup> House Rule XI, paragraph 23.

<sup>9</sup> Congressional Record, 82nd Congress, 1st session, Volume 97, part 1, pp. 9-19.

<sup>10</sup> Congressional Record, 90th Congress, 1st session, Jan. 10, 1967 [daily ed.], pp. H17-H23. For complaints on specific abuses of the rule, see Congressional Record, 89th Congress, 2nd session, Volume 112: part 13, pp. 16832-16839 [July 25, 1966]; part 15, pp. 19560-19561 [Aug. 16, 1966]; part 17, p. 23421 [Sept. 21, 1966]; part 18, p. 23756 [Sept. 26, 1966].

<sup>11</sup> House Manual and Rules, 1969. § 715-717.

LIQUOR AND MORALITY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American people are becoming greatly concerned over the increased sexual promiscuity, reliance on narcotics and hard liquor, all of which tend to erode morality and lower social standards.

In the welfare state of Sweden, alcoholism is labeled, "a national disease," and "the most democratic of all sicknesses."

Here in the United States, according to a report by Father Lyons, provocative magazines such as Playboy, Look, and many other slick paper publications which appeal to sensuality and perversion are subsidized by huge amounts of advertising moneys from the alcohol industry.

The hard liquor people, approaching a monopoly in the United States operate a tax-free foundation identified as the Samuel Bronfman Foundation of New York City whose principal donor is Joseph Seagram of Seagram's whisky.

Among the most liberal grants made by this foundation are to "organizations concerned with health, recreation, and child welfare." Makes one wonder if this can include promotion of licentiousness through current programs of sex education. Can they feel that by subsidizing immorality they can increase liquor sales?

In any event, it would appear that our parents, our educators, and our ministers need only look to the tragic plight of the young people in Sweden to see where we are going if we do not give wholesome leadership to stop this deliberate crusade against our national moral fiber.

Mr. Speaker, I include an AP release from Stockholm, Sweden, dated April 15, Father Lyons' "View of the News" for September 29, 1968, and an excerpt from the "Foundation Directory," page 520, as follow:

REVERSE SALES CAMPAIGN HITS SWEDISH ALCOHOLISM

STOCKHOLM.—In Sweden a company is trying to cut down its sales—and is bragging that it is succeeding.

This is part of an official temperance policy to change the drinking habits of the Swedes and stem the use of alcohol among the youth.

Nya Systembolaget, the state-owned monopoly which runs all the retail outlets for spirits, wines and strong beers, is happy because its liquor sales dropped sharply in 1968.

Its advertisements say: "the sale of spirits dropped by 2.3 million liters (607,602 gallons) compared with 1967." Distilled liquor dropped most of all. More and more people are choosing good wine in place of expensive spirits. Even we, whose cash registers suffered, think that's wonderful. Keep it up in 1969."

Drunkenness and alcoholism are among the greatest social problems in this welfare state. Heavy drinking is commonly referred to as a national disease.

For 40 years Sweden tried a liquor rationing system. Depending mainly on income and social status, some 40 per cent of the Swedes over 21 years of age had permits to buy one to four liters of spirits monthly.

Opponents said the system encouraged Swedes to buy the full ration and go on binges. It resulted in moonshining and a thriving black market.

In October 1955 Sweden dropped this experiment. Anyone over age 21 could buy as much to drink as he wanted—provided he wasn't blacklisted for abuses. Authorities switched to other ways of trying to bring alcohol under control—mainly through high taxes. Prices today are from 90 to 100 per cent higher than in the last year of rationing. Taxes make up 89 per cent of the price of a bottle of aquavit, a Swedish schnapps which is a fixture on every smorgasbord. The retail price is \$6.50 to \$7. A bottle of whiskey taxed about as heavily, retails at \$10 for most standard brands. Wines and strong beers carry around half the tax load. A good bottle of wine retails at about \$2. Wines mainly are bought by the monopoly in casks and bottled here.

Aside from pricing policy, a campaign to drink more wine—"it's cheaper and better"—has been pushed. Systembolaget recently advertised "We Swedes are getting smarter" and pointed out that by buying a bottle of wine instead of whiskey a Swede could save \$5 to \$6 in tax per bottle.

Instruction on the effects of alcohol is required in the schools and in the armed forces. Official temperance boards are charged with an intensified program of treatment for alcoholics and others who misuse spirits. Temperance societies are strong. Restaurants may dispense spirits only under a strict licensing system. Driving under the influence is heavily penalized. Parliament has under consideration a bill to ban liquor advertising.

All this is bound to have an effect on Swedish drinking habits. Yet Systembolaget has an annual sales turnover of around \$500 million, about half of what the state spends on defense annually.

Statistics show Swedes are, in fact, drinking more wine and beer at the expense of stronger spirits. The consumption of liquor per Swede 15 years of age and over dropped from nine liters in 1957 to 8.5 liters 10 years later. In the same period wine consumption rose from 3.4 to 6.3 liters while beer jumped from 26.7 to 51.3 liters per person.

Even so, published estimates put the number of Swedes "with an alcohol problem" at 250,000, or more than 1 in every 30. Social workers report a rising rate of misuse of alcohol among teen-agers. They attribute the trend to looser discipline and the fact that youth today have more spending money.

Why is there heavy drinking in the Swedish welfare society, where the state, theoretically at least, is well-equipped to combat the social and personal disorganization which often takes the form of alcohol addiction?

Doctors and social workers cite a rising standard of living.

"The rise in our standards has brought with it a demand for unessential goods, and alcohol is one of them," commented Goesta Nordstrom, chief of the temperance bureau in the government's social welfare department.

"Social adversity has, on the whole, been eliminated in Sweden and prosperity is on the increase," said a doctor at Maria Polyclinic. "But so is drunkenness among the youth and among women."

The Swedish press has campaigned for a special research institute on the drinking problem, pointing out that there should be no great mystery about it because it is the "most democratic" of all sicknesses. A state commission has recommended that alcoholism be regarded as an illness, with all alcoholics eligible for sickness insurance benefits during treatment in state-run or private clinics.

[From Twin Circle magazine, Sept. 29, 1968]

#### FATHER LYONS VIEWS THE NEWS

For over two years I have been working with Dr. Anthony Bouscaren on a book that explains the ever-increasing danger on the Left. We were motivated to begin the manuscript when a book entitled "Danger on the Right" was published by the Anti-Defamation League. It is often thought the ADL speaks for the majority of Jewish people in this country, but that certainly does not seem to be the case. It speaks for progressively less and less of the Jewish people, and the majority are becoming more concerned than ever about the ultra-liberal slant of the ADL.

The Anti-Defamation League's publication about what it considers the Far Right categorizes various corporations as dangerous. It does not list any corporation involved in the liquor industry, however, because \$5,500,000 of the ADL's total annual budget of \$6,183,000 is contributed by the alcoholic beverage industry. The alcoholic industry has long been known to favor the Left. Playboy magazine, for example, receives an average of \$513,000 in advertising from the alcoholic industry per issue, far more than any other publication. Second on the list of magazines receiving huge amounts in ads from the alcoholic beverage industry is Look. Playboy helps to undermine the moral fiber on which this country was built, while Look takes the lead among our nation's most popular publications in playing down the danger of Communism.

What is the danger on the Left? We have only to look to this year's college campuses for example. The two big names on the campuses this year are Herbert Marcuse and Che Guevara. The latter we all remember as the late terrorist in Bolivia and former comrade-in-arms of Fidel Castro, that great "freedom fighter" in Havana. Guevara failed miserably to win over the people in Latin America to Marxism. His alleged diary for the last year of his life up to Oct. 7, 1967, has recently been published, after it was doctored up by the Communist Party in Cuba to make it more propagandistic. Che is regarded by his naive admirers as a sort of Robin Hood, a friend of the underprivileged, a defender of the masses, and a lofty advocate of direct and violent action. The 16-page introduction was written by Fidel Castro, or ghosted for him. Ramparts magazine put out a special Ramparts edition, with an editor's note by Robert Scheer declaring that "we feel privileged to have been involved in its first publication."

Early in 1968, MacMillan published "Venceremos," "we shall overcome." The book jacket asserts that Che "stands alone . . . as a revolutionary, for his prime concern was non-nationalistic. He was for the oppressed everywhere." Nothing on the jacket indicates that Guevara was a Communist terrorist, responsible for the deaths of thousands of his fellow countrymen. John Gerassi, who edited the book, is described on the jacket as "an expert on Latin American affairs who teaches Nationalism and Revolution at San Francisco State College." Gerassi, according to MacMillan, has edited an "authoritative and moving book." MacMillan fails to identify Gerassi as part of a guerrilla warfare oriented group called Revolutionary Contingent, and which was described in Human Events on May 18 as "an openly Communist organization. . . ."

But what about Herbert Marcuse? He is a 70-year-old professor of philosophy at the University of California at San Diego, where he propounds the message of Marx with a strong admixture of Freud. His contemporary Marxism stresses a conspiracy theory which purports to see a well-directed ruling class behind our social problems. This greatly appeals to the New Left, which subscribes to a devil theory of history. It attributes all of society's ills to "the establishment," or to the "military-industrial complex." If you think that some of the Far Right thrives on a theory of conspiracy, you ought to look at the Left.

Marcuse's appeal is to the "outcasts and outsiders," those "outside the democratic process." They should be the saviors of our civilization, he urges, but in order to save it they will first have to destroy it. He enthrones violence as a virtue, urging the students across America to carry out their high moral commitment to attack and destroy the American school system and everything else that is American.

Dostoevsky spoke about starting with liberty and ending with despotism. The freedom of the New Left is of a very peculiar sort. It does not mean equal liberty for everyone to go about his business peacefully. It only means the liberty of the New Left to do exactly as it pleases, especially to deny the right of anyone else to oppose its program. It is the liberty of the despot.

[From the Foundation Directory]

BRONFMAN (THE SAMUEL) FOUNDATION, INC.,  
375 Park Avenue,  
New York, N.Y.

Incorporated in 1951 in New York.

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## HUNGER IN CHICAGO

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, it sometimes eases our conscience to think that hunger is the other fellow's problem. We in the North like to pretend it exists only in the South, and we in the cities make believe it exists only in the rural areas.

The Chicago Sun-Times has performed a useful service to all America by sending one of its reporters, Miss Linda Rockey, out in the streets of Chicago to measure problems of hunger in one of the largest cities in our country. Her findings make grim but important reading. The series on hunger in Chicago is "must" reading for everyone who claims a conscience. I am privileged to insert the articles as follows:

#### HUNGER—How It Shows Up Here

(By Linda Rockey)

There is hunger in Chicago.  
No one can point down a street where you will find children with distended bellies and

scrawny limbs. The face of hunger in this city manifests itself in subtle ways:

His brothers and sisters so crave food that \* \* \* and giggling, an infant sits listlessly for hours, not uttering a sound.

At an age when well-fed babies are bouncy they eat lead paint chips off the walls of rotting slum tenements. Their pregnant mother staves off hunger pangs with laundry starch.  
By midmorning the heads of children in a ghetto school flop down wearily on their desks.

A Puerto Rican mother of nine, whose husband cannot find work, cooks potato peelings on a hot plate for supper.

A social worker describes the plight of the elderly poor in this city "a slow death from malnutrition that goes on daily."

Physicians, nurses, nutritionists, welfare workers and teachers report that hunger is a daily fact of life among Chicago's poor. "And where there's hunger, malnutrition is not far behind," said Dr. Jack Metcalf, chairman of pediatrics at Michael Reese Hospital and an authority on nutrition. But no one really knows the extent of hunger and malnutrition in Chicago.

Officially, it does not exist.

"As I go through Chicago, I don't see anyone who has to go without food. I don't think a state of hunger as such exists," said Dr. Morgan J. O'Connell, acting commissioner of the Board of Health. However, the Board's chief nutritionist said that her staff of 10 works from the assumption that there is malnutrition in this city.

The appearance of the malnourished is misleading. Adolescents and adults are usually overweight because they subsist on starches and carbohydrates, which are low in cost, high in calories and filling. As one welfare mother put it, "We may look healthy; we're just fat off of beans." Hungry children are often pale, lethargic and underweight, but they look fairly healthy unless the malnutrition is severe.

The problem is not only one of visibility, but also lack of information. Hunger in Chicago has never been subjected to scientific scrutiny. "We know it's there but we don't know how much," said a West Side nutritionist. "No matter how many health stations we have, we don't see the worst because people, especially the poor, are crisis-oriented. They come to us when there's blood and pain."

However, the little data that exists, though fragmentary, is startling.

1. An unpublished 1968 Chicago Board of Health survey found iron deficiency anemia in 24 per cent of the 1,604 infants and preschool children surveyed. Percentages ran as high as 41 per cent in Station 15 (the all-black West Side) and 46 per cent in Station 9 (a near northwest Latin American community).

2. Nearly one-third of Chicago preschool children enrolled in Project Head Start had iron deficiency anemia, according to a 1965 Chicago Board of Education study.

(Although there are no figures on the incidence of iron deficiency anemia among middle- and upper-class children, private physicians suspect that it is quite low, "probably less than 1 per cent," said Dr. Robert S. Mendelsohn, a former top adviser to Head Start for the American Academy of Pediatrics. He also pointed out how little it takes to avoid this anemia—"a bowl of iron-fortified cereal and a little red meat or egg each day.")

3. Dr. Werner F. Cryns, an Evanston pediatrician who made home visits to retarded children in 1968 for the Illinois Department of Public Health, reported that malnutrition played "a significant role" in more than half the cases.

4. Physicians at the Woodlawn Child Health Center see many infants suffering from what they call "failure to thrive." Their weights are well under the normal range for their ages, they suffer repeatedly from colds, influenza and pneumonia and they are often severely anemic.

"There may be a medical reason, but it's more often due to inadequate food intake. What tips us off is that they thrive very well on a hospital diet," said Dr. Audrey Forbes, a pediatrician and assistant director of the Woodlawn clinic. She also reported that "the iron deficiency anemia in this neighborhood is quite startling and severe."

5. Anemia and vitamin deficiencies are "common" among children examined in Cook County Hospital, said Dr. Ira Rosenthal, chairman of pediatrics. He also sees "a fair amount of rickets" (stunted bone growth from vitamin D deficiency).

6. According to the Chicago Board of Education, 85 per cent of school-age children and 60 per cent of preschoolers have dental cavities, many with severe caries. (Recent research indicates that they are related to lack of proper food.)

7. The Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, which serves low income people who do not qualify for public aid, initiated a homemaker service in June, 1968. By December 4,266 families were reached, and "in almost every instance there was a problem of an inadequate diet and inadequate funds to afford the proper diet," the semi-annual report said.

In the next six months, 2,000 low-income families in New York City will submit to detailed clinical exams, biochemical measurement and food intake studies as part of the government's National Nutrition Survey, which is being extended into 10 more states. Illinois is not one of them, yet the most disturbing aspect of hunger in Chicago is the lack of scientific data on it.

#### QUESTIONS RAISED

Metcoff, Mendelsohn, other physicians and nutritionists raise these questions:

With a large indigent population, why are there no records of growth among Chicago's poverty children to compare with normal growth curves?

Why hasn't someone found out if Chicago's high infant mortality rate is related to hunger? In Chicago's poverty areas the infant mortality rate is 38.5 per 1,000 births, as high as in Lima, Peru, and 75 per cent higher than Chicago's nonpoverty areas. The major causes of infant death—*influenza* and *pneumonia*—are 7.9 in poverty areas and 2.2 in nonpoverty areas. The premature birth rate is 13 per cent vs. 6 per cent.

"We ought to be sure that these figures are not the result of preventable malnutrition," said Metcoff.

Why has no one attempted to correlate pica (the craving for unnatural food such as lead paint chips and laundry starch) with hunger? Instances of children who eat lead paint chips off the walls of rotting slum tenements and pregnant women who consume large quantities of laundry starch occur most in the poor black community. The results of lead poisoning are brain damage and even death.

Starch eating, a cultural habit among urban black women whose Southern ancestors ate clay during pregnancy, causes severe anemia. As Mendelsohn puts it, "I never heard of rich people who ate lead or starch."

#### A SURVEY PLANNED

The Board of Health plans to survey the city late this spring or early summer "to determine if we have a problem," said O'Connell. He declined to elaborate further, but the board's chief nutritionist, Virginia Jauch, said she knew nothing of the study plans.

Metcoff indicated that a year's study could be done for "a couple hundred thousand, which is not much when you consider that we may be talking about 2,000,000 children."

The study should focus on preschool children, especially under age 2, he said. School and Head Start studies are limited because they reflect "the hardest children—the worst examples have died by age 2." Furthermore

Head Start children are not the most deprived.

A study of younger children would also pick up malnutrition before it was a factor in irreversible brain damage.

Recent animal studies indicate that malnutrition during brain formation can permanently stunt mental growth. Mental retardation is more common in poverty areas, and many teachers, as well as physicians, have observed that hunger hampers learning ability.

#### NO CONTROLLED TESTS

No one has taken a control group of poor people and fed them adequately without changing other factors (clothing, shelter) to determine how diet affects well-being "I suspect a great deal," said Dr. Joseph W. Swartwout, an obstetrician at the University of Chicago who also suspects that "close to 100 per cent of Chicago's indigent pregnant women are malnourished." He found starch-eating among 16 per cent of these women in 1968. An earlier study at Cook County Hospital uncovered 35 per cent.

"How much of this you could cure with good nutrition is anybody's guess, but it's high time we were finding out," he said. He would like to do such a study, but can't get the money. "Nutrition is a second-rate scientific endeavor, yet with the undernourishment of the poor and over-nourishment of the rich, it is probably the nation's greatest health problem."

#### ADULTS AVERAGE 30¢ A MEAL: WELFARE FOOD ALLOTMENT UNDER FIRE

(By Linda Rockey)

When Dr. Albert D. Klinger studied medicine in the '50's, his teachers told him that no malnutrition exists in this country except as a result of food faddism.

"And I believed it until I worked for the Chicago Board of Health and saw kids with rickets, low blood counts and stunted growth," said Klinger, a South Side internist who has worked with welfare patients since 1960.

Jacqui Alberts, a young nutritionist for Miles Square Health Center on the West Side, said, "None of what I learned in school works here. Everything is applicable to the white middle class only. Even the low-cost diet we studied and lived on for a week wasn't near as low as the welfare allotment."

Miss Alberts belong to the committee on nutrition and hunger of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, which is working toward elevating the public aid allotment for food.

"I don't see how welfare mothers manage on the food allowance. I couldn't do it," she said. Since she joined Miles Square a year and a half ago, more than 1,000 patients have been referred to her for dietary problems. "Most of them are malnourished and need a high-protein, high-vitamin diet, but they can't afford it, so it's ridiculous to talk about it."

Klinger, who heads the committee on nutrition and hunger, tried in 1963, when the state welfare allowances were set, to persuade the Illinois State Medical Society to call for an increase in food allowances.

"The society's nutrition committee recommended such a resolution," he recalled, "but the house of delegates wouldn't pass it because it would embarrass Harold O. Swank (head of the Illinois Department of Public Aid) to have to ask for more money."

Swank maintained that the current welfare allowances provide for "a minimum adequate standard of living in keeping with decency and good health. It is not my position to determine if the food item is adequate. It was thoroughly reviewed in 1963-4, and from the information I have from technicians in the field and the Illinois State Medical Society, it is."

However, a spokesman for the Society said, "Hunger is a difficult subject in general, com-

plicated by political influence and educational needs. The society has been reluctant to say that so many cents are adequate or inadequate for food because of these and other influencing factors."

Klinger has also tried without success to urge the Chicago Medical Society to take a stand favoring higher food allowances.

"The Chicago Pediatric Society said that the allowance was in keeping with health and the CMS said that it couldn't take a different stand because of its involvement with physicians in CPS," he said. Officials of CMS refused to comment on the subject of hunger in Chicago.

For those who don't find the welfare food allotment adequate, Swank said that it is "a problem of management."

This attitude infuriates Mrs. Catherine Orstead, nutritionist at the Martin Luther King Health Center, who said, "They're hungry because they don't have enough money. It's ridiculous to say that we should teach them how to stretch a dollar. If I wanted to know, I'd ask them. They're the experts."

The Illinois Department of Public Aid bases its food allowances on the economy plan of the Agriculture Department's Family Food Plans and Food Costs. The welfare check is computed by the case worker on the basis of a \$5.37 weekly food allowance for adults, \$6.09 for teen-agers, \$4.86 for children ages 6-12 and \$3.45 for children under 6. For the adult this means an average of 26 cents per meal.

The amount is supposed to be adjusted according to the cost of living (up 8 per cent in Chicago in the last two years), and Swank said that it has been elevated accordingly. However, numbers of physicians, nutritionists, case workers and welfare recipients argue that it never has been enough for a proper diet.

To find out, the task force on public aid of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, headed by Douglass Cater, a case worker for the Cook County Department of Public Aid, challenged well-to-do families to live on the welfare budget for a week.

Rep. Abner Mikva (D-Ill.), whose family took part, concluded, "I would guess that there is not one family within 100 who is living on the amount allocated to them for food and still staying within the nutritional standards set up by the experts."

The Church Federation reported responses from families who felt that the allowances were definitely too low, and from many who indicated that they were adequate provided the following circumstances were present:

1. Auto and newspaper available to take advantage of sales in different stores.
2. Adequate storage space.
3. The homemaker is proficient in calculating nutritional values and bargain prices.
4. No members of the family had unusually large appetites or special dietary needs such as those imposed by diabetes, pregnancy and ulcers.
5. The family is able to use the whole allowance for food.

Cater pointed out that most welfare recipients do not have autos or newspapers. Neighborhood stores in poverty areas do not offer the supermarket prices available in higher-income neighborhoods. Storage space, especially freezer, is limited. Rats and roaches make it impractical to leave groceries on shelves. The homemaker usually has no training in nutrition and math. There are often large appetites and special dietary needs.

Most important, the family is unable to use the whole allowance for food because:

1. The rent is often more than the rent allowance, and food money must be added.
2. Because of faulty heating, cooking gas must be used for fuel. Excessive gas bills cause amounts to be deducted from future welfare checks corresponding to amounts paid by Public Aid to the utility company.
3. Food money is frequently used for items such as bus fare because the personal essen-

tials allowance is inadequate (\$4 or \$5 per person per month).

The result of all this, said Dr. Klinger, is that somebody goes without, "usually Mama, often the kids."

The Church Federation is now involved in a food pricing project. Its preliminary findings document the impressions of many—that food prices are higher in low-income, primarily ghetto areas. In a survey of 21 ghetto stores and 26 stores in more affluent areas, it was impossible to buy the ingredients needed for a weekly menu plan designed by the Cook County Department of Public Aid. In one ghetto store, they cost 74 cents over the allowance, in five higher-income stores they cost less than \$1 over. In five ghetto stores, and nine higher-income stores between \$1 and \$2 over. In 12 ghetto stores and only three higher-income stores, more than \$3 over.

As a barometer of price-gouging on the West Side, Mrs. Orstead used a special canned milk for "failure to thrive" infants. She paid 26 cents a can in her home suburb of Aurora. The people she prescribed it to paid 33 cents on the West Side. "Poor people know they pay more for everything," she said.

The Board of Health has found not only higher prices, but also poorer quality food in the ghetto, according to its chief nutritionist. State Rep. Robert Mann (D-Chicago) said that some ghetto stores understock and raise their prices the day that welfare checks come out.

Swank's response? He admitted that all these problems exist, but, he said, "They are not a general pattern, and we cannot set a standard based on the exceptions. People who do not eat adequately on the food allowance use it for other things "such as cigarettes and comic books. He pointed as evidence to the fact that only one-third of those on public aid participate in the food stamp program (under which a family spending 80 per cent of its food budget at once can get 27 per cent extra with food stamps). "I can only assume that the other two-thirds are not spending 80 per cent of the allowance for food."

It's not that simple. Many welfare recipients said they don't participate because they don't want to give up that 80 per cent at the beginning of the month in case an emergency arises later. Furthermore, the food stamp program is full of red tape. One has to apply in person at 1841 W. Madison, weekdays only, and bring a raft of receipts verifying his poverty. Authorization comes by mail but he must go to a currency exchange to buy the stamps.

Critics of the welfare program also argue that agencies use white, middle class home economists who are insensitive to the cultural patterns of the poor. For example, during the West Side riots following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the government distributed surplus dried skimmed milk, which public aid home economists also recommended for the welfare diet.

"It's ridiculous," said Mrs. Orstead. "Black people know evaporated milk. Their children won't drink the powdered stuff." (Nor would Abner Mikva's children during their week on the welfare diet.)

A disenchanted black member of the home economics division of the Cook County Department of Public Aid said that most of her co-workers don't begin to understand the needs of their clients. "They try but they just don't know, she said. "How do you condition the mind to want broccoli or tuna salad when it's used to greens and ham hocks?"

"Home economists can afford to be creative with new stoves and refrigerators," said Bob Taylor, president of the Chicago Welfare Rights Organization. He maintains that half the people he works for are "starving to death."

"Public aid recommends that they use chicken wings," he added. "What's wrong

with a drum stick once in a while? We're tired of beans and rice and potatoes."

Taylor also had a question about the federal surplus commodities sent into the West Side, where his office is, after the 1968 riots. "Where is that food during the rest of the year?"

Unavailable to hungry Chicagoans, the Rev. Father Peter J. Powell, director of Saint Augustine's Center for American Indians, has found.

He has been trying for seven years to make federal surplus foods available to Indians, Latin Americans and Southern whites in Uptown "nearly all in immediate need of food."

The response from the Agriculture Department was that "legislation does not permit us to distribute commodities in food stamp areas except in temporary emergency situations."

"We have an emergency need right now. We have to get food in stomachs right now," retorted the Rev. Fr. Powell, who has found that most of the 400 new families arriving in Uptown each year do not qualify for public assistance or the food stamp program.

"This area can be declared a disaster area as far as hunger is concerned," said Jim Grisham, director of the Chicago Southern Center in Uptown. "An average of 24 families are living in buildings designed for six, and I would guess that these 24 are living on the amount of food once consumed by six."

Regarding the federal government's refusal to distribute surplus commodities in the area, he said, "Apparently the war on poverty is not in league with the war on hunger."

Although the majority of Uptown's residents are not on welfare, most of the men are underemployed as a result of the vicious circle perpetuated by daily pay. A man moves his family into the area and has to have money right away, so he goes to work for one of the 20 daily pay agencies. At the end of a working day he is paid about \$11. His rent is about \$7 a day.

"If he gets a job that pays twice as much," said Grisham, "he gets paid every two weeks. The first two weeks he goes home to a hungry family. What choice does he have but to go on daily pay. He wants to break the cycle but he can't without starving in the process."

To meet the emergency needs of newcomer families, parents out of work and families waiting for welfare checks, several public and private agencies organized the Uptown Community Pantry in the Montrose Urban Progress Center. In one 6-month period, it assisted 2,360 families and 201 individuals, but during seven weeks of the same period, its food supply was completely exhausted.

Many churches and settlement houses operate free food distribution centers, but there is never enough for all who seek it.

#### NEED KNOWS NO COLOR LINE: HOW SOME POOR FAMILIES SURVIVE

(By Linda Rockey)

Juanita Slaton lives in an all-black West Side housing project with her seven children and her daughter Shirley Ann's four. She will probably never know Lula Couch, who resides with her husband and six children in poor white Uptown, or Maria Lopez, who is awaiting the birth of her second child in a Spanish-speaking Wicker Park tenement.

Yet they share one common trait—their families are hungry. Their stories provide ample evidence that hunger in Chicago knows no color line.

Nor is it restricted to public aid recipients. The Slatons are hungry because they are on Welfare. The Couches are hungry because Mrs. Couch is ill and cannot work. The Lopezes are hungry because Mr. Lopez is underemployed.

The Slaton home at 2145 W. Lake is a tiny 3-bedroom apartment with cement walls and

cheap tile floors. It's not large enough for the 13 people who occupy it but Mrs. Slaton keeps it neat and attractive with plastic coverings on the furniture, candle holders on the walls, artificial flowers in the corners and colorful throw pillows on the sofa.

"Almost everything we have I bought when I was working," said Mrs. Slaton, 41, a tall, heavy woman who must have been pretty once, before she gained weight and lost her front teeth. She worked as a sewing machine operator for seven years, making good money until April of 1967 when her diabetes got so bad she had to quit. She applied for public aid right away, but by the time her first welfare check came in August, the family had been evicted from their apartment.

"I never knew what it's like to be poor until I got too sick for work," she said. Now she knows poverty and its ever-present companion, hunger.

The Slatons are hungry. It doesn't take long to detect the symptoms.

The youngest in the family, Shirley Ann's 13-month old twins, ought to be lively and noisy, but they sit listlessly for hours, not uttering a sound. The older children are almost as lethargic, bringing to mind the medical evidence that children deprived of adequate food appear dull and lifeless.

Mrs. Slaton and her daughter Shirley are overweight, a sign that their diets, though adequate in calories, may be deficient in important nutrients. They are eating the food that comes cheapest, starches and carbohydrates, which are also the most fattening.

It would be easy to say that the Slatons are hungry because they are ignorant of proper dietary habits. On the early spring day of this interview, it was past noon before anyone in the family had anything to eat.

However, Mrs. Slaton knows that her family should eat breakfast. She should follow her doctor's instructions to have three small, nonfattening meals each day. She cannot afford it. She gives priority to milk for the children and a big dinner meal for the entire family. Beyond that, there isn't enough money.

She receives \$293 a month from the Cook County Department of Public Aid. Her daughter Shirley is paid \$96 a month in child support through a court order. Welfare is supposed to supplement that, but since Dec. 24, when she was burned out of her apartment and came to live with her mother she has received only \$30.

#### MUST SPEND FOOD ALLOWANCE AT ONCE

Mrs. Slaton's food allowance is \$122 a month. With food stamps, she can buy \$160 worth of food. But to take advantage of the stamp program, she must spend 80 per cent of her food allowance at once.

"There's a store across the street and another around the corner, but they're too expensive," she said. (A food pricing survey by the Church Federation of Greater Chicago has confirmed that food costs are higher in low-income areas.) However, she must patronize these stores for items that she needs daily, like milk, which sells for \$1.09 a gallon in her neighborhood and 98 cents farther west.

Out of her food budget also must come 37 cents a day for each of five children in school. Only one gets a free lunch because "she has a nice counselor who asked for it." Under the National School Lunch Act all five children should qualify for free lunches, but Mrs. Slaton said she had never heard of a free program at the schools the other four attend.

After food, Mrs. Slaton has \$171 a month which is supposed to cover rent (\$86.50) and all the other essentials of life. Sometimes it doesn't, and she has to dip into the food money, a regular habit among welfare recipients.

Mrs. Slaton hates being on welfare and wants to go back to work. "I love to sew and I'm tired of staying in the house all day," she said. "But I can't work as long as my diabetes is this bad. The doctor says it would be better if I didn't worry so much."

#### SICK PAY DOESN'T GO FAR

Dewey Couch, 33, worries, too. Maybe that's why he has bleeding ulcers and lost the job in a Greyhound garage that gave him a weekly take-home pay of \$118 or more. Now he draws \$65 a week in sick pay, \$30 of which must go to rent a 5-room apartment at 4527 N. Racine. What's left is not enough to keep his wife and six children properly fed and clothed.

And that's why his wife Lula often goes to the Chicago Southern Center for free food and clothing. Sometimes she gets it. Other times, the supply has already been exhausted by other poor white families who came to Chicago because they thought they could make a living.

"We don't eat half as well as we did in Kentucky," said Mrs. Couch. "We grew our own food, raised our own chickens and someone always had a cow."

Why, then did they leave?

"Same reason as everybody else," she replied. "There's no more work down there."

"I worked in the coal mines, but it was too dangerous," her husband added. "We thought we could do better here."

He did, until he had to quit work Jan. 31. His sick pay didn't start until March 17. In the meantime, he went to public aid and received \$64 in emergency assistance. He has since been told that welfare can't help him if he draws more than \$200 a month in sick pay.

The Couches are a close family where affection flows freely and pride inhibits candor about their plight—until Mrs. Couch gets mad enough.

What makes her angry? Prejudice against Southern people, crime in Uptown, junked cars and drunks, and the United States' beautification program. "If you want to beautify America, fatten up a child. Trees won't fill his stomach or put a smile on his mother's face."

The Couches eat "mostly ground beef, hot dogs, rice and greens." The children have been getting free lunch at school since their father stopped working, but their teeth, like their parents', have the telltale dark stains of dietary deficiencies. They rarely eat fresh fruits and vegetables. The Southern Center cannot give away that kind of food.

Dewey Couch knows that he could rent a place cheaper on a monthly basis, but he has never been able to save enough money for all the necessary deposits. What he and his family would really like to do is go back to Hazard, Ky. "The South is home to me," said his wife.

Maria Lopez's husband is working, but he doesn't have enough either. He is a skilled machine operator, but since a hernia operation, he has not felt well enough to handle more than a \$60-a-week messenger job in the Loop.

During his illness, the family was on public aid, but after the surgery he was disqualified, "even though his Spanish doctor said he shouldn't go back to work yet," said his wife Maria, mother of one and about to have another.

"I've gained too much weight during my pregnancy, so the clinic (Board of Health) put me on a low salt diet. I'm supposed to have meat, fresh vegetables and fruit once a day, but I can't."

The Lopezes don't have enough money for food now, but Maria said that it was even worse when they received \$155 a month on welfare.

"I usually ran out of food a week before the check was due and had to borrow money

from the Latin American Defense Organization for the baby's milk. Most of the people in this neighborhood are hungry because most of them are on welfare."

#### LUNCH PROGRAMS INADEQUATE: TEACHERS SEE DAILY EVIDENCE THAT HUNGRY PUPILS DON'T LEARN

(By Linda Rockey)

Mrs. Sadie Nesbitt has been a teacher for many years, and she can cope with just about any discipline problem.

But one day 6-year-old Henry was too much to handle. His anger and restlessness was disrupting the entire class. Mrs. Nesbitt sent him to the principal's office.

Herschel Rader, principal of the Johnson Elementary School in the north Lawndale neighborhood, asked Henry what was bothering him. The child scowled and was silent.

"What did you have for dinner last night?" Rader asked.

"Beans and cornbread," was the mumbled reply.

"No meat?"

Henry shook his head.

"Did you have breakfast this morning?"

Again Henry shook his head.

Then Rader was distracted by a phone call, and Henry fell asleep in his chair for the afternoon.

"Whenever we have a behavior problem, we find it helpful to review the last 24 hours of a child's life, especially what he ate," said Rader.

About one-third of the children in Johnson School, 1420 S. Albany, live on welfare budgets. Most of the others are from low-income families.

No scientific study has established a relationship between hunger and the hostility, fatigue and inability to concentrate that is prevalent in poverty-area schools.

However, recent animal studies indicate that malnutrition affects learning ability. And an unpublished 1965 survey of 2,000 Woodlawn first-graders found that children who went without breakfast had trouble socializing in school.

"It didn't matter what the child ate," said Dr. Sheppard G. Kellam, co-director of the Woodlawn Mental Health Center. "If he had something, even just liquid, he was better able to socialize."

Inability to socialize, one of the basic first-grade tasks, also correlated with premature birth, pregnancy complications, underweight and childhood illness, according to the Woodlawn study.

Teachers only know what they see: Children like Henry who are alternatively frustrated and angry, listless and weary. Hungry children.

"We learn to carry candy with us because it makes a difference in discipline," said Mrs. Nesbitt. (Physicians say that inattentive schoolchildren could be suffering from hypoglycemia, a low level of sugar in the blood, caused by inadequate food.)

Mrs. Jean Komaiko, a volunteer reading teacher in the Johnson School since last fall, said it took only a week to realize that "hungry kids don't learn."

She was even more appalled to find that when federally subsidized milk arrived at midmorning, children who couldn't pay 4 cents sat and watched their more fortunate classmates drink milk.

She organized a group of volunteers who raised \$5,400 and began giving free milk to each of the school's 850 children.

(All other Chicago schoolchildren pay 4 cents for a half-pint of midmorning milk. It costs 7 cents, so schools without free-lunch programs receive a 3-cent federal subsidy. However, schools in poverty areas that participate in the free-lunch program receive a 4-cent subsidy so that the school can make a penny profit to support the program.)

Rader agreed that every child should receive free milk. "Otherwise you have to prove you're poor to get milk. That's the way the free-lunch program is run and it's unfair."

Under the National School Lunch Act, poverty-area schools are allotted a certain number of free lunches. The federal government contributes 24 cents to the total cost of a lunch (39.2 cents). The Chicago Board of Education makes up the difference.

Chicago school served 13,455 free lunches in March. However, between 130,000 and 180,000 schoolchildren qualify, according to federal guidelines, which recommend that all children on welfare or at comparable income levels be included.

"Principals decide which children receive free lunches," said Edward U. Gaidzek, director of lunchrooms for the Chicago Board of Education. "Federal guidelines are sent home and parents go to the school and sign up if they qualify."

"We give them to everyone we think should have them until we run out," said Rader. "There is always a waiting list."

Johnson School gives about 160 free lunches a day, but Mrs. Nesbitt estimates that "easily 75 per cent" of the 850 students need a free lunch and breakfast.

At nearby Howland School, 1616 S. Spaulding, school officials agree that the application form for free lunches is "degrading."

"The parent has to come into the office and take what amounts to a poverty oath," said Mrs. Komaiko. Already registered as a welfare recipient, he has to answer questions about income and welfare assistance and explain "any special situation which makes the family expenses greater than normal."

#### BREAKFAST OFTEN SKIPPED

Howland gives free lunches to 600 of its 1,867 students, but "nearly all the children need it," said Mrs. Ida Moore, assistant principal. "There's no question that they're undernourished. They may come to school with a full stomach, but not a balanced meal."

Some do not even come with a full stomach. Breakfast is one of the first things a welfare family does without when the money is running low.

Under the National School Breakfast Program, which operates in 70 Chicago schools on a pilot basis, the federal government pays 15 cents, the child 10 cents.

Both Johnson and Howland schools have the breakfast program, which Mrs. Komaiko terms "a cruel hoax" because most of the children can't afford the 10 cents.

For those at Howland who can, however, the breakfast program has made a tremendous difference in attendance.

"No matter how early I come to school, there are children waiting for breakfast," said Mrs. Nina Jones, principal.

"No one is taken out of the breakfast line if he doesn't have 10 cents," added Mrs. Moore. "If necessary, the teachers pay for the kids' breakfast."

Before the breakfast program, many children had no breakfast or subsisted until lunch on a 5-cent bag of potato chips and hot sauce.

"Teachers go to the breakfast line first thing in the morning for a doughnut and coffee," said Mrs. Moore. "If our need is that great, think what it must be for the children."

#### SCHOOL BOARD AMAZED

Like Mrs. Komaiko and others, she urges a completely free breakfast and lunch program in Chicago public schools.

"Food means love," said Mrs. Komaiko. "If this society has any love for its children, give them a free breakfast and lunch at school."

The notion stuns the Board of Education. "If we wanted to do everything in our wildest dreams, it would cost us millions," said Gaidzek.

In other states, federal school-lunch grants are supplemented by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

According to Arthur Lehne, the Board of Education's assistant superintendent in charge of government-funded programs, Chicago receives \$21,000,000 in ESEA money.

#### GOES FOR EDUCATION

"This isn't enough for educational and food programs, so nearly all of it is spent on education," Lehne said.

Mrs. Komalko contacted the office of Ray Page, state superintendent of public instruction, about the possible use of ESEA funds for food programs.

"I was told that much of the money was needed for seventh-grade social studies texts," she said. "How can we teach kids social studies when they're hungry?"

Chicago receives less than one-third of the federal lunch money appropriated to Illinois, even though two-thirds of the state's children on welfare live in Chicago. The federal lunch money is funneled through Page's office.

"There is a danger that this money will run out in the beginning of June," said Gaidzek. "In that case the school board is committed to supporting the program through its own funds. I think it has done well to feed as many kids as it has."

The question is not only how many but how well.

Nearly half the Chicago schools do not have lunchrooms. One of these is Howland. Hot lunches come from nearby Farragut High School in steamed containers and are served in a makeshift lunchroom in the basement next to the boys' washroom.

Schools were originally built to feed only those children who couldn't go home for lunch because they lived too far away. "Poverty has forced a new role that the schools aren't prepared to handle," Gaidzek said. "We need a regular restaurant operation in many of our schools."

The Near West Side Concerned Citizens Organization, a group of parents headed by Mrs. Mabel Lear, has complained about the lack of lunchroom facilities for a number of reasons.

Children at the Allen School, 1321 S. Paulina, have to walk three blocks to the Gladstone School, 1231 S. Damen, for lunch. "Parents don't like small children out on the streets alone," she said. "We want food brought into the Allen School."

#### RUSHED THROUGH LUNCH

Mrs. Lear also said that children at the Smyth School, 1050 W. 13th, which has only one lunchroom, eat in shifts and "are pushed and rushed through lunch and have to run around the streets for 45 minutes."

The quality of food served in Chicago public schools is also under fire.

"Lots of starch and too little meat," said Mrs. Moore. "We see more spaghetti, spam and chopped-up hot dogs than anything else."

When Mrs. Lear heard that schools didn't always serve the proper menu, she paid a surprise visit to the Gladstone School.

"The Board of Education menu called for chicken with gravy and vegetables," she said. "I found the children eating hot dogs and beans. Many children prefer to run to the hot dog stand to eating the lunchroom slop."

#### BLAME RED TAPE, SYSTEMS NO PLACE TO GO FOR FOOD

(By Linda Rockey)

Toward the end of the month, when welfare allowances are running low, the Woodlawn Child Health Center receives many requests for formula milk for babies.

With a supply of free samples from pharmaceutical companies, the South Side clinic is able to meet some of the requests.

But it cannot use its funds to dispense milk, a clinic physician said, because "milk

is not a prescription item, and we're not in the business of dispensing food."

The trouble is that nobody is. Aside from a handful of churches and settlement houses which give out free food (not nearly-enough for all who seek it), there is no place in Chicago where hungry families can go for food.

Physicians who work in Chicago poverty areas have testified in state-sponsored hearings that hunger is a daily fact of life among the poor. But their hands are tied when it comes to doing anything about it.

#### SOCIAL, NOT MEDICAL, PROBLEM

"Hunger is a social, not a medical problem," said Dr. Audrey Forbes, assistant director of the Woodlawn clinic.

"There are many problems we can't solve. Hunger is one we can. We know the solutions," said Jacqui Alberts, a West Side nutritionist.

"It's so easily preventable—people must have enough food," said Dr. Jack Metcoff, chairman of pediatrics at Michael Reese Hospital and an authority on nutrition.

Then what stands in the way of adequately feeding the hungry?

Groups and individuals concerned about hunger in Chicago blame bureaucratic red tape and a deficient welfare system.

For example, individuals in Uptown have tried for seven years to make surplus food available to low-income families.

#### U.S. RESTRICTS DISTRIBUTION

Federal restrictions prohibit the distribution of commodities in Cook County because of the federal food-stamp program, even though many hungry families do not qualify for stamps. Among those on public aid who do, only one-third participate.

Restrictions of the food-stamp program, which require a family to spend 80 per cent of its food budget at once for food, make it impractical. Many welfare recipients use part of their food allowance to meet other living expenses.

Critics of the welfare system argue that the food allowance is too low and fails to take into account conditions in low-income areas, such as the lack of storage space and higher food prices.

But their efforts to raise the allowances have been as futile as the attempts to bring surplus food into Chicago.

The problem is essentially one of attitude. Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.), who heads a special Senate committee on nutrition and human needs, has said that solving the problem of hunger "requires a commitment to feeding the undernourished."

In Chicago, Health Comr. Morgan J. O'Connell doesn't think "a state of hunger as such exists" in the city.

#### APPROVES WELFARE STANDARDS

Harold O. Swank, director of the Illinois Department of Public Aid, thinks the welfare allowances provide for "a minimum adequate standard of living."

"Most (Illinois) legislators are hung up on the work ethic and object to the whole idea of welfare," said Rep. Robert Mann (D-Chicago).

Despite the efforts of individual members, local and state medical societies have steadfastly refused to support an increase in the welfare food allowances or to take a stand on the subject of hunger in Chicago.

The testimony of the poor and the impressions of those who work in poverty areas, plus a handful of fragmentary studies, have not convinced those in a position to effect change that there is hunger in Chicago.

#### CITYWIDE STUDY URGED

"We need real scientific evidence," said Metcoff. He favors a comprehensive citywide study of the poor, along the lines of the National Nutrition Survey, that would include detailed clinical exams, biochemical measurement, growth and food-intake studies. He said:

"A year's study could be done for \$200,000, which isn't much when you consider that we may be talking about 2,000,000 children."

O'Connell has promised a study by the Chicago Board of Health of malnutrition in this city by the late spring or early summer, but he declined to elaborate further.

The board's chief nutritionist knew nothing of the study plans and said the board doesn't have the staff to undertake such a study.

Dr. Robert Mendelsohn, former top advisor to Project Head Start for the American Academy of Pediatrics, has publicly called for "an immediate investigation under state auspices to document and further define the extent of hunger in Illinois."

#### STUDIES ARE DEcriED

However, he said in an interview: "It's ridiculous that we need a study to prove hunger. I wouldn't permit the use of kids for any more studies unless the appropriation included money to do something about the problem right then, not six months later."

Raising the welfare food allowance is the immediate goal of the newly formed committee on nutrition and hunger of the Chicago Medical Committee on Human Rights.

"The present welfare allowance is the kind used to feed starving people when the ports are blocked, the crops in the field are rotten and corn is at a premium," said Dr. Alfred D. Klinger, committee chairman.

He advocates raising the food allotment to the liberal diet plan of the U.S. Agriculture Department Family Food Plans and Food Costs, an average of 45 to 50 cents per person per meal.

The present allotment is based on the department's economy diet plan, an average of 26 cents per person per meal.

Present welfare allowances do not account for the 5 per cent sales tax and do not always provide an increase to match the cost-of-living index.

#### PRICES OUTSTRIP AID

Since the public-aid allowances were set in 1963, a 12 per cent increase has been allotted, but the Consumer Price Index shows nearly a 15 per cent increase.

In its February statement to the legislative advisory committee on public aid, the League of Women Voters called for a full adjustment in welfare payments at each six-month review of the index. Increases now are permitted only when the index rises 3 per cent or more.

The statement said: "By denying an increase to match the increase in the cost-of-living index, we are actually depriving a family of four of \$2.25 per month in food-buying power."

However, Klinger objects, as do many physicians, to determining that people should live on so many cents per meal. He said:

"We are all different inside as well as outside, especially our children. The retention of protein, the body's building material, is different from child to child. We can't legislate that everyone live on 26 cents a meal."

Mrs. Catherine Orstead, nutritionist at the Martin Luther King Health Center, cited another reason why raising food allowances isn't enough:

"Ghetto stores would probably raise their prices accordingly," she said.

#### PRICES HIGHER IN POOR AREAS

A pricing survey by the Church Federation of Greater Chicago found that food prices in low-income areas are higher than in more affluent neighborhoods.

Klinger's committee also favors raising other welfare allowances because so many recipients dip into the food budget to meet other living expenses, such as rent, clothing and transportation.

An increase in welfare payments would require a change in the attitudes of many legislators, according to Mann, who recently in-

roduced a package of bills designed to do this. The legislator said:

"Most legislators think that if people don't like welfare, they should get a job, even though 90 per cent of those on welfare are unemployable (blind, medically disabled or dependent children). I would hope that the public would rather pay for a reformed welfare system than for reformatories and concentration camps."

Easing of federal restrictions to allow distribution of surplus food in low-income areas is the goal of the Rev. Peter J. Powell, director of St. Augustine's Indian Mission in Uptown.

**WANTS TO USE SURPLUS**

"Using normal voluntary channels, we cannot begin to accumulate enough food to meet the needs of the 400 new families who arrive annually in Uptown," he said. "Our only real hope lies in making surplus food available to these people."

The Uptown Community Pantry, which provides food for some of the newcomers, was moved to the Montrose Urban Progress Center, an agency of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the hope that it would encourage federal involvement (i.e. surplus food distribution), according to Jim Grisham its first chairman.

Grisham said: "It didn't. Apparently the war on poverty is not in league with the war on hunger."

Grisham heads the Chicago Southern Center, which also distributes food to needy families. It never has enough for all who seek the food, so he has suggested a new method—stocking food on loan.

Under this plan, a family would fill a shopping bag with food and take 30 days to repay it with an equal amount of groceries from a store, thereby qualifying for another loan. Grisham plans to initiate the service as soon as the center receives enough donations.

**LUNCH PROGRAM COULD EXPAND**

Another off-mentioned solution to hunger in Chicago is the expansion of the National School Lunch Program, which presently provides free lunches for 18,000 Chicago school children. Between 130,000 and 180,000 children qualify for the program because their families are on welfare or at comparable income levels.

"If a massive health-welfare-education program is not put on by big cities, the substitute will have to be free lunch and free breakfast for poverty-area school children," said Dr. Irving Abrams, director of medical and health services for the Chicago Board of Education.

Mendelsohn has urged not only free school lunch programs, "available without restriction in a dignified manner in all schools in areas where poverty and hunger exist," but also "the immediate use of lunchrooms in schools and day-care and Head Start centers to offer three meals a day to children and parents, at a charge of 26 cents per meal in accord with the present food allowance."

**URGE GUARANTEED INCOME**

He is quick to add, however, that these solutions don't diminish "deeper, more substantial answers."

Mendelsohn and most other people concerned about hunger in Chicago point to a guaranteed annual income as the ideal solution. University of Chicago economist Milton Freidman said it could be low enough so that the total cost would be no more than the nation's current annual welfare bill of \$7 billion.

Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the presidential commission on income maintenance, told Sen. McGovern's committee in Washington this week that all food programs encroach on individual freedom and avoid the central problem: The poor don't have enough money.

The commission is expected to recommend in September that welfare and anti-

poverty programs be replaced or augmented by a more fundamental income-support program.

Short of a guaranteed annual wage, Mann favors a federalized welfare program. "States no longer want nor are able to finance welfare," he said.

Reluctance to solve the problems of hunger and poverty has ominous implications.

"Anyone who says that there is no hunger in Illinois, or that existing programs are adequate, is either a fool, a liar or a racist," Mendelsohn said.

"The poor have no lobby, which is why welfare is the first to go when the budget is cut," said Mann, "but the poor are very articulate, and they are beginning to insist that living comfortably in America is a right, not a privilege."

**PEARL HARBOR NAVAL SHIPYARD WORKERS BENNETT, SCHENA, AND WONG CITED FOR MERITORIOUS SERVICE IN REPAIR OF U.S.S. "ENTERPRISE"**

**HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA**

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, when on January 14, 1969, the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Enterprise* suffered tremendous damage to its aft deck and the tragic loss of 27 of her crewmen as a consequence of accidental explosions of bombs intended for Vietnam, the whole world learned of the event through newspaper banner headlines and lead stories over radio and television. Many chapters of heroism and valor were written by the men of the *Enterprise* in the wake of the tragedy. But very little has been written or said about the sequel to the accident—which is equally noteworthy.

The saga of the U.S.S. *Enterprise* would be incomplete without mention of the dedicated civil servants and servicemen at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, who established a most enviable record of repairing the vital aircraft carrier and refitting it for full combat duty in about half the time estimated to be necessary.

The near-miraculous job was performed by a determined, loyal, and dedicated group of Americans who literally worked around the clock, day and night, without any real rest until the mission was accomplished in only 8 short weeks.

Three of these men were appropriately recognized in ceremonies held at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard on March 14, 1969, when Adm. John J. Hylan, Pacific Fleet Commander in Chief presented them with certificates of commendation. These three men, William D. Bennett, group structural superintendent; Joseph A. Schena, chief planner and estimator; and Alfred Y. K. Wong, superintendent of sheetmetal workers; are all personal friends of mine and as their Congressman I am truly proud to offer for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the citations which were accorded them. I do this in the fervent hope that other Federal workers may be inspired by their deeds. It is my hope also that the vital role which the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard plays and must continue to play in our national defense posture will have been dramatically reemphasized.

The citations read as follows:

COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
U.S. PACIFIC FLEET

The Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, takes pleasure in commending Mr. William D. Bennett, Group Superintendent Structural, Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service performed as overall Production Department Coordinator for rip out, reconstruction and check out of the damaged portions of the ship and ship's systems of U.S.S. *Enterprise* (CVA(N)65) following a serious fire aboard the ship on 14 January 1969. In a matter of hours and with great enthusiasm Mr. Bennett organized a construction crew for the required repairs. He was eminently qualified having knowledge of ship's structure, welding and outfitting, which was derived from many years of service at the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. The long hours and tireless devotion to duty exhibited by Mr. Bennett were a magnificent example to others associated with the project in the Shipyard. His relationship with the officers and men of *Enterprise* was superb. There was total and complete harmony between the operating forces and shore establishment through the entire spectrum of industrial effort from fire watches to compartment close out, from rigging service to temporary power and from paint out to system tests. Mr. Bennett's minute attention to detail in the planning of repairs was so complete that no work stoppages or bottlenecks were encountered in spite of requirements to work around material and plan shortages. The early return of *Enterprise* to the Pacific Fleet was due largely to Mr. Bennett's ability, skill, effort and personal drive. Mr. Bennett contributed to the vitality and spirit of the Pacific Fleet and the Navy Department."

JOHN J. HYLAND,  
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. PACIFIC FLEET

The Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, takes pleasure in commending Mr. Joseph A. Schena, Chief Planner and Estimator Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service as Chief Planner and Estimator in connection with the U.S.S. *Enterprise* (CVA(N) 65) fire damage repairs. In this capacity Mr. Schena demonstrated outstanding leadership, having organized and personally managed a team to accomplish the task. He quickly developed initial estimates for repairs; expeditiously ordered all material required; and on a daily basis, monitored the status of material, and when required ordered substitute material. When substitute material was not available, he directed local shipyard manufacture in order to maintain the fast tempo of repair progress. Mr. Schena kept the supply expeditors informed as to which material was required immediately for support of the waterfront effort; insured that planners and estimators maintained daily contact with the Production Department shops and key ship's personnel. He insured that the planners and estimators kept the shops informed of the availability and status of material; thus, when shop personnel identified hard spots in material, the planners and estimators took immediate action to solve the problems. Under his guidance and coordination, Mr. Schena and his team worked approximately seven days a week an average of 12 hours per day, insuring correction of every item of damage repair work with a minimum of job order paperwork. Mr. Schena's dedication to duty, skill, and personal drive made a significant contribution to returning *Enterprise* to the Pacific Fleet and is a credit to himself, the Pacific Fleet and the Navy Department."

JOHN J. HYLAND,  
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

## COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. PACIFIC FLEET

The Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, takes pleasure in commending Mr. Alfred Y. K. Wong, Superintendent II Sheetmetal Worker, Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service as Compartment Completion Coordinator on the U.S.S. *Enterprise* from 18 January to 4 March 1969 following a serious fire which occurred aboard *Enterprise* on 14 January 1969. This was a most difficult task involving many heavily damaged ship's compartments and associated systems. Tracing out the affected systems, restoring structure, habitability and system integrity was a major task. Mr. Wong's outstanding enthusiasm, drive, constant attention to detail, leadership and personal zeal served as outstanding examples to all trades involved in the repair effort. His leadership in all the industrial areas was exemplary. Mr. Wong established a detailed scheduling of compartment repairs which served as a constant goal to all concerned to produce a finished product in the shortest possible time despite complications by factors such as material problems, plan inconsistencies and abnormal erection sequences. All obstacles were overcome by Mr. Wong's spirit, initiative and drive. He demonstrated technical skill by his ability to improvise where more formal means of direction were lacking. Through his management the joint effort exerted by the ship's personnel to survey compartments and correct deficiencies was most efficiently executed, and was indicative of the outstanding relationship with the ship's officers and men. Mr. Wong contributed greatly to the early return of *Enterprise* to the operating forces, adding stature to himself, the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, and the Navy Department."

JOHN J. HYLAND,  
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

## PHILADELPHIA'S POLICE ATHLETIC LEAGUE PLEDGE

## HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 18, 1969, 175 Philadelphia youngsters will visit with President Richard M. Nixon in the Rose Garden of the White House.

They will present to the President scrolls with the signatures of 250,000 other Philadelphia youngsters all endorsing the Police Athletic League pledge.

In major American cities like my own city, Philadelphia, we adults, too, frequently despair at the interests and progress of our youth.

But in the industry and purposes of PAL, we have found that despair is self-indulgent; that there is cause for hope if we adults are willing to accept our proper responsibilities and show the way.

Formally chartered in March 1949, the Police Athletic League of Philadelphia is a highly regarded cooperative venture between a group of dedicated citizens and the police department. Through the years, PAL has grown, and at the end of 1968, there were 22 PAL centers in operation, most of them in converted police stations, fire stations, and church basements.

Each center has gymnastic equipment to keep boys from 9 to 18 busy learning the rudiments of boxing, bowling, baseball, basketball, football, track and field, table tennis, chess, and checkers, hobby clubs, camera clubs, talent contests, and a junior cadet drum and bugle corps rounds out the activities for boys.

There are 25,000 youngsters enrolled in PAL, and in recent years, PAL opened its doors to girls. Now 2,000 girls are learning such homemaking skills as cooking and sewing, arts and crafts, and ballet and social dancing. A dedicated staff of 25 full-time police officers, carefully selected and specially trained for their assignments—serve as PAL supervisors. Many other policemen—and police-women—volunteer their time as coaches and assistants.

Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo serves as PAL president and many prominent civic leaders serve on its board of directors. Since 1962, PAL's day-to-day activities have been directed by Sgt. Vincent E. Furlong, himself a PAL "graduate."

For the youngsters, for their parents, and for the community at large, PAL has been a force for good, promoting a closer relationship between the policeman and the youngster and instilling in the youngsters a desire for good citizenship, sportsmanship, loyalty to American traditions, and a respect for authority. Thus, youngsters are kept morally and physically fit.

In 1968, to encourage additional thousands of Philadelphia children to these high ideals, PAL asked junior and senior high school students in its public and diocesan schools to sign scrolls containing the PAL pledge, in which they promised to uphold the precepts of good citizenship and respect for authority. Some 150,000 signatures were collected. The scrolls, addressed to the President of the United States, were taken to Washington, D.C., and in formal ceremonies, presented to President Lyndon B. Johnson in March, in the Rose Garden of the White House. Much impressed, the President commended the Police Athletic League and said such a program in these turbulent times was a hopeful sign for the Nation's future.

In recent weeks, junior and senior high school students were again asked to affirm their belief in these ideals, and this time, were joined by elementary school students in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. These scrolls contain 250,000 signatures of boys and girls of Philadelphia dedicating themselves to PAL's precepts and are addressed to President Nixon.

PAL's effectiveness can be summed up by Police Commissioner Rizzo when he says that in his wide experience, boys and girls who take part in PAL rarely get into difficulties with the law and invariably go on to become productive citizens.

PAL's credo: "It's Far Better To Build Boys Than To Mend Men."

Pledge: "I pledge to learn and practice the rules of fair play, to respect the rights of others, to obey the laws of our city, State and Nation, to be a credit to my family, friends, and myself, to be a

leader for the good things of life and thereby prepare myself for the task of responsible adulthood. All this I pledge, for I am a PAL."

## THE EC-121—WHAT CAN WE EXPECT?

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, during these tense moments following the downing of the EC-121, a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft by North Korea in the Sea of Japan, the world awaits the reaction of the President of the United States just as we waited after the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by the same "fourth rate power" in 1968.

This time we hope that the President will act decisively in retaliation for this dastardly and cowardly act of war against an unarmed airplane.

Had the United States followed former President Theodore Roosevelt's philosophy of "speak softly and carry a big stick" this latest act of aggression would not have occurred and 31 missing American boys would be safe.

In reflecting the possible reaction of our leader, we have only to look at statements made by President Nixon, then civilian citizen, regarding the U.S.S. *Pueblo* seizure.

Mr. Speaker, I include these statements taken from Washington and New York newspapers following my remarks:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 28, 1968]

## NIXON IS CRITICAL OF SHIP SEIZURE

(By Murray Schumach)

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon yesterday termed the *Pueblo* incident an "incredible blunder" by the Johnson Administration, but said it should not be a subject for political partisanship.

The comment was made at the Waldorf-Astoria shortly before a rousing meeting for Republican unity arranged at the 47th annual luncheon of the Women National Republican Club. Some 1,800 persons were at the luncheon.

## SHIP'S PRESENCE BACKED

The vessel was seized on Tuesday off the coast of North Korea by patrol boats of the North Korean Navy.

Mr. Nixon, in a prepared statement, as well as at a news conference before the luncheon started, said that the *Pueblo* "had a right to be there to protect our own interests."

"The incredible blunder," he said, "was not that our ship was there. The blunder was our failure to have some protection for our ship "after repeated harassment and specific warnings by the North Koreans had made its danger clear."

The vessel he said, which was "almost unarmed" and not capable of much speed, should have had support from warships and air cover on its "regular reconnaissance patrol within sight of the North Korean shore."

The first step now should be to obtain the release of the crew, he declared. In this, he said, the United States' policy should be "firm diplomacy," but not "rash action." The seizure of the *Pueblo*, he said, had impaired the credibility of the United States' foreign policy, which had "already been impaired."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Jan. 28, 1968]

**REDS TESTING GLOBAL POWER OF UNITED STATES, NIXON SAYS**

NEW YORK.—Richard M. Nixon, a likely prospect for the Republican presidential nomination, warned yesterday that the Pueblo incident was part of a worldwide Communist test of the "credibility and utility" of U.S. global power.

"The Communist world has been jointly testing the proposition that the United States is over-extended, over-committed, and underprepared to act," the former vice president said in a statement.

"Whether these Communist powers have been acting in concert, or whether they have acted independently, the effect has been jointly to take the measure of the United States," Nixon said. "What is being tested is not the quantity of America's power—but its credibility and its utility."

Nixon charged the government with a "tactical blunder" in failing to provide air and sea cover for the reconnaissance ship U.S.S. Pueblo on its patrol "within sight of the North Korean shore."

"But the longer-range need is to re-establish the credibility of American policy by re-establishing the credibility of American power," he said.

"The Pueblo seizure has further undermined that credibility. What we have to ensure is that it has not been irrevocably undermined," he said.

Nixon said Americans should recognize that an incident like the Pueblo should never have happened and must not be allowed to happen again.

"We need make no apology for the Pueblo's presence in the waters off North Korea," he said. "The repeated belligerent acts and true violations by North Korea presented a clear and present threat to the peace."

"But it seems all but incredible that we should have been guilty of such a tactical

blunder: that an almost unarmed, low-speed craft, crammed with supersecret equipment, should have been sent alone on regular reconnaissance patrol within sight of the North Korean shore without taking the elementary precaution of having adequate air and sea cover available—even after repeated harassments and specific warnings by the North Koreans had made its danger clear."

Nixon, who is expected to announce his candidacy for the GOP presidential nomination shortly, issued the statement from his New York law office.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 6, 1968]

**NIXON CRITICIZES CURB ON BOMBINGS, SAYS UNITED STATES MUST PROSECUTE WAR MORE EFFECTIVELY**

GREEN BAY, WIS., February 5.—Richard M. Nixon, accelerating his attack on President Johnson's handling of the Vietnam war, said today that the Administration had been wrong to suspend the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong before the recent Communist offensive.

He went on to suggest that the fact that the bombing pause had been followed almost immediately by a renewed Communist offensive merely demonstrated the folly of attempting to win over the Communists through peace overtures. Referring to the recent Vietcong attacks in Saigon, he declared:

"I believe that these latest actions, the most aggressive of the war, coming on top of the recent peace offensive—cutting back on the bombing, and softening the San Antonio formula [for ending the war]—points clearly to the fact that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong are not going to change their attitude by virtue of the U.S. protesting for peace."

Mr. Nixon went on to say that "the only effective way to convince Hanoi that 'peace is in their interests' is to 'prosecute the war more effectively.'"

The former Vice President has often said that he shared the Administration's commitment to the war in Vietnam but disagreed with its methods of prosecuting the war. His comments today represented the sharpest and most specific presentation of that general thesis.

Mr. Nixon also said the Vietcong attacks had exposed what he suggested was the fraudulence of the Administration's own public statements on the war. The Administration, he charged, has too often told the country that the "war is going better" and that "peace is around the corner."

Mr. Johnson would be "much better advised to tell the truth," the former Vice President added.

**SUGGESTS PUEBLO APOLOGY**

Asked about the Pueblo incident, Mr. Nixon suggested that the United States might "apologize" to the North Vietnamese if it would help secure the safe return of the 83 crewmen on the captured ship.

In the 1960 campaign, Mr. Nixon berated his opponent, John F. Kennedy, for suggesting that United States apologize to the Soviet Union when an American U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Nixon said that if the Pueblo had strayed within the 12-mile limit off the North Korean coast, "without permission and without notice," it was "a direct violation."

"I'm not suggesting under any circumstances," he went on, "that there should be an apology unless it is clear that that was done. Under those circumstances, I think we could consider it."

[From the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1968]

He (Mr. Nixon) termed the capture and detention of the American intelligence ship Pueblo by North Korea "an incredible humiliation of the United States."

## SENATE—Friday, April 18, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, whom to know aright is life and peace, deliver us now from the turbulent world about us and the vexing problems which lay hold upon us here that in this moment we may focus upon Thy sovereignty, Thy holiness, Thy compassion, and Thy love. Bestow upon us the gift of the quiet soul, the serene spirit, the disciplined mind that each of us may be channels of Thy grace and power. And if at times we have been cruel when we should be kind, vindictive when we should be charitable, little when we should be magnanimous, forgive us. Free us forever from all the vices of the spirit that blight the life, tarnish the character, and dim the holy vision.

Bless our Nation, O Lord, and make us a blessing to others. Renew within us pure religion and a lofty patriotism that we may be fit sponsors of freedom under Thine eternal law. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of

the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, April 15, 1969, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 458. An act for the relief of Yuka Awamura; and

S. 672. An act for the relief of Charles Richard Scott.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1507. An act conferring jurisdiction under the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of John T. Knight;

H.R. 1632. An act for the relief of Romeo da la Torre Sanano and his sister, Julieta de la Torre Sanano;

H.R. 2005. An act for the relief of Lourdes M. Arrant;

H.R. 2218. An act for the relief of William John Moher;

H.R. 2336. An act for the relief of Adela Kaczmarzki;

H.R. 2464. An act for the relief of Ellsabetta Horwath;

H.R. 2940. An act for the relief of Henry E. Dooley;

H.R. 3040. An act for the relief of Lee In Sook;

H.R. 3348. An act for the relief of the estate of Pierre Samuel du Pont Darden;

H.R. 4148. An act to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4546. An act for the relief of Anna Del Baglivo;

H.R. 5136. An act for the relief of George Tilson Weed;

H.R. 6366. An act for the relief of Mrs. Aranka Milinko;

H.R. 6585. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Elgin;

H.R. 6607. An act to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Sp4c. Klaus Josef Strauss;

H.R. 6670. An act for the relief of Teresina Fara;

H.R. 6931. An act for the relief of Giuseppe De Stefano; and

H.R. 10158. An act to provide mail service for Mamie Doud Eisenhower, widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 1507. An act conferring jurisdiction under the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of John T. Knight;

H.R. 1632. An act for the relief of Romeo