

The main purposes of the bill are as follows:

Title I extends to litigants in State courts the same protection against discrimination in selection of juries as provided in Federal courts in the Federal Jury Selection Act of 1968. The bill authorizes the Attorney General to file corrective suits only after due notice and opportunity for the State to take corrective action. States with nondiscriminatory jury selection systems would not be affected.

Title II gives the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue cease-and-desist orders which could be judicially enforced. This authority would greatly increase the commission's effectiveness in its negotiations with those breaking the law.

Title III repeals the provision approved by the last Congress in limiting future appropriations for the Commission on Civil Rights to the 1968 level. This provision precludes annual congressional consideration of Commission needs and, in effect, forces the Commission to curtail its activities with each Government-wide pay increase or increase in the cost of living.

Title IV extends the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for an additional 5 years. If no action is taken, States will be able to remove themselves from the provisions of the act and will be free again to use discriminatory voter registration laws.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1969

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Thursday, May 1, 1969.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, May 1, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 29, 1969:

U.S. ATTORNEYS

Dean C. Smith, of Washington, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Wash-

ington for the term of 4 years vice Smithmore P. Myers, resigned.

R. Jackson B. Smith, Jr., of Georgia, to be U.S. attorney for the southern district of Georgia for the term of 4 years vice Donald H. Fraser, resigning.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, April 29, 1969:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Henry Lehne, of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Postmaster General.

Ronald B. Lee, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Postmaster General.

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC ROADS

Ralph R. Bartelsmeyer, of Illinois, to be Director of Public Roads.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

L. J. Andolsek, of Minnesota, to be a Civil Service Commissioner for the term of 6 years expiring March 1, 1975.

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL COMMISSION

Stewart Lamprey, of New Hampshire, to be Federal cochairman of the New England Regional Commission.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Frank J. Nunlist, of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Postmaster General.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, April 29, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. William R. Barnhart, D.D., minister emeritus, Circular Congregational Church, Charleston, S.C., offered the following prayer:

O God, our help in ages past and hope for years to come, help us to learn and do Thy holy will.

Lift up our minds above the problems that perplex us. Lift up our hearts above the burdens that weight us down. Lift up our souls above the sorrows that grieve us.

May we have less pressure and more prayer, less work and more worship, less talking and more thinking.

Help us to realize the sanctity of politics and to put principles above parties and the virtue of measures above the vote of majorities. Help us to think about the next generation and not just the next election.

May we know that true greatness consists in love, service, and sacrifice. May we hear Thee say, "Inasmuch as you do it unto one of these brothers of mine, even to the least of them, you do it unto Me."

Give us the intelligent good will to match the problems of our time. May each one of us walk down the highway of life in a spirit of true nobility.

Help us to live greatly in a great age and in a great universe and under a great God and with a great aim. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were com-

municated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on April 25, 1969, the President approved and signed a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 10158. An act to provide mail service for Mamie Doud Eisenhower, widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

HEARINGS ON THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

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

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the model cities legislation enacted in 1966 is one of the most important programs in our efforts to improve the lives of those in the blighted neighborhoods in our towns and cities. Local government in 150 communities of every size throughout the country have been intensively planning to use the model cities approach to eradicate slums and to provide for the health, educational, and vocational needs of their people. Just this spring, the first handful of cities received approval of their model cities programs and many more communities expect to be approved shortly.

The Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency has been planning for some time to hold hearings to review the progress and problems in the model cities program. At the same time, there have been a number of suggestions and proposals made affecting the present concept of the model cities program. Secretary Romney's statement yesterday has raised a number of questions which need to be considered as soon as possible.

The Housing Subcommittee will hold

a hearing on the model cities program on Monday, May 12, to discuss with top HUD officials the status of the program and the various recommendations made in connection with it. Other hearings already planned for the balance of that week will limit us to one day at this time, but it is our intention to follow up with additional hearings on model cities at a later date.

REPRESENTATIVE FOREMAN INTRODUCES BILL AIMED AT THE ARMED REVOLTS OF STUDENTS ON AMERICAN UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

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

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill aimed right at the armed revolt of students on American university campuses. This legislation amends title 18 of the United States Code, making it unlawful for any person to carry a weapon on the property of any institution of higher education, which receives or disburses Federal funds, when such person is acting in violation of a law, regulation, ordinance, or rule.

The time has come for an immediate and thorough investigation of this so-called student unrest problem. The departure to gun-carrying anarchists from card-burning leftists should not go unchallenged. We cannot allow the anarchists and subversives to destroy education in America. It is time for administrators of American colleges and universities to get firm in their handling of situations such as the armed revolt on Cornell's campus and several other universities—and we must give them the

laws to back their stand. These gangsters and anarchists must be dealt with as lawbreakers and not be allowed to blackmail officials with their threats.

The vast majority of students—in fact over 90 percent—realize the value of a college education, and they should be allowed to receive it without being harassed and intimidated by a bunch of malcontents and misfits. It is time that all college officials realize that to give in to these demands—by such organizations as the Students for a Democratic Society—can only lead to the destruction of our educational system.

I urge every Member of Congress to support this legislation; and support the educational future of our Nation.

RE-REFERENCE OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 589

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Affairs be discharged from further consideration of House Joint Resolution 589, and that it be re-referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

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

There was no objection.

ONE HUNDRED DAYS

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

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to report briefly on the new baby born last January 20 in the city of Washington, D.C. The child is now 100 days old and appears to be very healthy. The baby had an attack of nausea while viewing its inheritance for the first time, but the medicine prescribed by Dr. Nixon, the attending physician, is apparently beginning to have its effect—and the child shows signs of good growth. The baby has been put on a strict diet that will eliminate all its flabbiness and fat and turn it into a strong, healthy, and vigorous youth by the time it reaches its fourth birthday. Needless to say, as one of the physicians and accoucheurs assigned to look after this newborn, I want it to be the pride and joy of its 200 million godparents.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking and Currency may sit during general debate today.

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

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on

Interstate and Foreign Commerce may sit during general debate today.

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

There was no objection.

COMMEMORATING THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 114.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 114

Whereas Dartmouth College was founded in 1769 by the grant of a royal charter from King George III; and

Whereas the independence of Dartmouth College was preserved in 1819 by a landmark decision of the United States Supreme Court rendered by Chief Justice John Marshall; and

Whereas Dartmouth College, shaped by its history and nourished by its traditions, has grown and prospered to become one of the Nation's outstanding educational institutions, providing generations of young men with the finest liberal arts and professional learning: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress sends congratulations and greeting to Dartmouth College on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of its founding, and extends the hope of the people of the United States that Dartmouth College will continue to grow and prosper in centuries yet to come.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to that "College on the Hill," Dartmouth College, on this occasion marking the 200th anniversary of its founding back in 1769. As a cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 114, and as the Representative of the district in which this fine college is located, these congratulations are clearly appropriate.

Legend and song has it that Eleazar Wheelock was able to keep the college going that first winter "with 500 gallons of New England rum." Fifty years later, in 1819, the independence of Dartmouth was preserved in a landmark decision by the U.S. Supreme Court. That decision not only concerned the future of Dartmouth College, but affected the development of the American university system as we know it.

Today, Dartmouth College stands as truly one of America's best small colleges. Not only has its undergraduate studies program produced generations of young men of the highest caliber, Dartmouth's business, engineering, and medical graduate schools are recognized as among the finest in the Nation. Dartmouth men have been leaders in every field of their endeavor.

In an age when there is much upheaval on our campuses, and when respect for traditional values is sometime overridden by the actions of militant minorities, I hope Dartmouth will take this occasion to again examine its history and reaffirm its traditions which have made it great. I again congratulate the Dartmouth community on its anniversary, and particularly extend my greetings to Dr. John Sloan Dickey on

the eve of his retirement as president of that institution.

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful that the House is today considering House Concurrent Resolution 114 in recognition of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Dartmouth College. Those of us who are Dartmouth alumni, and who are sponsors of this resolution, are proud of our alma mater. We are grateful for our experiences in attending this great educational institution.

The Dartmouth College tradition began when a small college was established in New Hampshire in 1769 by grant of a royal charter from King George III. Following this, Eleazar Wheelock became the founder and first president of the college, with the principal intent of educating Indians and converting them to Christianity.

It was precisely 50 years later that Chief Justice John Marshall of the U.S. Supreme Court rendered his landmark decision in the Dartmouth College case—a case which had been argued before the Court by the then distinguished Senator from New Hampshire, Daniel Webster.

No alumni has demonstrated greater loyalty to their alma mater, nor supported their college more generously with time and money, or evinced greater pride and school spirit than the "Men of Dartmouth."

In behalf of my fellow alumni in the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. MARTIN), the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCHNEBEL), the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MONAGAN), the gentleman from New York (Mr. SMITH), the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MACGREGOR), and in behalf of the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. CLEVELAND) in whose district Dartmouth College is located, I urge a unanimous vote in support of this congratulatory resolution on Dartmouth's 200th birthday.

Mr. Speaker, this college which was described in 1819 by Daniel Webster as "a small college—and yet there are those who love it," has grown into a great institution serving the educational needs of more than 3,000 students. Dartmouth College today has endowments valued at more than \$130 million and expends more than \$20 million per year for education and general operating purposes.

Dartmouth provides a wide and modern curriculum in the liberal arts. The college also includes a School of Medicine which dates back to the year 1797, the Thayer School of Engineering established in 1871, and the Tuck School of Business Administration founded in 1890.

The late Ernest Martin Hopkins, who was president of the college when many of us were students there, set forth Dartmouth's main objective when he declared that Dartmouth's concern is "not for what men shall do, but for what they shall be."

Dartmouth College has set an example in providing educational opportunities for disadvantaged young men. The so-called ABC program has demonstrated successfully that those who have an educational potential can be adequately assisted during the summer months to the point where they can enter college and receive the decided advantage of a higher education experience.

Dartmouth College has been a leader in many innovative educational programs. Indeed, under the leadership of its president, John Sloan Dickey, it has risen to a position of preeminence among the institutions of higher learning in the Nation.

The plans for Dartmouth's third century are already set forth in an ambitious program estimated to cost \$51 million, most of which will be contributed by her alumni. We can expect that a display of the proverbial "Dartmouth spirit" will result in the attainment of the college's new goals.

Mr. Speaker, in terms of most State universities, Dartmouth is small, and it is my hope that it will remain so. But, while remaining small in the size of its student body, I suggest that it will continue to have a great influence on the minds of those who have the privilege of attending Dartmouth College in Hanover, N.H., on the Nation, and in the world.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to state my support of House Concurrent Resolution 114 which expresses the congratulations of the Congress of the United States on the 200th anniversary of the founding of Dartmouth College. As an alumnus of this institution of the class of 1933, I was happy to cosponsor this resolution with the other Dartmouth alumni whose names appear with mine.

Dartmouth College, created by royal charter and organized by Eleazar Wheelock, is one of the historic institutions of higher learning in our Nation. Over the last two centuries, our college has been a source of learning and inspiration and the men who have been sent forth from Hanover have left their imprint upon the life of the Nation.

Dartmouth alumni have served with distinction in public life, in education, in the ministry, and in the Nation's business enterprises. They have been characterized with a ruggedness of thought and an independence of opinion that have had their origin in their education in the hills of New Hampshire.

The success of Dartmouth's modern era can be attributed to three great presidents—President Tucker, President Hopkins, and President Dickey. I have been privileged to know the last two whose service has covered a period of 53 years. An alumnus would be ungrateful and negligent indeed who did not emphasize clearly the debt which the Dartmouth we know owes to Ernest Hopkins and John Dickey, not only for expanding the physical and intellectual resources of the college, but, also, for maintaining its balance and direction in a world of conflicting and changing ideologies.

Dartmouth today shares the turmoil that besets the academic world. The challenge of the revolutionaries threatens the stability and continuity of traditional liberal arts institutions such as ours. In many ways, their very receptivity to challenge and differences of opinion has made them prey to the dedicated and destructive dissidents.

As we near the celebration of Dartmouth's 200th birthday, it is my fond hope that Dartmouth will survive this challenge, that the firmness and determination which have characterized her

administration in the past will continue, and that with informed management of the current crisis of our Alma Mater will in the future move forward to even greater contribution toward the maintenance of a free and just America.

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, it is a source of great satisfaction to Dartmouth men to realize that the Congress of the United States, through the medium of House Concurrent Resolution 114, has recognized the 200th anniversary of the founding of Dartmouth College. As a graduate in the class of 1930, I was honored in being asked to cosponsor this resolution with the other Dartmouth alumni here in Congress.

The Dartmouth family is properly proud of the long tradition and fine heritage which the school has enjoyed and which has placed the college in the front ranks of the American higher education system. The continued advance being made by the independent college organizations in this country is a healthy sign of progress toward the achievement of the American ideal. The loyal sons of Dartmouth constitute a close-knit group who continue to show the influence which this institution has left upon them.

It is recognized that much of the success of Dartmouth in the 20th century may be attributed to its three great presidents—Tucker, Hopkins, and Dickey.

I was fortunate in knowing the latter two gentlemen personally and have benefited from their sage counsel. It is encouraging to know that the people of this country, through the voice of the Members of Congress, salute and recognize the fine enduring influence which this college has brought to bear.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROGERS OF COLORADO

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: On page 1, strike out all "Whereas" clauses.

The amendment was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks on the resolution just passed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 50]

Adair	Diggs	Ottinger
Anderson, Ill.	Edwards, La.	Pike
Annunzio	Fish	Powell
Arends	Fisher	Pryor
Bates	Ford,	Rarick
Blanton	William D.	Reld, Ill.
Blatnik	Gallagher	Relfel
Bolling	Green, Oreg.	Rivers
Broyhill, Va.	Gubser	Ronan
Cabell	Hagan	Rumsfeld
Cahill	Hébert	Scheuer
Carey	Kirwan	Shipley
Celler	Landrum	Stafford
Clark	Lowenstein	Stephens
Clay	Maillard	Symington
Conte	Mink	Teague, Tex.
Cunningham	Murphy, N.Y.	Ullman
Daddario	Nix	Whalley
Davis, Ga.	O'Neal, Ga.	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 377 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

OUTSTANDING TEACHER AWARD TO MISS BARBARA GOLEMAN, OF FLORIDA

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

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, we of the Florida delegation were very much thrilled yesterday that a lovely lady, who happens to be, I am proud to say, from my congressional district, Miss Barbara Goleman, was the recipient, in the beautiful rose garden at the White House, from the President of the United States, of the National Teacher of the Year Award.

Miss Goleman was accompanied by her mother and father. She was also accompanied by our distinguished State superintendent of public instruction, the Honorable Floyd Christian; the superintendent of public instruction for Dade County, the Honorable E. L. Whigham; and the chairman of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, the Honorable G. Holmes Braddock.

Miss Goleman was also accompanied to the White House ceremony, attended by the members of our delegation, by three outstanding students: Kenneth Mayland, who has won a scholarship to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Jose Mateo, a Cuban refugee, the president of the Jackson student body, who has a scholarship to Princeton; and another young lady, Velma Rolle, a native of Bimini, an outstanding student at the Miami Jackson High School.

Miss Goleman and these students and our officials represent the finest in educational leadership in our country. We are very proud that for the first time not only for Florida but also for the South this distinguished award by our President, in the presence of our delegation, has been bestowed upon Miss Barbara Goleman, an outstanding teacher in Miami Jackson High School.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HIGHWAY SAFETY ACT OF 1966—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-109)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President

of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 202 of the Highway Safety Act of 1966, I am transmitting herewith for the information of the Congress the Second Annual Report on the administration of the Act.

The report covers the period January 1 through December 31, 1968.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 28, 1969.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL TRAFFIC AND MOTOR VEHICLE SAFETY ACT OF 1966—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-110)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 120 of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, I am transmitting herewith for the information of the Congress the Second Annual Report on the administration of the Act.

The report covers the period January 1 through December 31, 1968.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 28, 1969.

VETERANS' BENEFITS CALCULATOR

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-168) on the House concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 35) authorizing the printing of additional copies of a veterans' benefits calculator, and ask for immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 35

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That after the conclusion of the second session of the Ninety-first Congress there shall be printed fifty thousand two hundred and forty copies of a Veterans' Benefits Calculator prepared by the Veterans' Affairs Committee of which two thousand copies shall be for the use of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, two thousand copies for the use of the Committee on Finance, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and eighty-five copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-five copies for the use of the Senate.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 4, following the word "thousand", strike out "two hundred and forty" and insert in lieu thereof "and seventy".

Page 1, line 9, strike out "four hundred

and eighty-five" and insert in lieu thereof "three hundred and fifteen".

After line 11, add the following new section:

"Sec. 2. Copies of such document shall be prorated to Members of the House of Representatives and Senate for a period of sixty days, after which the unused balance shall revert to the respective House and Senate document rooms".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUMMARY OF VETERANS' LEGISLATION REPORTED, 91ST CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. 91-169) on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 95) authorizing certain printing for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and ask for immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 95

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there shall be printed for the use of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives fifty-six thousand one hundred copies of a publication entitled "Summary of Veterans Legislation Reported, Ninety-first Congress, First Session", with an additional forty-three thousand nine hundred copies for the use of Members of the House of Representatives.

With the following committee amendment:

After line 8, add the following new section: "Sec. 2. Copies of such document shall be prorated to Members of the House of Representatives for a period of sixty days, after which the unused balance shall revert to the House document room."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. 91-170) on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 162) authorizing the printing of the book, "Our American Government," as a House document, and ask for immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 162

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That,

SECTION 1. With the permission of the copyright owner of the book, "Our American Government and How It Works: 1001 Questions and Answers by Wright Patman, Member of Congress", published by Bantam Books, Incorporated, there shall be printed as a House document, with emendations, the pamphlet entitled "Our American Government. What Is It? How Does It Function?"; and that there

shall be printed one million eighty-four thousand additional copies of such document, of which two hundred and six thousand copies shall be for the use of the Senate, and eight hundred and seventy-eight thousand copies shall be for the use of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. Copies of such document shall be prorated to Members of the Senate and House of Representatives for a period of sixty days, after which the unused balance shall revert to the respective Senate and House document rooms.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. DENT) is recognized.

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

Mr. DENT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I am curious to know whether in such a case, as is covered by House Concurrent Resolutions 162 and 192 whether the original authors of these publications are remunerated in any way by these publications.

Mr. DENT. No—Absolutely not. There are no royalties attached to any of them.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. DENT. You are welcome.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SCHOOL PRAYER HEARINGS

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-171) on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 183) to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional copies of school prayer hearings and ask for immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 183

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, one thousand additional copies each, to be printed concurrently with the publications entitled "Proposed Amendments to the Constitution Relating to Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools, Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, parts 1, 2, and 3", Eighty-eighth Congress, second session.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, lines 4 and 5, strike out the words "each, to be printed concurrently with" and insert in lieu thereof the words "each of".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HOW OUR LAWS ARE MADE

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. 91-172) on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 192) to reprint the brochure entitled "How Our Laws Are Made," and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 192

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the brochure entitled "How Our Laws Are Made", by Doctor Charles J. Zinn, law revision counsel of the House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary, as set out in House Document 125 of the Ninetieth Congress, be printed as a House document, with emendations by the author and with a foreword by the Honorable Emanuel Celler; and that there be printed two hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred additional copies, of which twenty thousand shall be for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary and the balance prorated to the Members of the House of Representatives.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING PRINTING OF A REVISED EDITION OF "THE CAPITOL"

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-173) on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 193) authorizing the printing as a House document of a revised edition of "The Capitol," and providing for additional copies, and ask for immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 193

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That there be printed as a House document with illustrations, a revised edition of "The Capitol", compiled under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing; and that four hundred and sixty-nine thousand additional copies shall be printed, of which four hundred and thirty-nine thousand copies shall be for the use of the House of Representatives and thirty thousand copies shall be for the use of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HOUSE REPORT ENTITLED "UNSHACKLING LOCAL GOVERNMENT (REVISED EDITION)"

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-174) on the resolution (H. Res. 185) authorizing the printing of additional copies of a House report of the 90th Congress, second session, entitled "Unshackling Local Government (Revised Edition)," and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 185

Resolved. That there be printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations two thousand five hundred additional copies of House Report Numbered

1270 of the Ninetieth Congress, second session, entitled "Unshackling Local Government (Revised Edition)."

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

Mr. DENT. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I am again curious to know what constitutes an emendation.

Mr. DENT. Extra remarks that are added to the original script. It is in the nature of a correction.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PRINT ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HEARINGS ON THE NOMINATION OF WALTER J. HICKEL TO BE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-175) on the Senate concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 5) to print additional copies of hearings on the nomination of Walter J. Hickel to be Secretary of the Interior, and ask for immediate consideration of the Senate concurrent resolution, as follows:

The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution.

S. CON. RES. 5

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That there be printed for the use of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs five thousand copies of a compilation of parts 1 and 2 of the hearings entitled "The Nomination of Governor Walter J. Hickel, of Alaska, to be Secretary of the Interior" held January 15-18, and 18, 20, 1969.

The Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PRINT AS A SENATE DOCUMENT STUDIES AND HEARINGS ON THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-176) on the Senate concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 15) to print as a Senate document studies and hearings on the Alliance for Progress, and ask for immediate consideration of the Senate concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 15

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That there shall be printed as a Senate document a compilation of the studies on the Survey of the Alliance for Progress prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, and the hearings held relating thereto, with illustrations.

Sec. 2. There shall be printed three thousand additional copies of such Senate document. Such additional copies shall be for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF THE EULOGIES ON DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-177) on the Senate concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 16) authorizing the printing of the eulogies of Dwight David Eisenhower, and ask for immediate consideration of the Senate concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 16

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That there be printed as a Senate document the eulogies on Dwight David Eisenhower delivered in the Congress; the eulogy delivered by President Nixon and the benediction by the Reverend Doctor Elson in the Rotunda of the Capitol on Sunday, March 30; and the text of the funeral service, including prayers and scriptural selections read by the Reverend Doctor Elson, at Washington Cathedral, on Monday, March 31, 1969.

Resolved further. That the copy shall be prepared and bound in such style as the Joint Committee on Printing may direct.

The Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE CERTAIN PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

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

There was no objection.

COAST GUARD AUTHORIZATION

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 369 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 369

Resolved. That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4153) to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. COLMER) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 369 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 4153 to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard.

The trend for the Coast Guard is very interesting. In 1965, the amount authorized was \$85 million; in 1966, \$115 million; in 1967, \$103 million; in 1968, \$107 million; in 1969, \$90 million; and, for fiscal year 1970, the amount sought in the bill as introduced was \$82.8 million. During those years the missions of the Coast Guard increased and the needs for its services have expanded. The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported the bill amended with an increased total authorization of \$142.8 million.

In the authorization for procurement, increasing capability and extension of service life of vessels, the committee increased the procurement of high-endurance cutters from one to three, and increased the authorization from \$23 million to \$55 million.

In the authorization for procurement and extension of service life of aircraft, the committee increased the procurement of medium range helicopters from six to nine, and increased the authorization from \$11 million to \$17 million.

The bill as introduced authorized \$37 million for establishment or development of installations and facilities. The committee increased the number of facilities involved and increased the authorization to \$57 million.

For payment to bridge owners for the cost of alteration of railroad and public highway bridges to permit free navigation, the committee increased the authorization from \$9 to \$12 million.

Coast Guard activities cover a wide range and it has operated through the years with unflinching efficiency.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 369 in order that H.R. 4153 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 369 provides for 1 hour of general debate, with an open rule, for the consideration of H.R. 4153, the Coast Guard authorization bill.

The purpose of the bill is to authorize for fiscal 1970 the Coast Guard acquisition, construction, and rivers improvement programs. The original bill called for authorizations totaling \$82,800,000. After hearings, the committee increased the authorizations to \$142,800,000 in the reported bill.

The bill authorizes the construction of three high-endurance cutters—the original bill authorized one. These additional two cutters increase the authorizations contained in the bill by some \$21,900,000. In support, the committee

notes that most of the current 33 cutters operated by the Coast Guard are greatly over age and only eight are new vessels. In such cases operational maintenance becomes as costly as new construction.

The bill also authorizes construction of one buoy tender and improvements in existing high endurance cutters to make them more up to date.

The original bill authorized \$11,924,000 for aircraft procurement and improvement. The reported bill increases this authorization to \$17,188,000. The increase is caused by enlarging the procurement of helicopters from six to nine. These aircraft are used primarily as rescue and recovery vehicles. Also included in the aircraft authorization is funding for the replacement of the center wing box support beam on 16 C-130 transport aircraft operated by the Coast Guard. Metal fatigue has appeared and the beams must be replaced to insure safety.

Construction authorizations are increased from \$37,788,000 to a new total of \$57,378,000. Some 33 projects, including a radio station, personnel facilities, navigational facilities, and general modernization and upgrading of existing facilities are authorized.

Finally, the bill increases the authorizations for bridge alterations from \$9,404,000 to \$12,650,000. The report notes that at the present time there is a backlog of alterations to bridges which has already been deemed to be hazardous to navigation which exceeds \$40,000,000 in costs. The committee believes that work must be speeded up on these projects.

The previous administration supported the introduced bill by letter dated January 16, as did the Bureau of the Budget. The report gives no indication of the present administration's position, either to the original bill or to the reported bill. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker. I urge the adoption of the rule.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4153) to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Maryland.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 4153, with Mr. GILBERT in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GARMATZ) will be recognized for 30 min-

utes, and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KEITH) will be recognized for 30 minutes. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I know that I need not devote any time to calling the attention of this body to the activities of the Coast Guard. We know that they range from minimizing the effect of oil spills, through protection of our shipping from icebergs to protecting the vast number of small boat users in our country.

Over the years, not only has the number of missions assigned to the Coast Guard grown but virtually all of them have increased in size and importance.

During the past year, we have seen the Coast Guard coping with two major oil spills in Puerto Rico and California, and right at this moment they are devoting a major effort to assist victims of floods in the Middle West. Within the past 3 years, they have taken over the responsibility for removal of bridge obstructions which impede navigation on our inland navigable waters.

The exploits of the Coast Guard in Southeast Asia are too well known to require extended comment.

At the present time, there are five large cutters and twenty-six 82-foot patrol boats maintaining a vigil over the shoreline. They have compiled a tremendous record in preventing infiltration of men and materials by sea, and, unfortunately, as usual, their exploits have not received proper publicity.

The bill as presented to the committee for consideration totaled \$82,800,000. The committee, after hearing the Coast Guard and considering its needs, increased the amount to \$142,800,000.

I submit to you that it is not necessary to be an expert in the field of Coast Guard activities to recognize the need for greater expenditures. In the past 5 years, appropriations have averaged almost \$100 million per year, but this year only \$82,800,000 is sought. I think that the inadequacy of the amount is best shown by the figures on Coast Guard equipment contained in the hearings before the committee. The Coast Guard is presently operating six high-endurance cutters, average age 33 years; 13 high-endurance cutters, average age 27 years; 12 high-endurance cutters, average age 23 years; 10 medium-endurance cutters ranging in age from 24 to 43 years; one cargo and repair vessel constructed in 1945; and nine icebreakers, the newest of which was built in 1954. Its buoy tenders are as old as 37 years.

I submit to you, gentlemen, that if you were aware of the situation, you would hesitate to travel aboard any vessel as old as these. Why then should we require our Coast Guard engaged in our protection to use such vessels?

With respect to shoreside installations, the same situation prevails. We are woefully short of accommodations for Coast Guard men and their families and the organization suffers by comparison with quarters furnished men of the other armed services.

I submit that it is grossly unfair to stint this devoted organization with respect to its needs for our protection. We

are not talking about money to be spent in landing a man on the moon; we are talking about providing sufficient equipment to rescue us if through bad luck or bad judgment in the operation of our small boats we get in trouble. We are talking about protecting our people from the consequences of an oil spill and we are talking about rescuing us from the consequences of major floods. These are not unusual—they are things that can happen to us any day and it is important that we provide sufficient tools to the organization devoted to protecting us from such emergencies.

I am fully conscious of the many demands upon our resources, but I feel that we are being penny wise and pound foolish in diverting money from an organization devoted primarily to lifesaving to other fields. We are permitting this great protective organization to slip backward year by year, and the time can come when our failure to supply adequate equipment can result in a very serious tragedy. I hope this does not come to pass. I shall do my utmost to prevent it by providing sufficient money for the minimum needs of the organization. I devoutly hope that the Members of this body will join me in that end.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, I join with my committee chairman in supporting the bill H.R. 4153, which authorizes funds for the Coast Guard for fiscal year 1970. This is the first authorization bill to come before the Congress under the new administration. Some may fear it comes to us as a Trojan Horse. They might ask, "How can we stop inflation if we start right off authorizing more than the Bureau of the Budget thinks justifiable?"

It is true, of course, that we are in the middle of an inflationary cycle or spiral which is most difficult to stop or reverse; but the Coast Guard is an agency of our Government which has been historically overlooked or slighted when it comes to the time to replace our vessels, aircraft, or shore installations.

So, Mr. Chairman, I concur with the chairman of the committee. I believe as he has said that to do other than support this bill, although it is higher than Budget has recommended, would be "pennywise and pound foolish."

We have very carefully examined the proposals of the Coast Guard as reviewed by the Department of Transportation. We have, in my view, come up with a bill calling for the minimum authorization which will enable us to sustain the capability necessary to keep our Coast Guard operational.

In recent months, we have heard much about the deterioration of our Nation's sea power, both with respect to naval ships and merchant vessels. Sadly, very few of us have voiced concern over the similar deterioration of vessels operated by the Coast Guard. By restoring \$60 million to this year's authorization, the committee is going on record against any further decline in this vital national service.

Let us look at the question of high endurance cutters.

The earlier appropriation would have

permitted only one, while three are desperately needed. It would be false economy to deny the Nation the additional two which the Coast Guard requires. Five of the 33 cutters currently in operation are stationed in the waters of Southeast Asia to help meet our commitments in Vietnam. Of these 33 vessels, six were constructed in 1936 and three are converted World War II seaplane tenders. Except for eight new vessels, all of this class is well overage, averaging 26 years each.

And so, Mr. Chairman, many Coast Guard vessels are reaching a point of no return when they become irrevocably uneconomical to operate. What is more, by not replacing or repairing them, we are, in effect, asking men who serve in the Coast Guard to endure deplorable living conditions. As the Committee on Merchant Marine has justly noted in its report, it is our view that "substantial sums could be saved by accelerating rather than retarding the replacement program as is the present Coast Guard policy."

Mr. Chairman, as the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Coast Guard, and as the Representative for Cape Cod and the adjacent area—a haven of small boat activity—I am acutely aware of the need for an effective U.S. Coast Guard. I also know that the many humanitarian services performed by this agency will become less frequent unless the Congress provides adequate funding for the tools of the Coast Guard's trade—vessels, aircraft, shore and offshore facilities.

Mr. Chairman, recently a book entitled "The U.S. Coast Guard" by Capt. Walter C. Capron, U.S. Coast Guard, retired, was brought to my attention. I would like to mention one sentence which stuck in my mind. It is, and, I quote:

Almost invariably, whenever an economy drive was started by either the Congress or the executive branch, the Coast Guard seemed to be one of the first to feel the pinch.

Today, this Congress faces the problem of budgetary limitations. However, in this bill the urgent needs of the Coast Guard are recognized, and by passing it, we will make possible the refutation of Captain Capron's observation.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Chairman, I rise to join my colleagues on the Committee on Merchant Marine in support of the Coast Guard authorization bill, H.R. 4153. This legislation is the latest in a series of annual authorization bills which the Committee on Merchant Marine has reported designed to upgrade the various tools employed by the Coast Guard to carry out its many responsibilities.

H.R. 4153 would authorize the appropriation of \$142.8 million for fiscal year 1970 for the procurement and repair of vessels and aircraft, construction and renovation of various shore facilities and aids to navigation; and the alteration of bridges over navigable waters which constitute a hazard to navigation.

The Committee on Merchant Marine has consistently authorized funds for the Coast Guard in excess of the President's budget request, and this bill is no exception. While President Nixon did not reduce the amount requested by the prior

administration for the Coast Guard, the members of the Committee on Merchant Marine felt that the budget request of \$82.8 million was woefully inadequate, and failed to deal realistically with the urgent needs of the Coast Guard, particularly with regard to vessel replacement.

Thirteen of the Coast Guard's fleet of 33 high-endurance cutters are former Navy seaplane tenders designed for operation in protected waters as mobile tenders of Navy flying boats. Their original use dictated a shallow-draft design of relatively light construction. In contrast to this designed use, the Coast Guard has employed these vessels for years on the high seas under the most severe conditions.

It is significant to note that almost the entire fleet of these Navy seaplane tenders has been retired as having served its useful life. The Coast Guard remains the exception and is compelled to retain these 26-year-old ships. The Coast Guard vessel replacement program has averaged about two ships per year since 1964. At that rate, it will take another 7 years to replace this fleet of aged seaplane tenders.

The Coast Guard budget request, as finally approved by the Bureau of the Budget, contained funds for only one new cutter in this replacement program. At that rate, the Coast Guard would be required to retain some of these seaplane tenders in commission until they have seen well over 30 years' service. Undoubtedly, before this were allowed to come to pass, a crash program of replacement would be authorized. The only approach to the problem, however, which makes sense both financially and in terms of the Coast Guard's responsibilities is to provide for the orderly replacement of these ships before such a crisis arises.

The seaplane tenders are only part of the story, however. The Coast Guard maintains six 327-foot high-endurance cutters of the *Secretary* class with an average age of 33 years. It also utilizes twelve 250-foot, high-endurance cutters with an average age of 23 years. A review of the complete inventory of Coast Guard vessels reveals an equally discouraging picture of rapidly aging medium endurance cutters, ice breakers, buoy tenders, and lesser craft. The only bright aspect of this vessel replacement program is the high quality of dedication of the men who are required to serve on and maintain these ships. It is, therefore, our conviction that a three-ship construction program is the minimum which should be funded.

I doubt that we will ever be fortunate enough to reach a position where all of the needs of the Coast Guard can be adequately funded. There always appear to be more programs in search of funds than the Federal budget can support. It is simply a matter of priority, and unfortunately successive administrations and Congresses have failed to give the Coast Guard the high priority it deserves. I believe that the funds authorized in this bill are a step in the right direction, and I urge its overwhelming support by my colleagues. The authorization of funds

is, of course, only the first step. It is essential that we continue our support of the Coast Guard and back up our awareness of its needs by appropriating the funds for the entire program set forth in H.R. 4153.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. CLARK), chairman of the Coast Guard Subcommittee.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Chairman, the Coast Guard, as one of the oldest organizations of the U.S. Government, has always played a major part in the welfare of the people whether it be in connection with protecting our shores from smugglers in the very early days, or providing prompt rescue service required by major disasters during the present. Unfortunately, the organization has always been much too modest in expressing its needs with the result that I believe that it has always had far less than the necessary minimum to provide service to our people.

An inspection of its various shoreside installations and a number of its vessels indicates that it is operating beyond reasonable safety limits, and it is unreasonable to ask the devoted officers and men of the organization to risk their lives and well-being unnecessarily in our behalf. We should provide them with adequate equipment and shelter. The fact that we are not doing so is indicated by the recurring item in our bills calling for the increase in habitability standards aboard vessels. What we are admitting thereby is that we are asking these men to live aboard vessels that by any human standards are inadequate. For some reason, we choose to spend money to upgrade vessels that are long since obsolete rather than provide new vessels that would operate more efficiently and more economically. This same approach is contained in this bill and it is my view that we should increase our efforts to provide new equipment so as to reduce this upgrading item that we report annually. There is no question but that new equipment is essential for the continued efficiency of the organization and that appropriations for the past few years have been inadequate to maintain the existing degree of obsolescence, let alone reducing it. Its vessels are getting older and shoreside installations more inadequate, and it is essential that for our own well-being, as well as the Coast Guard, that we make greater efforts to update them.

I feel that the increase reported by the committee in this bill is more than justified and it is my hope that the House will agree with me.

(Mr. DOWNING (at the request of Mr. GARMATZ) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Chairman, I am seriously concerned over the alarming downward trend in Coast Guard appropriations.

I am aware of the problems confronting the administration, and our Appropriations Committees in trying to meet the many demands upon the taxpayer's dollar, but I feel that economy in this particular area is very dangerous.

Every year there are more small-boat users requiring protection. I have recently read that some of the present Midwest floods are the greatest in a hundred years, and I note the increased incidence of oil spills in our waters. In each case, the Coast Guard is called upon to meet the problems, and thanks to our penny pinching policy, each year it has older and older equipment to work with.

I feel that for our own selfish sakes we should take steps to bring its equipment up to date and, consequently, I support wholeheartedly this bill, as amended by my subcommittee.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Maryland yield for a minute or two?

Mr. GARMATZ. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman about the expenditure for the cost of alteration of railroad and public highway bridges. Is it normal procedure that money be authorized to the Coast Guard for the alteration of highway bridges?

Mr. GARMATZ. It comes under the Truman-Hobbs Act, which gives the Coast Guard that responsibility on inland waterways. The amount, I think, was \$9 million, and we increased it to \$12 million. Generally speaking, there is approximately \$40 million worth of construction work that could be carried out if the money were provided.

Mr. GROSS. But is it not the responsibility of the railroads, for instance, to alter or maintain their bridges?

Mr. GARMATZ. It is a joint responsibility as far as finances are concerned.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARMATZ. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. This was primarily done because the Corps of Engineers had had the jurisdiction at one time, but now, since the Department of Transportation has the jurisdiction, it is in our area and under our control.

Mr. GROSS. Apparently a substantial amount of money, \$6.4 million, will go for alteration or whatever is being done to the Calumet River railroad bridges near Chicago. Is that not correct?

Mr. CLARK. This, ordinarily, I would say to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS), would come under the Corps of Engineers, but now it comes under the jurisdiction of the Department of Transportation.

Mr. GROSS. It is the first time I have seen this language.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker if the gentleman from Maryland will yield further, it will not be under the Corps of Engineers at any future time.

Mr. GARMATZ. It has been under the Coast Guard for the last 4 years, I would say.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GARMATZ. Generally speaking, on our inland waterways the user is also paying a certain amount of the costs along with the Government.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I urge support of the Coast Guard authorization bill, sponsored by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GARMATZ), chairman of the House

Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

H.R. 4153 authorizes appropriations for the procurement of vessels, aircraft, and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard. This authorization includes funds for the construction of high-endurance cutters, several of which are presently utilized by the Coast Guard as oceanic weather stations, furnishing navigational and weather data to ships and planes. The Coast Guard also has five cutters stationed in the waters around Southeast Asia.

Continuous maintenance by the Coast Guard of its ships, planes, and facilities is necessary to insure their efficient operation at minimal cost. Moneys will be spent to modernize buoy tenders and aircraft, as well as to upgrade facilities at the Coast Guard Academy, and training centers for enlisted men.

Construction of new recovery aircraft is authorized by H.R. 4153, and in response to the lack of adequate housing for Coast Guard personnel, the bill also provides for construction of new family quarters.

Responsibility for alteration of bridges over navigable waters belongs to the Coast Guard and funds are provided for the continuation of their work to eliminate existing obstructions to free navigation. A severe backlog presently confronts the Coast Guard in this area and with increasingly larger ships and greater traffic, it is imperative that the program be permitted to progress.

In recognition, too, of the Coast Guard's responsibilities for direction of cleanup operations in the event of major oil spills, funds have been authorized for increased research and development of advanced techniques so that a problem of this magnitude can be dealt with swiftly and expeditiously.

The Coast Guard performs a wide range of duties and it is vital to the efficacy of their performance that this legislation be approved. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, it is difficult to say too much in support of Coast Guard assistance toward all of our people.

From the Ice Patrol through the entire range of merchant marine safety, we are all better off because of the presence of the Coast Guard. By reason of its great work, we can step aboard any steamship operating under the American flag with complete confidence that it is as safe as it can reasonably be made. Countless lives have been saved by the vigilance of the Coast Guard in vessel inspection and personnel licensing.

I am proud to say that we have the best merchant marine in the world, and the Coast Guard can claim a fair share of credit for this fact.

I am heartily in support of this bill and believe that it merits the approval of every Member of the House.

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Chairman, I submit that we must do our part to upgrade the proud traditions of the Coast Guard by supplying adequate equipment for its needs.

For the past several years, we have endeavored to upgrade its vessels but have

met with indifferent success through failure to appropriate sufficient money. At the present time, high-endurance cutters, forced to operate in the rigors of the north Atlantic winters, are as much as 36 years old. We continue to spend money to upgrade these vessels and to provide decent quarters for the men who serve aboard them. Instead, we should be providing new vessels for this service.

The policy of the Coast Guard itself and of the Bureau of the Budget is one of patching and making do. It is my belief that it would be far more economical to provide modern equipment which would do the job better with possibly fewer units, and it would certainly give many of us a greater feeling of confidence to know that this service which functions primarily for our protection has adequate equipment to do its job.

Mrs. SULLIVAN, Mr. Chairman, I cannot say too much in support of this bill. We who live along the inland waterways know of the great assistance rendered to our people. We see the river channels equipped with buoys to promote safe navigation not only for commercial vessels, but also for our small boat people.

We know of the great assistance rendered to flood victims, and we see the presence of the Coast Guard in every major disaster.

As the testimony before the committee revealed all too clearly, Coast Guard equipment on the average is growing older and older. I strongly feel that unless serious attempts are made to arrest the decline, that some day we will wake up to the fact that the Coast Guard is not able to meet its responsibilities and a major tragedy will be the result.

I do not believe for a minute that this bill, as amended, will be sufficient, but it will represent a start toward adequate equipment and, therefore, it has my wholehearted support.

Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. Chairman, I would like to explain my negative vote today on H.R. 4153, a bill authorizing procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard. In examining the bill I note that while the original request for vessels was \$23,684,000, the marked-up final version called for an additional appropriation of \$31,900,000 above the original amount. Heading the procurement list we find three high endurance cutters, instead of the one originally requested. The committee report on the bill states that the Coast Guard is presently operating five high endurance cutters "in the waters of Southeast Asia." What are these cutters doing there?

Mr. Chairman, although I am not well versed in these matters, it has always been my impression that the proper role of the Coast Guard is what its name implies. In addition, I recognize the need for effective performance by the Coast Guard in furnishing navigation and weather data, in search and rescue missions, and in cooperating in various international programs to insure safety on the high seas. I do, however, question the expenditure of additional sums to support the Coast Guard's involvement in the Vietnam conflict, and to a lesser ex-

tent the modification of its own vessels to meet Navy requirements.

I have the highest admiration and respect for the Coast Guard and for the dedication of its officers and men. My vote was meant to remind my colleagues that we should not risk the diminution of the capabilities and resources of the Coast Guard needed to perform its own important tasks by unduly expanding its operations into areas and functions outside its proper scope.

Mr. RYAN, Mr. Chairman, H.R. 4153 authorizes \$142,800,000 for the procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of facilities for the Coast Guard—an increase of \$60,000,000 over the original budget request of the Department of Transportation which was \$82,800,000.

At a time when the Nixon administration has reduced budget requests for critical domestic programs, there is a serious question as to whether or not Congress should increase the fiscal year 1970 Coast Guard authorization. If the agency did not request the additional authorization, in view of the crisis facing our Nation, why should Congress assign a higher priority to this area?

The major increase in the bill is \$31,900,000 for three high endurance cutters instead of one as originally requested. Five of the Coast Guard's present complement of 33 high endurance cutters are operating in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Although there are worthwhile programs authorized in this bill, including facilities for navigation aids and sewage treatment facilities, I am not prepared to support H.R. 4153 because it provides for the procurement of vessels which are to be used to carry on the war in Vietnam.

As testimony from Deputy Under Secretary of Transportation Charles Baker during the course of the hearings on H.R. 4153 makes clear, the Coast Guard acts during time of war as a supplement to the other branches of the Armed Services. Mr. Baker specified in his testimony before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries that the Coast Guard is "now providing important support to our military efforts in Southeast Asia"—hearings, page 5.

Admiral W. J. Smith, the Coast Guard Commandant, testified:

The Coast Guard continues to contribute to the military effort with approximately 1,400 personnel, five high endurance cutters, and 26 patrol boats assigned to duty in Vietnam.

These patrol boats and cutters are utilized in Operation Market Time, patrolling the coast of Vietnam to prevent infiltration and in-country redistribution of Vietcong weapons and supplies, and provide naval gunfire support." (Hearings, p. 31.)

While I regret having to oppose a bill which contains several desirable features, I believe that Congress should refuse to authorize or appropriate additional funds in support of the war in Vietnam. As I have indicated on many occasions before this body, the power of the purse is the only means through which Congress can exercise ultimate control over the conduct of foreign affairs. I regret that the authorization for the procurement of additional vessels

has been coupled with authorizations for other projects which I support. Nevertheless, the fact that portions of this bill provide authorization for the construction of vessels earmarked for the Vietnam war necessitates that I vote against it.

Mr. GARMATZ, Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That funds are hereby authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 1970 for the use of the Coast Guard as follows:

VESSELS

For procurement, increasing capability and extension of service life of vessels, \$23,684,000.

A. Procurement:

- (1) one high endurance cutter;
- (2) one coastal buoy tender;
- (3) vessel design.

B. Increasing capability:

- (1) modify balloon tracking radar for high endurance cutters to improve target acquisition;
- (2) install tactical navigational equipment on two high endurance cutters;
- (3) increase fuel capacity and improve habitability on three hundred and twenty-seven foot high endurance cutters;
- (4) modernize and improve selected buoy tenders.

C. Extension of service life:

- (1) Re-engine two ferryboats.

AIRCRAFT

For procurement and extension of service life of aircraft, \$11,924,000.

A. Procurement:

- (1) six medium range helicopters.

B. Extension of service life:

- (1) replace center wing box beam of six HC-130 aircraft.

CONSTRUCTION

For establishment or development of installations and facilities by acquisition, construction, conversion, extension, or installation of permanent or temporary public works, including the preparation of sites and furnishing of appurtenances, utilities, and equipment for the following, \$37,788,000.

- (1) San Francisco, California: radio station;
- (2) Air station, Brooklyn, New York: barracks, messing;
- (3) Base, Boston, Massachusetts: improve facilities;
- (4) New London, Connecticut: relocate and consolidate facilities;
- (5) Base, San Francisco (Yerba Buena Island), California: improve facilities;
- (6) Base, San Juan, Puerto Rico: improve facilities;
- (7) Loran Station, French Frigate Shoals, Hawaii: bulkhead;
- (8) Air Station, Saint Petersburg, Florida: helicopter support facilities;
- (9) Base, Mayport, Florida: improve facilities;
- (10) Yard, Curtis Bay, Maryland: consolidate and modify buildings;
- (11) Various locations: sewage and oil collection; fuel and water catchment systems;
- (12) Cape Charles City, Virginia: establish Station;
- (13) Houston, Texas: permanent Station;
- (14) Kodiak, Alaska: moorings;
- (15) Lower Mississippi River, Kentucky and Tennessee: improve facilities for performance of buoyage function;
- (16) Various locations: automate light stations;
- (17) Various locations: miscellaneous urgent and selected aids to navigation projects;

- (18) Academy, New London, Connecticut: library center;
- (19) Academy, New London, Connecticut: cadet barracks extension;
- (20) Training Center, Alameda, California: enlisted barracks;
- (21) Training Center, Yorktown, Virginia: fire station, and operations buildings;
- (22) Base, Governor's Island, New York: reserve training center building;
- (23) Air Station, Mobile, Alabama: synthetic flight training system;
- (24) Various locations: public family quarters; and
- (25) Various locations: advance planning, survey, design, and architectural services; and acquire sites in connection with projects not otherwise authorized by law.

BRIDGE ALTERATIONS

For payment to bridge owners for the cost of alteration of railroad and public highway bridges to permit free navigation of the navigable waters of the United States, \$9,404,000.

Mr. KEITH (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

- On page 1, line 7, delete "\$23,684,000." and insert in lieu thereof "\$55,584,000."
- On page 1, line 9, delete "one," and insert in lieu thereof "three."
- On page 1, line 9, delete "cutter;" and insert in lieu thereof "cutters;"
- On page 2, line 15, delete "\$11,924,000." and insert in lieu thereof "\$17,188,000."
- On page 2, line 17, delete "six" and insert in lieu thereof "nine."
- On page 3, line 2, delete "\$37,788,000." and insert in lieu thereof "\$57,378,000."
- On page 3, following line 5, insert the following: "(3) Station, Scituate, Massachusetts: improve facilities;"
- On page 3, line 6, delete "(3)" and insert in lieu thereof "(4)".
- On page 3, following line 6, insert the following: "(5) Station, Barnegat, New Jersey: improve facilities;"
- On page 3, line 7, delete "(4)" and insert in lieu thereof "(6)".
- On page 3, following line 8, insert the following: "(7) Base, Portsmouth, Virginia: relocate and consolidate facilities;"
- On page 3, line 9, delete "(5)" and insert in lieu thereof "(8)".
- On page 3, line 11, delete "(6)" and insert in lieu thereof "(9)".
- On page 3, following line 12, insert the following: "(10) Station, Grays Harbor, Westport, Washington: improve facilities;" and on the following line insert the following: "(11) Station, Neah Bay, Washington: improve facilities;"
- On page 3, line 13, delete "(7)" and insert in lieu thereof "(12)".
- On page 3, line 15, delete "(8)" and insert in lieu thereof "(13)".
- On page 3, following line 16, insert the following: "(14) Air Station, Barbers Point, Hawaii: improve facilities;"
- On page 3, line 17, delete "(9)" and insert in lieu thereof "(15)".
- On page 3, following line 17, insert the following: "(16) Station, Cape May, New Jersey: shop building;"

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the remaining committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

- On page 3, line 18, delete "(10)" and insert in lieu thereof "(17)".
- On page 3, line 19, delete "buildings;" and insert in lieu thereof "buildings, and recondition gantry cranes;"
- On page 3, line 20, delete "(11)" and insert in lieu thereof "(18)".
- On page 3, line 22, delete "(12)" and insert in lieu thereof "(19)".
- On page 3, line 24, delete "(13)" and insert in lieu thereof "(20)".
- On page 3, following line 24, insert the following: "(21) Channel Islands Harbor, California: multi-purpose Station;"
- On page 3, line 25, delete "(14)" and insert in lieu thereof "(22)".
- On page 3, following line 25, insert the following: "(23) Various locations: automatic fixed station oceanographic sensor systems;"
- On page 4, line 1, delete "(15)" and insert in lieu thereof "(24)".
- On page 4, following line 3, insert the following: "(25) Offshore structure, Portland, Maine: structure to replace lightship;"
- On page 4, line 4, delete "(16)" and insert in lieu thereof "(26)".
- On page 4, line 5, delete "(17)" and insert in lieu thereof "(27)".
- On page 4, line 7, delete "(18)" and insert in lieu thereof "(28)".
- On page 4, line 9, delete "(19)" and insert in lieu thereof "(29)".
- On page 4, line 11, delete "(20)" and insert in lieu thereof "(30)".
- On page 4, line 13, delete "(21)" and insert in lieu thereof "(31)".
- On page 4, line 14, delete "and operations buildings;" and insert in lieu thereof a comma and "operations and medical-dental buildings;"
- On page 4, line 15, delete "(22)" and insert in lieu thereof "(32)".
- On page 4, line 17, delete "(23)" and insert in lieu thereof "(33)".
- On page 4, line 19, delete "(24)" and insert in lieu thereof "(34)".
- On page 4, line 21, delete "(25)" and insert in lieu thereof "(35)".
- On page 5, line 5, delete "\$9,404,000." and insert in lieu thereof "\$12,650,000."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that we may return to page 2, so that I may offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio? There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BOW

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Bow. On page 2, immediately after line 1, insert the following: "None of the vessels authorized herein shall be procured from other than shipyards and facilities within the United States."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Bow) is recognized in support of his amendment.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is identical to the amendment I have offered for the last 2 years and which has been accepted by the committee which is to protect the shipyards in the United States and to have these ships built here.

I would ask the distinguished chairman of the committee whether he has objection to this amendment and I would also ask the minority member on this side the same question as to the building of these ships in the United States.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, we have no objection to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Bow).

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Chairman, I, of course, have no objection to this amendment but I do have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Chairman, if the amendment is adopted and I hope and trust it will be; would that not require the renumbering of the lines in which the earlier amendments have been incorporated into the existing legislation?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman may request that the Clerk be authorized to renumber accordingly.

Mr. KEITH. I would so request.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman may make the request that the Clerk be authorized to renumber the sections accordingly after the Committee rises and we are in the House.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Bow).

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GILBERT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4153) to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard, pursuant to House Resolution 369, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, while we were in Committee on the Whole I raised a question, the answer to which indicated that I should ask permission that certain sections be renumbered.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state in response to the parliamentary inquiry that the gentleman's request will be in order and the gentleman will be recognized to make such a request after the bill is passed.

Mr. KEITH. I thank the Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 385, nays 2, not voting 46, as follows:

[Roll No. 51]

YEAS—385

Abbitt	de la Garza	Holifield
Abernethy	Delaney	Horton
Adair	Dellenback	Hosmer
Adams	Denney	Howard
Addabbo	Dennis	Hull
Albert	Derwinski	Hungate
Alexander	Devine	Hunt
Anderson,	Dickinson	Hutchinson
Calif.	Diggs	Ichord
Andrews, Ala.	Dingell	Jacobs
Andrews,	Donohue	Jarman
N. Dak.	Dorn	Joelson
Arends	Dowdy	Johnson, Calif.
Ashbrook	Downing	Johnson, Pa.
Ashley	Dulski	Jonas
Aspinall	Duncan	Jones, Ala.
Ayres	Dwyer	Jones, N.C.
Barrett	Eckhardt	Jones, Tenn.
Beall, Md.	Edmondson	Karth
Belcher	Edwards, Ala.	Kazen
Bell, Calif.	Edwards, Calif.	Kee
Bennett	Ellberg	Keith
Berry	Erlenborn	King
Betts	Esch	Kleppe
Bevill	Eshleman	Kluczynski
Biaggi	Evans, Colo.	Koch
Blester	Evens, Tenn.	Kuykendall
Bingham	Fallon	Kyl
Blackburn	Farbstein	Kyros
Blanton	Fascell	Landgrebe
Boggs	Feighan	Langen
Boland	Findley	Latta
Bolling	Fisher	Leggett
Bow	Flood	Lennon
Brademas	Flowers	Lipscob
Brasco	Flynt	Lloyd
Bray	Foley	Long, La.
Brinkley	Ford, Gerald R.	Long, Md.
Brock	Ford,	Lowenstein
Brooks	William D.	Lujan
Broomfield	Foreman	Lukens
Brotzman	Fountain	McCarthy
Brown, Calif.	Fraser	McClary
Brown, Mich.	Frey	McCloskey
Brown, Ohio	Friedel	McClure
Broyhill, N.C.	Fulton, Pa.	McCulloch
Buchanan	Fuqua	McDade
Burke, Fla.	Gallifanakis	McDonald,
Burke, Mass.	Gallagher	Mich.
Burleson, Tex.	Garmatz	McEwen
Burlison, Mo.	Gaydos	McFall
Burton, Calif.	Glaimo	McKneally
Burton, Utah	Gibbons	McMillan
Bush	Gilbert	Macdonald,
Button	Gonzalez	Mass.
Byrne, Pa.	Goodling	MacGregor
Byrnes, Wis.	Gray	Madden
Caffery	Griffin	Mahon
Cahill	Griffiths	Marsh
Camp	Gross	Martin
Carter	Grover	Mathias
Casey	Gubser	Matsunaga
Cederberg	Gude	May
Celler	Hagan	Mayne
Chamberlain	Haley	Meeds
Clancy	Hall	Meskill
Clark	Halpern	Michel
Clausen,	Hamilton	Mikva
Don H.	Hammer-	Miller, Calif.
Clawson, Del	schmidt	Miller, Ohio
Clay	Hanley	Mills
Cleveland	Hanna	Minish
Cohelan	Hansen, Idaho	Mink
Collier	Hansen, Wash.	Minshall
Collins	Harsha	Mize
Colmer	Harvey	Mizell
Conable	Hastings	Montagan
Corbett	Hathaway	Montgomery
Corman	Hawkins	Moorhead
Coughlin	Hays	Morgan
Cowger	Hechler, W. Va.	Morse
Cramer	Heckler, Mass.	Morton
Daniel, Va.	Helstoski	Mosher
Daniels, N.J.	Henderson	Moss
Davis, Wis.	Hicks	Murphy, Ill.
Dawson	Hogan	Murphy, N.Y.

Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Obey
O'Hara
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Preyer, N.C.
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor, Ark.
Pucinski
Purcell
Quail
Quillen
Rallsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reuss
Rhodes
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.

Kastenmeier

Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Baring
Bates
Blatnik
Broyhill, Va.
Cabell
Carey
Chappell
Chisholm
Conte
Conyers
Culver
Cunningham

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Annunzio with Mr. Frelinghuysen.
Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Maillard.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Bates.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Broyhill of Virginia.
Mr. Ronan with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Sisk with Mr. Cunningham.
Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mr. Fish.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Whalley.
Mr. Staggers with Mr. Reifel.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.
Mr. Dent with Mr. Rees.
Mr. Scheuer with Mrs. Chisholm.
Mr. Ottinger with Mr. Nix.
Mr. Stephens with Mr. Fulton of Tennessee.
Mr. Davis of Georgia with Mr. Mollohan.
Mr. Cabell with Mr. Baring.
Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Culver.
Mr. Symington with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Rarick with Mr. Landrum.
Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mr. Chappell.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.
The doors were opened.
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Weicker
Whalen
White
Whitehurst
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Wilson,
Charles H.
Winn
Wold
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wyllie
Wyman
Yates
Yatron
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

Teague, Calif.

NAYS—2

Ryan

NOT VOTING—46

Nix
Ottinger
Pollock
Powell
Rarick
Rees
Reifel
Rivers
Ronan
Scheuer
Sisk
Staggers
Stephens
Symington
Teague, Tex.
Whalley

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BRASCO). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

THE 1970 CENSUS

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

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, while the 1970 census is almost a year away, it is already a matter of active discussion. I have expressed my own belief in the importance of a comprehensive canvass of our population and housing inventory by proposing that the census be conducted every 5 years instead of every 10. As we consider this legislation and other bills affecting the census, I feel we should study carefully the views of others who have independently examined the part the census has played in the Nation's past and the role it continues to play in planning our future.

Prof. Ralph B. Thompson, of the University of Florida, has written an article entitled "The 1970 Census, Benign Servant or Prying Busybody?" for Economic Leaflets, published by the College of Business Administration at the university. I found it both interesting and informative. In order to share it with my colleagues, I enter a copy of Professor Thompson's article in the RECORD at this point:

THE 1970 CENSUS, BENIGN SERVANT OR PRYING BUSYBODY?

(By Prof. Ralph B. Thompson)

PART I

Next year the United States Census of Population will celebrate its 180th birthday with its 19th "celebration"—the decennial counting of (hopefully) every man, woman, child, and housing unit in the nation. Neither the benefits nor the burdens of this enumeration fall equally on each person except for the theoretical attainment of the one-man, one-vote apportionment of the House of Representatives—a perhaps dubious advantage to the nonvoter. The dollar cost is borne by those who pay federal taxes and, in total, amounts to approximately one dollar per person enumerated.

Another cost, the time and effort expended to reply to the census-takers' questions, is borne by whatever member of the household answers the door or completes the mail-back questionnaire. Still another element of burden is the resentment that many seem to bear against what they believe to be an invasion of privacy. It will be the purpose of this article to describe the many benefits of the federal census, sketch in the dimensions of the current controversy over the propriety of the expanded scope of its questions, and then in another article to portray in some detail the plans for carrying out this tremendous undertaking.

AS LONG AS YOU'RE GOING TO INTERVIEW PEOPLE

The provision in the United States Constitution for a decennial census (Article I, Section II) undoubtedly resulted from the desire to balance power between the small states and the large states. Only by an accurate count could this be done. But as anyone who has ever conducted a survey soon learns,

the pressure to expand the number of topics included in a questionnaire is always present.

"As long as you're going to interview people, why not ask them about this or that?" seems such a reasonable request considering the time and effort required to arrange for interviews in the first place. James Madison asked this question of Congress in 1789, and so questions were included on age and sex in the first census. The desire to know the dimensions of the population is prompted by the problems of the times. In 1820, the problems created by immigration led to questions on that subject. Later, problems of unemployment, standards of living, taxation, and crime led to the addition of still more questions.

Additional censuses were conducted simultaneously with the population census covering agriculture, manufactures, mortality, and crime. These were later spun off and conducted at other times. In more recent decades, there have been the separate censuses of business, minerals, governments, and transportation, as well as agriculture, commercial fisheries, and manufactures, which are conducted in years other than those ending in zero. Beginning in 1940, a Census of Housing was carried on along with the Census of Population, and this will be done again in 1970. Such a breadth of activity is possible, of course, only because the Bureau of the Census is a permanent, full-time agency directed by professional demographers and statisticians.

It required 18 months simply to enumerate all the people for the 1790 census. The results were published in a volume of 56 pages. Almost ten years elapsed before the census of 1890 was fully processed even though the Hollerith punch-card machine was developed by an employee of the census in that year. It was not until 1960 that the federal census was fully computerized.

Over the years, as cities grew large enough to develop varieties of neighborhoods, pressures grew to have the census data summarized by areas smaller than towns, townships, or cities. In 1910, census tracts were established in the larger cities so that characteristics of people in small areas could be summarized and neighborhood changes assessed. Not only are these small area statistics useful to city planners and health and welfare agencies, but they are of great value to retailers for locating stores and shopping centers and estimating local markets.

But if city boundaries encompass too large an area to be useful for many purposes, they include too small a territory to adequately describe the mushrooming metropolitan communities with their multiplying suburbs, which were made possible first by rapid transit and later by the automobile. So in 1950, the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) was created by the Bureau of the Census as a frame for summarizing information. This is a region larger than a city, or in many cases, a county, but smaller than a state. It represents the greater city which is a social, cultural, industrial, and market entity regardless of political boundaries.

USERS AND USES OF CENSUS DATA

The question, "Who needs the census?" is answered by Conrad Taeuber, associate director of the Bureau of the Census as quoted in the University of Missouri's *Business and Government Review* (March-April, 1969), by asking, "Who doesn't need it?" He goes on to point out that, so widely quoted are census figures by publications of all kinds, public and private, that people tend to forget that they had to contribute the data in the first place to make the whole venture possible. From the home town booster (who likes to brag about the growth of his community) to the President of the United States (who is vitally concerned with determining national policy that is based on accurate information) the number and

variety of census data users are legion, indeed.

The political use of population information, which gave the original impetus to the constitutional provision for the census, is even more important now in view of the recent court decisions requiring adherence to the one-man, one-vote principle not only for apportioning the House of Representatives but for apportioning state legislatures as well. Pressures to extend the one-man, one-vote principle to city councils, school boards, and special districts are increasing.

Census data are vital as well in carrying out the administrative function of government at all levels. The salaries of public officials in counties and cities are often classified by population size in state statutes. Appropriations for welfare, old-age assistance, school funds, and many other programs are based on the numbers of people to be served. Federal funds are apportioned to states, and federal and state funds are apportioned to counties and municipalities in terms of numbers.

BUSINESS USES OF CENSUS DATA

In 1790, most business was local. New York, the largest city in the nation, had a population of 49,401, Philadelphia had 28,522, Boston, 18,320, and Baltimore, 13,503. No other place had as many as 7,000 people. The percentage of urban population in the United States was 5.1 in 1790, and the state with the greatest proportion of city dwellers was Rhode Island, with 19.0 percent.

Industrial progress from the application of the factory system to the textile industry in the 18th century to the TV dinners of today has been an almost unbroken record of taking production out of the home, the farm, and the shop and putting it into centralized manufacturing plants. In so doing, the business man's emphasis has shifted from a primary concern with production to concern for marketing and the need to learn about and communicate with his customers. These have become increasingly separated from him in space and time and have grown in numbers and in variety of characteristics and needs. As Wroe Alderson, a leading marketing theorist wrote, the problem of the business decision-maker today is one of matching differentiated products with heterogeneous markets. To do this task effectively, information is mandatory. And basic to all other information is the census.

Even the local community has become increasingly a pluralistic society which must be studied with care by every firm who wants to do business in it. The age, sex, marital status, race, occupation, and economic and educational level of people in the census tract, municipality, SMSA, county, or state are important informational resources of the banker, retailer, insurance agent, or real estate broker in searching for customers, seeking qualified labor, or selecting sites for places of business in population centers.

PROBLEM SOLVING

The major problems facing society, such as the deteriorating city, disadvantaged urban and rural people, poverty, education, unemployment, and highway congestion, require as much information about the people involved as it is possible to have. Serving as a base are the census summaries of the people by geographical location, occupation, income level, age, and educational attainment.

Individual students interested in a wide range of political, social, and economic questions mine the census for data and relationships between areas and/or groups. The results of these census-based studies yield ever more accurate knowledge of the complexities of modern society. Commenting on this use of census data as a research resource, Allyn Abbott Young is quoted as writing that "a set of census reports contained enough material to occupy [a young economist's]

energies for the rest of his life. . . . The records of our federal census constitute, as a whole, the best general record that any country has of its economic life. . . . I cannot think of any other research task that would promise surer or more valuable results than a systematic use of census materials in an inquiry into any one of an indefinitely large number of problems."

CENSUS FACTS

The particular questions to be asked of respondents by the census-taker are determined by the Bureau of the Census subject to the approval of the Bureau of the Budget. The needs of the users of the statistics govern the selection of questions, and government agencies have top priorities. But advisory committees of men in business, labor, and research also were consulted. In 1966, the Bureau conducted public meetings in 23 cities to obtain suggestions from individuals and groups around the country. The major criteria for inclusion in the final questionnaire are broad public interest. Questions also must not be too complex or too personal. The list for 1970 as finally drawn up differed little from that of 1960. The few new questions to be included for the 1970 *Census of Population* were included to help deal with current social problems. The 1970 *Census of Housing* has questions added about second homes and dishwashers which have doubtlessly increased in use during the past decade.

Because of criticism about the length of the census questionnaire, it might be well to mention that many of the questions proposed were rejected. Subjects that have not been accepted include those relating to building material, amount of taxes paid, auto accidents, religion, union membership, smoking, stock ownership, and expected family size.

Topics about which questions will be asked in the 1970 *Census of Population* are listed in Table 1 together with the percentage of respondents who will be asked each question. Only five of the population questions are asked of each individual. These particular items will provide the information required by the Constitution to determine representation in Congress.

Name and address are also included, which, together with the first five pieces of information, are used to establish identity and prevent double counting. The names and addresses, however, are not transferred to the magnetic tapes used in tabulation to protect the privacy of the individuals concerned, nor are they needed since only the total numbers of people in the geographic subdivisions, counties, and states possessing various attributes are of interest to users of data.

Mr. Lawrence Mosher states in the *National Observer* of September 16, 1968, that, as an added assurance of privacy, the Bureau requires an oath of confidentiality to be sworn to by all employees. Names may not be revealed even to other federal agencies. A penalty of a fine of \$2,000 plus a year in jail hangs over the head of any offender, and the Census Bureau claims it has never had any offenses to prosecute.

TABLE 1.—Comparison of sizes of samples, by item, for the 1960 and 1970 censuses of population

	Sample percentage	
	1960	1970
Relationship to head of household	100	100
Color or race	100	100
Age (month and year of birth)	100	100
Sex	100	100
Marital status	100	100
State or country of birth	25	25
Years of school completed	25	25
Number of children ever born	25	25
Activity 5 years ago	--	25
Employment status	25	25
Hours worked last week	25	25

TABLE 1.—Comparison of sizes of samples, by item, for the 1960 and 1970 censuses of population—Continued

	Sample percentage	
	1960	1970
Weeks worked last year.....	25	25
Last year in which worked.....	25	25
Occupation, industry, class of worker.....	25	25
Income last year:		
Wage and salary income.....	25	25
Self-employment income.....	25	25
Other income.....	25	25
Country of birth of parents.....	25	20
Mother tongue.....	25	20
Year moved into this house.....	25	20
Place of residence 5 years ago.....	25	20
School or college enrollment (public or private).....	25	20
Veteran status.....	25	20
Place of work.....	25	20
Means of transportation to work.....	25	20
Occupation—industry 5 years ago.....	5	5
Citizenship.....	5	5
Year of immigration.....	5	5
Marital history.....	25	5
Vocational training completed.....	5	5
Presence and duration of disability.....	5	5

¹ One item in 1960; separated in 1970 by farm and nonfarm income.

² One item in 1960; separated in 1970 by social security, public welfare, and all other receipts.

³ Also in 5-percent sample as state of residence 5 years ago.

⁴ Will include street address if appropriations permit.

⁵ In 1960, whether married more than once and date of first marriage; in 1970, also includes whether first marriage ended by death of spouse.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census User Guide* (Washington, 1968).

TABLE 2.—Comparison of sizes of samples, by specified item, for 1960 and 1970 censuses of housing

	Sample percentage	
	1960	1970
Number of units at this address.....	100	100
Telephone.....	25	100
Complete kitchen facilities.....	100	100
Condition of housing unit.....	100	100
Basement.....	20	100
Heating equipment.....	25	100
Commercial establ. on property.....	100	100
Value.....	100	100
Contract rent.....	100	100
Months vacant.....	25	100
Components of gross rent.....	25	25
Year structure built.....	25	25
Number of units in structure.....	20	25
Whether a trailer.....	25	25
Farm residence (acreage and sales of farm products).....	25	25
Land used for farming.....	25	25
Source of water.....	20	20
Sewage disposal.....	20	20
Bathrooms.....	20	20
Air conditioning.....	5	20
Automobiles.....	20	20
Storeroom, elevator in structure.....	20	5
Fuel—heating, cooking, water heating.....	5	5
Bedrooms.....	5	5
Second home.....	5	5
Clothes washing machine.....	5	5
Clothes dryer.....	5	5
Dishwasher.....	5	5
Home food freezer.....	5	5
Television.....	5	5
Radio.....	5	5

¹ 100 percent in places of 50,000 or more inhabitants, 25 percent elsewhere.

² Omitted in places of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

³ For renter-occupied and vacant-for-rent

units outside places of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

⁴ 20 percent in places of 50,000 or more inhabitants, 5 percent elsewhere.

⁵ Collected only in places of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census User Guide* (Washington, 1968).

Questions that provide descriptions of the attributes of people as distinct from counting them are asked of only a sample of all respondents. This not only reduces collection costs but assists in preserving anonymity.

The samples are to be of three sizes: one in four (25 percent); one in five (20 percent); or one in twenty (5 percent). Sample results are weighted by multiplying them by four, five, or twenty to produce estimates for all people in the area, and the individuals to be included in the sample are chosen at random. This is an added protection against disclosure of individual characteristics. Information that serves for apportionment purposes and that needed for city blocks are collected from all individuals on what is called the "short form." Those data which will be tabulated by areas as small as census tracts and most counties will be obtained from 20 or 25 percent of the people, while meaningful breakdowns of the totals from the 5-percent sample will be made only for large cities, SMAs, large counties, and states.

Because of the greater need for block statistics on housing, there are a greater number of questions to be asked on a 100-percent basis as can be seen from referring to Table 2. The greater need results from the current interest by private and public builders, city planners, highway departments, transit systems, and urban renewal agencies in the situations existing block-by-block in our cities. For the *1970 Census of Housing*, the items concerning access to unit, cooking facilities, rooms, water supply, flush toilet, bathtub or shower, tenure, and vacancy status will be collected for the total count in 1970 as they were collected in 1960.

Topics included in the 25-percent sample of population relate generally to education, employment, and income. Languages spoken, movement of residence, place of work, and transportation used will be added for the 20-percent sample. The one-in-twenty person who answers all the questions provides additional sociological information. The inclusion of the address of one's place of work for the 20-percent sample was a datum requested by more census users than any other, so great have become the problems of traffic movements in our cities. In particular, transportation specialists and city planners need this information to do a better job of predicting the needs for more thoroughfares and transit facilities.

THE ATTACK ON THE CENSUS

Despite the long tradition of usefulness represented by the census, it has its detractors. According to the *Newsletter* of January 30, 1969, of the Federal Statistics Users Conference, 27 bills were introduced by 98 congressmen during the first three weeks of the 91st Congress to limit the mandatory questions in the decennial censuses. Most of the bills are identical with H.R. 20 introduced on the first day of the session by Congressman Jackson E. Betts, Republican, of the 8th District of Ohio. Mr. Betts would limit the mandatory questions to six and would remove the 60-day jail sentence for refusing to answer or falsely answering census questions (a maximum fine of \$100 would remain). The six questions to be allowed, according to this recommendation, are those in the categories: (1) name and address; (2) relationship to head of household; (3) sex; (4) date of birth; (5) marital status; and (6) visitors in the home at the time of the census.

All other questions would be voluntary. Another bill, H.R. 937 introduced by Con-

gressman John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) is similar to the Betts bill but would also limit the sample for the voluntary questions to 2 percent, thereby reducing or eliminating the value of census data applying to small areas. Certainly the elimination of any question on race would greatly hamper efforts to provide useful background information on this explosive problem.

Senator John G. Tower (R-Texas) introduced a bill in the Senate (S. 494) which would require the Secretary of Commerce to review all the questions proposed by the Bureau of the Census and allow only those he deemed essential to accomplishing the purposes of the census.

Mr. Mosher writes in the previously mentioned article that Mr. Betts' assistant wrote a letter in December, 1967, to all congressmen urging that they publicly support his stand. The letter began with a reminder that "January may be a slow month for finding newsworthy subjects for possible releases and newsletters."

Opposition to censuses is not a new phenomenon. According to *I Chronicles*, as long ago as 1000 B.C., King David experienced difficulties when, "incited by Satan," he ordered Joab to "Go, number Israel, from Beersheba to Dan, and bring me a report that I may know their number." Joab came back and reported that there were 1,100,000 men in Israel and 470,000 in Judah. The Biblical account goes on to state that God was so displeased with David that He sent a pestilence on Israel which killed 70,000 men. He also threatened to destroy Jerusalem until the frightened king built an altar and presented peace offerings. The *Encyclopedia Americana* reports that, in 1723, the governor of New Jersey refused to take a census demanded by the British Board of Trade because "the people would take it as a repetition of David's sin." About the same time, the people of Connecticut and Massachusetts opposed a census because of fear that the data collected would be used to their disadvantage by the British.

Undoubtedly much of the ancient opposition to censuses resulted from the fact that the information was usually used as a basis for conscription or tax assessment. Congressional opponents have not cited such fears or even expressed concern about Satanic inspiration. Congressman Betts lists three reasons for restricting the census:

1. Restoration of the right of privacy by abolishing the "harassing penalty."
2. Reduction in the size and scope of the census in favor of alternative sources of data, i.e., small sample surveys.
3. Prevention of an under count which, according to Mr. Betts, "may result if the present exceedingly long and complex questionnaire is used."

In regard to the first point, Mr. Betts does not question the confidentiality of the information collected and stored by the census but rather emphasizes that the mere "compulsion to divulge personal data" is a violation of the right of privacy. He cites market research surveys as examples of the effective use of voluntary questionnaires. In so doing, he overlooks the fact that without the basic census data upon which to base reliable probability samples, the validity of private surveys would be greatly reduced, if not eliminated. Furthermore, if the mere releasing of information about oneself to a census-taker, when the information will never be stored or released in any way identified with the name of the individual who gave the information, is an invasion of privacy then so are income tax returns, birth registrations, and applications for passports and licenses. The American Civil Liberties Union has reviewed the questions proposed for the 1970 census and endorsed the principle of compulsory questions, except for those on race and ethnic group. Mr. Betts did not include race among his allowable mandatory questions in 1969, although he did in an earlier

bill, *Ebony* magazine in an editorial in January, 1969, called for an "accurate black count in the 1970 census." It urged "black organizations, black neighborhoods, and black people [to] cooperate in full with the Bureau of the Census. It is time we know just how many black people there are and how they are faring in relation to the white majority. . . . collection of complete and accurate data will inure to the benefit of the black community, particularly with regard to the many new programs initiated in recent years concerned with housing, health, education, welfare, employment, and so forth."

In regard to his second point, Mr. Betts has exaggerated the number and nature of questions to be asked. As already mentioned above, three out of four people will be asked only five population questions. Thirteen housing questions only will be asked for each household. Of those in the 25-percent sample, 23 additional population questions are to be answered, if the questions apply. Eleven of these would be answered only if the person is over 14. There are 10 additional housing questions. Mr. John H. Alken, executive director of the Federal Statistics Users Conference, estimates that on the average a person would answer about 30 questions.

This third argument is based on an admitted shortcoming of the 18th census which under counted the population by almost six million persons. But how a shorter questionnaire might help is not made clear. The problem of locating individuals would appear to be due more to the high mobility of many persons or the inaccessibility of others who live in the crowded slums or in isolated rural areas. Actually, plans to utilize the mail in 1970 to reach the vast majority of Americans should release more census-takers to track down the hard-to-locate individuals.

Interdependence in a thousand forms is a fact of life today. That one must be required to release a few facts about himself, his family, and his household (which can never thereafter be traced back to him) is a small price to pay for the better functioning of our institutions.

Neither the University of Florida nor the Bureau of Economic and Business Research take stands on public issues. The writer as an individual does, however, and he urges any readers who wish to have a comprehensive census made in 1970 to write their congressman and tell him so.

Next month, we shall publish another article dealing with the procedures that will be followed in taking the census next year. The article will describe in more detail the type of information that will be made available and the forms in which you will be able to obtain it to meet your informational needs.

SCANDAL AT SBA—II

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

Mr. GONZALEZ. Last Friday I revealed information which seems very clear and reliable that the assistant to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration has engaged in or attempted to engage in shakedowns of loan applicants. I immediately requested the Administrator to suspend his assistant, Mr. Albert Fuentes, pending a full investigation of the charges.

Today the Administrator said that he was asking the FBI to investigate. Mr. Speaker, the FBI is already investigating, and has been for some days; no request from the Administrator was needed. What is needed is that he should recognize his responsibility for the conduct of his appointee, and that he should recog-

nize his personal responsibility to safeguard the integrity of his agency. There is only one way that he can show the Congress and the public his concern, and that is to suspend Albert Fuentes right now.

I include the following exchange of correspondence at this point:

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1969.

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GONZALEZ: I have received your telegram advising me there is reason to believe that Special Assistant to the Administrator, Albert Fuentes, of the Small Business Administration, has engaged in, or attempted to engage in, shakedowns of SBA loan recipients.

Because of the seriousness of these charges, I have asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate them as soon as possible. If such charges are true, harm could, of course, come to the Small Business Administration. And, if untrue, the harm that could come to Mr. Fuentes is irreparable. For these reasons, as well as the possibility that criminal violations may be involved, it is particularly important to have a disinterested and experienced organization like the FBI look into the matter.

In the meantime, I would appreciate having the opportunity to discuss the case with you personally. Or, if you prefer, I could have representatives of my staff discuss the case with members of your staff.

I would also be grateful if you would bring to my immediate attention any other information you may now have, or may obtain in the future, concerning the charges against Mr. Fuentes or concerning any other matter which could bring discredit upon SBA.

Sincerely,

HILARY SANDOVAL, Jr.,
Administrator.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1969.

MR. HILARY SANDOVAL, JR.,
Administrator, Small Business Administration,
Washington, D.C.:

Your letter was just handed to me.

I do in fact have reason to believe that your special assistant, Albert Fuentes, has engaged in or attempted to engage in shakedowns of SBA loan applicants.

Your action to ask for an FBI examination of this matter is commendable, but superficial. Mr. Emmanuel Salaiz filed a complaint with the FBI in San Antonio on April 22, and the FBI informed me on April 25 that it was investigating the matter.

The fact that Mr. Salaiz repeated his story to several reliable persons, the fact that he was willing to repeat his story twice under oath, the fact that Mr. Eddie Montez admits Salaiz was asked to give 49% of a corporation to himself and others, (Fuentes being present), the fact that Montez and Fuentes then travelled together Sunday before last, and any number of other factors lend credibility to this complaint.

I believe that it is imperative that you immediately suspend Mr. Fuentes from further duties until this matter is thoroughly investigated. His appointment is your responsibility, and any damage that accrues to SBA as a result of his actions is your responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

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

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the reorganization of the model cities program, as announced by George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, indicates that the Nixon administration wants to expand the program at the same time that it reduces funding.

The result can only be to dissipate money earmarked for model cities activities and to jeopardize the essential purpose of the program which was to find new and innovative means of attacking the root problems of our deteriorating central cities.

In his widely reported statement yesterday, Secretary Romney focused attention on what he described as "critical deficiencies" in the administration of the model cities program which call for immediate correction. It is noteworthy that failure to appropriate sufficient money to properly fund the program was not included among Mr. Romney's list of "critical deficiencies."

According to Mr. Romney, the program has run into trouble because Federal guidelines have forced cities to set model neighborhood boundaries that have been arbitrary; because State governments have not been sufficiently involved; because local authorities have been uncertain as to funds available from Federal departments; and because Federal agencies have not been sufficiently responsive to local proposals reflecting specific local conditions.

Nowhere in Mr. Romney's statement do we find reference to the fact that less than half of the funds authorized in the fiscal 1968 budget for model cities were appropriated, that only \$624 million was appropriated out of \$850 million authorized in 1969 and that the Nixon administration only recently cut the 1970 budget request for model cities from the \$750 million established by President Johnson to \$675 million.

Small wonder that Secretary Romney was quoted in an April 7 news conference as saying "there has been too much emphasis on the money aspect."

In my view, Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration is hedging on the model cities program for the sake of political advantage. It is known that most mayors believe that already insufficient funds will only be dissipated if applied over broader areas but that some others, feeling pressures from citizens outside the model neighborhoods for equal treatment, are insisting that the program be expanded.

The Nixon response has been to scrap uniformity in favor of a local option plan whereby the cities can either expand their program or leave it with the original neighborhoods.

This presents an interesting situation. Since the program was enacted late in 1966, 150 cities have won Federal approval to proceed with model city planning. In fact, approximately 40 cities have completed their initial planning and submitted applications for implementing their model cities programs.

Scores of others are reported to be in final stages of planning. These cities, according to Mr. Romney, can either go forward on the basis of neighborhood boundaries that do not exceed more than

10 percent of the population or they can expand to take in other needy areas of the community. The catch, of course, is that total funding for the model cities program has not been increased to compensate for those cities that may wish to expand. On the contrary, the administration has cut back on the budget request for fiscal year 1970 and it has refused to request the \$1.25 billion advance authorization and appropriation for fiscal year 1971 as sought by President Johnson.

How can this eliminate the local uncertainty as to funding stated by Secretary Romney as a "critical deficiency"? Mr. Romney has also stated:

Priority consideration will be given to those cities that successfully enlist the participation of private and voluntary organizations in their Model Cities plans.

Does this mean that the ground rules that were established more than 2 years ago are now being changed? If so, should the cities that have already submitted plans be given an opportunity to rework their proposals in order to gain the priority consideration that now is being placed upon the participation of private and voluntary organizations?

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the purpose of the new Romney guidelines and ground rules may be to perpetuate the planning process and to delay expenditure of Federal funds on actual execution or implementation of the programs that are so badly needed.

What Secretary Romney and, indeed, the entire administration will be well advised to bear in mind is the fact that the most dangerous critical deficiency is delay. Cities will welcome improved Federal, State, and local coordination and administration but they will not welcome techniques to postpone action for the sake of budgetary convenience.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY

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

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the time has come to speak for the people, 4.5 million of them, who live around the San Francisco Bay, and the hundreds of millions more of all nations, who appreciate San Francisco Bay's beauty and charm.

This bay, my home, has been the subject of man's spoil for more than 100 years. Its expanses have been shrunk, its waters used as an open sewer, its worth to the climate, the beauty of the area and prosperity of the people who live around it depreciated.

Today it is almost too late to save San Francisco Bay, but today is our last and best chance.

For 3 years a devoted and expert group of men and women, the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, has worked to make sense out of confusion, to choose between conservation and development on the basis of logic rather than emotion, and to plan for the preservation and improvement of the bay.

Let the bay commission's own words speak for themselves:

San Francisco Bay is an irreplaceable gift of nature that man can either abuse and ultimately destroy—or improve and protect for future generations. The Bay Plan presented in this (the Bay Commission's) report recognizes that the Bay is a single body of water, in which changes affecting one part may also affect other parts, and that only on a regional basis can the Bay be protected and enhanced.

I, for one, fully endorse the work of the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, and I urge that its workable plan for preservation and enhancement of San Francisco Bay be adopted.

Let me add, that I do not believe we now can save San Francisco Bay for all time, but I do believe we now can lose San Francisco Bay for all time.

Those who wish to fill San Francisco Bay have made their intention brutally clear.

In hearings before the bay commission the would-be fillers said there are plans to fill "only 12 percent of San Francisco Bay," not even mentioning fill plans for those thousands of wetland acres now in salt ponds and diked marshlands.

If the flood gates to fill are opened even only briefly, we will lose the bay by the thousands of acres.

Those of us who wish to save San Francisco Bay are not few in numbers, nor are we of one political persuasion. I know of few other issues, which would unite Jess Unruh and Ronald Reagan, the various factions of the Sierra Club, and the members of the San Francisco Bay delegation to Congress.

But as we celebrate our unity, we must also recognize the strength of the forces against us. The fillers already have demonstrated their power. They will not sleep, when we want to relax, and they will be happy to exploit our mistakes and mutual differences.

What then must our objectives be?

First and foremost, the continuation of the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission with the full authority to carry out its plan. Second, the establishment of reasonable controls over shoreline and diked wetland areas of the Bay, recognizing that these lands too are subject to the public trust.

These are not unreasonable objectives. What is unreasonable is what has happened to our bay over the past 100 years and what will happen to our bay unless we act now.

The decision lies not with those of us in Congress. It lies with the legislature in Sacramento, and with the people of the bay. If they—you and I—make our wishes known, and make them known so they cannot be mistaken, then the legislature will act.

If not, then San Francisco Bay will be filled.

On the Federal level we will do all we can to save San Francisco Bay. We will support funding for needed water pollution programs, we will fight for tougher air pollution controls, and we will insist Federal installations cease their pollution of the bay.

But, if there is to be a bay to save, then it must be saved here in California by Californians. As a Californian, I join with you in this cause. Let us begin now.

PROPOSED TAX RELIEF FOR THE SICK AND DISABLED

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

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, much is being written and said today about reforming the Federal income tax system, not without considerable justification. It is generally recognized that the burden of taxes weighs unjustly upon many individuals and families who command inadequate incomes during these inflationary times. A few days ago I introduced legislation here to give some measure of relief to the American taxpayer by doubling personal income tax exemptions from the present ridiculously low \$600 to \$1,200.

In our deliberations on tax relief we must not overlook the individual or the family suffering the misfortune of either a physical or mental disability. Many years ago the Congress recognized the unusual financial burdens imposed upon the blind and the aged. Additional \$600 exemptions were subsequently provided for the taxpayer or his spouse afflicted with blindness and for the taxpayer or his spouse at age 65. This act of compassion should now be extended to include all who are disabled.

In legislation I am introducing today, Mr. Speaker, I propose to provide a \$600 exemption for each taxpayer, spouse and/or dependent afflicted with physical or mental disability for any of a number of reasons.

I believe the Congress should recognize disabilities suffered by persons who are deaf, those who are mute, those of unsound mind, the mentally retarded, the spastic, victims of polio, muscular dystrophy, cystic fibrosis, tuberculosis, terminal cancer, leukemia, chronic hepatitis, chronic emphysema, and rheumatoid arthritis, for those confined to wheelchairs, those who are crippled and must depend upon braces or crutches, for heart patients, and those dependents who are blind and not now covered under the law.

Anyone who has witnessed the great courage of those handicapped individuals struggling to become productive members of society cannot help but lend a helping hand. Anyone who has ever seen the terrible expense of these disabling diseases cannot turn away from the plight of these people. If the Congress is to relieve the heavy burdens of taxes from the backs of our citizens, let us first provide relief to the unfortunate, to the sick and the disabled. Let us demonstrate to the Nation that the Congress responds to the suffering of the needy with true kindness and compassion.

NEW JOB CORPS DIRECTIONS—TOWARD DESPAIR

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

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, 59 of the Nation's Job Corps centers are to be dispensed with by the administration in

order to save an estimated \$100 million. They are to be replaced with a lesser number of inner-city centers which are, at this writing, utterly nonexistent.

Between 1,500 and 1,600 youths from the New York City area alone are about to have the door to a better future slammed shut in their faces. In the process, they are about to be dropped unceremoniously back into the environments from which the Job Corps rescued them. Simultaneously, the number of total Job Corps enrollees will be cut from the present enrollment of 35,000 to 24,000. This is one new direction the President obviously chooses to take, and it is most assuredly the wrong one.

Without a full examination of all the facts, the administration has acted precipitously to close the door in the faces of these young people. One can only view this action as an unparalleled tragedy and another log heaved onto a smoldering pile of social problems.

Our society has desperately sought alternatives to offer to bitter and cynical ghetto youngsters. Job Corps was one alternative that offered a road out of their plight and a route to something better. Hesitantly at first, and then with fuller enthusiasm, these young people headed toward light which now will abruptly disappear.

This is not a partisan issue. It is a human question involving our own consciences and capacity for understanding and compassion toward others among us. We have talked unto the brink of eternity about the American dream and the promise of our land. Now we are closing the door upon that dream.

Revolutions are often acts of despair. They are made not by the hopeless, but by those who have glimpsed something better and had it denied them. Today we sow the wind. Tomorrow we reap the whirlwind.

I am much saddened to see such a negation of America's promise by the administration. It is bad enough to take young men from humble hearths and tell them to fight for their country. It is another to deny them that country's dream. It is even worse to continue to preach it as the reality turns to ashes.

I pray that this House will not allow the administration to follow through on this atrocious new direction—toward despair.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

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

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to inform my colleagues that today 26 Members have sent a letter to President Richard M. Nixon which reads as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1969.

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

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The most serious problem which this country faces and which you as our President must deal with every day is the racial confrontation. It shows itself in a multitude of forms: the violent student demonstrations, the wild melees in our

ghettos sometimes resulting in burning and looting, the disrespect for law and order. We all know that while violence can never be tolerated—that it too often arises because the peaceful forms of protest, the lawful avenues of dissent, are shut off from those who have been shut out of our society. A vivid and current demonstration of the hopelessness and helplessness which lead to violations of the law and in this case, apparently peaceful non-violent demonstrations, is taking place in Charleston, South Carolina.

In Charleston, hospital workers, seeking the right to unionize so as to be able to attempt in a peaceful way to secure for themselves and their families a decent wage are being subjected to the kind of treatment that those who now make up the great unions of the country were faced with in 1935 when we had the age of the factory sit-ins, when courts enjoined picket lines. The workers of that era, primarily white, overcame the power structure of that day and as a result of their efforts, the Wagner Act was passed which made it clear that collective bargaining from that point on was to be the norm and not the exception. Today in Charleston, the most deprived of our society are seeking the same norm, namely collective bargaining and the power structure is again resisting.

Mr. President, you have the opportunity to use the prestige of your great office and intercede on behalf of our most impoverished citizens who are not on welfare but are attempting to earn a living wage and who need our help. The same issue was present in the Memphis sanitation strike which culminated ultimately in the tragic assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., who was present for the purpose of leading a protest march in support of the sanitation men on strike. History has a way of repeating itself so that today we see his widow, Coretta King, going to Charleston for that same purpose. We urge you to send your most trusted representative to be present so that those who feel they have no stake in our society will know that the President stands with them.

Sincerely,
GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., HENRY HELSTOSKI,
WILLIAM L. CLAY, BERTRAM L. PODELL,
JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, AUGUSTUS F.
HAWKINS, DONALD FRASER, SHIRLEY
CHISHOLM, EDWARD I. KOCH, DON
EDWARDS, BEN ROSENTHAL, ALLARD K.
LOWENSTEIN, JAMES H. SCHEUER, ADAM
C. POWELL, MARIO BIAGGI, ABNER J.
MIKVA, LEONARD FARBSTEIN, CHARLES C.
DIGGS, JR., LOUIS STOKES, WILLIAM F.
RYAN, GLENN M. ANDERSON, JOHN CON-
YERS, JR., JACOB H. GILBERT, FRANK J.
BRASCO, PHILLIP BURTON, EDWARD R.
ROYBAL.

This letter is intended to support the proposal made in the editorial which appeared in the New York Times today—and that editorial reads as follows:

ARRESTS IN CHARLESTON

The strike of hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., has become the country's tensest civil rights struggle—one involving values as fundamental as those in the original battles for school desegregation and equal employment opportunity.

The arrest yesterday of another 150 demonstrators, most of them Negro high school pupils, and the continued presence in Charleston of hundreds of National Guardsmen and state troopers indicate the growing danger of a racial explosion. Yet the situation lends itself to simple solution on a basis that has long been standard in New York and most other states. The central strike demand is for union recognition, exactly the same issue that led to last year's strike of sanitation workers in Memphis, Tenn. Both strikes became national rallying centers for a coalition of union and civil rights groups, rightly angered by the systematic exploita-

tion public agencies were practicing against underpaid black workers at the bottom of the skill ladder.

The Memphis strike was climaxed by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., who had gone there to lead a protest march in support of the garbage men. After his death President Johnson sent a special representative to Memphis to take charge of the settlement efforts, a move that brought a relatively swift agreement. President Nixon or Secretary of Labor Shultz ought not wait for tragedy to strike in Charleston before intervening there.

NEVADA, NEW HAMPSHIRE AND SIDE SHOWS TO CIRCUS OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

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

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, several actions have been occurring on State legislative fronts which require a healthy antidote of national disapproval. Nevada has moved to extend its presidential primary election to the first Tuesday in March. New Hampshire has threatened to retaliate and shift its presidential primary from the second Tuesday in March to the last Tuesday in February.

What disturbs me about these actions is the casual and commercialistic attitudes of the State governments involved. The election of the President of the United States is serious business and it is national business. Yet here we are confronted with Nevada taking a step fraught with national implications purely and avowedly for local public relations reasons.

On April 19, a Nevada State senator was quoted on CBS as saying that having the Nation's earliest presidential primary would put Nevada "on the political map" and would "show off to excellent advantage" the State's hotel and other tourist attractions. This particular State senator's goal was to attract enough attention in the television media that Nevada—and one assumes he was thinking of Las Vegas in this context—would be picked as a site for the Republican or Democratic National Convention in 1976 or later.

The election of the President of the United States is too serious a business to become bait for the tourist industry. More important, the time has come to shorten rather than lengthen presidential campaigns. Actions such as ones in Nevada and New Hampshire serve only to protract a political process already too long, too boring, and too wasteful.

I have long urged that our presidential campaigns be shortened to focus attention on issues, to preserve the strength of the candidates, to curb exorbitant costs and wasteful expenditures, and to move the quadrennial contests away from the current tendency of ballyhoo and toward a saner, more rational style.

I have always felt that the public has shared these views with me and I was encouraged to note in the New York Times of November 24, 1968, a Gallup poll survey which recorded 60 percent of the electorate favoring a 5-week presidential campaign. On the basis of this

APRIL 21, 1969.

poll, the second Tuesday in March date for the New Hampshire presidential primary—to date the first round in any presidential election—makes the campaign months longer than the voters desire.

Nevada now plans to extend the extravaganza still further. That it is doing so for the worst of reasons only serves to underscore how much the election of the President of the United States is taking on all the characteristics of a circus sideshow. What New Hampshire threatens by way of retaliation to protect that State's immediate interest—whether it be economic or otherwise—is decidedly not in the national interest. Here is the classic case where two wrongs do not make a right.

Let us hope that public opinion can be mobilized against this ill considered sequence of actions and that the public officials in both Nevada and New Hampshire will respond by not enacting either of their early primary bills.

PRESIDENT NAMES AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN

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

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I noted with a great deal of satisfaction the announcement this morning that the President has named a new Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Meyer. I noted also that there was some comment by the Japanese expressing their concern that Mr. Nixon had not named someone who was an expert in East Asian affairs.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Meyer has recently served two ambassadorships in the Near East. I would like to point out the fact that Japan has never been better off in terms of the State Department operations than they will be under this administration and I hope and trust that the action we experience in Japanese-American relations will reflect that sentiment.

Mr. U. Alexis Johnson, who is now Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, knows Japan and has served as Ambassador in that country with effectiveness. He is also an acknowledged expert on East Asian affairs.

Marshall Green who has served for a long period of time in Southeast Asia, and who left the Indonesian ambassadorship, is now sitting as Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

David L. Osborn who is charge d'affaires in Japan has been serving there for some period of time now and knows the Japanese people. He not only speaks Japanese but he also reads it and writes it. He is a real scholar. I think the Japanese are going to be eminently well off in terms of the men whose services they will receive, and I would hope that this augurs well for the delicate negotiations that go on between the United States and Japan in the months that lie just ahead.

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

Mr. HANNA. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that the Ambassador who is going to Japan is one of the most capable and dedicated diplomats in the service and has been in the last 20 years during which I have been in the Congress. I have known him through boyhood, and knew his two aunts who raised him at Lincoln, Ill. He comes from a great background. He has shown his skills in the department as a great diplomat. The record he made in Iran is unsurpassed. In my opinion this man will make one of the greatest Ambassadors that there has ever been for Japan.

Mr. HANNA. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for his comments and I hope the Japanese will be as much impressed by him as I have been. And let us now see what the record will ultimately show.

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

Mr. HANNA. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to underline the comments of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SPRINGER). It is my opinion that our friends in Japan have jumped the gun on this thing.

I am personally acquainted with the Ambassador designate and know of his work in the Middle East and in Iran, much of which has not been publicized. I am confident that he will be one of the greatest diplomats in the history of American-Japanese relations.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I hope our Japanese friends are impressed by the bipartisan nature of this exchange. They should be and I hope will be pleased by the show of confidence we have expressed for the President's choice for their country.

I personally hope that they will recognize with us the harsh realities of today as we join in efforts to realize the more desirable opportunities of the future. Mr. Meyer as our Ambassador will, I am sure, help in arriving at mutual and acceptable means of dealing with both of these aspects as we proceed to a renegotiated treaty with our friend and ally, Japan.

A LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT

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

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I, like the other Members of the House, receive a great deal of mail, I suppose maybe 100 letters a day would be an average, or close to it. But I was impressed very recently by a letter I received from a constituent of mine. It is a very well-conceived and succinct statement of his frustrations, and I believe this letter pretty well reflects the feelings of the average American.

I was so impressed with the letter, Mr. Speaker, that I would like to incorporate it into the RECORD at this point and share its contents with the Members of the House:

Congressman BILL DICKINSON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: What is wrong, when the greatest, most powerful nation on earth can be made into the absolute fool—a position which I feel we maintain today.

First, the Pueblo, a shame strong enough to bring tears to the eyes of any American.

Now, the Connie.

Is the humiliating, cowardly, forgiving acceptance of these things the act of a great country? I do not think so and many people I have talked with do not think so.

I enlisted in the Navy for three years and extended for another during Korea. I enlisted because I thought that, along with a great many others of my generation, that it was the right thing to do—there was a need.

If I were a young man today, I would no more think of enlisting and being a political pawn for our mealy mouthed leaders, than I would think of walking to the moon. I used to think that the "draft card burners" ought to be prosecuted. Today, if I had the choice, I am not at all sure I would not be among them.

Why should anyone fight for a country that will not fight for them?—A country that "writes them off if they step over the imaginary line"—a country that sends "notes of protest" when a United States ship is captured—its crew interned?

What sort of Patriotism does this inspire in our young people? They do not remember what the United States was—they only see what it has become, and this is hardly a pretty picture. We were not born, and we did not become great through meek, timidly "notes of protest" and cowardly leaders. That is a strong word, but it is the only one that fits the situation. I full well realize the horrible consequences of an all out war—but is not the other side faced with the same choice? They have the initiative and courage to pursue and back up their aims. We have not. We have not even the courage to stand up for our rights when we are right.

I love my country—I detest our government—and I do feel there is a definite dividing line between them.

My country is America—its land, people and cities—the wars fought for a right cause—the people together, building and fighting to win them. Can this be said today? Is there any unity? Are we really fighting to accomplish anything?

I think, Bill, that a good example of what I am talking about would be Korea as compared to Viet Nam. We made the fantastically stupid mistake of letting the country remain divided with today's results. Is there really any question that we will have to fight them again? And now, we want to do the same thing in Viet Nam. Why, why, why? The American people would get behind, and fight for a cause. Freedom is a cause worth fighting for, but not when we are too gutless to declare war for it—when we are too gutless to help out at the Bay of Pigs—when we force our men to fly over strategic targets to bomb a sampan—when we accept a Pueblo situation—and on and on.

When will the line be drawn—with our defeat? I sadly, strongly, suspect this is true.

If we do not have the courage, or the will to help the liberators of Cuba, or the men in our own military when they are in a real bind, can we be expected to actually retaliate if a real attack ever comes—in minutes. We would still be talking when the missiles hit.

During these last three days of shame in which our President has had nothing to offer, do you think the Koreans are doing anything except deciding on the next target? Why not? Will a child continue to raid the cookie jar unless you give him a reason not to?—like a good swat. There *should* be one less Korean airfield in the world today and

that perhaps—would be a deterrent. If it were not, justice should be stepped up accordingly after the next incident. To 31 men and their families and children, this was no incident. Unfortunate, but *think*, Bill, how the next 31 will feel—or the next 31,000 that fly that and similar missions. How will they feel towards their government knowing that they can be shot down, killed with a protest note being revenge and reward for dying. *That*, Bill, is where patriotism is going. Why fight and risk your life? The other side has an open season on you and you can not lift a finger in return.

What the United States needs to become is a giant Israel. We need to be a nation that is all powerful, in pursuit of peace, but God help those who play games with us. Unless we develop this posture, and quickly, we will go the way of all great nations. Except for our military strengths, does any nation on the face of the earth really respect us? I do not think so and it has all happened since World War II. That is what is being the "good guys" has done for us.

We need to carry the "big stick", both conventional and nuclear, and let the whole world know they are not for show, if need be.

With two dedicated opposing forces such as we have in the world today, the only hope for survival is force. And force is of no value if unused. If I had a shotgun, Bill, and you had a penknife, you would cut me to ribbons if you knew that come what may, I would not shoot.

These "incidents" are an opportunity to retaliate quickly, and harshly and with conventional weapons to show the world that we *will* do it if needed. I do not believe that any major power would go to war over a destroyed airfield (the Connie) or a recapture of our own ship in a foreign port.

There are risks, but we *must* be willing to take them if we are to survive as a nation. After the first few, and our enemies know the outcome of a rash act, the need will disappear.

Bill, I could go on for hours about what is wrong today, and maybe all my solutions are full of holes. I do think, however, that we are heading in the wrong direction.

I am writing this letter to you, and not about you. I know where you stand and admire you very much for it.

I have never written a letter to you or any politician before, but I felt I had to this time. I guess I am what you would call an average American and, Bill, I am *scared*. Not so much for myself, but for my kids and their kids. We are going "down the tubes" and it is up to people like you and me to do something about it.

I just wish you could read this letter to the President because these feelings are felt by many, many people.

Regardless of what a nation *has*, if the people are not united, and have no confidence in their leaders, it is in trouble.

Respectfully,

DON MEYLING.

MISS BERNADETTE DEVLIN JOLTS COMMONS

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

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the recent events in Northern Ireland, I thought it appropriate that my colleagues be able to read Miss Bernadette Devlin's speech given last Tuesday, the day before her 22d birthday, before the House of Commons. Miss Devlin had just won a seat as a Labor Member from Northern Ireland. Minutes after her arrival, she heard a member of Northern Ireland's ruling Unionist Party attack

the civil rights movement, of which she is a member, as "infiltrated by Irish Republicans and Communists."

The following, her maiden speech in Parliament, broke every precedent and astonished the House of Commons. I urge my colleagues to peruse it:

A LADY FROM ULSTER JOLTS COMMONS

(By Bernadette Devlin)

I understand that in making my maiden speech on the day of my arrival in Parliament and in making it on a controversial issue, I flout the unwritten traditions of the House, but I think that the situation of my people merits the flouting of such traditions.

I remind the honorable member for Londonderry (Mr. Chichester-Clark) that I, too, was in the Bogside area on the night that he was there. As the honorable gentleman rightly said, there never was born an Englishman who understands the Irish people. Thus a man who is alien to the ordinary working Irish people cannot understand them, and I therefore respectfully suggest that the honorable gentleman has no understanding of my people, because Catholics and Protestants are the ordinary people, the oppressed people from whom I come and whom I represent. I stand here as the youngest woman in Parliament, in the same tradition as the first woman ever to be elected to this Parliament, Constance Markievicz, who was elected on behalf of the Irish people.

This debate comes much too late for the people of Ireland, since it concerns itself particularly with the action in Derry last weekend. I will do my best to dwell on the action in Derry last weekend. However, it is impossible to consider the activity of one weekend in a city such as Derry without considering the reasons why these things happen.

The honorable member for Londonderry said that he stood in Bogside. I wonder whether he could name the streets through which he walked in the Bogside so that we might establish just how well acquainted he became with the area. I had never hoped to see the day when I might agree with someone who represents the bigoted and sectarian Unionist Party, which uses a deliberate policy of dividing the people in order to keep the ruling minority in power and to keep the oppressed people of Ulster oppressed. I never thought that I should see the day when I should agree with any phrase uttered by the representative of such a party, but the honorable gentleman summed up the situation "to a T." He referred to stark, human misery. That is what I saw in Bogside. It has not been there just for one night. It has been there for 50 years—and that same stark human misery is to be found in the Protestant Fountain area, which the honorable gentleman would claim to represent.

"HAVES" AND "HAVE-NOTS"

These are the people the honorable gentleman would claim do want to join society.

Because they are equally poverty-stricken, they are equally excluded from the society which the Unionist Party represents—the society of landlords who, by ancient charter of Charles II, still hold the rights of the ordinary people of Northern Ireland over such things as fishing and as paying the most ridiculous and exorbitant rents, although families have lived for generations on their land. But this is the ruling minority of landlords who, for generations, have claimed to represent one section of the people and, in order to maintain their claim, divide the people into two sections and stand up in this House and say that there are those who do not wish to join the society.

The people in my country who do not wish to join the society which is represented by the honorable member for Londonderry are by far the majority. There is no place in society for us, the ordinary "peasants" of Northern Ireland. There is no place for us

in the society of landlords because we are the "have-nots" and they are the "haves."

We came to the situation in Derry when the people had had enough. Since 5th October, it has been the unashamed and deliberate policy of the Unionist government to try to force an image on the civil rights movement that it was nothing more than a Catholic uprising. The people in the movement have struggled desperately to overcome that image, but it is impossible when the ruling minority are the government and control not only political matters but the so-called impartial forces of law and order. It is impossible then for us to state quite fairly where we stand.

How can we say that we are a nonsectarian movement and are for the rights of both Catholics and Protestants when, clearly, we are beaten into the Catholic areas? Never have we been beaten into the Protestant areas. When the students marched from Belfast to Derry, there was a predominant number of Protestants. The number of non-Catholics was greater than the number of Catholics. Nevertheless, we are still beaten into the Catholic area because it was in the interests of the minority and the Unionist Party to establish that we were nothing more than a Catholic uprising—just as it is in the interest of the honorable member for Londonderry to come up with all this tripe about the IRA [the outlawed Irish Republican Army].

TWO INCOMPATIBLE IDEALS

I assure the honorable member that his was quite an interesting interpretation of the facts, but I should like to put an equally interesting interpretation.

There is a fine gentleman known among ordinary Irish people as the Squire of Houghill. He happens to be the Prime Minister, Capt. Terence O'Neill. He is the "white liberal" of Northern Ireland.

He is the man who went on television and said to his people, "There are a lot of nasty people going around and if you are not careful you will all end up in the IRA. What kind of Ulster do you want? Come with me and I will give you an Ulster you can be proud to live in."

Capt. O'Neill listed a number of reforms which came nowhere near satisfying the needs of the people. Had he even had the courage of his convictions—had he even convictions—to carry out the so-called reforms he promised, we might have got somewhere. But none of his so-called reforms was carried out.

He suggested a points system for the allocation of houses until such time that the Tory Party could see its way to introducing a crash housing program. He suggested that a points system should be introduced, but he did nothing to force the majority of Unionist-controlled councils to introduce it. He thought that his suggestion would be quite sufficient to make everyone doff their caps, touch their forelocks and say, "Yes, Capt. O'Neill. We will introduce it." But the local councils of Northern Ireland do not work like that.

We come to the question of what can be done about incidents like that in Derry at the weekend. Capt. O'Neill has thought of a bright idea—that tomorrow we shall be given one man, one vote. Does he think that, from 5th October until today, events have not driven it into the minds of the people that there are two ideals which are incompatible—the ideal of social justice and the ideal and existence of the Unionist Party? Both cannot exist in the same society. This has been proved time and again throughout Northern Ireland by the actions of the Unionist Party.

In the general election, Capt. O'Neill had the big idea of dividing and conquering. Capt. O'Neill, the "liberal" Unionist, said, "Do not vote for Protestant Unionists because they are nasty fascist people." When the election was over, he had no qualms about tak-

ing the number of so-called "fascist" Unionist votes and the "liberal" Unionist votes together, adding them up and saying, "Look how many people voted Unionist."

We, the people of Ulster, are no longer to be fooled, because there are always those of us who can see no difference between the Paisleyite faction and the O'Neill faction, except that the unfortunate Paisleyite faction do not have hyphenated surnames.

So we are faced with the situation that Capt. O'Neill may, in the morning, say, "You now have one man, one vote." What will it mean to the people? Why do the people ask for one man, one vote, with each vote of equal value?

VOTES AND HOUSING

The Unionist policy has always been to divide the people who are dependent upon them. The question of voting is tied up mainly with the question of housing, and this is something which the House has failed to understand.

The people of Northern Ireland want votes not for the sake of voting but for the sake of being able to exercise their democratic rights over the controlling powers of their own areas.

The present system operates in such a way that Unionist-controlled councils and even Nationalist-controlled councils discriminate against those in their areas who are in the minority. The policy of segregated housing is to be clearly seen in the smallest villages of Ulster.

The people of Ulster want the right to vote and for each vote to be of equal value so that, when it comes to the question of building more houses, we do not have the situation which we already have in Derry and in Dungannon.

In Dungannon, the Catholic ward already has too many houses in it. There is no room to build any more in that ward. It would appear logical that houses should be built, therefore, in what is traditionally known as the Protestant ward or, euphemistically, the "Nationalist" or "Unionist" ward, where there is space. But this would give rise to the nasty situation of building new houses in the Unionist or Protestant ward and thus letting in a lot of Fenians who might out-vote the others.

I wish to make it clear that in an area such as Omagh, the same corruption is carried on because Protestants need houses and the only place for them is in a Catholic area. The one point that these two forms of activity have in common is that whether they are green or orange, both are Tory. The people of Northern Ireland have been forced into this situation.

I was in the Bogside on the same evening as the honorable member for Londonderry. I assure you, Mr. Speaker—and I make no apology for the fact—that I was not strutting around with my hands behind my back examining the area and saying "tut-tut" every time a policeman had his head scratched. I was going around building barricades because I knew that it was not safe for the police to come in.

I saw with my own eyes 1000 policemen come in military formation into an oppressed and socially and economically depressed area—in formation of 1x abreast, joining up to form 12 abreast like wild Indians, screaming their heads off to terrorize the inhabitants of that area so that they could beat them off the streets and into their houses.

I also accept that policemen are human and that if someone throws a stone at a man and injures him, whether he be in uniform or out of uniform, if he is human he is likely to lift another stone and, either in self-defense or in sheer anger, to hurl it back. Therefore, when people on either side lose control, this kind of fighting breaks out.

An unfortunate policeman with whom I came into contact did not know who was in charge in a particular area. I wanted to get

children out of the area and I asked the policeman who was in charge. He said, "I don't know who is running this lot."

I well understand this kind of situation at individual level, but when a police force are acting under orders—presumably from the top, and the top invariably is the Unionist Party—and form themselves into military formation with the deliberate intention of terrorizing the inhabitants of an area, I can have no sympathy for them as a body. So I organized the civilians in that area to make sure that they wasted not one solitary stone in anger. (Laughter.)

Honorable members may find this amusing, and in the comfortable surroundings of this honorable House it may seem amusing, but at 2 o'clock in the morning on the Bogside there was something horrifying about the fact that someone such as I, who believes in nonviolence, had to settle for the least violent method, which was to build barricades and to say to the police, "We can threaten you."

The honorable member for Londonderry said that the situation has got out of hand under the "so-called civil rights people." The one thing which saved Derry from possibly going up in flames was the fact that they had John Hume, member of Parliament for Foyle, Eamonn McCann, and Ivan Cooper, member of Parliament for mid-Derry, there.

They went to the Bogside and said, "Fair enough; the police have occupied your area, not in the interests of law and order but for revenge, not by the police themselves but because the Unionist Party have lost a few square yards of Derry and people have put up a sign on the wall saying 'Free Derry.'"

The Unionist Party was wounded because nothing can be morally or spiritually free under a Unionist government. They were determined that there should be no second Free Derry. That is why the police invaded that area.

The people had the confidence of those living in that area to cause a mass evacuation and to leave it to the police alone, and then to say, "We are marching back in and you have two hours to get out." The police got out.

The situation with which we are faced in Northern Ireland is one in which I feel I can no longer say to the people, "Don't worry about it. Westminster is looking after you." Westminster cannot condone the existence of this situation. It has on its benches members of that party who by deliberate policy keep down the ordinary people. The fact that I sit on the Labor benches and am likely to make myself unpopular with everyone on these benches (honorable members: "No.")—any socialist government worth its guts would have got rid of them long ago.

A HORRIFYING PROSPECT

There is no denying that the problem and the reason for this situation in Northern Ireland is social and economic, because the people of Northern Ireland are being oppressed not only by a Tory government, a misruling Tory government, and an absolutely corrupt, bigoted and self-interested Tory government, but by a Tory government of whom even the Tories in this House ought to be ashamed.

Therefore I ask that in the interests of the ordinary people there should be no tinkering with the kind of capitalist methods used by both the Northern Ireland Unionist Party and Mr. Jack Lynch's Fianna Fail Party [in the Irish Republic]. It was with no amusement but with a great deal of horror that I heard the somewhat peculiar statement by the right honorable member for Belper (Mr. George Brown) about an O'Neill-Lynch United Party. This brings home to me that honorable members of this House do not understand what is going on. Of all the possible solutions of our problem, the least popular would be an agreement between the two arch-Tories of Ireland.

ON THE FUTURE

I should like in conclusion to take a brief look at the future. This is where the question of British troops arises.

The question before this House, in view of the apathy, neglect and lack of understanding which this House has shown to these people in Ulster which it claims to represent, is how in the shortest space it can make up for 50 years of neglect, apathy and lack of understanding. Short of producing miracles such as factories overnight in Derry and homes overnight in practically every area in the North of Ireland, what can we do?

If British troops are sent in, I should not like to be either the mother or sister of an unfortunate soldier stationed there. The honorable member of Antrim, North (Mr. Henry Clark), may talk till Doomsday about "our boys in khaki," but it has to be recognized that the one point in common among Ulstermen is that they are not very fond of Englishmen who tell them what to do.

Possibly the most extreme solution—since there can be no justice while there is a Unionist Party, because while there is a Unionist Party they will by their gerrymandering control Northern Ireland, be the government of Northern Ireland—is to consider the possibility of abolishing Stormont and ruling from Westminster. Then we should have the ironical situation in which the people who once shouted, "Home rule is Rome rule" were screaming their heads off for home rule, so dare anyone take Stormont away? They would have to ship every government member out of the country for his own safety—because only the "rank" defends, such as the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture.

Another solution which the government may decide to adopt is to do nothing but serve notice on the Unionist government that they will impose economic sanctions on them if true reforms are not carried out. The interesting point is that the Unionist government cannot carry out reforms.

If they introduce the human rights bill and outlaw sectarianism and discrimination, what will the party which is based on, and survives on, discrimination do? By introducing the human rights bill, it signs its own death warrant. Therefore, the government can impose economic sanctions but the Unionist Party will not yield. I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that one cannot impose economic sanctions on the dead.

HOUSE RESOLUTION IN OPPOSITION TO CLOSING JOB CORPS CENTERS

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

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today 45 Members of the House have introduced a resolution expressing the sense of the House in opposition to the administration's announced intention to shut down 59 Job Corps centers and camps.

A similar resolution in opposition to shutting down Job Corps centers has been introduced in the other body by 24 Senators.

I would like to stress the broad geographical distribution of the Representatives supporting the sense embodied in the resolution that no Job Corps center or camp should be shut down until Congress has had an opportunity to review the Job Corps program and to chart the future of the centers and camps through the normal authorization and appropriation process.

In a speech delivered on the floor of

the House April 16, I pointed out the disastrous effect the closing of four Job Corp centers would have on the city of New York. Other Representatives have also spelled out the implications these shutdowns will have on their own area of the country. The broad geographical distribution of the opposition to the precipitous decision by the Nixon administration to cut back on these vital programs should in itself convey an urgent message to the President; namely, that he should reconsider this decision. The course upon which the President has embarked—if continued—is bound to aggravate existing tensions among hard-core unemployed youth and especially among those trainees now involved in Job Corps programs who will be unable to complete the training which has such significance for their future.

Secretary of Labor George Shultz has said that every enrollee whose training center is closed will have an opportunity to transfer to another training program, and that new centers will be built in urban areas. The plain fact, however, is that such centers do not exist. It is difficult to imagine how the Department of Labor intends to accommodate the trainees who wish to transfer with less than half the present 113 Job Corp centers no longer in operation, and \$100 million less in the Job Corps budget. It is obvious that many of the trainees, discouraged at this setback in their training, will simply drop out of the Job Corps and return to the streets. To say many of them will be bitter toward the Federal Government for ending their only chance to escape the despair and lack of opportunity of the ghetto is to understate the reaction if the administration proceeds with its plans to shut down 59 centers.

Hearings have been held in both Houses of Congress on the Job Corps, and legislation concerning the future shape of the Job Corps program is pending in both Houses. The resolution we are introducing today asks only that the administration suspend action on its plans to cut back on the Job Corps until Congress has had an opportunity to review the Job Corps in depth and to provide for the program through the normal authorization and appropriation process. In view of the pervasive impact the administration's cutbacks will have, this does not seem unreasonable.

If the Federal budget needs to be economized, badly undernourished domestic programs surely ought not to be the first victims. Let the brunt of budget reductions fall upon those Federal programs most responsible for inflation in the first place; namely, the inflated military budget. The kind of "economizing" proposed by the administration with respect to the Job Corps, in the short run, will produce justifiable bitterness and hostility toward the Federal Government by those millions of Americans who urgently require job training and increased employment opportunities. In the long run, the effect will also be counterproductive. For the contribution these Job Corps trainees could make to the economies of their communities and the Nation far exceed the cost of their training.

The list of cosponsors follows:

JOB CORPS RESOLUTION SPONSORS, APRIL 29, 1969

William F. Ryan (New York).
Joseph P. Addabbo (New York).
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio).
Walter S. Baring (Nevada).
Jonathan B. Bingham (New York).
John A. Blatnik (Minnesota).
George Brown (California).
James A. Byrne (Pennsylvania).
Phillip Burton (California).
Shirley Chisholm (New York).
John Conyers, Jr. (Michigan).
John C. Culver (Iowa).
John H. Dent (Pennsylvania).
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (Michigan).
John D. Dingell (Michigan).
Harold D. Donohue (Massachusetts).
Don Edwards (California).
Kenneth J. Gray (Illinois).
Seymour Halpern (New York).
Julia Butler Hansen (Washington).
William D. Hathaway (Maine).
Augustus F. Hawkins (California).
Harold T. Johnson (California).
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wisconsin).
Edward I. Koch (New York).
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Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii).
Lloyd Meeds (Washington).
Abner J. Mikva (Illinois).
Patsy Mink (Hawaii).
William S. Moorhead (Pennsylvania).
Robert N. C. Nix (Pennsylvania).
Dave Obey (Wisconsin).
James G. O'Hara (Michigan).
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (Massachusetts).
Richard L. Ottinger (New York).
Claude Pepper (Florida).
Bertram L. Podell (New York).
Thomas M. Rees (California).
Henry S. Reuss (Wisconsin).
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (New York).
James H. Scheuer (New York).
Robert O. Tiernan (Rhode Island).
John V. Tunney (California).

THE LATE PRESIDENT RENÉ BARRIENTOS ORTUÑO OF BOLIVIA

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

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I beg your indulgence for these few moments to comment on the untimely and unfortunate death of President René Barrientos Ortuño, of Bolivia. I had the honor and pleasure of meeting President Barrientos upon the occasion of his visit to HemisFair at San Antonio last year. He and his country had close links to Texas and Texans. They had a wonderful and picturesque pavilion at HemisFair, and he had taken pilot training in San Antonio as a young officer from his country. We know that Bolivia is not a rich country and like most small countries, it has many problems, but it is in the fighting and in trying to solve these problems that the lives of many individuals are forged.

René Barrientos Ortuño was one of these. He was a man of the people, he went to and walked among the people; how unfortunate that he should die this way, but perhaps this might after all be the way he might have wished it. He went among the poor, the peasants, the Indians of his country; he brought the government to them; he ate, he drank, he danced with them, and spoke their language; he laughed and cried with them, suffered their ills, and shared their joys. Is this not after all the sacred duty of

a president. Yes he was of the military, but should this preclude good government? Of course not. There was honesty and integrity in this man, for none of his actions would indicate otherwise. I therefore very respectfully ask you, Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues to join me in extending our most sincere sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of Bolivia on their loss, and in asking the very able and distinguished Ambassador from Bolivia to our country, His Excellency Julio Sanjines Goytia to make our actions herewith known to his Government and the people of Bolivia and saying to them that one man stood in the chamber of the House of Representatives of the United States of America and said very humbly, but very sincerely, we mourn the passing of René Barrientos Ortuño because he was the president of a sister republic because he was a friend, but most of all because he was a man who saw his duty and he did it; whether he was successful is for history to decide, for us it shall suffice to say, he was a man and he tried; of these there should be more.

A TRIBUTE TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BRASCO). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DIGGS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, April 15 was a day that I believe ought to receive special recognition, the 80th birthday of a man who has done so much in this Nation to break down the encrusted barriers of racial prejudice, Asa Philip Randolph.

Not one of the inspiring achievements of A. Philip Randolph has come easily or quickly. To five decades of leadership in the civil rights movement he has brought unshakeable dignity and a commitment to nonviolence and self-reliance for Negroes which he has both preached and practiced. The son of an impoverished minister, he overcame poverty and many of the handicaps of race. He is a product of a deep faith in man's ability to master his environment through his own efforts.

As a young man Mr. Randolph journeyed alone from his home in Florida to work his way through City College in New York. Deeply moved by the plight of the unskilled worker in our society, particularly Negro workers, he was far ahead of his time in recognizing the necessity for Negro union organization in the battle for civil rights. In the hierarchy of labor his voice was soon heard insistently demanding justice for the Negro worker.

Mr. Randolph undertook one of the toughest organizing jobs in union annals: the 12-year fight to form the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In constant fear of idleness and hunger, the porters were afraid to organize. Mr. Randolph began by visiting them secretly in their homes and holding meetings in railroad yards. In 3 years he painfully put together locals with a total of 5,000 members. After 9 years of organizing, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the depression year of 1934 still had no contract, no improved working conditions, and an empty treasury. Finally, in 1937, the long-awaited victory occurred.

Mr. Randolph won a National Labor Relations Board employee election and with it a contract from Pullman. It called for a 40-hour week, a base \$100 monthly salary, and machinery for settling grievances.

The history of A. Philip Randolph's immensely fruitful career since that first great victory has been the history of some of the most important gains in the struggle for equal opportunity for Negroes. It was his leadership which led to Franklin D. Roosevelt's writing of the Executive order establishing the wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission. It became the predecessor of today's State and Federal antidiscrimination laws.

In 1948, it was Mr. Randolph who convinced President Truman that Jim Crow and segregation in the Armed Forces had to be eliminated. It was he who conceived the momentous march on Washington in 1963 which had such a profound effect in arousing the Nation to the cause of civil rights.

In the pursuit of justice and the American dream of freedom and opportunity for all, the contributions of A. Philip Randolph to the welfare of our Nation and all our people have been immeasurable. They stand as a great monument to the faith and well-earned pride of a man who has spent his whole life to help his brothers, his fellow men. To him I extend my most profound gratitude and admiration.

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

Mr. DIGGS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend the gentleman in the well, the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, for having taken this time to pay tribute to a great and outstanding American leader, A. Philip Randolph, on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

As we look back through the years at the career of this distinguished labor and civil rights leader, as the gentleman in the well has pointed out, under the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson, A. Philip Randolph was always in the forefront of the struggle to insure equal opportunity for all Americans. His leadership during those four administrations led the way, first through Executive orders and then through civil rights legislation, in establishing a governmental policy of non-discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, America owes a great debt to A. Philip Randolph.

A. Philip Randolph began his long career in the labor movement in 1925 when he initiated a 12-year struggle to organize the Pullman porters of America into a strong and effective union. During a period in which the Pullman Co. was reaping high corporate profits, the average Pullman porter was working about 70 hours a week for an average wage of 25 cents an hour. Annual incomes for porters during this period averaged only about \$910.

Despite the fact that the Pullman Co. was disinclined to even discuss the unionization of porters, Mr. Randolph persisted

in his attempts to gain recognition for his union throughout the 1920's and 1930's. He was recognized as an articulate and dedicated advocate of upgrading the economic condition of the workingman.

Mayor Fiorello La Guardia tried to enlist him as a high official in the New York City government, but Mr. Randolph, who felt he must direct all his energy to the struggle to secure improvements in wages and job conditions, declined the mayor's offer in order to continue his fight on behalf of Pullman porters.

In 1937, with the emergence of the National Labor Relations Board, the long struggle of the Pullman porters finally achieved the changes so long sought. Mr. Randolph was able to negotiate a contract with the company providing for a 40-hour week, a base pay of \$100 monthly salary, and the establishment of an arbitration system for settling grievances.

One need only contrast this settlement with the pitiful wages paid before the union was able to achieve recognition as a bargaining entity to appreciate the significance of this success, which can be attributed to the tireless efforts of A. Philip Randolph.

World War II provided thousands of new defense jobs, yet many of these jobs were barred to nonwhites. Recognizing the significance of these jobs for the economic improvement of the Negro, Mr. Randolph organized a march on Washington in protest against racial discrimination in American industry. A hundred thousand Negroes volunteered to engage in the march. The march was called off, at the last minute, in exchange for a Presidential promise of reform, the guarantee of equal working rights, and the creation of the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Mr. Randolph was also instrumental in creating the pressures for reform which led to President Truman's order to abolish racial segregation in all branches of the armed services. As was the case with the order forbidding discrimination in defense industry, this decision opened up new opportunities for nonwhite servicemen to advance on an equal basis with their white counterparts. Although the struggle to achieve true desegregation in the armed services—particularly with regard to off-base housing—continued for many more years, the breakthrough achieved with President Truman's order to desegregate the various branches of the service was again largely due to the efforts of A. Philip Randolph.

In 1963, Mr. Randolph took on his last great effort, the organization and implementation of the massive march on Washington in support of the enactment of substantive civil rights legislation. I was privileged to take part in that march and recall the spirit of brotherhood and unity that pervaded the entire effort. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a result of the march on Washington and the tireless dedication of civil rights leaders such as A. Philip Randolph.

The long career of A. Philip Randolph is ample proof of the energy and dedication which he has brought to public life for over 40 years. I am pleased on the occasion of his 80th birthday to join in

this expression of gratitude for his invaluable contribution to the cause of human rights and justice.

I include at this point in the RECORD editorials in honor of his 80th birthday which appeared in the New York Amsterdam News and the AFL-CIO News. I also include an article by Rudy Johnson on the occasion of Mr. Randolph's birthday which appeared in the New York Times on April 15:

[From the Amsterdam (N.Y.) News, Apr. 19, 1969]

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

We're wishing Happy Birthday to a Happy Warrior this week.

We are speaking of A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and trailblazer who celebrated his 80th birthday on April 15.

Mr. Randolph is truly one of this country's great men, a remarkable man who has worked unceasingly to build a better way of life for black Americans, which in turn would insure a better life for white Americans. He truly was one of the first black power advocates.

The founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the militant editor of The Messenger, who was lashing out at Jim Crow as far back as the Wilson Administration, and the man who originated the March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II—these are some of the more notable accomplishments of A. Philip Randolph.

Governor Rockefeller proclaimed April 15 as A. Philip Randolph Day. We can think of no better man to be so honored at this time. On Sunday, April 20, Mr. Randolph will be honored in Harlem at festivities to be held at Salem Methodist Church in the afternoon. On May 6, he will be further honored at a celebration to be held at the Waldorf Astoria. He deserves all this and more.

[From the AFL-CIO News, Apr. 19, 1969]

RANDOLPH AT 80

On Apr. 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his co-worker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in The New Leader. Rustin writes in part:

I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise.

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black

nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people.

Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

Pursuing his conviction that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands.

Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are 2 million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 15, 1969]
RANDOLPH, 80 YEARS OLD TODAY, REFLECTS ON HIS FIGHTS FOR LABOR

(By Rudy Johnson)

A. Philip Randolph leaned forward on the sofa to stress his point and, with a trace of fire in his eyes, declared:

"You've got to fight for what you get. I've been on one side of many a conference table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side."

The statement, made in an interview yesterday, was typical of the man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to Presidents, was marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups.

Mr. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was the chief founder in 1925. It had been a long, arduous fight that lasted almost three decades from the first inkling of organizing such a Negro union to signing the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937.

Today Mr. Randolph is 80 years old, and Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed the day in his name in New York.

On May 6 hundreds of prominent Americans, many of them his associates in the long civil rights fight, will pay him tribute at the Waldorf-Astoria.

GOAL OF THE TRIBUTE

The goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise \$250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Although Mr. Randolph's life work has been full and varied, he said yesterday that throughout all the years he has had primary aim—to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negro among them.

Sitting in his four-room apartment in the cooperatives owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 26th Street, and Ninth Avenue, he commented:

"My philosophy was the result of our con-

cept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change."

But the recent emphasis has been on "race itself," he said. Referring to today's black nationalist movement, he asserted:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overdone. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

EDITORSHIP IS RECALLED

He went on to describe the days when his editorship of *The Messenger*, a magazine he and one of his closest associates, the late Chandler Owen, founded in 1917. At that time, his radical writings and soapbox speeches had prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with other Negroes when, in his estimation, they sought to veer from a path of black alliance with trade unionism. This included the late Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, started in 1915.

Mr. Randolph said that throughout his career he and his associates, had always striven to develop the "principle of coalition," after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalistic structure of society. An avowed socialist, he said:

"A larger part of our economy ought to be subject to socialization. Take railroads, airplanes, the buses, medical care. These are areas that should not be subject to exploitation for profit because the people will suffer as a result of that. Great corporate powers are becoming almost unmanageable."

VOICE REMAINS STRONG

As Mr. Randolph talked, he looked much leaner than he had been before he was stricken with a heart ailment several years ago. Most of his life, he had weighed 200 pounds and had been 6 feet tall. But his powerful, resonant voice was still strong.

He recalled some of the highlights of his career, which included origination of a March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II.

The plan was to assemble thousands of Negroes who would converge on Washington in a demonstration that would protest discrimination in government and the defense plants.

Mr. Randolph and the late Walter White, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had met with President Roosevelt to try to urge him to correct the problem.

But the President resisted the urgings and even sent Mrs. Roosevelt to persuade Mr. Randolph to call the march off. But he was unyielding, and less than two weeks before the scheduled march, on June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

About seven years later, Mr. Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training convinced President Truman to issue an executive order banning discrimination in the armed forces.

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963 when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, and where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, to

whom he had been married 50 years, died only months before the memorable event.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. RYAN) for his contribution.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, it was Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman, famed author of "Peace of Mind," who, noting the imperative repetition, "justice, justice, shalt thou pursue," in a prophetic Biblical passage, cited those rabbinic teachers who understood their words to signify the pursuit of just ends by just means. All through history we see the tragic conflict of ends with means in those who, blinded by desirable ends, have betrayed those same ends through unworthy means.

In A. Philip Randolph, whom we honor on his 80th birthday, there has always been a harmony of ends and means in which the quest for the distant goal of justice has been marked by faithful adherence to means worthy of that lofty goal. In this there is a lesson for all Americans.

To such integrity he has added that kind of determination which, turning away from any compromise of principle, grows out of a hardheaded, realistic understanding of American society and the disparities between its ideals and its achievements.

He recently observed:

"You've got to fight for what you get" I've been on one side of many a conference table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side.

His is a view reflecting decades of experience in the struggle for civil rights.

At the same time he has always insisted on the "principle of coalition," crossing racial lines, in an abiding loyalty to the ideal of nonviolent resistance which, inspired by India's Gandhi, has brought forth the best in the leadership of the movement for equal justice. Speaking of his basic philosophy recently, he commented.

We never separated the liberation of the black working man from the liberation of the white working man.

At a time when racial violence, nourished by militant extremists advocating a black and white polarization, is so much a part of our daily news in America, the life of A. Philip Randolph serves as a reminder of another way and as a challenge to all Americans to continue his struggle to both broaden and deepen the realities of social, economic, and political justice.

A simple recital of his life would cover almost every cross-current in the national scene as it involved the Negro community from 1917, when he and an associate founded the magazine the *Messenger* as a vehicle for his articulate views, to the present day. As a youth he knew at first hand the ugly patterns of racial prejudice which restricted him, for example, to the inadequate "colored section" of his town library. Happily, he was blessed with a father who imbued his son with a sense of pride and self-respect as the fruit of individual character. From this background, strengthened by William E. B. DuBois's classic

"The Souls of Black Folk," he derived his emphasis on the "Talented 10th," the conviction that one in every 10 Negroes should be educated for responsible leadership in behalf of the whole Negro community. Early in life he sought to embody this ideal by organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters after years of often bitter struggle.

Then, during the Second World War, he spearheaded the drive to open war plants to Negroes on a basis of equal right to employment. With the "propaganda of the deed" in place of mere rhetoric, he initiated those pressures which were to result in the historic Executive order of President Franklin D. Roosevelt directing war contractors to abandon color barriers in hiring.

Another great landmark victory occurred in 1948 when he led in organizing the movement which resulted in the famous Executive order of President Truman abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces. Perhaps his greatest moment came when, in 1963, he conceived of the march on Washington, which involved over a quarter-million people, black and white, in a massive and remarkably peaceful demonstration on behalf of civil rights.

More recently he has spoken out forthrightly against "black separatism" by Negro militants, thus continuing his lifelong dedication to equality of opportunity as the best guide to integration. "Black power", he has written, "is neither a program nor a philosophy; it is, like white supremacy, merely a slogan." His warning that "the degradation of segregation (is) the source and cause of the fact that Negroes are at the bottom of the economic, political, and social totem pole in America today" illustrates a hardheaded rejection of any kind of racist mythology, white or black.

In saluting his life and achievement, we honor one whose commitment to the ideals and aspirations of the American promise offers what may well be, in these troubled days, the last, best hope for our society to realize the goal of freedom and justice for all.

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues today in hailing the 80th birthday of A. Philip Randolph. I have known this pioneer leader of labor for many years, and, in the early days of the unionization of the pullman porters, I was able to lend a helping hand.

Much has been won and much has been accomplished for the Negro worker because of the talents and persistence of Phil Randolph. Our position in organized labor has been established and made secure by his great efforts.

There are still many obstacles and prejudices remaining, but the fight will be won. The day will soon come when black men and white, standing shoulder to shoulder, will bring to all of the people of this Nation the full recognition of and respect for their rights as citizens and their full share of the fruits of our vast spiritual, human and material resources.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, few reformers in American history have equaled the performance of that great labor leader and civil rights advocate, A. Philip Randolph, of New York City. As a lifetime admirer and close personal

friend of this remarkable man, I would like to extend my best wishes for his health and happiness, on the occasion of his 80th birthday to be celebrated this coming 6th of May.

Most people engaged in the work of reform take up their crusades one at a time, but not A. Philip Randolph. As busy as he was, he always found time to chair my campaigns for reelection. As a labor organizer in the ranks of black workingmen, he found himself involved, from an early date, in two campaigns of equal consequence: labor's rights and civil rights.

In both campaigns he has proven to be, in his own calm, collected, and dignified manner, a veritable whirlwind.

In 1935, following 10 years of organizational work, he was successful in arranging bargaining rights for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was president. Under his leadership, higher wages and shorter hours, with overtime, became a reality for 13,000 union members. The victory stimulated Negro participation in the American labor movement and launched a campaign to end racial discrimination within organized labor itself.

The great American employment boom of the World War II period was initially designed to exclude the black man altogether. Outraged by this development, A. Philip Randolph organized the march-on-Washington movement, in behalf of black employment opportunity, threatening to lead 50,000 blacks in protest to the Nation's Capital. The march was canceled, at the last minute, in exchange for the promise of reform and creation of the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1948 Randolph threatened to call a campaign of mass civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance to protest racial inequality in the Armed Forces. That same year President Truman declared his intention to abolish racial segregation policies in the Armed Forces.

In 1963 Randolph organized the famous march on Washington in behalf of civil rights legislation. Many thousands engaged in the march and in 1964 Congress enacted sweeping civil rights legislation of considerable importance.

Seldom in the history of political reform has a leader so dramatically effected his demands.

As vice president, today, of the American Federation of Labor-CIO, he still maintains this sense of urgency and the fire of a reformer. After 80 years of fighting the forces of reaction, privilege, and aristocratic tradition, he appears ready, now as always, to take on all comers in the interest of genuine democratic principles.

Congratulations, A. Philip Randolph, my very good friend, on the occasion of your 80th milestone of life. You are admired and loved by millions of your fellow men, and I am very proud to have lived with you in the same world, at the same time.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, we honor today A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday. In doing so this day, we are in fact an echo of the tributes paid to him throughout the years by every person of dignity in the United

States. A. Philip Randolph made a choice. As a son of an impoverished minister he could have elected to live a life of isolation, bitterness, and frustration, but he chose to take on himself not only the black man's burden but all who felt the pain and deprivation of an unfulfilled life.

He left Florida to seek a way of opening doors to bring to realization the choice he had made.

He attended City College in New York and in 1925 had the vision and the courage to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Throughout his life he dramatized the fact that choices must be made, made with the discipline of order and organization. His is one of the most powerful voices in our country today which rouses the conscience of a white America. Presidents have sought his counsel.

Today, he is 80 years of age. His is not the smug satisfaction of looking back on a life that helped change the course of history, but rather, as I know this man, he looks forward to the years yet to come, to fill those days with increased measure of dedication to his vision of a United States which will stand whole again, a United States where neither color nor religion nor national origin will determine the fences that bar entry to the land of opportunity.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, A. Philip Randolph occupies a significant historical position in American social and economic development. As a key figure in the Negro leadership renaissance of the early decades of this century, his influence and accomplishments establish a base which time has not eroded.

To Randolph, liberalism was not some misty, twilight-zone philosophy built upon hate, semantics, and programless agitation; that being pro-Negro, did not require one to be "antiwhite or anti-Semitic, or anti-Catholic or antiforeign, or antilabor."

For over a decade, he fought the Pullman Co. to gain recognition for the Brotherhood of Pullman Car Porters. With his incisive logic, flawless strategy, and organizational skill, he made the once lowly railroad porters among the most respected wage earners of the organized labor movement.

With equal fervor, he challenged the popular Roosevelt administration on World War II "the impossible dream" that won a Presidential Executive order—8802—banning discrimination in war industries and training programs. This masterful stroke, based on a threat of over 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington, won millions of jobs in defense, including for the first time a place in the factory of modern industry for Negro women who had previously been confined to household domestic employment.

Significantly, two decades later Randolph was influential in heading a march on Washington of over 300,000 key persons; and parenthetically it is reasonable to assume several times that number will be Randolph-inspired in another march if antipoverty cuts are continued.

In these days when most liberals appear to be "sprinters" in the race to win human rights, that is, good only for short

distances, it is good to salute a man of stamina whose courage and dedication have never wavered in three-quarters of a century and whose integrity has remained unscarred.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to express my personal gratitude for the friendship and support of Brother Randolph and his associates in our struggle on the west coast to gain economic security and human dignity. Truly A. Philip Randolph has been to us "a man who matched our mountains."

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues paying tribute today to a distinguished statesman of the civil rights movement, A. Philip Randolph, whose 80th birthday was April 15.

Asa Philip Randolph began his formal career of fighting racial discrimination in 1925 when he founded the small, but disciplined Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. After an arduous struggle the organization, under his leadership, obtained its first contract with the Nation's railroads in 1937, gaining equitable working conditions for the members of the brotherhood. He served as the organization's president until his retirement in 1968.

In his capacity as a vice president and a member of the powerful executive council of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Randolph was instrumental in the adoption of the strongest civil rights resolution passed to that time by the delegates to the AFL-CIO convention in 1963.

The origin of the Fair Employment Practices Commission and the executive order barring discrimination in the Military Establishment were both direct results of his philosophy of nonviolent resistance and presaged the progress still being made in the field of civil rights for all minority groups.

After four decades as an eloquent spokesman for equal opportunity in employment, Asa Philip Randolph retired in 1968. On May 6, his friends and associates will gather in New York at a testimonial in his behalf and their goal will be to raise funds for the A. Philip Randolph Institute, so that his work may continue.

I first came to Congress in 1942 and have had the opportunity to meet and work with Mr. Randolph several times. I have the highest esteem for the principles he has worked long and hard to implement. May I add my best wishes for his continued good health and state that the greatest tribute to his achievements and convictions would be the elimination of all racial barriers in America. I am reminded of John F. Kennedy's stirring phrase: "Let God's work on earth truly be our own." A. Philip Randolph is a living embodiment of that principle, as his work could only be described as "dedicated" in the highest sense of the word.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, A. Philip Randolph's contributions to his Nation are legend. His genuine interest in his fellowmen and his country are real.

Such men do not pass lightly on the scales of history; and likewise his contemporaries should be grateful for his accomplishments.

It is a pleasure to join in a tribute to Mr. Randolph, as he approaches the four-score year mark of life, for the time has been wisely spent.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, men of aggressive, but constructive social action usually are praised, at best, either after they have reached an advanced age when minds and tongues are dulled, or after death. Today, I want to commend Asa Philip Randolph. His 80th birthday will occur next month but neither mind nor tongue is dulled. Like the British reformer, John Bright, his passion for justice burns as brightly in his eighth decade of life as it did in his second. And, like Bright, he was not without admirers in his early years.

Frankly, the name of A. Philip Randolph may not be a household word even in organizations whose members are now active in the movement for racial justice. This movement, despite setbacks and tragedies, is, I am convinced, ultimately going to succeed in this Nation. This movement today is strong and enrolls new supporters each day. In 1969, there are many leaders, most of them capable and responsible men and women. The Negroes in America have now secured higher and securer ground so that moderates among them can afford to differ among themselves as to strategies and tactics.

But Philip Randolph, militant but non-violent, began in a lonelier and more terrible time when Negroes were lynched in the South and ignored in the North. Certainly, only chance kept him from death on some obscure rural road. His voice and his actions pierced that darkness and prodded the somnolent conscience of this Nation. Incidentally, he did it without radio and without television. Hard, dangerous, necessary work done without his message being transmitted into every home by the huge information machinery that exists today for better or worse. If half his words and half his actions had the coverage given Rap Brown, then relief might have come soon to the American Negroes. But, Mr. Randolph carried no firearms and seized no buildings and led no Black Panthers and, therefore, he was "poor copy."

He fought in locations that were the most impenetrable. Jim Crow rode the railroads and encountered Philip Randolph as leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In 1941, Mr. Randolph sought out President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He threatened a massive civil rights march on Washington unless fair employment practices were established in defense industries. There was massive governmental pressure to have the march postponed. Mr. Randolph refused. Consequently, President Roosevelt signed a fair-employment Executive order. Those who were not yet born at the time would march with Randolph in the Jobs-and-Freedom march in Washington, D.C., in August 1963. Thus, in these and other encounters, Mr. Randolph rolled boulders uphill and shoveled sand against the tides. It is time for a tribute. The memorials can come later.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I am delighted to join in this tribute to A. Philip Randolph in commemoration of his 80th birthday. I think I can truth-

fully say that no man has done more to advance the cause of equal rights and justice in this country than Mr. Randolph. His contributions were made at a time when few in this country were willing to heed cries for equal justice. In a very real sense he helped awaken our social conscience. I hope and trust that providence will spare him to us so that we may have his counsel and wisdom in the years ahead as we continue to work for the great cause which he championed for so long.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege today to join with those of my colleagues who pay tribute to Mr. A. Philip Randolph on his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph is one of those men who, if they ever take time to pause and think about such things, must surely take great pride and satisfaction in seeing the world finally catching up to where they were many years before; to see their ideas of decades ago accepted much later as right and valid.

For nearly his entire life, Mr. Randolph has worked to spread the idea and the practice of social justice and human equality. From the social commentator and writer of his youth to his later career as one of the great labor leaders of this country, he has fought ceaselessly for the rights and dignity that we say belong to all men, but which, nevertheless, must be fought for at every turn. And in the many battles which he fought, no risk was too great.

He risked imprisonment for his writings and death for his work in the labor movement; for, when Mr. Randolph was at the forefront of organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, it was still open season on labor organizers and particularly Black ones. But he persisted, and he prevailed. Many others have since followed on the trails that he blazed, and so great progress has been made.

We in this country have come a long way toward the goals of justice and equality that were stated so long ago. For not a small part of that progress, we owe gratitude to Mr. A. Philip Randolph.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I join my distinguished colleague, the Representative from Michigan (Mr. Driggs), in this tribute to a great American, A. Philip Randolph.

Through the years, Mr. Randolph's objective has been equal opportunity for members of his race, an objective simple to conceive, but incredibly difficult to achieve.

The fight is not over. But if we are much closer to achieving the goal of equal opportunity for all, it is, in large measure, because of the courageous, dedicated efforts of A. Philip Randolph.

Recently, the Macomb Daily, the largest newspaper in my suburban Detroit district, saluted Mr. Randolph in an editorial titled "Civil Rights Struggle Began with Randolph."

I include this editorial in the RECORD:
CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE BEGAN WITH
RANDOLPH

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

In the 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which met fierce resistance from the railway companies and became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Thanks largely to Randolph, who among other things is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, there are today two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity and job security.

In 1941, Randolph's plan for a massive Negro march on Washington convinced President Roosevelt to sign an executive order banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1948, his influence and authority were behind another executive order by another president, Harry Truman, initiating integration in the armed forces.

In 1963, he conceived and directed the famous March on Washington, one of the landmarks in the civil rights struggle.

A. Philip Randolph was 80 on April 15 and remains passionately committed to the principles of democracy, nonviolence, integration and economic equality.

Those who demand more teaching about black heroes in the nation's schools could do far worse than begin with the study of this man's life.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, few men who attain the age of 80 can look back through the years with more justifiable pride and satisfaction than Mr. A. Philip Randolph, who marked his 80th birthday on April 15. His has been a wise and valiant stewardship of the time and talents so plentifully bestowed upon him, and he has the reward of knowing that he has played a dominant role in the tremendous social and economic changes that have transformed our Nation in his lifetime. Although we still fall miserably short of the goals which prompted the founding of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925, Mr. Randolph has lived to see the vision to which he literally gave of his blood, sweat, and tears for 60 years advancing steadily toward fulfillment. Mr. Randolph has seen life steadily and seen it whole—he has realized full well that all of us are members of one human society, that each has a stake in the other's well-being. His philosophy is best expressed in his own words:

My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberalization of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man—rather, we believe the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change.

It is a great privilege to salute this truly noble man upon this auspicious occasion. He has merited the affection and admiration not only of the countless people who have benefited directly from his lifetime of selfless service but of all his fellow citizens. Mr. Randolph, at 80, has earned the serenity and peace of mind of one who has fought the good fight and has largely triumphed over the forces of reaction and oppression. May he enjoy many, many birthdays and may we continue to have the benefit

of his guidance and inspiration in this turbulent era.

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, Asa Philip Randolph, who recently celebrated his 80th birthday, has dedicated the work of a lifetime to the welfare of his fellowman. I would like to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a man who has not only been a leader and an inspiration to the civil rights movement for 50 years, but has made a contribution to our whole society that will stand through time.

Mr. Randolph has never had an easy life. He was born to the double handicaps of poverty and race. But he did have two precious gifts from his parents—his love of books and his faith in the essential dignity of every human soul. Out of these grew the drive to educate himself and his belief in self-reliance as the key to improving life for Negro Americans.

As a young man Mr. Randolph left home for New York City where he supported himself by working at odd jobs while attending City College at night. The plight of unskilled workers, and especially unskilled Negro workers, in those very early days of union organization, made a profound impression on him. He began to realize that only strength in numbers through organization could improve the desperate condition of workers. And so, in 1925, Mr. Randolph took on the toughest organizing job in labor history: the 12-year fight to form the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Those were 12 long years of frustration and disappointment, but Mr. Randolph never gave up. Finally, in 1937, faith and determination paid off. His union won a National Labor Relations Board employee election and with it a contract from the Pullman Co. The contract called for a 40-hour week, a base \$100 monthly salary, and procedures for settling grievances.

To the Negro, the brotherhood, with its initial 18,000 members, was an inspiring achievement. Mr. Randolph had triumphed under conditions that made Negroes proud of him and his union.

In the years that have followed since that first great triumph, Asa Philip Randolph has won many more victories on the road to equal opportunity for Negroes. As president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he was the dominant spokesman for organized Negro labor. He was recognized in this role by the AFL-CIO, which made him a vice president and a member of its executive council. His moral force and biblical eloquence quickly established him as one of the leading spokesmen for the whole civil rights movement.

Mr. Randolph has served as adviser to five Presidents, from the Franklin Roosevelt through the Lyndon Johnson administrations. In 1941, he planned his first mass march of Negroes on Washington, to protest the Negro exclusion from any significant role in the rapid expansion of job opportunities caused by war industry. President Roosevelt tried every means of persuasion to stop the march, but Mr. Randolph stood firm on his demand for an end to discrimination in defense plants. Less than 2 weeks before the march was scheduled to take

place, President Roosevelt issued the Executive order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee and banning discrimination in war industries.

In 1948, it was Mr. Randolph who persuaded President Truman that Negroes would refuse induction unless there was an end to segregation in the Armed Forces. Mr. Truman was convinced, and shortly thereafter an Executive order eliminated segregation in the Armed Forces.

Mr. Randolph, as chief spokesman for the Nation's Negroes, was chairman of a four-man delegation that met with President Eisenhower in 1958 to urge swifter action on civil rights and implementation of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration.

One of the most glorious moments in Mr. Randolph's career came in 1963 when he conceived the march on Washington, in which more than 200,000 blacks and whites together heard the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King deliver his now famous "I Have a Dream" speech. This was the fateful occasion when the dream of equal opportunity for all aroused the whole Nation to its responsibilities in the cause of civil rights.

My admiration and respect for Asa Philip Randolph are profound. His wisdom, his strength, and leadership have made an immeasurable contribution in our Nation's progress toward social justice. He has filled his life with meaning. He is worthy of our highest praise.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a special privilege to join my colleagues in paying tribute to an honorable gentleman and a great American on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Asa Philip Randolph is a legend in our time.

Born in 1889 into the Florida home of a poor Negro Methodist clergyman, he worked in his childhood as a grocer's clerk and newspaper boy. When he grew older he labored as a section hand on the railroads. Somehow, he squeezed in a high school education and journeyed to New York for further study. To keep going, he waited on tables and operated elevators. Early in his life he determined that the way to break the cycle of poverty and degradation which surrounded the daily life of most Americans of his race was to organize trade unions. In 1917, he organized New York's elevator operators. That same year, he and some friends set up the Sleeping Car Porters' Union. As president of the union, he began a 20-year fight to get the brotherhood recognized by the Pullman Co. Victory came in 1937, with a signed contract, shorter hours, and \$2 million in pay increases.

With these achievements, A. Philip Randolph became known as a leader of the workingman. His name through the years became synonymous with social justice and equality. His efforts always were aimed at change through the democratic process. He was outspoken, tough, persistent, and fought with every means at his disposal for the laborer. He steadfastly rebelled against racism of any kind, against violence in any form. From

the earliest time, he had—as Martin Luther King had—a dream; a dream in which every American could participate in the greatness that is this Nation—that he could work, be educated, live in dignity and hope, and that the color of his skin would not stand in his way. A. Philip Randolph's life is dedicated to that dream.

A biography of Mr. Randolph is a retelling of the struggle for human rights in this century. He has been associated with every cause for freedom that has come upon the American scene. And, at the age of 77, he crowned his remarkable achievements by creating the institute which bears his name and whose programs are founded on the principles of integration, nonviolence, democracy, and economic equality for all Americans. In the 3 years of its existence the institute has become a vital force in the Nation's continuing struggle to provide a better life for every American. The institute is an appropriate and lasting tribute to the man who, indeed, has become a legend in our time.

I am very pleased to extend to A. Philip Randolph my warmest regards on the celebration of his 80th birthday, and my best wishes for many more years of health and happiness.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to an American leader on the occasion of his 80th birthday. A. Philip Randolph is more than a civil rights leader or a trade union leader. He is a statesman and a man of great vision.

As the man who originated the concept of nonviolent protest in the civil rights movement, A. Philip Randolph has earned the respect of Presidents and legislators as well as the faith of those for whom he has fought so long.

By stressing the importance of economic freedom as the key to social liberation of the Negro, Randolph has gained the confidence of all factions of the civil rights movement. His organization of the 1963 march on Washington produced an overwhelming response from a quarter of a million persons who came to the Nation's Capital in support of civil rights legislation.

On April 15, 1969, New Yorkers celebrated A. Philip Randolph Day by proclamation of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Today the Members of Congress join in celebrating his 80th birthday. We wish him continued health and strength to bear the burdens of statesman for the disadvantaged in our land.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep humility that I join my colleagues today in making special recognition of a very special man, A. Philip Randolph, who celebrates his 80th birthday May 6. Mr. Randolph was a militant Negro when the word militant was not popularly used. He was struggling for the rights of black people when the very right for their struggle was yet undefined. He was able, even then, to perceive that opportunity of black people would depend upon their ability to make a decent living. His insight gave him the strength to launch his campaign to achieve voice for the laboring man. He pursued this cause with such energy—that he achieved forceful impact upon the first comprehensive

labor law of our time—the Railway Labor Act.

It is uncanny that this one man—a black man—could have achieved in his difficult time such stature. The recognition we pay today is past due—but his was not a pursuit of publicity or recognition, but of justice. The name of A. Philip Randolph will now be recorded in the history books when heretofore, it might have been difficult to learn of his contribution. We have progressed and we shall continue to move forward the causes of the black man and the laboring man.

A. Philip Randolph was practicing black power when there were no crowds chanting the slogan. A. Philip Randolph accepted the challenge of black power at a time when it was difficult for the Negro to find a reason for pride. Surely in this day of continued struggling between the races—and within this struggle to assert power for the purpose of achieving progress it is noteworthy and most timely that we cite the efforts and the accomplishments of A. Philip Randolph. Let us not forget the evidence of a proud black heritage for black American citizens.

I salute you, A. Philip Randolph, and I accept the challenge you have delivered to us to move ever forward our pursuit for equality and fair treatment under the law.

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, today, not only in the House of Representatives but throughout the Nation, men of good will are paying their respect to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, president and founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in commemoration of his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph has had a long and distinguished career in both the labor and civil rights fields. He is no Johnny-come-lately in either arena, having served his apprenticeship before the majority of Americans were willing to raise their voices in behalf of those who only wanted an equal opportunity to share in the great American dream.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and all Americans in honoring A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday. I extend my best wishes for good health and happiness to a gentleman who has been a splendid example of what all men strive to be.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, every American who cherishes freedom should pay tribute to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, on his 80th birthday.

Since 1925, A. Philip Randolph has been active in labor and human rights. In 1925, he organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—American Federation of Labor—in New York City. He is the only AFL-CIO Negro vice president. He has been a leading spokesman for the Negro people, once challenging the labor federation to accept as fact that some unions were guilty of racial discrimination.

He is an activist and revolutionary. Long before it was fashionable to be a civil rights activist he organized and directed the march on Washington movement in 1941 which resulted in President Roosevelt's establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee. He was

a member of Mayor LaGuardia's Commission on Race in 1935.

His unselfish dedication to the causes of black people—equal employment and equal opportunity—in all phases of American life, make him one of the greatest civil libertarians of our time.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join my colleagues today in paying tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of the official commemoration of his 80th birthday. This spring, he will have devoted well over 50 years of his life to the furtherance of social justice and equality within the United States. As a leading figure in organized labor, he has played an important role in the economic advancement of the American worker, both white and black; and as an intermittent adviser to five American Presidents, he has been instrumental in the promulgation of several important measures to curb racial discrimination.

In 1937, the all-Negro Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which he had founded in 1925, signed the first contract with the Nation's railroads.

In 1941, his movement for the march on Washington was largely responsible for the creation by President Roosevelt of the Fair Employment Practices Committee which was designed to insure the participation of the Negro in the rapidly growing defense economy.

In 1948, he was, perhaps more than any other man, responsible for the Presidential order ending racial discrimination within the country's Armed Forces; and in 1963, he was a prime figure in the superbly organized and directed march on Washington.

He has brought to the civil rights movement a unique combination of clear reason, political acumen, practical organization and a just and pressing sense of urgency. His courage, perseverance, and strength of character have won him the respect and esteem of friend and foe alike. His has been a voice for reason and hard work and yet he has recognized and seized the opportunities for the effective use of forceful yet nonviolent action to put through measures essential to the causes of justice and social equality.

He himself would be the first to stress that much still remains to be done to overcome both the fact and the effects of discrimination in this country. Yet progress has been made; and it will continue to be made. As a Philip Randolph, through his work, has been of great importance in laying the foundations for the future.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure today to join my good friend and distinguished colleague, the Honorable CHARLES C. DIGGS, of Michigan's 13th District, who has requested this special order, in order that we may pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph, that remarkable organizer in the fields of civil rights and workingmen's rights, on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

A. Philip Randolph has stood in the forefront of one momentous battle after another in behalf of human dignity, from the early days of the Roosevelt New Deal to the present, and has thereby earned the admiration of every labor leader worthy of the name.

As a graduate of the labor movement, I am privileged to observe that my own career crossed briefly with that of A. Philip Randolph at one point, although at quite a distance. That is to say, I was working as educational representative of the United Steelworkers of America at a moment when Phil Randolph captured the full attention of the labor movement.

The issue in that instance was racial discrimination in the ranks of organized labor itself. My own union, the Steelworkers, had a commendable open door hiring policy, permitting the entrance of any qualified workman, black or white. But all unions were not so disposed. A notable example was the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen which decided, with the advent of the diesel engine, to replace all Negro firemen with white firemen. The job was no longer arduous, and therefore became suddenly popular with railroad men of every color. To clear the way for white firemen, the railroad union adopted a policy of accepting no more Negroes into its ranks and doing its best to get rid of existing Negro firemen, including some who had as much as 20 years' service. To accomplish their purposes, the white union made a secret deal with the railroad companies, whereby the railroads refused to hire any Negroes, and the union leadership declared itself free of all responsibility in the matter.

Phil Randolph, as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was unable to organize a firemen's union of his own, since the white union had the jurisdiction. So instead he formed a "provisional committee" of Negro firemen and, with Porters' Union money, began suing the white union for damages, on the grounds of loss of pay due to loss of jobs. When the battle reached the Supreme Court, the Negro firemen were victorious, and Randolph was hailed as a civil rights hero. It was not the first time, nor would it be the last.

The first time was in 1937, when the Pullman porters secured bargaining rights, following 12 years of bitter struggle with the Pullman Co. Phil Randolph was the union organizer in that instance, and the victory he achieved had far-reaching effects. All over the country, other Negro workingmen began to organize, and the labor movement was soon to prosper from that result.

Turning to the matter of civil rights as such, Phil Randolph assailed the hiring policies of American industry at the outset of World War II. For in keeping with the perverted interests of the racist elements, defense factories were refusing to employ Negro labor. Here we were, portraying America as the "arsenal of democracy," and yet we were not democratic enough to provide American Negroes with equal employment opportunities. To cope with this indignity, Phil Randolph organized a protest march on Washington, attracting 50,000 to 100,000 Negro volunteers. The march was called off, at the last moment, in exchange for a Presidential promise of re-

form and creation of a wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1948, Phil Randolph assailed racial segregation in the Armed Forces, and threatened to call a campaign of mass civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance unless something was done. President Truman responded by abolishing segregated conditions in the services.

Fifteen years later, Phil Randolph organized the march on Washington in behalf of civil rights legislation, and the following year Congress enacted a civil rights bill of monumental proportions.

In all he has done, Phil Randolph has worked in the interest of the oppressed, and with remarkable results. It is a great pleasure, therefore, to salute the record of this outstanding American—A. Philip Randolph—on the 80th anniversary of his entrance to the world. Good luck, Phil Randolph, and happy birthday.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article about Phil Randolph which appeared in the April 19 edition of the AFL-CIO News:

RANDOLPH AT 80

On April 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his co-worker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in *The New Leader*. Rustin writes in part:

"I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise."

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people.

Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

Pursuing his conviction that the Negro can

never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands.

Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are 2 million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

Mr. MADDEN, Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DIGGS), for taking this time to give Members of Congress the opportunity to pay testimonial tribute to one of our great Americans who is celebrating his 80th birthday on May 6.

A. Philip Randolph has devoted his life's work in furthering the cause of justice and humanity for all our people. He has been a pioneer, not only in the civil rights movement, but also in sponsoring legislation to extend to all the American people full recognition and consideration under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the various States.

The name of A. Philip Randolph will go down in American history as one of our great humanitarian leaders and patriots. During my service in Congress I have followed Mr. Randolph's career and he has, without exception, used his great influence with the working men and women of our country to support legislation that would improve the status of all segments of our economy. Through other leaders of the labor movement he has contributed more than his share in placing on the statute books legislation which gave us medicare, housing, education expansion, civil rights, social security, and many other long-delayed programs which are now in full operation.

I do hope that his good work can extend many years beyond this, his 80th, birthday. I join all Americans in congratulating him.

Mr. MIKVA, Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to join in this special order arranged by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DIGGS) to honor a great American and a great figure of the American labor movement—Asa Philip Randolph. A. Philip Randolph's life might well be an example to young people of today—black and white—who all too often feel that they cannot cope with the overwhelming complexity of modern social problems and that they cannot make a contribution in the face of such obstacles. A. Philip Randolph faced obstacles far more difficult to over-

come: he faced poverty, he faced racial bigotry, and he faced the traditional American antipathy toward the labor movement which existed in years before the Wagner Act.

Mr. Randolph believed that the Pullman car porters represented a large segment of Negro labor which had long been exploited because it was not organized. Speaking to a handful of Negro porters at a meeting in Harlem in 1925, he presented a plan to organize the sleeping car porters. He was not, and never had been, a porter himself, but he was elected president and general organizer of the proposed union. There was a difficult struggle ahead: The Pullman Co. opposed the union, and many porters lost their jobs for their union activity. Others, fearing repercussions, refused to join the union.

It was not until 1934, when the Railroad Labor Act was amended, that porters were brought under the law and the union met success. In 1937, Randolph announced the signing of a contract with the Pullman Co. giving the employees shorter working hours and pay increases totaling \$2 million.

His threat to bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington to protest discrimination in hiring during World War II brought about the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee by President Roosevelt. In 1948, Randolph was instrumental in influencing President Truman's Executive order which banned discrimination in the Armed Forces. He led, and masterminded, the 1963 March on Washington for Civil Rights, that awesome effective display of conscience in support of the great Civil Rights Act which was passed later that year.

Mr. Randolph has been reelected since 1925 to the presidency of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He served as vice president of the AFL, and has been a vice president of the AFL-CIO since 1957, serving on its executive committee. When the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations merged in 1955, he was responsible for inserting an antidiscrimination plank in the new constitution.

The essential drive of A. Philip Randolph was his determination to make the labor movement relevant to and meaningful for black peoples' problems. He did this by cajoling, pushing, shaking—but above all participating in—the labor movement. No one could taunt this aggressive civil rights leader about his commitment to the goal of equality. On the other hand, it was very clear that A. Philip Randolph sought results rather than rhetoric, and action rather than accusations. In short, he had the dedication of someone who believed so passionately in a cause that he desired to win it rather than to go down in noble defeat. All who seek to move this country and its institutions could take a page from A. Philip Randolph's book and could use as an example his life in and contributions to the American labor movement.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for arranging this time today to speak in honor of Asa Philip Randolph. I am glad to have this opportunity to join with his other friends and well-wishers in expressing our highest com-

mendation and best wishes on his having attained his 80th year.

Asa Philip Randolph has become one of the most honored names in the history of the American labor movement. He is a leader whose tireless efforts and accomplishments have helped to make America a better place in which to live. All his life he has been a busy man, but never too busy to take on new tasks when he could assist his fellow man. Through the years he has distinguished himself on the many occasions when called upon by our Government to undertake special assignments. We are indebted to him for organizing the movement which led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to start the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

A man of the caliber of Asa Philip Randolph is a priceless asset in any age and in any country. We are especially fortunate that he was born in our time and in our country. We always need men like him and the more of them we can have, the better off our country will be. Because his life of dedicated effort has resulted in tangible benefits for all Americans, I feel personally honored and privileged to join in paying him tribute today.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege today to honor Mr. A. Philip Randolph—one of America's most distinguished citizens—on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Mr. Randolph has stood for many years as an example of a man completely dedicated to transforming his principles into action without regard for considerations of personal gain.

His credentials are well known to everyone. As founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925, he has pursued a career unflinchingly devoted to improving the lot not only of his own race but also of workmen throughout the Nation without regard to race, creed, or color. As organizer and director of the march on Washington movement in 1941, which led President Roosevelt to start the Committee on Fair Employment Practices, he performed an invaluable service to the Nation and to the cause of securing true freedom for all of its citizens. He recently retired as vice president of the AFL-CIO, a position he had held since 1957.

Mr. Randolph's life testifies to his integrity and his character. The son of a minister, he was born in Crescent City, Fla., in 1889. As a boy he supplemented his family's income by working in a grocery store and selling newspapers. He later was a section hand on a railroad, loading flatcars and laying crossties and rails. After completing high school, Mr. Randolph left his native Florida for New York City, where he worked as an elevator operator, a porter, and a waiter. During this time he continued his education in political science and economics at the College of the City of New York.

In 1917 Mr. Randolph, together with Chandler Owen, began a monthly magazine, called the Messenger, and began to contribute articles to other publications, including Opportunity and Survey Graphic. He also became an instructor at the Rand School of Social Science in New York. His interest in the labor movement led to his organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the

first such union of Negro porters. Mr. Randolph's union was instrumental in encouraging Negro participation in unions, and in the growing fight to end discrimination against Negroes throughout the entire labor movement.

Mr. Randolph's struggle against discrimination continued into the 1940's, when in 1947 he helped to organize the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. This led to the abolition of segregation in the armed services by President Truman in 1948.

In 1941 Howard University conferred the honorary degree of doctor of laws upon Mr. Randolph, and in 1944 the third annual David L. Clendenin Award of the Worker's Defense League was bestowed upon this outstanding proponent of Negro labor rights.

It is, for me, therefore, a great distinction to express my admiration for, and offer my tribute to, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, truly one of the outstanding men of our time.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, in commemoration of his 80th birthday.

Throughout his full and productive life, Mr. Randolph has been dedicated to a cause—that of uniting the scattered fragments of the working classes, without regard for race, creed, or color.

In 1925, he was the chief founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and faithfully worked for the betterment of that organization until he retired last year as president.

His endeavors, and achievements, serve as a lasting inspiration to all who would seek to better the lot of man. It is with the deepest admiration and respect that I salute Mr. Randolph, with appreciation for his lifetime of dedication toward the American ideal—for whose contributions, we are a better nation.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join with my colleagues this afternoon in paying tribute to one of America's foremost labor and civil rights leaders and certainly one of her finest citizens, A. Philip Randolph.

This quietly dignified man has endeared himself to millions of Americans throughout the years. He has won the admiration and respect of young and old, rich and poor, the mighty and the downtrodden, black and white, the lettered and the unlettered, intimate friends, and those who only know of him. He has done this, Mr. Speaker, through dedication and principle. For decades this man, this gentleman, has fought discrimination, and prejudice, he has striven diligently for better working conditions, decent housing, adequate educational opportunities, and equal treatment before the law for all men.

As we commemorate his 80th birthday, I pray that God will grant him many more years of service to his fellow man and that, as a nation, we will continue to be the beneficiaries of his wise counsel in the years ahead.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure to join with my colleagues today to pay tribute to a great labor leader and a great leader in the fight for civil rights, A. Philip Randolph.

Mr. Randolph, born 80 years ago in

Crescent City, Fla., the son of a minister, has done as much as any civil rights leader in our history to bring about equal rights for the Negro. He was the driving force in two Executive orders to eliminate discrimination in this country. In the early years of the Second World War, he conceived of a march on Washington to illustrate the plight of the Negro in the war effort. This resulted in President Roosevelt issuing an order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Several years later, he went back to the White House to tell President Truman that Negroes would not register for the draft unless the "Jim Crow" practices in the Army were halted. This confrontation resulted in an Executive order which ended segregation in the Army.

Although his part is not well known, it was Mr. Randolph who conceived the idea for the 1963 march on Washington when Martin Luther King made his famous "I have a dream" speech.

In the field of organized labor, Mr. Randolph had one of his greatest victories. At the establishing convention of the AFL-CIO, he pushed through a mandate in the new constitution barring discrimination in affiliated unions. Although this breakthrough has not been fully realized, it was a giant step in equal rights for the black unionist.

In a New York Times article of April 15, 1969, A. Philip Randolph is quoted as saying, "You've got to fight for what you get." He has certainly proved this during his 43 years as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He has increased the wages of his members sixfold, while cutting their working hours in half.

Mr. Speaker, A. Philip Randolph is truly a giant in the fight to improve living conditions, not only for the Negro but for all Americans. Although not as vocal as many of today's civil rights advocates, he has quietly pursued the goal of equal rights with great success.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of America's most distinguished citizens, A. Philip Randolph, is celebrating his 80th birthday this month. During his career which spans both World Wars, the depression, and the current civil rights revolution, he has led the fight for social justice on many fronts.

In 1917, 38 years before the Montgomery bus boycott, Randolph was editing a magazine called the Messenger, described by some as the only radical Negro magazine in America at that time. The Messenger called the World War I slogan of "making the world safe for democracy" an impossible task as long as Negroes were being lynched, disfranchised, and segregated in America.

In 1925 he went on to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union that he headed for over 40 years.

In 1941, he planned his first march on Washington to protest the exclusion of Negroes from any significant role in defense industries. By threatening to bring 100,000 marchers to the Nation's Capital, Randolph persuaded President Roosevelt to issue the historic Executive order banning discrimination in defense plants. In 1948 Randolph was back at the White House, this time urging President

Truman to integrate the armed services; and again he was successful.

Certainly one of the high points of Randolph's career was the 1963 march on Washington which he conceived of as a way of demonstrating national support for full racial justice. More than a quarter of a million people answered Randolph's call to come to Washington.

Now at 80, A. Philip Randolph has retired as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and as the AFL-CIO's only Negro vice president. But his work is not done. He is writing several books about his experiences in the labor and civil rights movements. He continues to maintain an active interest in the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a nonprofit foundation organized to continue his lifelong struggle for social justice.

I want to wish Mr. Randolph the warmest personal regards during this 80th birthday month. We still need the inspired leadership that he has provided for so long and I know that I am not alone in expressing the hope that there will be many productive years ahead.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to have the opportunity to join my colleague from the State of Michigan in honoring a truly great American, A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph, who has just celebrated his 80th birthday, has spent almost all of those 80 years in the service of his fellow men.

We of this Congress are youngsters in the field of civil rights—A. Philip Randolph has been working for the dignity and rights of the Negro since the earliest part of the century. And his accomplishments in that field are many. His deep belief in integration as a necessary factor in the continued progress of the Nation, his belief in the democratic system, and his belief in nonviolence, not only as a moral principle, but as an effective political tactic, have brought him great success in his efforts.

Through the efforts of this great man, the first predominantly Negro trade union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was organized and won collective bargaining rights. Through his efforts, discrimination in defense plant hiring and segregation of the Armed Forces was outlawed. Through his efforts, in 1941, the Nation's first Fair Employment Practices Committee was established.

Through all this, Mr. Randolph has retained a clear vision of the total picture of need—realizing that civil rights would make little difference without economic rights and economic security. He has fought for better health, better education for all children and citizens. In short, he has fought for social and economic justice for all Americans.

Today, as we commemorate A. Philip Randolph on his 80th year, we realize that he is still an example of wisdom, courage, a challenge to all of us to bring this Nation to peace within—to bring this Nation to a period of equality and justice for all her citizens. Mr. Randolph, like the late Dr. Martin Luther King, "has a dream." It is up to us to make his dream come true.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, we pause fittingly today to honor a man of courage and wisdom whose achievements rank him as one of

America's truly great leaders. A. Philip Randolph, now in his 80th year, is more than a symbol—he is the embodiment of the principle which states that the worth of a cause is neither measured by glamour or popularity but, rather, by what it means in terms of human values and justice.

Long before civil rights was so much as an uttered phrase, Philip Randolph saw the need for fairness and equity among all workingmen in a free society, both black and white. In the early years of the labor movement's struggle, he took little heed of those who cautioned him and his followers to wait, to be patient, to "keep their place"; instead, he followed the dictates of his philosophy which held that the liberation of the Negro must be part of the total liberation of the working people. He rejected the avenues of demagoguery, separatism, and violence in favor of the long, slow, and hard bargaining which became so much a part of his life. His efforts at one point earned him the title of "the most dangerous Negro in America" from the Justice Department. He has indeed come far in his many years.

It was curiously appropriate in 1963, that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., told the great throng at the historic March on Washington that he had a dream—for on that day the long and enduring dream of A. Philip Randolph, that someday his people would join together to converge at the Nation's Capital, had at last come true. Let us hope today that the dream of Dr. King will just as certainly become reality.

Today there is an awareness, a sense of promises to be kept and wrongs to be righted, which is in no small part a result of the dignity, courage, and moral leadership of A. Philip Randolph. Let us celebrate his birthday with continued dedication to the goals of equality and justice for all Americans, and let us hope that Mr. Randolph will enjoy many more years during which he may witness the continued realization of the goals which he has so steadfastly championed.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, A. Philip Randolph, whom we are honoring today, has been championing civil rights since before many of us were born. Long before most Americans even recognized that we had a race problem, Mr. Randolph was shattering barriers of ignorance and prejudice—but always for the benefit of all workingmen, regardless of race.

His voice was first raised against injustice more than a half-century ago, when he edited the Messenger, a magazine considered radical in those more innocent times. President Woodrow Wilson was the first Chief Executive to know his moral outrage, when Mr. Randolph roused the Jim Crowism then prevalent in the Federal Government.

After founding the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in 1925, Mr. Randolph was a trusted counselor to five consecutive Presidents: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson. Sometimes, perhaps, he made them a little uncomfortable, and they might not have always liked what he had to say—but they listened to him, and his advice resulted in two of the

most significant Executive orders of our time.

In 1941, with defense industries developing millions of jobs for World War II production, Mr. Randolph organized a mass march on Washington to protest the virtual exclusion of Negroes from those industries. President Roosevelt, worried, called Mr. Randolph to the White House, to ask him to call off the march. But Mr. Randolph would not be dissuaded, until the President had issued an Executive order creating the wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission, the predecessor of a series of antidiscrimination laws to come.

Seven years later, Mr. Randolph headed a committee which talked President Truman into signing another historic order, this one barring discrimination in the armed services.

Throughout his long and distinguished career, Mr. Randolph has had little patience with bigots of any color. He has stood for equality and integration, and has opposed separatism of all types. In a story 2 weeks ago on his 80th birthday, the New York Times recounted some of the highlights of Mr. Randolph's life, and I would like to include the article at this point with my remarks:

RANDOLPH, 80 YEARS OLD TODAY, REFLECTS ON HIS FIGHTS FOR LABOR

(By Rudy Johnson)

A. Philip Randolph leaned forward on the sofa to stress his point and, with a trace of fire in his eyes, declared:

"You've got to fight for what you get. I've been on one side of many a conference table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side."

The statement, made in an interview yesterday, was typical of the man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to Presidents, was marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups.

Mr. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was the chief founder in 1925. It had been a long, arduous fight that lasted almost three decades from the first inking of organizing such a Negro union to signing the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937.

Today Mr. Randolph is 80 years old, and Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed the day in his name in New York.

On May 6 hundreds of prominent Americans, many of them his associates in the long civil rights fight, will pay him tribute at the Waldorf-Astoria.

GOAL OF THE TRIBUTE

The goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise \$250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Although Mr. Randolph's life work has been full and varied, he said yesterday that throughout all the years he has had primary aim—to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negro among them.

Sitting in his four-room apartment in the cooperatives owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, he commented:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change."

But the recent emphasis has been on "race itself," he said. Referring to today's black nationalist movement, he asserted:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overcome. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overcome. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

EDITORSHIP IS RECALLED

He went on to describe the days when his editorship of *The Messenger*, a magazine he and one of his closest associates, the late Chandler Owen, founded in 1917. At that time, his radical writings and soapbox speeches had prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with other Negroes when, in his estimation, they sought to veer from a path of black alliance with trade unionism. This included the late Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, started in 1915.

Mr. Randolph said that throughout his career he and his associates had always striven to develop the "principle of coalition," after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalistic structure of society. An avowed socialist, he said:

"A larger part of our economy ought to be subject to socialization. Take railroads, airplanes, the buses, medical care. These are areas that should not be subject to exploitation for profit because the people will suffer as a result of that. Great corporate powers are becoming almost unmanageable."

VOICE REMAINS STRONG

As Mr. Randolph talked, he looked much leaner than he had been before he was stricken with a heart ailment several years ago. Most of his life, he had weighed 200 pounds and had been 6 feet tall. But his powerful, resonant voice was still strong.

He recalled some of the highlights of his career, which included origination of a March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II.

The plan was to assemble thousands of Negroes who would converge on Washington in a demonstration that would protest discrimination in government and the defense plants.

Mr. Randolph and the late Walter White, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had met with President Roosevelt to try to urge him to correct the problem.

But the President resisted the urgings and even sent Mrs. Roosevelt to persuade Mr. Randolph to call the march off. But he was unyielding, and less than two weeks before the scheduled march, on June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

About seven years later, Mr. Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training convinced President Truman to issue an executive order banning discrimination in the armed forces.

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963 when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, and where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, to whom he had been married 50 years, died only months before the memorable event.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, this month A. Philip Randolph has become an octogenarian. He has joined the ranks of our Nation's elder statesmen, fully deserving the homage and recognition that such a

title implies. However, it seems to me that we honor Mr. Randolph today not so much because of his 80 years—grand and joyous as that is—but rather because his birthday offers us an opportunity to salute the cause of human rights, as personified by his life and work.

The life of the American people during the 20th century has been directly affected and changed for the good by the devoted and determined career of Mr. Randolph. How amazing it is to remember that this great American set out in 1925 to organize the first Negro labor union. And the history of collective bargaining, of better job opportunities, and of racial justice in America over the last 45 years is intertwined with the dedicated efforts of this man.

As the struggle against poverty and for human rights has proceeded, A. Philip Randolph's course has been steady and unswerving. He has always eschewed the temporary, fashionable, political trend of the moment, and hewed steadfastly to permanent goals, that represent peace and well-being to all people. He has stood firm against racial separatism, fully realizing that integration is the only principle that will assure equal participation in the fruits and labor of American life. He has remained a devoted exponent of nonviolence as the morally and politically correct means of social advancement. And he has devoted a lifetime to the cause of rooting Negro freedom in economic well-being. "Jobs and Freedom," the banner symbols of the 1963 march on Washington, are synonymous with the life of A. Philip Randolph.

A happy birthday to Mr. Randolph and a sincere wish that he and his achievements remain strong and vibrant in our land.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, May 6 marks the 80th birthday of A. Philip Randolph, founder and long-time president of the Sleeping Car Workers of America.

Mr. Randolph is a man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to Presidents has been marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups in our country.

His chief tactic during his many years of public service has always been an unshakable dignity that has been used not as a rock to batter the barriers to racial prejudice, but as water to engulf and drown them. A product chiefly of his own vast readings, he is also the product of a faith in man's ability to overcome his environment. But, A. Philip Randolph is no passive believer. He is an active seeker, a battler for what he believes right, and his career is an excellent reflection of his philosophy that "you have to fight for what you get."

Mr. Randolph fought for 12 long years at great personal sacrifice to accomplish the near-impossible task of organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The formal recognition of that union by the railroads in 1937 was not only a triumph for the members of the union, but a source of pride to all American Negroes.

Mr. Randolph fought during the Sec-

ond World War to open the "arsenal of democracy" to black citizens, by threatening a 100,000 strong march on Washington if the war plants were not opened to Negroes. In a face-to-face confrontation with the President, he secured his goal.

Then again in 1948, he fought to secure the integration of the armed forces by threatening a massive draft resistance campaign. Facing a somewhat peeved President, Mr. Randolph was able to convince Mr. Truman of the justice of his cause.

Finally, in 1963, he conceived the idea of the massive march on Washington. That march was to lead to so much of the landmark progress in civil rights that has come in this decade.

It is a tragic irony that on the occasion of this great civil rights figure's 80th birthday, our country is witnessing a backsliding on the part of the present administration in the field of race relations. We are seeing a pattern of relaxed enforcement of civil rights laws which together with the forced resignation of Clifford Alexander from the chairmanship of the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee and the continued attacks on him, suggests that the southern wing of the Republican Party is in a position to exert great influence on the Administration.

I am confident that the social progress that has come about so much because of the life and work of A. Philip Randolph will be able to weather these current attacks as well as the administration's proposed other reforms in Federal civil rights activity. The moral conscience of American society has been too aroused to allow permanent retreat and social retrogression to take place.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, "Justice," wrote the philosopher Leibnitz, "is love felt by the wise." These words well serve as a fitting guide to the life of Asa Philip Randolph, whose passionate dedication to the cause of social justice has always been tempered with wisdom. In a time of fanaticism, extremism and violence, he has stood manfully for the democratic process in the vigorous pursuit of a more just society.

As we honor him on this occasion of his 80th birthday, we acknowledge his four decades of leadership in the "revolution the Civil War left unfinished," a leadership distinguished by his unflinching loyalty to the principles of nonviolence. He has been involved in virtually every struggle for Negro rights from the lunch counter sit-ins in Alabama to the revolt against colonialism in Africa. In championing equal justice under law for the Negro, he has upheld the rights of all men, of every race, to freedom and dignity. Thus his service to the aspirations of the Negro community has been a service to all America. He has written:

My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . the unity of these forces (we believed) would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change.

Here is no call for black power against white power, but a realistic evaluation

in the need for black and white power together in a common destiny and in the building of a more humane social order.

Now, at 80, he leaves to us all a monument of achievement which opens solid hope in a time of confusion and anxiety. Truly he has shown that love is indeed justice felt by the wise.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the scope and accomplishments of Asa Philip Randolph's 50 years of leadership in the cause of justice are an enduring monument to his faith and vision. Through dedication and persistence, he has done more than perhaps any other person in this Nation to break down the barriers of racial prejudice.

The history of Mr. Randolph's inspiring and immensely fruitful career has been the history of some of the most important gains in the struggle for equal opportunity for Negroes. He overcame the double handicaps of poverty and race with a deep faith in man's ability to master his environment through his own efforts. Through him, that faith has been vindicated for the poor and hungry everywhere in this country.

In the pursuit of justice and the American dream of freedom and opportunity for all, the contributions of Asa Philip Randolph to the welfare of our Nation and all our people have been immeasurable. I join my colleagues in paying tribute to a man who has spent his life in asking much for others, and very little for himself. To him I express my profound admiration.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to a distinguished American, Asa Philip Randolph, founder and past president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as he celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph, who for many years has preached nonviolence and self-reliance to the Negro American, has practiced politics, in his words, with the "aim of revolutionizing the conscious and subconscious mind of the dominant white people." To a large segment of America's Negroes, Mr. Randolph is a bulwark of unshakable dignity.

In 1963 Mr. Randolph conceived of a march on Washington that subsequently attracted participants, black and white alike, numbering more than a quarter million Americans. It was during this march which took place on August 28, 1963, that the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his now historic "I Have A Dream" speech.

At age 80, Mr. Randolph continues to be highly respected and revered for his Biblical eloquence which continues to be heard as he strives toward his primary aim—"to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negro among them." His is the kind of spirit which has made America great and which will lead us to the better life for all Americans.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with the gentleman from Michigan in paying tribute to one of the outstanding Americans of our time. A. Philip Randolph, who celebrated his 80th birthday on April 15. Four score years is a long time but A. Philip Randolph has been far too busy working for the better-

ment of his fellow man to notice the years going by. In 1925 Mr. Randolph founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and became that organization's first president. His goal was to organize and unite the scattered segment of the working force in America and to bring the Negro into a more prominent role in the labor movement and, as in most things he has attempted, he succeeded in this goal.

A. Philip Randolph has always believed in the principle of coalition. The bringing together of like-minded forces has accomplished much within the labor movement and has resulted in the great strides forward made by the movement over the past 45 years. Mr. Randolph's presence and influence cannot be discounted as a contributing factor to labor's success.

There are now many justly deserved honors coming Mr. Randolph's way. I do not know why it is in this country but it seems that a man must retire before he is paid proper tribute. Mr. Randolph retired last year after so many years of service to mankind and the last several of them after suffering a serious heart attack. Despite this he is still active and his powerful, resonant voice is still strong.

Governor Rockefeller of New York proclaimed April 15, 1969, as A. Philip Randolph Day and on May 6, many hundreds of admirers will gather at the Waldorf-Astoria to pay homage to a man who has devoted his life to his brothers, both Negro and white. An outstanding American, a great Negro leader, and a champion of the workingman, I am honored to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph today.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, a champion of human rights and human dignity, A. Philip Randolph, can look back on his 80 years with the knowledge and comfort that he has blazed trails which became paths for others to follow.

He has struggled to move forward the cause of equality, the cause of the working man and woman, the cause of the oppressed in our society. That forward thrust, still drawing on his strength and magnified by the strength of those who joined with him, has become an irreversible forward movement toward the full promise of freedom for all people.

A. Philip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and for that and continuing guidance and leadership, he takes his place among the great of the Nation's labor leaders.

He has been in the forefront of the civil rights movement, from the time that movement was sustained by a handful of courageous men who struggled against all odds, to the present, where we see the fruits of his earlier labors.

Standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial—Dr. Martin Luther King by his side—A. Philip Randolph said, in part:

We are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the Nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group, we are not an organization or a group of organizations, we are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negroes; nor is it confined to civil

rights. Our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not. And we know that we have no interest in a society in which 6 million black and white people are unemployed, and millions more live in poverty.

Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

The months and years ahead will bring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The march on Washington is not the climax to our struggle but a new beginning, not only for the Negro but for all Americans, for personal freedoms and a better life.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to add my tributes to A. Philip Randolph. His public record of accomplishment on behalf of workingmen, his understanding of the special problems faced by black men in a white society, his championship of civil rights for all our citizens, and his consistent leadership in the struggle for a better world—all these have been a significant part of America's social and economic history for the past 50 years.

An impressive figure physically, a gifted writer and a persuasive orator, Mr. Randolph organized and led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to its first successful contract in 1937. He won many victories as the longtime president of his union and as a civil rights leader. He fought successfully to have the shameful Jim Crow policies banned in defense industries and in the armed services, and he has witnessed a growing public awareness of the merit of equality for all men.

It is important that we not forget and that we never allow to be deprecated the courage and stout-hearted determination of the lonely union organizers and civil rights warriors who fought in the first half of this century.

A steadfast believer in a new social order, Mr. Randolph consistently supported his fellow fighter for civil liberties, the late Norman Thomas, in all of his political contests and can be rightfully proud of the joint contribution they made to the liberal dialog in our national political campaigns.

A. Philip Randolph was a pioneer in paths now trodden by many. "Their load is lighter, and their road is brighter" for his having blazed that lonely, tangled trail. In his 80th year, I wish him "many happy returns."

I would like, too, to share with my colleagues a tribute to Mr. Randolph by Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which appeared in the April 14, 1969, issue of the *New Leader*:

THE TOTAL VISION OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
(By Bayard Rustin)

Social struggle, if it is to effectively uplift masses of impoverished and exploited individuals, must articulate and satisfy their diverse needs as well as reconcile objectives that are often considered contradictory. A people degraded by poverty and a caste system of segregation, for example, will have the inchoate desire for dignity and liberation, but that desire will remain unfulfilled until it is given programmatic direction by a political movement. And in the course of fulfillment, there is always the danger that the felt need deriving from a perception of fundamental and historic injustices will conflict with the required political strategy, which by its nature must respond to circumstances of the moment.

I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise.

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people. Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority at the expense of the majority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

Pursuing his conviction that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands. Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are two million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

Randolph's activities on behalf of black workers, however, did not stop with this broad crusade. In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP eventually won certification in 1937.

This victory not only resulted in the first contract signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader; it also became a symbol of what could happen if black people organized and bargained collectively. The BSCP enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages. What is more important, it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement. Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had acquired through their economic battles and making use of the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They formed what was in effect a network for the

distribution of political literature. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery, Alabama, bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was the head of the local BSCP division and himself a porter.

Since the political strategy of mass protest has become commonplace during the last decade, it is all too often forgotten that this was developed by Randolph at a time when the use of such tactics by Negroes was unheard of. He believed that Negroes could not achieve economic advancement without fighting for it, but he was no less profoundly aware that as an oppressed people, the very act of struggling would confer upon them a dignity they had been denied.

Thus in 1941, with the advent of World War II, Randolph conceived the idea of a massive Negro march on Washington to protest the exclusion of black people from jobs in the defense of industries. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. The idea was scoffed at or scorned by most people in the white community, and it was so unprecedented that even many Negroes had difficulty believing it could be made into a reality.

Local March on Washington Committees nevertheless began to spring up across the country, and as preparations assumed larger proportions, the pressure on President Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the march, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the War Industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Once more thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes through Randolph's efforts, and black people began to sense their power as an organized group and the effectiveness of nonviolent direct action tactics.

Even when his actions have seemed to be directed toward noneconomic ends, Randolph has been guided by a persistent concern for the Negro's economic welfare. In 1948, for instance, he traveled to Washington to speak with President Truman on the problem of segregation and discrimination in the Armed Forces. Although he was of course concerned that Negroes in the Army be treated with dignity, the more fundamental difficulty he saw was that segregation would exclude them from high-paying officer positions as well as from training programs in skills they would need for postservice civilian employment. Such were Randolph's influence and authority that another Executive Order was issued to comply with his demands.

In 1955, when Randolph urged me to go South to help Dr. Martin Luther King organize the Montgomery bus boycott, he likewise had a dual objective in mind. He naturally felt that Negroes had a right to sit where they wanted to on public accommodations. But he also felt that if the boycott were successful and spread elsewhere, it would create jobs for Negroes as bus drivers and in restaurants, parks and libraries. His conception was that where Negroes were free to come, they would be free to work; if this proved not to be the case, once having gained access to an institution, they would use the same techniques for obtaining employment that they had originally used to open it up. And this in fact is what has happened throughout the South.

His interest in educational desegregation, too, transcended the problem of dignity or of Negroes and whites attending the same schools together, for he was concerned with the growing threat posed to Negro employment by cybernetics and automation. Since education is the basis for economic advancement, he knew that access to all educational facilities and opportunities was vital to the Negroes. A decade later, we can see even more clearly the devastating effect the combination of automation and inferior segregated education has had on the employment of blacks.

It was Randolph's perception of the economic basis of Negro freedom that enabled him to grasp the unique significance of the 1963 March on Washington. He conceived of it as marking the termination of the mass protest period—during which Negroes had destroyed the Jim Crow institutions in the South—and the inauguration of an era of massive action at the ballot box designed to bring about new economic programs. Aware that the central problem Negroes faced was no longer simply one of civil rights but of economic rights—for the one would lack social substance without the other—he called for a March on Washington which brought a quarter of a million Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom."

At the same time President Kennedy introduced what was to become the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and in the minds of some people this became the main focus of the March. Randolph, however, refused to be misled by transient emotion and persisted in his demand for an economic program. At the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he proposed the Freedom Budget, calling for an annual Federal expenditure of \$18.5 billion for 10 years to wipe out poverty.

Randolph was not speaking here of tax incentives for industry, voluntary assistance by private individuals or community action programs. He was speaking of full employment and a guaranteed income, the rebuilding of our cities, the provision of superior schools for all of our children, and free medical care for all of our citizens. He was speaking, very simply and without rhetoric, of achieving equality in America.

And he was not being unrealistic. He proposed, along with the Freedom Budget, a political strategy for achieving it that calls for building a coalition of Negroes, labor, liberals, religious organizations, and students. If these groups could unite, they would form a majority capable of democratizing the economic, social and political power of this Nation.

Today there are many Negroes and liberals who reject the idea of this coalition. The reason for this, I think, is that they have failed to view the problem of inequality in its totality. Unlike Randolph, their vision is fractured and constricted. There are some Negroes, for example, who are advocating racial separatism and black nationalism because they are engaged in a very significant psychological quest for identity.

I am in sympathy with this search to a degree, as was Randolph in 1940 when he wrote: "... the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships."

Randolph did not believe that blacks should isolate themselves, though, so he added: "But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom."

Randolph's position is not only morally correct but strategically necessary, for Negroes today are in danger of letting an emotional imperative destroy the possibility for social and economic liberation. They are emphasizing blackness to the point of isolating themselves from broad political movements for social justice—forgetting that as one-tenth of the population, they cannot by themselves bring about necessary social changes such as those embodied in the Freedom Budget.

Indeed, many liberals have become obsessed with the psychological aspects of the

racial problem to the point of neglecting its economic dimensions. During the early years of the civil rights movement these liberals, unlike Randolph, favored integration primarily as a means of fostering better relations between blacks and whites. Now that the cry of black nationalism has arisen from some Negroes, they have transferred their concern for brotherhood to the need for blacks to achieve pride and identity and for whites to purge themselves of guilt and racism. In both the earlier and the current cases there is a failure to confront the overriding fact of poverty. Most mistakenly, many have now abandoned the objective of building an integrated movement to achieve economic equality.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, this April 15, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remaining evident. And by his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers: to build through means that are democratic and nonviolent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity, that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on April 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th century. Throughout his years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. The freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Rudy Johnson in the New York Times and the special AFL-CIO resolution honoring this truly great American on his 80th birthday:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 15, 1969]
RANDOLPH, 80 YEARS OLD TODAY, REFLECTS ON HIS FIGHT FOR LABOR
 (By Rudy Johnson)

A. Philip Randolph leaned forward on the sofa to stress his point and, with a trace of fire in his eyes, declared:

"You've got to fight for what you get. I've been on one side of many a conference table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side."

The statement, made in an interview yesterday, was typical of the man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to Presidents, was marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups.

Mr. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was the chief founder in 1925. It had been a long, arduous fight that lasted almost three decades from the first inkling of organizing such a Negro union to signing the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937.

Today Mr. Randolph is 80 years old, and Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed the day in his name in New York.

On May 6 hundreds of prominent Americans, many of them his associates in the long civil rights fight, will pay him tribute at the Waldorf-Astoria.

GOAL OF THE TRIBUTE

The goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise \$250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Although Mr. Randolph's life work has been full and varied, he said yesterday that throughout all the years he has had one primary aim—to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negro among them.

Sitting in his four-room apartment in the cooperatives owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, he commented:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man... the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change."

But the recent emphasis has been on "race itself," he said. Referring to today's black nationalist movement, he asserted:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overdone. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

EDITORSHIP IS RECALLED

He went on to describe the days when his editorship of *The Messenger*, a magazine he and one of his closest associates, the late Chandler Owen, founded in 1917. At that time, his radical writings and soapbox speeches had prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with other Negroes when, in his estimation, they sought to veer from a path of black alliance with trade unionism. This included the late Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, started in 1915.

Mr. Randolph said that throughout his career he and his associates, had always striven to develop the "principle of coalition," after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalist structure of society. An avowed socialist, he said:

"A larger part of our economy ought to be subject to socialization. Take railroads, airplanes, the buses, medical care. These are areas that should not be subject to exploitation for profit because the people will suffer as a result of that. Great corporate powers are becoming almost unmanageable."

VOICE REMAINS STRONG

As Mr. Randolph talked, he looked much leaner than he had been before he was stricken with a heart ailment several years ago. Most of his life, he had weighed 200 pounds and had been 6 feet tall. But his powerful, resonant voice was still strong.

He recalled some of the highlights of his career, which included origination of a March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II.

The plan was to assemble thousands of Negroes who would converge on Washington in a demonstration that would protest discrimination in government and defense plants.

Mr. Randolph, and the late Walter White, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had met with President Roosevelt to try to urge him to correct the problem.

But the President resisted the urgings and even sent Mrs. Roosevelt to persuade Mr. Randolph to call the march off. But he was unyielding, and less than two weeks before the scheduled march, on June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

About seven years later, Mr. Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training convinced President Truman to issue an executive order banning discrimination in the armed forces.

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963 when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, and where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, to whom he had been married 50 years, died only months before the memorable event.

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., FEBRUARY 18, 1969

Whereas, A. Philip Randolph has, throughout his long career, made a tremendous contribution to the American trade union movement, and

Whereas, Brother Randolph has dedicated his life to the building of a Negro-Labor alliance and to the integration of the Negro people into the economic, social, and political life of America, and

Whereas, Brother Randolph will be celebrating his 80th birthday on April 15, 1969; therefore, be it

Resolved: That the AFL-CIO Executive Council salutes Brother Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday; and that it calls on trade unionists throughout the country to support the birthday celebration which will be held on May 6, 1969 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, and also contribute to the Fund to be established in Mr. Randolph's name which will be used to finance voter education and registration projects in the black communities of our cities, with the objective of strengthening the political coalition of labor unions, Negroes, and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have the opportunity to say a few words about A. Philip Randolph, for there have been few Americans in this century more worthy of respect. His battle for equal opportunity for black men began when most people ignored the Negro entirely.

In 1917, for speaking and writing against Jim Crowism during the Wilson administration, the Justice Department called him "the most dangerous Negro in America." He was off to a good start. From then on, he has not swerved from the cause of liberation of the Negro through freedom of job opportunity. He has said:

My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man. . . . The unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change.

His emphasis has always been on equality of opportunity and on the unity of all working men. His belief has consistently been that minority groups can make their greatest economic and social gains working through existing labor unions, or by starting their own. Mr. Randolph's achievements in bringing this idea into reality represents, in effect, the history of the Negro in the American labor movement. In 1925, he founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. After 12 more years of organizing the union won a National Labor Relations Board employee election and a contract from Pullman. From a position of strength as president of the union, Randolph was able to bargain effectively, not

only for union members but for all Negroes.

In 1941, Randolph sought to dramatize the fact that "in this arsenal of democracy there is no democracy for the Negro citizen" by organizing a march on Washington. It was not until Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practices Commission, and issued an Executive order commanding war contractors to drop color barriers that the march was called off.

In 1944, he took a suit against the all-white Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, who had forced the railroads into a Jim Crow agreement, to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled the agreement illegal.

In 1948, Randolph suggested to President Truman that there would be wholesale refusal of Negroes to register for the draft unless segregation in the Armed Forces ended. Truman issued an Executive order ending segregation of units almost immediately.

In 1955, he forced the newly merged AFL-CIO to outlaw discrimination in affiliated unions. Although enforcement has been slow, there are now more than 1,750,000 Negro union members, and less than 150 of the 60,000 affiliated locals are segregated. This is not dramatic, not showy progress, but it is a far cry from the days when Mr. Randolph was a lone voice at the conventions.

In 1963, Randolph conceived and led the great March on Washington, which served notice to an America that continued to ignore the black man that there were unredeemed promises and unfulfilled hopes.

There have been few tougher fighters for any cause. Not many other men would have dared to risk the wrath of Roosevelt, of Truman, and all of organized labor. Yet he did, with great power and dignity, and made them his admirers.

A. Philip Randolph has spent his life creating a better life for millions of Americans. The black men who have good jobs and who have a sense of the freedom that ought to be the birthright of every American owe a great deal to him. So, too, do all of us owe him a debt, for his persistent persuasion has opened our eyes and made possible the commitment that America has now made to end discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, 80 years as well spent as Mr. Randolph has spent his, are too few. I hope that all my colleagues will join in wishing him many more.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it gives me deep personal pleasure to join in the tribute to my distinguished friend A. Philip Randolph, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. As you know I have long been concerned with the improvement in the living standards of the working man in our country and with the struggle to overcome the discriminations which prevent the full realization of our great American ideals of human brotherhood.

Few men have contributed more than A. Philip Randolph to both of these causes. His long life has been devoted to lifting up his fellow men. He has struggled for the economic elevation of his fellow men through his dedicated and able leadership of the International

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and through his wise counsel and inspiration as a member of the executive leadership of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. He has struggled as mightily and as successfully for the unshackling of the spirit of millions of his fellow citizens through his support of the cause of civil rights and the cause of racial equality and freedom in our land.

It is a great privilege to honor a man of the high character and ability of A. Philip Randolph. Our country is in his debt and it is our wish that the Ruler of the Universe may give him many more fruitful years in the service of the ideals that have made this Nation the beacon of freedom and opportunity for the disinherited of the earth.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph who is 80 years old today. Born at the time of the gas lamp, he is still a source of inspiration and an example of extraordinary moral dignity to men today. Born in Crescent, Fla., the son of a preacher, he was only 9 years old when a life-lasting lesson was thrust upon him. It was the story of a lynching which never took place. As he told it:

The men (all Negroes) of the town had gone to the county jail, stood all night like sentries in the street and kept the lynch mob from coming.

For the little boy, it meant that strength stemmed from unity and that his brothers had shown strength.

His philosophy in his own words has been:

We never separated the liberation of the White working man from the liberation of the Black working man. . . . the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change.

In the land of liberty, he believed that all men were to be free and all his life he worked toward that end. He is still, in his own nonviolent, but inflexible way, pursuing this goal.

From President Roosevelt, he helped obtain the promise of fair employment practices—now in effect in 17 States. From President Truman, the integration of the Armed Forces. From President Eisenhower, the implementation of school desegregation, and in the 1960's, he organized the march on Washington and quietly convinced President John F. Kennedy to propose the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A self-educated man, a wonderful orator, he never forgot his labor background and his black identity. He was the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, vice president of the AFL-CIO, and yet he was never overpowered by his achievements. His greatest achievement is perhaps to be a model, not only to the black man in America, or to the white man in America, but to men everywhere, of all races, religions, and creeds. It is certainly an honor and a privilege to pay tribute to this great American today.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join my distinguished colleague from Detroit in this special order to pay tribute to a great American, A. Philip Randolph, who just passed his 80th birthday.

A. Phillip Randolph has devoted his life to improving conditions for black workers. As the organizer and founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he made an unmeasurable contribution to the labor movement in America. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has also long been a living symbol for many black Americans of what a number of individuals could achieve through organization. If one had to list Mr. Randolph's vast accomplishments in order of their value to black Americans, organization, united action toward a common goal, would top that list. All America learned from Mr. Randolph what obstacles could be hurdled by organization.

Mr. Randolph's skill as a labor organizer is well known to me from personal experience. When I was general counsel for Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, A. Phillip Randolph was our guiding light. He came to speak often before us, as he did to many such groups, and shared generously his experience and advice. Without doubt, he is the most revered labor spokesman in America.

For nearly 50 years, Mr. Randolph has been a progressive force in American development. His is the voice that spoke most often for black America, especially the workingman. He was the force behind the opening of the war industries to black Americans; he was also the force behind desegregation of the Armed Forces; and his was the great mind that conceived and carried out the monumental march on Washington in 1963.

A. Phillip Randolph's amazing ability to organize workingmen, to persuade Presidents, and to inspire thousands of black Americans who occupy positions of leadership, both in and out of the labor movement, will never be forgotten. The changes he has wrought in America are a higher tribute than any we could lay before him. With dignity, determination, and the marvelous gift of selling goals and philosophy to an oppressed people, A. Phillip Randolph has quietly moved mountains. Although he has retired now from many of his former activities, I know that he will continue to prod his many admirers when he feels that we are not moving our share of the mountains that are left.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure to have this opportunity to join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to a truly great American, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph has dedicated his life to the securing of dignity, justice, and equality for all his fellow citizens in America.

He has shown outstanding qualities of leadership in the long struggle on behalf of this Nation's working men and women—and in helping improve the economic, social and political life of every American, regardless of race, color, creed, national origin, or ethnic background.

This country owes him a debt of gratitude for the example he has set of a lifetime devoted to helping make the United States a better place in which to live.

I believe we can all agree with Bayard Rustin when he said:

In this time of confusion, violence, and racial separatism, A. Phillip Randolph—at 80 years of age—remains a source of wisdom and courage. By his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers. That challenge is to build, through means that are democratic and non-violent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

In further tribute to this outstanding American, I would like to include in the RECORD the text of a fine editorial which appeared in the April 25 edition of the Los Angeles Citizen, honoring A. Phillip Randolph:

RANDOLPH AT 80

On April 15, A. Phillip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his coworker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in *The New Leader*. Rustin writes in part:

"I think it is part of the greatness of A. Phillip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from the basic premise."

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom.

Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people.

Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

Pursuing his conviction that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands.

Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade

opposing any form of strikebreaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are two million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Phillip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, when a man reaches four score years of age, it is cause for a celebration. However, should such a person have achieved prominence by reason of his accomplishments in the interest of his people and of his vocation, it is only right that the Nation should commemorate his birthday.

A. Phillip Randolph, a truly great leader, was born 80 years ago. Fortunately he is still with us and active for the just cause of all laboring people and for civil rights. When he speaks on behalf of almost 19 million Negroes who constitute close to 11 percent of the total U.S. population, the Nation listens.

The fact that dramatic changes for a better status for this important segment of our citizenry have occurred with such swiftness is due in a great measure because of the work of the man we honor today.

It was back in January 1941, over 28 years ago, that Mr. Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, advanced the idea of 50,000 to 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington and demanding that their Government do something to insure the employment of Negroes in defense industries.

Although that march did not actually take place, it proved to be the impelling reason that President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941, issued his famous Executive Order 8802, stating:

There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Again it was A. Phillip Randolph who conceived the idea of a march on Washington which did take place on August 28, 1963. What is significant, however, is the fact that prominent clergymen, noted educators, influential labor leaders, and other prominent Americans were present in large numbers on this occasion.

The cause of labor and the advancement of human rights are the twin goals of this great man. That he succeeded in becoming a reality. May he long continue his activities for a better society. I congratulate him on his 80th birthday and wish him continued good health and success.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of my special order, a tribute to A. Phillip Randolph, and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BRASCO). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan? There was no objection.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO NON-PROFIT PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I have today reintroduced a resolution directing the Federal Communications Commission to study the means by which commercial broadcasters could be required to provide financial assistance to non-profit public educational broadcasting. The resolution would also put Congress on record in favor of commercial television and radio broadcasters' providing substantial financial support to educational broadcasting.

Educational television offers a positive alternative to the sex and violence so prevalent on commercial television today. Educational television also offers a broader range of programming. The children's workshop, for example, offers highly creative, imaginative and educational programming. Yet, educational television with no source of regular financing exists on a hand-to-mouth basis primarily by means of voluntary contributions, and so forth.

The Congress in 1967 established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to provide financial assistance for the expansion of educational programming. The financing for the corporation's activities has been limited so far, however, to interim congressional appropriations which do not begin to meet the need.

There is a need to find a permanent long-range financing mechanism to enable public broadcasting to grow and, at the same time, maintain its independence from government. The recommendation recently made by Prof. Richard Netzer, of New York University, that commercial broadcasters be taxed for the benefit of public television represents a proposed solution. While I tend to support the idea of media tax, I would like to see a full-fledged study by the Federal Communications Commission to determine if there should be a tax and, if so, to what extent.

FOUNDATION RESPONSIBILITY—II

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) for 10 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been calling the attention of the House to the emergence of reverse racists in Texas. I have said that these purveyors of hate have received assistance from the Ford Foundation, through its grantees. Today I intend to show the House exactly how that aid has been dispensed, and again call upon the Ford Foundation to take steps to exercise its responsibility, which is to insure that its grantees act only in the public interest. I believe that the grantees I will speak of have acted in a way that is contrary to the public interest, and contrary to any intention that the Ford Foundation espouses, unless I seriously misunderstand the aims of that great organization.

The principal purveyor of race hate in

Texas—that is the reverse variety of race hate—is the Mexican American Youth Organization, known as MAYO. I shall show today how three of the four founders of MAYO are on direct payrolls of the Ford Foundation, and how its principal members receive aid direct and indirect from Ford Foundation grantees.

The Ford Foundation has given grants of \$2½ million to the Mexican-American legal defense fund and \$630,000 to the Southwest Council of La Raza. As far as I know these grantees are free to spend their money more or less as they please. It is this freedom of action that has led to an odd interrelationship between MAYO and Ford Foundation money.

The Southwest Council of La Raza made a grant of \$110,000 to an organization calling itself the Mexican American Unity Council, of San Antonio. This group in turn makes other grants to other organizations; it has already handed out \$46,000, although its grant is supposed to last for a whole 5 years. Of the seven publicly known grants, three are to organizations that are run by MAYO members, or closely related to MAYO, and one is to a voter registration group whose director is an old ally of a local politico who often addresses MAYO meetings, and who is a member of the board of directors of the parent grantee, the Southwest Council of La Raza.

The president of MAYO, Jose Angel Gutierrez, who has said that most Anglo-Americans are "gringos" and that "gringos" must be "eliminated," and who frequently says that violence may be necessary, even killing, to achieve his goals, is employed as an investigator by the Mexican-American legal defense fund, a Ford grantee. Gutierrez' appeals to violence make it seem odd that he should be working for a group dedicated to legal recourse, but then it is also odd that the MALDF offices sport pictures of Che Guevara, not exactly known for his dedication to free process, let alone law. Gutierrez is one of the four founders of MAYO.

A second founder of MAYO is Willie Velasquez, who happens to be the director of the Mexican-American Unity Council, which has \$110,000 in Ford money to disperse, \$46,000 of which has already been spent. One of his two acknowledged employees is Juan Patlan, who was a third founder of MAYO. The other employee is Gil Murillo, who was until recently a VISTA supervisor. The fourth founder of MAYO was Mario Compean, who so far as I know is not on any grantee's payroll, but who has benefited from political action of MAYO related groups. He was first president of MAYO, and ran for the office of Councilman of San Antonio. Compean's appeal was frankly racist:

I shall pursue a course plotted to overthrow the gringos and their vicious and oppressive political machine.

He also said:

Let me say that my campaign will be based on a platform committed one hundred per cent to la raza and the blacks." Compean places the blame for all the ills of Mexican-Americans and Negroes on what he calls the white majority.

Jose Angel Gutierrez, the second president of MAYO, has made statements

that are even more startling; unlike Compean he is paid by tax-free foundation money. Incidentally, MAYO sometimes says that it has no officers, but other times says that it does. Likewise, it sometimes says that most Anglos are all right, but sometimes that all or most Anglos are racists—gringos. Gutierrez said in Austin, Tex., on April 19:

We must use any means necessary to reach our goal.

He also said on that day:

We may have to resort to violence in self defense.

On April 11, Gutierrez said that "top priority" must be given to "identifying and exposing the gringo," and that MAYO aimed to "eliminate" the gringo, by killing if necessary. Gutierrez feels that anyone who disagrees with him or for some reason or another does not help him is either a "turncoat"—a term he applied to a Mexican-American Chamber of Commerce that failed to give him a scholarship he asked for—or has "gringo tendencies," which is a term he applied to me. On the other hand, this zealous young man states that he will never violate his loyalty to la raza by publicity criticizing another Mexican-American. Gutierrez has said:

MAYO will crush any gringo who gets in our way, squashing him like a beetle.

His statements are very similar to the utterances of MAYO founder Compean, and the resemblance is not accidental. It is hard to believe that a young man who preaches hatred and violence can be employed by a legal defense fund, but that is the case. The interesting aspect of the job is that Gutierrez is not a lawyer, but an "investigator" for the Ford Foundation supported MALDF. His job leaves him ample time to travel and speak in behalf of MAYO, so that one wonders whether he investigates so much as he instigates.

Mr. Speaker, the principal disburser of Ford Foundation money in San Antonio is the Mexican-American Unity Council, which has \$110,000 and which is run by Willie Velasquez, who is like Gutierrez a founder of MAYO. Velasquez has on his payroll a third MAYO founder, Juan Patlan, who works as an "economic development specialist." As far as I can determine the Unity Council has made no grants aimed at economic development, although it has made grants to various politically active groups, so it is hard for me to tell what his job really is. Velasquez, through the Unity Council, has made direct grants to fellow MAYO founder Guerrero's MAYO organization, in the amount of \$12,400—or one-fourth of the total of all grants made by the unity council. Incidentally, the only paid employee of the MAYO group is Ignacio Perez, who was also a founder of the organization.

The Mexican-American Unity Council has further close ties with MAYO members. For example, it has given a grant to provide operating money for the Universidad de los Barrios, the premises of which seem to be the headquarters for drinking bouts, where one murder was committed on the night of January 10, and whose walls are decorated with various posters that could be interpreted

as irreverent by some and obscene by others. As it happens, the director of this interesting place is a student who happens to have been one of the principal members of MAYO.

The Ford-funded Council also provides financial assistance to a group known as Barrios Unidos. Associated with Barrios Unidos is a group headed by C. H. Alejos, a MAYO member, and candidate for the city council in the last municipal election in San Antonio. This group is called the Laredo Street Council. The Barrios Unidos provides money to the Lulacs del Barrio, headed by Dario Chapa, MAYO member and candidate for the city council in the last municipal election in San Antonio.

A fourth Ford-funded group in San Antonio is the group known as COVER, headed by a long-time ally of County Commissioner Albert Pena, who opposes the city government's majority party, and who also happens to be on the board of directors of the Southwest Council of La Raza. The Commissioner frequently addresses MAYO rallies around the State. It is curious to note his relationship to the Southwest Council, which grants funds to the Mexican American Unity Council, which in turn gives \$5600 to a voter registration group headed by his long time political supporter. One has to wonder what the connections may be.

Mr. Speaker, the leadership of MAYO is clearly irresponsible. Yet, three of the four founders of this organization are on the payroll of Ford Foundation grantees, including its current president, who works for a legal defense fund, but who openly and flagrantly states that the legal process of reform probably will not work, and who thinks nothing of making threats of violence. Not only does the Ford Foundation provide the means of livelihood for these provocateurs and blatherskites, but its grantees provide additional direct support to the MAYO organization and to fellow MAYO members. Of seven grants made in San Antonio to organizations, three have gone directly to organizations that are headed by MAYO members, and a third has gone to a political action group whose leadership is closely allied with a member of the board of directors of the Southwest Council for La Raza. It appears that all of this is more than coincidental; the grantees take care of their friends, and I suppose that it is assumed that the Ford Foundation is none the wiser. There is no reason to believe that henceforth the Foundation will not know to whom its money is going and what it is being used for.

Mr. Speaker, I have clearly pointed out the relationship of Ford Foundation money to militant and radical groups and leaders, groups and leaders who are at best irresponsible and who present a real danger to the peace and safety and progress of the people of south and southwest Texas.

CAN THE UNIVERSITY SURVIVE?

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

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker,

today, many of our citizens are asking what is happening on our university and college campuses. The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, president, Notre Dame University, in the April 27 issue of This Week Magazine, suggests that the very survival of the university is at stake.

That survival he suggests is up to the university itself. Through purposeful leadership in tune with the legitimate needs and demands of the student the university can survive. Father Hesburgh feels that today's students are better than ever before, more deeply committed to the democratic values of the Nation and more concerned about the very purpose of society.

But the acts of violence and force that are perpetrated by a few which deny the basic rights of the individual must be dealt with effectively and justly by the university; otherwise, Father Hesburgh fears that the academic community could lose support of the general public, that liberty could be suppressed and that the fires of fascism could be rekindled.

I commend to my colleagues Father Hesburgh's balanced and insightful commentary on one of the great issues facing this country, and include his statement at this point in the RECORD:

The best salvation for the university in the face of any crisis is for the university community to save itself, by declaring its own ground rules and basic values and then enforcing them, first with moral persuasion, and finally with academic sanctions—suspension and expulsion—for participants in any movement against university life and values—especially violence, vandalism and mob action.

When moral persuasion and academic sanctions fail to deter those who show open contempt for the life-style and self-declared values of the university community, there should be no hesitation to invoke whatever outside assistance is necessary to preserve the university and its values. However, it is the university that best judges its need for outside assistance and invokes this assistance, much as it would call for help in a three-alarm campus fire. Here the concern is survival against forces bent on destruction.

University presidents have constantly heard the argument that if they invoke the law, and call in the police to keep peace on the campus, they will lose the respect and the support of their university community.

My only answer to that argument is that without the law you may well lose the university—and beyond that, more seriously important, you may lose the support of the larger society outside of the campus which keeps the university alive, and which is most deeply wounded when law is no longer respected, bringing an end to everyone's most cherished rights.

If someone invades your home, do you dialogue with him or call the law? Without the law, the university is a sitting duck for any small and irresponsible group from the outside or inside of the campus that wishes to destroy it or to terrorize it at whim. The law is the university's only guarantee of civilization versus jungle or mob rule.

Somewhere a stand must be made, and the point I have been trying to emphasize to our own university community and to concerned government officials and legislators, is that the stand must be made here, by ourselves, on our campus, not by an outside authority. The university president, as a last and dismal alternative, may have to call the police to keep law and order; if he doesn't, the day

will come when somebody else will have to step in and make the call for him.

When Notre Dame announced its determination to make such a stand against lawless force on its campus if the need for it arises, the president of an Eastern university voiced concern for "our general readiness today to attack the young and blame the young."

Far from blaming the young, I feel that the great majority of our students today need better leadership than we administrators or the faculty are giving them in these times of a fast-changing society. The young people are more informed, more widely read, better educated, more idealistic, more deeply sensitive to moral issues, more likely to dedicate themselves to good rather than selfish goals than any past generations of students that I have known. Even the most far-out students are trying to tell society something that may be worth searching for today, if they would only lower the volume so we could hear the message. In most cases, they have good reason to be bothered by some aspects of American and world society and by current values, or the lack of them.

But a complicated social mechanism, out of joint, cannot be adjusted with sledge hammers. At Notre Dame we recognize the right and validity of protest and dissent regarding the burning issues of the day—war and peace, especially in Vietnam, civil rights, moral issues, and the stance of our university on those issues. But protest and dissent must be expressed in a civil and rational discussion and persuasion, not in a display of force and violence that disrupts the life of the university. We can have a thousand resolutions as to what kind of a society we want, but when authority is flouted, we must invoke the law or stand back to watch the university die beneath our hopeless gaze.

In a fast changing society the real crisis is not one of authority but a crisis of vision that alone can inspire great leadership and create morale in any society. A rebirth of great academic, civic and political leadership, a sharing of some of these youthful ideals and dreams (impossible or not) would be good for our universities and good for America too. It might also help us all remove some of the key problems that underline most of the unrest. The campus is really reflecting America and the world today in hi-fi sound and living color.

Part of the vision that I have been speaking of must certainly include law and order. But curiously enough, one cannot really have law and order without another part of the vision; greater achievement of justice in our times, more compassion for all, real love between generations. All elements of the vision are interdependent. Moreover, the vision must be whole and real for everyone.

I truly believe that unless our American universities take drastic steps now to restore law and order to their campuses, we may be about to see a revulsion on the part of state and Federal legislatures, benefactors, parents, alumni and the general public for much that is happening today in higher education. This may lead to a suppression of the liberty and autonomy that are the lifeblood of a university community. It may well lead to a rebirth of fascism, unless we ourselves are ready to take a stand for what is right for us. We must rule ourselves, or others will rule us, in a way that destroys the university as we have known it and loved it.

NATIONAL SQUARE: MYTHICAL COMPLEX

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

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the new administration announced its support of the grandiose scheme ad-

vanced by the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, providing, among other designs, for the destruction of an entire city block, which is, in the words of Wolf Von Eckardt, staff writer for the Washington Post, "for the sake of a theory."

In a time when the administration is also asking Congress to establish a fixed, annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia, based on local taxes and revenues raised by the city, it seems inconceivable to reduce that percentage by taking out of taxation one of the most expensive taxable properties in the city of Washington.

In A.D. 64, the great fire in Rome raged for 6 days, then roared on after apparently being brought under control. Large sections of the city were destroyed, but by now Nero had been Emperor for a decade and knew something about raising money for government expenses. His rebuilding program included a great palace—the golden house—for himself and according to some historians Italy and the provinces were ransacked in order to defray the enormous costs.

We have been presented to us again, by a new administration, the same scheme that could lead to the devastation of the beauty and historic significance of Pennsylvania Avenue without fire, and with funds for rearranging the finery to come through the simple expediency of continuing the raid on the earnings of the American taxpayers. And when the pie is opened, Pennsylvania Avenue—devoid of the landmarks that have made it famous—will have been transformed into little more than a super highway for ceremonial parades.

Such landmarks as the Willard Hotel and National Theater are designed for junking under the master scheme to create more open space between the Capitol and the White House, but sponsors promise that one of the benefits for the anticipated millions that the project would cost would be parking spaces for 10,000 automobiles. Now, what sort of an exchange is this?

To me, the Willard Hotel has a prominent place in the history and tradition of this Nation. It has housed some of our Presidents and other famous Americans, and it is remindful of eras in history when there was a greater value on integrity, moral value, and patriotism than we find in these parts today. I recognize that the actual building which stands at 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue today is not the same Willard whose guests included celebrities of the past century; still it is over 65 years old and represents periods far beyond. Visitors to this city like to look upon it as the hostelry where noted figures lived for a century and more, and I for one would like that tradition to be preserved.

John Glenn had a word for this intangible something when he came up to Capitol Hill a few years ago and described his feelings when he sees the Stars and Stripes. I think that we should try to instill patriotism in our youth in every way possible, and I do not think that we are going to help attain this objective if we destroy monuments to the past and replace them with parking lots.

Nor do I think that Congress should

be so generous with tax funds as to approve a scheme that is going to require an investment of over a half-billion dollars for a highly dubious return. Our people have already been battered around by the eroding winds of inflation caused by Federal extravagance, and I feel that it would be an insidious imposition on the taxpayer to reduce his buying power another hitch by approving this kind of unnecessary spending.

I am incorporating as a part of my remarks the article which appeared in the Washington Post on this issue:

NATIONAL SQUARE: "MYTHICAL COMPLEX"

(By Wolf Von Eckardt)

We don't need that National Square.

The proposal for a paved expanse to terminate Pennsylvania Avenue at the White House end has always been as much of a theoretical abstraction as the rebuilding of the north side of the Avenue is a hard and practical economic, social and symbolic necessity.

We must rebuild Pennsylvania Avenue if downtown Washington is to be revitalized and if it is to be linked with and involved in its reason for being—the Federal Government.

To perform this function, the Avenue should, of course, have included the city's and Nation's foremost theater, opera and concert hall.

That would have attracted developers. But it is water over the dam. The Kennedy Center is rising down by the river.

But it is not too late to change the design of the National Square and remove the threat of destroying a whole viable and expensive city block for the sake of a theory.

The theory is, of course, that Pennsylvania Avenue should link the Capitol with the White House. Well, it doesn't. The choleric Andrew Jackson spoiled that notion in 1836 when he ordered the Treasury built right smack in between.

So the Pennsylvania Avenue designers decided we should at least see the Treasury as we come down the Avenue from the Capitol. So they propose tearing down all the buildings between 15th and 13th Streets. They originally wanted to tear down the Press Club, too, for the sake of their symbolic expanse.

But they eventually shrunk from that. Their now shrunken plan for a square, however, is still to make the Treasury part of a mythical "White House complex" that you enter through some sort of grandiose gate.

The architects themselves are not yet happy with this gate solution. And nobody knows for sure just what is supposed to be on that square except for the fountain and the pigeons.

This is not the way to design viable, livable cities. Yes, we need grandeur and symbolism.

But effective urban design reconciles grandeur and symbolism with living reality. It takes into account, as architect Louis Kahn has put it, "what the city wants to be."

But this is Washington. It is a city of ample open space, too much of it perhaps. And it is a city that seems to prefer trees over pavements and has had no trouble finding a setting for ceremony and confrontation.

CONSUMER FULL WARRANTY PROTECTION ACT OF 1969

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

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, Americans spend billions of dollars each year on machinery and appliances ranging from automobiles and television sets to blenders, toasters, and electric razors.

In most cases, these electrical and mechanical devices have made our work easier and our leisure time more enjoyable. They have indisputably enhanced the quality of our lives.

At the same time, we have become increasingly dependent on their proper functioning. If a device does not work, the buyer often suffers considerable inconvenience and sometimes even economic loss.

When a consumer purchases an appliance, or a piece of machinery, he has the right to assume that modern American technical and engineering know-how has produced a reliable and efficient product. Generally, he is not disappointed.

Manufacturers already go to a great deal of trouble and expense to assure quality control of their products. But no matter how good quality control may be, there will always be some products sold which do not work the way they should.

If the consumer had any doubts about the product's reliability at the time he bought it, the dealer probably quelled his fears by showing him an impressively embossed warranty certificate and assured the potential buyer that it provided for any problem that could arise.

But despite the high quality of most products, and the sincere desire of reputable manufacturers to guarantee what they produce, I believe that too many Americans have discovered through bitter experience that often their warranties do not cover the full cost of necessary repairs, do not provide prompt servicing, and do not insure repair work of high professional quality.

A consumer who has been sold a defective product and then not been able to get it repaired promptly and inexpensively, is not impressed when told that his neighbor did not experience similar difficulty with his machine. He does not care how many thousands of the same product have been produced without defect.

All he knows is that he has purchased something that now is of no use to him. And he wants it repaired quickly.

When this occurs, there can be no substitute for a comprehensive and inclusive warranty that guarantees, without qualification, prompt repair or replacement of the defective product.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is the obligation of the Congress to see to it that the American consumer has that kind of warranty protection. Consequently, the Representative from California (Mr. Moss) and I are introducing the Consumer Full Warranty Protection Act of 1969.

It is a comprehensive proposal, and before I discuss its provisions, I think it would be useful to outline in some detail the nature of the problem which makes this legislation necessary.

I do not think that Members of Congress are unfamiliar with the problem. With increasing frequency, I receive letters from constituents appealing for help, as a last resort, in getting satisfaction from a manufacturer. I am sure that the files of my colleagues contain similar letters.

In recent months, the Federal Trade Commission prepared or participated in

the preparation of a series of reports on the present inadequacies of manufacturers' warranties.

Read in their entirety, these reports reveal a frightening state of affairs. In one of the studies, for example, FTC researchers discovered 34 different types of disclaimers and exclusions in warranties given to purchasers of household appliances.

The Commission has described the typical appliance warranty as "a fog shrouded halo which effectively camouflages a lengthy list of disclaimers and limitations."

Mr. Speaker, if their products are as good as they claim, I call upon the manufacturers to join in burning away this fog with the bright sunlight of full warranty disclosure and full warranty protection.

Manufacturers of quality merchandise have nothing to fear from comprehensive warranty coverage. Indeed, they may gain considerable increases in public good will and respect.

At the present time many manufacturers limit themselves to replacing parts which have malfunctioned. They expect the consumer to pay any labor, service and transportation costs incidental to the replacement of those parts. In many of the warranties of this type, the manufacturer is made the sole judge of whether the part is defective. Many warranties contain provisions voiding its protection altogether if the product is moved from the owner's original premises to his new home or if he sells the product to another person during the lifetime of the warranty. Other guarantees run from the date of manufacture rather than the date of delivery to the consumer.

Even if the manufacturer admits his obligation under the warranty, weeks or even months may pass before the necessary repairs are made. If the machine is not repairable, manufacturers are reluctant to replace it. They may stall making repairs until the warranty expires or send the purchaser off on an endless circle of referrals to their district office, then to their regional office, then to their headquarters office, and then back again to their district office.

Mr. Speaker, a recitation of a few case histories from the Commission's files will suffice to graphically demonstrate the point:

In one case a consumer had a great difficulty obtaining an appointment with the repair man. When he finally came, he was unable to fix the product. A factory representative was summoned. After he worked on it, he left with an admonition for the consumer to contact the district office if any further difficulty developed. When the appliance still did not work, the owner wrote the district representative. Receiving no response, she wrote directly to the main office of the manufacturer. Their reply advised the owner that her complaint was being referred to the district representative. As of the time the Commission's report was published, the lady had heard nothing further from either office.

The owner of a new car complained of 22 defects, including a spare tire with a plug patch in it. He took it to his dealer for servicing, but after 4 days in

the garage, no repairs had been made. However, the car had been driven 28 miles during that period. Another individual moved shortly after he purchased his new car. Three dealers in his new hometown refused to make repairs covered by the warranty. They told him to take his car to his original dealer who was several hundred miles away.

The faulty design of a certain television caused repeated malfunctioning. Numerous efforts to repair the machine were made by the local retailer and the manufacturer's representative. In spite of these several attempts at repair, the TV continued to function improperly but the manufacturer stubbornly refused to replace the set. The best offer made to its purchaser was a \$10 trade-in allowance for a set which he had owned for less than a year.

A freezer was delivered with a faulty drain hose which resulted in water flooding the interior. It remained in that condition for 6 weeks before repairs were made. Subsequently, the door fell off. The dealer ordered new hinges from the factory. The hinges arrived 4 months later.

A refrigerator compressor with a 1-year factory guarantee was installed by a factory approved service company. When it failed 6 months later, the service company offered to replace it free but quoted a \$45 service charge for the job. Later the charge was increased to \$65.

When one consumer's refrigerator malfunctioned, she was informed by the manufacturer that nothing could be done unless she shipped the machine, at her expense, to the nearest authorized service center more than 150 miles away.

Mr. Speaker, the few examples I have discussed here are by no means unique. Neither is the list exhaustive of the types of problems faced by thousands of consumers each year. I believe that the public outcry will continue to increase until Congress acts decisively in the area of product guarantees.

Only a comprehensive attack on this problem can be effective. I believe this proposal provides just this sort of approach. If enacted, it will make available to the consumer an effective mechanism to compel prompt, complete, and inexpensive repair work. In addition, the Federal Trade Commission will be given new and imaginative authority to protect the consumer in his dealings with the manufacturers.

The proposed Consumer Full Warranty Protection Act requires sellers of goods to guarantee that the goods are free from defects of materials or workmanship;

The goods are fit for the ordinary purposes for which such goods are used;

The goods are fit, for any particular purpose about which the buyer has informed the retailer or manufacturer;

The goods comply with the description made by the seller; and

Good title, free from any liens, is being conveyed to the consumer.

I would stress, too, that under this legislation, the seller would be free to add to the warranty protection required by the bill, but he could not subtract from it.

Other provisions of the act require that warranties have at least a 1-year dura-

tion measured from the date of delivery, while reserving to the Commission the power to require a greater term where appropriate. If the product is transferred to another person during the lifetime of the warranty, the new owner is entitled to claim protection under the warranty.

Wherever possible, the manufacturer is required to remove unnecessarily and legalistic language from his warranties. Warranties are to be expressed in clear and concise terms and must be explained to the buyer at the time of purchase. They must contain the addresses of approved servicing facilities and describe the procedure for filing a claim.

The manufacturer is required to establish service facilities at convenient locations and he is required to repair goods without any cost whatsoever to the consumer. Further, the manufacturer is required to bear all transportation and labor costs.

He is also required to make necessary repairs promptly, and if he fails to repair the goods within 60 days, he will be subject to special penalties. Should the merchandise prove to be unrepairable, the manufacturer still retains ultimate responsibility for fulfilling the terms of the warranty.

To assist the Commission in enforcing this act, manufacturers are required to keep extensive records on their servicing activities. At the beginning of each year, they are to submit reports to the Commission on these matters. The Commission in turn shall submit to Congress a similar annual report with its recommendation for further legislative action. These reports shall also be made available to the public.

This act also makes it an unfair trade practice for manufacturers to fail to comply with any of its requirements and the Federal Trade Commission is empowered to issue cease and desist orders where violations are uncovered.

In addition, criminal penalties are established for failure of manufacturers to enclose cards with their products accurately describing the warranty coverage or for failing to keep or submit any of the records or reports required by the act.

The buyer himself can bring suit where the manufacturer has failed to fulfill the warranty requirements of this proposal. The buyer is entitled to recover up to the full purchase price paid for the product plus a sum equal to all foreseeable damages, court costs and expenses—including attorney's fees. Where the manufacturer has delayed more than 60 days in making necessary repairs under the warranty, the buyer may recover a penalty ranging from \$100 to \$5,000.

Mr. Speaker, this is admittedly a tough bill. However, I do not believe that it goes any further than the problem requires.

It borrows from the common law, the Uniform Commercial Code, and the Unfair Trade Practices Act. But it also includes totally new powers for the Federal Trade Commission. For the first time, the Commission will have the authority to see to it that every consumer is protected by a meaningful warranty backed up by adequate service facilities.

Some may object that meeting the requirements of this act will cost too much,

that its provisions will have a burdensome effect on interstate commerce, and that small businesses will be driven into bankruptcy. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that this would be the case.

This proposal specifically requires the Federal Trade Commission to draw its regulations with consideration for such factors as the cost of compliance, total sales volume of the manufacturer, and the nature of the product. In short, the regulation draws pursuant to this act will be accommodated, as much as possible, to the reality of the market place.

Besides, well-constructed products do not generally require servicing. If our industries manufacture high quality products, as they assure us they do, then they have nothing to fear from this bill's requirement of increased warranty protection against inferior products.

Indeed the manufacturers of good merchandise have a great deal to gain from the enactment of this proposal. Manufacturers of shoddy merchandise are free to market their products while assuming only limited responsibility for their repair. Because of the short-cuts this enables them to take on the assembly line, unscrupulous manufacturers can afford to sell at cut-rate prices.

Mr. Speaker, my proposal will cause these marginal manufacturers to clean up their operations or to get out of business. The benefits to reputable businessmen of this are obvious. I believe this will benefit the entire community of reputable businessmen.

Mr. Speaker, America is admired by all the world for its technical knowhow, and our industrial machine is truly impressive. But in those cases where industry produces a slipshod product—a lemon—fairness dictates that the manufacturer, not the consumer, bear the cost of repair or replacement.

Mr. Speaker, the bill which the gentleman from California (Mr. Moss) and I introduce today requires no more than this.

END POLLUTION IN NASHUA RIVER

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

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a statement I recently made before the House Committee on Public Works urging the inclusion of the Nashua River in the model river demonstration program.

The problem relates to the critical need for combating and eliminating pollution along the course of this historic river, and I hope that the committee and the Congress will move soon and fast to make possible a massive, coordinated attack upon conditions in and along this river which are obnoxious, dangerous, and constitute a great threat to the public health, as well as retardation of the recreational and scenic potential of the river and the countryside along its banks. My statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS ON THE INCLUSION OF THE NASHUA RIVER IN THE MODEL RIVER DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM, APRIL 22, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I am very thankful to you for this opportunity to testify during your current hearings on the operation of the Regional Commission created under Title V of the Economic Development Act of 1965.

Federal Co-Chairman John Linnehan and Governor Curtis of Maine will present to you formal statements concerning the progress and future plans of the New England Regional Commission. In addition, it is my understanding that they will present for the record statements endorsing pending legislative proposals to authorize and fund the New England Regional Commission to carry on projects in the fields of transportation, environmental management, health, education and training.

I feel sure, Mr. Chairman, that you and the distinguished members of this committee will give them every consideration as they outline to you their detailed views and suggestions concerning the needs of the New England area.

I am here this morning primarily to urge your assistance in the designation of the Nashua River as the Model Demonstration River for reclamation of this noted stream, now badly polluted in many sections. While local and state efforts are being made to abate pollution of this river, the financial problems involved are of such magnitude that Federal assistance is required. Both S. 1090 and H.R. 7608 authorize eleven million dollars for the Model River Demonstration Program and the designation of the Nashua River for inclusion in the program would insure a substantial portion of Federal money to help correct extreme pollution in this Basin.

There has been wholehearted cooperation and continued efforts by all parties—communities, public agencies and citizen groups—in trying to advance the abatement of pollution condition of this, both in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Some progress to combat and alleviate the truly horrible conditions along the course of this river has been made, but unfortunately only the surface has been scratched and there remains a gigantic task for all those concerned and interested in abating the objectionable conditions that still exist.

In the past, I have sought the cooperation of the U.S. Public Health Service, the Army Engineers, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and state and interstate agencies involved in this problem. The Model Demonstration River Program now represents a possible solution toward expediting the removal of the very undesirable pollution conditions along this once beautiful stream and thus opening up for better use and enjoyment the countless scenic and recreational opportunities, clean water supply, conservation and natural enhancement of the rare and historic natural resources of this stream.

There is no group in Congress more knowledgeable than this outstanding committee on the perplexing and momentous problems of pollution. I humbly ask and urge your effective cooperation and help toward providing answers to the peculiar problems we have in the Nashua Basin. I endorse wholeheartedly the provisions of H.R. 7608 and will be thankful indeed for your consideration and help.

UNREST ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUSES

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

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, like most Members of this body I am deeply

disturbed, not only as a legislator but also as a parent and a former college teacher, over the growing unrest, revolt, and open violence on our college campuses, which reached a new high the other day when Afro-American students took rifles and ammunition into Willard Straight Hall to back up their illegal seizure of this property.

What is especially disturbing is the continued evidence that many college administrators and apparently a large majority of college faculties, have still failed to appreciate the devastating impact on free, liberal education of allowing these acts of violence to continue without any academic punishment or discipline.

In that connection I believe Members will be most interested, if they have not already seen it, in a perceptive and forthright editorial column which appeared in yesterday's New York Times by Mr. William V. Shannon. As Mr. Shannon properly points out the failure of college administrators and college faculties to deal promptly and decisively with all efforts to impede the kind of atmosphere without which free education cannot function, can only doom the Nation's universities, on which so much of our money and so many of our hopes for future progress have long been centered.

Mr. Shannon's column follows: ONE MAN'S VIEW OF THE UNQUIET CAMPUS (By William V. Shannon)

The nation's universities and their ideals are now under siege. The attack comes from some youngsters who are ignorant of those ideals, from others who are emotionally disturbed and prone to violence, and from still others who have willfully chosen to be political totalitarians.

There is no way to accommodate the colleges and universities to these small disruptive minorities, and no good reason why university authorities should attempt any such accommodation. These disturbed and disturbing youngsters should be expelled in order that the faculties and the great majority of students can get on with their work.

The difficulty and the solution become clear once the work of a university is defined. It is to transmit knowledge and wisdom and to enhance them by research and study. The university is not a forum for political action. It is not a training ground for revolutionaries. It is not a residential facility for the psychiatrically maladjusted. It is not a theater for the acting out of racial fears and phantasies.

The university is a quiet place deliberately insulated from the conflicts and pressures of the larger society around it. Reason and civility are essential to its very nature because its aim is truth, not power.

It is a contradiction in terms to ask a university to be deliberately "relevant" to today's crises of cities and races. How is it possible to demonstrate that gothic architecture or the principles of organic chemistry or most other courses in the college catalog are relevant to today's headlines? God, it has been said, writes straight with crooked lines. So it is that a university serves its community and its nation in roundabout and even mysterious ways.

A POLICY BACKFIRES

Much of the difficulty on the campuses arises from a well intentioned but mistaken effort to achieve relevance. Universities have gone to the slums and recruited black students, many of whom are not academically qualified. By "transitional years" and special

instruction, they have tried to ease these students into the mainstream of academic work. This policy of reverse discrimination has backfired as disoriented black youths try to escape from the mainstream back into "black studies" and racially segregated departments.

It scarcely needs to be said that every young Negro who is qualified and seriously wants a college education should be encouraged and financially assisted. But a university has no obligation to black students who are not academically qualified or who, though qualified, do not feel at home in a university atmosphere. Every student, white or black, has duties as well as privileges and must recognize that his presence on the campus is conditional on his behavior.

As for "black studies," there are legitimate Negro cultural needs to be met in developing a usable past. Like any other academic discipline, however, knowledge of Negro history can only develop slowly as the supply of scholars expands and the necessary research is done. But the universities ought not to be ghettoized and stultified to meet these cultural needs overnight.

As for the white radical students who have created campus turmoil, Dr. Bruno Bettelheim in an article in *The Times* magazine on April 13 accurately defined the source of the problem. In the main they are badly brought up children.

LIMIT OF RESPONSIBILITY

They clamor for instant solutions which do not exist and throw violent tantrums because they have never learned to fear real consequences or to postpone immediate gratifications for greater benefits later. Like earlier misfits, they will have to work out their own lives as best they can, it is not the university's responsibility to baby sit them.

These simple truths ought to be clear to faculty members. But in several recent confrontations, many members of the faculty have been with those who would subvert the university. This should be no surprise. Professors are unaccustomed to exercising power and are uncomfortable with the hard choices which power entails.

As a result, on even the greatest university campuses the faculties have in time of decision been irresponsible. At Harvard and elsewhere, they have second-guessed their presidents and deans when they should have rallied firmly to their support.

INSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE

But, more and more, faculty members are recognizing that successive surrenders to violence will doom the universities as centers of learning and research. They are coming to realize that segregation by race and intimidation by a minority are intolerable. Out of that growing recognition, there is hope that the university authorities, the faculties, and the great majority of students will defend their universities, by faculty-imposed suspensions and expulsions where possible and by court injunctions and police power where necessary, against the ignorant, the fanatic, and the emotionally lost who would destroy them.

COMMENTS ON CAMPUS DISORDERS

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

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the current rash of college violence and disorders, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues a very timely and thoughtful editorial from the Otsego Farmer of Cooperstown, N.Y., which appeared earlier this month. It reflects an attitude toward these developments to which most Members of

this body would, I am sure, say "amen." The editorial follows:

SANITY ON THE CAMPUS

In the depression years of the early and middle 1930's, a college education was a privilege, often reserved for those with the stamina to work and go to school at the same time. It is exceedingly difficult for people of that generation to view with a great deal of tolerance, the riots and vandalism that are making a shambles of college campuses today—a condition that seems to go along with the assumption that higher education is an inalienable right.

In this connection and in connection with a bill now under consideration at Albany we are pleased to quote from an editorial which appeared in a student paper from a nearby college which says in part:

"Withholding financial aid from students convicted of a felony or misdemeanor disrupting the normal function of a college is a good start at controlling the violence and destructiveness so prevalent in American campuses. But it is only a first step. College Administrations must take a firmer stand toward preventing the disruption of their campuses by small belligerent minorities. When a University surrenders to campus radicals, such as Columbia has done by dealing so leniently with the events of last spring, it leads one to wonder, if, as the *New York Times* has said, this is not 'a go ahead for continuation of the kind of chaotic permissiveness under which defiance and polemics brush aside legality at will'. Students who cannot demonstrate peacefully or make themselves heard without kicking down the president's door should be expelled from school. It isn't a question of a poor, suppressed student if he is expelled from school for using violence as a mouthpiece or tramping on another student's rights to get an education. It's a simple case of a troublemaker who has no business being in the school. If a student can't keep his dissent peaceful and orderly, if he must rely on violence and destructiveness rather than constructive progress he doesn't belong in an educational institution. And very least of all, the government shouldn't pay his way."

We are inclined to hope that this sort of sanity prevails among the majority of our college students. We compliment the editor of the *Colgate News* whom we have quoted on his outstanding contribution.

THE DANGERS OF ISOLATIONISM AND INACTION

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

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as one of the few Members of this body who spoke out publicly the other day, when our EC-121 was shot down at sea by North Korean Migs 100 miles at sea, for prompt military retaliation for this barbaric attack, I have observed that there has not been too much support expressed publicly for this particular point of view, especially in the Nation's press. A sizable armada was sent into the Sea of Japan, but it has now been withdrawn. Further reconnaissance flights are presumably being flown with protective cover. But what happens if the North Koreans should now attack our protective cover?

A military response to the EC-121 shootdown could run the risk of war we are told, and so it could. But what about a military response to an attack on our escort fighter aircraft? Might that too not run the risk of war?

And might not our repeated refusal to

fight back at these unwarranted assaults because of our strong, publicly expressed fear of becoming involved in still greater hostilities, ultimately embolden the North Koreans to launch their long hoped for attack on South Korea confident that we would never come to the defense of Korea?

So which course, in the end, really does most to assure the peace—the bold or the timid? And which course, in the end, runs the greatest risk of provoking a new and expanded war? It is not nearly as simple as it sounds, as the democracies found way back in the 1930's when they shrank from opposing Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo, for fear of starting a Second World War.

The other day I read a column in the *New York Times* by Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, whose views incidentally are rarely reflected in the editorials of that great newspaper, which posed this very same gnawing, disturbing, and rather frightening question. Because I am happy to see such a clear, penetrating analysis of this very important, but still largely unrecognized question presented on the editorial pages of the *New York Times*, I take this opportunity to bring Mr. Sulzberger's column of April 27, 1969, to the attention of my colleagues in both the House and the Senate.

Also, following Mr. Sulzberger's editorial, I include a weekly report to the people of my district which I issued in connection with the EC-121 disaster, for the week of April 21, 1969:

[From the *New York Times*, Apr. 27, 1969]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: THE DINOSAUR

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA.—Many Americans seem to think today that their country can be half a superpower or, put another way, that it can be a superpower in Europe while withdrawing from Asia where it finds itself overcommitted.

But this argumentation fails to explain how our European allies, who depend upon U.S. will to use its strength as much as on that strength itself, may be persuaded to rely upon our resolution in the West if we make it plain we don't intend to display it in the East.

Early last year the game of testing our Asian intentions became really serious. On January 21, 1968, a team of commandos was sent across the demilitarized zone by North Korea's dictator, Marshal Kim Il Sung, with orders to decapitate South Korean President Chung Hee Park. The alternate target was U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter.

EMBARRASSING ATTACKS

While this violation of the armistice failed, that did not deter Kim from trying again. Two days later he seized the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and exposed the reality of American power as embarrassingly inept. Next month Ho Chi Minh launched his famous Tet offensive in South Vietnam, again unmasking the flabbiness of American determination.

Although the Vietcong and North Vietnamese suffered very large casualties and failed to hold any vital points in the subsidiary battlefield of South Vietnam, they achieved strategic victory in the main battlefield, the United States itself. Washington decided it had had enough of the Indochina war and President Johnson announced his decision to quit a few weeks after the Tet attack.

MOSCOW ROLE

Ever since, the North Vietnamese and the North Koreans have been jabbing us dizzy while we send frantic signals asking Moscow to please make them cease. Either the So-

viet Union has discovered to its dismay that it too is no longer a superpower because it lacks the ability to curb its little friends; or perhaps it doesn't really want to play that kind of game. Judging from the amount of military equipment Russia is sending North Vietnam and North Korea, the latter seems a tenable conjecture.

A generation ago, after the United States had demonstrated astonishing might and determination in both halves of the globe during World War II, there was confident talk about the looming "American century." It is evidently one of the briefest centuries in recorded time.

Perhaps this is best for both the United States and the world and perhaps the era of superpowers anywhere is finished although, judging from Soviet behavior in Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and Eastern Europe, it would be well to examine that assumption. Certainly the United States seems to have inherited from Western Europe—source of so many American ideas—the belief that fat-dripping prosperity is preferable to sterner, more old-fashioned concepts.

It is impossible to assay these relative values on any national or international scale but one cannot avoid acknowledging that there has been profound change in American public opinion and no American leadership can escape the weakened condition this imposes.

It is hard to fix a date marking the shift but one might not be too far wrong in selecting 1962 when President Kennedy named the brilliant Maxwell Taylor chairman of his Joint Chiefs of Staff. Taylor had recently published "The Uncertain Trumpet" in which he advocated that U.S. atomic weapons should be reserved for defense of American territory by American armed forces, according only conventional support to our allies.

This attitude may be prudent but it deeply worried our NATO partners and they have never recovered. General de Gaulle's decision to develop an atomic force on the assumption that, small as it was, Paris would always brandish it in French interests, gained credence in a Europe that began to doubt American resolve.

UNSURE GIANT

The United States remains an immense giant in the international swamp but wavering and unsure of itself. It is a kind of huge dinosaur, a beast more magnificent than any other but which didn't endure because it didn't know what its purpose was. It was extremely strong and unable to benefit from that fact.

When expressing such views in private conversations certain eminent Americans have suggested they should not be published for fear this might incite leaders like Ho or Kim to further irascibility. "Why not?" I inquired. "Surely you cannot believe, in view of past events, that they keep their eyes closed." Dinosaurs are vastly visible—if for no other reason than the scale of their ineptitude.

[Congressman STRATTON's weekly report from Washington, vol. III, No. 14, Apr. 21]

THE PERILS OF INACTION

I hate to say it, but on the North Korean shooting-down of that unarmed American reconnaissance plane with the loss of 31 lives, I am afraid President Nixon has failed the first major test of his administration. Unless some further action is planned which the President did not reveal in his Friday press conference (and it could be) the incident points up once again the blunt truth that in this still dangerous and predatory world there are no courses of action that are completely risk-free, not even the course of inaction.

Once again, as with the *Pueblo*, influential voices have urged caution, coolness, and re-

straint. There was a stronger case for that with the *Pueblo*, for they had taken 82 Americans as hostages, and reprisal would almost certainly have meant death for all 82. But there were no survivors last week, unfortunately, so the fate of hostages is not a problem now. Others have suggested we "warn" North Korea against further attacks. But what is there to warn against? If we don't respond to a second unprovoked, unjustified attack, who is likely to believe we will be any more resolute the third time? Our credibility in this department has already been seriously eroded.

There are suggestions that both North Korean attacks may have been attempts to involve us in a renewed Korean war, thus taking some of the heat off communist forces in Viet Nam. But a military reprisal for the loss of 31 Americans would no more have to mean resumption of the Korean war than Israeli reprisals against Arab attacks on El Al airliners have reopened the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Actually the precise opposite is much more likely to be true, that the North Koreans do want to launch a new assault in the South and are simply trying to find out whether America, in our present pacifist, anti-military mood is likely to intervene in force if they do. After all, the 1950 Korean war originated primarily because of a miscalculation by the North Koreans about American intentions to defend South Korea.

The same thing may be underway again. They can read the papers. If we can't take the heat in Viet Nam, if we are so weary and disgusted with the burdens of defense, if the seizure of a naval vessel with 83 men leaves us suppliant, and our only response to the murder of 31 uniformed airmen is another bootless diplomatic protest, isn't it likely they will conclude that a fresh invasion of South Korea will be greeted with nothing more serious than another warning, and a few more strikes against ROTC?

Of course decisive military action runs a risk of war. But the fact is that our most recent experience with it, under John F. Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis, proved that when America were upset enough to go to the brink of war, the other side backed down and peace was preserved.

Long ago Ho Chi Minh and General Giap predicted that the poor, underdeveloped, "rural" nations of the world, like China and North Viet Nam, would ultimately destroy the rich, fat, industrialized "urban" nations, like the U.S.A.—not because their armaments were powerful but because they had a greater willingness to take risks. What happened off the coast of North Korea last week moved that chilling prophecy one notch closer to reality, I'm afraid.

CRIME

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

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, last week President Nixon announced to the Congress his comprehensive program for attacking organized crime in the United States. The attack is on six fronts: First, additional budgetary support for the Federal agencies primarily concerned with the problem of organized crime; second, Federal racketeering field offices in major cities; third, a pilot-project Federal-State racket squad in the southern district of New York; fourth, additional assistance to State and local governments through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration created by the last Congress; fifth, selective use of the wiretapping and immunity authority

granted in the same legislation; and sixth, the enactment of legislation, primarily in the field of gambling.

Today, I have introduced the Illegal Gambling Business Control Act of 1969. Cosponsoring this legislation are the distinguished minority leader, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, and all of the Republican members of that committee.

Gambling poses an insidious threat to our country. Many law-abiding Americans who would never consider doing anything illegal swell the coffers of organized crime regularly by their playing of the numbers of policy game, purchasing of football cards, and betting on sports events and off-track on horse races. Virtually all of these wagers, large or small, ultimately feed the colossus we know as organized crime. Thus, this kind of law-abiding American finances the loansharking activities of organized crime which have ruined so many individuals and small businesses and their wholesale importation of the illicit drugs which are ruining the lives of so many of our fine young people.

And so the escalating tiers of crime are established. The harmless bet fosters traffic in narcotics which, in turn fosters violent crime. The American public complains about crime in the streets while it donates from \$20 to \$50 billion per year to its cause, as President Nixon pointed out. That is between 2 and 5 percent of the gross national product. That is quite a contribution.

Illegal gambling ranges from lotteries, such as numbers or policy and bolita, to off-track betting, bets on sporting events, large dice games, and illegal casinos. As the President's Crime Commission pointed out 2 years ago, most large city gambling is established or controlled by organized crime members through elaborate hierarchies.

Recent estimates by law enforcement authorities of the gambling take in one of our largest cities that goes to organized crime includes 3 million annually from bolita, 23 to 25 million from their policy wheels, and an additional 11 million in tribute from the independent policy organizations they allow to operate. This is in addition to its take from illegal casino-type gambling, sports bookmaking, off-track horse race betting, and supplying the line on both race and sports events.

The legislation being introduced today, together with legislation previously enacted, will give the Federal Government the necessary weapons to attack all of these activities with the exception of illegal casino-type gambling. Legislation in the latter area is presently under intensive consideration in the Justice and Treasury Departments.

This Congress presently has before it legislation which will amend the wagering tax laws to remedy the deficiencies pointed out by the Supreme Court in its Grosso and Marchetti decisions. This legislation will have two salutary effects. First, it will bring the Internal Revenue Service's skilled agents back into the enforcement of the gambling laws; and second, consequently, professional gamblers will have to pay the tax on wagering or risk the penalty of imprisonment.

The legislation which I have just introduced is part of the administration's comprehensive plan to make it more difficult for organized crime to earn revenues from illegal activities. With enactment of this legislation, the Federal authorities will have jurisdiction over all large-scale illegal gambling operations which involve or affect interstate commerce.

Specifically, it will be a Federal crime to engage in an illicit gambling operation, in which five or more persons are involved, which has been in operation more than 30 days, or from which the daily "take" exceeds \$2,000. Incidentally, the policy wheel I mentioned previously with an annual gross of \$15 million employs between 150 and 200 persons. This legislation will enable the Attorney General, on a selective basis, to aid local and State governments in cracking down on illegal gambling and thus cut off one of organized crime's principal sources of revenue.

The second legislative proposal strikes directly at the heart of a major problem in local enforcement of gambling—corruption of police and local officials. Most large-scale illegal gambling operations could not continue over any extended period of time without the cooperation of corrupt police or local officials. The proposed legislation would make it a Federal crime to give or take a bribe to facilitate an illegal gambling operation. Legislation in this area is long overdue. Yes, long overdue.

Gambling income provides the life blood of organized crime. If we can cut off this source of income we will be striking a blow at the vitals of organized crime.

President Nixon has concluded that the major thrust of his administration's organized crime effort should be directed at gambling, even though many Americans consider it to be the least reprehensible of all of organized crime's activities. His reasoning is that gambling finances the bribery, loansharking, narcotics trafficking, and other activities that makes organized crime the menace that it has become.

The President deserves the support of this Congress and of the American people in his reasoned approach to the problem of organized crime. Let us enact this gambling legislation promptly and move forward in the fight against the overlords of crime.

ILLEGAL GAMBLING BUSINESS CONTROL ACT OF 1969

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

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, today I join with Mr. McCulloch, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER), and the Republican members of the House Committee on the Judiciary in introducing the Illegal Gambling Business Control Act of 1969 to permit the Federal Government to further assist the States in the control of illegal gambling.

This proposal is one of the keystones of the President's organized crime message which he sent to Congress on April 23, 1969. It is vital to the internal well-

being of this Nation that the activities of organized criminals be curtailed; that the influence and control this small but potent segment of our society wields be reduced. The bill I introduce today, if enacted, will take us a long way toward accomplishing this task.

For many, gambling does not appear to be a very sinister aspect of organized criminal activity. Its existence is certainly not as shocking to society as murder, kidnaping, armed robbery, rape, or any of the other spectacular varieties of criminal behavior which make daily newspaper headlines. It is exactly this attitude—this lack of concern—which makes illegal gambling such a force in our society. It takes from the pocket-books of millions of citizens, usually those who can least afford the loss, anywhere from \$20 to \$50 billion annually.

Referring to the profits realized from illegal gambling in his recent message, the President said:

Many decent Americans contribute regularly, voluntarily and unwittingly to the coffers of organized crime—the suburban housewife and the city slum dweller who place a twenty-five cent numbers bet, the bricklayer and the college student who buy a football card; the businessman and the secretary who bet illegally on a horse.

To curb this drain from the economy, the bill I am introducing will give the Federal Government two additional methods of assisting States in combating illegal gambling.

Title I will make it a felony for gamblers involved in any operation which exists for 30 days or has a gross daily revenue in excess of \$2,000 to scheme with any public or law enforcement official to obstruct, hinder, or impede the enforcement of gambling laws by means of bribery of the Government official.

Title II makes it a Federal offense to engage in a large-scale gambling enterprise.

Title III amends existing law to permit interception of wire or oral communications where such interception may lead to evidence of an offense punishable under this proposal.

This proposal is the heart of the administration's war on organized crime. If the profit can be taken from illegal gambling, the flow of funds used to finance such deadly activities as narcotics traffic will be dried up.

Illegal gambling itself is a menace to our society; the criminal activity financed from its bounty is far worse. We need the additional Federal weapons of law enforcement this legislation will provide. With these the Attorney General can effectively work with State and local governments to eradicate this evil from our Nation. I urge rapid consideration and favorable action on the Illegal Gambling Business Control Act of 1969.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. MAILLIARD (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, and the balance of the week, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legis-

lative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. SCHWENDEL (at the request of Mr. RUTH), for 30 minutes, on April 30; and 30 minutes, on May 1.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. FUQUA in two instances.

Mr. MICHEL and to include extraneous material.

Mr. BARRETT and to include extraneous material.

Mr. MILLER of California in five instances and to include extraneous material.

Mr. MAILLIARD (at the request of Mr. KEITH) to extend his remarks on H.R. 4153 immediately following Mr. KEITH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. RUTH) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. QUIE.

Mr. FINDLEY.

Mr. MCKNEALLY.

Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.

Mr. SCHWENDEL in three instances.

Mr. LUKENS.

Mr. NELSEN.

Mr. GUDE.

Mr. HARVEY.

Mr. MATHIAS.

Mr. WYMAN in two instances.

Mr. CEDERBERG.

Mr. RUTH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DIGGS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BOLLING.

Mr. ASHLEY in two instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.

Mr. PODELL in four instances.

Mr. MURPHY of New York.

Mr. CORMAN.

Mr. FASCELL in three instances.

Mr. PHILBIN.

Mr. GALLAGHER.

Mr. NICHOLS.

Mr. OLSEN.

Mr. HUNGATE in three instances.

Mr. ANDERSON of California in two instances.

Mr. MADDEN in two instances.

Mr. PATEN.

Mr. TUNNEY in three instances.

Mr. FRASER in three instances.

Mr. JONES of Alabama.

Mr. HANNA.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 16 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, April 30, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

708. A letter from the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide additional revenues for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

709. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting the Fourth Annual Report of the Advisory Council on State Departments of Education, pursuant to the provisions of title V of Public Law 89-10; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

710. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a follow-up report on opportunities for savings through use of spare Government-owned communications circuits in Europe, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

711. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting the 16th report of the Department's activities under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (Public Law 81-152) for the calendar year 1968, pursuant to section 404(d) of title IV of the act; to the Committee on Government Operations.

712. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed concession permit authorizing Mr. John R. Woodside to continue to operate the Cinnamon Bay Camp, and provide related facilities and services, in the Virgin Islands National Park, for the period January 1, through December 31, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of the act of July 31, 1953 (67 Stat. 271), as amended by the act of July 14, 1956 (70 Stat. 543); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

713. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report regarding the progress and results obtained by the United States from participation in the desalting and electric power generating project off the coast of southern California, pursuant to the provisions of section IV, Public Law 90-18; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

714. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to permit the Federal Government to further assist the States in the control of illegal gambling, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

715. A letter from the Administrator of General Services, transmitting a request that the Committee on Public Works rescind its approval and authorization of the purchase of the main post office building in Flint, Mich., and the post office garage property in Philadelphia, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 35. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of a "Veterans' Benefits Calculator"; with amendment (Rept. No. 91-168). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 95. Concurrent resolution authorizing certain printing for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs; with amendment (Rept. No. 91-169). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 162. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of the book, "Our American Government," as a House document (Rept. No. 91-170). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 183.

Concurrent resolution to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional copies of school prayer hearings; with amendment (Rept. No. 91-171). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 192. Concurrent resolution to reprint brochure entitled "How Our Laws Are Made" (Rept. No. 91-172). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 193. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing as a House document of a revised edition of "The Capitol," and providing for additional copies (Rept. No. 91-173). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 185. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of a House report of the 90th Congress, second session, entitled "Unshackling Local Government (Revised Edition)" (Rept. No. 91-174). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. Senate Concurrent Resolution 5. Concurrent resolution to print additional copies of hearings on the nomination of Walter J. Hickel to be Secretary of the Interior. (Rept. No. 81-175). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. Senate Concurrent Resolution 15. Concurrent resolution to print as a Senate document studies and hearings on the Alliance for Progress (Rept. No. 91-176). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DENT: Committee on House Administration. Senate Concurrent Resolution 16. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of the eulogies on Dwight David Eisenhower (Rept. No. 91-177). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 379. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 5554, a bill to provide a special milk program for children (Rept. No. 91-178). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DELANEY: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 380. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 9825, a bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-179). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BEVILL:

H.R. 10665. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BRADEMAS (for himself, Mr. RED of New York, Mr. PERKINS, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. DENT, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. CAREY, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mrs. MINK, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. AYRES, Mr. QUITE, Mr. BELL of California, Mr. ESCH, Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. LANDGREBE, and Mr. HANSEN of Idaho):

H.R. 10666. A bill to establish a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PODELL (for himself, Mr. STUBBLEFIELD, Mr. WATTS, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, and Mrs. MAY):

H.R. 10667. A bill to establish a National Commission on Libraries and Information

Science, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

H.R. 10668. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 10669. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to terminate the investment credit for all property except water pollution control facilities and air pollution control facilities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESHLEMAN:

H.R. 10670. A bill to improve educational quality through the effective utilization of educational technology; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 10671. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOREMAN:

H.R. 10672. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to make it unlawful for any person to carry a weapon on the property of any institution of higher education which receives or disburses Federal funds while such person is acting in violation of a law, regulation, ordinance, or rule; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 10673. A bill to promote health and safety in the building trades and construction industry in all Federal and federally financed or federally assisted construction projects; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 10674. A bill to establish a Commission to investigate and study possible permanent memorials to Dwight David Eisenhower; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 10675. A bill to amend the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act to require public hearings before entering into mineral leases; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 10676. A bill to provide Federal assistance for special projects to demonstrate the effectiveness of programs to provide emergency care for heart attack victims by trained persons in specially equipped ambulances; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KLEPPE (for himself, Mr. BELCHER, Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. MAHON, Mr. STEED, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. FOREMAN, and Mr. ROGERS of Colorado):

H.R. 10677. A bill to amend the act of August 7, 1956 (70 Stat. 1115), as amended, providing for a Great Plains conservation program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LATTA:

H.R. 10678. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to provide that monthly social security benefit payments shall not be included as income for the purpose of determining eligibility for a pension under that title; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LENNON:

H.R. 10679. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana:

H.R. 10680. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an additional personal exemption for a taxpayer or spouse who is disabled and for a dependent who is blind or disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LUKENS:

H.R. 10681. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive

tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10682. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCULLOCH (for himself, Mr. CELLER, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. POFF, Mr. CAHILL, Mr. MACGREGOR, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. McCLORY, Mr. SMITH of New York, Mr. MESKILL, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. BIESTER, Mr. WIGGINS, Mr. DENNIS, Mr. FISH, and Mr. COUGHLIN):

H.R. 10683. A bill to permit the Federal Government to further assist the States in the control of illegal gambling, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McKNEALLY:

H.R. 10684. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MATHIAS:

H.R. 10685. A bill to amend titles 18 and 39, United States Code, to make a certain category of material, designed to appeal primarily to the prurient interests of the viewer, reader, or listener, nonmailable to minors, and nonmailable as second-, third-, or fourth-class matter to any person; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10686. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to make a certain category of material, designed to appeal primarily to the prurient interests of the viewer, reader, or listener, nonmailable to minors, and nonmailable as second-, third-, or fourth-class matter to any person, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 10687. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for the certification of air freight forwarders; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. MAY:

H.R. 10688. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial timberlands, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MAYNE:

H.R. 10689. A bill to clarify the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to require reasonable bonds from packers in connection with their livestock purchasing operations; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. O'HARA (for himself and Mr. Moss):

H.R. 10690. A bill to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to set standards to guarantee comprehensive warranty protection to the purchasers of merchandise shipped in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 10691. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage higher education, and particularly the private funding thereof, by authorizing a deduction from gross income of reasonable amounts contributed to a qualified higher education fund established by the taxpayer for the purpose of funding the higher education of his dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 10692. A bill to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflict, and for

other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H.R. 10693. A bill to provide for the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp in honor of Gen. Douglas MacArthur; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 10694. A bill to amend the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968 to provide protection thereunder against losses resulting from earthquakes, earthslides, and mudslides; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 10695. A bill to amend the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956, as amended; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. VANDER JAGT:

H.R. 10696. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to designate the home of a State legislator for income tax purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.R. 10697. A bill to provide that the receipts from all Federal gasoline and automotive excise taxes shall be placed in the highway trust fund to be used for road improvement purposes only, to eliminate the State matching requirements in the Federal-aid highway program, and to provide Federal assistance for State and local highway purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHITTEN:

H.R. 10698. A bill to provide that certain land acquired for flood control purposes which is no longer needed for such purposes be disposed of as surplus property; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CELLER (for himself, Mr.

FEIGHAN, Mr. ROBINO, Mr. ROGERS of Colorado, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. ST. ONGE, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. RYAN, Mr. WALDIE, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. McCULLOCH, Mr. CAHILL, Mr. MACGREGOR, Mr. McCLORY, Mr. SMITH, of New York, Mr. MESKILL, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. BIESTER, and Mr. FISH):

H.J. Res. 681. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER (for himself, Mr. BROOKS, Mr. McCULLOCH, and Mr. COUGHLIN):

H.J. Res. 682. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.J. Res. 683. Joint resolution to direct the Federal Communications Commission to study the ways in which commercial broadcasters may be required to provide financial support to nonprofit public educational broadcasters; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.J. Res. 684. Joint resolution to designate the stadium constructed in the District of Columbia under authority of the District of Columbia Stadium Act of 1957 as the "Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Stadium"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KUYKENDALL (for himself, Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, Mr. COWGER, Mr. STUBBLEFIELD, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. BLACKBURN, and Mr. KLEPPE):

H.J. Res. 685. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the offering of prayer in public buildings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LUKENS:

H.J. Res. 686. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the

United States relating to the election of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DEVINE (for himself, Mr. KING, Mr. HUNT, Mr. KYL, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. CLANCY, Mr. ROUDEBUSH, Mr. LANDGREBE, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. MARTIN, and Mr. COLLIER):

H. Con. Res. 229. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the rotation of members of the Armed Forces of the United States in their assignments to serve in combat zones; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. NICHOLS:

H. Con. Res. 230. Concurrent resolution to require France to pay its World War I debt; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VANDER JAGT:

H. Con. Res. 231. Concurrent resolution, support of gerontology centers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. WHITEHURST:

H. Con. Res. 232. Concurrent resolution, support of gerontology centers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RYAN (for himself, Mr. AD-

DABBO, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. BARING, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BLATNIK, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CULVER, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. GRAY, Mr. HALPERN, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. JOHNSON of California, Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. KOCH, Mr. LEGGETT, and Mr. MATSUNAGA):

H. Res. 381. Resolution to express the sense of the House regarding the shutdown of Job Corps installations before congressional authorization and appropriation actions; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RYAN (for himself, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. MIKVA, Mrs. MINK, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. NIX, Mr. OBEX, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. PODELL, Mr. REES, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. TUNNEY, and Mr. WYDLER):

H. Res. 382. Resolution to express the sense of the House regarding the shutdown of Job Corps installations before congressional authorization and appropriation actions; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RYAN (for himself, Mrs. CHISHOLM, and Mr. DENT):

H. Res. 383. Resolution to express the sense of the House regarding the shutdown of Job Corps installations before congressional authorization and appropriation actions; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 10699. A bill for the relief of Giocchino Plala; Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 10700. A bill for the relief of Drs. Ismael V. and Zenaida S. David; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10701. A bill for the relief of Giancarlo and Carmela Lunardi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10702. A bill for the relief of Maria Monteforte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 10703. A bill for the relief of Ernesto Pardo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLOWERS:

H.R. 10704. A bill for the relief of Samuel R. Stephenson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 10705. A bill for the relief of Gluseppa Cultera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MADDEN:
H.R. 10706. A bill for the relief of Danica Sekulovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. PODELL:
H.R. 10707. A bill for the relief of Marie Tawil; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 10708. A bill for the relief of Leonardo Ognibene, Mrs. Grazia Ognibene, Giuseppe Ognibene, and Domenico Ognibene; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. SMITH of New York:
H.R. 10709. A bill for the relief of Ahmed Masood Ghouse, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,
98. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Henry Stoner, Madison, Wis., relative to the establishment of a Subcommittee on Computers and Automation, which was referred to the Committee on Rules.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ORREN BEATY: A JOB WELL DONE

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, now that the Senate has confirmed a new Federal Co-chairman for the Four Corners Regional Commission, I would like to take this opportunity to tell you about the outstanding performance of Orren Beaty, Jr., the first Federal Cochairman of the Four Corners Regional Commission.

The Four Corners Regional Commission, established pursuant to the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, is designed to stimulate economic growth in a 92-county area within the States of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah. Its members are the Governors of those four States and the Federal Co-chairman. Orren Beaty was appointed by President Johnson in August of 1967 at the time the Commission was being organized.

The success of this Commission is dependent upon the good will of the people in the region and the close cooperation of Federal, State, and local agencies. From the day he took office and up to the very last day of his term, Orren Beaty worked to create and maintain these relationships.

He consulted frequently with the Governors and their staffs to gain their interest in the program and to insure their continued cooperation, and the Governors are working together with the recognition that there are problems common to all these States and that solutions may be more readily obtainable on a regional rather than on an individual State basis.

Through his extensive knowledge of Federal Government agencies and personnel, Mr. Beaty was able to enlist the support of the Federal agencies for this program.

Important as all of this is, it tends to obscure one very significant aspect of the job he did. In an area which has been traditionally hostile to government, especially the Federal Government, getting the trust of the people who are to benefit from the programs is crucial. Orren Beaty traveled all over the region talking to people—explaining the program to them and asking what they hoped to gain through the Commission. He visited the Indian tribal leaders, the farmers and ranchers, the small towns, opening up channels of communication between people and their government which are rarely available.

The Commission, under Orren Beaty's leadership, has already accomplished much in its short history. All four States now are actively pursuing comprehensive

statewide planning programs. One year ago Arizona had no statewide planning program and planning efforts in the other States were generally in the formative stages. The highway departments of the four States, working with representatives of the Commission, are now developing a regional highway plan for the Four Corners areas. The Commission has also undertaken studies of the vocational education needs of the area, rail transportation facilities and requirements, and manpower needs.

For the past 19 months Orren Beaty has devoted his time and his considerable talents to the difficult task of discovering ways of improving the economic conditions of one of the most underdeveloped areas of the Nation. The job is far from complete, as he himself would be the first to say, but, due to his efforts, we have made a good beginning.

We thank him and we wish him well.

COMPUTATION OF RETIRED MILITARY PAY

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, earlier this session I introduced S. 364, a bill which would return the computation of retired military pay to the basis on which it was figured before 1958. My bill would allow the armed services of the United States to honor a moral obligation which had become very close to a contractual obligation as the result of 150 years' use.

This matter of recomputation is of vital importance and concern to the men of the Armed Forces of the Nation who have fulfilled their service duty and retired. Every day these men contact my office to ask about the progress of S. 364. In order that Senators may share in their expressions of concern, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, published in the April issue of the National Association for Uniformed Services Newsletter, be printed in the RECORD.

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

RECOMPUTATION—HOTTEST ISSUE FACING 91ST CONGRESS FOR SERVICE RETIREES

Recomputation or equalization of retired pay—call it what you will—is the hottest item before the 91st Congress as far as Uniformed Service retirees are concerned.

Recomputation would reinstate the pre-1958 system of basing retired pay on current active duty pay scales. Ever since 1958, when the system was switched preemptorily, a serviceman who retires keeps getting the

same pay as long as he lives, except for periodic cost-of-living adjustments.

As a consequence, a tremendous gap in retired pay has grown over the past ten years between retirees of the same grade and years of service. In short, it has created a marked inequality among peers—an inequality that will widen substantially with the upcoming pay increase and will continue to widen ad infinitum unless Congress restores the traditional system of computing retired pay on the basis of current active duty rates (recomputation).

There are three major forms of recomputation bills now pending before Congress:

The first form would let all retirees recompute their retired pay, beginning now and continuing into the future. This is the bill introduced by Senator Tower, among others, and specifically supported by President Nixon during his campaign.

The second form would give the benefit to those who were on active duty before recomputation was killed in mid-1958.

The third form would apply only to those who retired before mid-1958.

While there is merit to each of these three forms of recomputation (and NAUS objects to none, since each would benefit some portion of our membership), nonetheless NAUS strongly supports the first form listed above; that is, the bill sponsored by Senator Tower, and urges each NAUS member (and all Service friends he can muster) to write to his two senators and the congressman of his district to let them know politely but clearly that this is the legislation we want passed because it's the fairest, and because it benefits more than 99% of our membership.

We are fully aware of how much recomputation would cost; but we do not believe that all examples and comparisons are complete or necessarily valid. For instance, it has been stated that recomputation costs would be more than 17 billion by the year 2000. As a comparison of costs this figure alone is rather useless. Were these costs also compared with the expected government income tax revenue in the year 2000; or the expected personal income rates in the year 2000; or the projected national gross product figures for the same year? When compared to a few of these figures, the true story becomes more realistic, and the cited retirement dollars are relatively small.

Additionally, the 17 billion figure indicates the dollars that will be paid to retirees. It does not reflect the 20-25% of these dollars that will be returned to the government in the form of income tax or other federal revenue programs.

Everyone seems to have a pet comparison of his own, such as the one which alleges that the projected cost of recomputation would equal the cost of a new antimissile system. Nobody except the retiree himself seems to be alive to the individual inequities involved and how they shape up in the figures and facts. We suggest that defense analysts and columnists turn their thoughts to the foregoing and to these comparisons: A major or lieutenant commander retired prior to June 1958 with 22 years service has been deprived of \$17,000, plus interest, during the past eleven years—enough to put a couple of kids through college on an austere basis and make a healthy down payment on a home. During that same time, a sergeant major, master chief petty officer or chief