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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks February 5, 1969

Few realize now that in 1967 West Virginia had its best mine safety performance since the state started keeping records 70 years earlier.

Official figures reflected a fatality rate of 0.84 per million man hours during 1967, compared to 1.13 in 1966, 1.29 in 1965, 1.22 in 1964 and 1.81 in 1963.

Even in 1968, before the thunderous blast at Farmington, Marion County, killed or trapped 78 miners, the State had a comparatively good record of 1.09 man hours. Preparation of laws and regulations to improve the record marred by disaster is now in a fluid state as the new administration looks at the past to learn its lessons and looks at the future with an eye toward taking advantage of every new idea and every technological advancement to make the underground world safer for miners.

During the past few weeks, before and after Moore took office, the State Mines Department staff, headed by Director Elmer C. Workman, union officials and operators put their heads together on proposed laws and regulations that would achieve these goals:

A foolproof system of mine mapping that would guard against another Hominy Falls type of disaster, with the workings of one mine located too close to another. Mapping would be supervised by a professional engineer.

More mine inspectors and higher salaries for them.

A new definition of "return air," meaning that after a volume of air has passed through and ventilated all the working places on a so-called "air-split," it shall then be designated as return air.

Haulage lights on the rear, as well as the front, of machinery moving in the mines.

The need for a good mapping program has received much emphasis in the general discussions about mine safety.

Among other things, the maps would show all shafts, slopes, drifts, tunnels, entries, rooms, crosscuts and all other excavations. Additional information on the maps would show:

The outline of existing and extracted pillars, since designating an area "pillared" or "mined out," without the outline of the mined pillars, is unacceptable.

Direction of all air currents, using arrows. Abandoned portion or portions of the mine.

The outcrop of the coal bed within the bounds of the property assigned to the mine.

The boundary lines of the coal rights assigned to the mine.

The known underground working in the same coal bed on the adjoining properties within 1,000 feet of such mine works and projections.

The elevations of the top and bottom of each shaft and slope, all drifts and the bottom along at least two parallel entries in each set of main and panel entries at horizontal intervals, not exceeding 200 feet.

Location of the principal streams and bodies of water on the surface, location of any impounded bodies of water inside the mine, and location of all boreholes penetrating the coal mine, and the location of oil and gas wells, high pressure pipe lines, high voltage power lines, principal roads and occupied dwellings.

One of the most significant provisions given study for the proposed law would permit any miner to examine a company mine map "if he has reason to believe that a working place is in the proximity to other workings that may contain impounded water or noxious gases."

Mine Director Workman made this simple but profound remark about safety in a coal mine:

"A bad top never killed anybody."

This simply means, he explained, that if a miner is informed that a top is bad, he doesn't get under it. This rule permeates all the rules of safety in a coal mine.

Workman believes it's impossible to attain perfection in mine safety because of the element of human error. He estimated that at least 90 percent of all fatalities in coal mines can be attributed to human error.

WHY THE SURPRISE AT "PUEBLO" SEIZURE?

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, while it will be some time before we get all the facts surrounding the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, the early reports from the naval court of inquiry have produced the surprising revelation that apparently no one in the naval chain of command had any idea that the ship might possibly be attacked or seized.

As pointed out in an article by Mr. Richard Halloran appearing in the Sunday, February 2, edition of the Washington Post, the natural question arises as to—

"What made everyone so sure the North Koreans would not try something so audacious as capturing that ship?"

The article raises some very significant and pointed questions and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

WHY THE SURPRISE AT "PUEBLO" SEIZURE?
(By Richard Halloran)

The question nobody seems to have asked yet in the *Pueblo* inquiry is: What made everyone so sure the North Koreans would not try something so audacious as capturing that ship?

Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher, captain of the ship, testified in answer to a question from the board of inquiry: "No, sir, I never considered I would ever be attacked on this mission. It never occurred to me . . . it never occurred to me that I would ever be put in the position I found myself in that afternoon."

Capt. Thomas Dwyer, in charge of naval intelligence in Japan at the time of the *Pueblo's* capture, testified in closed session that he did not even know the North Koreans had publicly warned the United States against such missions.

Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, the Navy commander in Japan at that time, testified that such a seizure was considered "highly improbable." He defined this as, "in effect, there is almost no chance of this happening."

"The feasibility of this type of operation," Johnson said of the *Pueblo's* mission, "is dependent to a large degree on the safety provided by the time-honored recognition of the freedom of the seas. This has gone on for over 150 years. No public vessel had been seized in all that time. This was a very excellent precedent on which to base the safety of any one individual ship."

Yet in June, 1967, only seven months earlier, Israeli aircraft and patrol boats strafed and torpedoed the USS *Liberty*, a ship similar to the *Pueblo* on a similar mission on the high seas in the Mediterranean.

That was the case of a friendly nation attacking an American ship and by accident. Did it not occur to anyone that a hostile nation might do so and deliberately?

There was no attempt to capture the *Liberty* but the distinction between an attack and a seizure is surely only one of minor degree. In military terms, capture is the logical objective of attack.

Consider the evidence of North Korean hostility toward the United States in the following facts, all obtained from overt, public sources:

On Nov. 2, 1966, the day President Johnson left Seoul after a state visit, the North Koreans ambushed and killed six American and one South Korean soldier in the southern portion of the demilitarized zone that divides Korea.

That was the first incident in a marked upsurge of flagrant violations of the Korean armistice and clearly aggressive actions by the North Koreans.

During 1967, the North Koreans killed 131 American and South Korean soldiers and wounded 294 more in attacks along and below the DMZ. There were a total of 445 fire-fights along the DMZ, plus more in the South Korean interior.

Moreover, two American camps were shot up. There were artillery exchanges and at least one small tank battle. Two railroad trains were sabotaged.

At sea, numerous South Korean fishing vessels were captured. A South Korean patrol boat was blown out of the water by North Korean ships similar to those that attacked the *Pueblo*. There were other exchanges of fire inside and outside territorial waters, north and south of an imaginary extension of the DMZ.

In December, 1967, North Korean Premier Kim Il-sung reiterated in the clearest terms the North Korean intention to reunify all of Korea under Communist domination by force of arms. It was the third time that he personally had done so and each time he emphasized that American forces were the target of priority.

On Jan. 6, 1968, five days before *Pueblo* left Japan, and again on Jan. 11, the day the ship sailed, North Korean broadcasts warned against spy ships off their coast and said they were determined to take counter measures.

Most flagrant of all, the North Koreans sent 31 men into Seoul in an attempt to assassinate South Korean President Park Chung Hee. This blatant evidence of North Korean belligerence occurred on the night of Jan. 21—a full 36 hours before the *Pueblo* was seized. It would be interesting to know whether Bucher had been apprised of it.

He may not have been for all three experienced naval officers testified that, in effect, they had no idea the North Koreans were in a threatening mood and would violate the freedom of the high seas, just as they had violated so much on land and at sea before.

Nor have the five admirals on the board of inquiry delved deeply into this point. Rear Adm. Marshall W. White asked Adm. Johnson whether the DMZ intrusions had not made him think the same thing might happen at sea—"a so-called crossing of the DMZ in the water."

Johnson replied that the chances were so remote "a bookmaker would give you such fantastic odds that even someone as rich as Howard Hughes could not pay off on it."

No one could have predicted, of course, exactly what the North Koreans might do, any more than any other event can be predicted. Gen. Charles H. Bonesteel III, the commander of American forces in South Korea and a perceptive student of his North Korean adversaries, has often called Kim Il-sung a "meglomaniac" and said he would never try to guess what Kim would do next.

One might also have been surprised at the audacity of the North Korean seizure of the *Pueblo*. But little could have been more audacious for North Korea than to send armed soldiers into South Korea to assassinate the President.

But the basic question remains, in light of all the other evidence: What made everyone so sure that the North Koreans would not try it?

18, 1839. Black Heath was a fearful harbinger of things to come, for the explosion, like most since, was unimaginably violent, crushing or asphyxiating all within the earth.

Two men, somehow protected by a crevice near the mine mouth, survived, but 53 miners were killed. According to Talman, no rescue efforts were made.

This is not surprising, for it is hard to see how they could have helped. "Afterdamp," as in most mine explosions, killed most of the men, and would certainly have killed any rescue worker foolish enough to enter the mine prior to ventilation.

As it is known—and has been known since at least 1839—that combination of carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, nitrogen, and other gases occurring after such blasts are responsible for most deaths in mine explosions, the concerned layman wonders why portable breathing apparatus, usable in a death-dealing atmosphere, has not been developed by the coal industry, the U.S. government, or some imaginative inventor.

It has been developed, of course, for members of mine-rescue teams, but such devices are far too bulky to be practicable for individual miners on a workaday basis. A crash program for the development of such devices seems long overdue.

Even if they made breathing possible only for a short time they could mean the difference, in many cases, between life and death. Coal miners do have available, it should be noted, a "self-rescue" device worn on the belt that can help a miner to breathe under adverse conditions for 30 minutes. It is useless, however, in an atmosphere devoid of oxygen, as a mine atmosphere generally is after a blast.

The first rescue efforts after a mine explosion, so far as is known, occurred on Aug. 14, 1871, in a Pittston, Pa., anthracite mine. The efforts, however, were relatively minimal and quite fruitless, although the rescuers brought 17 lifeless bodies to the surface.

A mine inspector and five or six helpers were more successful on Oct. 27, 1884, at Uniontown, Pa., where 14 men were killed. Some miners, overcome with afterdamp, were taken outside the mine where they recovered.

But mine-rescue teams could do little after mine explosions without some method of remaining alive in the afterdamp. This meant some sort of self-contained breathing apparatus in most cases, for many so-called gas masks are useless in an atmosphere that can't support life.

Such self-contained breathing apparatus for mine use was introduced in the United States as early as 1905, but was slow in being perfected. When it failed to work in an atmosphere without oxygen the masked angel wearing it quite literally earned his title; he departed this life.

From 1908 to the present, it is recorded that 35 mine-rescue men, wearing such apparatus, lost their lives. Almost two thirds of these accidents occurred from 1908 to 1921, only one since 1940.

The dangers of mine-rescue efforts in the old days are underlined by the experience of a rescue party of 11 men on March 19, 1906, after a West Virginia explosion. The party went into a mine where 13 men had perished the day before, and their open-flame carbide lamps set off another explosion, killing all 11 would-be rescuers.

Thomas A. Edison's electric mine lamp, first placed in service on a limited basis in West Virginia in 1915, helped to prevent later repetitions of this tragedy.

Today, mine inspectors are reluctant to risk the lives of their men to attempt the rescue of men who may already be dead. It is done, but on a volunteer basis and only after considering all the facts in each individual case.

Too often, such masked angels can do little except retrieve bodies and make preliminary reports on the nature and extent

of the blast. For major explosions in coal mines are deadly. The initial blast may shake the earth and shatter men in the process, but the after effects of the explosion, as before noted, may be even more lethal.

For the blast produces gases, including carbon monoxide, that quickly expunge life. Mine rescue workers with their breathing devices may survive in this afterdamp, as the miners call it, but survival for long without such gear is impossible.

At Hominy Falls, W. Va., in May, 1968, 21 of 25 trapped miners were saved after up to 10 days entombment, but methane and coal-dust explosions were not involved. Flood waters from ancient diggings threatened these men, and the four victims drowned.

Sometimes, as happened most recently at Humphrey No. 7 mine near Morgantown, coalminers can barricade themselves against smoke and gases, but a great deal of luck is involved, particularly in being able to get sufficient fresh air to remain alive until help arrives. And no explosion was involved at Humphrey, a fact of great significance.

Until some way is found to enable trapped miners to breathe in an explosion-created atmosphere, the best-intentioned masked angel will often be of little use, and entombed miners will die as surely as if they were suddenly thrust under 100 feet of water.

It is hard to believe, but from 1901 through 1910, 3,816 coal miners were killed, at work in 111 major mining disasters. This dismal, horrible record led to the creation, in 1910, within the Dept. of Interior, of the United States Bureau of Mines "... to make diligent investigation of the methods of mining, especially in relation to the safety of miners, and the appliances best adapted to prevent accidents..."

It seemed hardly a moment too soon, yet the powers of the new bureau seemed unimpressive. Not until 1941, if my source of information is correct, did federal inspectors have the right to enter coal mines.

West Virginia did its share toward the creation of the U.S. Bureau of Mines with the great butchery at Monogah on Dec. 6, 1907, when at least 361 miners (no one knows, for sure, the total) were killed in an explosion that holds the U.S. records for high score in coal mining's death's-head Olympics.

But that is another story. Yet the story of the National Mine Rescue Assn. parallels it, in that Welch Post No. 1 at Gary was formed after the Bartley explosion in McDowell County on Jan. 10, 1940, killed 91 men.

It appears to be a lamentable fact that mine-safety progress occurs only after public apathy is shocked into awareness by human sacrifice.

In the early days of 1940, William Morris, E. L. Chatfield, Percy and Jim Gille, Glenn Bearden and Jack Pero, all of Welch, tried to get an NMRA charter, but not enough people were interested, in the Welch area for a charter to be granted.

But not long after the Bartley explosion Welch Post No. 1 was organized, with 61 charter members. The main organizer, Fred J. Bailey, was named president.

Aside from the parent organization in Pittsburgh, there are NMRA posts in only three states: Kentucky, Illinois, and West Virginia. Memberships in all of them is largely composed of safety directors of coal companies, mine inspectors, safety inspectors, and mine rescue teams.

There are varied degrees of membership, depending upon the nature and duration of a member's service. In West Virginia, NMRA now has 350 members and 57 life members.

Most of the present high-ranking officials of the W. Va. Dept. of Mines are life members of NMRA, Elmer Workman, current director of the Dept. of Mines (awaiting replacement by a Republican), is such a life member, as is his safety director, Robert J. Marrs.

In West Virginia, mine-rescue stations are maintained dually by the Dept. of Mines and

coal companies, 27 stations for each of them. Workman recently explained how such stations work in his department:

"We have proper equipment," he said, "stored at each of these 27 stations, and we train mine-rescue men there. Such men are paid seven dollars each time they come out for class, but for actual rescue work are paid top wages—\$33 a day, plus overtime—according to the UMW scale.

"Last year, which was about average, we trained 322 mine-rescue men in 35 classes, and 605 men in accidents and their prevention. In the 27 company-owned rescue stations, they employ 224 men to perform similar training functions."

The West Virginia Dept. of Mines, by the way, was created long before its federal counterpart. Mine inspection began in West Virginia, under Oscar A. Veazey, in September, 1883, the year the department was created.

Every year, mine-rescue teams, both state and company trained, from all over West Virginia hold competitions among themselves. Similar national competitions, featuring first aid and mine rescue, are held in alternate years in one of the coal producing states, and area meets are also held in many mining centers to keep in practice.

Much of the training of mine-rescue teams involves the use of breathing equipment—masks of one sort or another that enable men to live in polluted or oxygenless atmospheres. Obviously, men using such equipment must know it thoroughly, for their lives depend upon it.

In the early years of mine rescue, such equipment came largely from Germany and England. But it has been U.S. produced for many years and consists of two basic types: masks designed for use in an atmosphere with enough oxygen to maintain life, and self-contained breathing apparatus that has its own oxygen supply and may be used in an atmosphere without oxygen, provided no corrosive elements are present.

Mine-rescue men must have yearly physical examinations, must have no major physical difficulties involving the heart or lungs, and must be no more than 50 years of age. Psychologically, they must be stable enough to withstand what can be, in emergencies, extremely trying circumstances.

The masked angels are important men when needed, little thought of, at least by the general public when all is going well in the coal-mining industry.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY (By John G. Morgan)

"It is difficult for me to understand how a state which is a prime producer of soft coal should not also be the leader among states in the adoption of modern safety laws."

So declared Gov. Arch A. Moore Jr. in his first message to the West Virginia Legislature.

"I think we of the State of West Virginia have an extraordinary responsibility in this area," Moore added. He further pledged that he will offer proposals "that hopefully, and in a novel way, will make our state a leader in the field of coal mine safety."

The Governor announced his support of legislation to make certain that miners afflicted with "black lung" disease can receive compensation under state laws.

As essential as coal mining is to the economics of the state, he said "it is also incumbent upon us to provide for the health of those now engaged in that vital industry."

Moore thus set the tone of the new administration in the field of coal mine safety. This part of his speech was practically a full notice that he will urge stronger laws and regulations to preserve life and limb in the mines.

The Governor could scarcely do less in the wake of mine disasters last year at Hominy Falls and Farmington—disasters which spoiled previous excellent safety records.

held November 23 at St. Paul's Church. Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey was the featured speaker with Mayor A. Victor Gentilini present, representing the community and neighborhood commissioner Robert C. Swendiman, representing the Scouting movement.

In these days of scare headlines and much TV news coverage of the hippie element and of youths involved in lawlessness and tumult, it is refreshing indeed to be able to add a brief "well done." It is to be hoped that these young men who have done well will continue in their devotion to the Scouting ideals of service to community, State, and Nation under God.

ON RUNNING A COLLEGE

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Harry Philpott, president of Auburn University, has taken, in my opinion, a correct and courageous position with respect to allowing Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin speak on the Auburn campus. In answer to a Federal court summons regarding a suit asking the court to overturn Dr. Philpott's veto of an invitation by the Human Rights Forum to Coffin to speak at Auburn, Dr. Philpott answered:

I shall continue to fight to the limit of my resources.

Dr. Philpott said he felt educators should be a "little more knowledgeable" in the field of education than were students.

Dr. Philpott has said some things that needed saying for some time now. I join with all reasonable Alabamians and Americans in supporting Dr. Philpott in this effort.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I place in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial published in the Sand Mountain Reporter, which offers a timely insight into the problem and into Dr. Philpott's position:

ON RUNNING A COLLEGE

We applaud the statements made this week by Auburn University President Dr. Harry Philpott in answer to a Federal court summons for Feb. 3 regarding a suit seeking to allow controversial Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin to speak on the Auburn campus next month.

An Auburn group filed the suit asking the court to overturn Philpott's veto of an invitation issued by the Human Rights Forum to Coffin to speak on the Auburn campus on Feb. 7.

The university president said the challenging group, representing the Human Rights Forum, did not think he had the right to decide who would speak on the campus.

"I think I do and I shall continue to fight to the limits of my resources," he said.

Philpott said he felt educators should be a "little more knowledgeable" in the field of education than were students.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. set the hearing on a suit asking for a preliminary injunction to be followed by a permanent injunction on grounds the "oral Philpott rule" was unconstitutional.

"The reputation of the human rights forum would be badly damaged should the

speech not be allowed to proceed as planned," the complaint said.

The plaintiffs told the court they thought Philpott's veto was not in keeping with other campus speakers, including former Gov. George C. Wallace; his late wife, Gov. Lurleen B. Wallace; civil rights figure Whitney M. Young, and others. The suit noted the speakers had represented both conservative and liberal views.

Coffin was convicted in a federal court in New York state of encouraging draft evasion and has appealed the conviction to a U.S. circuit court of appeals.

It is ironic that this campus group goes to the Federal court system to try to gain its objective of encouraging and counseling with a man who advocates the violation of the laws of this land, and who—in effect—would seek to threaten the security and well-being of the very democratic process which provides human rights in a degree never before enjoyed by any society.

And it is most encouraging to see in this instance a university president who stands his ground and tells it like it is—that a qualified and seasoned and trained university president, guided by a blue ribbon board of trustees, knows more about how to run the affairs of a university than does a group of university students. We would have avoided some of the tragic campus circumstances which have erupted across this country if more university administrators had taken such a firm stand a long time ago.

THE SCISSORED "PUEBLO" RECORD

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "The Scissored Pueblo Record," published in the Norfolk Ledger-Star of January 31, 1969.

William H. Fitzpatrick is editor of the Ledger-Star, and George J. Hebert is editor of the editorial page.

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

THE SCISSORED "PUEBLO" RECORD

In an expression of his concern over the Pueblo affair, Virginia's Senator Harry Byrd has also cited an incidental example of bureaucratic arrogance in connection with the case which disturbed him greatly.

Inasmuch as the court of inquiry now under way is likely to be only the beginning of a much wider examination of the ferret ship's capture, it becomes important to review what was said by important officials immediately after the seizure.

But in going to the files of the Senate Armed Services Committee to look at testimony which the committee received last February 1 from Defense Secretary McNamara and from General Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Senator Byrd found something very strange indeed.

One of the questions the Senator had put to Mr. McNamara, along with the latter's answer, had been completely clipped out of the report.

Senator Byrd, while questioning certain of the Pentagon's specific censorship judgments, freely acknowledges the need to prevent some items of testimony from getting into the news accounts. And this is usually accomplished, he says, by red marks which the Defense censors put beside those portions of a report which are not to be made public after a closed-door hearing.

But cutting the matter from the report entirely and leaving such a Pentagon-doctored file as the committee's permanent record of crucial testimony? The Senator's angry comment on this was that "nothing can justify keeping this information from the review of the Congressional committee charged with that responsibility."

The Senator's complaint is fully justified. From his recollection of the testimony, he seems to believe that what was cut could have an important bearing now on the total assessment of the Pueblo fiasco. But even if not, the cutting of the report was a dangerous assumption of authority.

Senator Byrd is entirely right in calling the Pentagon's hand on it, and the censors ought to be put on full notice that any such tampering with the records will not be tolerated.

EARLY RETIREMENT

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, over the years our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has worked to develop a reasonable and up-to-date retirement program for our Federal employees. It is not perfect, and, of course, there will always be differences of opinion on details of retirement rules and benefits. But I believe it is basically a sound system.

Joseph Young, the very able Federal columnist in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star, had an interesting article the other day on the familiar subject of early retirement:

TALK OF EARLY RETIREMENT WAS MERELY CONVERSATION

(By Joseph Young)

When I first started covering the government beat in the good old days of 1945, one of the first government career officials I met was a chap named Farthington.

Farthington was a trim, youthful 46, bright-eyed, with black hair and a splendid mustache.

He was most helpful in furnishing us with good news leads and we remarked appreciatively that we hoped we would enjoy a long and pleasant association with him.

"I'm afraid not," he said. "As soon as I can I'm going to retire."

We expressed surprise, since he was so young.

"Why shouldn't I retire?" he asked, warming up to what apparently was his favorite subject.

"I don't want to hang around until they force me to retire at the mandatory age of 70, feeble and no good to anyone," he said. "No, sir! I want to get out and enjoy life while I'm still young."

We wished him luck and asked when he thought he might take the plunge.

"Well, I'm angling for an involuntary separation so I can get out and get my retirement annuity at the age of 50," he replied.

When he reached the age of 50 and still remained on the job, we expressed mild surprise that he was still there.

"Well, there's a government pay raise coming up this year, and that will boost my high-five-year average salary on which my annuity will be based," Farthington said. "So I'll wait another year."

The next year and another five years came and went and Farthington was still around, and we found the subject of his projected retirement too delicate to mention.

But when Congress was considering the

bill to allow employes to retire on full annuities at age 55 after 30 years' service, Farthington brought up the subject himself.

"Once this bill becomes law, I'll get out of here so fast that it will make your head swim," he said, rubbing his hands. "Ah, the life of leisure—Florida, fishing, swimming, afternoon naps."

Congress enacted the bill into law but Farthington remained at his desk.

"I understand Congress is going to liberalize the computation of annuities, so I might as well stick around another year," he explained. "It won't hurt me and will be well worth it."

The computation factors were liberalized. But—you guessed it—Farthington remained on the job.

Even the year when employes were given an 8 percent bonus on retiring, Farthington stayed on.

"With the new pay comparability pay law, our pay raises the next few years will be fantastic and will raise my annuity tremendously when I retire," he rationalized.

As he spoke, we noticed for the first time that his once jet-black hair was gray and his mustache was straggly.

And so it went year after year until last week, when we received a call from him.

"Can you come over and see me?" he asked in a quavering voice. We said we'd be right over, feeling rather guilty that we hadn't called on him in several years.

On arriving at his office, our first impression was that a stranger was seated at his desk. Certainly, this white-haired man with the palsied hands and wrinkled face was a far cry from our friend Farthington. But, alas, it was he.

"Help me, help me!" he cried.

"How," we asked. "What is the matter?"

"I turned 70 yesterday and they're forcing me to retire," he shouted wildly.

"But I don't want to go—I'm still in my prime and there's another pay raise coming up. Can't you use your influence to get me an exception from the 70-year mandatory retirement age?"

As we started to reply, two burly General Services Administration guards walked into the office unannounced. Approaching Farthington, one of them said, "All right, Pop, this is it. They need your office and you'll have to leave."

"I won't go!" Farthington shouted.

"Then you leave us no alternative," the other guard said, hoisting Farthington over his shoulder like a sack of flour and carrying him struggling from the room.

From down the hall, we heard Farthington's piteous wail: "Help me, I'm too young to retire. Help me, I'm too young."

WEAPONS SYSTEMS: A STORY OF FAILURE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, an article entitled "Weapons System: A Story of Failure," published in the January 26, 1969, Sunday issue of the Washington Post, affirms the tragic history of the billions of dollars wasted in the research and development program in weapons systems. The article makes a distasteful case for the billions wasted through the lack of quality control. Although there are some who would use any pretext to abandon our research and development of new weapons systems, the obvious conclusion should be that

improvements in the control of developments are of the highest priority.

Mr. President, there is overwhelming evidence that our R. & D. procedures and methods for developing and procuring effective weapons systems needs an overhaul. It has been emphasized by experts that the DOD must streamline its R. & D. program. This article provides more evidence.

Mr. President, I quote from the newspaper article, written by Mr. Bernard D. Nossiter, which apparently is a review of a classified document prepared by a key Government official:

The Paper first examined 13 major aircraft and missile programs, all with "sophisticated" electronic systems, built for the Air Force and the Navy beginning in 1955, at a cost of \$40 billion.

Of the 13, only four costing \$5 billion could be relied upon to perform at more than 75 per cent of their specifications.

Mr. President, this is a serious state of affairs. It is no wonder the Soviets are closing the weapons gap. These glaring deficiencies in our R. & D. program make it easy for them. It is my firm hope that the new administration, with the advice and consent of this distinguished body, will be able to correct these complex problems and produce effective weapons for the billions spent.

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

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

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 26, 1969]

WEAPONS SYSTEMS: A STORY OF FAILURE

(By Bernard D. Nossiter)

The complex electronic gadgetry at the heart of new warplanes and missiles generally works only a fraction of the time that its builders had promised.

The performance of the multi-billion-dollar weapons systems started in the 1950s was bad; those of the 1960s are worse.

The Pentagon appears to be giving the highest profits to the poorer performers in the aerospace industry.

These are the conclusions of an abstruse 41-page paper now circulating in Government and academic circles. The document, a copy of which has been made available to The Washington Post, is believed to be the first systematic effort to measure how well or ill the Pentagon's expensive weapons perform.

Its author is a key Government official with access to secret data and responsibility for examining the costs of the Pentagon's complex ventures. He and his agency cannot be identified here.

His paper, entitled "Improving the Acquisition Process for High Risk Military Electronics Systems," aims at bringing down the costs and bettering the dismal performance of weapons. It does not discuss a question that might occur to others: If these weapons behave so badly, why is the money being spent at all?

For security reasons, many of the planes and missiles examined are not identified by name.

The paper first examined 13 major aircraft and missile programs, all with "sophisticated" electronic systems, built for the Air Force and the Navy beginning in 1955, at a cost of \$40 billion.

Of the 13, only four, costing \$5 billion, could be relied upon to perform at more than 75 per cent of their specifications. Five

others, costing \$13 billion, were rated as "poor" performers, breaking down 25 per cent more often than promised or worse. Two more systems, costing \$10 billion, were dropped within three years because of "low reliability." The last two, the B-70 bomber and the Skybolt missile, worked so badly they were canceled outright after an outlay of \$2 billion.

LOSES FURTHER LUSTER

The paper sums up: "Less than 40 per cent of the effort produced systems with acceptable electronic performance—an uninspiring record that loses further luster when cost overruns and schedule delays are also evaluated."

The paper measures "reliability" in this context: The electronic core of a modern plane or missile consists essentially of three devices. One is a computer that is supposed to improve the navigation and automatically control the first of the vehicle's weapons and explosives. Another is a radar that spots enemy planes and targets. The third is a gyroscope that keeps the plane or missile on a steady course.

When the Pentagon buys a new gadget, its contract with the aerospace company calls for a specific "mean time between failure of the electronic system." In lay language, this is the average number of continuous hours that the systems will work.

In a hypothetical contract for a new jet bomber, Universal Avionics will sell the Air Force on its new device by promising that the three crucial electronic elements will operate continuously for at least 50 hours without a breakdown. In the reliability measures used in the paper described here, the plane is said to meet 100 per cent of the performance standards, if, in fact, its gadgetry did run 50 consecutive hours. However, if a key element breaks down every twelve and a half hours, it gets a rating of 25 per cent; every 25 hours, 50 per cent and so on. Should a system operate with a breakdown interval of 62.5 hours—a phenomenon that happens rarely—its reliability is rated at 125 per cent.

TEST FOR THE PILOT

Quite obviously, the more frequent the breakdown, the more the pilot of a plane has to rely on his wit and imagination to navigate, find targets and fly a steady course. Over-frequent breakdowns in a missile can render it worthless as an instrument of destruction.

Curiously enough, as the paper demonstrates, the Pentagon and the aerospace industry apparently learned little * * * the systems of the 1960s are even worse.

The document first looks at the performance record of the electronic systems in 12 important programs begun in the 1950s. All but four missiles can be identified by name without breaching security.

Of the 12, only five perform up to standard or better; one breaks down 25 per cent more frequently than promised; four fail twice as often and two break down four times as frequently as the specifications allow.

The document discusses some of the good and bad performers in this group. It observes that the F-102, the Delta wing interceptor for the Air Defense Command, was bedeviled by an unsatisfactory fire control system. Its first had to be replaced; the next was also unsatisfactory, and an extensive two-year program to modify the device was then undertaken.

SIDEWINDER DID WELL

In contrast, the Sidewinder, a heat sensing missile, performed very well. The study attributes this to the fact that the missile was developed in a leisurely fashion, without a "crash" schedule, and that several contractors were brought in to compete for key components.

The paper next examines eleven principal systems of the 1960s. These cannot be identified beyond a letter designation.

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Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. Mr. STENNIS. I thank the leader.

TRIBUTE TO ALAN BOYD, FORMER SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am concerned at the comments and criticisms that have arisen concerning former Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd.

In the years that we worked together on seeking to develop a high speed ground transportation system in the densely populated northeast corridor between here and Boston, I found Mr. Boyd a man of complete probity and integrity.

In my experience, his whole concern was always with the public weal and general good. In fact, I know of few men whom I would consider more public-service minded or more honorable than Alan Boyd, and wish to express this view at this time on the floor of the Senate.

In this regard, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD a copy of a column in the Evening Star of January 30, by Charles Bartlett, a wise, probing and Pulitzer Prize winning reporter.

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

BOYD'S INTEGRITY, SERVICE TO PUBLIC DEFENDED
(By Charles Bartlett)

The suggestion of murky dealings in the employment of the first secretary of transportation, Alan S. Boyd, by the Illinois Central Railroad is a cruel distortion of the spirit in which Boyd labored to launch his new department.

The coincidence between Boyd's employment as president of the railroad and his department's grant of a \$25 million subsidy for the Illinois Central's commuter operations was blatant enough to stir suspicions. But the very blatancy of the coincidence should equally attest its innocence.

Certainly if Boyd, an administrator who suffered many wounds for his lack of deference to commercial pressures, had been bent on playing a cozy game with his prospective employer, he would have taken pains to avoid the incriminating sequence between the grant and his employment. No conniver would risk anything so obvious.

The facts are that the grant was handled routinely by Paul Sitton the administrator of the Urban Mass Transportation program. Grants totaling \$72 million had already been made under new legislative authority to five railroads that serve New York City. Illinois Central's turn came up in December because a commuter system in another city, for which a larger grant was earmarked, had been hit with labor trouble.

Boyd's personal negotiations with the Illinois Central are said to have begun in mid-December. On about Dec. 20, he returned to Washington and told his undersecretary, John E. Robson, that he wanted to have nothing to do with the Illinois Central application.

He would have protected himself better if he had taken more formal precautions. But the grant process was so routine to the operations of the department and so divorced from the secretary's area of direct involvement that he presumably felt he had done all that was necessary.

Boyd's attitude was conditioned by the quality of his performance in many intricate areas of the government's relations with industry. As chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board for four years, undersecretary of commerce for 18 months, and finally secretary of transportation, he established himself

with the public as well as with his close associates as a public official of instinctive integrity.

The scars which he bears from his Washington experiences are scars suffered in battles to assert the public's interest over private selfishness. He challenged the maritime industry's claim upon a huge annual subsidy. He fought to impose a user tax on private aircraft owners who pay less than five percent of what their operations cost to the government. He struggled to impose social concerns upon the highway builders. He pushed an unpopular railroad safety bill.

The most lamentable consequence of this cloud of suspicion, apart from its personal damage to Boyd, will be its tendency to obscure the charter which he left this vital new department. His mandate was that transportation policies should be considered in the broadest terms of public interest instead of in the parochial terms which guide competing segments of the industry.

This concept is important in a secretary of transportation because it affects his response to the problems like noise, dislocation, and inconvenience which are inevitable byproducts of extending mobility to large and crowded populations. Boyd was diligent to consider the citizen who wants to stay at home in peace and privacy as well as the traveler.

The obscuring of this record is particularly serious at a time when his successor, John Volpe, may be less wedded to this broad concept. Much will be lost if the new administration diverts the influence of the department to a narrow concern with the problems of the companies which supply the transportation and build the highways.

It is worth noting that while the Illinois Central grant was approved during Boyd's tenure, the contract was not signed and the matter was left open to review by Volpe. He is studying the papers and his readiness to clarify or compound the ambiguity will be a clue to the spirit in which he has taken power.

NOMINATION OF RUSSELL TRAIN TO BE UNDER SECRETARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise to enthusiastically support the nomination of Russell Train to be Under Secretary of the Department of Interior.

I have known, liked, and admired Russell Train for many years. He has a rare ability of being able to combine the qualities of integrity with political sagacity, of being able to comprehend the heat of people's emotions, while at the same time being able to keep his own cool.

His whole background has been spent in public service or supporting the interests of the general community. Actually, he has served in all three branches of our Government. In the legislative branch, he was an attorney on the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation for 4 years; then clerk of the House Ways and Means Committee in the 83d Congress, and its minority adviser in the 84th Congress. In the executive branch, he was a Navy officer in World War II and, later, an assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, 1956-57. In the judicial branch, he was a judge on the U.S. Tax Court from 1957 to 1965. In addition to his public service he has a real sense of private business and the responsibilities and the workings of our economic system.

Chief warden of his church and enjoying the respect of all his friends and associates, he has always displayed himself as a man of the utmost character and probity.

I can think of no better man for this job and congratulate President Nixon on his nomination.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PELL. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. The hearing was held this morning and the matter already has been recommended to the floor of the Senate. He is a fine man.

Mr. PELL. I thank the chairman.

ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on another subject, and briefly, I understand that later there will be a discussion concerning the advisability of the anti-ballistic-missile system.

I should like to add my own voice as being one of those who question whether we should go ahead with this system at this time.

THE "PUEBLO" AND THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, there have been many implications and some statements that the Central Intelligence Agency had something to do with the problems incident to the U.S.S. *Pueblo*. Although I remembered that shortly after this unfortunate occurrence, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency stated that the Agency had nothing whatever to do with this particular situation, I decided to make certain of that remembrance.

Accordingly, after hearing and reading these implications and statements, I wrote a letter to the Director, and today received the following reply:

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
Washington, D.C., February 4, 1969.

HON. STUART SYMINGTON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR SYMINGTON: Per your request and in reply to your question, neither this Agency nor I personally have had anything to do with the mission of the USS *Pueblo*, the ship itself, or any of its crew. As you will note, in the sidelined portion of the attachment, the Department of Defense made a statement on January 24, 1968 setting forth the facts about Commander Bucher and the *Pueblo*. They are accurately presented. May I make one additional point: The information which the *Pueblo* was tasked to gather during this mission was of tactical and departmental interest to the United States Navy.

I hope that the foregoing is responsive to your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD HELMS,
Director.

Mr. President, the Defense Department statement referred to in the Director's letter was published in the New York Times of January 25, 1968, along with the North Vietnamese text of the purported confession which the Pentagon refuted.

In connection with the foregoing I would read an important short para-

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Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) is absent because of illness in the family.

I further announce that the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE) is absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE) is paired with the Senator from New York (Mr. GOODSELL). If present and voting, the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea," and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND) is paired with the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG). If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea," and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) would vote "yea."

Mr. SCOTT. I announce that the Senator from New York (Mr. GOODSELL), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) are absent on official business.

The Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) is necessarily absent.

The respective pairs of the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) and that of the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) have been previously announced.

On this vote, the Senator from New York (Mr. GOODSELL) is paired with the Senator from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE). If present and voting, the Senator from New York would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 34, nays 47, as follows:

[No. 18 Leg.]

YEAS—34

Alken	Ellender	Nelson
Allen	Fannin	Prouty
Allott	Fulbright	Proxmire
Anderson	Gore	Russell
Boggs	Hansen	Smith
Burdick	Hatfield	Spong
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Stennis
Byrd, W. Va.	McClellan	Symington
Cannon	Miller	Thurmond
Curtis	Montoya	Williams, Del.
Dole	Mundt	
Dominick	Muskie	

NAYS—47

Baker	Gravel	Packwood
Bayh	Griffin	Pastore
Belmont	Gurney	Pell
Bennett	Harris	Percy
Booke	Holland	Randolph
Case	Hughes	Ribicoff
Cook	Javits	Saxbe
Cooper	Jordan, N.C.	Schweiker
Cotton	Kennedy	Scott
Cranston	Mathias	Sparkman
Dirksen	McCarthy	Stevens
Dodd	McGee	Tydings
Eagleton	McGovern	Williams, N.J.
Ervin	McIntyre	Yarborough
Fong	Metcalf	Young, Ohio
Goldwater	Mondale	

PRESENT AND GIVING LIVE PAIRS, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—5

Mr. Hollings, for.
Mr. Hruska, for.

Mr. Mansfield, against.
Mr. Moss, for.
Mr. Young of North Dakota, for.

NOT VOTING—14

Bible	Hartke	Murphy
Church	Inouye	Pearson
Eastland	Jackson	Talmadge
Goodell	Long	Tower
Hart	Magnuson	

So the resolution (S. Res. 82) was not agreed to.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

PROGRAM—ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1969

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to query the majority leader with respect to the schedule for the remainder of the day and also for tomorrow.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, may we have order?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the calendar, like Mother Hubbard's cupboard, is quite bare. There are some nominations from the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on the Interior and Insular Affairs, and perhaps some others, that we should like to take up this evening.

I believe the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT) is anticipating some action. A number of Senators are prepared to engage in colloquy—perhaps a round robin is a better term—on the question of the ABM and its usefulness or lack of it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this time that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon Friday next.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is the intention at that time to lay before the Senate a joint resolution placing the House and the Senate in adjournment from the close of business on Friday next until noon, February 17, 1969.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, one further inquiry: I should like to inquire whether the nominations have been printed on the Executive Calendar and whether they are available for the Members.

Mr. MANSFIELD. No; they have not been printed on the Executive Calendar. I understand that five are from the Committee on Banking and Currency—FUD superintendents; one from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; two from the Committee on Foreign Relations. We thought we would be doing a favor to the other side to bring them up. We have no desire to rush them, but if the Senator desires that they be brought up, we will do so.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. A very serious situation exists in the country today which I do not believe is contemplated by the Senator's request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator from New York may proceed.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is a very extensive longshoremen's strike in the country which is causing very great difficulty, and which has been very slow in getting settled. Although certain sections of the country have agreed on terms, settlement has been held up until all agree.

By adjourning or going over until Friday, and then for another 10 days, it is a fact that we are limiting the capability of the President, if he should so desire, to make some recommendation to the Congress, as has been done before in this kind of matter.

Therefore, because the situation is so uncertain, and I cannot ask that anything specific be done, I suggest to the majority leader the possibility of our having to deal with this question and that Senators be advised it may be necessary that some other disposition be made as to our time if this matter blossoms or if there is some kind of emergency, which there could be as the matter is getting very difficult now.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to say that the wishes of the Senator from New York, or any other Senator for that matter, will be given every consideration. We will go over until Friday and from Friday to February 17; but the President at any time is in the position that he can call us back, and if he thinks the economic situation relative to the longshoremen's strike warrants it, if he issues a call, we would remain.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, did I get unanimous consent to have the Senate go over until Friday?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. EAGLETON in the chair). Yes.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I wish to ask a question. It had been planned to have hearings in the Committee on Armed Services on Thursday for some civilian appointments in the Department of Defense, some of which have not yet come over. Could I get unanimous consent that they will be automatically referred to the committee if they are sent up?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed.

Mr. STENNIS. I ask unanimous consent to that effect.

AUTHORITY TO RECEIVE MESSAGES AND FILE REPORTS AND TO MAKE REFERRALS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate, following the completion of business today until noon on Friday, the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive and refer messages from the President of the United States and the House of Representatives and that committees be authorized to file reports.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the request include the right to refer?

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graph from the Pentagon reply to the purported confession and then ask unanimous consent that the entire article be printed in the RECORD at the close of these remarks. The Defense Department states:

Typical of this propaganda sham is the suggestion that the Central Intelligence Agency had promised Commander Bucher and his crew "a lot of dollars" for their mission. Commander Bucher is a naval officer commanding a naval ship and performing a naval mission. He is not employed by the Central Intelligence Agency and was promised nothing by the Central Intelligence Agency. Nor were any members of his crew.

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

TEXTS OF PURPORTED CONFESSION AND
PENTAGON'S REPLY
PURPORTED CONFESSION

I am Comdr. Lloyd Mark Bucher, captain of the U.S.S. Pueblo, belonging to the Pacific Fleet, U.S. Navy, who was captured while carrying out espionage activities after intruding deep into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

My serial number is 58215401. I was born in Pocatello, Idaho, U.S.A. I am 38 years old. The crew of our U.S.S. Pueblo are 83 in all, including 5 officers besides me, 75 servicemen and 2 civilians.

My ship had been sent to Sasebo, Japan, to execute assignments given by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

On Dec. 2, last, we received assignments at the port of Sasebo from Rear Adm. Frank A. Johnson, U.S. Navy commander in Japan, to conduct military espionage activities on the far eastern region of the Soviet Union and then on the offshore areas and coastal areas of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

My ship had conducted espionage activities on a number of occasions for the purpose of detecting the territorial waters of the Socialist countries.

A LOT OF DOLLARS

Through such espionage activities, my ship detected the military installations set up along the coasts of the Socialist countries and submitted the materials to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Recently, we were given another important mission by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency—that is, to detect the areas along the far east of the Soviet Union and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency promised me that if this task would be done successfully, a lot of dollars would be offered to the whole crew members of my ship and particularly I myself would be honored.

Soon after that, I reinforced the arms and equipment of the ship and made detailed preparations for espionage activities.

Then we disguised my ship as one engaged in research on oceanic electronics and left the port of Sasebo, Japan, and conducted espionage acts along the coast of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea via the general area off the Soviet Maritime Province. We pretended ourselves to conduct the observation of oceanic conditions on the high seas, electronics, research on electric waves, magnetic conditions and exploitation of oceanic materials.

MISSION BEGAN JANUARY 16

It was on Jan. 16, 1968, that we entered the coastal waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea via the Soviet Maritime Province.

In accordance with the instructions we had received, my ship was on the utmost alert and observed and ascertained the depth of water, current, water temperature, sea basin, salt density and water transparency of the territorial waters of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea with radar and various kinds of observatory instruments in a clandestine manner at Chongjin, Wonsan and several other points, and detected the radar network, accommodation capacities of the ports, the number of the incoming and outgoing vessels and maneuverability of the naval vessels of the Korean People's Army.

Furthermore we spied on various military installations and the distribution of industries and the deployment of armed forces along the east coast areas and sailed up to the point 7.6 miles off Nodo when the navy patrol crafts of the Korean People's Army appeared.

We were on the alert instantly and tried to escape, firing at the navy patrol crafts of the People's Army.

"WE HAD NO WAY OUT"

But the situation became more dangerous for us, and thus one of my men was killed, another heavily wounded and two others lightly wounded.

We had no way out, and were captured by the navy patrol crafts of the People's Army.

Having been captured now, I say frankly that our act was a criminal act which flagrantly violated the armistice agreement, and it was a sheer act of aggression.

I have no excuse whatsoever for my criminal act as my ship intruded deep into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and was captured by the navy patrol crafts of the Korean People's Army in their self-defense action while conducting the criminal espionage activities.

My crime committed by me and my men is entirely indelible.

I and my crew have perpetrated such a grave criminal act, but our parents and wives and children at home are anxiously waiting for us to return home in safety.

Therefore, we only hope, and it is the greatest desire of myself and all my crew, that we will be forgiven leniently by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

PENTAGON'S REPLY

The statement attributed to Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher by North Korean Communist propagandists is a travesty on the facts. The style and wording of the document provide unmistakable evidence in themselves that this was not written or prepared by any American.

The major point which this propaganda utterance attempts to make is that the Pueblo had violated North Korean territorial waters and was in fact violating those territorial waters when the North Korean patrol craft appeared. This is absolutely untrue.

The Pueblo reported her position at that time to be 39 degrees 25 minutes north and 127 degrees 55 minutes east. The Pueblo's position as determined by the radar track of the North Koreans themselves was 39 degrees 25 minutes north and 127 degrees 56 minutes east. These two reported positions are within a mile of one another, and both show conclusively that the Pueblo was in international water.

The Pueblo was under orders from the beginning of its mission to stay at least 13 miles from North Korean territory. There is no evidence to suggest that these orders were not followed and there is much evidence both from her own radio transmission and from the information broadcast from the North Koreans themselves in their own internal report that the orders were obeyed.

Typical of this propaganda sham is the suggestion that the Central Intelligence Agency had promised Commander Bucher and his crew "a lot of dollars" for their mission. Commander Bucher is a naval officer commanding a naval ship and performing a naval mission. He is not employed by the Central Intelligence Agency and was promised nothing by the Central Intelligence Agency. Nor were any members of his crew.

The entire world learned during the Ko-

rean war of the tactics and techniques of Communist propaganda and of North Korean exploitation of men it held captive. This fabrication is but another example. No credence should be given this contrived statement.

ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS OF OUR
OLDER CITIZENS

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, during the years since I came to Congress, I have been particularly concerned about the economic hardship our society imposes on its older citizens.

As we begin the 91st Congress, I know most of my Senate colleagues agree that much remains to be done for most Americans age 65 or over.

Today, I want specifically to mention one group of older Americans who individually, during their working years, have greatly contributed to the success of millions of other Americans but who often face economic hardship in retirement. I am speaking of the thousands of dedicated schoolteachers in the country who are presently retired. I am hopeful that all of us will give their retirement annuities special attention both at the Federal and State level.

Recently, Ernest Giddings, the legislative representative of the National Retired Teachers Association, showed me a copy of a State-by-State report on retired teachers pensions prepared by his organization.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that a copy of this report be printed in the RECORD, and hope that each Member will find the National Retired Teachers Association report as informative as I did. I congratulate that organization on its excellent research.

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

COVER LETTER TO RETIRED TEACHERS ASSOCIATION PRESIDENTS, STATE DIRECTORS AND LEGISLATIVE CHAIRMEN

The following reports were submitted to the Washington office during November and December 1968 by Retired Teachers Association officers. In a few cases we edited the original report slightly in the interest of brevity. In those cases, we made a genuine effort to retain all facts and interpretations without distortion.

The results of Retired Teachers Association efforts to improve benefits vary almost unbelievably. In one state, the median retirement allowance for the 8800 retirees is now above \$3300 a year. In another less fortunate state, the annual pension is \$332 for the 513 beneficiaries on the rolls.

One of the great essentials to success in pension legislation is cooperation between all groups concerned. Retired Teachers Association officers who develop good working relationships with the State Education Association and with officials of the State Retirement System seem to fare best before their State Legislatures.

Unity and cooperation within Retired Teachers Association ranks seems an absolute requisite for a successful legislative campaign. Open and above-board disclosure of plans, proposed techniques and financial needs seem as important as good leadership. Friction between the groups concerned seems always to decrease the possibility of success.

Ideas which have been especially helpful in several states include:

(1) A year-round continuing legislative committee.

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(2) An efficient routine for the legislative committee to report regularly to all retirees.

(3) A plan by which each retiree may, if he wishes, make a cash contribution no matter how small to the expense of carrying on the legislative work in his state.

(4) An efficient continuing membership campaign carried to every retired teacher in the state in order to attain as nearly as possible 100% membership in both NRTA and the State RTA.

(5) A more active local Retired Teachers Association in every community.

Several copies of "Pension Reports" are being sent to RTA officers. They are invited to request as many copies as needed for other officers, local presidents and legislative committees.

We appreciate very much the splendid cooperation of all who contributed to the preparation of the foregoing summary.

ERNEST CIDDINGS

NRTA Legislative Representative.

NATIONAL RETIRED TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
PENSION REPORTS BY STATE RETIRED TEACHER
ASSOCIATIONS—1968

Many state Legislatures enacted substantial pension adjustments during the years 1967 and 1968.

Some provided percentage improvements based on the increase in cost of living since the teacher retired. Other states refused or neglected to make justifiable adjustments. However, with almost no exceptions the campaign must be and is being waged again in 1969 to keep the retired members of the teaching profession from suffering the indignities of a decreasing purchasing power in their fixed pensions while the rest of our economy is caught up in a spiraling inflation.

The following reports by states are presented in order that Legislative Committees of your state may have the benefit of the plans, techniques, formulae and accomplishments of every other state.

DECEMBER 1968.

Alabama

W. E. Snuggs, President ARTA: "Retired teachers in Alabama number more than 5000 with an average pension of about \$150 per month. Those who retired before 1955 when salaries were low are the ones suffering the greatest inequities.

"A spot check was recently made of such retirees' pensions in three separate parts of the state. In one area 36 were reported, in another, 38, and in still a different area 41. Seventy-eight of these were receiving less than \$90 per month. Some were living in nursing homes or being cared for by their children. All were facing the same spiraling costs of living on meager pensions which have fallen farther and farther behind industrial wages, the salaries of active teachers and our expanding State economy every year of their retirement.

"As a basis for recommendations for increased legislative appropriations for education in the state, the Governor appointed a commission to make a study of educational needs. The Alabama Retired Teachers Association prepared and presented to the commission a position paper that recommends automatic cost-of-living adjustments for Alabama retired teachers, with the result that we have been given favorable consideration in their report. Thus the situation seems more hopeful as we look to the regular session of the State Legislature early in 1969."

Alaska

Lola C. Tilly, President, Alaska RTA: "In 1968, 1½% was added to pensions, retroactive to July 1, 1967. This is a cost-of-living increase.

"No Alaska pension for retired teachers is less than \$100 a month. The lowest pensions are received by the group of about 17 retirees who retired early. Their pensions average \$150, plus the aforementioned 1½%. The automatic cost-of-living increase is not to

exceed 1½%; and therefore it is not necessarily geared to adjustments to increases in salaries of active teachers."

Arizona

Wayne R. Gibson, Director, Arizona State Retirement System: "In Arizona, from July 1967 through 1968, prior service pensions for employment before the start of the Retirement System were increased by 25% for those teachers who continued in employment after 1955. These teachers also have received the benefit of liberalized social security pensions. Some few teachers who had limited employment before the establishment date became eligible for partial pensions by 1968 legislation.

"The improvement in the benefit status of members retired since 1955 accelerates another inequity. Teachers retired before that date receive, typically, \$170 a month. Legislation to be proposed in 1969 will ask that benefits be increased to \$200 a month.

"Averages are deceptive and some Arizona teachers retired with as few as five years of creditable service. Benefits are also reduced by the payment method elected or payments continued to a beneficiary. Nonetheless the 'average' pension paid those teachers retired before 1955 who do not have a social security entitlement from teaching employment in Arizona is \$140 a month."

Arkansas

Louis Merrill Griffin, President, Arkansas RTA: "Act 9 of the May 1968 Special Session of the General Assembly permitted the Arkansas Teacher Retirement System Board to invest a certain percentage (10%) of the system's assets in certain high-grade common stocks. This should, in the future, increase the earnings of the system's investments.

"The minimum pension of Arkansas retired teachers is \$75 a month. Pension adjustments have been inadequate. A proposed law would provide cost-of-living adjustments as follows: 10% to all retirees of 1959 and earlier, 9% for those who retired in 1960, 8% for those who retired in 1961, etc. Then it proposes an addition to 1% annually for 10 years, then 1½% annually, plus an increase in retirement payments of active teachers from their salaries and from matching state funds.

"Thus our efforts are now involved in attempting to increase retirement pay to all persons on the teacher retirant rolls and this hopefully will include cost-of-living increases over a period of years. The General Assembly will convene early in January 1969.

"The Arkansas Education Association heads up our program (ARTS funds are included in the Public School Budget), so we work with them to secure increases."

California

Mrs. Myrtle Workman, President, California RTA: "In California, during the period from July 1, 1967 through 1968 to date, fourteen measures relating to teacher retirement were enacted into law. Chief among these were the following:

"(1) An increase, ranging from 2% to 23%, in retirement benefits for teachers who retired in 1965 and in earlier years, applied to existing allowances up to \$300 per month.

"(2) Improvements in regulations governing substitute teaching by retired teachers, if qualified, in both regular and special schools, permitting annual earnings up to \$2500 per year without loss of retirement benefits.

"(3) Increase in the retired teacher's death benefit from \$400 to \$500.

"(4) Technical changes to improve administration of the California Teachers Retirement System and its eligibility for retirement benefits. Proposed legislation which should be considered in the 1969 session, along with other changes in administration of the retirement system, are (1) An automatic cost-of-living adjustment affecting all retired teachers; (2) Provision for increasing

contributions to the Teachers Retirement Fund to place it on a funded basis; (3) An increase in survivor benefits for active teachers.

"During the month of September 1968, total benefits amounting to \$11,522,795 were paid to 37,596 retired teachers, or an average of slightly over \$306 per month. Slightly over 10,000 of these retired teachers currently receive a monthly benefit of less than \$200, including almost 3,000 who receive less than \$100 per month."

Colorado

Mae Gaiavn, President, Colorado RTA: "The Colorado RTA is cooperating with the Retirement System and the Colorado Education Association to seek (a) a retroactive pension increase of 14% for those teachers who retired 10 years or more ago and 2% for those who retired 2 years ago, with proportional increases for those who retired between 2 and 10 years ago, and (b) an increase of 1½% each year that the cost of living increases by 3 percent.

"The Colorado RTA is also sponsoring a bill to provide a \$25 a month increase or annuity of \$175 a month for qualified retired teachers under the Colorado Emeritus Fund."

Connecticut

Thomas J. Quinn, Chairman, Legislative Committee, Connecticut RTA: "No teachers in Connecticut receive pensions less than \$100 a month. In the legislative session of 1967, a bill was passed which adjusted pensions by amount ranging from 2% for those who retired in the years 1963 to 1965 up to 63% for those who retired in 1933.

"A bill requesting an automatic cost-of-living adjustment every two years was rejected by the 1967 legislature although a similar bill for other state retirees was passed. We are introducing in the 1969 session a bill which will grant automatic adjustments in teacher's pensions beginning July 1, 1969 and we have every assurance that it will pass."

Delaware

H. E. Stahl, State Director, Delaware NRTA: "During 1968, a thorough research study of state pensions in Delaware was made by the Martin E. Segal Company, Consultants and Actuaries of New York City. This study was made under the supervision of a statewide commission. The Delaware State Legislature appropriated \$25,000 for this study project and the report of the commission and the recommendations made by the actuaries will very probably be made available to the legislature and the public early in 1969. A member of the Delaware RTA is on the state commission.

"The average pension paid to all members under the Delaware Pension Plan was \$212 per month in 1967. The maximum pension per month under pension laws in Delaware prior to 1966 was \$250; the minimum pension was \$125 per month.

"In 1966, the Delaware State Legislature enacted a contributory pension law which provided for a monthly pension up to \$500 per month for active teachers who retire after 1966. Each active teacher paid 5% on his or her monthly salary between \$6,000 and \$12,000 a year, with a maximum of \$300 annually.

"State employees in Delaware who retired from active service prior to 1966 receive between \$125 and \$250 monthly pensions—all moneys appropriated by the State Legislature of Delaware in a non-contributory plan.

"We are planning to ask the State Legislature when it meets early in 1969 to legislate to provide automatic cost-of-living adjustments for all state employees who retired prior to 1966."

Florida

M. O. Worthington, President, Florida RTA; Grace Adams Stevens, Chairman, Legislative Committee, Florida RTA: "House

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drill pipe, bringing the well under control. This could occur in a very few hours.

In the relief well a string of 20 inch casing is to be set and cemented at 559 feet, 13 3/8 inch at 2,000 feet and 9 3/4 inch at 2,800 feet, after which the bottom hole location of A-20 should be intersected at about 3,100 feet. At this point, mud would be injected into the relief well bringing A-20 under control.

STATEMENT OF WALTER J. HICKEL, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, FEBRUARY 2, 1969

I am deeply disturbed by the threat to aquatic life and to the shores and beaches posed by the continued leakage of oil from the union well. So far, fortunately, the damage has been small. But even this damage is too much if more rigorous drilling practices can avoid it.

All possible steps are being taken to bring this leakage to an early end.

In the meantime, close and continued surveillance is being kept on the four drilling operations still continuing on Federal leases in the Santa Barbara Channel.

At my direction each of these drilling operations is being reviewed by the responsible experts of the geological survey on the scene. My instructions are that all possible steps be undertaken immediately to provide the greatest possible margin of safety against any further well blowups. If there is any reasonable doubt as to the adequacy of these measures, my instructions are to order an immediate cessation of drilling until necessary corrective steps can be taken.

In addition to this immediate review of each drilling program now underway, the Department of the Interior, under my direction has instituted a full study of the adequacy of our existing regulations and practices to cope with situations of this kind. The outer continental shelf leasing regulations themselves have not been substantially reviewed since they were first issued over fifteen years ago. While the geological survey does try to keep its operating instructions to lessees up to date, I intend to make sure that both the regulations and the policies of the geological survey receive a new and careful examination to make sure that they embrace the most modern and up to date safety technology.

I realize that to some degree it is impossible to reduce the possibility of accidental occurrences to zero. I realize also that over 200 wells have been drilled in the Santa Barbara Channel area without accidental blowups of the kind that we have just experienced. Nevertheless, and because of the geologic characteristics of the Santa Barbara Channel area I want to be sure that the drilling and casing practices now being followed are the best that can be devised. Certainly the nation cannot and should not tolerate even a normal risk of pollution and damage to aquatic life, beaches and other property and natural resources.

NEWS RELEASE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, FEBRUARY 3, 1969

Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel announced today that at his request all actual drilling operations on Federal leases in the Outer Continental Shelf in the Santa Barbara channel are being temporarily placed in a stand-by condition. Participating in the voluntary action taken at the Secretary's request are: Union Oil Company of California, Humble Oil and Refining Company, Phillips Petroleum Company, Gulf Oil Corporation, Texaco, Inc., and Mobil Oil Company. Also participating in the discussions was Kerry Mulligan, Chairman, of the California State Water Resources Control Board, who represented Governor Ronald Reagan. The temporary cessation does not include the relief well being drilled by Union Oil Company as an alternative measure to bring to a halt the oil leakage now taking place at its well A-21 in the Santa Barbara channel.

The agreement to place drilling operations

in a standby basis was reached as a temporary and voluntary measure while technical experts of the Federal government and the companies, with State observers present, review the drilling and casing procedures being used for the Santa Barbara channel drilling operations. "This procedure will afford a breathing spell until it can be determined whether corrective measures are necessary," Secretary Hickel said. "The review has already begun as I ordered, and it is being carried out as rapidly as possible," Hickel added. The Secretary stated that those drilling operations which the technical experts find to be satisfactory will be given prompt clearance to resume. Others will be deferred until corrective measures can be placed into effect.

"Our first concern at this time must be to take all possible steps to avoid a repetition of the incident I have just seen. I want to thank all companies for their cooperation in agreeing to take this first essential step toward that end."

TEENAGERS SUPPORT COMMANDER BUCHER

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I have received a letter from a young resident of Santa Fe, N. Mex., in support of Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, the captain of the *Pueblo*. Over 20 other teenagers signed a petition expressing their agreement with the writer's position.

I am encouraged by this group's exhibited interest in national affairs. To those who are convinced that our youth is apathetic and indifferent insofar as the issues of the day are concerned, I would point to Lawrence Schulte's letter and the petition containing the names of the young people who support his position. I ask unanimous consent that the letter and the petition be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

SANTA FE, N. MEX.,
January 27, 1969.

Senator J. M. MONTOYA,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAREST SENATOR MONTOYA: Listening to the news from the Mutual Broadcasting System January 26th, a newscast came to my attention. The newscast was about the commander of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, Lloyd Bucher. The newscast stated that the Navy was considering a courtmartial of Commander Bucher because he surrendered the *Pueblo* to North Korea.

The reason I am writing this letter is because I and many of the other teenagers of the surrounding areas believe Comdr. Bucher did the right thing. It has come to our minds that Comdr. Bucher was thinking of the lives of his men and of their families and not so much as the danger of the U.S. losing one battleship. Comdr. Bucher requested aircraft assistance and he received none at all when being seized by the North Koreans. He could not fight because the Navy gave him very nonpowerful guns compared to the ones the North Koreans had. Comdr. Bucher was only thinking of the lives of his crew and their families. If the United States is afraid of losing one small ship, then the youth will be more than happy to pay for the damage and loss of that one ship. Enclosed is a list of names who agree with what I am saying in this letter.

My personal thanks to you for listening and remembering the youth of America.

God bless you, Senator.

LAWRENCE SCHULTE,
(And the teenagers who respect Comdr.
Lloyd M. Bucher).

PETITION

The following people agree for the non-court-martial of Comdr. Lloyd Bucher:

Lawrence Schulte, Henry Anaya, Robert Martinez, John Garcia, Tony Schulte, Raymond Gallegos, Richard Chavez, Phil Garcia, Paul Arellano, Jo Ann Lujan, Anna Vasquez, Liz Sanchez, Roseanne N. Bernadette A., Rosaline C., Lorrie Lawrenson, Debbie Schutz, Patty Holmberg, Patsy Daranje, Edith Gonzales, Margaret Baldwin, John Vigil, Mike Garcia.

PUEBLO

NORTH KOREA SOUGHT WAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a very interesting article was published in the Washington Daily News of February 3, 1969, entitled "Top *Pueblo* Negotiator Reveals North Korea Sought War." The article was written by Jim G. Lucas, one of our best-known war correspondents, if not the best-known, and refers to an interview with Vice Adm. John B. Smith, the son of Lt. Gen. Holland M. Smith, a Marine hero in World War II.

Mr. President, I shall read two paragraphs and a part of another paragraph contained in this article because I think this is a most important interview.

Admiral Smith, who was one of the representatives of this country at Panmunjom, said:

I believe (North Korean prime minister) Kim Il-sung intended war at that time.

That refers to the time of the *Pueblo* capture.

The admiral said:

He did not want a war which obviously would be instigated by North Korea. He was trying to arrange one which he could blame on the United Nations command.

He was hoping for Republic of Korea and/or United States retaliation. Had either occurred, he would have invoked the North Korea-USSR or North Korea-Chinese Communist mutual defense treaties. And this time he would not have had a United Nations-sponsored free world defense effort such as he encountered in 1950.

The U.S. failure to retaliate undoubtedly prevented the outbreak of a third world war.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the article by Jim G. Lucas, to which I have referred.

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

TOP "PUEBLO" NEGOTIATOR REVEALS: NORTH KOREA SOUGHT WAR

(By Jim G. Lucas)

CORONADO, CALIF., February 3.—The North Koreans fully intended to "provoke a third world war" when they seized the spy ship USS *Pueblo* on the high seas on Jan. 23, 1968, Vice Adm. John V. Smith said in an exclusive interview with Scripps-Howard Newspapers today.

Adm. Smith, now commander of amphibious forces in the Pacific fleet, was senior member of the U.N. Delegation to the Korean Armistice Commission when the *Pueblo* was seized. He took part in the first 15 secret sessions to negotiate release of the spy ship and its crew. He is the son of the late Lt. Gen. Holland M. Smith, a Marine hero in World War II.

"I believe (North Korean Prime minister) Kim Il-sung intended war at that time," the admiral said. "He did not want a war which obviously would be instigated by North Korea. He was trying to arrange one which he could blame on the United Nations command."

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

to guarantee and subsidize taxable bonds, then the Federal Government would necessarily want to "approve" the bonds, and approve is, as we all know, merely a nice word for control.

A second source of support for the guarantee-subsidy approach typically comes from the centralists, those who advocate the continued transfer of decisionmaking from local governments to the Federal Government or those who, while concerned about the ill effects of centralism, are not so especially concerned that they rate it very high on their list of priorities when other considerations come into play.

My first response to these proposals is a constitutional one. To begin with, I have not yet been convinced that the Constitution permits the Federal Government to tax securities issued for public purposes by State and local governments. Any legislation which attempts outright to repeal the tax exemption on State and local securities assumes that Congress may, without constitutional amendment, tax the interest on a State or local bond based on the purpose of issuance of such bond. My understanding has always been that the Federal Constitution precludes an assumption that the Federal Government has the power to tax the States and their political subdivisions. The immunity of the States and local governments in the exercise of their legitimate functions from Federal taxation is necessary for the preservation of our constitutionally delineated dual sovereignty form of government.

Further, I seriously question the contention that removal of the tax exemption will produce more Federal revenues than is gained by the States and municipalities in reduced interest cost. A study submitted to the Air and Water Pollution Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Works in 1968 suggested that there would be decreased rather than increased Federal revenues if the tax-exempt status of State and local bonds were replaced with a system of guaranteed-subsidized taxable bonds.

However, even if one were to acknowledge the validity of the constitutional and economic arguments, there still remains what is for me the critical policy question: What effect would replacing the tax-exempt bond with a guaranteed-subsidized taxable bond have upon the autonomy and financial integrity of State governments and their local entities?

I believe that the very clear answer is that there would be disastrous effects if Congress exercises statutory power to tax State and local bonds. Clearly, local governments cannot survive if the Federal Government can arbitrarily influence local policy by penalizing certain local activities with Federal taxation while rewarding other activities with tax exemption. In my view, the independence of local governments should not be destroyed by the establishment of Federal guarantees, Federal subsidies, Federal guidelines, and as the inevitable result, Federal control.

Mr. President, there is yet one other related matter. During the last session

a proposal was enacted revoking the tax-exempt status of industrial development bonds. This measure was introduced by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF as a rider to the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act. As finally adopted by the Senate-House conference, this proposal revoked the tax-exempt status of industrial development bonds in excess of \$1 million. The \$1 million ceiling on tax exemptions was amended later in the legislative session to \$5 million under certain conditions.

Of course, everyone recognizes that there has been abuse in some aspects of local industrial financing. A few localities issue bonds to establish facilities for private industry in amounts beyond the economic needs of the industry. Other abuses occur when the firm for whom the facility is constructed has access to adequate financing through conventional channels and when tax-exempt financing of industrial facilities enables a community to pirate a going concern from an established location.

Unfortunately, however, the Ribicoff amendment, in revoking the tax-exempt status of industrial bonds, employed a distorted definition of the term "industrial development bond" and thereby created more problems than it solved. The presently enacted definition is not limited to bonds for industrial development but rather is so broad as to include bonds for many acknowledge and traditional State and local governmental functions. Chairman WILBUR MILLS, of the House Ways and Means Committee, acknowledged this fact on the floor at the time of passage of the act and invited corrective legislation.

As a result of the confusion caused by the present definition, I introduced in the Senate an amendment redefining the term "industrial development bond." This amendment would have provided a redefinition of the term in accordance with its generally accepted meaning, and would have provided for taxation of industrial bonds only in truly industrial situations. The amendment was not brought to a vote prior to adjournment of the 90th Congress; however, Senator RUSSELL LONG, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, did give an assurance on the Senate floor that his committee will study the problem and will hold hearings if a similar bill is introduced during the next session. It is my intention to introduce within the next few weeks a modified version of this proposed redefinition.

Without doubt the basic question of exemption of State and local governmental activities from Federal taxation will be raised during the 91st Congress. I am hopeful that thorough hearings will be held in both the Senate and the House. As for myself, I shall continue to oppose strenuously any legislation which would repeal outright the tax exemption on State and local bonds; which would replace the tax exemption with a system of Federal guarantees and subsidies; or which would penalize or reward a State by taxation or exemption, depending on whether the Federal Government approves or disapproves of the purpose for which the bond is issued.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WALTER J. HICKEL

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, during the debate on the confirmation of Walter J. Hickel to be Secretary of the Interior, I stated that he was a man of action. He has already proved it. It is very heartening to me to note the position Secretary Hickel has taken on the very serious problem of oil leakage in the Santa Barbara Channel. The Secretary flew to the site, inspected it, and reached an agreement with oil officials to halt further drilling until the reason for the leakage was discovered and steps taken to prevent any reoccurrences. By any standards this was rapid and effective action.

The Federal regulations that deal with offshore drilling are not adequate—the State of Alaska has far more stringent regulation in this regard than does the Federal Government. The Secretary has stated that he will seek more effective safeguards for offshore drilling and I hope he will receive full cooperation in this effort, from all parties. Our Continental Shelf oil reserves are a valuable economic asset, but development of these reserves must be balanced against the preservation of our seashores and marine life adjacent to them. Secretary Hickel is moving toward this goal which when achieved, will be a blessing for both the producers of oil and the millions of Americans who love and enjoy the beaches and seashores of this country.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the explanation furnished me by the Department of the Interior of the causes of the Santa Barbara Channel leakage, and the press releases of Secretary Hickel's reactions to this catastrophe.

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

SUMMARY

Well A-21 had been drilled directionally by Union Oil Company from Platform "A" on Federal lease P-0241 to a total depth of 3,479 feet with 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch casing set and cemented at 514 feet (238 feet below sea bottom) and a blow-out preventer installed.

While pulling drill pipe the well started flowing mud and then mud with gas which was shut-in by dropping the drill pipe and closing the blow-out preventer. The well was then under control and remained so for a short time until gas and oil appeared on the water around the platform, having bypassed the upper part of the well.

The work of restoring control over the well then proceeded in separate ways (1) to fish out or re-enter the dropped drill pipe and fill the hole with mud and (2) to drill a relief well which would intersect well A-21 at bottom and through which mud would be pumped. Either method is designed to pump mud into the formation at bottom which will kill the flow.

Both operations have gone on simultaneously so as to save time in the event it would be found to be impossible to fish out or re-enter the drill pipe. We understand that a check valve that it was necessary to mill out has been successfully milled so that it should then be possible to re-enter the drill pipe and gun perforate above the drill which is plugged. This will enable mud to circulate down through the drill pipe and out through the perforations into the space behind the

HOPED FOR RETALIATION

"He was hoping for Republic of Korea and or United States retaliation. Had either occurred, he would have invoked the North Korea-USSR or North Korea-Chinese Communist mutual defense treaties. And this time he would not have had a United Nations-sponsored free world defense effort such as he encountered in 1950."

Adm. Smith said the U.S. failure to retaliate "undoubtedly prevented" the outbreak of a third world war. The Pueblo's skipper, Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher has testified before the court of inquiry investigating the seizure that it was obvious to him in captivity the North Koreans expected retaliation and were "scared to death."

Adm. Smith said the North Koreans were gambling on the fact the U.S. already was heavily committed in Vietnam and on their "almost total air supremacy" in Korea. He said Kim Il-sung was goaded by the fact he is nearing 60, and "unless he did something drastic there is little chance of unifying his country and becoming its national hero."

Adm. Smith said the North Koreans had "hundreds, perhaps thousands of jet fighter planes housed in underground hangars, and were sure they could wipe us out."

FULLY MOBILIZED

He said they were fully mobilized at the time. Americans and South Koreans knew this, he said. "We tried to stay calm, but we were anything but calm inside," the Admiral said.

Since then, he said, the United States, while still heavily committed in Vietnam, "has reinforced the United Nations command (in Korea), particularly with aircraft, and this holds Kim Il-sung in check for the present." He would not go into detail, altho he said the number of planes available to each side represents a "much more respectable ratio."

Adm. Smith linked the Pueblo incident to an abortive attempt a few days earlier by 31 "trained guerrillas, all regular North Korean army officers," to assassinate South Korean President Park Chung-hee. He said they got within 1,000 meters of the presidential palace. "They failed, but just barely," he said.

Had Mr. Park been assassinated, he said, he believes a war would have been "inevitable."

"No one could have held the ROKS back," he said.

Adm. Smith said negotiations involving the Pueblo were held in the Panmunjom compound, in a building next to the one in which formal U.N. negotiating sessions were held, but that he attended as an American, not a U.N. representative. "I got my instructions from the State Department, not even from the embassy in Seoul," he said.

DETAILS WITHHELD

Adm. Smith said he still was not authorized to talk about the details of those negotiations, but agreed to "talk around them."

Adm. Smith said the atmosphere in the secret sessions was "altogether different from that in the open U.N. hearings, which he said the North Koreans regarded as a "propaganda device." For instance, he said, the chief North Korean delegate, Maj. Gen. Park Chung-kuk, "obviously is not a military man, and I never referred to him in open session as one." Instead, he said, "I consistently referred to him as a stooge, a propagandist, and asked questions which revealed his appalling ignorance of military matters."

But in secret sessions, he said, "I referred to him courteously as general." He said the North Koreans "didn't give a dam" whether the American understood what was said in public meetings. In private sessions "we would ask, for instance, 'would you repeat that' and they would reply 'certainly,'" he said.

Adm. Smith said he thought the North Koreans agreed to release the Pueblo crew "for a variety of reasons."

"One, they had extracted the maximum propaganda value from them," he said. "They were becoming a financial burden. But I think the principal reason was that they now have a contract with The Netherlands government to build a number of fishing vessels, and they'll have to operate on the open seas."

The U.S. State and Defense Departments "leaked" this story to the press, then had "no comment" on suggestions we might seize them.

"I doubt very much we would," Adm. Smith said, "But they didn't know that. I think this was conclusive in their tortured reasoning."

PRECEDENT FOR CONFESSION

Adm. Smith said there was precedent for the "confession" his successor, Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward, signed to obtain release of the Pueblo's crew—altho Gen. Woodward at the same time repudiated it.

Six years ago, he said, a U.S. helicopter crew strayed across the DMZ and was shot down. A year later, they were released, but only after Army Maj. Gen. Hamilton Howze signed a "confession" they were spies. He said the North Koreans constantly referred to this incident.

On another occasion, he said, a U.S. flier was shot down, and the American representative pleaded for information about his condition to relieve the anxieties of his parents.

Finally, he said, the North Koreans tossed a "picture of his broken, crumpled body on the table before us and said 'here is your man.' Then they burst out laughing. Later, they brought his body in and kicked it off the truck at our feet."

Adm. Smith said he usually refers to North Koreans as "mad dogs."

"People think this is hyperbole," he said. "It's the truth."

He said the North Koreans "employ laughter as a weapon."

"They have a 'duty hyena' who sits in the back of the room and understands English," he said. "They all take their cue from him. He starts laughing, and the others take it up. Gen. Park is the last to start laughing."

RED PRESS JEALOUS

Adm. Smith paid tribute to the South Korean press, which he said "drives the North Korean reporters crazy."

"The North Korean reporters are under instructions to circulate among us and learn what they can," he said. "The South Koreans will talk about the parties they've attended, the new homes they've built, the new clothes they've bought. There is no joy in North Korea. They have none of these things."

"The North Koreans need 48 hours even to assemble a press crew, brief them on the questions to ask. Their press is highly regimented, cruelly disciplined. They're terribly frightened of defections."

On one occasion, he said, a meeting was postponed suddenly for 24 hours, yet the North Korean press came out with a "full report of their questions and our answers" of the canceled meeting.

"When we finally reconvened," he said, "our answers weren't quite accurate, but their questions certainly were."

Adm. Smith said Gen. Park once warned him:

"You be careful, sir, we're going to cut off your head."

"I was honored," he said. "Guillotining is an honor. They planned to cut off President Park's head and machine-gun every one else. I felt real distinguished."

TRIBUTE TO EDUARDO MONDLANE

Mr. BROOKE, Mr. President, it was with deep distress that I learned yesterday of the tragic and untimely death, by assassination, of Eduardo Mondlane,

President of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

I was privileged to meet with Eduardo Mondlane during my tour of Africa last year. I talked at length with him and with other leaders of the Southern African liberation movements. And I fully enjoyed a quiet dinner and long evening of conversation with Educardo and his American-born wife, Janet. To her and to their family I have extended my deepest condolences.

Dr. Mondlane was born in the Portuguese colony of Mazambique. He was educated in Protestant mission schools, and was the first black African in that colony to attain the equivalent of a high school and a college degree. He studied at Northwestern University, from which he earned a doctorate in sociology. He taught at Syracuse University, N.Y., and was known to many Americans as an articulate lecturer and a dedicated member of the United Nations Secretariat.

In 1962 he was summoned back to Africa to become President of the newly formed Mozambique Liberation Front, more commonly known as Frelimo. In this capacity Dr. Mondlane showed remarkable organizational skill and deep concern for the needs of his people. While his wife, Janet, administered the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam—a multi-purpose educational and refugee relief center—Dr. Mondlane concentrated on building a politico-military organization capable of governing an independent nation. At the time of his death, Frelimo controlled most of the two northern provinces of Mozambique, and was active in several other areas. They had established an effective system of schools, hospitals, and local self-governing units.

Mr. President, it is not for us to judge the nature of the movement which was led by Eduardo Mondlane. One of the deepest tragedies of the colonial system is that a man with the talents and abilities of Dr. Mondlane found no legitimate outlet for his leadership in his own country. But the dream of Eduardo Mondlane is one which we can fully share. He fought and died for the principle self-determination. He sought freedom and justice for his people. He believed, with most of the peoples of the world, that none are truly free until all are free. The world will be a greater place for all if the dream of Eduardo Mondlane lives on.

LETTER TO SECRETARY VOLPE REGARDING AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL

Mr. BROOKE, Mr. President, On February 3, I sent a letter to Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe urging him to take prompt and vigorous measures to forestall the growing crisis in the Nation's air traffic system.

In particular, the letter cites the personnel problems in the air traffic field. It calls upon the Secretary first, to increase the number of air traffic controllers; and, second, to upgrade standards and conditions of employment for air traffic controllers. I was joined in this effort by 21 of my colleagues: CLINTON P. ANDERSON, BIRCH BAYH, HENRY BELLMON, WALLACE F. BENNETT, QUENTIN N.

BURDICK, CLIFFORD P. CASE, THOMAS J. DODD, PETER H. DOMINICK, THOMAS F. EAGLETON, HIRAM L. FONG, PHILIP A. HART, DANIEL L. INOUE, JACOB K. JAVITS, LEN B. JORDAN, THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, JACK MILLER, JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, CLAIBORNE PELL, CHARLES H. PERCY, HUGH SCOTT, and RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter to Secretary Volpe be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., January 31, 1969.

Hon. JOHN A. VOLPE,
Secretary of Transportation,
Department of Transportation,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: As you know, many members of Congress have become increasingly concerned about the critical problems of air traffic control, from the standpoint of both the procedures and the personnel involved in these critical operations. There is a pressing need for more energetic action to handle the growing volume of air traffic in a safer and more efficient manner.

A matter of central importance is the personnel policy to be followed in this field. As aircraft grow larger and more numerous, and as the control technologies become ever more complex, it is imperative that personnel standards and practices be raised accordingly. More lives are at stake and more complicated tasks must be performed. These decisive facts compel us to improve incentives and working conditions to insure that fully qualified personnel are available at all times to meet the immense demands on air traffic controllers.

We believe that a great deal can and should be done under existing authority to meet the budding personnel crisis in air traffic control. We urge you to take prompt and vigorous measures to insure that this crisis is forestalled, not only by expanding the numbers of air traffic controllers but also by upgrading the standards and conditions of employment. These issues have received much discussion but little action in recent months and we earnestly hope that, in concert with the Civil Service Commission and the operating agencies, you will now take swifter and effective action.

Last year more than twenty Senators co-sponsored a bill to create a Commission on Air Traffic Control, specifying that the Commission would study and make recommendations concerning the whole range of operating and personnel problems in the air traffic field. Although subsequently a commission somewhat similar in purpose was appointed by Secretary Boyd, it appears to have made little, if any, progress toward proposing viable solutions. The Federal Aviation Agency has seemed to lack either the desire or the initiative to deal constructively with the acute problems of the air traffic controllers who man the systems involved.

We are considering a variety of legislative ideas bearing on these problems and will be in touch with you again in the coming months. But at the outset of your tenure as Secretary, we wished to express both our concern in this matter and our strong desire to cooperate with you in designing and implementing an effective program for air traffic control operations and personnel.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD W. BROOKE.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM FOR EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on December 23 and January 20 Barron's pub-

lished two parts of a three-part series of articles written by Shirley Scheibla dealing with the Federal Government's attempts to provide equal job opportunities in private industry. These articles are most revealing and lend substance to many allegations in recent months that employers are being forced to comply with reckless and conflicting orders issued by a number of Government departments under the threat that their Federal contracts will be withdrawn if they do not knuckle under. The primary departments responsible are the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance. These administrators appear to be intent on interpreting and administering the law according to their own notions of what it should be, regardless of what the Congress intended.

In the final analysis it is up to the Congress, in performing its oversight functions, to see to it that the law is administered as the Congress intended. In this regard, I believe an examination of the practices of the EEOC and OFCC is of the first order. A similar type of examination was undertaken last year with respect to one of the independent agencies. The Senate Subcommittee on Separation of Powers held extensive hearings on the National Labor Relations Board in an attempt to ascertain whether the Board in interpreting and administering the labor law had adhered to the expressed will and intent of Congress in the original legislation. The great weight of opinion was that the will of Congress is often ignored and subverted by those charged with its implementation. In the light of these conclusions and the articles in Barron's, I believe the subcommittee should give the OFCC and the EEOC a good looking over. It is my strong impression that the orders and requirements flowing out of these offices exceed the authority granted to them by Congress and are beyond any reasonable interpretation which can be given to the intent of Congress in the enabling legislation. An additional separation of powers problem exists in connection with the OFCC since it was established by Executive order, and it may well be that this entire matter should have been dealt with by the Congress in the first place.

Mr. President, these articles are indeed informative and worthy of attention, and I ask unanimous consent that they be inserted in the RECORD.

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

[From Barron's, Dec. 23, 1968]

GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT?—GOVERNMENT IS MAKING BUSINESS ITS UNWILLING PARTNER IN BIAS

(By Shirley Scheibla)

WASHINGTON.—"I'm no crusader," the worried executive told a reporter recently, "but I'm no bigot either. All I am is a businessman trying to operate my company the best way I know how—which means bidding successfully for contracts I can deliver on, and hiring qualified workers I know can get the job done for me." This employer, however, like thousands of others in the U.S. today, is dependent for most of his business on federal contracting agencies, and Uncle Sam is determined to wipe out racial discrimination in

private employment—at any cost. Because of the way Washington has been going about it, the cost can come high.

"If I don't sign a commitment to hire a certain number of nonwhites in each job category," explained the businessman, "the government threatens to deal me out. I face formal complaints by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and possible lawsuits by the Justice Department. I stand to lose millions of dollars in contracts—which means that dozens or even hundreds of workers' jobs are placed in jeopardy too, affecting blacks and whites alike. Yet I have no way to guarantee that I can find the people to meet these quotas, particularly in high-skill classifications. And the irony of it is, if I do go all-out with such 'reverse discrimination' in my hiring and firing, I run the very real risk of all-out trouble with organized labor."

BLOCKBUSTER APPROACH

There's little doubt that the government's blockbuster approach to the centuries-old problem of employment bias may be creating as many ills as it has cured. Not surprisingly, Parkinson's Law holds sway here in a chaotic proliferation of policy-making bureaucrats, acting under one or the other of two edicts: the 1964 Civil Rights Act and President Johnson's Executive Order 11246 of 1965, which combine to blanket any employer of at least 50 persons as well as any contract of \$10,000 or more involving federal funds. Enforcers include not only the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), but also the Justice Department, the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) and each of some 17,000 contracting officers representing 28 other U.S. agencies. Although racial considerations are predominant, incidentally, they by no means exhaust the government's purview as defined by statute, proclamation and regulatory fiat.

Beyond administrative confusion, however—not to say a clear lack of either coordination or consistency—are problems far more serious. Some official actions, for example, appear to constitute inexcusable abuse of unquestioned authority. Worse still, others may well be illegal if not unconstitutional. Employers have been denied due process; firms have been placed arbitrarily in financial jeopardy. In the name of fair employment, finally, both the National Labor Relations Act and the Civil Rights Act itself plainly seem to have been violated.

UNDUE PROCESS?

The most glaring instances of action without due process have occurred under the aegis of OFCC. Ward McCreedy, acting director of the agency, admits that contracting officers have been holding up awards virtually on a daily basis, because of non-compliance with OFCC regulations. "Across the board," he said recently, "this experience has resulted in the company's submitting a program which does effect compliance. None of these people can demonstrate that they have suffered any financial loss owing to such delays on their bids." But the affected firms tell a different tale: many claim convincingly that the compliance procedure has caused substantial monetary losses. Since several of OFCC's regulations are, to say the least, of dubious legality, the risks to which such employers are exposed would seem to entitle them—before and not after the action has been taken—to their day in court.

What's more, OFCC's parent Labor Department, in determining which contracts are to be held up, appears to be applying a double standard. One notorious case in point involves New York's Neighborhood Youth Corps. As long ago as last May, several agencies were investigating criminal charges against this child of the poverty program. Alleged was the theft of millions of dollars which had been freely parceled out by the Labor Department. On September 13, with the charge still pend-

Study on Pueblo Discerns Weaknesses in Control

By E. W. KENWORTHY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1 — A staff study prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concludes that the Pueblo affair has once again revealed serious weaknesses in the whole command and control system for American intelligence gathering operations.

According to informed sources, the staff found that in the Pueblo incident the weaknesses in command and control encompassed the level at which the ship's mission was first approved and daily monitored; the timing of the mission; the risks assumed; the contingency planning in event of attack or seizures, and the dismissal of a warning about "spy boats" as "routine."

Most Serious Defect

The warning was delivered by the North Koreans to American officers at Panmunjom three days before the Pueblo was seized by North Korea on Jan. 23, 1968.

The most serious defect the committee staff found in the command and control system was the very small amount of coordination between the diplomatic and military arms of the Government.

The study was based on voluminous material supplied through the Department of State by the Defense Department in response to questions by the committee a year ago.

This is the background to the staff study:

Last Feb. 2, the committee asked Secretary of State Dean Rusk a series of questions. On March 25, Mr. Rusk replied to most, but not all, of them. On May 1, Senator J. W. Fulbright, the committee chairman, sent another set of questions to Mr. Rusk, who returned answers on June 28.

The committee's first two questions were: "When was this plan approved?" and "Who participated in the decision?" It got an answer to the first, but not a complete reply to the second.

'Carefully Planned'

After the seizure of the ship Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, told House Defense Appropriations subcommittee that the mission "was carefully planned and reviewed all the way from

Staff of Senate Panel Finds Little Coordination Among Diplomats and Military

the fleet commander in the Pacific through the chain of command to the higher echelon of Government, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Last Feb. 1, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara told the Senate Armed Services Committee that the mission had not been approved directly by himself but by "my representative." Secretary Rusk likewise informed the committee that his designated representative had approved it.

Both Secretaries took responsibility for the decision, but both departments refused to identify the representatives who had made it.

In its conclusions, the Foreign Relations Committee staff surmised that the decision had been made well down in the bureaucracy and that those responsible for the over-all management of foreign policy were only dimly aware, if at all, of the Pueblo's mission, and not at all aware of the timing.

The timing of the mission came in for sharp criticism in the staff study. Although the Johnson Administration, in its defense of the mission, took the position that the risks had been minimal, the staff noted that the mission began when North Korea was plainly in an extremely belligerent mood.

Violations Increasing

Alleged North Korean violations of the armistice agreement had increased tenfold in a year and 31 North Korean commandos had just unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate President Chung Hee Park of South Korea in Seoul.

The staff study puts major emphasis on the apparent failure of the diplomatic and military missions in Seoul to take seriously a warning delivered by Maj. Gen. Pak Chung Kook, the North Korean delegate, to Rear Adm. John V. Smith, the

ing infiltrated into our coastal waters a number of armed spy boats, together with a group of South Korean fishing boats, and repeatedly demanded you immediately stop such criminal acts."

In response to a query by The New York Times on Jan. 26 on whether there had been such a meeting and warning on Jan. 20, the State Department replied that it knew of no such meeting. However, it cabled Seoul and learned that there was. The transcript arrived later.

When Secretary McNamara emerged from the Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on Feb. 1—12 days after the warning at Panmunjom—he was asked about it. He replied that, to his knowledge, there had not been a meeting on Jan. 20. He instructed an aide to make inquiry.

When the Jan. 20 transcript arrived, it showed General Pak to have said in part:

"It is quite obvious that if one continued the provocative act of dispatching spy boats and espionage bandits to the coastal waters of the other side under the cover of naval craft, it will only result in disrupting the armistice and inducing another war. We have the due right to make a due response to your thoughtless play with fire. We will fully exercise our rights."

The State and Defense Departments took the position that such warnings about spy ships had become so routine as to justify ignoring them.

The committee staff in its conclusions, however, was understood to have contended that, given the then belligerency of North Korea, prudence would have suggested that the Pueblo be ordered 25 to 30 miles at sea, or else provided with protection.

FINE FURNITURE
The report was submitted to the security subcommittee's report with him, formed the basis for October, 1967. His diary, capture of the Pueblo, was submitted to the O.A.S. this week to Raul Diaz de M...

In a letter to the chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee the new chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, the Honorable Robert E. Hampton, makes clear that President Nixon stands behind these salary recommendations for Federal executives, members of the judiciary, and Members of Congress. He writes:

The Bureau of the Budget advises that the present Administration supports the Executive, Legislative and Judicial salary recommendations submitted by President Johnson as part of his 1970 budget, and believes that those recommendations should be allowed to go into effect.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment the task faced by the new administration in recruiting topflight executives to do the job it wants to do would be made infinitely more difficult if Congress acted to block the implementation of these salary recommendations. In his letter Chairman Hampton makes this same point. He writes:

Failure to adjust the salaries of top officers to currently needed levels is unfair to the individuals concerned and can be a serious handicap to the Government in securing and keeping the talent it needs.

The chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Honorable THADDEUS J. DULSKI, has made available to me a copy of that letter. Without objection I shall insert it at this point in the RECORD:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., January 21, 1969.

Hon. THADDEUS J. DULSKI,
Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for the Commission's views on H. Res. 128 disapproving the recommendations which President Johnson made in his budget for adjustment of the salaries of Members of Congress, Federal Executives, and members of the Federal Judiciary. These recommendations were made pursuant to section 225 of the Federal Salary Act of 1967.

I wish to assure you that this Commission fully supports the recommendations which President Johnson made in his budget with respect to the adjustment of the salaries for these top officers.

The responsibility for the well being of this country which is placed in the hands of Congressmen, Federal Executives, and the justices and judges of the Federal Judiciary fully justifies the recommended adjustments in salaries. Failure to adjust the salaries of top officers to currently needed levels is unfair to the individuals concerned and can be a serious handicap to the Government in securing and keeping the talent it needs.

The orderly method of adjusting top salaries provided in the Federal Salary Act of 1967 constitutes a very significant improvement in the total Federal salary system. The Commission strongly recommends support of the recommendations in the budget which represent the first action under this new quadrennial review.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that the present Administration supports the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial salary recommendations submitted by President Johnson as part of his 1970 budget, and believes that those recommendations should be allowed to go into effect.

By direction of the Commission:

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. HAMPTON,
Chairman.

JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION ON "PUEBLO"

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

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, we were all elated when the crew of the *Pueblo* was returned safely last month. The American people expected, as they had every right to expect, that there would be a complete and open investigation and report on the circumstances of the *Pueblo's* capture, the crew's imprisonment and general American policy in this matter. But this investigation has simply not taken place; the court of inquiry has not done this vital job.

There are serious and fundamental questions that remain unanswered for the American people. Was the potential value of the *Pueblo's* mission consistent with the inherent risks to the crew and possible loss of confidential information and equipment? Why were no contingency plans provided for so delicate an assignment? Why was there difficulty in communications between the *Pueblo* and Tokyo in the period immediately before the ship was lost?

Is one man being made a scapegoat? Where does responsibility rest for loss of the ship? Are such missions continuing without better provisions for support?

These and other questions can and should be answered without compromising our security. On a matter such as this it is appropriate that the American people demand and receive honest answers.

In order to secure these answers I am today introducing a resolution to create a special joint congressional commission to study fully, and in public view, the entire *Pueblo* incident.

This commission will be comprised of the chairmen and ranking minority members of the appropriate House and Senate committees and two appointed members, one to be appointed by the Speaker and the other by the President of the Senate.

The commission shall have the necessary staff, funding and authority to investigate thoroughly the entire *Pueblo* affair and shall report its findings to the President and Congress.

Because this remains a clouded issue with so many unanswered questions, and because the answers to those questions may well prove vital to our national security and future international policy, I urge immediate action on the resolution I am introducing today.

Because of the urgency with which I regard this matter, and under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the resolution in the RECORD at this point:

H.J. RES. 334

A joint resolution to establish a commission to conduct a full and complete investigation of the seizure of the United States Ship *Pueblo*

Whereas the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by the North Korean Peoples Republic in January, 1967 was a source of great concern to the American people;

Whereas the treatment of the *Pueblo's* crew during the men's detention in North Korea reportedly involved inhuman harassment;

Whereas there remain serious questions that cloud the entire incident of the *Pueblo's* capture;

Whereas the American people have a right to a thorough and open investigation of the *Pueblo* affair: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

ESTABLISHMENT

SECTION 1. There is established a commission to be known as the "Pueblo Commission" (hereafter referred to in this joint resolution as the "Commission").

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Commission to conduct a full and complete investigation of the seizure of the United States Ship *Pueblo* and its crews by the North Korean Peoples Republic. The Commission shall also review all the conditions and details relating to the detention of the *Pueblo's* crew in North Korea.

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of 14 members as follows:

(1) The chairman and ranking minority member of each of the following committees of the House of Representatives:

- (A) Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- (B) Committee on Armed Services.
- (C) Subcommittee on Military Operations of the Committee on Government Operations.

(2) The chairman and ranking minority member of each of the following committees of the Senate:

- (A) Committee on Foreign Relations.
- (B) Committee on Armed Services.
- (C) Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Committee on Government Operations.

(3) One Member of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(4) One Member of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

(c) (1) Members of the Commission who are full-time officers or employees of the United States shall receive no additional compensation on account of their service on the Commission.

(2) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as the expenses authorized by section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(d) Eight members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(e) The Chairman of the Commission shall be selected by the members of the Commission.

STAFF OF COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable.

(b) The staff of the Commission shall be appointed subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any sub-

committee or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Joint Resolution, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places, administer such oaths, and require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents as the Commission or such subcommittee or member may deem advisable. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the Chairman of the Commission, of such subcommittee, or any duly designated member, and may be served by any person designated by such Chairman or member. The provisions of sections 102 to 104, inclusive, of the Revised Statutes (2 U.S.C. 192—194), shall apply in the case of any failure of any witness to comply with any subpoena or to testify when summoned under authority of this section.

REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF FIREARMS

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

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the legislation passed by the last Congress placing greater controls on the movement, possession, and use of firearms must not be regarded as constituting all that can be done to protect our society against the misuses of dangerous weapons. The need for a truly comprehensive firearms control program has not yet been totally satisfied.

I have consistently supported strong gun control legislation, including provisions for registration and licensing. On two occasions I have had the privilege to propose registration provisions on the floor of the House—in 1967 as an amendment to President Johnson's Safe Streets Act, and in 1968 as an amendment to a watered-down version of the Firearms Control Act of 1968, sent to Congress shortly after the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy.

The enormous outpouring of public demand and support for full protection against the misuses of firearms, without unduly inconveniencing responsible sportsmen and others who have a legitimate need for firearms and are capable of using them safely, cannot be ignored. We have a continuing commitment to finish the work begun on gun control with the 1967 and 1968 acts. Those acts have put a stop to interstate and mail-order sales of both hand and long guns and ammunition, except between federally licensed dealers. They require that a person be 21 years of age to purchase a handgun and handgun ammunition, and at least 18 years of age to purchase long guns. They make it unlawful for a dealer to sell a firearm or ammunition to anyone the dealer has reasonable cause to believe is a convicted criminal, a fugitive, a drug addict or a person who is mentally defective. But until we have a workable system of gunowner licensing, it will continue to be next to impossible for any dealer to know when he may be selling to such a person.

As of June 1968, 39 States had no licensing or permit requirements to purchase handguns, and even fewer required licenses or permits to purchase long guns. As a result, in those States, there

is no way for a dealer to know anything about the people he sells weapons to, for local officials to verify whatever information purchasers may provide, or for local officials to undertake even the most cursory investigation to determine the medical or possible criminal backgrounds of individuals about to purchase guns. In short, it is still possible in many States for felons, convicted criminals, physically and mentally unstable persons, drug addicts, and other individuals unfit for firearms ownership to purchase them over the counter.

In the meantime, privately owned firearms continue to be involved in more than 20,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, and 100,000 assaults and robberies each year. Without a national firearms registry, our ability rapidly to trace the ownership of weapons involved in these violations of the law remains primitive and largely ineffective.

Granted, firearms registration and licensing will not prevent or eliminate crimes of violence. Nor will they keep guns entirely out of the hands of criminals and other irresponsible individuals. But it is no more rational to argue that strong gun-control laws should not be passed simply because some individuals will violate them than it is to argue that any law or licensing arrangement should not exist simply because some people will violate it. The fact is that a system of gun-owner licensing, while it would not totally keep guns out of the hands of unqualified people determined to obtain them, would make it much more difficult than it now is for these individuals to obtain guns—more difficult particularly in the expense which they would have to incur and the time they would have to spend to locate a weapon. Furthermore, licensing and registration laws would add to the penalties that could be imposed on criminals convicted of committing a crime using firearms if one accepts the argument that most of these individuals would be unlicensed and their weapons unregistered.

A great many Americans take pleasure in the use of firearms for hunting, target shooting, and other legitimate recreational purposes. None of the gun control provisions I have supported, or will continue to support, have been intended in any way to interfere with or place undue or discriminatory hardship on sportsmen. It is my firm belief and understanding that strong gun control requirements, including registration and licensing, will take considerably less trouble to satisfy than automobile registration and driver licensing. Yet no thoughtful person would argue that it is discriminatory, unnecessary, or unduly troublesome to require automobile owners to register their vehicles and drivers to obtain licenses. A firearm, like an automobile, is a device that can be recreational and constructive when used responsibly. But it can also be dangerous and highly destructive. The destructive potential of firearms, like that of automobiles, is so great that some reasonable provisions are needed to regulate access to them.

The vast majority of hunters and target shooters are reliable, responsible citi-

zens in their respective communities upon whom, I am confident, registration and licensing would have no adverse effect and impose no real hardship.

Some sincere opponents of strong gun control legislation fear and contend that registration and licensing is just "a foot in the door"—the first step in a program of restrictions on the possession and use of firearms that will end with a situation in the United States like that in many European countries, where firearms can be used and housed only at special private shooting clubs, or like Japan, where personal ownership, possession, and use of firearms is prohibited entirely. I do not sympathize with this view. On the contrary, I feel strongly that a comprehensive gun control program consisting of the Federal legislation already on the books and an effective system of registration and licensing will preclude the possibility that there will ever be the necessity or the temptation at some future time to go to the very extreme measures that Japan and many of the European countries have adopted.

With these facts in mind, as well as my assurances to my own constituents that I will continue to do everything I can to build our present partial firearms control program into a fully effective and comprehensive one, I am today introducing legislation to provide for Federal registration of all firearms and Federal licensing of all firearms owners in those States whose licensing laws fail to meet minimum Federal standards. This legislation is identical to that already introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER), and I am pleased to join with him in its sponsorship.

TODAY'S PRAYER FOR THE UKRAINE

(Mr. ROBISON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, today's prayer for the Ukraine, which has become a tradition in this body at this time of year, is one which should be participated in by all who value the spirit of freedom in the face of oppression.

On January 22, 1918, the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed, and for the ensuing 50 years Ukrainians everywhere have honored and celebrated the spirit of freedom which has continued to burn in every Ukrainian heart.

I insert at this point in the Record the relevant proclamation of the mayor of the city of Binghamton, N.Y., which is self-explanatory as well as eloquent.

The proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION OF THE CITY OF BINGHAMTON, N.Y.

Whereas: January 22, 1969 will mark the 51st Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918, which fell under the Communist Russian military aggression two years later; and

Whereas: During its rule the Communist Russian regime, based upon terror unheard of in the history of mankind, has kept

Mr. Speaker, I think the final paragraph of the conclusions in a reconnaissance report released by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1967 summarizes the situation with unusual terseness and clarity. The report said:

The reconnaissance investigation of water resource development in the St. Vrain Creek basin reveals that full development in the St. Vrain Creek basin, coupled with water resources development plans for the Cache la Poudre River . . . will not suffice to meet the increasing demands of Boulder, Longmont, Ft. Collins, Estes Park and Loveland. It is apparent that full utilization of Eastern Slope sources, complemented by additional sources from outside the basin, will be needed to serve demands by 1995.

The report then recommended that:

Feasibility studies be initiated at the earliest possible date to determine the most economical source of water to supply the needs of these Eastern Slope communities directed toward determining the most economic and desirable order of development to keep pace with water needs.

The next move, Mr. Speaker, will be up to Congress. It is my hope that we can assist the dynamic and growing communities of my district and adjacent areas by authorizing the feasibility study which is so urgently needed.

ANTISMUT BILL

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which I believe will be very effective in keeping pornographic material out of the hands of minors and in keeping minors away from obscene movies, because it is patterned after a State statute that the Supreme Court has upheld. Under this legislation, it would be a violation of Federal law to knowingly sell, offer for sale, loan, deliver, distribute, or provide to a minor in interstate commerce or through the mails material which is defined as "harmful to minors" under the bill. It would further be a Federal crime under my bill to knowingly exhibit to a minor a motion picture, show, or presentation which falls in the "harmful to minors" category.

For some time the Supreme Court has recognized that "obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech or press." In April of last year the Supreme Court held in *Ginsberg v. New York* (390 U.S. 629), that a New York statute was constitutional which prohibited the sale to persons under 17 years of age of materials defined to be obscene to them even though the same material might not be obscene to adults. My new bill is patterned after the New York statute which was upheld in *Ginsberg*. It would appear from the Court's decision that this approach to the problem of keeping smut out of the hands of our youth would be held constitutional.

The Congress has the power under the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce. That is what this bill would do,

and I do not believe any constitutional freedoms are being violated.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would further remove the appellate jurisdiction on the factual issue of harmfulness to minors, that is, whether a particular material or movie is "harmful to minors" as defined by the bill. What might be considered "harmful to minors" in some areas might not be considered such in other areas. I believe it would be beneficial to permit varying decisions on this point in the district courts, and the Congress is within its constitutional powers in so limiting the appellate jurisdiction.

The flow of smut material to our youth is reaching alarming proportions. Our youth must be protected. With our modern means of communications and transportation, it is almost impossible for parents to keep this type of material out of the hands of their children. Pornographic movies and obscene material can lead to antisocial behavior among our young people, and contributes to juvenile delinquency and all types of sordid behavior. Examples of this degeneracy are found in national magazines and other periodicals and films.

I am hopeful that committee action can soon be taken on this proposal so that the youth can be protected from the ever-increasing smut traffic in this country.

A copy of the legislation with the co-sponsors follows:

H.R. 5171

A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of eighteen years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 71 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"§ 1466. Exposing minors to harmful materials

"(a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly—

"(1) to sell, offer for sale, loan, or deliver in interstate commerce or through the mails to any minor—

"(A) any picture, photograph, drawing, sculpture, motion picture film, or similar visual representation or image of a person or portion of the human body which depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse and which is harmful to minors; or

"(B) any book, pamphlet, magazine, printed matter however reproduced, or sound recording which contains explicit and detailed verbal descriptions or narrative accounts of sexual excitement, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse and which, taken as a whole, is harmful to minors, or

"(2) to exhibit to a minor a motion picture, show, or other presentation which—

"(A) has moved in interstate commerce or through the mails,

"(B) depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse, and

"(C) is harmful to minors.

"(b) Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both for the first offense, and shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than ten years, or both, for any second or subsequent offense.

"(c) As used in this section—

"(1) The term 'minor' means any person under the age of eighteen years.

"(2) The term 'nudity' means the showing of the human male or female genitals, pubic area, or buttocks with less than a full opaque covering, the female breast with less than a fully opaque covering of any portion below the top of the nipple, or the depiction of covered male genitals in a discernibly turgid state.

"(3) The term 'sexual conduct' means acts of masturbation, homosexuality, sexual intercourse, physical contact with a person's clothed or unclothed genitals, pubic area, or buttocks, or, in the case of a female, physical contact with her breast.

"(4) The term 'sexual excitement' means the condition of human or female genitals in a state of sexual stimulation or arousal.

"(5) The term 'sadomasochistic abuse' means flagellation or torture by or upon a person clad in undergarments, a mask, or bizarre costume, or the condition of being fettered, bound, or otherwise physically restrained on the part of one so clothed.

"(6) The term 'harmful to minors' means that quality of any description or representation, in whatever form of nudity, sexual conduct, sexual excitement, or sadomasochistic abuse, which—

"(A) predominantly appeals to the prurient, shameful, or morbid interest of minors;

"(B) is patently offensive to prevailing standards in the adult community as a whole with respect to what is suitable material for minors; and

"(C) is utterly without redeeming social importance for minors.

"(7) The term 'knowingly' means having general knowledge of, or reason to know, or a belief or ground for belief which warrants further inspection or inquiry of—

"(A) the character and content of any material described in subsection (a) which is reasonably susceptible of examination by the defendant, and

"(B) the age of the minor."

(b) The table of sections for chapter 71 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item: "1466. Exposing minors to harmful materials."

SEC. 2. (a) The Supreme Court shall not have jurisdiction under section 1252 or 1253 of title 28, United States Code, to review any determination made under section 1466 of title 18, United States Code, that any material described in subsection (a) of that section is harmful to minors.

(b) The courts of appeal shall not have jurisdiction under section 1291 or 1292 of title 28, United States Code, to review any determination made under section 1466 of title 18, United States Code, that any material described in subsection (a) of that section is harmful to minors.

SEC. 3. This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the sixtieth day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

COSPONSORS

Mr. BENNETT (for himself, Mr. ADAIR, Mr. BARING, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana, Mr. FISHER, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. HALEY, Mr. HEBERT, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. KING, Mr. KYL, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. POAGE, Mr. RARICK, Mr. SCHNEEBELL, Mr. SIKES, Mr. VIGORITO, and Mr. WOLFF).

PROBE OF "PUEBLO" SEIZURE NOW IN ORDER

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

have a direct impact on State programs. Moreover, the field organization of CPEHS will strive to insure that our Federal efforts in consumer protection and environmental health are carried out in the most effective manner in concert with State and local programs.

CHARLES C. JOHNSON, Jr.,
Assistant Surgeon General.

FOOTNOTES

¹ BEAN, E. L. Progress Report on Water Quality Criteria. *Jour. AWWA*, 54: 1313 (Nov. 1962).

² TAYLOR, F. B. Effectiveness of Water Quality Criteria. *Jour. AWWA*, 54: 1313 (Nov. 1257 (Oct. 1962)).

³ DURFOR, C. N. & BECKER, E. Selected Data on Public Supplies of the 100 Largest Cities in the United States, 1962. *Jour. AWWA*, 56: 236 (Mar. 1964).

⁴ *Public Water Supplies of the 100 Largest Cities in the United States*. USGS Water Supply Paper No. 1918. US Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (1962).

⁵ Tentative Methods for Carbon Chloroform Extract (CCE) in Water. *Jour. AWWA*, 54: 223 (Feb. 1962).

⁶ Minutes of Advisory Committee on Use of USPHS Drinking Water Standards. Sep. 24-25, 1965.

PROGRAM INFORMATION ACT

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, a master catalog containing all Federal-aid program information would provide a windfall to many communities throughout the Nation.

Over \$20 billion a year is spent by the U.S. Government for Federal aid, but there is no coordinated system to help guide communities to the funds. Under present conditions, it is almost impossible for any community to find out what Federal aid is available because of the duplication, redtape, and confusion that exists. A remedy must be found.

The solution to the frustrating problem is to consolidate all Federal assistance information. If this would be done, local, county, and State governments would know exactly what U.S. grants and loans can be obtained, what requirements have to be met, and how to apply for the aid.

Thanks to the brilliant work of our colleague, the gentleman from Delaware, WILLIAM V. ROTH, Jr., it has been revealed that the \$20 billion in Federal assistance involves more than 1,000 programs. Examples of overlapping and duplication are many. Representative ROTH, the chief sponsor of the proposed legislation, has cited many, but I will list only a few:

In the field of education, over 470 programs are operated by 25 different U.S. departments and agencies.

There are 112 programs that provide aid to the poor.

Seventy-four programs related to economic and business development.

Eight Cabinet units and 12 agencies take part in health programs.

Ten U.S. agencies in three departments direct manpower programs.

Such an appalling lack of consolidation and coordination must be corrected. I know that if the proposed Program Information Act is enacted, thousands of communities in the country would receive Federal grants amounting to many millions of dollars. These grants would enable thousands of projects to be started and completed that are now only in the planning stage.

As one of the many cosponsors of this measure and as a Member of the House, I commend Representative ROTH and his staff for this magnificent legislative contribution. I hope that every Member will join the other cosponsors and then vote for the proposed Program Information Act if it reaches the House floor.

The bill is one of the most practical and valuable ever introduced for helping local, county, and State governments and should be passed during the 91st Congress.

BROTZMAN URGES AUTHORIZATION FOR EAST SLOPE WATER DEVELOPMENT

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, last year in the 90th Congress my colleague from Colorado, the distinguished chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Mr. ASPINALL) and I sponsored legislation to authorize the Bureau of Reclamation to conduct a feasibility study of the Front Range unit of the Missouri River Basin project. Today the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. ASPINALL) again has introduced this measure and I am pleased to join him as a cosponsor.

Basically, the Front Range unit study would consider the feasibility of constructing reservoirs and other facilities which would increase the supply of water for domestic and industrial use for such cities as Boulder, Longmont, Loveland, Fort Collins, Greeley, Estes Park, Broomfield, Lafayette, and Louisville, Colo.

The budget submitted to Congress on January 16, 1969, includes \$95,000 for such a feasibility study of the Front Range unit, subject, of course, to congressional authorization and appropriations.

As a nation, we are coming to the realization that our water resources are limited. We are realizing that it is not only possible, but probable that our industrial, agricultural, and domestic thirst will exhaust our supply of water, as we now know it.

In my own State of Colorado, and other States of the West and Southwest, the limitation of water supplies has been recognized for decades. Small wars have been fought over the possession of irrigation water. Great court battles have been wages between States over water allocations. The States have been wracked, at times, by arguments between the urban and rural interests over who should have the precious water in times of drought.

Congressional action often has been required to assure full and equitable development of our western water resources. The 90th Congress, for example, will long be remembered, as the Congress which passed one of the landmark bills in the history of comprehensive water planning—the Colorado River Basin projects bill. It was my privilege to join with Members of both parties from Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and California in securing sufficient support for this legislation. As we all know, it passed without substantial opposition.

This act not only will benefit all of the States of the Southwestern United States, but the Nation as a whole will realize tremendous dividends. It would require pages to enumerate these national benefits, but I will mention two which are of towering importance.

The water requirement for eventual development of vast deposits of oil shale now seems assured. This will guarantee the national several centuries of plentiful carbon fuels and petrochemical by-products.

And vast new recreational areas will be developed, thanks to reservoirs which will be built, and roads which will be opened. The Nation has few more pressing requirements, insofar as its pursuit of a life of comfort and dignity for all of its citizens is concerned.

But important as the Colorado River Basin projects are, they concern only a portion of the water resources of the West. This landmark legislation had a direct bearing on the watersheds which ultimately channel into the Gulf of California. Meanwhile, other great river systems—some of them highly developed, some relatively undeveloped—must receive the attention of Congress in the years to come if we are to keep ahead of our great national thirst for water.

The Front Range unit, when completed, will facilitate the development and conservation of a portion of the water resources of the South Platte River Basin in Colorado.

This study would investigate a number of possible reservoir projects on Boulder, St. Vrain Creeks, and the Cache la Poudre River. Augmentation possibilities, improved re-use techniques for cutting losses from seepage and evaporation in existing canals, would be examined.

Flood control benefits to be derived—while a secondary consideration—would be defined.

The water supply problems facing the communities of northeastern Colorado are severe.

For example, despite extensive and expensive water supply facilities installed over the years by the two principal cities of Boulder County—Boulder and Longmont—the Bureau of Reclamation says their water requirements are assured for no more than 15 years. And 15 years is a very short span in the context of city planning.

The Bureau of Reclamation also indicates that three of the smaller communities of Boulder County—primarily Broomfield, Lafayette, and Louisville—probably will need additional water within 10 to 15 years.

ORD, I include two editorials which appeared in the Chicago Daily News and the Chicago Tribune regarding the U.S.S. *Pueblo*.

I have personally forwarded a request to the Committee on Armed Services to conduct a complete investigation of the entire matter since there are circumstances surrounding the seizure and subsequent release of its crew, and more recently the naval court of inquiry proceedings which need to be clarified.

I am in wholehearted accord with the views expressed in both of these editorials, and I believe that the vast majority of the people of my district and the country share this position.

The two editorials follow:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News]

THE "PUEBLO": SITTING DUCK

The more we hear of Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher's testimony, the greater grows the mystery of how the U.S. Navy could have put one of its own ships in the situation of the *Pueblo*. A sitting duck with a broken wing would have had a better chance.

The *Pueblo*, a merchant ship refitted for reconnaissance and surveillance purposes, had no defensive armament worth mentioning. It was once to have had 3-inch guns, but it was decided their weight would swamp the ship. Instead, it got two 50-caliber machineguns—about as useful as BB guns.

Comdr. Bucher said that he had considered the possibility of capture, and had written a letter to the Navy Department proposing that some kind of destruct system be installed in the electronics and cryptographic areas of the ship. The proposal was rejected, and when the time came he was left to do the job with axes and hammers.

At Pearl Harbor on the way to his station, Bucher said, he inquired what would happen if his virtually unarmed ship came under attack. He was told that both the Navy and Air Force had "plans to react," but that in the event of general war he could look for no air assistance. He got none.

Comdr. Bucher said that he had not told his crew they could expect no air support because he didn't want to give them additional concern. One wonders what the luckless crewmen were told when they were assigned to the *Pueblo*. In all the circumstances, theirs was about as hazardous duty as the Navy affords. As for Bucher, he was told the risks were considered "minimal"—and one wonders by what tortured logic that conclusion was reached.

At any rate all such calculations went out the porthole when the U.S.S. *Pueblo* suddenly found itself surrounded by North Korean vessels bristling with guns big enough to blast the *Pueblo* out of the water and fast enough to make escape impossible.

In the circumstances, Comdr. Bucher seems to have done what he could: He took evasive action as the enemy commenced firing, and directed the destruction of classified material. Bucher himself was wounded, but remained in command until he judged further resistance futile, and surrendered.

The evidence is not yet complete, of course. But Sen. Richard B. Russell of the Senate Armed Services Committee had heard enough this week to remark that the testimony indicates "a tragic mixture of errors," and to say that if the testimony holds up, "then someone higher up in the line of command has been guilty of a very grave dereliction of duty."

We trust that the subject will be pursued until the truth is known.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune]

WHO SHOULD BE TRIED BY COURT MARTIAL?

The investigation of the capture of the intelligence ship *Pueblo* by North Korean

Communists opened with testimony by Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, the ship's captain, who spent 11 months in captivity with 82 shipmates. His story bears some distressing parallels to the disaster at Pearl Harbor more than 27 years ago, and again we have the distinct impression that responsibility rests, not with the forces on the scene, but with higher authority in Washington.

Capt. Bucher was given an old merchant ship for conversion to an intelligence-gathering vessel. He made repeated requests to the chief of naval operations for improvements, especially a system to destroy the radar, sonar, and sophisticated electronic equipment aboard on short notice. He was denied all such requests on grounds of time and money.

His armament consisted of two mounted .50-caliber machine guns which were difficult to bring to combat readiness and were manned by less than skilled gun crews. There were 17 other hand weapons aboard.

To destroy confidential documents, he was supplied with an incinerator which was not fuel-fed. It could consume paper only after it had been shredded, and this could not be achieved rapidly under emergency conditions. There was no mechanical means of scuttling the ship. The only way to admit water to the hull was thru two water cooling pipes, and if the ship had been flooded in this manner it would have taken up to two and one-half hours to sink.

Finally, when Comdr. Bucher was assigned to intelligence scanning in international waters off a hostile coast, he was informed that no help from American aircraft could be expected in the event of attack. He agreed with the navy court that the chances of other forces coming to his aid were virtually nonexistent.

The *Pueblo* was taken with scant resistance while crew members used fire axes and sledge hammers—all that were available to them—in an attempt to destroy secret equipment. The ship has remained in communist custody ever since its seizure.

Certainly even this early in the hearing, conducted before five admirals, it is apparent that there were glaring faults of omission in preparing the *Pueblo* for a hazardous reconnaissance mission. Inasmuch as the captain had endeavored with all the force at his command to obtain remedial action before putting to sea, the fault rests in Washington with the naval command.

ALL ACTIVITIES OF MANKIND ARE DEPENDENT UPON THE MINING INDUSTRY

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished men in the mining industry of California is Mr. Lee Rowland who has served for many years as a mining engineer. At the age of 84, Mr. Rowland's interest in this industry, which is truly critical to this Nation's survival, remains active and aggressive. He continues his mining operations and is also the energetic national president of the Western Mining Council, an organization of mining industry spokesmen who are promoting the mining industry.

Throughout his career, Mr. Rowland has given many speeches and written many papers in fighting to preserve the

legitimate mining activity in the Western States. Those of us who have worked with him know that this is an uphill battle but it is a battle which must be fought if this Nation is to remain free and strong. One of the major problems that we face in fighting for the mining industry is the lack of realization among the people of our Nation as to just how dependent we all are on minerals.

Mr. Rowland, who I am proud to say comes from Mariposa, Calif., a community in the heart of the mother lode mining area, which I represent here in Congress made an excellent presentation on this very issue summing it all up with the title: "All Activities of Mankind are Dependent Upon the Mining Industry."

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues from throughout the country may benefit from Mr. Rowland's remarks, I insert them at this point in the RECORD:

ALL ACTIVITIES OF MANKIND ARE DEPENDENT UPON THE MINING INDUSTRY

Abraham Lincoln's message to the miners of the western states, given to Schuyler Colfax who was preparing to leave for the Pacific Coast the day Lincoln was assassinated, was, "I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit. I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it is practically inexhaustible. Tell the miners for me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability; because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation, and we shall prove in a very few years that we are indeed the treasury of the world." Lincoln was a thinking person.

As guest speaker at a mining meeting in Sacramento, California, in the early nineteen thirties, Governor Stephens opened his address with the following statement—"There are only two basic industries; they are Mining and Agriculture. We might exist without mining but we would return to savagery almost over-night. When these two basic industries are in a healthy condition our economy is in a healthy condition."

Without mining there would not, and could not be either industrial prosperity of any kind of progress of, by or for the human race.

In order to verify the foregoing irrefutable statements it is perhaps necessary to present at least a partial analysis in considerable detail with reference to the various phases of man's activities, but first let it be thoroughly understood that it is the Mining Industry which produces the many and various types of minerals and metals used in all industrial activities of the human race.

Transportation: Transportation is one of the most important of our daily needs and activities, yet if it were not for the iron, lead, zinc, copper, aluminum and other minerals produced by mining, there would not, and could not be the hundreds of thousands of automotive vehicles, nor the highways over which they travel. It would be interesting to know the number of persons traveling the highways in an automobile who have ever realized that if it were not for the mining industry they would have neither the automobile nor the highway. There would be no iron for the construction of the body and the manufacture of springs, various gears, engine, drive shaft, wheels and other parts of automotive vehicles; no lead, zinc, copper and aluminum for batteries, wiring, trim, etc., and there would be no bulldozers, graders, compressors, drilling equipment or transportation equipment with which to build and maintain the thousands of miles of highways.

There would be no airborne equipment of any type for transportation of passengers or materials and supplies.

There would be no locomotives, railroad cars or the rails upon which trains travel;

there would not and could not be any ocean going vessels such as passenger ships, freight carrying ships, warships or any other type of ship or boat and no bridges over streams or other bodies of water because all are completely dependent upon the removal of various minerals and metals from the earth by the Mining Industry.

Communication: Communication facilities of all kinds would not and could not exist (as we know them) because there would be no printing presses or paper to use in connection with the presses; no telephone or telegraph equipment; no radio or television sending stations or receiving equipment and no transportation for the distribution of newspapers and other printed material. There would not be the thousands of Post Offices throughout the nation and no buildings, equipment, material and supplies for the processing, handling and delivery of any kind of mail. All are dependent upon the minerals and metals produced by the Mining Industry.

Farming and other agricultural industries: All agricultural products are very important and necessary in connection with the existence, activities and progress of mankind, yet those products are dependent upon the minerals and metals produced by the Mining Industry and without which there would not be the necessary tools, equipment and facilities to carry on such operations. There would be no farming and other agricultural tools and equipment such as hoes, rakes, plows, harrows, mowing machines, cultivating equipment, tractors, trucks, grain and food processing and packaging equipment; no wire or other materials used for fencing; no gardening or lawn tools or equipment and no saws, axes, sawmills, stackers and other equipment for the production and processing of lumber and other wood products, in fact there would be no lumbering industry as we know it.

Food processing: There would be no fruit or other harvesting equipment, processing, canning or bottling facilities and equipment and no refrigeration equipment for the processing of food—and no transportation or labeling equipment for distribution and labeling.

Educational institutions: There would be no educational institutions, buildings or equipment and facilities such as printed books, writing instruments or material, typewriters, adding machines and other equipment, even the desks and tables.

Household appliances and equipment: There would be no household appliances or equipment of any kind, electrical or otherwise, such as washing machines, wringers, irons, vacuum cleaners, cook stoves, heaters, motors, tableware, crockery, organs, pianos and all other types of musical instruments, television or radio equipment, furniture of any kind or type, clocks, refrigerators, wiring for bringing in electricity for lighting and appliance and equipment operation, or any and all other household items used by mankind.

Clothing: There would be no clothing garments including buttons and shoe laces, shoes, hats or other wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment including watches and jewelry of all kinds—all are either manufactured by equipment constructed from, or made of the minerals and metals produced and made available by the Mining Industry.

Sports and recreation: There would be no stadium for field or other sporting events such as baseball, football, hockey, tennis and the Olympic Games or other types of sports as we know them including hunting and fishing. No golf balls, baseballs or bats, hockey sticks and pucks or the type of protective clothing worn by the players, and no ice or roller skates. No guns of any kind for hunting or target shooting and no fishing poles, reels, lines or other equipment and again—no transportation to hunting and fishing locations or crossing the ocean or

flying to various sports festivals. There would be no equipment or facilities for extinguishing fires in the National Forests or recreational areas.

Mining: Even the Mining Industry itself could not function without the use of picks, shovels, mine cars and rails, drills, pumps and drilling equipment, hoisting equipment, underground mucking machines, ventilating pipe and fans, ore treatment plants, trucks, assaying chemicals, equipment and supplies, explosives and all other types of equipment, appliances, material and supplies used in connection with mining activities which are purchased throughout the United States—and all of which dependent upon the Mining Industry. Some of the minerals and metals are being used faster than they are being produced. This applies to gold especially which cannot be mined at a profit at a fixed price of \$35.00 per ounce, made mandatory during 1934.

To sum up the foregoing irrefutable facts—there is not a single manufactured article that would be available for our use if it were not for the Mining Industry, therefore, the stability of our national and world economy and all the progress that has been made, or ever will be made by the human race—even the discovery of America—has been and will continue to be completely dependent upon the extraction and processing of the minerals and metals from the mineralized deposits of the earth by the Mining Industry no matter what type of governmental setup—Capitalistic, Republic, Communist, Socialist or whatever.

Has the reader thought about this matter while enjoying the luxuries, comfort, travel, recreational pursuits and the fact that it is not at all impractical so far as time is concerned—to live in San Francisco and work in Los Angeles as compared with ferry boat transportation from Oakland to San Francisco during the early nineteen hundreds?

Is it too much to hope that thinking people may lend their support to those of us who are selfishly endeavoring to protect the rights of legitimate mining claim holders and the Mining Industry from the harassment of government employees of the people and other organizations that have no concern for the importance and necessity of the Mining Industry?

In conclusion let me say that the necessities in our everyday activities made available by mining is of basic importance and the vital concern of every individual, not just to those of us engaged in or connected with mining or other extractive operations.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA-BIAFRA

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON
OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. Speaker, as one of 87 cosponsors of the concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should act to increase significantly the amount of surplus food stocks and relief moneys for the assistance of civilians affected by the Nigerian-Biafran conflict, I wish to support passage of the proposed resolution through the following remarks.

THE RELIEF PROBLEM

The area in Nigeria requiring relief includes the former eastern region, which proclaimed itself the Republic of Biafra in May 1967, and certain areas of the midwest state. Best estimates available

indicate that at least 4.5 million, and perhaps as many as 10 million people are affected by the conflict. Reports from relief experts on the scene vary, but it is clear that vast numbers of civilians have been dying daily, particularly children afflicted by malnutrition.

As a result of the worldwide relief response, a large-scale relief effort has been operating under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross—ICRC—in cooperation with other international relief agencies. Observers have noted a decline in infant mortality due to the influx of protein foods, but it is now feared that local carbohydrate foods are being exhausted, which will lead to an intensification of the disaster.

THE RELIEF EFFORT

In the areas under the control of the Federal Government, food, medicine, and other relief supplies are stockpiled in and being distributed from Zagos, Enugu, Calabar and Agbor. Most of the supplies for Biafra are being stockpiled on the offshore islands of Fernando Po and Sao Tome for delivery by airlift.

As of the first of January, relief supplies reaching Biafra totaled 3,000 to 4,000 tons per month. There are approximately 260 relief personnel representing the ICRC and other relief organizations in Biafra. The ICRC estimates that it is feeding 850,000 persons in Biafra through its airlift from Fernando Po and 800,000 persons in areas under Federal Government control. Additionally, joint church aid, a group of religious organizations including Caritas and Church World Service, have delivered considerable supplies of food into Biafra from Sao Tome and estimate they are feeding approximately 400,000 people in Biafra.

The United States has thus far made about two-thirds of the global contribution for relief in Nigeria-Biafra. As of January 1, the U.S. Government has donated a total of \$22.6 million in cash and surplus food commodities. Of this total, \$5.9 million in cash has been provided to the International Red Cross. A major part of the U.S. Government contribution to the ICRC is used for the chartering of aircraft for the airlift to Biafra. On December 27 the U.S. Government announced that it was making available for the airlift to Biafra four surplus C-97 cargo aircraft to the ICRC and an additional four to the American voluntary agencies participating in joint church aid.

Of the total U.S. Government contribution, \$15.6 million in surplus food—dried milk, bulgur wheat, and high-protein blended food products totaling over 51,000 tons—have been donated to voluntary relief agencies. The Catholic Relief Services is receiving \$5.6 million of these foods; UNICEF, \$6.2 million; Church World Service, \$3.6 million; and World Food Program, \$161,000. The U.S. Government also has paid overseas transport costs of the relief supplies donated by accredited American voluntary agencies.

The private American voluntary organizations have made substantial donations of food and other supplies totaling more than \$4.1 million as of January 1 on behalf of the relief effort.

EXECUTIVE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE IN 1898 MADE PUBLIC

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

S. RES. 69

Resolved, That any records of the proceedings of the executive sessions of the Senate for April 25, May 18, and May 31, 1898 (see references in Congressional Record, 55th Congress, second session, volume 31, part 5, pages 4244, 4994, and 5352) now in the custody of the National Archives, be made available to the public for examination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 69) was considered and agreed to.

GRANT TO ILLINOIS CENTRAL QUESTIONED

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of a telegram I sent to Hon. John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, in connection with the \$25 million grant to the Illinois Central.

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

January 25, 1969.

HON. JOHN A. VOLPE, Secretary of Transportation, Washington, D.C.:

The twenty-five million-dollar grant to Illinois Central at same time they were negotiating a \$95,000 position for Allan Boyd, the Director of Transportation, raises serious questions of propriety. Strongly recommend that this grant be held up pending thorough investigation.

JOHN J. WILLIAMS, U.S. Senator.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the Navy is now conducting a court of inquiry into the loss of the Pueblo. The duty of this court of inquiry is to determine the facts of the incident as they pertain to the Navy, and on the basis of those facts, to recommend to the Chief of Naval Operations what action should be taken. The court of inquiry is not a trial court, but a proceeding more in the nature of a grand jury.

The court of inquiry may, depending upon the facts, recommend several actions ranging from commendation to court-martial. It has been reported by the press that one of the matters being considered by the court of inquiry is whether or not any Navy personnel, particularly the commander of the U.S.S. Pueblo, violated Navy orders or were derelict in their duty to the extent that the disobedience of orders, or the dereliction of duty, permitted the ship to be taken by hostile forces.

Without commenting on the merits of the case as to that question, or as to any question that the Navy inquiry relates to, I point out that a Navy court of inquiry has the authority to take testimony on a question of that kind and to make findings on it. In fact, it is its duty.

However, the fact that such testimony is taken on that question does not imply that any person is guilty or even accused of a wrongful act.

It is my understanding that the authority of the Navy court of inquiry is limited to an examination of only the aspects of the Pueblo case as are wholly within the jurisdiction of the Navy. I assume the Navy officers in charge convened the court of inquiry because they believed it to be the proper procedure. This is their prerogative and responsibility. They are acting through a sense of duty, I feel sure.

However, after studying all the information material to the overall issue, as well as the available facts that pertain just to the Navy, I think it is entirely possible that because its jurisdiction is limited, the Navy court of inquiry will not be able to investigate all phases of the Pueblo incident that should be examined.

Not until the full facts are known about all the relevant circumstances that existed, and events which took place before, during, and after the seizure of the Pueblo, will it be possible to ascertain the reasons the ship was lost and take protective measures against another such incident.

Although the Pueblo is a Navy ship, the responsibility for the policies and conditions under which its officers and men served were sought by other authorities at higher levels in the Department of Defense.

On the basis of facts now being developed, it might be that the Senate Armed Services Committee would find it necessary to determine the facts of the case as to its own responsibility, as well as the Navy and other authorities in the Department of Defense.

Even though we wanted to begin an investigation immediately, it is impractical and virtually impossible to conduct more than one investigation of this incident at a time. Witnesses are required for the Navy hearing now in progress on the west coast. Also, it would not be proper to interfere with the hearing now in progress.

It may be that when the Navy court of inquiry is completed, much of that testimony would be useful in other hearings on the issue.

If, after this Navy court of inquiry is completed, it appears that further investigation is necessary, the Senate Armed Services Committee will proceed.

Should the committee proceed, it will not be limited to the proof before nor the findings by the Navy court.

Whatever action is taken by the committee should be taken as soon as possible after the Navy court of inquiry is completed.

I have, therefore, informed the Secretary of Defense that it is likely the Senate Armed Services Committee will desire to make a study of the Pueblo incident. I also requested that the witnesses not be transferred or allowed to accept other commitments which would prevent their being readily available.

I want to say with emphasis that, in my opinion, it would be highly impractical—it should not happen—for the committee to proceed now into hearings on the investigation—and that is just the rudimentary part of the study—until after the Navy has completed its inquiry and has made its findings, as I would expect it to do very soon thereafter.

Certainly, I want to say that our committee is not waiting to influence the Navy and its findings as a result of its proceedings, or other conclusions in any way. The Navy has a direct, primary responsibility in the field of its inquiry.

I hope and believe that all the Congress will be patient. I believe all informed people will be patient. I hope the people of the country as a whole will inform themselves as to just what the situation is and await accordingly.

There is no intimation from what I have said here as to what our committee feels about what the Navy should do. I believe in putting responsibility where responsibility belongs. I have no idea what, according to the Navy's standards, its conclusions will be. That is our position. I hope that is clear.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. First, I congratulate heartily the distinguished Senator from Mississippi upon the stand he has taken. It is, of course, right that the Navy court of inquiry should proceed in a deliberate way to fulfill its duty to the Navy, and under the Navy precedents and Navy jurisdiction. I am happy, however, that the Senator, speaking as chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, has, in effect, given notice to the Defense Department and to the Navy Department that his able committee, which he heads so capably, does stand ready, if it feels conditions justify it, to make a committee inquiry and a senatorial inquiry into this matter at the completion of the hearings now underway.

Mr. President, I say this because I think that while the Navy Department must proceed under Navy rules, regulation, precedents, and traditions, the Senate represents the people of the United States. The Senator knows, and every Senator knows, that there is great confusion in the minds of the people of the United States right now about this entire incident. I think it was a salutary thing for the Senator to say, as he has today upon the floor of the Senate, that his committee is watching this matter deliberately and without prejudging of any sort, is holding itself ready, and is giving notice to the Navy authorities and to the authorities of the Defense Department, that, if in its judgment it feels it must go into it after the naval court of inquiry has completed its proceedings, his committee will do just that.

I thank the Senator.
Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator very much.

I am glad to get the response of the Senator from Florida. I believe his response will be similar to that of almost every Member after Senators really get into the facts and see this matter in its true perspective.

Let me say to the American people that it is time to be patient about this matter and withhold conclusions, and let these procedures go forth in the regular way. However it comes out, I think the Navy ought to continue to have much responsibility with regard to its officers. If we tried to shift that responsibility and have it another way, we would destroy a great department and a great tradition, the Navy.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am so happy that the Senator has emphasized the matter of public patience and senatorial patience. The Senator from Florida has taken exactly that course to answer the myriad of letters he has received from disturbed citizens, mostly from the State of Florida but some from elsewhere.

I think it is incumbent upon all of us to allow the naval court of inquiry to complete its duties in the fullest and most deliberate way and then decide, after we have seen the record and after we have seen the judgment of the court of inquiry, what should be done. I am glad the Senator has voiced the necessity for patience, because I think the public needs to be patient just now.

I thank the Senator for the wise statement he has made.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator. As far as the Navy and the Defense Department are concerned, I have not really discussed this matter with them. I did not want to try to influence them, and I did not want them, frankly, to try to influence me at this time. I have obtained the facts as I could. I think the public will be fully informed in time.

I yield the floor.

CLARK CLIFFORD'S POSTURE STATEMENT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as all thinking men and women know, there is now a very clear choice for the United States and the Soviet Union to make. The two nations can either make serious attempts to limit their military arsenals or they can continue to escalate the arms race. Then, each country would place new burdens on its people and on its economy, would defer expenditures to meet critical domestic needs, and move the hands on the doomsday clock closer to midnight as each side raised the ante in a gigantic war of nerves.

No one has pointed out the problems we face and the choices we must make more clearly than has former Secretary Clark Clifford in the "posture" statement he made about the Pentagon's view of the military situation.

There are constructive steps we can take to meet these overriding problems.

It is abundantly clear that the Senate should ratify the nonproliferation treaty now. It has been too long delayed and should be acted upon promptly.

It is also clear that now is the time to make arrangements with the Soviet Union to talk about all the great problems of disarmament. To escalate further by producing more missiles and more warheads and then spend billions for anti-ballistic-missile systems to defend against the added weapons created, is a ridiculous thing to do. We must make every effort to reach agreement.

The Washington Star in an editorial last Friday, January 24, had some very sensible things to say about both Mr. Clifford's valedictory statement and the need to deescalate the arms race. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

CLIFFORD'S VALEDICTION

There is a three-course dinner for thought in Clark Clifford's first and final "posture" statement on the Pentagon's view of the world military situation. The interest is compounded by the Soviet offer for disarmament negotiations that greeted the Nixon administration as it assumed office.

By the end of 1969, Clifford said, the U.S. missile superiority will have eroded. The Soviets will have caught up. Both sides will have more than 1,000 ICBMs, ready to fire from protected, underground shelters. In addition, he said, the USSR is "moving vigorously" to catch the United States in sea-based missiles.

It was not Clifford's purpose to throw a scare into the American public with his revelation that the missile gap is closing.

The outgoing secretary's point was that the United States and Russia both have a hard choice to make. They must either move into a new and limitless round of arms development. Or they can try to negotiate a limit to the costly and deadly madness.

The Soviets have greeted the new administration with an offer to talk about all aspects of disarmament, including intercontinental missiles and anti-missile systems. "When the Nixon government is ready to sit down at the negotiating table, we are ready" a Kremlin spokesman said.

There should be no delay. The first order of business should be the prompt ratification of the non-proliferation treaty. And as soon as it can possibly be arranged, the United States should press, with all appropriate caution, for full-scale arms talks with the Soviets.

Both nations need relief from the economic burden of another upward spiral of the arms race. The world needs some lifting of the oppressive nuclear cloud that presently covers its horizon. This period of change and of renewed beginning may be the best opportunity for real progress.

THE PEARSON-ANDERSON COLUMN TELLS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, in today's Washington Post, columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson reveal the awesome dimensions of the wave of crime and violence which threatens our Republic.

In the column, Pearson and Anderson discuss the contents of a hitherto unpublished report by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

The report catalogs the statistical evidence of the corruptness which threatens to undermine our free society.

Importantly, however, Pearson and Anderson quote the report as stating:

The intricacies of crime statistics have little meaning for the average citizen. . . . He appears less impressed with numbers and rates and trends than with the fact that there seem to be increasingly large sections of his city where he cannot walk safely even in daylight, much less at night, and that it is now dangerous in many communities for bus drivers to carry cash or for taxis to pick up fares in certain parts of town after dark. . . . It has also prompted many citizens to arm themselves for self-protection.

Mr. President, I have not yet seen the report in question, but from the Pearson-Anderson account it appears to be a document that all of us would do well to read.

I ask unanimous consent that the Pearson-Anderson column be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 28, 1969]
THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND: REPORT SHOWS VIOLENCE GRIPPING UNITED STATES

(By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson)

Probably the most sobering document President Nixon has found on his desk is a "progress report" on violence in America, depicting the country in the grip of a fury that has erupted on the campuses and exploded in the ghettos, that stalks the streets and may even lie in wait for himself behind some dark window.

The unpublished report, prepared by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, raises more questions than it answers. But seven task forces are still digging for the root causes of some of the most turbulent years in American history.

In the past five years, the report points out:

1. "239 violent urban outbursts, involving 200,000 participants, have resulted in nearly 8,000 injuries and 191 deaths, as well as hundreds of millions of dollars in property damage."

2. 370 civil rights demonstrations and 80 counter-demonstrations have occurred, involving more than a million participants.

3. Hundreds of student demonstrations "have resulted in seizure of university facilities, police intervention, riot, property damage and even death."

4. Antiwar protests "have involved some 700,000 participants in cities and on campuses throughout the country."

The Commission also cited the soaring crime statistics, particularly the homicide rate, noting: "A dramatic contrast may be made between Manhattan Island, with a population of 1.7 million, which has more homicides per year than all of England and Wales with a population of 49 million. And New York's homicide rates are by no means the highest among American cities."

Concludes the Commission: "The elimination of all violence in a free society is impossible. But the better control of illegitimate violence in our democratic society is an urgent imperative and one within our means to accomplish."

Even before he was sworn in, President Nixon had decided to devote his first 100 days to cooling the passions that have inflamed the country. He will deliberately avoid controversy and conflict. In the language of the streets, he has told intimates he intends to "cool it."

The magnitude of the headache Mr. Nixon has inherited is summarized in the report on violence which the Commission submitted to President Johnson on Jan. 9.

We have obtained a bootleg copy of the report, which covers all forms of American

January 28, 1969

SCHERLE CALLS FOR BIPARTISAN PROBE OF "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

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

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a resolution designed to create a special Joint House and Senate Bipartisan Committee to consider the events leading up to the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*. This special joint committee would be comprised of 16 members, one-half from Members selected by the Speaker of the House, and one-half appointed by the President of the Senate.

News reports of the Naval Board of Inquiry into the *Pueblo* incident have raised questions as to the ultimate responsibility for this sordid affair. Testimony released to date indicates that the responsibility for the capture and subsequent imprisonment of 82 Americans was the result of indecision and inaction in the highest echelons of the administrative branch of our Government.

Two weeks ago I visited personally with Commander Bucher and many members of the crew of the *Pueblo*. I was asked repeatedly by them, "Why wasn't our call for help answered? We held out as long as we could, but help never came."

That question has haunted me and brought a sense of guilt regarding the conduct of many of our Nation's top officials. The information made public so far shows that the White House, the State Department, and the Defense Department were caught short of policy, short of plans, and short of guts. In defending the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, responsible military personnel passed the buck because no one knew what to do or would accept the responsibility for doing it; the usual timidity exercised by the State Department handicapped immediate and effective action; and the White House was thrown into chaotic fear, precluding the exercise of judgement, which allowed a defenseless U.S. naval vessel to fall into Communist hands. Despite the fact that the ship made numerous calls for help, none ever came—why?

The proceedings of the Naval Board of Inquiry to date are producing many unanswered questions. Press reports state that the Air Force will not be called to testify as to its role in this matter. Why not?

A full-scale congressional inquiry is demanded by the American people and they deserve nothing less.

PORNOGRAPHY—THE RISING TIDE OF SMUT

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

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, on April 15, 1968, Public Law 90-206 went into effect, a law designed to help Americans stem the floodtide of obscenity engulfing the mailboxes and minds of our youth.

I called attention to Public Law 90-206 in March of 1968, hoping to alert the parents of my district to this weapon for fighting smut with the following statement, made public at that time:

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 20, 1968.—Representative Henry C. Schadeberg (R-Wisc.), said today that beginning on April 15, First District parents will be able to "at least partially slam the door on smut mail now flowing like a sewer into the hands of our children and homes."

The Wisconsin Congressman said that on April 15 Public Law 90-206 goes into effect, which allows householders to "fight back against obscene material sent to their homes by advertisers of obscene mail both in District Courts where it is received or where it originates. We can police our own mail boxes now," he said.

Congressman Schadeberg outlined the following three steps that can be taken on April 15 and thereafter and he urged "civic groups, church groups, the PTA and other community organizations to assist parents, who wish to protest the mailings and slam the door on future ones."

1. If you receive an advertisement which you judge to be obscene, write a letter to the Postmaster General in Washington, D.C., or to your local Postal Inspector. Demand that he send an order to the mailer directing him to remove your name and address immediately from all of his mailing lists. You may also request that the Postmaster General's order include the names of any minor children and other family members at your address.

2. If you continue to receive questionable mail in violation of the order, you may then request the Attorney General to seek a court order against the smut mail advertiser.

3. If you then get a court order and still receive the smut mail, the sender will be subject to contempt of court citations and a possible jail sentence.

He said that by the April 15th deadline his District as well as his Washington Office would have forms available which will be sent to the parents on request, which "will be handy for parents who wish to protest the mailings."

Congressman Schadeberg said that he is also investigating the possibility of amending Public Law 90-206 or introducing new legislation which would make it illegal for advertisers to sell or otherwise obtain the names of citizens for advertising mail solicitations without the permission of the individual.

"It is my feeling that something can and should be done in this area, not only as a step forward in terminating obscene mailings but to help take the burden off the backs of our postmen and our mail service, and alleviate some of the perpetual annoyance from junk mail deliveries." The Congressman said that "a man's name is one of his most valued possessions, yet it is bandied about, sold, re-sold, stolen and otherwise covertly obtained without his consent."

He said the legislation he will seek would exempt mailings by political organizations, Veteran's groups, community schools, church and service organizations and would be "aimed squarely at where the problem lies, in the back rooms of smut peddlers and others who invade our privacy via the U.S. Mails."

He noted that, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, regards smut as a serious problem, one that is conducive to creation of crime. Hoover declares: "It is impossible to estimate the amount of harm to impressionable teenagers and to assess the volume of sex crimes attributable to pornography, but its influence is extensive." He points out that police throughout the Nation "unequivocally state that lewd and obscene material plays a motivating role in sexual violence. In case after case, the sex criminal has on his person or in his possession pornographic literature or pictures."

"The new legislation provides the American householder with an effective, enforceable, tough law against invasion of moral

privacy by smut peddlers using the mails. It allows the recipient to decide what kind of mail is to be delivered in the family mail. It is a solid step toward guaranteeing individual rights," Congressman Schadeberg said. He said his office will have a form letter available without cost for parents to send to local postmasters, plus one requesting the Attorney General of the United States to take legal action if smut peddlers persist in their obscene mailings.

"Parents will not have to put up a cent in costs, other than the price of a postage stamp in putting a stop to the unwanted mail," he said.

Congressman Schadeberg said he is distributing the form letters to newspapers and urging them as a public service, to print them so parents can clip them out and use them for immediate communication with the proper officials.

Mr. Speaker, I was hopeful at the time I made the above statement that the muck-peddlers would find it more difficult to peddle their filthy wares. Such has not been the case, I am sorry to report.

I believe the fault with Public Law 90-206 was not in its intent but in the nature of the enforcing arm on which the Congress leaned in order to help clean up the mails. The Post Office Department is a service organization or agency, designed and charged with the single purpose of delivering the mails. It is not an enforcement agency. It is neither equipped nor has the time to pursue this new obligation, according to the information I have in respect to the problem of policing pornography.

I am now convinced that Congress must do more in this area. With this conviction in mind I am today submitting new legislation to attack the problem of smut mailing from another starting point—the producers of this filth and the mailing list brokers who supply them with the names for their filthy mailings.

A person's name is as sacred as his privacy and his reputation. It is the private property of each American and it should be illegal for anyone, for any purpose, to bandy our names about for any purpose whatsoever, without the express consent of each one of us.

Daily I receive letters from my constituents expressing their amazement and disgust over receiving filthy materials through the mail. In several instances the smut material is addressed by hand and sent from some hotel in a foreign country. Recently I came into possession of a particularly vicious smut mailing. It was sent to a young college girl, whose name, I am certain, was secured from her high school annual, which, according to custom, is placed in the public library in her community and is thereby available for any caller to copy from at will.

There are thousands of others just like this young miss, hundreds in fact from the high school from which she graduated. I can only assume that each year each graduating class is to have the names of its young female graduates punched into the smut mill forcing them to become the prey of every diseased pornography peddler in the publishing business.

I believe this should not only be stopped but made illegal. And I believe it can be if Congress will approve the

legislation I am submitting, making a Federal offense to use the name of any individual without the clear consent of that individual, whatever his or her age and status in life. I believe that stiff penalties should be provided for name brokers who violate the restrictions in my bill when it becomes law. The bill is as follows:

H.R. 4850

A bill to require mailing list brokers to register with the Postmaster General, and suppliers and buyers of mailing lists to furnish information to the Postmaster General with respect to their identity and transactions involving the sale or exchange of mailing lists, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 53 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 4061. Registration of mailing list brokers; furnishing of information with respect to mailing lists

"(a) Each broker engaged in the sale or exchange of mailing lists shall file with the Postmaster General a registration statement, in such form and detail as the Postmaster General shall determine, which shall cover, among other matters prescribed by the Postmaster General, (1) the name under which he is doing business, (2) the scope and general character of the business, (3) the location of his principal business office, and (4) the names and addresses of the directors and the chief executive officers if the broker is a corporation, association, partnership, or other business association.

"(b) Each individual and each corporation, partnership, or other business organization or association using, buying, selling, renting, exchanging, or otherwise making available to others any mailing list shall, on request, furnish to the Postmaster General, in such form and detail, and at such times, as he shall determine, information respecting (1) the name of the individual, corporation, partnership, or other business association or organization, and (2) the identity of individuals having a financial interest in any such organization or association, including the responsible officers and employees thereof. Postal officials, upon request, shall be permitted to examine records and particulars of transactions or mailings pertaining to any such mailing list.

"(c) As used in this section, 'broker' means any person who engages either for all or part of his time, directly or indirectly, as agent, dealer, or principal, in the business of offering, buying, selling, or otherwise dealing or trading in mailing lists owned, rented, or used by another person.

"(d) The Postmaster General shall make appropriate rules and regulations to carry out the purposes of this section. Such regulations shall provide that a broker shall obtain the written consent of each person to be included on such list before placing the name of such person on such list and that a broker or user of such list shall remove the name of such person from such list on the request of such person."

(b) The table of contents of chapter 53 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting—

"4061. Registration of mailing list brokers; furnishing of information by suppliers, buyers, and users of mailing lists."

immediately below

"4060. Foreign publications free from customs duty."

SEC. 2. (a) Chapter 83 of title 18, United States Code, relating to offenses against the postal service, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 1735. Mailing list brokers, suppliers, buyers, and users"

"Whoever, being required by section 4061 of title 39, United States Code, to furnish information to the Postmaster General, fails or refuses to furnish such information as the Postmaster General shall request under such section, or violates any regulation of the Postmaster General under such section, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not to exceed one year, or both."

(b) The table of contents of such chapter 83 is amended by inserting

"1735. Mailing list brokers, suppliers, buyers, and users."

immediately below

"1734. Editorials and other matter as 'advertisements'."

SEC. 3. The foregoing provisions of this Act shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. Speaker, obviously, certain exceptions must be made—for the Red Cross, veterans organizations, city and State governments, and other legitimate organizations who use such information for legitimate purposes. I would expect that an appropriate committee of Congress will conduct hearings on my measure, eliciting information from decent publishers and organizations, all of whom, I feel certain, are equally anxious to clean out the smut mailers, who not only poison the minds of our young with their filth but add immensely to the taxpayer's burden of paying for our postal services.

The legislation I propose would require name brokers to register with the Postmaster General of the United States, who shall be provided with additional funds and help for the purpose of collating information concerning all mailing brokers, legitimate or otherwise. Once collected, on an annual basis, such information shall be turned over to the Department of Justice, which holds the enforcement power to punish lawbreakers and which has the know-how and the personnel to handle such matters. I would further amend Public Law 90-206, turning over to the Department of Justice the assignment of recipient for complaints concerning smut from the people and for corrective action where warnings are ignored or violations occur.

One other aspect of the pornography flood engulfing our young minds that needs reexamination concerns the establishment in 1967 of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

There are several things wrong with this effort and organization. The Commission has been supplied with \$643,000 for operating expenses and salaries. No interim reports are required as to how these funds are being used or what progress is being made. The Commission does not have to give an accounting until July 31, 1970. I mention these factors, not in criticism of its distinguished members, but lay the blame at our own doorstep for not writing tighter legislation so that the American people might have an opportunity to take part or determine how well the fight against smut peddlers is going. I believe the 91st Congress might well amend H.R. 16489 to require an interim report. I believe further that Congress should signify its intent for the Commission to report to an appropriate committee of the Congress from time to time. I hesitate to suggest which com-

mittee of Congress this might be, prior to consulting with the leadership, but the urgency of the need for action is so imperative that I offer the suggestion that either the new House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct or the Government Operations Committee may well be appropriate bodies for riding herd on the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

I will also, at the proper time, submit to Congress legislation designed to make permanent an investigative subcommittee of the House, staffed and instructed to pursue the problem of smut mailing and filth peddling on a permanent basis, with appropriate reports to Congress on a regular basis.

The present setup and composition of the Commission follows:

COMMISSION ON OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

AUTHORITY

Public Law 90-100, October 3, 1967.

RESPONSIBILITY

To study the nature and volume of traffic in obscene and pornographic materials. To study effects of obscenity and pornography on minors. To recommend legislative, administrative, and other appropriate action that the Commission may feel necessary to regulate the flow of such traffic without interfering with constitutional rights. To evaluate existing laws pertaining to obscenity and pornography and to evaluate and recommend definitions therefor.

MEMBERSHIP

Eighteen members appointed by the President, composed of persons having expert knowledge in fields of obscenity and antisocial behavior; and with special competence with respect to obscenity laws and their effect on juveniles.

William B. Lockhart (Chairman), Dean, University of Minnesota School of Law.

Edward D. Elson, President, Atlanta News Agency, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Edward D. Greenwood, Psychiatrist, Menninger Clinic, Topeka, Kans.

Rev. Morton A. Hill, S.J., Executive Secretary, Operation Yorkville, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Dr. C. William Jones, Assistant Professor of Broadcast Film Art, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.

Honorable Kenneth B. Keating, Associate Judge, New York Court of Appeals, Albany, N.Y.

Dr. Joseph T. Klapper, Director, Social Research, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Otto N. Larsen, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

Rabbi Irving Lehman, Temple Emanu-El, Miami Beach, Fla.

Freeman Lewis, Executive Vice President, Pocket Books, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Rev. Winfrey C. Link, Executive Director, Four-Fold Challenge Campaign, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Morris A. Lipton, Professor of Psychiatry and Director of Research Development.

Hon. Thomas C. Lynch, Attorney General, State of California.

Barbara Scott, Associate Counsel, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Cathryn A. Speits, Instructor, South Dakota School of Mines, Rapid City, S. Dak.

Dr. Frederick H. Wagman, Director, University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dr. Marvin E. Wolfgang, Director, Center for Criminological Research, University of Pennsylvania.

STAFF

An office for the Commission staff was set up in Washington in August, and is located at Suite 500, 1016-16th Street, N.W. Their telephone number is 382-8655. The staff di-

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who had been put in charge of "the other war." Each of thousands of hamlets had received one of six security designations. The designation for each hamlet evolved from about 15 criteria, each of which, in turn, had been measured on a quantitative scale.

I remember having been struck by the fact that the progress of pacification had never before been charted so scientifically. It seemed to me, however, that the criteria had little to do with hearts and minds and even less to do with Revolutionary Development. Since the whole thrust of our intervention was counterrevolutionary and since economic and political development was impossible under the circumstances, this almost had to be the case. While the information fed into the computer may have been narrowly factual, the inferences that resulted were wholly insupportable. And yet it was understandable that President Johnson and others in his Administration were impressed, half-way around the world from Saigon, by the progress Komer reported right up to the eve of the Tet offensive.

VI

If such statistical concepts as the poverty line, full employment, and body counts have caused misinterpretation in the past, so have the full-blown analytical systems that are based on quantitative data. The most widely used of these in the government is the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System, known familiarly, if not lovingly, as PPBS.

PPBS, briefly stated, is a system of planning whereby each individual agency or department is required to identify the specific goals of its programs, discuss the alternative ways in which those goals might be achieved, and then quantify the results of the programs it is pursuing. It imposes upon each agency a requirement for disciplined thinking that did not exist before, and it is clearly a more useful way of looking at governmental expenditures than was the old line-item basis (personnel, supplies and materials, travel, etc.). Because PPBS had been widely and efficiently used in the Department of Defense under Secretary McNamara, President Johnson ordered that it be installed throughout the government in 1966.

But here, as in the world of statistics, there are subtle and treacherous pitfalls: faulty assumptions, the downgrading or distortion of matters which cannot be quantified, and the fatal error of supposing that technical procedures can eliminate the agony of decision.

Its inherent dangers have been recognized by two of the foremost scholars in the field of national security. Dr. Thomas C. Schelling of Harvard University has warned that PPBS is a procedure "whose worth depends on the skill and wisdom of the people who use it" and that "quantitative data can be subtly made prominent to the detriment of important qualitative considerations." Dr. James R. Schlesinger, director of strategic studies at the RAND Corporation, has emphasized that "analysis is not a scientific procedure for reaching decisions which avoids intuitive elements, but rather a mechanism for sharpening the intuitions of the decision-maker."

As PPBS spread throughout the government, most agencies found that their most difficult task was the attempt to quantify the benefits of its programs. The danger was and is that the areas which do not lend themselves to accurate measurement—who can quantify the benefits of diplomacy, national parks, education?—will be regarded as less important than those areas which do.

VII

When Wilbur J. Cohen was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, he once said that the chief statistician of HEW and his staff "do more to determine HEW programs than all the other officials in the Department."

Was he kidding? Maybe he was, and then again maybe he wasn't. In either case, his statement dramatizes the fact that statistics carry great weight in determining government policies and programs.

I myself find it amazing, and sometimes frightening, to observe the extraordinary prestige of statistics both inside and outside of the government. For a recent example of its national pervasiveness, we need go back only as far as the recent Presidential campaign, in which the Gallup and Harris polls played such a decisive role in shaping the candidates' respective strategies that their role in determining the outcome clearly exceeded that in any previous Presidential campaign.

Within the government, statistics in the '60's have reached such a pinnacle that men of affairs often become known by the statistics they keep. Until the last two years or so of his Administration, President Johnson's imposition of the latest popularity polls upon his visitors was a mark of his style. John F. Kennedy's attack on the Eisenhower Administration in 1960 centered on statistical comparisons of economic growth and missile stockpiles. President Nixon's discussions of law and order during the recent campaign rarely failed to mention statistics concerning the increase in crime.

When I emerged from the obscurity of academic life to become U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, I was startled to discover that I was good copy because I issued the figures on inflation and unemployment. To the amusement of my colleagues and the gratification of my wife, I was often described as "the Nation's leading expert" on subjects about which I knew little.

I did discover, however, that positivism has triumphed in statistics, as it has in other sciences, so that statistics consists of technical procedures quite independent of content or purpose. I found the most government statisticians are principally concerned with techniques, which have greatly improved in recent decades. But their outlook is often too narrow to encompass the larger role of numbers in public life. Like horses who obediently pull a wagon over a cliff, they exercise great skill in producing numbers but have little sophistication concerning their use and misuse. Although statisticians like to think that they are constantly warning policy-makers against misuse, what they usually warn them about is the limited sample or the possible range of error, rather than the one-dimensional quality of the statistics themselves.

What I have said in these few pages may strike the reader as anti-statistical and anti-intellectual, but that is not my intent. I strongly believe that leaders need every available aid to understanding the murk and chaos of life. My concern is not with science, but with the abuse of science. It is human ignorance, indolence, and incuriosity which permit statistical data to be perceived as objective verities rather than as the shadowy hints and clues they most often are.

We need more and better statistics in order to illuminate our problems more fully. But we must remember that statistics, indispensable as they are and improved as they may become, cannot substitute for the intuitive feel of a problem resulting from firsthand exposure. Shoe leather and the human mind will always be needed more than statistics when complex and qualitative judgments must be made. So will leaders who can confront ambiguity without heading for the nearest statistical escape hatch.

THE "PUEBLO" INQUIRY

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to a great American and a distinguished son of Nebraska. I refer to

Comdr. Lloyd Bucher of the ill-fated U.S.S. *Pueblo*.

Nebraskans are proud of Commander Bucher for his years of distinguished service to his country. We point with pride that Commander Bucher grew up and graduated from high school at Father Flanagan's Home for Boys at Omaha, Nebr., and that later he graduated from the University of Nebraska. His rise to a place of responsibility is in the noblest of American traditions.

For some days, Commander Bucher has been giving forthright testimony. The fact that no help was sent to him is just as historically true as the fact that the *Pueblo* was seized. I suggest that Commander Bucher not be harshly judged by Monday morning quarterbacks who were so silent and inactive on the fateful day—January 23, 1968—when the *Pueblo* was attacked, chased, fired upon, and seized by Communist vessels.

I am sure that Commander Bucher wants to be helpful, not only now but also in the future, in cooperating with various agencies of our Government. But I do point out the great suffering that this man already has endured, and I would express the hope that he not unnecessarily be subjected to repetitious congressional or other investigations.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE REPORTS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROGRESS

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recently reported a significant increase in the desegregation of formerly dual school systems in 11 Southern States. The percentage increase—from about 14 percent in September 1967 to more than 20 percent a year later—may not seem particularly impressive unless one looks behind the statistics.

A brief summary of what has happened in the area of school desegregation will illustrate what I mean. In 1963, 9 years after the Supreme Court had declared that dual, racially-segregated school systems were unconstitutional, 1 percent of the Negro students in the Southern States attended school with whites. School segregation—unconstitutional separation of youngsters by race—was widespread, the decision of the Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding. In 1964, the Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act with its prohibition in title VI against using Federal funds to assist programs which discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national origin. Title VI was implemented on a small scale at HEW in 1965 and provided with the appropriations needed for a larger staff a year later.

In September 1968, little more than 3 years after the implementation of the title VI program at HEW, the school desegregation figure in the 11 Southern States stood at 20 percent. And in school systems desegregating under plans negotiated to meet the requirements of title VI, the figure was higher—25.6 percent.

In other words, Mr. President, the school desegregation figure between 1954, the year of the landmark Brown decision, and 1963, the year before the enactment of the Civil Rights Act, rose to only 1 percent. In the next 5 years, it increased 20 times that figure. This is significant progress and a credit to the administration of a difficult program by HEW's Office for Civil Rights.

I should point out, Mr. President, that the statistics on desegregation for last September represent for the most part only progress toward the goal of an end to the dual racially segregated school system. The Office for Civil Rights program requires that districts, which formerly assigned students and faculty on the basis of race, adopt desegregation plans ending the dual system in most cases by September 1969 or—at the latest—September 1970 in cases where there are legitimate administrative reasons why the 1969 deadline cannot be met. September of this year should see another substantial increase in school desegregation in the Southern States.

Mr. President, for the information of readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I ask that the school desegregation press release issued recently by HEW's Office for Civil Rights be included as part of my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., January 16, 1969.

Preliminary analysis of the 1968 data on school desegregation in the 11 Deep South States shows that 20.3 percent of the 2.5 million Negro students in these districts or a total of 518,607 Negro children are attending schools with white children. (Table 1) This figure compares with 13.9 percent for the 1967-68 school year.

At the same time, the data reveals that in the school districts desegregating under the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 25.6 percent of the one million Negro children in those districts or 272,281 are attending schools with white children.

The overall desegregation figure, 20.3 percent, includes districts desegregating under court orders as well as those desegregating under voluntary plans.

The voluntary plans under which the districts are desegregating have been developed locally and have been submitted to the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The 25.6 percent figure, contained in survey data released today by the Office for Civil Rights, HEW's Title VI compliance agency, compares with the 19 percent or 202,794 Negro children reported in desegregated schools in the same districts during the 1967-68 school year. The districts are in the following States: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

All of the school districts in the 11th Deep

South State, Alabama, are desegregating under court order.

A comparison of the voluntary plan desegregation progress in the 10 Deep South States for 1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69 is shown in Table 2. A desegregated school is defined, as in 1967-68, as one attended by minority group children in which at least 50 percent of the students are white.

Preliminary analysis also showed that:

1. Desegregation progress in Deep South school districts desegregating under court orders was sharply below the voluntary plan desegregation figure. Data from court order districts showed that only 11.5 percent or 149,000 of the Negro students in those districts are attending school with white children. (Table 3.)

2. In those school districts in the 10 Deep South States which have submitted forms certifying they have eliminated their dual systems (Form 441), 51.6 percent of the Negro students are attending schools with white children.

These preliminary figures account for approximately 85 percent of the students attending schools in the 11 Deep South States. The reports were to be completed and returned to HEW by October 15, but school districts which account for approximately 15 percent of the students in these States failed to return reports or returned incomplete information.

The only large system which has not yet reported data is Dallas, Texas. Dallas is under court order.

A breakdown of the extent of school desegregation in the 11 Deep South States for all types of school districts (voluntary plan, 441, court order) is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 1.—PUPIL DESEGREGATION IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES, ALL DISTRICTS REPORTING, FALL 1968

State	Number of districts reporting	Enrollment		Desegregation ¹		State	Number of districts reporting	Enrollment		Desegregation ¹	
		Total	Negro	Number of Negro students	Percent of Negro students			Total	Negro	Number of Negro students	Percent of Negro students
Alabama	81	588,639	204,365	15,039	7.4	South Carolina	76	486,509	196,203	29,198	14.9
Arkansas	172	376,470	94,791	22,048	23.3	Tennessee	120	843,525	140,287	34,098	24.3
Florida	47	1,160,644	282,226	67,961	24.1	Texas	501	2,264,881	306,648	119,259	38.9
Georgia	131	883,287	268,044	38,196	14.2	Virginia	115	992,047	236,023	60,587	25.7
Louisiana	51	774,140	299,152	26,354	8.8	Total	2,156	9,889,469	2,551,790	518,607	20.3
Mississippi	100	398,725	193,602	13,839	7.1						
North Carolina	143	1,120,602	330,449	92,028	27.8						

¹ The Office for Civil Rights estimates that the data on which the 1968 preliminary analysis is based accounts for 85 percent of the estimated 11,677,684 public school students in the 11 Southern States.

² Includes all districts with total enrollment over 3,000 students and a sampling of districts with less than 3,000 students enrolled.

TABLE 2.—PUPIL DESEGREGATION IN 10 SOUTHERN STATES (3-YEAR COMPARISON), VOLUNTARY PLAN DISTRICTS¹

State and year	Number of districts reporting	Enrollment		Desegregation ²		State and year	Number of districts reporting	Enrollment		Desegregation ²	
		Total	Negro	Number of Negro students	Percent of Negro students			Total	Negro	Number of Negro students	Percent of Negro students
Arkansas:						South Carolina:					
1966	173	130	73,545	6,059	8.2	1966	72	467,868	180,922	9,433	5.2
1967	174	217,378	82,215	13,821	16.8	1967	57	349,835	143,975	10,257	7.1
1968	174	179,755	66,199	14,417	21.8	1968	70	459,043	182,987	28,207	15.4
Florida:						Tennessee:					
1966	47	296,344	81,917	11,018	13.5	1966	40	171,802	23,466	7,699	32.8
1967	47	264,273	76,226	14,213	18.6	1967	43	160,457	30,223	11,550	38.2
1968	47	297,726	78,772	25,253	32.1	1968	31	155,674	25,240	12,051	47.7
Georgia:						Texas:					
1966	131	543,254	149,117	11,081	7.4	1966	334	886,046	166,341	47,936	28.8
1967	131	598,291	141,208	19,128	13.5	1967	323	989,704	177,798	63,008	35.4
1968	131	567,991	146,739	26,975	18.4	1968	177	850,013	142,071	62,374	43.9
Louisiana:						Virginia:					
1966	3	20,482	4,301	454	10.6	1966	50	371,386	107,311	18,410	17.2
1967	3	19,502	3,853	623	16.2	1967	54	431,799	117,148	26,190	22.4
1968	3	20,351	4,168	1,001	24.0	1968	53	370,799	119,676	30,607	25.6
Mississippi:						Total:					
1966	34	133,234	52,459	2,200	4.2	1966	895	3,837,771	1,033,693	145,628	14.1
1967	35	150,058	59,898	3,768	6.3	1967	902	4,007,749	1,075,625	202,794	18.9
1968	40	161,588	65,322	7,842	12.0	1968	718	3,787,262	1,064,070	272,281	25.6
North Carolina:											
1966	102	774,225	244,770	31,339	12.8						
1967	97	836,452	243,081	40,236	16.6						
1968	90	724,322	232,896	63,554	27.3						

¹ The Office for Civil Rights estimates that the data on which the 1968 preliminary analysis is based accounts for 86 percent of the estimated 10,846,023 public school students in the 10 Southern States. (All districts in the State of Alabama are under Federal court order to desegregate.)

² For 1966, a desegregated school was defined as one which had 5 percent or more white enrollment. For 1967 and 1968 this definition was changed to schools which had 50 percent or more white enrollment.

into tax-free municipal and government bonds.

They have also questioned the fairness of tax exempt philanthropic foundations, which a wealthy patriarch can use to dodge inheritance taxes, and as a sanctuary for securities intended for his heirs.

Every special loophole for some clubby little group should be peered into and probably plugged. And for the ordinary man, surely a more up-to-date set of rules and a simpler tax form would win Congress a host of friends.

THE "PUEBLO" INQUIRY

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

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, no one is on trial for the *Pueblo* incident, but the inquiry now being conducted by the Navy has convinced a great many people that the *Pueblo's* captain and crew actually are being tried. There are many unanswered questions about the *Pueblo* incident, and the whole subject is a touchy one. The United States lost enormous prestige when the ship was surrendered and the crew not released for nearly a year. The method in which their release was obtained was salt in an open wound.

The fact that the *Pueblo's* crew is back is, of course, a source of great satisfaction. But the indignities which were inflicted upon them, including the death of one, rankle in the minds of the American people. Now some very important questions which have long remained unanswered are coming to the surface. The *Pueblo* carried no self-destruct mechanisms to protect highly advanced communications equipment and codes. When the ship was surrendered, all of this fell into Russian hands via the North Koreans. It has been assumed that our information-gathering electronic equipment is more advanced than that of the Russians. Whether or not that is true, they now know everything we know in this field.

Of major importance is the fact that the U.S. Government still has taken no productive action to obtain the return of the ship and its equipment or reimbursement for the ship and to obtain indemnity for the death, wounds, and suffering of the crew and their families.

No one has satisfactorily explained the failure to send help to the *Pueblo* before she actually fell into Communist hands. The *Pueblo* case is not one which can be swept under the rug and forgotten. Congress will want to take a hand in bringing all the facts to the surface before blame is fixed for the loss of the *Pueblo* and the indignities to its crew. Appropriate steps also must be taken to insure there will be no repetition of a situation where an American ship is left defenseless in any waters. It is equally essential that proper equipment be installed to insure that communications vessels be fully equipped with destructive devices for the protection of classified materials and equipment.

Proud American traditions are at stake. We do not beg our way out of trouble.

EDITORIAL COMMENDS SPEAKER CHOICE

(Mr. JONES of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include an editorial.)

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has been commended by an editorial printed in the Decatur, Ala., Daily for the selection of the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK as Speaker for the 91st Congress.

For years, the editor and publisher of the Decatur Daily, Mr. Barrett Shelton, Sr., has been associated with progress and growth of the thriving Tennessee Valley area through his newspaper and in his personal civic endeavors.

I am pleased to associate myself with the editorial comments about Speaker McCORMACK and I include the editorial at this point in my remarks so that all of my colleagues can share these thoughts:

MR. McCORMACK WILL BE REMEMBERED AS GREAT

The House of Representatives made an admirable choice in the selection of the Honorable John W. McCormack of Massachusetts as Speaker for the 91st Congress.

Speaker McCormack, through his many years of service to the nation, has established an enviable record for fair play and consideration of all the divergent issues which meet in the Congress.

On the occasion of his recent election to the speakership, rare tribute was paid to him by the Honorable Gerald R. Ford, the minority leader. Mr. Ford was the Republican candidate for the speakership. After the election, Congressman Ford told of his regrets at losing and said, "But, it is an even sterner test of statesmanship and character to be magnanimous and gracious in victory—and for whatever comfort and consolation it may be to any of my colleagues I can testify that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts has always been magnanimous and gracious to me—every time I have tried to take his gavel from him in the American political arena."

Our nation faces many tasks of considerable complexity as we lay the groundwork to meet the technological demands and requirements of the 21st Century. No one is more dedicated to this task than Speaker McCormack. He has proved this with his leadership of the Congress in recent years when unparalleled amounts of new legislation have been formulated to serve the people of this country.

His open and friendly manner and his willingness to counsel and advise have made him a legend in his own time among members of the Congress. He is the very embodiment of all that is great about our representative form of government.

The story is told that Speaker McCormack once confided in a fellow member that "rather than being known as a great man, I would prefer to be known as a good man, if I had a choice."

In our opinion, Speaker McCormack will have his wish. He will be known as a good man, and he will be known as one of the great speakers of all times.

NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND THE NATIONAL BUDGET

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

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, over the past year or so, the term "national priorities" has taken on new popularity here in Washington. Pressing social problems, demands for maintaining a costly military operation in Southeast Asia, exploration and exploitation of natural resources, the thrust toward placing men on the moon—the argument goes that all programs, all issues, must be put into some broad perspective, then evaluated according to a prejudged order of priority.

Of course, what we term "national priorities" today is, in reality, nothing other than that old debate of guns and butter—the tradeoffs between sets of competing needs. The theory itself is simple and blunt: given limited resources, what must be sacrificed to reach a chosen objective?

President Johnson's recent budget message spotlights the new attention given "priorities." According to the President, "the composition of the budget reveals much about the Nation's priorities."

To gage by the budget he presented Congress, if Mr. Johnson's statement is indeed true, I feel that the Nation is continuing to head down a tragic, extremely costly path. I do not concur that America's paramount national goal should be one of further military buildup, of an increase in military hardware, and of the pursuit of a debilitating, wasteful war in Southeast Asia.

If there is one thing that President Johnson's budget does not reflect, it is a real ordering of priorities. The budget may show priorities, but they are priorities of power, not priorities of need.

Unfortunately, as much as President Johnson hopes his budget represents an accurate presentation of national priorities, I think that he is wrong. Priorities ranked on the basis of lobby or monetary strength of special interests always get distorted. It has become a cliché to note that poor people—both here in America and abroad—carry less clout with Congress than do powerful industrial and military blocs, but that cliché holds as a good rationale behind the "priorities" of the fiscal 1970 budget.

For example, what concept of priority can make rational the assignment by the General Accounting Office of only five auditors for over \$40 billion of military negotiated contracts while, at the same time, putting between 70 and 80 auditors at work analyzing poverty programs.

In a true sense, the budget does not adhere to the very meaning of priorities. Instead of rating programs by individual merit, they are lumped together under functional headings, so that it becomes impossible to carry on any cross-the-board analysis. Congress' experience last year in the expenditure control controversy bears testimony to this fact. Many vulnerable and sensitive programs—mainly in the poverty and urban areas—got sliced disproportionately to older, more established, but also often less valuable programs. In the end, I am sure we shall see Congress finding it necessary to go right back into the very areas it cut

ing units, 200,000 additional units under the rent supplement program, 150,000 additional units of section 236 housing, 100,000 additional units of section 235 homeownership housing, and 150,000 additional rehabilitated housing units, and other housing tools. The Full Opportunity Act would also provide for HUD to make grants or loans for financial and technical assistance to sponsors of low- and moderate-income housing and eliminates the ability of local communities to prevent rent supplement and 221(d)(3) housing by not adopting a workable program for community improvement.

The legislation which I have introduced, providing supplemental appropriations for this fiscal year for section 235, section 236, rent supplements, and urban renewal and the related legislation for increased production of low- and moderate-income housing through public housing, extension of section 236 and rent supplement benefits to State and locally financed housing, and the Full Opportunity Act, is urgently needed. With the passage of the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act committing this country to the 10-year goal of 6 million units of additional low- and moderate-income housing, the 90th Congress must take the necessary steps to ensure that this goal does not remain an empty promise but becomes an actuality.

Legislation to increase the appropriations for housing programs in this fiscal year not only will increase the volume of low- and moderate-income housing but also provide opportunities for new jobs for minority residents in the constructions of such housing. A massive housing program combined with job-creation program has been urged by the National Committee for a Confrontation with Congress, a grassroots group in New York City, which has called upon the Congress to extend to the ghetto the same concern for housing that Congress did 20 years ago when it promoted the suburban housing boom through FEA and VA loan programs.

In the 90th Congress I was cosponsor of legislation called the Jobs-in-Housing Act of 1968, which recognized the value to be derived from creating tens of thousands of new well-paying construction jobs while at the same time rebuilding our central cities. Recognizing the explicit connection between more jobs and more housing, the National Committee for a Confrontation with Congress spent many hours with Members of Congress promoting jobs-in-housing and succeeded in their efforts by having Congress adopt section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. This jobs-in-housing provision will be of enormous benefit to low and moderate income urban residents, for it applies to the supplemental appropriation bills I have introduced for sections 235 and 236, public housing and rent supplements. Section 3 states:

The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall require, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor, that to the greatest extent feasible opportunities for training and employment arising in connection with the planning, construction, rehabilitation, and operation of housing assisted under such programs be given to lower income persons residing in the area of such housing.

Supplemental appropriations will provide expanded opportunities to minority groups and contractors in the planning and construction of low- and moderate-income housing. The lack of jobs and slum housing are two interlocked manifestations of poverty. The unemployed, who are seeking, not handouts, but decently paid jobs, could be employed in the very task of rebuilding their neighborhoods.

Another bill, H.R. 649, is also related to the question of jobs and housing. It deals with the problem of minority group contractors who are unable to obtain bonding. It would authorize the Small Business Administration to indemnify corporate sureties on bonds covering contracts of sound small business concerns and would help minority contractors to satisfy certain legal requirements in order to participate in the construction of low- and moderate-income housing—thus providing job opportunities and minority entrepreneurship in the housing area.

In the last Congress I drafted and introduced the Cooperative Rehabilitation Act—H.R. 51 of the 91st Congress—which would make it possible for low income tenants to acquire and rehabilitate buildings, turning them into cooperatives.

It is the duty and responsibility of this Congress to insure that the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, unlike its predecessors, achieves the goal first set forth in the Housing Act of 1949—"the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." It has been over 20 years since Congress stated that goal. It is now time for Congress finally to fulfill that promise and free millions of ill-housed Americans from the evils of slum housing.

APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN AIRLINE CASES

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

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my strong approval of the action taken by President Nixon in rescinding the order of the Civil Aeronautics Board in the transpacific route cases.

While it has been true in the past that international route cases have been decided near the end of an administration, no decision has ever been surrounded by so many reports, rumors, charges, and countercharges as have filled the air and the press following the announcement of the decision in the transpacific route case.

Some of these reports and charges were so serious that they could not be ignored. The only effective and appropriate way that the more serious of these charges could be proved or disproved was by the action which President Nixon took on January 24, 1969.

Many air carriers had filed administrative requests for reconsideration. They included successful and unsuccessful applicants for transpacific routes, so that the demands for reconsideration were

not based solely on disappointment with the awards.

Many Members of Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, and possibly about equal numerically, submitted formal requests to the President to recall and review the transpacific decision. This demonstrates that the congressional interest in this matter was bipartisan.

The President's action was one with which no one can find fault. The air carrier industry and the users of commercial aviation should applaud the courage and forthrightness which President Nixon displayed in this matter.

No harm can come from the action with which President Nixon recalled and rescinded the transpacific order. It precludes nothing. If the order and decision were properly arrived at, both can be reinstated. If they were improperly arrived at, they can be corrected.

This was probably the single most significant action taken by the President of the United States during his first week in office. It was an appropriate one and one which meets with near universal approval of all Americans.

FIX AND UPDATE U.S. INCOME TAX

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include an editorial.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a very timely and thought provoking editorial appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on Thursday, January 23, 1969. I have sent a copy of this editorial, entitled "Fix and Update U.S. Income Tax," to the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee for consideration by him and the members of the committee. This editorial is well worthy of the reading and consideration of other Members of the House:

FIX AND UPDATE U.S. INCOME TAX

There are at least two things drastically wrong with the federal income tax. This Congress should correct them.

First: Loopholes and allowances are open to oil well owners and to some million-dollar-a-year men. But the common man with his common income cannot find and use those dodges.

Second: The old income tax return is as out of date as Aunt Ellas's antimacassars. There has been a massive upward march of incomes and prices, but the \$1,000 ceiling on standard deductions and the \$600 personal exemption have stood still.

In 1950 almost every taxpayer could use the simple 10% standard deduction. It made filling out an income tax return simple.

But in those days 94% of all families, approximately, earned less than \$10,000. So the \$1,000 ceiling affected only 6% of the families.

Today about one-fourth of all families are up to \$10,000. What's more, a much larger part of family income today has to be spent on deductibles. The average home's real estate taxes and mortgage interest in Cleveland very nearly reach the \$1,000 mark, and rising hospitalization, charities and union dues compel the rank and file taxpayer to sweat through itemizing his deductions.

The \$600 personal exemption, once related to food, clothes and housing cost, is now below federal poverty standards for any average urban family.

On the opposite end, many congressmen have rapped at wealthy individuals and corporations which pour their investment money

President Johnson has been another case. While Hickenlooper has given general support to the stated aims of the administration in Vietnam, he has been constantly wary of fast political dealings.

Even as he criticized the "unrealistic doves" of the Senate, Senator Hickenlooper has usually voiced his own sharp differences with the Johnson administration on the manner in which the war was being fought.

BOMB PAUSE

One of the most disappointing aspects of the Johnson administration's performance was in the period immediately prior to the election, Hickenlooper related last week.

Hickenlooper said that while there were numerous rumors of a possible bombing pause just before the election, he received a call from an unnamed high figure in the Johnson administration assuring him there would be no bombing pause.

Hickenlooper said he had some reservations about the assurances at the time, but since there was no way to effectively challenge such a private assurance merely accepted it with "thanks."

"The announcement of the bombing pause a few days later did not surprise me, but it certainly did disappoint me to find such misrepresentations being made by high level spokesmen on such an important matter," Hickenlooper said.

Hickenlooper said, "There is no point in identifying the man at this time." At the proper time, he expects to try to make available more details of the unwritten story of his years in Washington.

Dozens of cartons of Hickenlooper's papers have been sent to the Herbert Hoover Library at West Branch, Ia., where they will be available for examination by students and authors interested in the early years of the Atomic Energy program and the tumultuous story of foreign affairs in the period since World War II.

Senator Hickenlooper finished the last bit of discarding of papers from his desk late Tuesday, and tossed aside two copies of a small brown covered history of "Mormontown"—the early name of Blockton.

NO MENTION

The little history was printed in 1961 at the time of the centennial for the little Taylor County village. It contained no note on the boy from Blockton who served as Iowa's governor and U.S. senator.

There was only one small picture of a teenage boy and a huge black setter dog captioned simply, "Bourke B. Hickenlooper and his dog."

Hickenlooper is saving the two small centennial pamphlets for his two children, not because they tell any great story about their father but to demonstrate "it takes quite a bit to impress some of the folks down there in Blockton."

Senator Hickenlooper who will have a pension of more than \$20,000 a year has had a number of offers to join law firms in Iowa and Washington, but has made no decision on the future. Mrs. Verna Hickenlooper has a serious heart condition that in recent weeks has confined her to her bedroom.

Hickenlooper said he will delay any decision on whether to remain in Washington or return to Iowa until after Mrs. Hickenlooper's health has improved.

LET THERE BE NO MORE "PUEBLOS"

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it is of utmost importance that President Nixon as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, direct a complete separation of the operation of our spy or intelligence collecting ships from the U.S. Navy, even to the ex-

tent of honorably discharging enlisted men and encouraging some officers to resign from the Navy.

The *Pueblo* operation was a disgrace from the outset to the moment that Commander Bucher without offering even show of resistance suffered the North Korean boarding party from a small North Korean naval vessel to back against our armed naval vessel and board and capture it without any resistance whatever. During 2 hours of harassment preceding that, Commander Bucher never even had the covers removed from the ship's .50-caliber guns, nor did he proceed out to sea away from about 13 miles off the coast of North Korea at full speed.

The first lesson that officials of the executive branch of our Government must take to heart from this is that we must without delay completely separate the operations of all our intelligence collecting factories, such as the sister ships to the *Pueblo* and officers from the U.S. Navy. The Soviet Union has at this time more than 100 spy or intelligence collecting vessels. They are in evidence at practically all times off the coast of the United States and wherever and whenever on the seven seas U.S. warships are maneuvering, engaging in target practice or mock combat maneuvers. The spy ships of the Soviet Union are disguised as fishing trawlers. Many, probably most of them, have no fish nets whatever nor other strictly fishing equipment. All of them are equipped with radar and highly sensitive detection devices for underwater surveillance as well as listening-in devices. They are everywhere in evidence.

At the time of the *Pueblo's* capture, Soviet trawlers were operating beyond our 3-mile limit off Norfolk, Charleston, Guantanamo Naval Base, Cuba, and various ocean areas off our Pacific coast from San Diego to the Alaskan waters. If the commanding officers of these Russian trawlers, so-called, are in fact officers of the Navy of the Soviet Union that is entirely unofficial and secret. We must follow the example of the Soviet Union. Our 10 or more intelligence collecting, or spy, ships must be commanded and staffed with officers and crew being civilians and paid by the Central Intelligence Agency as civilians. True, the commanders and executive officers and most of the seamen would undoubtedly be men whose past records as officers and enlisted men of our Navy have been excellent, during their period of former service in our Navy.

Director Helms of the CIA, replete with a sad record of blunders such as the U2 affair and the poorly planned Bay of Pigs operation, must bear the responsibility for the disgraceful *Pueblo* disaster. It is evident that this was an unnecessary and an ill-timed operation from the outset. He and the admirals of our Navy are to be condemned for this risky intelligence collecting operation just outside the 12-mile limit back and forth along the coast of North Korea at a time when we were so heavily involved in a major war in Vietnam and Thailand. It is evident not only that it was ill timed but poorly planned.

As a Member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, I am asking for a complete investigation of this entire affair from its inception to the disgraceful moment that a commanding officer of an armed U.S. naval warship suffered his ship to be boarded and captured without firing a shot, without making even a show of resistance and without even removing the covers from the .50-caliber guns on the forward deck of the *Pueblo* and in plain view of the officers and men of the small boats of the North Korean Navy surrounding the *Pueblo* and threatening its officers and men.

There must be an investigation of this sordid affair. There are so many unanswered questions. Why, for example, should an American ship engaged solely on a CIA operation be commanded by a U.S. Naval Reserve commander then on active duty? Spying is and always has been an operation conducted by either civilians or by men who are ostensibly acting as civilians and have been separated from duties as army or naval officers. Furthermore, we have a duty to ascertain from the admirals of the U.S. Navy the reason their failure in misinforming the Armed Services Committee of the Senate as to the facts surrounding the mission and the capture of the *Pueblo*.

Last year at 2:30 p.m. on Tuesday afternoons we on the Armed Services Committee of the Senate listened sometimes for as long as nearly 2 hours to highly secret intelligence briefings, usually made by officers of our armed services. Following the capture of the *Pueblo*, in one of these highly secret briefings I recall the officer telling the fact, or at least he alleged his statements to be facts, that only one of the 83 officers and men aboard the *Pueblo* was killed. He stated that in destroying highly secret and classified material and instruments an explosion blew off the leg of this one crewmember. He later died.

Now Commander Bucher testifies that small arms fire from the North Koreans mortally wounded this crewmember. We must have the facts. Otherwise, what reliance can we place on such briefings? My conclusion is that this briefing regarding the *Pueblo* involved a waste of our time. It was inaccurate in my judgment on many counts. Even the chart displayed on the screen referred to the U.S. warship *Pueblo*.

Now, many citizens write that Commander Bucher should be awarded a medal. A medal for what? Let us think of John Paul Jones, Decatur, Preble, and Capt. James Lawrence, of the 44-gun American frigate *Chesapeake*, mortally wounded when his frigate was boarded by officers and men of the English 44-gun frigate *Shannon* outside of Boston oceanfront in 1813 at a time when he was valiantly seeking to repeal the British boarding party. The last words of Captain Lawrence as he was carried below deck mortally wounded were, "Don't give up the ship."

During the War Between the States and down through World War II, no warship of our Navy was ever captured or sunk or scuttled without a fight. Furthermore, of thousands of Americans im-

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This simply is not fair. We in Congress have made great strides in enlarging the franchise and protecting the right to vote. We ought to take a further step and insure that this power of the ballot is an equal power. By amending the Constitution in favor of direct popular election of the President we can give life to this belief in fairness.

HICKENLOOPER SAYS FAREWELL— ARTICLE BY CLARK MOLLENHOFF

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, on January 3, my senior colleague from Iowa, Bourke B. Hickenlooper, voluntarily bowed out of a distinguished career of public service—24 years in the Senate, 2 years as Governor of Iowa, 4 years as Lieutenant Governor, and 4 years as a State representative.

In these 34 years, Senator Hickenlooper gave his State and the Nation dedicated, principled, hard-working service. "Service Above Self" was his motto, and it was only natural that personal integrity was his reputation.

A firm believer in the constitutional institutions and safeguards of our Government, he sought progress for our people on a sound and lasting basis. He believed strongly in the preservation of States rights consistent with the exercise by the States of their responsibilities, and he felt keenly about the excessive concentration of power in Washington to the detriment of the viability of the States.

His Senate career spanned the administration of five Presidents, and he was often called upon by these leaders of our country for his wise and well-informed counsel. He well understood that compromise is the art of the legislative process, but fundamental principles of good government were not within his area of compromise.

As ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he constantly devoted his energies to the search for a just and lasting peace within the family of nations. At the same time, this was carefully balanced by his recognition that the security of our country must never be compromised. He was not one to take the hard line of belligerence, but, rather, the firm line of straightforward commonsense.

On January 2, the distinguished Washington reporter for the Des Moines Register, Clark Mollenhoff, wrote a fitting summation of the public life of the man known far and wide as "Hickenlooper of Iowa." I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Hickenlooper Says Farewell," be placed in the RECORD.

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

HICKENLOOPER SAYS FAREWELL: ONLY ONE IOWAN HAS SERVED LONGER IN THE U.S. SENATE

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The cavernous gray office safe is empty and the walls of the fifth floor office are stripped bare of the mementos of 24 years Bourke B. Hickenlooper served in the United States Senate.

Today the 72-year-old Iowa player will bow out of the Senate after nearly a quarter of a century in which "Hickenlooper of Iowa" was

recognized in Washington and throughout the world.

He is a little heavier and somewhat slower moving than he was 15 or 20 years ago, but there is remarkably little change in the face or the demeanor of the man who has served longer than any other political figure in the last half-century. Only former Senator William B. Allison, a Republican who served from 1873 to 1908, served longer than Hickenlooper.

STARTED IN 1934

When he relinquishes his seat today to Senator-elect Harold Hughes, a Democrat, Hickenlooper will end a public career that started when he was elected to the Iowa House in 1934.

Although Hickenlooper, the third ranking Republican in the Senate, made a decision not to seek re-election because of a possible tough Republican primary fight, he has found it easy to reconcile himself to the philosophy that it was wise to retire.

His time in office spanned the administrations of five presidents—from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Lyndon B. Johnson—and he was intimately acquainted with Iowa-born President Herbert Clark Hoover and President-elect Richard M. Nixon.

Although the late Senator Brian McMahon (Dem., Conn.) has the technical title of the first chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, McMahon never actually served as chairman in late 1946, and it was Hickenlooper who headed that important congressional body in January, 1947, as the first active chairman in the dawn of the nuclear age. He has continued as a senior member of that committee in the 22 years it has been in existence.

It has been a period of controversy, with triumphs and a few stinging defeats. He was allied with Gen. Leslie R. Groves, head of the Manhattan Project, in pushing for further nuclear developments in the period immediately following the explosion of the first atomic bombs.

Later, Hickenlooper was allied with other congressional leaders in forcing the Navy to promote Hyman Rickover from captain to rear admiral and from rear admiral to vice-admiral.

NUCLEAR POWER

Rickover, a tough, bright and outspoken advocate of nuclear power for submarines and surface vessels, periodically found himself in bitter battles with the "battleship admirals" and political civilians at the Pentagon.

Rickover has periodically paid tribute to Senator Hickenlooper as a leader in Congress in forcing the executive branch to move forward with the nuclear submarine program and later the nuclear surface ship program.

While Hickenlooper's role in the development of nuclear power was of historic significance, his role in the foreign affairs field was even more important in recent years.

The boy who was born and reared in the little town of Blockton, Ia., toured more than 65 countries and talked with presidents, prime ministers, and kings in his role as ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

If Blockton had been any more than five miles from the Missouri border, it is doubtful if Bourke Hickenlooper could have claimed to have been out of Iowa until he was 20 years of age.

He was 20 when he made his first long trip to Richmond, Va., where he attended a national convention of his University of Iowa college fraternity, Sigma Phi Epsilon.

On the same trip he made his first visit to Washington, and the son of a small town hardware merchant kept traveling. After receiving his bachelor of science degree he joined the Army as a second lieutenant, and in 1917 went to France with a field artillery unit.

PRACTICED LAW

After graduating from law school in 1922, Bourke practiced law in Cedar Rapids until 1934 when he was elected to the Iowa House. Two two-year terms in the Iowa House were followed by two terms as lieutenant-governor, and one term as governor before he was elected to the Senate in 1944.

Although he is regarded as a conservative Republican, Hickenlooper pushed the first aid to dependent children program through Iowa at a time when the Hawkeye state was one of only two states without ADC programs.

In the Senate, Hickenlooper has regarded himself as "for social programs that can be properly administered and do not create dependency."

In recent years he has been distressed by "the lack of standards and the lack of safeguards" in the laws providing for foreign aid and for a broad range of poverty programs.

He said he has "never been opposed to social programs that will actually help people get on their feet."

"I do oppose these open-ended giveaway programs that have no standards and are an invitation to mismanagement and corruption," Hickenlooper said "It is bad government."

AGAINST FRAUD

It is on the same basis that Senator Hickenlooper said he has periodically questioned the amount of foreign aid or the laws under which foreign aid was being administered. While he usually ended up voting in favor of foreign aid, his objections were "based on the need for better management and more safeguards against frauds."

In his period of time in the Senate, he has most resented "the oversimplification" by various groups in analyzing votes in Congress. "Votes against poverty programs or other social programs are too often pictured as votes against poor people when in fact those votes are an attempt to get some common sense into a program so poor people will be benefitted," Hickenlooper explained.

In the same manner, Hickenlooper said votes against foreign aid are too often characterized as "a return to isolationism and a retreat from world responsibility, when in fact it is simply an effort to get better management into these programs."

In Senator Hickenlooper's first years in the Senate, the great bipartisan figure was the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, a Michigan Republican, who was an important figure in getting Republican support for President Truman's first foreign aid program, the Marshall Plan.

In more recent years, Hickenlooper has been regarded as "Kennedy's Vandenberg" and later as "Johnson's Vandenberg."

Because of opposition of the Vietnam War by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.), Hickenlooper was often the strongest supporter that either Kennedy or Johnson had on the committee.

NO PATSY

It was a title that Senator Hickenlooper wore uneasily, for he was wary of being the Republican patsy for a Democratic administration. He managed to handle it with just enough wariness that he was usually able to give the Democratic administration support against the most vociferous doves without relinquishing his right to criticize.

Hickenlooper's periodic rose garden walks with President Kennedy were an important part of American foreign policy in the 1961-63 period. The personal relationship was excellent and Hickenlooper "trusted his (Kennedy's) motivations and liked him as a person."

"I had some serious reservations about his maturity and his judgment from time to time, but I never doubted his good intentions," Hickenlooper said.

prisoned and on numerous occasions tortured by the Japanese in World War II, following the death march from Bataan, and elsewhere, no one, but no one, ever knew of an officer of our Armed Forces or of an American civilian taken captive signing a confession or statement denouncing his country.

North Korea has a nonaggression treaty with the Soviet Union. According to the provisions of this treaty the Soviet Union is obligated to send its armed forces to the aid of North Korea in event another nation attacks that country. This nonaggression treaty is similar to that our Nation has with West Germany. The fact that North Korea indulged in more than twice as many intrusions into the demilitarized zone in 1967 than during the previous year was an insufficient reason for CIA officials to undertake this risky surveillance operation by the *Pueblo* along the North Korean coast for more than 10 days and nights at a time our Nation was heavily involved with more than half a million of our Armed Forces in and off the shores of Vietnam and Thailand. In drifting with the engines off the CIA technicians on board the *Pueblo* could no doubt better intercept the messages and radio communications, and the closer the *Pueblo* was to the shore the more information could more easily be obtained. In this period of our radio silence it was assumed and hoped at the Pentagon and at the CIA offices that orders not to intrude further than 13 miles off shore had been followed. North Korean authorities claimed the *Pueblo* had intruded into their territorial waters and on some occasions was but 5 or 6 miles from the nearest North Korean island.

It is certain that both the United States and the Soviet Union will continue to employ spy ships. In view of the *Pueblo* blunder, our Nation must devise a new policy for handling any future incidents like that of the *Pueblo*. Spying is a risky business. The risks ought to be well considered in advance.

There must be no more *Pueblo* incidents. The Congress and President Nixon should give priority to strengthening out and reforming our Central Intelligence Agency and its spying operations. Commencing with President Eisenhower there has been a pattern of CIA blunders, humiliating to our Presidents and to the American people. Will President Nixon be the next to be afflicted by some horrendous CIA blunder? Let there be no more *Pueblos*.

CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST RULES SHOULD BE REVIEWED

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, the current transfer of power from one administration and one group of Cabinet officers to another has reopened discussion of the complicated question of conflicts of interest. Several cases have spurred us to reassess the current ways of insuring that the private interests of a high government official will not have an improper influence on his decisions in matters of public policy.

In the case of men entering Cabinet posts, stringent rules have been applied,

as a condition of confirmation, to preclude potential conflicts of interest. These nominees have opened their personal accounts to close public and congressional scrutiny, and have been required either to divest themselves of certain holdings, or to place their funds in blind trusts for the duration of their public service.

In the case of men leaving the Government for private posts, we are now confronted with the difficult case of the Department of Transportation's approval of a \$25.2 million mass transit grant to the Illinois Central Railroad shortly before the former Secretary of Transportation left that office to become president of the Illinois Central. In this instance, Secretary Boyd did refuse to become involved in that application, precisely to avoid any conflict-of-interest possibilities. But his action, while well motivated, left only the unsatisfactory alternative that he effectively abdicated his departmental responsibility to review the largest single mass transit grant made to date by DOT. Secretary Volpe has properly initiated a full review of this case.

These events have emphasized the size of the challenge we face in trying to make more sense out of a tangled and often grey area of policy. Our task is made more difficult by the human factors involved, such as the fact that Cabinet officers and other high officials have to earn a living and feed their families after they end their Government service, and must become job seekers as their terms expire.

In my judgment, we should review the current laws, enacted in 1962, governing the business activities of former public officials and those who, while still in office, are considering private offers. For example, we should consider legislation to require that any relevant employment offer made to an official with jurisdiction over any case, application or contract award should be made part of the public record of that matter.

This would be similar to proposals long pending to include in the public record of every case before an administrative agency a full report on all written and oral communications about the case from Members of Congress and all other outside parties.

Other amendments might be in order as well.

Second, we should develop more clear and consistent standards for incoming officials. This month various committees have required one step for one nominee and a different course for another, depending on the size of the holdings involved and the degree of concentration of one's capital in a given industry. More consistent rules would be helpful both to this body and to all individual citizens who will have to measure the financial impact of possible Government service in the future.

Finally, the current cases raise questions reaching beyond the executive branch. As Joseph R. L. Sterne pointed out in an excellent article in this morning's Baltimore Sun, we are operating under a double standard, since there is no requirement for public disclosure of outside income and holdings by Senators,

much less any rule requiring us to divest ourselves of any holdings which might raise conflict-of-interest questions.

I have discussed in the past the importance of removing this double standard, and of giving the public the facts on which to weigh any potential or apparent conflict of interest on the part of Members of Congress as well as executive officers of the Government. Last year Mrs. Mathias and I made full public disclosure of our own assets and the sources and amounts of our outside income during my entire period of service in the other body. I intend to bring this public report up to date this year, and will also press for legislation to strengthen the Senate rules by requiring public disclosure by all Senators.

Mr. President, this is a field in which there are no easy answers, and only hard thought can produce sound policies. I hope that the appropriate committees will take up these problems without delay.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at this point the article from today's Baltimore Sun which I referred to above.

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

SENATE DOUBLE STANDARD REVEALS ITSELF ONCE AGAIN

(By Joseph R. L. Sterne)

WASHINGTON, January 26.—The Senate's double standard was showing once again during the ritual leading to last week's confirmation of the Nixon Cabinet and the new deputy defense secretary.

Executive branch officials, one after the other, paraded before Senate committees to discuss how they planned to divest themselves to certain holdings or to establish trusts in order to avoid conflict of interest.

NO SUCH REQUIREMENTS

Sitting in judgment were lawmakers who have imposed no such requirements on themselves.

The new Senate ethics code will require senators to file public statements listing campaign contributions they have received for the first time this year. By May 15, they will also have to file with the comptroller general—but not for public scrutiny—copies of their income tax returns and lists of their assets and liabilities.

But there was never any serious move during last March's debate on the new ethics code to require the divestiture of holdings that might arouse conflict-of-interest questions.

MOST IMPORTANT REASON

And given the present mood of the Senate, no such move is in prospect.

Perhaps the most important reason for this state of affairs is the sincerely held belief in some Senate circles that a double standard is justified.

A senator has to answer for his conduct in primary and general elections, it is argued, while members of the executive branch face no such cleansing process.

Legislators, with rare exceptions, are confined to the establishment of broad, general policy, while administrators have a direct control over the awarding of contracts.

And there is a theory that the whole legislative process quite rightly involves an interplay of conflict among geographical areas and economic groups from which a lawmaker cannot and should not stand apart.

KERR AND WILLIAMS

The late Senator Robert S. Kerr (D., Okla.), one of the most powerful Senate op-

erators in modern times, felt no compunction about voting for oil-depletion allowances despite his own large oil holdings. He figured the people in his oil-rich state wanted the depletion allowance and believed his holdings would make him fight zealously for them.

The opposite of the coin is represented in Senator John J. Williams (R., Del.), a self-appointed watchdog of ethics in government, who will not accept any federal agriculture benefits for his farm even though he does not object to his colleagues obtaining subsidies on the same basis as the ordinary citizen.

Although there have been a few rare appeals to force senators to divest themselves of holdings in a manner comparable to requirements for Cabinet officials, there has been a growing demand for mandatory disclosure of financial assets.

During last year's ethics debate, for example, a proposal to require public statements failed by a vote of only 40 to 44.

MORSE SPOKE OUT

One of the blunter attacks on the present secrecy was made at that time by former Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.).

"The Congress continues to be the one branch of the federal government where public confidence in honesty and ethical practices has never been firmly earned and probably not deserved," Mr. Morse declared. "It is the fault of the Congress itself."

"We have written statutes to codify ethical practices in the executive civil service, and among the judiciary. But we have neither statutes nor codes for standards of Congress in which the public can have any confidence.

"It would be impractical to apply the same statutes to Congress as apply to the civil service, since there is no tenure in Congress . . . but there is one protection which we continue to deny the public. It is the knowledge upon which to pass the judgment of public opinion."

Countering these arguments was the observation by Senator Karl E. Mundt (R., S.D.) that not even presidential appointees have to disclose their financial position publicly. They merely have to file confidential memoranda with the Civil Service Commission and the Senate committees dealing with their confirmation.

Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.) frequently told newsmen during that period that he did not favor public disclosure because he had not sought public office "in order to become a second-class citizen."

One reason for the obvious Senate embarrassment over "conflict of interest" lies perhaps in the phrase itself.

CONFLICTS OF ATTITUDE

It literally evokes an image of a senator casting a vote or using his office for his personal financial gain, but in actual political use, it has been applied rather carelessly to much less reprehensible conduct.

For in addition to literal conflicts of interest, government by its very nature provokes conflicts of obligation and conflicts of attitude.

The conflict of obligation can be seen when senators promote projects that are helpful to their constituents (or some of their constituents) but may be contrary to the national interest.

The conflict of attitude deals with the inclinations or training of public officials. If a man is a liberal or a conservative, a businessman or a farmer, a conservationist or a cold warrior, his attitudes may be regarded in hostile quarters as contrary to public interest.

The last conflict was very much in evidence during Senate consideration of three controversial Nixon appointees—Walter J. Hickel, the Secretary of the Interior; David Packard, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and David M. Kennedy, the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Hickel quickly eliminated personal financial conflict of interest in his case by promising to divest of certain holdings—particularly a \$1 million investment in natural gas pipelines—in whatever way the Senate Interior Committee might direct.

But he aroused controversy in his attitude toward conservation.

"I am afraid that Governor Hickel as Secretary of the Interior, would be tempted to remove the reins from unlimited private exploitation of our natural resources," declared Senator Alan Cranston, (D., Calif.).

"I do not suggest that he would do so in order to further his own interests. . . . Rather, I fear he would tend to favor freer commercial exploitation in the belief that doing so would further the national interest."

Similarly in the David Kennedy case, most personal financial questions were removed when the Treasury Secretary agreed to get rid of most of his holdings in the Continental Illinois National Bank.

This, however, failed to relieve misgivings in some Senate quarters that Mr. Kennedy, because of his background, would be overly concerned with the banking industry itself.

Senator Albert Gore's lone vote against David Packard was based on his belief that there was a financial conflict of interest in the decision to permit the deputy defense secretary to retain—in a trust he will not control—a \$300 million investment in the electronic company he founded.

Yet the Tennessee Senator publicly, and other senators privately, questioned whether a man whose whole life had been spent in the "military-industrial complex" could bring a broad, dispassionate attitude to the Pentagon.

In dealing with other Nixon appointees, Senate committees continued to apply stringent rules.

LITTLE MENTION

William P. Rogers, the Secretary of State, was told to sell his shares in Flying Tigers Airlines, an overseas freight-hauling company. John A. Volpe, the Secretary of Transportation, sold his interest in the construction company he founded. Maurice H. Stans, the Secretary of Commerce, placed his investment portfolio in the hands of a "blind trust." George Romney, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, continued the trust arrangements he set up as Governor of Michigan.

And so it went, with hardly a senator mentioning the double to be their own judge in handling their own financial affairs.

Senator Charles H. Percy (R. Ill.) said he had lost "many hours of sleep" wondering if he should vote on the Packard nomination since Mr. Packard headed a firm competitive to Mr. Percy's old company, Bell & Howell.

But Senator Percy never raised the question of whether he should divest himself of his Bell & Howell holdings before voting on defense appropriations that are at least of indirect benefit to that company.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

AMENDMENT OF RULE XXII

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the pending business, which will be stated.

The BILL CLERK. A motion to proceed

to consider Senate Resolution 11, to amend rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. without objection, the Senate will resume the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum, without losing my right to the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

Mr. President, the winds of change are blowing throughout the world, throughout the Nation, and throughout this Senate. We will face up to this fact, recognize it, or be blown away by it.

Change is in the air, and we cannot avoid it much less ignore it. New voices are being heard and they will and should be listened to. If they are not then I warn the Senate that in time—in my opinion, a short time—the principle of majority rule to invoke cloture—which I do not favor—will become a fact and the basic character of the Senate as a deliberative body, and I stress the word "deliberative," will be a thing of the past. If that happens, and it can and will happen unless some of us change our rigid positions, this institution, unique among all the parliamentary bodies of the world, protected to a degree from the public pressures of the moment, will be changed fundamentally and in a way detrimental to the best interests of the Republic and the Senate.

Last week the vote was 45 to 53 on the appeal from the cloture ruling which was made by the former President of the Senate, Mr. Humphrey. On the basis of 100 Members voting, it would seem that the Senate was not more than five votes away from sustaining the chair. As compared with the last test on this issue, the vote represents a probable increase of eight in favor of a rules change by majority vote at the outset of the session. When a similar maneuver was attempted in 1967, the vote was 37 to 61.

In my judgment, a majority procedure to bring the issue of rule XXII to a vote has gained favor because of a certain rigidity of attitude which still exists in the Senate on the question of cloture. It exists notwithstanding the fact that two-thirds cloture has been invoked four times in the past 8 years and without calamity in the Senate. On the contrary, these four actions have helped to keep the Senate attuned to national needs.

It seems to me that if Senators would view cloture for what it is, a sensible procedural method for bringing discussion to an orderly close in 100 hours at a reasonable point in a prolonged debate, then the present rule XXII would not have to be changed at all. The two-thirds requirement for cloture would then perform the legitimate function of delaying a vote until—not a bare majority—but a substantial part of the

Pueblo Captain Tells Of N. Korean Shelling

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

CORONADO, Calif., Jan. 21 — North Korean gunboats opened up on the USS Pueblo before capturing it last Jan. 23, wounding the captain, Lloyd M. Bucher, and two of his crewmen.

Cmdr. Bucher described his own wounding for the first

time in testifying today before the Naval court of inquiry on the seizure of the spy ship while it was operating off Wonsan Harbor.

Bucher said he was definitely in international waters at the time and did not believe until the last minute that the subchaser and four torpedo boats meant to take his ship.

Once he realized this was imminent, Bucher told the court he considered trying to scuttle the Pueblo but figured even if it sank the North Koreans might dive down and get in the secret equipment largely intact.

The gunfire that hit Bucher, signalman Wendell Leach of Houston, Tex., and communications technician Steven J. Robin of Silver Spring, Md., came from the subchaser and one or more of the torpedo boats, Bucher said.

Bucher was hit in the buttocks by one piece of shrapnel and in the right ankle by three other pieces. He said Leach was wounded in the leg and Robin in the neck.

He had been staring down the gun barrels of the four torpedo boats surrounding his ship before this firing and had also been signaled by the subchaser that it was going to begin firing unless the Pueblo heaved to.

Once the gunfire started, Bucher said, "I did not feel at that time that there was any point in going to war with

See PUEBLO, A13, Col. 1

nose ships surrounding me. I was completely, hopelessly out-gunned."

For defending the Pueblo with its 50-caliber machine guns one on the bow and a second on the stern, he told the court. "To send a man up to that gun (on the bow) would have meant certain death."

The inquiry, now two days old, is being before Bucher told how the North Koreans boarded the ship and whether they were resisted by the men on the Pueblo.

But the skipper, still speaking in a monotone and seemingly holding up through the grueling ordeal that will decide his future, gave the most detailed public chronology to date of that disastrous day when the Pueblo was captured.

A few minutes before 12 (noon) on Jan. 23, Bucher said, "I received a call from Law, Quartermaster first class Charles Benton Law) who said he spotted a fast moving ship. Law thought it might be a sub-chaser."

"I instructed Law to inform me when it approached within five miles," Bucher said. "I also told him to check our position by radar. He reported back we were 15 to 17 miles from the nearest land, Ung Do."

"Then," Bucher continued, "I told me it was within five miles. I went to the bridge and used my binoculars and big eyes — 22-inch binoculars. I tentatively identified it as an SO-1."

"The ship approached and circled me — our ship — at a range of 500 to 1000 yards."

"I remained on the flying bridge. I noticed he (the sub-chaser) was at battle stations and the deck guns were manned. . . 57-millimeter cannon manned and pointed in my direction."

Circles Pueblo Twice
"The bridge of the SO-1 was manned by 10 to 12 people," Bucher said he expected "only routine surveillance" from this encounter. The SO-1 circled the Pueblo twice.

"The bridge with me," Bucher said, "was quartermaster Law and Mr. Lacy (chief warrant officer G. H. Lacy of the Wash.). I ordered all hands to stay below decks."

"I had allay suspicions in such encounters with armed boats, Bucher said the standard dress in the Pueblo was anything but formal. "The general dress of those topside, on station far from home was quite relaxed. I wore wash khaki trousers and a leather flight jacket and a white wool ski cap with a white tassel. It kept my ears warm," Bucher said.

"I ordered Law to hoist the flag indicating we were a research vessel," Bucher told the court. "The SO-1 raised its flag asking 'What nationality?' My response was to hoist the U.S. flag . . . my ensign. I noticed quite a lot of activity on the SO-1. They must have been quite surprised we were a U.S. ship."

Seeing the fast developing events unfolding on the flat sea that wintry day, Bucher said he ordered Ensign Timothy L. Harris of Jacksonville, Fla., to keep a running narrative of what was going on.

"I was not particularly apprehensive," Bucher said, "but I thought I might have this SO-1 with us all the time we

felt that their manned guns was an act of intimidation." But just in case it was more than that, Bucher said, he had ordered the engine room to light the two diesel engines so the Pueblo could move out of the area quickly.

"The engine room replied," Bucher said, "Ready to answer all bells." This means the engineers were ready to respond to orders for steaming the Pueblo at any speeds Bucher wanted out of the ship. "Mr. Lacy reported sighting three torpedo boats—P-4s—approaching from the west. The P-4s were armed with machine guns and their torpedo tubes were covered when they approached. But their machine guns were manned all afternoon."

Luckily Bucher had just finished sending a situation report to his commander in Japan, so the communication link was in operation. The skipper ordered that line kept open.

The SO-1, standing off within easy firing range of the Pueblo, then put up a flag signaling: "Heave to or I will fire."

Bucher said "to confirm my belief I called Mr. Murphy (Lt. Edward R. Murphy of San Diego) to check in the dictionary for the definition of heave to." Bucher, although he did not explain it here today, might have wanted to make sure he understood the flag signal displayed.

Position Confirmed

"I asked Law to check our position. He reported us 15.8 miles from Ung Do. I also asked Mr. Murphy, the navigator, to confirm our position. He confirmed the findings of Law. I went to the wheelhouse and took a fix," which he said showed the same results.

"I prepared a flag signal saying roughly," Bucher continued, "I am in international waters."

"With P-4s approaching, I knew I had to get this out"—meaning the word about this now dangerous looking encounter—to Navy superiors in Japan.

This time, in contrast to the day before when it took between 12 to 14 hours to make radio contact with his commanders, Bucher said the Pueblo "had good luck" since it was already in contact with Japan.

"Through a voice tube I had people in the wheelhouse call Lt. Harris in Research (Lt. Stephen Robert Harris of Richland, Wash., who was in charge of the secret research section on the Pueblo) to tell Japan 'We have company' and to leave the line open."

Bucher said he sent several messages and raised their transmission priority by the addition of secret code names. In this case, the word "Critic" meant it would be flashed to the White House. And that was the code word he used.

"As soon as he (the SO-1 sub-chaser) got close enough—that was about 1000 yards—I started drafting a message so people could be alerted to possible trouble. I still considered we were not in serious trouble. I had a conversation with chief warrant officer Lacy, the engineer, about scuttling if necessary. In his opinion, it could not be done quickly."

Bucher said that his father's 180 feet of water underneath the Pueblo at the time. "It is not unusual to recover equip-

ment out scuttling," Bucher said. "And with the water temperature nearly freezing—about 35 degrees—the men could only survive about five minutes. My only concern was to destroy the classified material."

Remains in Touch

All this time, Bucher said he kept in touch with Japan through "chatter action"—keeping radio traffic moving over the line to keep others off it.

Even as the sub-chaser menaced the Pueblo with its guns, Bucher said he still thought the North Koreans were just trying to provoke him into an action that would embarrass the United States.

The P-4s—still only three of them at this time in the afternoon of Jan. 23—moved in closer. They got within point-blank range, Bucher said. Two of the boats were on either side of his bow and the third off the stern.

"Mr. Lacy asked me if we should go on general quarters. I said no," Bucher said he thought going on deck "wearing helmets and breaking out arms" would escalate the situation by forcing the North Koreans to show some counteraction.

"About this time two Migs—I believe Mig 21a—passed over the ship. The Migs didn't worry me, those torpedo boats 50 yards away with their guns uncovered and manned did."

"The SO-1 and one of the P-4s came together and had a conversation with megaphones," evidently about what to do next to the Pueblo, Bucher said.

The first solid indication that boarding the Pueblo was contemplated came when Bucher noticed that one of the torpedo boats carried army troops with rifles tipped with bayonets.

"The P-4 was backing slowly toward me. I said on the bridge, 'I'd be damned if they would get away with that.' I ordered full ahead one-third. I ordered the ship to continue on course 080 and hoisted the flag which means under the International Code 'Thank you for your consideration. I am departing the area.'"

Bucher continued—with no trace in his manner of the drama he was describing to the court and its hushed audience of over 100 people:

"I should have filled my yardarms with armfuls of flags. That would have confused him." He put up the "thank you" flag in hopes of baffling the North Koreans, buying the Pueblo time. The war of nerves and flags—but not yet gunfire—had been going on for about an hour.

Although Bucher did not specify times, this would have meant sometime after 1 p.m. North Korean time.

Fourth P-4 Arrives

"We got away at one-third speed in order to leave the area in as dignified a way as possible and not to appear as if in panic," the skipper said. "By this time a fourth P-4 had arrived and we now had company on both sides of the bow playing porpoise at a range of 10 yards."

This is a harassing maneuver where boats cut back and forth in front of a ship in a series of "chicken" maneuvers. They kept on going and aimed at me all the time," Bucher said. The

After explaining the problem about removing the ice-encrusted canvas gun covers and the fact that manning the one in the bow would have meant certain death for the crewmen ordered there, Bucher said: "I saw no point in senselessly sending people to their deaths."

While the Pueblo was moving out of the area and gaining speed all the time, Bucher said a second SO-1 sub-chaser showed up on the scene. The first torpedo boat at this point hauled down its heave to signal.

"I managed to get two to three thousand yards away," Bucher said. Then one of the P-4s opened a torpedo tube and "aimed it at me." No shots had been fired yet, however.

"I hoped they were still trying to intimidate me, but in the back of my mind I knew they had tried to board my ship." He evidently was referring to the P-4 that had backed up to the Pueblo with its cushioning fenders overboard in an apparent attempt to board the Pueblo.

Bucher had achieved almost full speed when one of the subchasers came astern of the Pueblo. "As he commenced closing he raised again the signal 'Heave to or I'll fire,'" Bucher said. "I ignored the signal at this time and continued to run at full speed. I came slightly to the right so that his target and target angle would be more difficult."

Bucher kept fish-tailing the Pueblo in hopes of presenting the smallest possible target to the subchaser. But the pursuing ship was so much faster that it not only maneuvered itself into a good firing position but tried to drive the Pueblo toward the North Korean shore.

Reds' Intention

"I could not come much farther to the right without heading toward land," Bucher explained to the five admirals sitting on the court. "His (the subchaser's) intention was to box me in and head me in toward the beach."

The skipper added that during this frantic chasing game "I had already passed the word to destroy the classified matter" aboard the Pueblo.

"At a range of between 1500 and 2000 yards," Bucher said, "The SO-1 opened up on me." In this first salvo, the skipper estimated, there were "between six and 14 individual shells from what I believe are 57-millimeter cannon."

Although most of the shells from the first salvo went "over our ship," Bucher said, "at least one hit our radar mast which would have been our signal mast and our navigational radar."

That salvo—the only firing Bucher had time to get into today—was the same one that wounded him and his crewmen, Leach and Robin.

Rear Adm. Richard R. Pratt of the court questioned Bucher on the relative heights of the Pueblo's deck and that of the torpedo boat threatening to board her.

Bucher said that at the after quarter the Pueblo's free board was about the same as the torpedo boat's, about four feet, so that it would be easy to jump from one to the other. "On my Wednesday is expected to go into the board-

Course of Pueblo Is Mapped

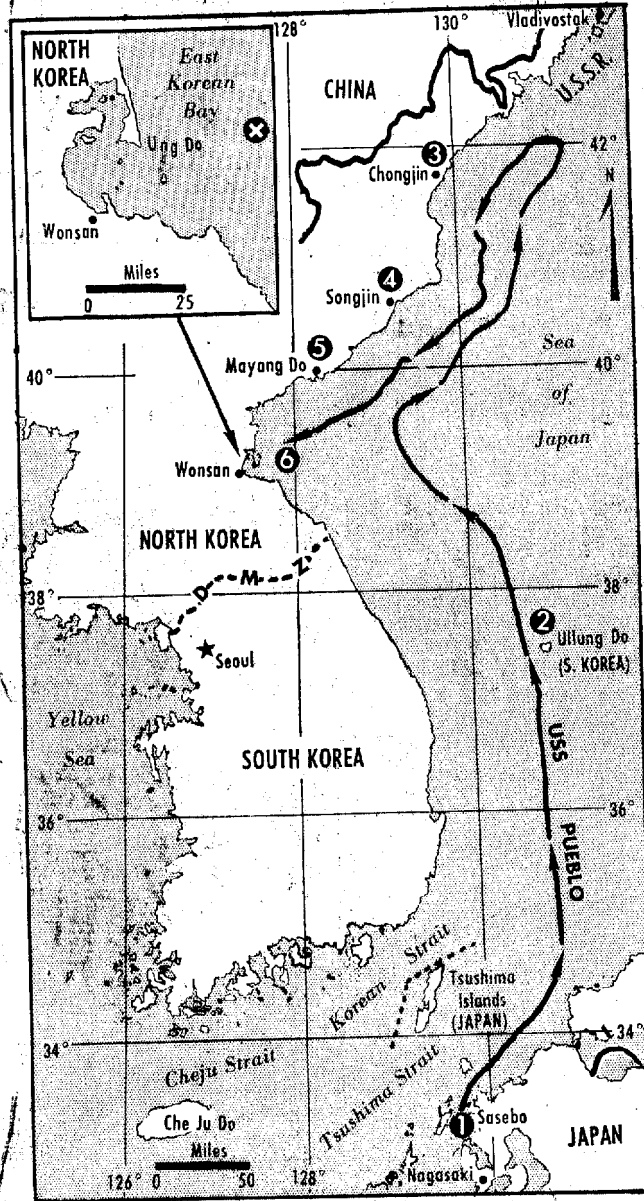
This map shows the course the spy ship Pueblo sailed until the time of her capture by North Koreans on Jan. 23:

(1) Pueblo left the port of Sasebo, at 6 a.m. (Japan time) Jan. 11 with the mission of observing Soviet Naval maneuvers in the Tsushima Straits and tuning in on radar and radio communications from North Korea.

Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher hoped to record the coastal defense radar signals of North Korea so the U.S. would know how to foil them in the event of war. His plan was to collect electronic intelligence off North Korea first and then observe the Soviets on his way home. The Pueblo had authority to move as close as 200 yards to take pictures of Russian ships. His area of operation was between the latitudes of 39 degrees and 42 degrees north.

Bucher proceeded northward to the 42-degree boundary, running into a heavy storm enroute near the island of Ullung Do (2). He moved off his course to get out of the storm and then headed for his first objective — the North Korean port of Chongjin (3). He arrived there Jan. 16. Bucher said he "laid off that port for approximately two days monitoring ELINT (electronic intelligence) signals and recording them." He said he observed commercial ships while laying off Chongjin, "but I did not consider myself detected."

His procedure at this and other points was to lay to 14 to 18 miles off the coast during the day and then move out to between 20 to 25 miles at night. The Pueblo



By Joseph Mastrangelo—The Washington Post

lay dead in the water while listening for signals.

Bucher said he stopped the ship at 20 different spots off the North Korean coast

so oceanographers could collect water samples. Although Bucher did not say so, such samples are useful in determining how temperature

layers in the sea affect sonar for detecting foreign submarines.

Bucher sailed south from Chongjin to Songjin (4), arriving there Jan. 18. He eavesdropped in that area for two days. He told the court he observed "very little activity, either visually or electronically."

On the night of Jan. 19, the Pueblo left Songjin for Mayang Do (5). He laid off Mayang Do until Jan. 21. Bucher said he spotted a North Korean subchaser, known as an SO-1, in "the gathering dusk" of Jan. 21. The subchaser went by at 25 knots, Bucher said, and "evidenced no interest in the ship . . . I decided we had not been detected" Bucher told the Court, and therefore did not communicate with his commanders in Japan, presumably because such signals might alert North Korea to the Pueblo's presence.

The Pueblo left Mayang Do the night of Jan. 21, Bucher said, and "headed for Wonsan Harbor" (6). The Pueblo lay dead in the water on Jan. 22, listening, watching and taking samples of ocean water. "During the afternoon around 1 or 2 p.m.," Bucher told the Court yesterday, "we were approached by two government fishing vessels." He said they had no arms. Bucher ordered the crew below deck because he said he did not want the Korean vessels to see the unusually large number of men the Pueblo carried for an apparent cargo ship.

It was off Wonsan (6) on Jan. 23 that the Pueblo was surrounded by Korean gunboats and captured in what Bucher said was international waters about 15 miles from the island of Ung Do.

Pueblo Skipper Says Navy Rejected 'Destruct System'

By BERNARD WEINRAUB
Special to The New York Times

CORONADO, Calif., Jan. 20—Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, the skipper of the Pueblo, said today that the Navy had turned down his request for a "destruct system" for the secret electronic and coding gear on the intelligence ship.

"I made the request at least two, perhaps three times," Commander Bucher said quietly at the opening of the Naval Court of Inquiry into the seizure of the ship last January by North Korea. "I'm quite sure," he said, that one letter was to the Chief of Naval Operations.

Standing stiffly beside a diagram of the Pueblo, the 41-year-old commander told the court of five admirals that his numerous requests to install such electronic equipment as a more extensive phone hookup, damage control gear and alarms had been rejected because of "money and time."

"There were never improvements that we were permitted because of money and time," said Commander Bucher, the first witness at the Court of Inquiry. "We did not get the improvements I requested."

Commander Bucher's failure or inability to destroy secret equipment on his ship is expected to be a key issue at the Court of Inquiry in an amphitheater on the Naval Amphibious Base here.

The fact that the North Koreans boarding the ship were not repulsed is also expected to be a key issue.

Commander Bucher testified that he had requested three gun mounts on the Pueblo. Two days before the ship left the Yokosuka Naval Base in Japan for the mission off North Korea, the Navy in-

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stalled two .50-caliber gun mounts, he said.

"I was not opposed to the installation of these guns but I never had much confidence in them," said Commander Bucher, a thin, sunken-cheeked officer who has served in the Navy 16 years.

"They had to be adjusted every time they were used," he said. "The best time I had in practice was 10 minutes. The worst was one hour."

"It never occurred to me," he testified, "that I would be using them on anything other than a harassing trawler."

Commander Bucher said, under questioning, that he had been told in Hawaii on the way to Japan that "the Navy had plans to react in the event of our capture, as well as the Air Force, through the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

"But because of commitments of aircraft which have to remain on the line and ready to go in the event of a general war, [I was told] it would not be likely that the Navy or Air Force would come to our assistance to save this ship," he said.

"I did not tell this information to my officers or men," Commander Bucher recalled. "I did not want to cause any undue worry."

Commander Bucher said that in Japan he had been briefed by Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, then commander of United States forces there. Commander Bucher recalled that Admiral Johnson had told him the two .50-caliber guns on the Pueblo were to be used only "if all else failed" and in the event of "a harassment situation that had not been experienced before."

"Admiral Johnson said the Pueblo should never uncover the guns unless it was absolutely necessary," Commander Bucher said.

In his daylong appearance today Commander Bucher defended himself in a voice both of Naval Operations, he said,

down the request for a "destruct system" aboard the Pueblo because "this equipment had to be built integral to the sensitive electronic equipment on the ship."

"The equipment on the ship had already been installed," Commander Bucher said. "It was not possible because of expenses and time to rebuild the electronic equipment."

Shortly before the Pueblo began the mission off North Korea, Commander Bucher said, he made a request to purchase 50-pound cans of TNT from the Navy in Yokosuka, Japan. "I told them I wanted something that would destroy this equipment," he said.

"They weren't available," he added, with a shrug.

'I Gave My Reasons'

He said his request for a destruct system had been made between April and June, 1966, while the Pueblo, a former cargo ship, was outfitted in Puget Sound in Washington. The Chief of Naval Operations then was Adm. David L. McDonald.

"I gave my reasons why I thought it was so important," he observed. "I do not have a copy of this letter because the letter was either destroyed when we were captured or it was captured with us."

The 177-foot intelligence ship was captured in the Sea of Japan by North Korean gunboats. Commander Bucher and 81 other surviving Pueblo crewmen were released last Dec. 23 after 11 months in captivity.

The ship's mission was to collect electronic intelligence, particularly of radar installations, along the coast of North Korea. In addition, it was to check on the movement of vessels, including submarines, near North Korea.

During his testimony today, Commander Bucher sat stiffly behind a green-felt-covered table or stood with a pointer next to a diagram of his ship.

As he spoke he glared unblinking at the counsel for the court, Capt. William R. Newsome. He rarely turned to the five admirals, sitting three feet away.

Commander Bucher repeatedly emphasized the lack of equipment that could easily destroy secret material. "To destroy equipment, I had fire axes and sledge hammers capable of being swung by standard sized sailors," he said.

"For publications, I had an incinerator installed. It was not fuel-fed. The contents that were placed in it had to be torn up and thrown away," he said, pointing to a stack of papers on a nearby table.

"To destroy a volume of papers about eight inches high—like this stack over here—it would take 15 minutes."

Commander Bucher said that the Pueblo stored 50 "antiswimmer" grenades but he did not use them to destroy publications or equipment.

"I gave no thought to use the grenades for destroying publications," he observed. "They were concussion, not fragmentation grenades, not effective for publications. It would have just blown the papers around."

Replying to a series of questions by Captain Newsome, Commander Bucher bluntly discussed the quality and needs of the Pueblo. "I needed additional sound power telephones [for onboard communication] and we did not have them by the time the ship was captured," he said.

"The ship's steering system was an old system, manufactured by a now defunct elevator company," he went on. "The system was most troublesome. I lost steering as many as 60 times in a period of two weeks."

"It would have taken 15 or 20 minutes to make preparations to scuttle that ship," Commander Bucher said at another point. "To scuttle the ship itself would have taken 2 1/2 to 3 hours."

Captain Newsome then asked: "How vulnerable was the Pueblo to sinking?"

Commander Bucher replied: "If the Pueblo received a hole by collision of 8 to 12 inches in diameter, the ship would not have been saved. We did not have the capability to save the ship with a hole that size and with the damage control system we had."

Commander Bucher said that the Pueblo — who hull was crammed with sonar, navigation equipment and hyper-sensitive radar — sorely needed

"many technical improvements." "We were supposed to leave in December and we kept receiving extensions one month at a time. Consequently work that might have taken five weeks was not recommended."

He said that the intelligence ship had only one public address system, two amplifiers "with tuning problems," a general alarm "with bugs" and no collision alarms. "We finally left [for Japan] in May," Commander Bucher said.

"That was another thing that I requested and was turned down," he said. The setting for the Court of Inquiry is the amphitheater on the first floor of the Naval Amphibious School. The 110 seats in the amphitheater were filled by 9 this morning with newsmen, the wives of Pueblo crewmen and a handful of retired naval officers who live in this lush peninsula city facing San Diego Bay and the Pacific.

Commander Bucher said that the Pueblo and a similar ship, the Palm Beach, had received a shared appropriation of \$11-million for overhaul in Puget Sound. "That was cut back by one million dollars for each ship," he said. "I'm not sure who made the decision in Washington."

"In many instances the improvements we had asked for were deferred," Commander Bucher said. "The cut of \$1-million prevented the accomplishment of many of the suggested improvements I had made."

"In addition the Navy kept tape recorders that could be hidden to record testimony at one month at a time," he said. closed sessions of the court.

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highly questionable how truly effective any defense of Western Europe can be without French participation.

Internally, several of the NATO governments as weak. Italy for months had a coalition government which recently fell, a situation which could lead to a prolonged parliamentary crisis. The military junta which rules in Greece is far from satisfactory to many of our NATO members. And, the potential conflict in Cyprus between Greece and Turkey could erupt without warning.

Finally, there is a European fatalism, submerged by recent events, which could surface again. This fatalism rests on a conviction that the Soviet Union could overrun the continent with conventional weapons or destroy it with a nuclear arsenal almost at will.

Under such circumstances, Europe's best defense—as it has been for over twenty years—is the promise of the U.S.—the foremost nuclear NATO nation and perhaps inevitably the dominant partner—to come to Europe's defense in case of aggression.

Such a situation has, quite naturally, never pleased some Europeans, especially General de Gaulle. This group argues that in an emergency the U.S. would follow a course most beneficial to its own security, regardless of the policy or action favored by the European members of NATO, leaving the European nations with only limited control over policy decisions which could determine their own destiny.

Such an attitude has in the past and could again cause Europeans to adopt the approach which either says (1) the U.S. believes Europe is important to its own security and will defend it against aggression despite European contributions or (2) the U.S. does not consider Europe vital to its defense and would act in its own interest, whether or not there was an alliance.

A conclusion as described above, then, poses a second problem: how should the U.S. react? There are four main choices: The United States can leave Europe to its own defense, it can seek a co-operative agreement among the NATO members, it can carry a disproportionate part of the alliance's requirements, or it can play a delicate balancing game of trying to convince the Europeans the U.S. still will decrease its support unless they contribute more while continuing to convince the Russians and Warsaw Pact nations that the U.S. nuclear arsenal and conventional power stand behind the defense of Europe.

WHITHER NATO?

As the North Atlantic Treaty Organization approaches its 20th anniversary, which it will celebrate next April, these are the problems with which it must deal on an internal and external basis.

It appears unlikely that any of the members will use the 20-year option of announcing an intent to withdraw from the alliance at the end of a year's time.

It is likely, however, that some restructuring and modification will take place.

As I have stated before, I believe the U.S. stands willing to bear its full share of the burden of NATO. But, as many other NATO nations, the U.S. has certain economic problems, including a balance of payments one, and the U.S. has widespread domestic needs, which must be met. Unless the other members of NATO are willing to contribute proportionately to the alliance, I believe the U.S. will find it difficult to justify its expenditures.

The events of August 1968 are, however, a dramatic reminder to Western Europe of the original threat which led to the creation of NATO and of the necessity for maintaining its strength.

A prompt and complete fulfillment of the pledges made at the Council meeting would be a welcome indication of European recognition of that threat and of intent to meet obligations too often abandoned in the past.

CHRISTMAS EVE IN SPACE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the recent success of Apollo 8 brought with it considerable comment on the Christmas Eve reading from space of passages from Genesis.

A recent editorial in the Belton (Mo.) Star Herald properly underscores the views of many concerned citizens and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

WHAT'S WRONG WITH GENESIS?

(By Joseph J. Maurer, Editor)

With the accolades of the world being accepted by the United States and our three remarkable astronauts, one dissident note has been sounded.

Mrs. Madalyn Murray O'Hair, the woman who was instrumental in getting prayer removed from public schools, now wants prayer banned from outer space.

After hearing the words from Genesis read by Frank Borman, James Lovell and William Anders while they circled the moon on Christmas Eve, Mrs. O'Hair said she would register complaints with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and that she is getting a mail campaign started with her note to the Manned Spacecraft center.

Mrs. O'Hair said in part, "It seems to me, that when man is expanding human knowledge and attempting to explore so that we can find answers that it is extremely unfortunate for a nation to direct—or persons in a program to assume for themselves—either one way or the other, that they should read portions of the Genesis Bible which is accepted by a very minor number of persons in the total world.

"Christianity, you know, is a minor religion . . ."

Mrs. O'Hair is entitled to her beliefs. However, we too, are entitled to ours. If in some future flight to the moon, the crew does not care to recite a prayer or read from the Bible, that is their prerogative. In the meantime, it seems, we must make our wishes known. Our founding fathers fled to America to escape religious oppression. This country was founded by men who believed every man had the right to believe and worship as he wished. It was not their intent that religion be denied or that those who chose to express it publicly be castigated.

There is an expression (paraphrased) which goes "The only way evil can triumph is for good men to do nothing."

Perhaps it is time we and you, our readers, did something. In addition to writing to the Manned Spacecraft center in Houston, Tex., it might be appropriate to write our representatives: Sen. William Cason and Rep. Frank L. Mickelson in Jefferson City; Senators Stuart Symington and Thomas Eagleton and Rep. William Randall in Washington, D.C.

Christianity may be a minority religion, but the words of Genesis predates the word Christian. The words of Genesis are a part of basic Jewish beliefs and most probably are basic to other religions who also believe in a supreme being who is responsible for the creation of our world.

Surely in an era when the age-old command "Love one another," is so vital to our very existence, we can do no less than to stand and be counted for what we believe in.

Accordingly the following telegram has been sent to astronauts Borman, Lovell and Anders in Houston and copies of this issue of The Belton Star-Herald will be sent to our representatives in Jefferson City and Washington D.C.

"Congratulations for a magnificent job. Your example of courage and faith has been

an inspiration to men of all countries and faiths. Your Christmas Eve message of words from Genesis gave hope and solace that all inhabitants of this planet may yet live together in peace."

ASSUMPTION BY SENATOR PELL OF CHAIRMANSHIP OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it is with a sense of humility that I assume the post of chairman of the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Humility, because of the fact that the previous chairman of this subcommittee was Senator Wayne Morse, under whom great advances were made in the field of education.

I look forward to the work on this subcommittee. The past 4 years have been landmark ones, during which the Federal commitment to education has grown from \$700 million in 1964 to \$6 billion this fiscal year. Now we must restudy these programs in a contemplative, but also a creative frame of mind. There is still much to be done so that we can point with pride to an educational system that not only makes available the best possible elementary, secondary, and higher education, but also insures that no citizen is denied education because of economic or racial reasons. It is my intention to vigorously pursue these aims.

FOREIGN TRADE ZONE AT MACHIASPORT

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the application of the State of Maine for a foreign trade zone at Machiasport is still pending before the Foreign Trade Zones Board. The circumstances surrounding its consideration raise the most serious questions regarding the integrity of Government officials. The history of willful procrastination and delay has been the subject of inquiry before my subcommittee on Small Business of the Banking and Currency Committee. Inquiry into this matter is continuing. I intend to deliver a detailed report to the Senate and the American people on this matter at an early date.

"PUEBLO"

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the *Pueblo* affair was another huge blunder of the Central Intelligence Agency. Director Helms of the CIA must take the responsibility for this disaster which was reminiscent of the CIA ill-conceived and poorly planned Bay of Pigs operation—also a horrendous blunder. It was a great humiliation to our Government and to President John F. Kennedy who at the time said he would like to tear up the CIA and throw the pieces to the four winds. The Bay of Pigs disaster not only resulted in the loss of lives of Americans who participated in it but cost our Government millions of dollars in meeting blackmail demands to liberate Cubans captured in that ill-fated invasion. This was a Central Intelligence Agency operation from its inception to ultimate disaster. Prior to that fiasco, the CIA brought disaster and humiliation to President Eisenhower in the U-2

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capture. This incident destroyed the summit conference that President Eisenhower had arranged with leaders of the Soviet Union. It afforded Premier Khrushchev a forum for denunciation and table-pounding with his shoe. We Americans felt ashamed about this. President Eisenhower gallantly assumed blame for the U-2 operation, when, in fact, he knew nothing about it. Later, we exchanged the chief Soviet spy, Rudolf Abel, for our spy, Gary Powers.

The United States has fewer than 10 intelligence collecting or spy ships and the Soviet Union an unknown number, but far in excess of ours. It should be the duty of our Government and the President of the United States should immediately direct that all association between our intelligence collecting or spy ships with the U.S. Navy be severed.

The Soviet Union has a modern navy. Its intelligence collecting ships are disguised as trawlers. They are not a part of the Soviet Navy nor would any officials in the Kremlin admit that they are commanded by officers and manned by seamen of the Soviet Navy. We should follow suit, and our intelligence collecting ships and their skippers and crews should forthwith be separated and placed apart from our Navy.

Welcome as the news of the release of the *Pueblo* crew was, the whole affair remains highly messy and unsatisfactory. The *Pueblo* was engaged in an ill-timed spying operation along the coast of North Korea. North Korea has a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union. According to the provisions of this treaty the Soviet Union is obligated to send its armed forces to the aid of North Korea in event another nation attacks that country. This nonaggression treaty is similar to that our Nation has with West Germany. That fact, coupled with the fact that more than one-third of our Navy and more than 600,000 of our Armed Forces in addition to the naval personnel off the coast of Vietnam are in Thailand and South Vietnam clearly demonstrate that no spy mission off the coast of North Korea should have been undertaken by the CIA at that period unless there were urgent reasons that such surveillance could not be delayed. I am convinced there was no urgency at that time to undertake the risk involved.

The mission of the *Pueblo* apparently was to drift along the coast of North Korea intercepting messages. We had broken the North Korean code. In drifting with the engines off the CIA technicians on board the *Pueblo* could no doubt better intercept the messages and the closer the *Pueblo* was to the shore the more information could more easily be obtained.

At the time following the seizure of the *Pueblo* it was known and publicly stated by Defense Secretary McNamara that there were 10 days and nights when no messages came from the *Pueblo*, and in this period of radio silence it was assumed and hoped at the Pentagon and at the CIA offices that orders not to intrude further than 13 miles off shore had been followed. North Korean authorities claimed the *Pueblo* had intruded into their territorial waters a

distance but approximately 5 miles from one of their islands. The *Pueblo* was seized outside the 12-mile limit. This was an act of piracy on the part of the four North Korean small torpedo or gunboats.

Possibly North Korean officials claim the right to hot pursuit which has been our claim in South Vietnam in pursuing fleeing Vietcong from South Vietnam into the territory of Cambodia and Laos.

The American people have every right to question the behavior of Commander Bucher, his executive officer and some members of the crew. Ours is a nation whose navy has a great history and noble tradition. In the entire history of the Republic no U.S. naval vessel ever surrendered to an enemy without firing a shot. No naval vessel was ever boarded without its officers and crew fighting to repel the invaders. The *Pueblo* had two 50-caliber machineguns. Commander Bucher did not even order the covers removed. They were not removed. No warning shot was fired across the bow of any North Korean vessel. Now 82 Americans, members of the crew, and also CIA technicians and radio code experts who are civilians, have finally returned to our country. CIA officials should be compelled to fully disclose to the Senate and House Armed Services Committees the precise orders given the commanding officer of this ship at the outset and all subsequent orders, if any, before it was captured.

Americans rejoice that these men are safe at home. Very definitely, a most thorough court of inquiry will, and should, question the members of the crew, the CIA operatives, and Commander Bucher and his executive officer. Why did he at the time just preceding the capture not offer some show of resistance? Why, instead of directing his ship to proceed at one-third of its speed in the 2 hours from the time the North Korean gunboats commenced harassment operations and before it was boarded did he not either fire at least one of the 50-caliber guns across the bow of one of the North Korean ships or proceed at full speed out to sea away from the North Korean shores? Why was no effort made to scuttle the ship when there were millions of dollars' worth of highly secret material and apparatus on board? That Commander Bucher, a Naval Reserve officer, failed to direct any of these operations and during the period of imprisonment reportedly signed a great many statements and reportedly publicly denounced his own Government before North Korean news reporters are questions Americans have a right to have answered.

What would John Paul Jones, Stephen Decatur, Preble, or Lawrence or other officers of our young Navy have done? How would they have behaved? What about admirals like Farragut or Porter? Very definitely, it appears that the skipper and the crew failed to acquit themselves in the tradition of the American Navy from 1775 right down through World War II.

The United States has lost a naval ship filled with electronic devices. This

truly was not a warship. It was simply an intelligence gathering factory. Yet, it was flying under the colors of the U.S. Navy. Its skipper and executive officer were U.S. Naval Reserve officers.

No more *Pueblo* incidents should be tolerated. Furthermore, the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces has an obligation to change the future operations and status of intelligence gathering ships. They must be separated absolutely from our Navy. Russian trawlers, disguised as Russian fishing trawlers, are no part of the Navy of the Soviet Union nor are they ever protected while on their missions by Soviet air power or naval power. It is unfortunate that years ago we failed to separate absolutely our spy ships from the U.S. Navy. The *Pueblo* operation was an unnecessary CIA operation. It was a blunder perpetrated by Director Helms of the CIA and under his direction.

It is certain that both the United States and the Soviet Union will continue to employ spy ships. In view of the *Pueblo* blunder, our Nation must devise a new policy for handling any future incidents like that of the *Pueblo*. Spying is a risky business. The risks ought to be well considered in advance.

Director Helms of the CIA was remiss in the performance of his duties. His is the responsibility for the humiliation and tremendous loss of prestige inflicted on our country. There was a lack of planning in this intelligence collecting operation. The information sought to be gleaned was never worth the risk. Never again should a U.S. naval vessel be permitted to become an intelligence collecting factory, loaded down with highly secret electronic devices.

The CIA should be shaken up and changed from the top down. It is unfortunate that President-elect Nixon has decided to retain Richard Helms as CIA Director. Possibly this was a decision for only a limited period. Helms should be dismissed as head of the CIA, and a halt put to the arrogant policies and operations of the entire Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA is a watchdog that needs a master. The Congress must undertake serious and constant surveillance over its operations.

The *Pueblo* itself, although it cost more than \$7 million, is now of no value whatever to us. It is an empty shell. Much highly classified secret material has long since been seized and gone over thoroughly by experts and doubtless ended up in Peking and in the Kremlin. It is certain that all electronic instruments and devices were removed shortly after its capture. The damage done to our country is almost beyond belief. All of our code have been scrapped, and our manner of intelligence collecting operations halted and changed. If the North Koreans make any use of the *Pueblo* its exterior will be so changed in all probability that it will be unrecognizable.

Last Christmas for 82 Americans was happier knowing that 82 men taken prisoner by the North Koreans were back with their families after 11 months detention as prisoners of war. We judge that these men were compelled to live on a diet foreign to the American way for

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11 months and subjected to brutality, being sometimes kicked or struck by their captors. This was the bitterest sort of captivity far away from home and deprived except on infrequent occasions of Red Cross help and the delivery of letters from loved ones.

We Americans would do well to remember that in South Vietnam our Armed Forces always immediately turn over to the military of South Vietnam all prisoners of war taken by us. Our Nation is signatory to the Geneva agreement for the Humane Treatment of Prisoners of War. Yet, for 5 years in South Vietnam we have in fact been guilty of violating this obligation and have aided and abetted the South Vietnamese soldiers in inhumane treatment of prisoners of war captured by our forces and then turned over to soldiers of the Saigon regime for interrogation and frequently for execution.

Prisoners of war taken by Americans in Vietnam have their arms tied behind their backs, then they are blindfolded and then turned over to the South Vietnamese. Sometimes prisoners of war taken by our Armed Forces have been executed by the South Vietnamese without any trial.

During the TET lunar offensive early in 1968 Americans reading the newspapers of Sunday, February 4, 1968, and looking at television news that day saw a young Vietcong officer, arms tied behind him, being murdered by Saigon police chief Nguyen Ngoc Loan. The pictures on television clearly showed Saigon police chief Loan aiming his revolver a few inches from the head of the young Vietcong officer taken prisoner by American soldiers but a few minutes previously. This prisoner of war was at the time blindfolded and his arms were tied behind him.

Doubtless our fellow countrymen were treated very harshly; yet the skipper and crew of the *Pueblo* survived captivity. Not one died in that period of 11 months. Certainly we should insist that Vietcong or North Vietnamese prisoners of war be given at least as good or better treatment than our men received from the North Koreans.

Those of us who served in combat in World War II saw German soldiers, taken shortly before as prisoners of war. Never did we see one with his hands tied behind him nor his eyes blindfolded. Sometimes their hands would be clasped above their heads, directly after their capture while they were being led to interrogation centers, but that is all.

Let us make certain that the *Pueblo* incident becomes an object lesson from which we will profit in the future. These intelligence collecting factories should not be classed as naval vessels and these CIA operated ships must not be part of the American Navy from now on.

Mr. President, in the Plain Dealer of Cleveland, Ohio, of January 14, 1969, there appeared an excellent editorial entitled: "Set the *Pueblo* Record Straight." I believe this editorial clearly and concisely sets forth the need for a thorough investigation by a court of inquiry to develop the full story of the seizure of the *Pueblo*. I commend this to

my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

SET THE "PUEBLO" RECORD STRAIGHT

For reasons of military security, the American public may never know the full story of the seizure by North Korea of the intelligence ship *Pueblo*.

The court of inquiry to be convened Thursday will satisfy the United States Navy's requirement for thoroughgoing investigation of any incident in which a vessel is lost or damaged.

But whether it will answer the public's questions as to why and how the *Pueblo* was so easily taken by an enemy force is another matter.

There have been too many confusing accounts of the *Pueblo*'s voyage and its end. For that reason and for the reason that a great nation was humbled and made to appear ridiculous by a fourth-rate power, the record should be set straight and assurance should be given that nothing of this sort will be permitted to happen again.

On top of all the conflicting information about the *Pueblo*'s station inside or outside of North Korea's territorial waters comes a late report that the ship, equipped as it was with highly sophisticated detection and communications gear, lacked explosive charges to destroy the equipment or sink the ship before it fell into enemy hands.

Another report holds that the *Pueblo* crew had only enough time before capture to dispose of "some" secret gear and papers. And still another, that "nearly all" of the equipment and papers were wrecked or thrown overboard.

One more shocker, a statement by a *Pueblo* crewman, is that no one had been trained to operate the ship's machine guns which remained covered during the attack and seizure. Admittedly the machine guns would have been no match for weapons aboard the North Korean subchaser, patrol craft and airplanes at the scene—but why were they aboard the *Pueblo* if not to repel boarders or at least delay capture?

The conduct of the *Pueblo*'s crew under enemy fire is not questioned. There are large questions, however, concerning the way the Navy equipped and managed the *Pueblo*'s mission.

The official inquiry into the ship's loss should provide answers for the public as well as for the Navy.

THE PRIVATE INVESTMENT COMPANY FOR ASIA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to a growing movement in the world by which private enterprise control is making a tremendous contribution to the economic development of less developed areas of the world, a really historic development that started with Adela Investment Co. in Latin America, which is now a phenomenal success. I had the honor of starting that program in motion, in association with Vice President HUMPHREY, who was my partner in that matter when he was in the Senate, and with the aid of outstanding and distinguished business leaders.

Primarily I refer to the chairman of the First National City Bank of New York, George S. Moore; the executive vice president of Standard Oil Co., New Jersey, Emilio G. Collado; and Jacques Maissonrouge, president of IBM World

Trade Corp. I did that as an officer of the North Atlantic Assembly.

This great precedent was fabulously successful, and more and more illuminating as the most significant contribution to the economic development of Latin America. The Private Investment Company for Asia is a similar type organization for Asia. The principal organizers again are George Moore, chairman of the First National City Bank of New York, and Emilio G. Collado, executive vice president of Standard Oil Co., to whom I referred. They are now joined by other distinguished men in the world such as Stanley DeJ Osborne, partner of Lazard Freres & Co.; by the Chase National Bank, with David Rockefeller; and by Kuhn, Loeb & Co., through Nathaniel Samuels their managing partner, as well as by the Bank of America, Rudolph A. Peterson, the president being the operative personalities; including the IBM World Trade Corp., with Jacques Maissonrouge as its president, again taking the leading position.

Then there is the Fuji Bank in Japan with Yoshizane Iwasa president being the dominant factor bringing about this development.

I shall report further to the Senate upon this matter, but it is of such enormous significance coming where it is, in Asia, that I call the earliest attention to it that is possible for me—to wit, the first announcement of its formation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the article on the subject, published in the New York Times of January 13, 1969.

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

DEVELOPING NATIONS OF ASIA TO RECEIVE PRIVATE-CAPITAL AID
(By John H. Allan)

The Private Investment Company for Asia, a new multi-national corporation designed to make private capital investments in the underdeveloped nations in the Far East, announced over the weekend that it has completed its formation.

The first meeting of the board of directors, a blue-ribbon group of international finance and trade leaders, will be held Feb. 12 in Tokyo, the company's headquarters site.

Called PICA for short, the company was formed by a group of prominent financial and industrial concerns in the United States, Japan, Europe, Canada and Australia.

It has authorized capital of \$40-million, of which approximately \$16.8-million will be paid-in—one-third by American investors, one-third by Japanese and one-third by the others.

About 120 financial institutions and companies have agreed to subscribe PICA's capital.

The board is expected to elect Willem A. van Ravesteijn president of PICA. Mr. van Ravesteijn formerly was managing director of the Industrial and Mining Development Bank of Iran.

Yoshizane Iwasa, president of the Fuji Bank in Japan, is to become chairman of the board.

Stanley deJ. Osborne, partner of Lazard Freres & Co., will be chairman of the executive committee.

The other American directors of PICA will be: Eugene R. Black, former president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Emilio G. Collado, executive vice president of the Standard Oil Company

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(New Jersey); Jacques Maisonrouge, president of IBM World Trade Corporation;

Also, George S. Moore, Chairman of the First National City Bank; Rudolph A. Peterson, president of the Bank of America; and Nathaniel Samuels, managing partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, was instrumental in interesting a number of the sponsors "in the deed and practicality of the undertaking," FICA said.

Senator Javits also helped form ADELA, a similar private investment company organized to make private investments in Latin America.

ROBBING EVERYBODY THROUGH INFLATION

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, a recent article describes the second-greatest problem facing president-elect Nixon as inflation:

The American consumer has been caught in a money maelstrom, and the experience is not a pleasant one.

Inflation in this country is now in its steepest spiral in 17 years; and there would appear no signs of a deceleration.

In 1968 alone, the Consumer Price Index—a measure of the average change in prices of goods and services—jumped some 4.75 percent.

Various measures have been taken in effort to dampen the inflationary pressures; as example, a tax increase, modest reductions in Government expenditures, and now a further increase by the Federal Reserve in the prime interest rate to 7 percent.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that three articles dealing with the current "money crisis"—"Nixon Faces Prospect of New Money Crisis," by Richard Dudman in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 5; "A Monetary Maelstrom," by Erich Heinemann in the New York Times of January 9; and "How It Looks for 1969," by Sylvia Porter in Washington Evening Star of January 6—be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Jan. 5, 1969]

NIXON FACES PROSPECT OF NEW MONEY CRISIS
(By Richard Dudman)

WASHINGTON, January 4.—The prospect of a new world currency crisis in 1969 is high on the list of problems facing President-elect Richard M. Nixon.

A measure of the anxiety over the future of the dollar was shown last month, when Nixon's nominee for Secretary of the Treasury, David M. Kennedy, touched off a world wave of gold speculation merely by trying to avoid comment before taking office on whether the price of gold should be increased.

If Nixon's campaign promises were as easily carried out as made, the outlook would be much better. Two of his promises, to end the Vietnam war and to curb inflation, would deal with two of the main factors in the uncertainty about the dollar.

AN OPEN SPIGOT

As long as the war continues, it will mean a heavy outflow of resources, an open spigot that makes it hard for the United States to end the deficit in its balance of payments. The continuing deficit in this balance of the outflow of U.S. dollars against earnings and

credits received from foreign nations is a continuing threat to the stability of the dollar and to the international monetary system.

Domestic inflation, now in its steepest spiral in 17 years, affects the other side of the scale. Rising prices at home attract foreign imports, and rising costs at home hobble American exports in their competition in foreign markets, increased imports and reduced exports threaten to wipe out the favorable U.S. balance of trade that normally has been important plus in the over-all balance of payments.

Like the war, inflation promises to be an intractable problem for the Nixon administration, just as it has been for the Johnson Administration. The Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York said last month that practically all forecasters, including its own, had underestimated the inflationary rise. It would not risk a prediction for 1969.

NIXON PLANS

Nixon's plans, as outlined in his campaign, at least, threaten to continue the inflationary pressures. His estimate of a 10-billion-dollar increase in annual military expenditures after the Vietnam war is over will stand in the way of his goal of a balanced budget.

And the encouragement he has given to the steel, textile and tobacco industries for additional protection against foreign imports will contribute to an expected drive this year for import quotas. These, of course, would lead to retaliation by foreign nations, and the result could be a further reduction of the normally favorable trade balance.

A year ago, the international monetary system was in the midst of a crisis, and the dollar was the chief casualty. Devaluation of the British pound on Nov. 17, 1967, had led to heavy speculation in gold, largely by foreign holders of dollars. Newly mined gold could not satisfy the demand, and it was met by active members of the international Gold Pool—the United States, Britain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands and Switzerland.

TWO-TIER SYSTEM

The private demand for gold continued into 1968. The United States, which bore most of the loss, saw a drop of 2.3 billion dollars in its gold reserves.

Members of the Gold Pool met in mid-March and adopted a so-called "two-tier" gold price system. Rather than selling gold to try to hold its price at \$35 an ounce, they would let the private commodity price of gold seek its own level. It has been fluctuating from \$38 to \$42 an ounce. The official price of gold in its monetary role, as a currency base, remains fixed at \$35 an ounce.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler has hailed the establishment of the two-tier gold price system as one of two major developments that marked 1968 as a turning point in the international monetary system.

The other was the completion of negotiations on a proposal to create "paper gold" through so-called Special Drawing Rights under the International Monetary Fund agreement. When ratified, the new system will enable Western nations for the first time to create international reserves instead of relying on newly mined gold or the outflow of dollars or other currencies from countries with balance of payments deficits.

STRAIN ON MONETARY SYSTEM

In a report last month on the condition of the dollar, Secretary Fowler noted that too much expansion of international reserves could spur world inflationary pressures. But he pointed out that a deficiency of world reserves could strain the international monetary system seriously.

"When there is no increase in global reserves," he explained, "one country can add to its reserves only at the expense of some

other country or countries. The resulting competition for reserves can lead to an escalation of world interest rates, and to a cumulative spreading of restrictions on international transactions as countries try to make additions to their reserves."

Fowler said that the "paper gold" system, although it will help the equilibrium of the monetary system as a whole, will not remove the need for equilibrium in the balance of payments of individual countries through policies of their own. He said this remained "one of the most difficult and challenging problems in the field of economic policy and international economic co-operation."

NOVEMBER CRISIS

A new monetary crisis last November grew partly out of the economic aftermath of the strikes and riots in France last May and June. Subsequent labor agreements increased wages by 10 to 14 per cent, about twice the rise that had been expected. An outflow of capital from France reduced the French gold and foreign exchange reserves from 6 billion dollars to 4 billion dollars in seven months.

At the same time, rumors of a possible appreciation of the Deutschmark arose from a heavy flow of funds into Germany and a continued heavy German trade surplus.

An adjustment was worked out without revaluation of currencies. Germany agreed to reduce its trade surplus by adjusting its border taxes. France maintained the value of the franc, restored tight exchange controls and revised border taxes to strengthen its trade position. A 2-billion-dollar multilateral credit arrangement was set up to give further support to the French franc.

MULTILATERAL ACTION

Fowler called this group of measures a further step toward establishing the principle of cooperative multilateral action in handling the financial affairs affecting the major countries and the major currencies.

"At many times in the past," he observed, "there has been a tendency to look upon the international monetary problems from a narrow nationalistic and short-range view."

From Fowler's report, it is evident that one of the major requirements for a stable international monetary system, even under the new arrangements, is the long-sought adjustment of the economy of the United States.

The trade surplus, which averaged 5.2 billion dollars a year in 1960 to 1965 and reached a record high of 6.7 billion dollars in 1964, has been declining steadily since then and could drop below a billion dollars for 1968. There were deficits in March, May, June and October. Fowler called this decline "the most disappointing aspect of our recent balance of payments performance."

SECURITIES SALES

On the favorable side has been a continued increase in foreign purchases of American securities, stimulated by the disorders in France and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August.

Efforts to reduce new American direct investment abroad and loans by U.S. banks to foreign borrowers have been successful.

A major remaining drain is the "tourist deficit," the amount by which foreign expenditures by American tourists fall to match the expenditures in the United States by tourists from abroad. Gross expenditures of American tourists are nearly 4 billion dollars a year, nearly as much as total U.S. military expenditures abroad.

The Nixon administration can be expected to continue the efforts of the Johnson administration to achieve world-wide liberal trading practices that will provide equal access to world markets. Fowler said the United States could no longer be tolerant of harmful trade measures, and Nixon has promised to fight discriminatory practices by foreign countries.



Associated Press

INQUIRY: Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, left, Chief of Naval Operations, at Congressional committee hearing yesterday on Pueblo incident. At right is Adm. Joseph McDevett, the advocate. Admiral Moorer said Navy was taking precautions against repetitions.

Moorer Defends Joint Chiefs' Scrutiny of Pueblo

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 4—The Navy's highest officer maintained today under persistent Congressional questioning that the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave "proper consideration" to the risks involved in widespread intelligence activities such as the use of the U.S.S. Pueblo.

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, the Chief of Naval Operations, declined to divulge how much time the Joint Chiefs had spent in evaluating the mission of the Pueblo, the intelligence ship seized by the North Koreans off their coast in January, 1968.

Representative Otis G. Pike, chairman of the House Armed Services Special Subcommittee investigating the Pueblo capture, asked Admiral Moorer whether the Pueblo mission had been part of an intelligence "package" and how many other activities had received the chiefs' approval at the same time.

"There is a package," the officer replied, "and once a month this is given the closest scrutiny by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It may take an hour or more or it may not, depending on whether there are any crucial aspects in the package."

'Large Number' Involved

Admiral Moorer declined to say how many other intelligence projects were in the same package, but he said it was "a large number" and that all the missions had been extensively reviewed by staff before the chiefs approved them.

"Obviously, in this case [the Pueblo], they were all wrong," Mr. Pike, a Democrat of Suffolk, observed.

"That's right," Admiral Moorer said.

people have a deep and real interest in knowing the depth to which these matters are con-

Inform a House Panel Such Activities Were Evaluated for 'an Hour or More'

sidered," the Congressman said. "When you talk about deciding a great number of cases in an hour, I hate to have that testimony hanging there for the public to read."

"It's fair to say," the admiral replied, "that the Joint Chiefs of Staff do, when and where necessary, give this proper consideration."

Admiral Moorer testified for more than four hours in open session as the first witness of the hearings and then continued in closed session.

Assurances Declined

On a number of occasions, Admiral Moorer declined to answer questions, either on the ground that his answer might violate security or because it involved matters currently before a court of inquiry into the Pueblo seizure in Coronado, Calif., whose findings he will ultimately have to review.

Admiral Moorer refused, in response to a question, to provide any assurance that there would not be a recurrence of the Pueblo incident.

"I don't think anyone can do that," he replied, "but we are taking every possible precaution against this happening again."

Asked if the Joint Chiefs had participated in the decision not to send aircraft to the aid of the Pueblo, Admiral Moorer said it "was actually made in Hawaii" but that military leaders in Washington "thought that was the best course of action."

Stratton, Democrat of upstate New York, asked if that action by the chiefs had not been

similar to Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher's decision "not to take on the PT boats" when the Pueblo was attacked.

"I don't think I'd say that," Admiral Moorer replied.

"I'd sustain your position," Representative Pike said to Mr. Stratton.

In defending the Pueblo mission, Admiral Moorer said that the Soviet Union had 40 unarmed intelligence ships operating around the world "well beyond the protective reach of other Soviet forces." He said they were regularly stationed off bases in Scotland, Spain, Guam and South Carolina, from which United States Polaris submarines operate.

The officer insisted that the Pueblo was an overt intelligence craft and did not operate under the "cover" of a hydrographic ship, although it carried such personnel. Mr. Pike cast some doubt on this statement with questions that the admiral refused to answer for security reasons.

Although the Pueblo did not have an automatic destruction system to prevent its intelligence material and equipment from falling into enemy hands, Admiral Moorer said, comparable Navy ships now have such devices.

Raid of North Backed

SEOUL, South Korea, March 4 (Reuters)—President Chung Hee Park said today that the United States should have given an ultimatum to North Korea after the seizure of the Pueblo and threatened to bombard selected area of the North.

The President told a group of 47 American journalists and businessmen that such a show of force would have led to the Pueblo.

The group arrived here last night on an Asian tour.

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doing. We must see for ourselves, come out of isolation.

The means of communication have never been more available. Never have we had more ways and opportunities to assure the continued confidence of our customers, suppliers, employees, stockholders, the public, and government.

IN SERVICE TO FREEDOM

Tonight, we consider what we can do, with government, to preserve free enterprise. We might keep in mind what Edward Gibbon wrote of the people of ancient Athens:

"In the end, more than they wanted freedom, they wanted security. They wanted a comfortable life and they lost it all—security, comfort and freedom. When the Athenians finally wanted not to give to society, but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished for most was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free . . ."

Let us, by our service to our society, assure that no future historian shall ever write that of America. Rather, let him say that America remained free, free because its people so valued their freedom that they gave themselves fully to its service.

RESTORATION OF FORT LARAMIE

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, Wyoming is proud of its heritage in the history of America, and proud of the landmarks which record the progress of the westering which took place across our prairies and mountains. Among these, the outpost known as Fort Laramie stands out, for it was a trading center, a fort to protect settlers and travelers, and the scene of peace parleys.

Under the direction of the National Park Service, Fort Laramie is being restored and stands today as a significant monument to our past. Last week, the Christian Science Monitor featured Fort Laramie and the historic ride of Portugee Phillips for assistance for the imperiled garrison of Fort Phil Kearny in 1866. Because the article by Charles W. E. Morris tells us much about our Western heritage, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 26, 1969]

WEST RIDES AGAIN AT FORT LARAMIE, WYO.
(By Charles W. E. Morris)

Lying within a big bend of Wyoming's Laramie River near the junction of the North Platte, is old Fort Laramie, one of the West's most famous frontier outposts.

The first fort on this site was established in 1834 by fur trappers and traders and named Fort William. Enlarged some 15 years later and renamed Fort Laramie, it offered protection to the pioneer settlers during the western migration of the wagon trains over the Oregon Trail. It also served as a relay station for the Pony Express and the Overland Stage.

During the years of fighting with the plains Indians, it was also an important base of operations and later the scene of several peace parleys. The western migration had begun, a few years earlier following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. In the spring of 1804 President Jefferson had commissioned Capt. Meriwether Lewis and Capt. William Clark to explore the newly acquired Northwest Territory.

After spending a winter near the mouth of the Missouri, the young explorers and their company, numbering about 40, began

the ascent of the river. They wintered in North Dakota, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and descended the Columbia River, and in November, 1806, they reached the Pacific.

After wintering on the coast they began their return journey, reaching St. Louis in September, 1807. In 2½ years they had traversed some 9,000 miles of wilderness. The glowing reports which they brought back spurred the onrush of homesteaders and prospectors, but most of the way led through Indian territory, a fact which was to have violent repercussions.

Located in a prominent spot alongside the access road leading from the highway to the fort is an unusual memorial tablet—a memorial to a horse. It commemorates the amazing feat of endurance of a truly magnificent animal in carrying its rider from Fort Phil Kearny to Fort Laramie, a distance of 236 miles through heavy snowdrifts in subzero weather. It may well be history's greatest ride to seek help.

Fort Phil Kearny, an advanced outpost, was built in 1866 to protect the increasing number of settlers and prospectors moving into the region. The building of the fort in violation of a treaty with the Indians, and the invasion of their traditional hunting grounds, together with the increasing slaughter of the buffalo and game animals, had been watched by the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoes with growing alarm and anger. Led by their great war chiefs, Red Cloud and Crazy Horse, they had taken to the warpath in an effort to drive the white man from their land.

Woodcutting parties from Fort Phil Kearny that had to drive their wagons some seven miles to the timber were constantly attacked by the Indians, and troops frequently had to make sorties from the fort to rescue them. As the tribes concentrated in the area in ever increasing numbers, their attacks on the isolated homesteads and wagon trains became more frequent.

On Dec. 21, 1866, a woodcutting detachment was attacked on its way to the timber. A force of 81 men under the command of Captain William Fetterman set out to rescue them. His orders, both written and oral, from the fort commander, Colonel Carrington, were terse and explicit. "Relieve the wood train. Under no circumstances pursue the Indians beyond Long Trail Ridge." Fetterman, a brave but impetuous officer, had openly voiced his contempt for the Indians. Disregarding his orders, he pursued a number of retreating warriors, but was led into an ambush where some 2,000 braves were lying in wait. The ensuing fight was desperate but of short duration. Of the relief force there were no survivors.

With his depleted manpower, Carrington could scarcely hope to hold the fort for long against the Sioux and their allies. It was decided to try and get a message through to Fort Laramie. A civilian scout and experienced frontiersman, John 'Portugee' Phillips volunteered to make the attempt. Carrington gave him his own horse, a fine thoroughbred animal, and about midnight, Phillips, bundled in his great buffalo coat, set out in a howling blizzard.

Some miles from the fort he ran into a party of Indians, but was able to shoot his way out of the trap. He reached a way station where he had hoped to get help in sending a message through. But finding no help available, he continued on his desperate journey. Shortly before midnight on Christmas Eve he reached Fort Laramie. On the parade ground the gallant horse sank into the snow and expired.

Phillips staggered into "Old Bedlam" where a gay party was in progress and gasped out the news of the disaster at Fort Phil Kearny before collapsing. In a short time a relief column was on its way to the beleaguered garrison. When they arrived they found that because of the severity of the storm, the

Indians had remained in their tents and had not attacked the undermanned fort.

Today, as a national monument, Fort Laramie is under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. A number of its buildings have been restored to their former condition, notably "Old Bedlam," former officers quarters and the scene of most social activities the Cavalry Barracks, Sutlers' Store, and a number of others. Plans call for the ultimate restoration of many more of the buildings and the furnishings of them in accordance with the period of the 1860's.

Somehow the simple memorial tablet to a horse serves to dramatically remind us that man in his conquest of the West had to depend in large measure on his four-footed partner, whose courage, stamina, and devotion made these achievements possible.

PLACE THE BLAME WHERE IT IS DUE

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, ever since the crew members of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* were returned to this country, I have been receiving mail from Wyoming citizens concerned about the welfare of these men.

Wyoming people, and indeed citizens everywhere, have been deeply touched by the disclosure of the physical and mental torture these men suffered at the hands of their North Korean captors.

To my knowledge, no charges have been filed against any *Pueblo* crew member. The people of the United States and all of us in the Senate want to insure that the Navy continues to treat these men fairly.

Wyomingites feel that if blame must be fixed on the part of the United States for the seizure of the *Pueblo* and its crew, it must be shared by all in our Government who had anything to do with the *Pueblo's* presence in the waters off North Korea, with her mission there, and with her apparent inability to defend herself from being pirated by the North Koreans.

Among those who share this view is the distinguished and able Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), who is a member of the Committee on Armed Services. Senator DOMINICK's statements regarding the responsibility for the *Pueblo* incident were the subject of a recent editorial written by Editor James Flinchum, of the Wyoming State Tribune, at Cheyenne.

I agree with Mr. Flinchum's observation that commendation is due Senator DOMINICK for his willingness to publicly raise some pertinent questions regarding the *Pueblo* incident. These deserve a response from our Government.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Flinchum's editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) State Tribune, Jan. 25, 1969]

LET THE SENATE INVESTIGATE

A public service merit badge is due Sen. Peter Dominick, a World War II fighter pilot and holder of the Distinguished Flying Cross and Air Medal with cluster. The Colorado Republican said yesterday if the Navy persists in persecuting Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher, skipper of the *Pueblo*, then the Navy's brass ought to be summoned for interrogation by the Senate Armed Services Committee, of which he is a member.

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and big business. But some people seem to talk most about—and worry most about—the bigness of business.

Many who deplore the bigness of business mistake economic competition for the predatory life of the jungle, where the big grow bigger as the small grow fewer. This is not the case. The growth of big business has not occurred at the expense of small businesses. As the head of the Small Business Administration has pointed out, a century ago about 300,000 businesses—nearly all small by today's standards—served a population of 29 million. Today 4.8 million serve a population of 200 million. So, while population has grown seven-fold, the number of businesses has multiplied 16 times.

Big and small businesses are mutually dependent. The critics of bigness forget this, overlooking that the big company is also a big customer. General Motors, for example, spends nearly half of its income for the goods and services of more than 37,000 smaller businesses—over three-quarters of whom employ fewer than 100 people. Then, to sell its products, General Motors depends on tens of thousands of additional small businesses—on 14,000 vehicle dealerships and 128,000 other retail outlets.

Big and small business aid and support each other to the benefit of the nation's economy and the individual customer. Small business is frequently the source of new products and new methods. Small business offers imaginative entrepreneurs a range of opportunity for individual initiative. And small business is well able to offer the personal service, special attention, and flexible operation required to meet the increasingly varied demands of the consumer.

BIGNESS AND COMPETITION

Moreover, bigness is often misunderstood as prima facie evidence of monopoly power. But the proof of monopoly is not the size of firms, nor the fewness of firms in an industry. Rather, it is the absence of competition that identifies monopoly.

In the automobile business, for example, competition is the central fact of life. Auto manufacturers compete in product innovations, price, and marketing techniques. The four major domestic companies offer 382 models, and foreign companies offer scores more in the American market.

Yet even the smallest automobile manufacturer is a big company. Automobiles, because of their sheer size and complexity, need large capital investments if they are to be produced in the volume essential to low cost. Their design demands large research and development organizations. Their manufacture calls for extensive facilities and large and skilled labor forces. Their sale and servicing requires a nationwide network of showrooms, service centers, and parts warehouses.

Big companies also exist in many other fields that are highly competitive. In Illinois alone are headquartered 57 of the 500 largest industrial corporations in America. You can be proud of the important contributions they have made to our nation's economic growth.

Those who decry the bigness of private industry fail to consider the unwelcome alternatives.

When government takes over an industry, responsibility only shifts to other hands, to managers bound by political strings and slow to respond to consumer needs. Or when a number of smaller companies are artificially sustained in business, prices tend to rise and value to the consumer drops.

The gloom prophets of doom have always predicted—and some still do—that the growth of corporate business must inevitably lead to a massive takeover of power. They envision our country transformed into a corporate state, where the private corporation is dominant. Nothing could be further from the truth. If you question this, just ask some of us who are asked to "visit Washington" regularly.

Both the bigness in American business and the progress of our economy result from our historic freedom to compete. The company that does the best job gives progress to our country. And the people, in turn, by buying its products, give the company its size. America must always have a place for big business if our country is to compete successfully in the widening markets of the world.

PRODUCTIVITY, WAGES AND PRICES

In addition to the myth of dangerous bigness, there is also serious misunderstanding of the concept of productivity and how it applies to wages and prices.

Productivity is a popular word at the bargaining table. And it has a place there. In fact, twenty years ago, General Motors helped give historic recognition to the truth that continuing technological improvement is essential to the progress of all. In 1948, for the first time, our union agreements had a provision for relating wage improvement to the increasing productivity of the country as a whole.

Expanding markets, efficient management, and technological innovation have helped American industry achieve a startling increase in productivity.

But, unfortunately, many people have come to take annual productivity increases for granted, to accept them with the certainty of Christmas coming every December. Surely, the popular logic goes, since productivity never fails to go up every year, a company can afford to lower its prices, or increase wages, or both.

But popular logic fails to remember that the much-discussed annual gain in productivity is only an average. In some years, there is a higher productivity gain throughout the economy; in other years productivity falls short. Some industries achieve more, but others less.

In any case, a fixed increase—whether 3.2% or 2.8% or whatever figure you want to use—is only an average. Much like the size of the average family, 3.7 persons, it is a figure so exact that no parent has ever been able to achieve it. The three is easy. It is that seven-tenths of a person that is hard.

THE ELUSIVE OBJECTIVE

An annual increase in productivity is not automatic, but must be earned, and re-earned, every year. Management each year must take off from a higher base. Each year we must work as hard as we can to be as efficient as we can. Then we must be even more efficient the next year. It is never easy to improve on your best—and do it every year.

Productivity can be adversely affected by many factors: unnecessary work stoppages, resistance to improved technology, low-quality workmanship, absenteeism and poor employee morale—just to mention a few.

Moreover, increased productivity is predicated, not on speed-up, but upon the expectation of a fair day's work from every employe. The objective of technological improvement is to increase the output of the labor force while still maintaining the principle of a fair day's work from every employe.

The illusion that the annual increase in productivity is automatic underlies many hasty and hostile reactions to wage and price decisions.

We cannot have balanced economic growth if inflation is allowed to continue at its current rate. Price stability, equitable wages, and technological innovation are essential to continued economic progress. Our nation enjoyed remarkable growth from 1961 through 1964, with good balance between wages and productivity. But imbalance since then, combined with excessive growth in demand, have produced the inflationary tendencies which now imperil our economy. We have seen our world balance of trade deteriorate in the past few years as we have priced ourselves out of competition in many different lines. We cannot eliminate our balance-of-payments prob-

lem, nor long preserve the value of the dollar, unless we balance wages with productivity.

We must find ways to draw the public's attention to excessive wage demands and their implications on prices as vigorously as price changes are emphasized. And we must do so before the fact—not after the wage contract is signed, and its impact on prices becomes inevitable.

These two myths—of increased productivity that is automatic and bigness that is dangerous—are typical of the misunderstandings that better communication can clear up as government and business work more closely together.

THE TASK WE FACE TOGETHER

The constant objective of our concerted efforts should be to protect and preserve the system of free enterprise that is the distinctive hallmark of our national economic life.

Our American system—the profit system, or free enterprise, or capitalism, call it what you will—has produced a far better social product than any other system the world has ever known. It has not achieved a perfect social order, but our constant mission as Americans is to improve it, not to weaken it. History has cast us as builders and not destroyers.

Management's obligation to its stockholders is, of course, clear and primary. Those who own a business expect to earn a profit on their investment. But profits and progress do not compete. Rather, each produces the other.

Mismanaged industry can neither make a profit nor build a nation. Profit provides the funds for growth and progress; growth that in America has underwritten our unmatched system of individual security, opportunity and dignity.

So government's concern with social progress finds an ally, not an adversary, in business. The job of business is to provide the consumer with goods and services at the lowest economic cost. To do this, business innovates, it grows, it creates more economic opportunities. In short, it gives progress to the nation.

Government can and should promote a better business climate—not for the sake of the businessman, not for the sake of the stockholder, nor the worker, nor even the consumer—but for the sake of the nation as a whole. Business wants a better understanding with government, and will continue to work cooperatively to assure our continued progress as a nation.

Americans must always be free to criticize. Criticize, yes, that is our right. But serve also, that is our duty.

A PART FOR EACH, A PART FOR ALL

The better America we must help build summons from each of us a dedication, a compassion, an effort, and a sacrifice. Every American must try to serve by involving himself in the daily work of our society. We must make sure that the legacy of our America is not lost or diminished by our inaction, our indifference, our intolerance, or our indolence.

We must be willing to face the hard facts of what we must do. America grew great because its people were characterized by energy and industry. We had a willingness to work—and a determination to earn.

We live in a challenging age where much can be accomplished—and quickly. We must make the most of our opportunities for creative change. Material progress has given us more leisure time, more time to think, to concern ourselves with things outside our own jobs, our own communities.

Perhaps, to some extent, this has stimulated the discontent that is so evident in our world today. More people want to participate, to involve themselves, to shape events with their own hands.

If we are to be creators of constructive change, we need not only to be involved ourselves, but must be aware of what others are

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Senator Dominick, who served in the Air Force said: "It appears that the Navy is trying to fix responsibility on the commander (of the Pueblo) for not having fought his way out of an untenable position."

As Dominick made his statements in Washington, in effect accusing the Navy of prolonging the agony this unfortunate officer already has undergone, it was revealed in New York that a three-star Air Force general made the decision against sending U.S. fighter planes to aid the Pueblo while it was under attack by the North Koreans off Wonsan just a year ago on the same date.

The Long Island newspaper Newsday said the decision against sending fighters to aid the Pueblo was made by Lt. Gen. Seth J. McKee, commanding general of the U.S. Fifth Air Force in Japan. Newsday said a subsequent review of McKee's decision by then Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara concluded that the Air Force general had acted wisely.

Despite this, the Navy is persisting in not only formally investigating Commander Bucher, but doing so under circumstances that suggest it considers he did wrong in surrendering the Pueblo. As this newspaper has said previously, how can the Navy pursue such a course when it was apparent that the Pueblo, armed with little more than .50 caliber machineguns, could have resisted only suicidally?

Despite what was reported about General McKee's decision not to send Air Force fighters to assist the Pueblo, the five-admiral Navy court of inquiry which is patently trying Bucher, announced yesterday that it would call no Air Force witnesses at the court of inquiry now underway at Coronado, Calif., because "the court considers it can fulfill its charge without doing so."

As a matter of ordinary fairness, however, if the Navy is to proceed on this matter it ought to summon not only General McKee but also Defense Secretary McNamara and any and all other witnesses whose testimony might have some bearing on his case.

In the meantime it is apparent that the people of America and many of their representatives in Congress are highly disturbed over the Navy's callous treatment of Commander Bucher.

"It's my feeling" said Senator Dominick yesterday "that we should have a hearing before the (Senate) Armed Services Committee to try and fix responsibility on the persons responsible for turning down his (Bucher's) request for equipment and for failing to adopt contingency plans to take him out of a spot into which he had been ordered by the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Government."

The Armed Services Committee not only should investigate the failure to protect the Pueblo when it called for help but also why the Navy is seeking to make Commander Bucher the fall-guy for a tragic occurrence that should not have been allowed to occur—simply because nobody made plans in advance to help this helpless little ship on a most hazardous mission. Is this a cover-up to try and shield those really at fault?

WISE WORDS FROM ENGLAND

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it is noteworthy that leading parliamentarians of the United Kingdom including Alistair MacDonald, Stanley Orme, Frank Allaun, and Norman Atkinson, all distinguished Members of the House of Commons, recently issued a statement expressing their hopes in the following language:

Now that a new American President has been installed millions of British people are hoping he will act to end the terrible and continuing war in Vietnam.

The parliamentarians added:

We warmly welcome the reopening of the Paris talks and urge the United States to start the withdrawal of her troops from Vietnam and recognize the National Liberation Front as steps most likely to secure peace. As Labour Members of Parliament we would like to pay tribute to all those in your country who have struggled so persistently and courageously to end that war. This seems to us the greatest antiwar movement in this generation. If the fighting stops it will lay the basis for further relaxation of tensions between East and West; in Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere. Vast savings in arms spending could be devoted to other and better purposes. This is something worth working for, both by your people and by ours.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I wish to speak in appreciation of the manner and the spirit in which President Nixon conducted himself on his just-completed trip to Europe.

The world is waiting anxiously now for the first signs of progress toward understanding and the building of friendship among people and of confidence among nations.

All of our Presidents before him have journeyed far and wide in search of peace, so this role is not unique to Mr. Nixon. But today is a time for success in this role because the people of the world are wary of conflict and the manner in which the problem is approached is critical.

I point this out because the hopes of men of good will everywhere have been dramatically heightened in the past week. What seemed so distant only a few months ago glimmers today in light of the President's efforts to reunify relations with our European allies.

First of all, Mr. Nixon thoroughly prepared himself by studying the sources of contention that have separated us from our friends.

His approach to our allies was one of candor which expressed concern and compassion for their problems and for their point of view. He was never an adversary placing demands on the table.

It is refreshing to note the response he received from this method of diplomacy. Friends who were cautious before are now sparked with renewed determination. Those who were contemptuous are now speaking of a new day.

And from these relationships President Nixon has laid the foundation for what will be the greatest task of his administration—emerging as the peacemaker.

He is off to a good start.

CONTRIBUTION OF MOBILE, ALA., BANKS TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE RECOGNIZED BY PRESIDENTIAL "E" AWARDS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, it was gratifying to learn that two banks in Mobile, Ala., received the Presidential Export "E" Award on January 8, 1969. On that day, Mr. Monroe Kimbrell, of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, presented the Export "E" Emblem to Mr. Robert Bacon, president of the First

National Bank, and Mr. E. Ward Faulk, president of the Merchants National Bank, at a ceremony at the new International Trade Center in the Port of Mobile "in recognition of outstanding contributions to the increase of U.S. trade abroad."

The many and continuing contributions that occasioned these awards are contained in an article in the Port of Mobile magazine for January. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record following my remarks. I might add to the list, from my personal knowledge, the cooperation rendered to the Senate Small Business Committee in its regional export expansion inquiry by the banking community of Mobile. An expression of this is found in the testimony of Mr. J. W. Oliphant, vice president of the Merchants National Bank, who keynoted the public hearings in Mobile on November 10, 1967. This kind of leadership, provided by these banks in international trade, is an intangible quality which is significant to the progress of the port in many ways.

Winning the Export "E" is a considerable honor, because it is awarded for service beyond the call of duty to customers of a city and region and also to the national interest in strengthening the balance of payments. As I recall, the "E" awards program originated during World War II when it was given for production achievements. It was reactivated for the export field in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy and Gov. Luther Hodges, of North Carolina, who was serving as Secretary of Commerce at the time. See Executive Order No. 10978 of December 5, 1961.

The names of the two recipient banks convey the fact that they are national in character. The awards confirm that they have now become truly international.

I wish to bring this to the attention of the Senate not only to add my congratulations for a job well done, but to indicate what is happening across the gulf coast and throughout the South. We have great opportunities and a great need to rebuild the prowess of the United States as a trading Nation. We are particularly proud, of course, of the part being played by our region, our State, the Port of Mobile, and the First National and Merchants National Banks in this endeavor.

I shall continue to do all I can to advance these efforts, and to bring the benefits of increasing world commerce to small and large business, and to the positive side of our Nation's balance of payments.

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

MOBILE BANKS RECEIVE "E" AWARDS

The First National Bank of Mobile and the Merchants National Bank of Mobile were awarded on January 8, 1969—at a ceremony at the International Trade Club at the Port of Mobile—the President of the United States' "E" Award "in recognition of outstanding contributions to the increase of U.S. trade abroad."

Mr. Monroe Kimbrell, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, represent-

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ing the President, made the awards to Mr. Robert Bacon, president of the First National, and Mr. E. Ward Faulk, president of the Merchants National.

On hand was Mr. Houston H. Feaster, Director of the Alabama State Docks, who received the "E" Award for the Alabama State Docks in 1965, and Mobile's only previous recipient, witnessed the ceremony. The Docks Director added his congratulations to those of the Secretary of Commerce of the United States, the Honorable C. R. Smith, who announced the award earlier in the month.

Both banks have been active in offering foreign banking services since the Port of Mobile was primarily a cotton and lumber port, long before the 40-year-old Alabama State Docks or the Presidential "E" award was ever dreamed of, Mr. Feaster said.

President Eisenhower re-instituted the award for service contributions to the National Export Expansion Program, and in his proclamation reviving the wartime big "E" symbol, the President said in part:

"The 'E' flag that once flew over plants making notable records in war production . . . now will fly over factories contributing significantly to the goals of international peace and prosperity. The United States must, in the best traditions of American competitiveness and ingenuity, push forward with the development and sale of goods in all the markets of the world. An increased level of exports is absolutely essential for a healthy situation in our international balance of payments. Such a healthy situation in turn will enable us to carry out international responsibilities for preservation or freedom. More exports will mean a stronger America; a more prosperous America; and greater assurance of a free world."

The award recognizes the contributions of the two Mobile banks to the growth and development of the Port of Mobile and the flow of Alabama and American Goods and products to overseas markets.

Both banks have gone far beyond the simple financing of exports. They have furnished information that ranged from helping to find overseas markets to the receipt of final payment. Through their network of bank correspondents overseas, they have secured and relayed important information to the exporter, including (1) dependable credit information on foreign firms (2) overseas demands for particular products (3) usual terms of selling or buying and the methods of obtaining payment without undue risk.

They have uncovered the names of responsible firms or individuals who are interested in representing or acting as agents) American firms.

The Mobile banks' contribution to foreign trade varies from direct loans to exporters and manufacturers to financing secured by documents on particular shipments. They collect funds from abroad directly from overseas banks. They offer acceptance financing to exporters. They forward letters of credit issued by foreign banks to the exporter promptly.

The international banking departments of both banks have been expanded over the years. Each is always eager to work with the exporters, large or small, no matter whether the exporters are only beginning to seek foreign markets or have been long-established in the export trade.

Both banks have had representatives on the Regional Export Expansion Council of Atlanta, and later on the Council in Alabama after it was established in 1963. They have encouraged their personnel to participate in the Council's sponsorship of trade forums, seminars and meetings throughout the State and in trade missions abroad, all in the interest of increasing the export of Alabama products.

The First National and Merchants National Banks have always supported the

activities of the port and the various service organizations. Their officers and personnel have served as directors and officers of the following organizations: Mobile Port Traffic Bureau, Propeller Club of the United States, Mobile Traffic and Transportation Club, International Trade Club, World Trade Committee of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, Alabama World Trade Club of Birmingham, and the National Defense Transportation Association. The banks are members and are active in the Banker's Association of Foreign Trade, a national banking association consisting of over one hundred forty banks in the United States offering foreign banking services. In addition, a number of foreign banks with offices in this country are members. In this association the Mobile banks have served as directors and officers. The banks are also represented at the National Foreign Trade Council Convention held in New York each year. In addition, the banks hold memberships in the International House, New Orleans, Mississippi Valley World Trade Council, and various world trade associations throughout the south and mid-west.

Foreign trade could hardly be accomplished without the part that commercial banks play. Shippers through the Port of Mobile know this.

REFORM OF ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary is currently holding hearings on the reform of the electoral system. As a co-sponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 1, the proposal offered by Senator BIRCH BAYH to substitute the direct election of the President for the electoral college system, I have felt that one of the most significant arguments in its favor is its recognition of the importance of the right to cast an effective vote. This right is now denied all those voters who do not cast their ballot for the candidate who carries their particular State.

However, the right to cast an effective vote—the right to equal representation—will not be completely insured by the substitution of the direct election of the President. For even in this case, those voters who cast their ballots for the losing candidate find themselves without representation in the executive branch of our Government.

The power of the executive branch has grown so much that the opposition representation in the Congress may not be a sufficient check.

Mr. David Fromkin, a New York City lawyer, has raised these questions and suggested a possible answer in a recent issue of *Interplay* magazine. His proposal for a formal structure of the opposition is worthy of study. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION: AN AMERICAN LACUNA

(By David Fromkin)

"Only in America . . ." the familiar phrase begins, but in this case it must read: "Only in America or, in fact, in a different set of numbers, in Gaullist France." For in no other Western democracy could the candidate of 31,770,231 voters receive supreme power while the candidate of 31,270,533 voters receives no power at all. In theory, the

elector President represents all of us. But in years like 1960 and 1968 he really represents less than half the electorate, and the other 30-plus million voters have no one to speak for them in the high places of government: their leader vanishes. For another four years, half the nation has no voice.

The British, in the course of a long constitutional development, have created a role for the leader of the defeated party, a position in which he, too, can contribute on a continuing basis to the thinking and leadership of his country and the shaping of its policies. We, on the other hand, have no use for such a leader. In the United States he raises funds to make up the campaign deficit; then, more often than not, we send him home.

Quite apart from its unfairness—that one man passes into the pages of history and the other out, by the margin of one-half of one percent—ours is a wasteful system. To the extent that our parties fulfill the obligation to nominate their best men for national office, we are wasting the judgment, talent, knowledge and experience that the candidates of the losing party can contribute to public life. Among my personal examples are Wendell Willkie and Adlai Stevenson; everyone will, of course, have his own.

The defeated candidate who decides to resist the tendency of the system—who decides that, even without another political position such as Senator or Governor, he will remain in public life—must support himself and his staff by private means. He goes to a private foundation. He administers a university. He heads a large corporation. He joins a law firm. Whichever alternative he chooses, he is retained by some private interest. His political program must take account of the needs and desires of his employers, clients or donors. His future political availability is limited by the "conflict of interest": was there a single freewheeling client of his law firm who was not dredged up against Richard Nixon in the campaign? The viciousness is in the system itself. We force the leader of the losing party to serve private interests when we should be requiring him to serve the public interest.

The chief defect of the way in which we treat the losing candidate, however, lies in its effect upon the victorious candidate. Ours is the only country in the Anglo-Saxon world whose Head of Government is not checked, balanced and limited by an adversary, a Leader of the Opposition, with whom he is locked in continuous public debate. One reason is that our Head of Government is also Head of State. As the symbol of the nation as a whole, he is to that extent lifted above the leader of the opposite party. This only makes matters worse, for it cloaks him in an immunity that he should not have. The important things the President does nowadays are the life-and-death things done as leader of party and government, the very areas in which he should face constant challenge. In comparison, ceremonial functions of the presidency matter relatively little, although their existence adds to the aura and influence of the office of the presidency and can be misused.

The excessive growth of executive power has been observed throughout the world and almost universally deplored. One need not go far as de Riencourt in *The Coming Caesars* to view with apprehension the growing accumulation of overwhelming power in the hands of one man. There is no one to question the President of the United States, except the newspapermen who do so at his pleasure. He does not submit to congressional inquiry. He may subtly commit us to foreign or domestic conflicts, without our being aware until they and their consequences are upon us. He dominates the media of communication. When he chooses to argue his case to the people, there is no one to argue the case against him: no one equally known, with equal access to communications facili-

Pueblo's Main Task Was to Survey Russian Fleet

By BERNARD WEINRAUB
Special to The New York Times

CORONADO, Calif., March 2—The Pueblo steamed out of Japan on January, 1968, with 83 crewmen, most of whom were inexperienced at sea, unaware of any possible threat and unsure of the intelligence ship's mission.

More than half of the crewmen had never been to sea before—including 20 of the 29 communications and decoding specialists in the secret "research space." Although the ship was on an intelligence gathering mission, only two crew members spoke Korean. About six enlisted men and officers, however, spoke Russian.

Testimony at the court of inquiry and conversations with Navy officials indicate that the primary phase of the Pueblo's final mission was to collect data on Russian naval operations in the Sea of Japan.

The secondary mission of the Pueblo was to move along the coast of North Korea to check on radar installations and the movements of submarines in the area.

Relative Importance Weighed

The relative importance that the Navy placed on the two missions of the Pueblo was underscored by the fact that the ship's two Korean-speaking crewmen joined the Pueblo in December, 1967, two weeks before the former cargo ship sailed from Yokosuka, Japan, toward North Korea.

Most of the "research" or intelligence crewmen joined the Pueblo in May, when the vessel was converted into an intelligence craft. Her 177-foot hull was fitted with hypersensitive radar, navigation equipment and sonars.

At the time of the Pueblo's mission, Navy officials say, the "No. 1 priority" for intelligence ships was the coastal waters off Communist China. Armed

Chinese fishing boats in previous months harassed and steamed as close as five yards to naval intelligence ships in the East China Sea off Shanghai.

The second priority was off the coast of the Soviet Union in the Sea of Japan. Navy officials say that there was a "high degree of harassment" of United States intelligence ships in the zone, including "extremely close" passes by nuclear-powered guided missile submarines and destroyers.

Some of the harassing incidents—in which smaller Russian craft pointed 37-millimeter guns toward American ships at a distance of 20 yards—lasted several hours.

The third priority was off North Korea. The Pueblo's sister ship, the Banner, had two missions near Wonsan on her way north toward the Russian coast. One of the intelligence missions was for 11 hours; the other for a day and a half. There was little harassment.

The Pueblo's mission was di-

vided into two phases. The intelligence ship was to sail north in the Sea of Japan off North Korea. After collecting intelligence in three separate areas along the coast, she was to reverse course and steam south to watch and eavesdrop on Soviet Navy operations.

This was to be the major thrust of what turned out to be the Pueblo's final mission.

"We were to attempt to survey the Soviet naval units which were known to be operating in the Tsushima Strait area and had been operating there for many months," Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, the Pueblo's skipper, testified.

"We had placed these ships under surveillance by air and it was not known at the time what the ships exactly were doing there and why they were assigned to that location.

"What Pueblo hoped to do was to survey these ships and obtain photographs if possible.

"We were permitted to close their formation to a distance

of 500 yards for normal surveillance and to a distance of 200 yards to obtain photography. It was my intention to take care of this particular phase of my assignment as the final part of my operations."

Unprepared for Attack

Commander Bucher and the Pueblo's crewmen have repeated over and over that the ship had been unprepared for a North Korean attack or any hostile actions beyond harassment.

Since most crewmen were unaware of the ship's intelligence mission—they had only been told that the Pueblo was engaged in "oceanographic research"—there appears to have been considerable confusion in the feverish efforts to burn and scuttle the 600 pounds of secret papers on the ship.

Navy officers say that few of the crewmen, possibly even Commander Bucher, knew that the ship carried so many secret papers and so much decoding equipment.

Hill Starts Pueblo Quiz On Tuesday

A House Armed Services subcommittee will begin hearings Tuesday on the Pueblo with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations, leading off in open session.

Rep. Otis G. Pike (D-N.Y.), chairman of the special subcommittee, said in an interview yesterday that the focus will be on the national security implications of the Pueblo seizure, the command and communications gaps, and the code of conduct for American Servicemen.

Besides that, Pike said, "we are interested in more of the whys. Why the particular configuration of the ship? Who made the decision? The question of the characterization of the mission as low risk."

At the moment, there is no intention to call Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher or other members of the Pueblo crew. But Pike said they are welcome to testify if they request the opportunity.

freedom meant so much to him. Remember the ditches, dirt, machine guns and mustard gas that surrounded the men at Verdun and Argonne? They too knew the mood, felt the magic of their freedom permeate their living—and because they knew that mood, because they felt that magic, nothing, not even death could shake it loose from them. Remember the marines who raised that flag over Iwo Jima? That was no baseball game, but a place where men fought and died for a thing that they believed in—where men went beyond feeling and knowing to giving. And that's freedom's challenge—to feel freedom, yes, but to care about it so much you'd even die for it.

For the half-million men who have died for this nation in war, freedom was more than just a word. Like baseball to Charlie Brown, it was the focal point of their lives—something they wept over, lost sleep over, got stomach aches over—a something whose loss would be infinitely worse to them than losing their own lives. They knew what freedom meant to them and they cared about it so much they even died for it. Knowing, caring, and giving—does it mean as such to you?

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION CITATION

HON. HENRY BELLMON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, the cause of world peace is uppermost in the minds of all Americans at this critical time in our Nation's history. Perhaps at no previous time has there existed a greater need for understanding among the peoples of the world.

It is heartening to know, therefore, that many of our educational institutions are contributing to that kind of exchange of ideas between nations that builds the foundations for peaceful and progressive relations. I am proud that my alma mater, Oklahoma State University, holds an outstanding position in this field.

Seventeen years ago, under the leadership of the late Dr. H. H. Bennett, one of the most noted and respected educators of our time, Oklahoma State began a program in Ethiopia which has resulted in the establishment of an agricultural college and research station.

These efforts were recognized in the designation of Oklahoma State University to receive the 1969 Institute of International Education-Reader's Digest Foundation Award for Distinguished Service in the field of international education and cultural relations. The award was presented February 19, 1969, in Washington.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the citation accompanying the award be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION CITATION TO
OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

To thousands of students in remote towns and villages all over the world, the campus of Oklahoma State University surely must seem to be the source from which the "fountain of

knowledge" emanates. Each year—for almost twenty years—groups of teachers, consultants, researchers, and advisers have spilled forth in a steady stream from the town of Stillwater, Oklahoma, taking with them to newly developing lands their accumulated skills and a common desire to share their specialized talents.

The African nation of Ethiopia, in particular, has welcomed its association with Oklahoma State University since 1952 when the first group of experts arrived to establish and operate a technical high school at Jimma. In succeeding years the university has worked—with the help of U.S. aid, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the National Science Foundation—to establish a college of agriculture at Alemaya and an agricultural research station at Bishoftu.

The highest compliment to the over 180 participating university staff members is the fact that most of their jobs now can be held by the local personnel they have trained. This, after all, has been the chief goal of their educational assistance program—whether it be in Ethiopia, in Pakistan, in Thailand, or in Latin America—"to create independent and self-reliant world neighbors."

Fortunately for the students and teachers who remain on the Oklahoma State campus, the international exchange of people and ideas has been a two-way flow. Over the past two decades, the number of foreign students has increased over eight-fold to more than 500 visitors this year.

In presenting the distinguished service award to Oklahoma State University, IIE and the Reader's Digest Foundation heartily commend the university for demonstrating the diversity of international education programs and for proving first-hand the magnificent results of enabling others to help themselves.

U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and newspaper article.

The letter is one which I sent to Secretary of the Navy John Chafee.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: What were the "rather long and learned dissertations from other sources" that reversed the Navy's position from the original ruling that the Military Code of Conduct did not apply to the crew of the USS Pueblo?

According to the February 21, 1969, issue of the Washington Post and Washington Evening Star a startled reporter told Navy Captain William R. Newsome, Counsel for the Navy Court of Inquiry, "that sounds like a reversal." With a smile the Navy Attorney replied simply, "It does."

Who were the "other sources"? Who is calling the shots on how this case is being handled?

Earlier in the Inquiry, January 23, 1969, Captain Newsome had ruled, with the reported advice of the Navy's judge advocate general's office, that "the Code of Conduct is inapplicable in this present situation. We had an opinion that the crew members on the Pueblo were not prisoners of war; they were illegally detained. We are not in a state of hostilities at the present time with the North Koreans. Consequently, they are not the enemy, of course we don't have prisoners of war. And when we don't have prisoners of war, we don't have the application of the Code of Conduct. . . ."

Does the Court of Inquiry contend that because Commander Lloyd Bucher wanted to save the lives of his crew by signing a phoney confession that he is more guilty of violating the code than US Army General Gilbert H. Woodward, who, acting on orders from the highest government level, knowingly signed a false confession to obtain the release of the Pueblo crew? I think not.

As one who has been extensively involved in the Pueblo affair, I cannot accept this double standard. To do so would make a mockery out of the Navy Court of Inquiry.

Please provide me with the reasons for this abrupt reversal of the Navy's decision.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM J. SCHERLE.

"PUEBLO" HELD SUBJECT TO RULE (By George C. Wilson)

CORONADO, CALIF., February 21.—The Navy, in a reversal of opinion, has decided the American fighting man's code of Conduct applies to the Pueblo crewmen after all.

Capt. William R. Newsome, attorney for the five admirals who comprise the Naval Court of Inquiry looking into the Pueblo seizure, confirmed the change of opinion last night.

He told reporters, however, that no legal action is contemplated against Pueblo crewmen for breaking the code while in captivity in North Korea.

The code, he said, "is like the Ten Commandments," which can be violated "spiritually" but not "punitively."

APPRAISAL OF CODE

The court's focus instead, he said, is on the 1955 code itself and its viability in today's environment. He called the inquiry "an excellent vehicle" for appraising the code and recommending changes.

He would not say who or what reversed his earlier opinion that the code did not apply to the Pueblo men because they had been "illegally detained," as distinguished from being taken as prisoners of war.

Newsome does not set policy for the Court of Inquiry but acts as its hired legal hand. Vice Adm. Harold G. Bowe Jr., president of the court, and his four fellow admirals on the court obviously decided to focus on the code.

Questions all this week were framed to determine if the Pueblo crewmen knew about the code and why they had violated it. Their testimony will influence the Navy Department in Washington, which right now is trying to come up with a position on the code in advance of Congressional hearings on the subject.

ALL ADMIT BREACH

To a man, the Pueblo crew admitted to breaking paragraph five of the code: "When questioned, should I become a prisoner of war, I am bound to give only name, rank, service number, and date of birth. I will evade answering further questions to the utmost of my ability. I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause." Another part of the code directs the man to "resist by a means available" and "make every effort to escape. . . ."

The six officers, 74 enlisted men and two civilians on the Pueblo gave the North Koreans more than that minimum amount of information. Many of them also signed confessions of spying and they participated in propaganda press conferences and petitions while in captivity.

The Pueblo crewmen have told the court they could not hold out against the physical and mental torture. They added that, the Koreans already had answers to most of the questions they were asking during severe beatings.

The Pueblo was captured with many of the records of the men and the ship's mission intact. The crewmen contend their plight therefore was different than that envisioned

by the code. They said they were not like a soldier captured with no detailed information about him or his outfit on his person.

Newsome conceded the Pueblo was a special case in another way—two civilians were aboard the ship serving as oceanographers for the intelligence center. This raises the question, Newsome said, of what code they were supposed to follow.

For purposes of comparison, here is what Newsome said in his earlier statement and last night about the applicability of the code to Pueblo crewmen:

Jan. 13—"... the Code of Conduct is inapplicable in this present situation. We have had an opinion that the crew members on the Pueblo were not prisoners of war; they were illegally detained. We are not in a state of hostilities at the present time with the North Koreans. Consequently, they are not the enemy. Not being the enemy, of course, we don't have prisoners of war. And when we don't have prisoners of war, we don't have the application of the Code of Conduct..." He said the legal opinion had come from the Navy's judge advocate general.

WARNING BY SUPERIORS

Feb. 20—"It has become obvious that the Code of Conduct is applicable in this situation. First of all, because the understanding of the people themselves, and second of all, because of certain things which transpired aboard the ship at the time of its capture." He apparently was referring partly to the warning passed to the men by their American superiors not to tell the Koreans anything more than name, rank, service number and date of birth.

"One of the tasks of the court is to examine that code and see whether or not it meets our present needs... I think we have an excellent vehicle for doing that, right now..."

WAR PRISONER CODE APPLIED TO "PUEBLO" (By Robert Walters)

CORONADO, CALIF.—The counsel for the Navy court of inquiry investigating the capture of the USS Pueblo unexpectedly has changed his position and ruled that the Military Code of Conduct is applicable to the 82 surviving crew members of the intelligence gathering ship.

Prior to the convening of the five-admiral court one month ago, its counsel, Capt. William R. Newsome, said the code was "inapplicable" because the Pueblo crew members were "illegal detainees" rather than "prisoners of war" during their 11 months of captivity in North Korea.

But under questioning by reporters yesterday, Newsome said: "It has become obvious that the Code of Conduct is applicable in this situation."

One startled reporter told the attorney: "That sounds like a reversal." With a smile, Newsome replied simply: "It does."

The code, promulgated by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1955, is designed as a guideline for United States troops captured by enemy forces. It was initially issued by the White House as an executive order, and subsequently incorporated in Navy regulations as a "general order."

ANSWERS RESTRICTED

Of the code's six provisions, the one which has emerged as most applicable to the actions of the Pueblo crew reads as follows:

"When questioned, should I become a prisoner of war; I am bound to give only name, rank, service number and date of birth. I will evade answering further questions to the utmost of my ability. I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause."

Similar references to "prisoners of war" appear throughout the code, and it was on that basis, Newsome said yesterday, that the code was initially held to be inapplicable to the Pueblo case.

The term "prisoner of war," as defined by the Geneva conventions on the subject, requires, among other elements, a declaration of war—a condition which does not exist between the United States and North Korea.

But Newsome said that since this initial ruling the court of inquiry has received "rather long and learned dissertations from other sources that indicate that the Code of Conduct has wide applications." He declined to identify the "other sources" or to elaborate.

IN A MURKY AREA

The full impact of the decision remained unclear because Newsome acknowledged that the area was a murky one. "There's a big question with respect to the code's application," he said.

He rejected, repeatedly and emphatically, suggestions that members of the Pueblo's crew might face punitive action for violation of the code's provisions. "The Code of Conduct is a moral code; it's not something you can violate punitively," the attorney said.

That apparently ruled out the possibility of any serious legal rebuke for the Pueblo's six officers and 76 crew members, all of whom signed an open letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson "admitting" that the Pueblo violated North Korea's territorial waters and was engaged in espionage activities at the time of its capture.

Newsome apparently also rejected the possibility of a reprimand for violation of the code, explaining that "reprimand" is a formal military legal term with limited application. "A reprimand is an administrative action—a non-punitive form of punishment" applied only to those who fail to follow administrative regulations, he said.

The court counsel said the Uniform Code of Military Justice does contain specific prohibitions against many of the acts which the Code of Conduct warns about in "moral" terms.

Failure to comply with these regulations is punishable by court martial, and Newsome said that Article 104 contained several such proscriptions under the heading of "aiding the enemy."

However, Newsome added: "Conceivably you could find some offense under the UCMJ... But it's not a direct step."

Every member of the Pueblo crew to testify before the court has said that he has a basic understanding of the provisions of the code and that, in theory at least, he regarded it as an important document to be respected and obeyed.

CODE ABANDONED

However, the crew members said, in the particular circumstances surrounding their capture, the code had to be soon abandoned as a guide for two reasons:

1. The North Koreans captured hundreds of pounds of highly classified documents when they seized the Pueblo, and thus had access to papers describing much of the ship's intelligence work. To deny what already was in the form of printed reports would only be foolhardy, they said.

2. During the armed conflict in their country in the early 1950s, the North Koreans had exceptional success in "brainwashing" captured American fighting men, breaking their minds and forcing them to "confess" against their will to numerous "crimes."

Determined resistance to the North Koreans last year would only have led to a similar situation, the crew members said. In the end, the North Koreans would have secured their "confessions" anyhow—and would have inflicted serious mental or physical damage on their captives in the process.

Recent questioning has concentrated on the code, attempting to have each witness explain in detail why he freely acknowledged violating its provisions.

"WOULDN'T FOLLOW RULES"

Yesterday's questioning of Lawrence W. Mack, photographer's mate first class, was typical. "These people had an unsavory reputation, and it was clear to me that they wouldn't play by the rules to get the information they wanted," he testified.

Explaining that during the interrogation the North Koreans frequently displayed documents captured from the Pueblo, Mack said: "I had the impression that they never asked a question unless they knew the answers themselves."

He added: "What information they wanted they were going to get one way or another, and they could get it from me hard or get it from me easy... But they were going to use torture or whatever was necessary to get it."

In describing the method used by the Koreans to elicit information from him, Mack said he was forced to kneel on the floor of an interrogation room and hold a chair above his head for as long as 90 minutes.

MENACED BY BAYONET

"You can hold that chair up for only so long, and after a while your arms get pretty tired," said Mack, explaining that every time he lowered the chair a guard "kept poking his bayonet in my face. I was worried that if he wasn't careful he might take my eye out by accident."

Mack added: "All I could see was unending torture. So I told the Korean officer, 'Why don't you tell this guard to shoot me and get it over with?'" He said he "went through a period of considerable mental torture" before finally providing the information demanded.

Crew members also testified yesterday that 11 months of malnutrition, inadequate medical care and severe beatings left some of them with permanent physical disabilities.

The Pueblo's chief quartermaster, Charles B. Law Jr., for instance, had perfect vision when he was captured, but began "going blind" because of malnutrition and now suffers from "central blind spots" and is extremely nearsighted.

Law, the crew member unanimously acclaimed by the Pueblo's officers for his ability to provide leadership and keep morale high among the enlisted men during the detention period, said that prior to the Pueblo's ill-fated mission, he had better than perfect vision—20-13 in one eye and 20-14 in the other. But "about the first part of August (of 1968) my eyes started to go bad, he said.

A North Korean physician attempted to treat the disorder with numerous injections, but Law said that after the crew's repatriation and return to this country he was told by Navy doctors that his vision had permanently deteriorated to 20-200.

In addition, Law said he was told by doctors that he had "central blind spots" and that his vision problems were uncorrectable by glasses" because he sustained an "inflammation of the optic nerve" as the result of malnutrition.

Another witness, Radioman 2.C. Lee Roy Hayes, said he was stricken by hepatitis while a prisoner and "also had my jaw broken by the Korean guards."

Hayes said that in a letter the North Koreans forced him to write to Ohio's Gov. James A. Rhodes, he tried to signal his desire that the United States retaliate for the Pueblo's capture by dropping an atomic bomb on North Korea.

Hayes said the letter to his governor included the line: "I long to behold the great and glorious light of our fatherland." He explained: "By this, I meant that they should drop the atom bomb on North Korea."

Like virtually every other crew member to testify, Hayes said he not only expected but hoped for some form of U.S. military retaliation although all of the men knew that such action would undoubtedly lead to their death.

Hayes said one of the "signals" he included in letters from the prison camp to his parents was to capitalize the word "right" each time he used it. He explained: "They're very conservative, they're right-wing in their politics, like I am—and I tried to make it clear that I wanted this thing settled from that point of view."

SEEING US IN LONDON

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, a brilliant young American, William Janeway, now contributes a column of observations and reflections on the American scene to the British journal, the *Spectator*. I was especially struck with his remarks published January 10, 1969, and in order to be able to share these with my colleagues I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Janeway's column be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the *Spectator*, London, England, January 1969]

AMERICA: A NEW YORK DIARY

(By William Janeway)

Last week Sir Denis Brogan confessed himself able to identify only one event of "any general interest" which made news in Britain during the past year: the resignation of George Brown. New Yorkers have had a surfeit of news: the war and the riots; the assassinations and the election. Given the present stalemate in the Vietnam fighting and talking plus the constitutional interregnum between the election and inauguration of the new President, one might have expected the Christmas season to offer some relief. But New York managed to celebrate the holidays in appropriate 1968 fashion: a strike of fuel oil delivery drivers cut off the heating in more than half the city's homes and offices just as the Hong Kong flu attacked in full force. As a fitting side effect, the extra school days, scheduled to allow students to catch up on the weeks missed during the teachers' strike of October and November, had to be cancelled for lack of fuel to heat the classrooms.

The specifics of New York's accelerating disintegration have more than parochial significance. The fundamental issues in the teachers' strike, for example, provide a useful perspective in which to judge Powellite demagoguery on the British racial situation. The struggle in New York is between the black leaders of the city's various harlems, who demand a decisive say in how ghetto children are to be taught and by whom, and the teachers' union, which since the last war has passed beyond issues of pay and job security to virtual control of education policy. (That the union is predominantly Jewish has added a further explosive ingredient to the brew.) The city administration is caught in the middle between the two most self-conscious of New York's bloc votes: Mayor Lindsay's poll ratings make Harold Wilson's look good. The strike is likely to break out again at any moment, as are boycotts of non-community controlled schools.

The teachers' strike in New York is only one outcome of the broad and bitter drive by ghetto inhabitants to gain a measure of control over the institutions which have been the instruments of their systematic exclusion from the political, economic and social

life of the country. As a result, the racial conflict in New York now completely overshadows the relevant issue of education policy *per se*: how best to provide meaningful opportunities for personal growth and social mobility for all deprived children. In Britain, by contrast, education policy can still be the prime means of preventing the highly diverse immigrant minorities ever being forced into the homogenous damnation of Harlem-style ghettos.

The alarms and excursions of 1968 have had one definite impact upon social intercourse across the Atlantic. Whatever the level of conversation seems on a wholly different level from that in Britain. Enoch Powell and the Editor of *The Times* may be playing to a great hush in John Osborne's refound land; in New York the Tiber runs red with blood through every cocktail party and around every dinner table. It is not just the intensity of discussion of the Great Issues that is striking—and the prospect of one's city burning down, one's head being cracked by a passing police nightstick, or one's son, husband or self being called to defend freedom in Vietnam does add a certain intensity to the discussion. War-talk, race-talk, student rebellion-talk is never-ending. *Item*: drunken businessman to previously unknown traveling companion on the three-hour delayed Boston to New Haven 'express': 'I say we ought to clear them out of there. Declare war and use the bomb.' Pause. 'I don't know what the hell we're doing there in the first place.' The unmistakable sign of a successful Nixon Administration would be the return of public discourse by private persons to the level of triviality experienced in America in the 1950s and in Britain today. Some chance.

Now is the time, of course, for full-blooded speculation over the purposes and prospects of the incoming Administration. One aspect of Nixon's cabinet-making is clear, at any rate. For the first time since the pre-FDR 1920s, the Republicans are preparing to build their own Washington establishment of power brokers and inside operators. Unlike the ideologues and outsiders who held office under Eisenhower, men like the new Secretaries of State and Defence, William Rogers and Melvin Laird respectively, are political pros. Their archetype is the man whom Lyndon Johnson called in as receiver-in-bankruptcy for the Rusk-McNamara-Rostow policy in Vietnam, Clark Clifford. In the yet-to-be-written history of the age, Clifford will surely receive credit second only to Eugene McCarthy's for saving the 'System' from the folly of its managers by stopping the escalation of the war. Clifford has been the legendary master-operator of the System's Washington nerve-centre for a generation. As Secretary of Defence, he put first things first by restricting the bombing, by refusing reinforcements by moving towards negotiations, and by expressing a clear willingness to sacrifice the Saigon government in the interests of American political and social stability. During the last nine months he has given an object-lesson to the new administration in self-interested American pragmatism at its most enlightened. The great big question of the next four years is whether Nixon and his pros will have the shrewdness and the skill to pursue continuity with Clifford's pragmatism, rather than the continuity with LBJ's megalomania and with Rusk's dogmatism that Nixon espoused during the campaign.

The political acumen of President Nixon and his advisers will be tested to the full as soon as the Inaugural ceremonies are over. In addition to the great issues of war, law and order and inflation, the F-111 scandal is about to blow up again. The project is by now an undoubted failure, at the cost to date of some \$10 billion of US money (not to count the extra cash conned out of Britain and Australia). The navy version has already been cancelled and the air force version keeps falling down when they let it fly.

On all accounts, a perfect tar baby to stick to LBJ's bedraggled coat-tails as he heads home to Texas. But Nixon has given a mighty, and all too characteristic, hostage to fortune. Three days before the election, in a vain effort to carry Texas, he went to Fort Worth (where the plane is produced) to pledge that he would make the F-111 "one of the foundations of our air superiority." At the end of the year, he compounded the potential embarrassment by naming as Under Secretary of Defense a director of General Dynamics (which makes the F-111). Now the relevant Congressional committees are getting geared up to reopen hearings on the whole mess, with final cancellation looming in the background. One suggestion for getting the new President off the hook: back up his pledges to protect Israel's security by giving F-111s to Nasser.

The past year has seen the consolidation of one aspect, and not a minor one, of the last decade's social upheaval. The progressive integration of educated, middle-class Negroes—tokenist as it may be—has become dramatic. The active recruiting of black students by prestige, private universities barely raises a growl from reactionary alumni any more; there was one American Negro in the class which entered Princeton in 1961; more than eighty were accepted for admission in 1968. The professional schools and the professions are following suit. Television confirms the change: perhaps a quarter of the announcers, newscasters, etc. on New York's seven channels are black, virtually all television advertising is integrated, and Diahann Carroll's friendly, formula, middle-middle-middle-class series is in the Top Ten.

But the irony is stark. As the room for movement within or beyond middle-class America has expanded for those who can break out of the ghetto, the noose around the ghetto itself continues to tighten. During this same decade, the number of people on New York's welfare rolls, overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican, has risen from slightly more than 200,000 to over one million. A knowledgeable estimate is that another one million qualify for relief which they have not applied for. The city's budget is now greater than California's or that of New York State, and welfare is the largest item. The low skill jobs are disappearing and the craft unions, the next step up in a city without heavy industry, are bastions of the white backlash. The roads out are few: education to the professional level for a tiny elite, employment in the public sector for more (but the near-bankruptcy of the city has cut back opportunities sharply). Hence the demands for Black Unions, Black Capitalism, Black Power.

Outside of the ghetto, the cost of living in central New York is following the astronauts to the moon, with no likelihood of re-entry. Rents are up more than 40 per cent. A first-run cinema ticket now costs more than two pounds. One new house-owner, around the corner from the Metropolitan Museum in the heart of Upper Middle Class Manhattan discovered that the cost of installing a complete burglar alarm system, with private, armed police on automatic call in radio cars, was more than offset by the saving on insurance premiums. *New York Magazine* put the pre-tax income necessary for a family to live in Manhattan in the style to which television has accustomed us at over \$100,000 per year. No wonder that a measure of *de facto* housing integration is taking place, with white graduates finding feasible rents only on the fringes of the ghetto.

In the meantime, financial and artistic New York constitutes to run wide open. The 'action' on Wall Street is wilder and woollier than ever; further uptown, the off-off-Broadway theatre, playing to an increasingly un-*épatayable bourgeoisie*, is less self-censored and more exciting than post-Lord Chamberlain London. A dance to the music of chaos? At the least, the 'contradictions' of American

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society have, in New York, reached a 'world historical' extreme: the West's economic and cultural capital towering over a human refuse heap.

CLEAN WATERS: A CONTINUING GOAL

HON. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today on my behalf and that of my colleagues, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. ANDERSON of California, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BLATNIK, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FARSTEIN, Mr. FRASER, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. JONES of Alabama, Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, Mr. MCNEALLY, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. REID of New York, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. SCHEUER, and Mr. WOLFF a comprehensive water quality bill.

Much of this bill is the unfinished work of the last session of Congress—legislation that did not reach final passage before adjournment. Both branches of the Congress had passed slightly differing versions of water pollution control bills by overwhelming majorities. But, unfortunately, minor differences in the two bills were not ironed out in time to enact a final version. It is up to us to complete that work, to make this needed water pollution control legislation one of the first orders of business of the 91st Congress.

This bill goes beyond the major points raised in last year's discussions. It focuses on the problem of lateral sewers, the part of a sewerage system that is most important in our rapidly growing metropolitan areas. It simplifies administration of our water pollution control programs. And it makes some minor changes that can speed up progress in this field and insure that those States that do move rapidly are treated fairly in the legislation.

The United States faces many major problems today, the threat of nuclear war, the crisis in our cities, the tensions of racial conflict, and a growing prosperity that has bypassed parts of our society. Each commands our attention, the full commitment of our mental and physical resources. But even while we strive to find solutions in these areas, we must conserve our rich natural heritage of lands, waters, and seashores, for it is the foundation on which our economic and esthetic wealth rests. Enhanced, it is a source of strength; blighted it will slow and cripple us.

Our land is rich in rivers and lakes and seashores. Majestic rivers flow to the sea: The Hudson, the Ohio, the Chattahoochee, the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Columbia, the Rio Grande, and the Colorado. Great inland seas wash the shores of our northern States: Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario. Each serving as channels of commerce, as sources of pleasure to millions, all giving rise to generations of sailors that have sailed their reaches. Magnificent

ocean beaches shoulder the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, each beach with its individual character, beauty, and form. And the great bays lining our coasts: Boston, New York, Chesapeake, Charleston, St. Petersburg, Galveston, San Diego, San Francisco, and Puget Sound, each an arm of the sea serving as a gateway to a major city. In the mind's eye one can see these rivers and lakes, bays and beaches in sparkling, unspilled beauty.

The true picture is something else again. For in a century we have defiled our waters in a way that early generations could not conceive. Our growing population, our indiscriminate industrial activities, our callousness toward the human values of our environment have turned our major waterways into sewers, have polluted our beaches, and threaten the very existence of some of our major lakes. This should be a source of shame for all Americans.

Fortunately, Congress has recognized the importance of water pollution control and has enacted legislation to aid States, cities, and towns in constructing sewage treatment systems. The authorization bills for Federal funds in this field have passed by overwhelming margins in both branches of the Congress.

But the appropriations have not matched the authorizations; there has been a gap—a gap that has seriously hampered progress on construction of needed treatment plants and sewers. A total of \$581 million was authorized for sewer systems in fiscal year 1968. We appropriated \$296 million. A total of \$836 million was authorized for fiscal year 1969. We appropriated \$303 million. Our appropriations were more than \$800 million below the amount authorized. In the meantime our towns and cities are under legal orders to construct sewage treatment systems. It is no wonder that they sometimes fail to comply.

There has been some justification for the failure to appropriate the amounts of money that have been authorized. The demands of the Vietnamese conflict have hampered progress in this area as it has in so many others. And until there is a lessening of the conflict, there will continue to be a shortage of funds. This shortage has forced us to look for other means to meet our pollution problems.

First, this bill is designed to make the limited funds that are available go as far as possible. By shifting from an individual grant approach, one in which the total Federal sum is given to each project, to a capital financing approach, available funds can be used to start many more projects. The capital financing approach is one in which the Federal Government enters a 30-year contract with a town or city that has an approved construction project. The Federal Government pays its share of the costs, as much as 55 percent, over a 30-year period rather than in one lump sum. The Federal Government pays both for the principal and the interest costs associated with the bonds issued by the town or city for the Federal portion.

This is a key provision of this bill; it will allow us to start on many more water pollution control projects than we are at present. It eliminates a major bottleneck in the search for clean waters.

Second, this bill establishes controls for the critical problem of oil pollution. No American needs to be reminded of the threat that oil poses to our ocean beaches, our harbors and our rivers. The *Torrey Canyon*, the *Ocean Eagle* that spilled oil on the beaches of San Juan in Puerto Rico, the Hess oil barge at Rehoboth, Del., the catastrophe in the Santa Barbara Channel, the 1,000 oil spills that the U.S. Navy is responsible for each year, and the thousands of oil spills from industrial operations on our rivers and harbors must be controlled if we are to restore the quality of our waters.

The oil spillage provisions of this bill were drafted before the major Santa Barbara incident. There is no question that the committee hearings may cause us to revise these provisions to more adequately meet this threat.

Third, this bill deals with the problem of thermal pollution. Thermal pollution is a new threat, a threat rising from the growth in the number of nuclear power plants that are now being constructed around the country. Nuclear power plants operate in a manner that releases much more heat than the conventional powerplant. This heat must be distributed, and it is usually done with cooling waters. The cooling waters become a problem, however, because the heat reduces the capacity of the water to handle other pollution. Plants must be designed to either store the cooling waters until the heat is lost into the atmosphere or to use cooling towers to dissipate the heat.

This bill requires that any Federal agency responsible for licensing of installations insure that the installation will not be a source of water pollution. The Atomic Energy Commission licenses each nuclear power plant; pollution control will be a part of its licensing function under this legislation.

Fourth, this bill addresses the question of avid mine drainage from mining operations. Waters draining from abandoned mine shafts are so acidic that they destroy any animal life in the streams and rivers they enter. Techniques must be found to control this source of damage. This bill provides assistance in meeting this problem.

Fifth, this bill eliminates a provision in the current bill that would deprive some States of Federal funds to which they are entitled. A prepayment clause in the present bill says that States which start projects approved by the Federal Government but for which funds are not available at the time can be paid for these projects at a future date, should these funds become available. This payment clause expires on June 30, 1971.

This provision will discriminate against those States which have begun work on water pollution control projects in good faith. They will lose considerable sums of money should this clause expire. My bill removes that expiration date. This is important to New York State, where a considerable number of projects have been started with some expectation that Federal assistance would be available at a later date.

Sixth, and perhaps of most significance, is a new provision bringing lateral sewers under the control of the Federal Water Pollution Control Adminis-

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at least, these people have a God-given right to pursue their freedom.

Lastly, it will be necessary for the State Department to distinguish between "involvement" and "intervention." It is true that the United States cannot spread itself thinly and risk its own national security by intervening in all of the world's disputes as an international policeman. Nobody has suggested this in the case of Biafra. It would be equally dangerous, in this small world of today, however, to ignore conflict like the one in western Africa because there, as in the Middle East and in Southeast Asia, the communists are pursuing a policy of colonization which is part of their overall plan of world conquest. At long last, we have learned of the necessity to become "involved" in the Middle East crisis. We have shipped arms to the Israelis to counteract the massive Soviet military subsidy of the Arab nations. In the Middle East, we have also learned the art of "involvement" without the kind of "intervention" which has cost us the lives of 80,000 American boys in Vietnam and Korea. If the Soviet drive in western Africa is to be stopped, if Moscow is to be denied control of that area's rich oil deposits which are essential to the security of the NATO nations, and if the Soviet Union is to be blocked in its campaign to acquire a seaport on the Atlantic Ocean (Lagos), it will require a considerable amount of U.S. "involvement" in the Nigerian-Biafran struggle. Such "involvement" now will preclude the necessity of "intervention" later.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSERVATION

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Wescott E. S. Moulton, of Williston Academy, Easthampton, discussed the importance of conservation and the very serious problems our industrial society has created for our natural environment. Because of the importance of this subject, I place this speech in the RECORD:

WILLISTON ACADEMY CHAPEL,
February 1, 1969.

My text this morning is taken from various parts of the Bible.

Genesis, Chapter 1, Verse 1: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." 115th Psalm, Verse 18: "The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men."

In September 1870, on the banks of the Yellowstone River in Wyoming, an exploring party of 19 men sat around their campfire discussing what should be done with this unbelievable country they had been traveling through. Some wanted to stake personal claims for their own advantage, but Cornelius Hodges, a judge in Montana Territory, proposed the idea that Yellowstone's unique natural, spectacular beauty not be owned by a few individuals. He said, "I feel it should be a national park."

Thus a wonderful new concept was given its birth. The other men present on that historic night were persuaded and each promised to urge the proposal as vigorously as they could. These men kept their word and such was their prominence, their energy, and their followthrough that Congress two years later, in 1872, established Yellowstone as the first national park in the world.

The idea grew and prospered—You know their names: Sequoia (1890), Yosemite

(1890), Crater Lake (1902), Grand Canyon (1919), The Everglades (1947), and many others all over the country even in Alaska and Hawaii.

If ever you have camped and visited such places as the Petrified Forest, White Mountain National Park, hiked the Appalachian Trail (from Maine to Georgia) and other such wonderful nature centers, you have a first-hand idea of how much these parks mean to you and will mean to your children. If you have been to them recently you know how overcrowded they are.

The danger and the urgency are great. As those men planned way back in 1870, on the banks of the Yellowstone, we not only should protect these parks, we must explore new possibilities for the millions of Americans yet unborn.

I return to the Bible:

Psalm 104, Verse 24: "O Lord, how manifold Thy works: In wisdom hast Thou made all: The earth is full of Thy riches.

And Ecclesiastes, Chapter 1, Verse 4: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: But the earth abideth for ever."

But does it? Listen to these words.

The speed in which our world is being altered is incredible.

Forests are taken down, hillsides eroded and bulldozed. Waters filled in, and air and water polluted.

The hidden danger, the mistaken assumption is that Man is the Master of Nature.

If we so alter our environment eradicate that so it of ingredients we need for life, then we will surely pass the way of other life forms that have become extinct.

Man needs oxygen to live.

It wasn't until green plants and certain ocean plankton had evolved that the natural process was begun by which oxygen is maintained in the atmosphere. This life-giving process is called photosynthesis.

In the United States alone, oxygen-producing greenery is being paved over at a rate of one million acres per year.

The oceans have become the dumping ground for as many as a half million substances, few of which are tested to see if the plankton we need can survive them.

New factories, new automobiles, new homes, and new jet airplanes have incredibly increased the rate at which combustion takes place which results in oxygen being used and replaced in our atmosphere by carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide.

When and if we reach the point where the rate of combustion exceeds the rate of photosynthesis, the oxygen content of the atmosphere will decrease. Indeed there is evidence that it may already have begun to decline around our largest cities.

U.S. and Russian meteorologists agree that air pollution is already causing colder winters.

Recently, deposits of D.D.T. have been found in human beings all over the world. Its extreme danger is that its residue lasts longer and is more deadly than scientists had previously held.

The evidence has become overwhelming that effective pesticides of much lower general toxicity are now available and that the use of D.D.T. should be outlawed.

No one in the world knows, when we aim at a particular pest, which other organism may be eliminated by a ricochet.

If some pesticide, herbicide or defoliant should by inadvertence kill too many of the nitrogen-living organisms—those organisms that enable living things to make use of the nitrogen in the atmosphere—then life on Earth could end.

It is that simple. It is that dependent. It is that fragile.

What can you as an individual do about all this?

You can write your Congressmen. The most effective way to present your view and con-

cern is to write your Senators and Congressmen in your own words by personal letter.

A couple of weeks ago, our teacher, The Reverend Douglas L. Graham, because he was concerned about the nomination of Alaskan Governor Walter J. Hickel to be Secretary of the Interior, wrote to Massachusetts Senator Edward W. Brooke about his concern.

Mr. Graham received a four-page letter in reply.

You, too, can make known your ideas and each one will be counted.

Ecclesiastes, Chapter 5, Verse 9: "Moreover the profit of the earth is for all: The King himself is served by the field."

Here is one urgent example where you can test your importance, influence, and follow-through.

The Everglades National Park in Florida was established in 1947. Now it is facing extinction. Here is 1½ million acres of the largest sub-tropical wilderness in the U.S., with a tremendous variety of plant, animal and bird life.

The Everglades needs water if it is not to become a dump.

It took thousands of years to create the Everglades. Now men have the ability, the machines, and the will to destroy it quickly.

The draining of land for buildings and now the proposed new Jetport in Florida could kill this wonderful recreation area.

The Lord gave us this world, but what we do with it is up to us.

If the Bible teaches us anything, it points the way to keep ourselves and our world livable.

Let us pray—

Oh Lord, give us the wisdom to plan for the future.

Give us the will, the courage and the follow-through to make our constructive ideas known to the leaders of our country.

And help us to preserve your world and ours.

In Thy Name we ask it—Amen.

THE GREATER SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "PUEBLO" CASE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the awesome scope of the problems involved in the Pueblo case is sharply presented by Herbert W. Armstrong writing in "The Plain Truth Issue" of January 1969. I commend the reading of this article to the thoughtful review of Members of Congress and others who are deeply concerned to assure nonrepetition of such disastrous incidents in the future:

WHAT PRICE HONOR?

(By Herbert W. Armstrong)

Of course we all rejoice that the crewmen of the U.S.S. Pueblo are back home safe—even if not as sound as they might have been had they not been subjected to almost unbelievable beatings and inhuman torture.

But many are overlooking the other side of the coin. I'm not a military man. I personally do place the value of human life far ahead of the value of matériel ships, and military equipment. I did not vote to make the United States a military power. But it is a military power—in a world of military powers. And as such it must conduct itself as military powers are conducted—or lose face, lose honor—and, in the end, lose all freedom!

And this poses some serious questions:

To what depths of disgrace is the most powerful nation in the world willing to stoop? The United States stood disgraced before the world when it allowed the U.S.S. *Pueblo* to be captured, or to be in such position that it could be taken.

WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE

To maintain honor and prestige in the world the U.S. Navy should have: (1) either protected the *Pueblo* so that it could not have been taken, or (2) sent superior naval forces immediately after it and taken it back at any cost—even to obliterating all North Korean naval forces. This nation had the power to do it. But that power is not worth much when held in disrespect and contempt by even little nations.

The manner of release of the *Pueblo* crewmen after 11 months of torture and inhuman treatment was one of the most disgraceful and bizarre diplomatic episodes in the history of international affairs. Orientals would die before they would lose face.

If they knew the truth, no nation need ever go to war. But they do not know. And they do go to war. If America is going to be part of such a world, participating in its ways and its wars, it cannot continue to endure as a free country if it is willing to cringe and crawl before little pip-squeak nations like North Korea. De we not suppose North Vietnam, the Kremlin, and the Chinese Communists are watching and now are laughing contemptuously at us?

Yet big, powerful United States, with the mightiest military power any nation ever had, has lost all pride in that power. It signed a document drafted by North Korea meekly apologizing for offenses it says emphatically it did not commit. It is like signing an unconditional surrender to a conqueror in time of war. The very fact that the United States repudiated the contents of the document, branding its statements as lies before signing, dishonors this nation the more.

If this nation has so little honor left that it publicly confesses to signing officially to a lie, it brands itself as a liar! Military men enlist, or are drafted, as men risking their lives for the honor and freedom of their country. When the United States did have honor, it often lost a hundred times as many men to win a single battle. Military men have taught that human lives in certain instances are more expendable than military equipment or ships. Repeatedly in past wars that policy has been acted on.

But now the weak excuse is that they saved the lives of the men. The men who were not required to sacrifice their lives, are home. But the ship is not. The North Koreans still have it.

Had Theodore Roosevelt been President, the ship would have been rescued immediately after capture. Authorities today protest that to have gone in after the ship would have cost the crewmen their lives. Of course we don't want to sacrifice those lives! But when a U.S. Naval ship was attacked and captured by an enemy naval force, that was an act of war. And right or wrong, this nation has adopted the means of war—or maintaining and using military force—to protect its honor, its freedom, and its sovereignty as a free nation. And to accept military defeat, when attacked in an act of war, on the excuse that we were saving the lives of our military men, is to surrender in battle rather than fight and risk the lives of soldiers or sailors. To carry that policy out to its ultimate conclusion, in repeated surrenders, is to lose not only honor, but ultimately all freedom.

UPHOLDING NATIONAL HONOR

In previous wars, the United States has sacrificed hundreds of thousands of lives in uniform—for what purpose? Why, officials would answer, to protect the Nation's honor, and its freedom! No military nation can operate a military force, by accepting defeat in

an enemy attack, on the excuse we wanted to save the lives of men who had offered those lives to protect our honor and our freedom!

The United States military saved those lives. We are glad they are home. But at what cost? First, they are home in obvious mental and moral exhaustion. They report having suffered inhuman tortures and beatings, prolonged isolation, attempts at brainwashing. But how many more lives will yet be lost in future battles because enemies will now be emboldened by this display of weakness to anticipate easy victories over a United States that is afraid to fight?

Those lives were put on the block when those men donned their uniforms. If men sacrifice their lives for the honor and freedom of their country, then, even at cost of their lives—the way things are done in this world—the nation's honor should have been upheld before the world. It should have been an example that shouted to the world: "Don't tread even lightly on U.S. honor—because any nation who dares to do so will suffer the consequences." Then we should have been respected.

I have mentioned before how I was standing not more than six feet from former President Theodore Roosevelt, during President Wilson's campaign for a second term in early autumn of 1916. President Wilson was running for re-election on the campaign slogan: "He kept us out of war."

Mr. Roosevelt repeated the slogan contemptuously. Mr. Wilson had been sending the Kaiser note after note, protesting the sinking of United States ships by German submarines.

"I was President for seven-and-a-half years," said Mr. Roosevelt. "And if I were President now, I would send the Kaiser just one note—and he would know that I meant it! I did send the Kaiser a note when I was President. A German battleship was steaming toward Manila Bay to take the Philippines, then a United States possession. I sent a note to the Kaiser demanding that he turn his battleship back immediately! The Kaiser did not act. Immediately I sent a second note. But I did not send the second note to the Kaiser. I sent it to Admiral Dewey, in command of the U.S. Pacific fleet. My note ordered Dewey to steam full speed upon the German battleship, fire once over her, and order her to turn back. 'And if she does not turn back, sink her!' my note said. The Kaiser learned that I meant it!"

Yes, the United States had PRIDE in its power then. Today we have multiple times that power, but we are afraid to use it.

Not only did this country lose face the world around by this incident, that disgraceful release was made to look like a heroic act. What a travesty on honor!

Of course we are glad these men are back and alive. We would also like to have thousands of others back alive who died in battle to protect their country's honor and its freedom.

Many, many centuries ago, the God of our fathers promised unconditionally to Abraham the overwhelming national greatness, wealth and power that has come to the United States and Britain. In Moses' day it was promised to the children of Israel of that day—IF they would be ruled by His laws and statutes. Otherwise, penalties would follow naturally for disobedience, and this great promise would be held back for a duration of 2,520 years. That 2,520 years came to its end in 1800-1803. Since the promise to Abraham had been unconditional, God was bound, and such vast national wealth and greatness as no nations had ever enjoyed came quickly—first to the British, then to America.

But if we disobey God's right laws and reject Him, once He has kept His promise by bestowing on us that promise, He foretold multiplied national punishments, and a complete FALL of our nation. Britain already has been reduced to a third-rate world power.

Among the punishments was this: "And I will break the pride of your power" (Lev. 26:19).

This nation has rejected God in its schools and institutions of learning. Science has rejected God (though some scientists as individuals still profess Him), and set itself up as the Messiah to lead us out of our troubles. Our morals have hit a toboggan slide. Our homes and family life are breaking down. Our juveniles are delinquent. A tenth of us are mental cases. We are rapidly becoming a nation with crime running rampant. Our people are taking to stimulants, depressants, drugs, narcotics, in alarming proportions. Respect for law and order is breaking down—and, though we don't seem to know it, our Nation is breaking down!

And here is another example: God has kept His word—He has broken the pride of our power!

HUNGER IN AMERICA

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. Speaker, following is the fourth installment of the current series of "Hunger in America" which is running in the New York Times:

HUNGER IN AMERICA: MEXICANS AND INDIANS
ITS STOICAL VICTIMS

(By Homer Bigart)

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Tacked on the wall of the inner City Apostolate were four new slips from hungry Mexican-American families for food.

The Rev. Ralph H. Ruiz, who runs the mission for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio, glanced at the slips and exclaimed angrily: "The whole welfare system in Texas stinks."

The mission is on the fringe of Alazan-Apache Courts, the city's oldest public housing project, where some 6,000 Mexican-Americans live in wretched poverty and frequent hunger. Of all the nation's ethnic groups—white, black, brown or red—the "Mexicanos" are suspected by nutritionists of being most vulnerable to hunger.

For although there are nearly five million of them scattered through the Southwest, the Mexican-Americans have generally been undemonstrative about their misery, complaining so seldom of empty stomachs that the "Anglos" (the non-Mexican whites) give them scant attention. "Brown Power" has not yet taken to the streets of San Antonio.

Hungrier even than the Mexican-Americans, but less obtrusive because they are smaller in number and confined mainly to isolated wastelands, are the reservation Indians. Of the more than 300,000 Indians living on reservations by far the largest tribe is the Navajo of northeastern Arizona. Altogether, 115,000 Navajos exist on an arid plateau bigger than the whole state of West Virginia.

THE LAST FRONTIER

The western half of this remote region, the state's last frontier, was not opened up by roads until about 13 years ago. Even today there are Navajos who live 50 miles from the nearest improved road. Last year 20 infants were brought in dead at medical stations, according to Dr. George E. Bock, the United States Public Health Service medical director, and 18 of those deaths were attributable to delay in reaching medical aid.

At Tuba City, administrative center for the western half of the reservation, Dr. Jean Van Duzen, chief of pediatrics at the Indian Hospital, reported 27 cases of marasmus (calory starvation) and 17 cases of kwashiorkor (extreme protein deficiency) among

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would never travel by bus. Higher air travel rates would force the student group to the private automobile. Student highway casualty rates would multiply. The 6 million student travelers in 1968 filled seats that would otherwise have been vacant.

The benefits of reduced air travel fares should be extended to the elderly on a standby, or seat-available basis. Most elderly citizens living on retirement income cannot afford to travel at regular rates.

Several years ago, the commercial air carriers imposed a penalty on travelers who canceled air travel plans without ample notice. Such penalties do not now exist and today the airlines suffer great expense because of passengers who either make multiple reservations or do not show at all.

The standby traveler who uses airline carrier space on a space-available basis fills a seat which would be otherwise vacant. He takes his chances on travel. He travels at times of low travel density. The reduced standby travel rate promotes more efficient use of the airlines which today operate half-vacant aircraft much of the time. The revenue passenger miles are less than one-half of the available seat-miles.

The elimination of reduced standby fares will only create more vacant seats in aircraft which at present have twice as many seats as there are passengers.

The reduced fare schedule for standby passengers is good for the airlines and good for the general public.

THE "PUEBLO"

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include a letter.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have a letter from a good friend—an ordinary everyday citizen—who expresses discerningly and well his sentiments concerning the tragic and sordid case involving the *Pueblo* and her crew.

I am sure he bespeaks the sentiments of many, many Americans who find this whole affair incredible and who demand that never again will honorable citizens of the United States, military or civilian, be abandoned to a fate which in some respects is worse than death.

The letter follows:

As I read in the newspaper the proceedings of the Navy court of inquiry into the affair of the *Pueblo*, I feel a deep sense of resentment about the treatment of the officers and men of that ill-fated ship, not only at the hands of the North Koreans but at the hands of their own Government. A sense of shame sweeps over me as I become ever more deeply aware of how these poor souls were allowed to slip away into an environment of Communist torture and hopelessness by the same Government that once nurtured the face of John Paul Jones, and that is today acknowledged as the most powerful in the world.

Why do we persist in publicizing the Navy's exhaustive cross-examination of the *Pueblo* crew? All we are doing is exposing the weaknesses of our Government, the timidity of our leaders, the pathetic rationalizations of our patent inability to react to a real threat, our obvious unpreparedness, our failure to recognize that the chain of our world-wide defenses is no stronger than its

weakest link. Certainly, the examinations taking place at Coronado, California, do not reflect on the men of the *Pueblo* except to show their status as sacrifices offered up to the Red enemy in favor of "not rocking the boat" or not creating a more serious crisis which might call for firm and truly American action.

Just what are we afraid of? And if we are so afraid of the possible consequences of fast and forceful action on our part, why is it that little nations like North Korea are not similarly afraid? Just how can we expect our military men to carry on in unselfish and dedicated performance of their duties when incidents like the *Pueblo* demonstrate no real intention to back them up and to move heaven and earth, if need be, in the process. These men of the *Pueblo* were not cloak and dagger types, operating covertly behind enemy lines. They were not of the sort who, if captured, must never be acknowledged. They were military men, uniformed personnel, performing their mission (even if one of intelligence) in an overt manner. They should have been able to obtain a response to their call for help from any U.S. military capability within range, immediately and without question. The plain truth of the matter is that they were abandoned by their own, shamefully abandoned, and this travesty is still being pursued through the medium of a public court of inquiry.

I wonder and so does many another American what this court of inquiry hopes to prove? So far it proves nothing except abject failure on the part of our civilian and military leadership to deal courageously with a bunch of bandits in North Korea. And in the process it demonstrates beyond belief the failure of our Government to plan in depth an efficient intelligence operation and to effectively protect the interests of the United States abroad.

Hail to the men of the *Pueblo*! I honor them for enduring their trial of fire—I sympathize with them for what they are going through now—I hope no other Americans will ever have to share their experience—I hope no other American will ever have to feel so alone, so left to his own devices by a country he was born and bred to trust and love and expect great things of.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF U.S. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1, Public Resolution 32, 73d Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the U.S. Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. HAYS, Mrs. SULLIVAN, and Mr. CAMP.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 3(b), Public Law 88-630, the Chair appoints as members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. REUSS, Mr. BERRY, and Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF COMMISSION TO STUDY MORTGAGE INTEREST RATES

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 4(b), Public Law 90-301, the Chair appoints as members of

the Commission To Study Mortgage Interest Rates and the Availability of Mortgage Credit at a Reasonable Cost to the Consumer the following Members on the part of the House: Mrs. SULLIVAN and Mr. BROCK.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

The Honorable the SPEAKER,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a sealed envelope addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, said to contain a message from the President wherein he transmits a special study regarding the administration of the Headstart program. This envelope was received in the Office of the Clerk at 3:55 p.m. on Wednesday, February 19, 1969.

Sincerely,

PAT JENNINGS,
Clerk.

SPECIAL STUDY OF HEADSTART PROGRAM, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-75)

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 Education and Labor and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 309 of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 directed the President to make a special study of whether responsibility for administering the Head Start program should be left with the Office of Economic Opportunity, or whether it should be delegated or transferred to another agency. Congress asked that a report of this study be submitted by March 1, 1969.

I am submitting the report herewith. This report has been prepared in consultation with the heads of the Executive departments and agencies concerned.

The study concludes that Head Start should be delegated to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It leaves for later determination the question of whether the program should eventually be transferred. As I have indicated in a message to Congress today, I will present a set of recommendations before the end of the current fiscal year on a permanent status and organizational structure for the Office of Economic Opportunity. At that time, I will make a recommendation on whether Head Start should be transferred, or whether it should remain a delegated program.

Section 308 of the same Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 directed the Commissioner of Education to make a special study of the means by which the existing Job Corps facilities and programs might, if determined feasible, be transferred to State or joint Federal-State operation. The Commissioner was directed to report his findings to Congress by March 1, 1969.

before World War II, so the Pentagon experts do not really know whether it can be done or not.

The history of the 1947-48 effort to do away with the draft tends to support the President's theory. You get that story in the accompanying article, on the next page.

ENLISTMENT UNDER PRESSURE

What is known for sure, as a result of elaborate manpower studies by the Pentagon in the past two years, is this:

The hot breath of today's draft accounts for a large share of the manpower now in uniform. Many more youths are prodded into volunteering by the threat of the draft than are actually drafted into the service.

The most recent Pentagon study shows that 38 per cent of the enlistees in all services would not have volunteered without the pressure of the draft—including 43 per cent of all Army volunteers, 33 per cent of the Navy volunteers, 43 per cent of the Air Force and 30 per cent of all Marines. In the officer corps, the comparable figure is 41 per cent.

Draftees actually comprise only 20 to 25 per cent of the Army's strength. There are no draftees in the Air Force or Navy, only a few in the Marine Corps from time to time. So the basic problem in ending the draft is to find another way to keep volunteering high.

HOW MUCH MORE PAY?

An increase in military pay, the Pentagon studies conclude, may not be enough, by itself, to replace the spur of the draft. Yet better pay is at the top of the list of possible incentives. The big question is how large pay raises must be to lure the needed recruits and re-enlistments.

To maintain a force of 2.6 million men in 1965, the service required an "input" of about 800,000 men during that year, counting inductions, enlistments and re-enlistments.

What it would take to raise that number of volunteers each year without a draft, the manpower experts say, will depend on the state of the nation's economy—just how hard it is to get a good job in civilian life.

Depending on the unemployment rate, Pentagon estimates show that added military-payroll costs would range from 4 to 17 billion dollars a year.

In a year when unemployment reached 4 per cent—compared with the current 3.3 per cent—the most likely minimum cost is given as about 8 billions. Other studies carry more optimistic price tags of from 5 to 7 billions yearly.

But a vital point, military experts note, is that even outlays such as these would not guarantee an adequate supply of the better-educated manpower needed by a force of 2.6 million men in this era of sophisticated warfare.

In particular, they stress, it would be difficult to induce 3,000 or more physicians annually—nearly 50 per cent of those graduating from medical schools each year—to volunteer for military service through increased pay alone.

The same problem is likely to be met, the authorities add, in the case of computer programmers, intelligence analysts, missile repairmen and electronic technicians. Any volunteer plan that is adopted is thus expected to allow for continued drafting of physicians and certain other highly skilled people.

Harold Wool, a top manpower official in the Pentagon for nearly 20 years, gives his view as follows, in a just-published book, "The Military Specialist":

"Exclusive reliance upon wage incentives as a means of increasing the supply of highly qualified volunteers would prove very costly, and probably impracticable, in a high-employment economy."

No halfway system of incentives will work, either, in Mr. Wool's judgment. He puts it this way:

"A comprehensive voluntary recruitment effort must encompass the whole range of living and working conditions which shape the image of military service. . . . It is unlikely that any partial program that does not substantially alter the image of military service can hope to succeed."

Besides higher pay, Mr. Wool sees the need for "better use of individual skills and abilities; opportunities for upward mobility from enlisted to officer ranks; improved housing; and increased emphasis on measures to enhance the status of military personnel" in the American society.

AN ALL-BLACK FORCE?

Would all-out efforts to lure volunteers turn the armed forces into mercenaries, mostly black? This has been suggested by some authorities.

However, a Pentagon study indicates that an all-black military force is not a real possibility. There are not enough Negroes in the U.S., according to the study, to fill up the armed forces, even if every qualified Negro enlisted.

Of the 200,000 male Negroes who turn 18 each year, slightly more than half qualify for the armed forces under present standards. If all qualifying Negroes volunteered and stayed in service for six years, their numbers then would account for only about one quarter of an armed force of 2.6 million men.

On the other hand, if nearly all Negroes concentrated in the Army, and that branch were fixed at a size of 1 million men, Negroes would soon comprise more than half of all U.S. soldiers, under the assumptions stated above.

As a start in efforts to reduce reliance on the draft, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird announced February 4 he will seek "major revisions" in military pay to stimulate volunteers.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

Changes in the way the draft operates, even if on a standby basis, also are in the wind. Chairman W. Mendel Rivers (Dem.), of South Carolina, of the House Armed Services Committee, said February 10 that his Committee will hold hearings this spring and reopen the draft law to congressional review, to include possibly a lottery selection system.

With firm White House backing, and a growing mood for draft changes in Congress, a trial of the "volunteer Army" idea is considered certain. But its timing depends on events in Vietnam and the need for U.S. forces elsewhere.

THE LAST TIME THE UNITED STATES TRIED TO RELY ON VOLUNTEERS

The U.S. sought to get along without a military draft soon after World War II ended in 1945. The effort was limited, and it failed. Late 1945 and all of 1946 was a time of chaotic demobilization for the armed forces. They dropped from 12 million men to 2 million by the end of 1946. The draft went on, but calls were low, with none at all called in several months.

On March 3, 1947, President Truman told Congress the armed forces were down near the level of 1,641,000 that was the goal for the year starting July 1, 1947.

"The only assured means of maintaining the Army and Navy at their required strengths . . . is through resort to Selective Service," the President said, but added:

"I have decided, however . . . with the earnest desire of placing our Army and Navy on an entirely volunteer basis at the earliest possible moment, that I should not recommend an extension of the Selective Service and Training Act at this time."

As a result the draft law, which expired on March 31, 1947, was not renewed. The Selective Service System was abolished, its records put in storage.

The armed forces launched a recruiting campaign. The Pentagon got special au-

thority to hire civilians to replace enlisted men.

With no draft, however, volunteering lagged. The civilian economy was booming. Jobs were plentiful. Many people, including high officials, thought atomic weapons had made soldiers obsolete, with no future. And there was no pay raise for the military, despite much talk about changes to make service careers more attractive.

By January, 1948, the armed forces had dwindled to 1.4 million men—15 per cent below the authorized levels, which President Truman had described as "absolute requirements" for "reasonable assurance of security."

In March, 1948, Mr. Truman told Congress this:

"I believe that we have learned the importance of maintaining military strength as a means of preventing war. We have found that a sound military system is necessary in time of peace if we are to remain at peace. . . . We have paid a terrible price for unpreparedness."

The President recommended a system of universal military training, obligating youths to serve at age 18 for 12 months, followed by a period in the reserves. A renewed draft was urged for those already past 18.

Congress rejected universal service but renewed the draft. Volunteering picked up immediately. First draft calls for the period from November, 1948, through January, 1949, were cut back, and only 35,000 were inducted.

From mid-January, 1949, through June, 1950, no one was drafted. But the machinery kept going. Youths were registered, classified, deferred, "kept on the hook" through all of this year and a half of a "standby draft."

Then came the Korean War, which ended the draft lull and talk of an all-volunteer military system.

In 1951, Congress even adopted the name, though not the substance, of a universal military training law. It set up the draft system still in use today—and under increasing attack as outmoded after 18 years and the onset of new conditions.

REDUCED AIR FARES

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

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I am today joining my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. SCHAUBER) in efforts to amend the Federal Aviation Act to authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to continue youth fare reductions on commercial aircraft for students under 22 years of age and military personnel. In addition, this legislation authorizes the Civil Aeronautics Board to extend reduced fares to retired senior citizens.

The current policy of reduced youth fares and military fares are under attack in the Federal courts as discriminatory to the general traveler. This litigation is fostered by interstate bus operators who complain about the shift of passengers from bus to air transport. Some of the major air carriers also seek a termination of these reduced rates which have filled otherwise vacant seats on commercial aircraft.

The low-paid serviceman is entitled to ride commercial aircraft at reduced rates—otherwise a 4-day pass would be meaningless. The morale of the soldier is best fortified by a visit to his home.

Reduced air fares for students have served to divert millions of students from the highways to the airplane. They

Against a muted background of traffic horns echoing outside on Chase Manhattan Plaza, Rockefeller, a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Chicago, folded his six feet of height onto a sofa and replied to questions.

Q. Do you think there is likely to be another dollar crisis this year?

A. Well, I must say I don't think you can rule it out as a possibility. But I think that the position of the dollar is a great deal stronger than it was six months ago. There's no question about that.

Whereas nine months ago there was a real crisis of confidence in the dollar around the world, I think the combination of our tax bill and the troubles in France served to change that very dramatically.

The result is that today the dollar is very much in demand, and of course there's a tremendous flow of long term investment into this country.

Q. But do you feel, sir, that we have our house in order, on our domestic economy?

A. No. I think we've taken the first steps. I think that the new team in the Treasury is absolutely first rate.

Q. Of course we have a Chicago man in Treasury Secretary David Kennedy.

A. He was a candidate of mine. But to answer your question: Have we put our house in order? We have not yet dealt with inflation. And although our balance of payments appears superficially to be much improved, we haven't yet dealt with the most fundamental aspect which is our trade balance, which has continued to decline.

So until we get our inflation down to a very minimum, manageable amount—which I would hope would be under 2 percent, and until we improve our trade balance (what is called the current account), I don't think we can feel comfortable about our situation.

TAX AND SURTAX

Q. Regarding the inflation, are you suggesting that the 10 percent surtax should go on for at least into the next fiscal year?

A. In effect, yes. It's very hard for me to see how the situation could change sufficiently between now and the middle of the year to justify removing the surtax.

Q. What about agitation in Congress to increase the tax burden on upper-bracket incomes?

A. Well, certainly from a political point of view, it is appealing. But the importance from a revenue point of view of the (federal) income that could be derived if you took 100 percent of the highest brackets would be minimal.

It really would be insignificant . . . it has political appeal, but from a purely tax point of view, I don't think it's that important.

Q. This might be an indiscreet question. Of course there are no indiscreet questions, only indiscreet answers. But what about the agitation regarding the oil depletion allowance and the tax setup for oil income?

A. Well, that's quite different. There, the tax that could be derived would perhaps be more significant, although I honestly don't know exactly what it would mean.

I think that there it is a question of what one thinks is good policy in terms of the developments of our petroleum resources.

If we don't think it's important to maintain our known reserves of oil, why, then, a very easy way to eliminate those reserves is to eliminate the depletion amount. If we do think it's important to maintain them, then depletion (allowance) is naturally the essential thing.

SPACE BUDGET

Q. Would you stretch out—that is, slow down—spending in the space budget, for example?

A. I would be inclined to look at that area pretty hard. And I think probably some of the highway programs—again they could be stretched out. They're certainly important, but probably less urgent than some others.

I'm sure a lot could be done in the field

of agricultural price supports. Economically, this would certainly be desirable. Whether it's politically possible is another question.

Q. How do you weigh the priorities of full employment and inflation?

A. At the present time we have over-employment in many respects, particularly in the skilled trades. There's a real shortage of people—we feel that in the bank. We have hundreds of unfilled requisitions for people.

Q. What does that mean in bank terms—economists?

A. No, just typists, computer operators, and so forth.

I think that an easing up of the economy would take the pressure off the employment market, and I think we're going to see some increase in unemployment as we measure it.

My guess is that when the figure gets below 4 percent (it has ranged around 3.3 percent lately), that the pressures of inflation are apt to be very great.

But that is not to say that we shouldn't continue to work with that portion of the population which is unemployed and which, for all intents and purposes, now are unemployable.

JOB TURNOVER

Q. You are speaking of Negroes, hard-core . . . ?

A. Yes. Essentially the groups with the largest percentage of unemployment are people under 25, Negro, and in the large cities.

And I think we should do a lot of work with them and bring them into the labor force. But this is something entirely apart from monetary and fiscal policy.

Q. I'm trying to think concretely. Who are going to be the unemployed when you go up a couple of percentage points to over 4 percent? Who will they be if you're having success, hopefully, bringing these hard-core people in?

A. I suppose what it means is that there's a little bit more time between jobs, that kind of thing . . . that the turnover period is not quite as rapid as it is now.

Q. Are you saying that this is such a big economy that there is room for a few rough edges in that machinery?

A. Right. I'm afraid we had three years of considerable inflation, and I'm afraid that it's not possible to eliminate that, without some price.

And the price means the slowing down of the rate of growth of the economy, and some moderate increase on a temporary basis in the percentage of unemployment.

Q. Do you think Federal spending on problems of the cities and poverty must be increased, despite anti-inflation priorities to hold down the Federal budget?

A. I'm certainly very much in favor of carefully developed and selected programs in terms of job training, education and aid to construction of housing for the lower income groups.

These are the three areas that particularly need help. But I don't think we can afford unlimited expenditure.

Q. Would you include on that list tax relief for businesses that are doing a lot in a training way or are building special plants in the inner city locations?

A. I think there are instances where tax abatement can be a useful tool. Obviously one has to use it sparingly, or else you lose your source of revenue.

DEFENSE BUDGET

Q. How do you feel about the defense budget?

A. Of course, hopefully, the war in Vietnam will come to an end, and this should bring some significant relief.

But I'm afraid we can't look for drastic cutbacks in the general defense budget at the present time. I'm afraid that the action of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia and the Middle East and the Mediterranean and elsewhere is an indication that we're not yet at the

point where we can look for a major cutback.

Q. How do you see the problem of adjusting the economy, when the Vietnam war budget is phasing out?

A. I don't anticipate that being an acute problem, or one that would be of long duration. I think I have seen the figure that it would involve a readjustment of the labor force, something on the order of 2 percent.

This is hard on the 2 percent, but this isn't a sufficiently large number so as to cause general disruption in the economy. So I think this need not be a serious thing for us.

Indeed . . . it could be a little bit helpful in slowing up the pace of the economy and helping us cut back during the process of readjustment.

Q. Do you see the gross national product going up over \$1 trillion? (It was \$860 billion for 1968.)

A. Oh, I think it will, in a year or 18 months.

FURTHER IN RE U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, whether it represents a blunder or embarrassment—or something more or less serious—the incident of U.S.S. *Pueblo*, now under inquiry by the Navy, has troubled many citizens.

In a column of recent weeks in the *New York Times*, James Reston raised the question of how national blunders and embarrassments might be evaluated dispassionately for the record of history.

Without specific comment, I include the text of this column, as follows:

COMMANDER BUCHER: WHO WILL INVESTIGATE THE INVESTIGATORS?

(By James Reston)

The Navy Board of Inquiry in the *Pueblo* spy ship case raises some interesting questions about how we investigate official blunders in the United States.

Obviously, the Navy had to look into the ships mission, its activities off the North Korean coast, its inability to destroy the enemy or itself, and the consequences of its capture, but was this inquiry conducted by the right people, at the right time and in the right manner?

Not only Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, the *Pueblo's* skipper, is suspect in this tragic incident, but the Navy and the Defense Department are also under suspicion, and the latter are in effect sitting in judgment on themselves.

BUCHER'S ORDEAL

Commander Bucher and his crew clearly had to be questioned quickly and in private on the intelligence aspects of the case while their memories were still fresh, but why a public inquiry before Commander Bucher had regained his composure and under conditions which raise serious doubts about whether the spirit of due process was being followed?

The Navy's handling of the public in the open hearings is also very odd. It concedes the public's right to know what is going on in the open part of the board's hearings and it keeps a transcript of the proceedings, but it refuses to allow the public transcript to be published, or permit the reporters in the open hearings to take down their own transcript. Thus a news reporter who knows shorthand can record the Q and A while another reporter who does not know shorthand can not.

THE LARGE QUESTION

The main question here, however, is not about the transcript or even about the Navy. The Navy is at least following a tradition all too often ignored in other parts of the Government—that is to say, it does investigate error. The question is whether it can really be objective about its own errors, whether in this case it is being fair to Commander Bucher, and even more important, whether we have in this country an adequate system for reaching objective judgments on major policy blunders much more serious than the Pueblo case.

There is, of course, the right of investigative review in the Congress, which in many cases is highly effective, but in some cases is unavoidably political and subjective. The President has the power to set up investigating commissions, as President Kennedy did after the Cuban Bay of Pigs disaster, but again there is the problem of the accused passing judgment on himself.

The British have more effective instruments for dealing with this sort of thing. Being older and therefore knowing more about human weakness, political cunning, and the slippery slopes of truth, they have created the device of the Royal Commission, which can call upon men and women less subject to the usual frailties of ambition and suspicion to sit as a committee of inquiry on the really momentous blunders that trouble a nation.

The United States has recognized the need for some such committee of elders to help us through supreme crises. The Pueblo case is not in this category. It merely raises the questions of right and wrong procedures. But Pearl Harbor and the murder of President Kennedy did force us to experiment with something like the British Royal Commission—something that could minimize doubt in a doubting age, something beyond politics to investigate great political questions.

We did set up a kind of committee of elders to investigate Pearl Harbor and the Kennedy assassination, and, while the prestige of the elders did not avoid controversy, they probably minimized it and suggested a way to deal with such problems in the future.

TIME FOR REAPPRAISAL

Probably the militant young of the present day would reject the whole idea of an outside committee of elders, since presumably some of its members would be over thirty, but even so, something in the investigative procedure is missing, some group of our citizens who would command the maximum of respect, to find out what went wrong on the really spectacular mistakes of national policy.

Even now the nation does not know how we lost our way before the Bay of Pigs, and it is obviously too early to look into the blunders of Vietnam, which have cost us the lives of over 30,000 of our fellow countrymen. But there should be some better way than we have now of studying the past to learn for the future, and the tragic case of Commander Bucher merely reminds us that our procedures of investigation need to be re-examined.

A TRIBUTE TO EDUARDO
MONDLANE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of Africa's exceptional leaders, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, president of the Mozambique

Liberation Front, was assassinated February 2. Dr. Mondlane gave his life to the cause of freedom and self-determination for his people.

In a resolution adopted 2 days after Dr. Mondlane's death, the Board of World Ministries of the United Church of Christ passed the following resolution, a fitting tribute to the fallen leader:

The United Church Board for World Ministries expresses gratitude for the life of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane for his service to his country, for his example of steadfastness and courage, for his leadership and for his Christian witness to all mankind. This Board is proud to have had a small share in his training and to have been associated with him as a student, as a worthy staff member of the United Nations, as a member of the faculty of a great university and latterly as a far-seeing leader of his people in their struggle for freedom. He excelled and excited the admiration and love of many.

We sorrow over his tragic death and extend to his wife, Janet, and their children our deepest sympathy.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, there is much discussion about the failure of our institutions to provide students with skills that will equip them to take their place in the labor force once they have completed their formal education. Unemployment and the resultant social and economic problem it presents often can be traced directly to the lack of skilled training necessary to gain employment. With a vocation comes pride and dignity, and feeling of achievement, and the chance to direct one's life that a person who is unskilled and unemployed does not have.

In our technological society there is an increasing demand for skilled workers. This is a challenge that must be met by our cities and schools. I am proud to say that the city of San Jose Unified School District is doing just this. On January 30, 1969, I had the honor of attending the dedication ceremonies at the San Jose Regional Vocational Center and in a speech Mr. Henry T. Gunderson, a member of the board of education of the San Jose Unified School District, told the audience how San Jose is meeting the challenge through vocational education. I now include Mr. Gunderson's timely comments in the RECORD, as follows:

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

(By Henry T. Gunderson)

Today we hear a great deal about meeting the challenges that face our schools, and the changing times we are living in, and how we must adjust to keep abreast. This is true, but it is the tempo of change that has been thrust upon us by events over which we had no control that is responsible for the problems to which we now seek solutions. This tempo has greatly accelerated in recent years, due to man's new fund of knowledge and means to apply it, and whether our scientific and technical development was motivated by Sputnik or the arms race, the problems confronting us are no less real.

To fully appreciate this tempo of change, permit me to go back in history and trace a few events that have affected our lives. Please note the time lag ever decreasing, from the time an idea was advanced, to its development and ultimate use.

Hero of Alexandria built a boiler about 150 B.C., and used the steam generated to drive a crude turbine. However, it wasn't until 2000 years later that steam was used to usher in the Industrial Revolution that brought a great change in people's lives. The Industrial Age started a movement from the farms to the cities, and the need for industrial skills.

The first principle of electricity was discovered by Thales in 600 B.C. However, it wasn't until 1894, through the combined genius of Tesla-Edison, Steinmetz, and others, that the first commercial power generating plant was put into service.

In the 16th century Leonardo da Vinci drew plans for an aeroplane, which looked remarkably like contemporary planes, and 400 years later the world moved into the air age.

In 1895 the X-ray was discovered, and only 24 years later, Rutherford split the nitrogen atom by alpha rays. Then, 26 years later, the atomic bomb became an awesome reality.

In 1926 experiments were made with liquid fuel rockets, and in 1957, came Sputnik. Our national attention and energy focused on catching up in the missile race and we moved into the space age.

At present, plans for equipment, jets, and spaceships are becoming almost outmoded before they are built, due to the acceleration of man's fund of knowledge and his ability to store, retrieve, and analyze said knowledge at will, through the use of the computer.

Many of you present here tonight in your life have witnessed more technical and scientific development than in all the rest of the history of the world. We have seen great strides in the field of electronics, transportation, communication, and the conquering of outer space, just to name a few, and with even greater predictions for the future. Each of the events I mentioned has brought with it a constant demand for new skills and knowledge that must be acquired, not only to build and to construct what our engineers design, but to service and maintain them as well. The 20th century has brought with it fantastic developments, and in its wake has created many major problems for which solutions must be found.

The days are gone when man was permitted a slow gradual change, when simple basic skills were handed down from father to son for centuries on end. The problems of present day society permit us no such luxury. Like Alice in Wonderland, we must run twice as fast just to stand still. Vocational training has a greater role to play than ever before, if we are to fully meet our responsibilities to our youth. We must provide them with the skills which will enable them to organize their lives—develop positive goals—and provide for themselves and their families—a life of dignity, fulfillment, and achievement.

Those of you assembled here tonight, that received your first occupational skills at a Vocational school recognize its value. Yet today a large percent of our students are dropping out, or terminating their formal education upon graduating from high school, with no specific skills. Too often they become unemployed statistics, present many of our social problems, and endure needless years of frustration. The Federal government, in response to these problems, has authorized the expenditure of high sums of money for many programs that have one thing in common: to provide the necessary education and acquisition of skills to gain employment. Skills that might have been acquired at schools such as this and must be provided if such conditions are not to be perpetuated.

This new Regional Vocational Center is

family home was destroyed. His late father, John W. Evatt, was a career officer on the San Francisco Police Department.

OTHER POSTS

After his retirement from Mare Island, Mr. Evatt served as an assistant Solano County probation officer for five years, then served part-time with the U.S. Marshal's office.

He was the husband of the late Mary A. Evatt, who died in 1960; the father of Edward Vincent Evatt and Mrs. Beverly Ann Whorton, both of Vallejo. Five grandchildren also survive.

Mr. Evatt's community activities included nine years of service on the Vallejo Planning Commission, with terms as chairman; as a member of the board of directors of Catholic Social Service, and as chairman of the 1960 March of Dimes in Solano County.

ELKS MEMBER

He had been a member of St. Vincent's Parish since coming to Vallejo in 1919. From 1943 to 1946, as a member of Vallejo Elks Lodge 559, Mr. Evatt was director of the lodge's canteen for servicemen and for this voluntary work, he was presented with an Award of Merit from the Grand Lodge of Elks.

Mr. Evatt was a member of the Last Man's Club of Solano County, an organization formed in 1937 with a roster of 37 veterans of World War I who have met annually for a reunion on Armistive Eve. He also was a past commander and adjutant of American Legion Post 104, a member of Carl H. Kreh Post 1123, Veterans of Foreign Wars; and of the Association of the 363rd Infantry Regiment, Co. C., 91st Division, American Expeditionary Force.

He was a member of Solano Chapter 16, National Association of Retired Civil Employees, and of Samoset Tribe 22, Improved Order of Red Men.

A popular master of ceremonies throughout his years in Vallejo, Mr. Evatt was a member of American Guild Variety Artists, an organization of show business people. He also was a life member of Eagles Aerle No. 5, of San Francisco.

GIVE PRIORITY ON POSTMASTER JOBS TO CAREER POSTAL WORKERS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I favor taking the selection of postmasters out of politics and I have developed far-reaching legislation toward this end in the postal reform bill—H.R. 4—which I introduced on the opening day of the 91st Congress.

At the same time, I believe that we should give initial consideration to our career employees in selection of postmasters—even as the Department has been doing for years with its noncompetitive examinations for postmaster candidates. In more and more cases, in recent years, our new postmasters have come from the ranks.

However, in announcing his policy on selecting postmasters, Postmaster General Blount has eliminated the "promotion" prospect for career postal workers. He would have only the open competitive examination. This is a mistake.

I am introducing legislation today

which will give priority to career postal workers in selecting postmasters.

It requires that a competitive examination be given first to career postal workers when a postmaster vacancy develops. If there is no qualified postal worker, then an open competitive examination can be given to all who wish to apply.

The examinations would be given by the U.S. Civil Service Commission as they have been right along.

The Postmaster General would be required to select for appointment the top qualified individual from the list which would be certified by the Commission. Political clearances would be barred.

It is my firm belief that selection of postmasters should be on the basis of merit and experience.

U.S.S. "PUEBLO": MISTAKES THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the temporary relief which came at the release of the men of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* has now been replaced by an anxious concern. Across the Nation people are examining reports from the inquiry by the Navy and expressions of interest by various congressional committees.

No greater interest in the men of the *Pueblo* and the ramifications of the incident has been indicated than by the Newark, Ohio, Advocate. Their constant probing for answers, their constant reminders, and attempts to distill facts from contradictory reports, have been helpful to the people of their area and have also provided a fine standard of journalistic interest and expression.

This newspaper recently published three editorials on the incident. Three more in a long series. First, a comment of December 23 following release of the crew. Second, a statement of January 14 which calls for an investigation by Congress. Third, a statement 1 year after the seizure directed at an examination of the roles played before and after the surrender and seizure.

The concern of the paper and the people of that area has also been brought to the attention of the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, in a continuing attempt to have the problems clarified and the answers given.

The point of it all is simple: mistakes of this magnitude over such a long period cannot be ignored.

I insert the editorials at this point:

HONOR VANQUISHED

The men of the *Pueblo* are free.

That is good.

Eighty-two of them are still alive.

But that is where the goodness stops. From there, negligence, incompetence, cowardice in the face of the enemy and humiliation take over. It is time for investigation.

We have bemoaned the fact that a fourth-rate power like North Korea could so easily defeat the United States of America.

Well—look at the facts and the mystery disappears:

1. North Korea showed greater nationalistic pride and purpose than our leaders judged them to have when they approached the *Pueblo* with armed ships.

2. Their military men showed more personal courage and national dedication than U.S. fighting men when they captured by force of arms an American ship on the high seas.

3. North Korean leaders showed superior dedication, planning and tactical ability when they delivered the *Pueblo* to a North Korean port while our leaders wallowed in indecision and self-pity.

4. Once they had our ship, our men and our national pride, North Korean leaders proceeded to out-negotiate us with a decisiveness of purpose, which has become foreign to our own diplomats and military leaders.

5. In the final humiliation, our leaders agreed to a statement that could have been signed months ago. North Korea made the United States dance to its tune until it was tired of playing.

6. They have our ship, our national defense secrets and a big chunk of our national pride.

7. That makes North Korea a fourth-rate power with first-rate national pride, courage, decisiveness and dedication. The United States of America is stuck with the role of being a first-rate power with fourth-rate military and diplomatic leaders.

Shame on us.

These seven points make one thing very clear: The incompetence, cowardice and indecisiveness must be removed from our military and diplomatic services, for another *Pueblo* can never happen.

The role of our leaders—from the highest general to the officers of the *Pueblo*—must be investigated by Congress. Congress alone knows the dedication, courage and pride of the American people. Let it act swiftly to remove those military and diplomatic leaders who do not truly reflect these great qualities.

We dare not lose time. If these so-called leaders had been men of honor, they would have resigned their commission by now. In the absence of honor, let us at least have justice and safety for the American people.

INVESTIGATION, NOT VENGEANCE

The Advocate is seeking congressional investigation of the *Pueblo* fight. We single out military and diplomatic leaders simply because they are responsible. Regardless of who did what in the fight, those who accept the honor of their positions must accept the responsibility when things go wrong.

Top Navy and Pentagon officials are presently preparing a "court of inquiry" involving the *Pueblo's* crew. Well, the Pentagon can have its little witch hunt. It's not the *Pueblo's* men who need investigating in this fight. America needs to investigate the investigators—and the sooner the better.

The Advocate does not seek vengeance. We seek information on behalf of the people, just as we do when local public officials refuse the people public information. The Advocate has gone to court on many occasions to establish the "People's Right to Know." We can do no less on matters of national or international injustices. In that area we are indeed a small voice, but that does not excuse us from speaking.

Only Congress can get at these men of high position because they have built buffers and platoons of "yes men" to keep the public ignorant of their weaknesses, fears and mistakes. They often treat the public like employees who are given information when or if they feel it is necessary.

As most Americans, The Advocate is angered by the seizure of the *Pueblo*. We were concerned about the fate of the 82 deserted Americans. We were ashamed by the treat-

negotiate and it wouldn't call the cops. It just went limp.

Altho the university did refuse the rebel demand for amnesty, and altho it has instituted disciplinary proceedings against some members of the occupation force, there is implicit in its attitude some suggestion that students are a privileged class, exempt from the processes of authority and law which govern all others.

This outlook is reflected in some rather muzzy rhetoric with which President Edward H. Levi saluted the end of the sit-in. He said that universities are different "from other institutions of modern life." By extension, we suppose, students also are to be considered different from the common herd, whose actions are governed by a healthy respect for the arm of the law.

As the distinguished Charles B. Huggins said, the hard-core revolutionaries who seek to bring America to its knees seized university property and engaged in other criminal acts. Dr. Huggins was almost alone among the members of the administration and faculty to voice censure of this behavior in unmistakable language.

If any ordinary person had tried to take possession of someone else's property the law would be breathing down his neck in an instant. But the university, with vast forbearance, put up with this intolerable act of aggression for 15 days. We have said repeatedly that any institution or official with a decent respect for law and property rights would not have stood still before this challenge but would have cleared the building without delay. A threat of expulsion nipped a similar invasion of the university's administration building within 20 minutes last May.

We do not see any material difference between the invasion of the premises of a private university and the invasion of a private home. Both are acts of lawlessness, and they invite the penalties written into law that apply to everyone.

By turning the other cheek the university encourages a repetition of these tactics, and the revolutionists promise to satisfy this death-wish. The rebel circular announcing the end of the sit-in said, "It's over for now." The operative words are "for now."

The intention was repeated by a leader of the squatters in saying, "But let the university know this: We will be back. We must regroup and plan new strategies. We may wait until spring or this fall, but we will be back."

There is one thing the university can do to protect itself against the threat, and that is to throw the book at everyone who had a hand in bringing disgrace to the institution. The lot of them should be sent packing. Any other university which wants them can have them, but it is warned what to expect.

A GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR
 COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to urge the issuance of a Gen. Douglas MacArthur commemorative stamp.

Issuing such a stamp would be but a small tribute to a man who was in every sense a heroic American. Our country will not soon produce another man of MacArthur's greatness. He belonged to an age which acknowledged the imperatives of duty, honor, and country.

We can find no better words to live by, this side of Scripture, than his, given at his last public appearance at West Point:

The shadows are lengthening for me. The twilight is here. My days of old have vanished—tone and tint. They have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty, watered by tears and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday. I listen vainly, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll . . . But in the evening of my memory . . . always there echoes and re-echoes: Duty, Honor, Country.

A stamp would be an appropriate tribute to the memory of Douglas MacArthur, but the record of his life will always be his finest memorial. Graduated from West Point in the class of 1903, he had a 4-year average of 98.14—a scholastic record unequaled for 50 years. He won his "A" in athletics and the rank of first captain of the corps.

As a young officer in Mexico, MacArthur was with the U.S. expedition that seized Veracruz in 1914. He led a scouting mission so daring that he was recommended for, but not awarded on that occasion, the Medal of Honor.

In World War I he was wounded twice and decorated 13 times. He was called the "greatest leader of troops we have" by the commander of the American Expeditionary Force, Gen. John J. Pershing.

After serving as the Army's youngest Chief of Staff, MacArthur arrived in the Philippines in 1935 to map defenses for the islands. On orders from Washington, MacArthur turned over to Gen. Jonathan Wainwright the task of defending Bataan and Corregidor and moved to Australia to direct the war in the Pacific. He vowed: "I shall return." He did.

On October 20, 1944, the General waded ashore with his troops at Leyte. Nine months later, liberation of the Philippines was completed. On September 2, 1945, aboard the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, General MacArthur accepted the Japanese surrender and embarked on a new career which some say was his greatest.

As the Supreme Commander in Japan, he wrote the constitution that shaped that country's democratic future. He transformed a feudal, militaristic nation into a peaceful democracy and a staunch ally.

At 70 years of age, MacArthur again commanded troops. His defeat of the North Koreans was brilliant. Then Red China entered the war, and MacArthur was forbidden to carry the initiative into China.

The general passed away in 1964. However one judges his role in history, none would deny the impressive impact he made on all by his outstanding qualities of leadership, his profound dedication to whatever he undertook, his sense of justice, his high principles, and his firm ideals.

So that this Old Soldier will never die in our memory, let us urge the approval of the issuance of a stamp to commemorate proudly the memory of one of our Nation's greatest military leaders.

MILT EVATT OF CALIFORNIA: WARRIOR, ENTERTAINER, MARSHAL, PLANNER, SHIPBUILDER, AND FRIEND

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, on January 28 last the wonderful career of my friend, Milton J. Evatt, came to a close.

Uncle Mil was a little-sung hero but one of those rare individuals who in one lifetime could manage a dozen separate careers and bring a little guidance and light into the lives of those he touched.

Milt was an unsung hero of a generation of very talented people—self-taught—not by any college or any training school. He many times mused over his teenage tenor 3-hour night club engagements when his repertoire would extend from Irish lullabys to Yankee Doodle Dandy.

A soldier during World War I, he not only entertained the troops but ended up in the hospital, a poison gas victim.

After the war he returned to Vallejo where he started at the bottom in ship construction and rose to assistant manager of the progress section, a position he gallantly filled during World War II.

He volunteered to emcee the Elks USO show during the war years when he matched wits entertaining troops with the best acts of the last generation. He worked for many years on the Elks Sick Committee having a main concern for his buddies and comrades of World War I. He also served as Commander of American Legion Post 104. He retired with 30 years' service from the Navy yard in 1952.

No man to retire before his time, Uncle Milt was recruited as Assistant Solano County Probation Officer where he worked for another decade with hard-to-handle juveniles—his advice was 14 carat.

He worked for years in civic development, rising to the position of chairman of the Vallejo Planning Commission.

Upon reaching mandatory county retirement, he worked for a half dozen years as an assistant Federal marshal in San Francisco.

He was later to emcee my first organizational dinner in my bid to this seat in the U.S. Congress.

An adviser to my office for many years on the problems of the elderly, his counsel will be missed and his friendship treasured.

Part of his newspaper epitaph reads as follows:

MILTON J. EVATT TAKEN BY DEATH

Milton J. (Milt) Evatt, 77, of 301 Butte St., Vallejo resident prominent in community activities for the past half-century, died Monday night in a local hospital after a brief illness.

Mr. Evatt, a native of San Francisco, came to Vallejo in 1919 following Army Service in Europe in World War I. He was employed as a pipe fitter at Mare Island, and retired in 1952 as a progressman.

He was a survivor of the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 in which his

ment we got and accepted at the hands of an outlaw nation—treatment that was greeted by silence or glee by other nations of the world.

But we are horrified at the thought of such a blow to our national safety happening again or even becoming commonplace. We know the military and diplomatic leaders who let the Pueblo fight happen did not allow it on purpose—that they are sorry. We know that all men are subject to mistakes and many can be ignored or forgiven.

But mistakes of this magnitude over such a long period cannot be ignored. They must be probed until all the weaknesses and fears have been fully bared and defined. Only in this way will we and other nations of the world know that it will not be permitted to happen again.

Only then can we safely announce in advance what we will do if any outlaw nation tries it again. It is childish to expect the generals of the Defense Department or the diplomats of the State Department to wash their dirty linen in public.

Career men run those departments and they would already have resigned if they intended to dash their own careers and those of their associates in weakness and fear.

It has come down to this: Only one man and his associates can protect America against the threat of such fights in the future. He is most eminently qualified.

This man is Cong. L. Mendell Rivers of South Carolina, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. Our plea for investigation rests with him because Congress is where our hope lies.

Write to Cong. John Ashbrook and Cong. Rivers, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. Tell them in your own words why America must have this investigation.

SCAPEGOAT—No, No, No

It is fitting for The Advocate, and every concerned American, to make special note of this date—the first anniversary of the Pueblo fight. It is not a time for breast-beating about our loss but rather a time for reasoned investigating into causes and preventive measures.

The Navy and the Pentagon are at this moment trying to make Commander Lloyd M. Bucher scapegoat of the whole affair with the dishonest hope that this will satisfy the American people.

Well, it won't.

The investigators need investigating.

We believe they should and will be. We are not qualified to make a judgement or even comment upon the guilt or innocence of Commander Bucher. But we know for certain that the full responsibility for this shameful incident in American history does not rest upon the shoulders of one frail man.

The most shameful roles in this incident were played before and after the surrender and seizure.

FFA WEEK

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, as a recipient of the FFA honorary State Farmer Award, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues that February 15 to 22 is FFA Week in America. The theme of National FFA Week is "An Opportunity for You."

FFA provides an opportunity for youth in agriculture to learn, to do, to earn, and to serve. The FFA organization does not make these young people great. But

rather it provides them the opportunity to excel, to grow, and become outstanding youth leaders for agriculture in America.

Experience in leadership, citizenship, and cooperation, and the pursuit of vocational and educational objectives provide these young people with opportunities for personal growth. Participation by members at local, State, and national levels within the organization is the basic plan.

An FFA member begins his career as a student of vocational agriculture. He has thus elected to begin his career in agriculture. He and the others like him find common goals and objectives in FFA.

His opportunities in FFA are many; much more than the awards or contests which are important in providing competition, experience, incentive, and encouragement. The member can apply what he learns in the classroom to his personal agricultural situation. Through active participation, the member can demonstrate his ability in public speaking, parliamentary procedure, or livestock judging. He also takes part in establishing chapter goals, and just as important—helps accomplish them. Many typical chapter activities include earning their own resources and providing community services.

Through the FFA, a member can develop skills and prepare himself for his vital role as an adult leader in American agriculture. Millions of young people have grasped these opportunities and progressed. Many more will find opportunities in FFA to learn, to do, to earn, to serve.

MID-DECADE CENSUS BILL

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which provides for a mid-decade census of population, unemployment, and housing in the year 1975, and every 10 years thereafter.

This legislation is not new and, in fact, passed the House of Representatives in August of 1967 but, unfortunately, it failed enactment by the Senate during the 90th Congress. I urge its adoption by both Houses as quickly as possible, because there appears to be universal agreement that an inventory at 10-year intervals of the most important resource of our country—its people—is altogether too infrequent. We are in fact now paying the price for failure to act years ago to provide for a 1965 census by having to use obsolete 1960 figures in appraising our condition and needs, and in the planning and conduct of vital programs in education, poverty, roadbuilding, and many other fields. Not only the Federal Government, but State and local governments, business and other interests, are suffering from a lack of timely and reliable data. Much money has been spent to fill in the statistical gaps with surveys and estimates but the results fall short in comprehensiveness and reliability of what a mid-decade census would have produced.

Other national censuses—agriculture, manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade and services, mineral industries, transportation, State and local government—have by law been placed on a 5-year basis. This bill would restore the most important and widely used census to an equal footing with the others in terms of frequency.

I would like to cite some events which have taken place in Toledo, Ohio, in the Ninth Congressional District which clearly illustrate the need for a mid-decade census.

Toledo, Ohio, has grown by 20 percent since the last census was taken 8 years ago. This is one of the fastest growth rates in the State of Ohio, and the city's largest population boom in nearly half a century.

But because most Federal and State programs returning tax dollars to local communities are funded under formulas based on the 1960 census—the only recent official figures available—this tremendous growth has cost the city of Toledo hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Toledo's largest documented loss is the forced return of more than half a million dollars in local government fund payments because the census did not show that 81 percent of the residents of Lucas County live in incorporated areas. The last census figures showed 79 percent of the county's population living in incorporated areas, 2 percent less than the number required by law to enable the city to get a 70-30 split of the local government fund.

After 1963, when city officials knew that the 81-percent figure had been passed, largely by virtue of annexations, it began claiming a 70-30 split and the money was granted by the State. However, the county filed a claim for return of \$377,831 on the basis that the city-county fund had to be based on the latest census figures and the county won in court. The city was therefore ordered to repay the money.

The dispute over the funds has taken on many additional arguments on both sides and the city has been ordered to repay \$445,000 and \$176,000 in fund overpayments. But the basic dispute goes back to the census figures and based on four appeals, court decisions have gone against the city in the past 15 months.

These rulings have gone against the city despite the fact that the Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commission has said that by 1964 as many as 85 percent of the county's residents were living in incorporated areas. The Commission estimates that 90 percent of all Lucas Countians live within incorporated areas now.

In addition to the money the city has been ordered to repay, the outdated 1960 census figures have cost Toledo and other incorporated communities in the county thousands more than could have been claimed if the official figures were up to date.

Another example of the need for a mid-decade census is illustrated by the results of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote edict in 1962 requiring redistricting of congressional districts and reapportionment of State legislatures. In Ohio, as in other States, officials used estimates of current population in get-

ting in line with the equal vote dictum. But those plans using the current population estimates were overturned when justices ruled that official figures—even though outdated—had to be used.

In the past 8 years we have witnessed a dramatic rise in the number of Federal programs designed to aid States and localities and various segments of our population in such areas of education, health, regional development, housing, transportation, urban renewal, and resource development. We have appropriated millions of tax dollars to these all-important efforts to improve our domestic welfare. It is imperative that these tax dollars go where they are needed and planners can only assure that this is done if they have the official statistical data giving them an accurate picture of where the need lies.

As the Congress strives to enact the programs which will improve the environment and opportunities of all our citizens, we must be certain that we act on the most up-to-date and accurate information available. We do not have this data now. With the dynamics of economic and social change constantly accelerating, the need for timely accurate statistics will be even greater in future decades. It is our responsibility to see that this data is at our fingertips—that it is available for use by all public officials and planners—and as we seek the assistance of private industry and organizations in efforts to make this country a better place in which to live surely we have an obligation to give them the facts as they are.

RELEASE OF LT. JOSEPH P. DUNN
FROM RED CHINA

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

RESOLUTIONS URGING THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO OBTAIN THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF LT. JOSEPH P. DUNN, OF RANDOLPH, FROM RED CHINA

Whereas on February 14, 1968, Lt. Joseph P. Dunn of Randolph, a U.S. Navy pilot, was shot down in the China Sea and has been detained by the Red Chinese government, although Peking has acknowledged publicly only the fact of his crashing; and

Whereas the unreasonable detention of Lt. Dunn tends to heighten the already tense relationship between Red China and this country while his family and friends attempt to endure the agonizing wait for information as to his well being: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges the President and the Congress of the United States to use all reasonable means to obtain the immediate release of Lt. Joseph P. Dunn from the control of the Peking government; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each

branch of the Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, February 5, 1969.

NORMAN L. FIDGON,

Clerk.

Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

OUR FORMER COLLEAGUE,
BARRATT O'HARA

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Harold P. Smith, of Congregation Agudath Achim of South Shore, 7929 Yates, Chicago, Ill., extends a great tribute to our former colleague, Barratt O'Hara, Rabbi Smith is a former chairman of the Rabbinical Council of America with a host of friends in the House of Representatives where he was former acting Chaplain. He was invited by the Chicago Daily Calumet on January 24, 1969, to write a "Viewpoint" column for the religious community of the Calumet area. I take pleasure in extending my remarks to include this column which pays tribute to our former colleague, Barratt O'Hara:

APPLAUSE FOR O'HARA

(By Rabbi Harold P. Smith)

I have been invited to write this "Viewpoint" column today, and although I am an Orthodox rabbi I want to follow the unorthodox procedure of dedicating this column to one faithful individual in public life whose unmatched faithful service to our Southeast area constitutes, in itself, a very beautiful chapter in public service. I do so because all too often we take such rare individuals for granted.

I refer to the outgoing Congressman of our Second Congressional district, Barratt O'Hara.

You should know if you don't already know, that Barratt O'Hara has been one of the most beloved and most revered men in the United States Congress. Having been chairman of the Rabbinical Council of America, I have been in position to observe, often from close quarters, how deep and abiding has been, and still is, the reverence and love with which the legislators regard Barratt O'Hara.

It is not merely because he is one of the few still surviving veterans of the Spanish-American war. It is not merely because he has been one of the most informed, most intelligent men in the United States Congress and has remained remarkably alert and knowledgeable despite his 87 years. It is not merely that he is such a very loveable man who constitutes a personal embodiment of the Biblical ideal that "Thou shalt love" thy neighbor as thyself. It is all of these things and many more.

But the big quality I would point out here is the remarkable and extraordinary sense of loyalty and faithfulness which Barratt O'Hara has manifested to every single citizen who has been one of his constituents. I would assert with confidence and without fear of contradiction that no citizen of our Second District, however unimportant he may consider himself, has ever gone to Barratt O'Hara's office in Washington without getting the highest possible level of attention, courtesy, and friendship from Barratt O'Hara himself, personally.

What has all this to do with religion? A great deal! The quality of gratitude is the very essence of religion, and ingratitude nothing short of religious desecration.

Prayer, in its highest form was never intended to be exclusively petitionary, i.e., asking the Good Lord for things we want. Much more was it intended to provide us an opportunity to give expression to our feelings of thanks and gratitude for the blessings which are Divinely bestowed upon all of us.

The proper development within us of the fine human quality of gratitude and appreciation is, in a very real sense, as religious a process as prayer.

As Barratt O'Hara leaves office after all these years of loyal and faithful service far beyond the call of duty, I am wondering whether there is in our hearts an adequate measure of gratitude.

I don't think we ought to let such a venerable man merely fade out of office without any expression of public thankfulness. It is my "Viewpoint" that we ought to have a public testimonial dinner in our district where nobody wants anything from anybody—no fund raising, no political motivations, nothing—only to express appreciation to a wonderful human being who has faithfully and capably served our area.

I am hereby making the first reservation.

CORALVILLE DAM

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, when spring draws near in Iowa, especially after a severe winter such as the State has experienced this year, thoughts naturally turn to the problem of possible floods. It can be a frightening time of year for those who live in areas subject to flooding. The personnel of the Corps of Engineers and other State and Federal officials concerned, assure me that their contingency plans are in order, and that they will be ready and able to cope with any problems which may arise.

In this respect the Iowa City Press Citizen recently featured an excellent editorial on the background and function of the Coralville Dam, which relates to this problem. Under unanimous consent I include the editorial in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER TEST?

The Coralville Dam and Reservoir have been in operation about a decade now. That's long enough for it to become accepted as a part of the landscape, long enough to make it difficult to recall when the river in Iowa City wasn't turned on and off like the water from a spigot. It's even long enough so that the bulk of controversy about water levels and discharge rates is confined to election years.

But what is the reservoir? It is:

At summer level, 680 feet above sea level, it is the second largest body of water now existing in the state of Iowa—only Spirit Lake is larger—with a surface area of 4,900 acres. (Completion of the Red Rocks and Rathbun Dams and Reservoirs soon will take the Coralville Reservoir down a couple of places in the rankings.)

During the summer months, June 15—Sept. 25, the reservoir holds more than 17½ billion gallons of water which, its operators,

It was his selfless parents who turned tragedy into hope when they suggested that the young boy's heart might be used for a transplant.

Without it, doctors believe young Christine could not have lived much longer. She was suffering from a serious heart defect since birth.

Mr. Speaker, I know that all of my colleagues join me in wishing this courageous young girl and her family the very best.

We offer our best wishes to the talented team of doctors and professionals who performed the operation and have cared for Christine.

I believe the feelings of most Cincinnatians are well captured in the following Cincinnati Post & Times-Star and Cincinnati Enquirer editorials:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer,
Feb. 10, 1969]

TWO CHILDREN, TWO MIRACLES

Two modern-day miracles touched the collective conscience and heart of Greater Cincinnati this past weekend.

One, the successful transplanation by a surgical-medical team at Children's Hospital of the heart of William Michael Becker, seven-year-old Loveland lad who suffered fatal brain injuries in an auto accident earlier last week, into the body of six-year-old Christine Corhn, suffering from a congenital and incurable heart defect, is a surgical miracle that, to the amazement of the lay mind, has become an accepted technique in medicine's rapid advancement. But when the miracle occurs almost at one's doorstep its meaning becomes all the clearer.

The second miracle is the unfaltering concern and empathy for others so nobly demonstrated by Mr. and Mrs. William Becker, the parents of William Michael, in their time of deepest grief. Upon being informed that their dying son's heart could offer hope for a nearly normal life to a little girl who herself was faced with the prospects of an early death without a new, strong heart, the Beckers hesitated not a whit.

By giving new hope to Christine Corhn, they have memorialized their son in a fashion whose meaning is beyond the power of the written word to convey. Though the discipline of surgery may cause doctors to view the human heart as just another organ or muscle, we feel constrained to think that Mr. and Mrs. Becker have caused their young son to live for them through their unselfishness.

The Beckers' total commitment to their humanitarianism was further demonstrated by their allowing William Michael's skin, kidney's and eye parts to be taken in science's—and humanity's—cause.

The hopes of everyone for her continued improvement and eventual recovery go out to Christine Corhn.

Along with heartfelt sympathies, Mr. and Mrs. Becker are extended everyone's emotional sharing in a miracle of which only they can be fully aware.

[From the Cincinnati Post & Times-Star,
Feb. 10, 1969]

TRIUMPH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT

A great human drama is unfolding in Children's Hospital and the community is gripped by it.

The hopes and the prayers of all of us are centered on pretty little Christine Corhn and the doctors and nurses who watch over her in her battle for life.

And the hearts of all of us go out to Mr. and Mrs. William Becker who have turned a personal tragedy into a triumph of love for humanity. They donated the heart of their little boy, killed by a traffic accident, to Christine that she might have a chance for a normal life.

The whole community honors the Beckers.

We hope their grief is lessened by the knowledge that they tried to help Christine Corhn. We pray that help will be successful.

ONE-BANK HOLDING COMPANIES POTENTIAL THREAT TO DEPOSITORS

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

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the House Banking and Currency Committee has published a staff report on the one-bank holding companies in our country, which presents a potentially dangerous situation to banks and their depositors.

In 1933, the Congress adopted a very sound principle, which I believe should be upheld today. That is, it is against the public interest for banks and non-banking businesses to be controlled by the same ownership.

In 1956, the Congress enacted the Bank Holding Company Act to prevent undue concentration of control of banking by bank holding companies. Included in this legislation were several exemptions, and on signing the law, President Eisenhower said:

The legislation falls short of achieving these objectives . . . The exemptions and other special provisions will require the further attention of the Congress.

The most glaring loophole in the 1956 law was the one-bank holding company exemption.

The significance of this loophole—

The new House Banking Committee report states—
has been dramatically illustrated in the United States.

The report points out this includes nine of the 12 largest commercial banks in the country, and since 1956 the number of known one-bank holding companies has grown from 117 to 783. In bank deposits, the increase has been from \$11.6 billion to \$108.2 billion, a growth of over 800 percent.

In light of the committee's excellent staff report, it is obvious that something must be done to guard against continued monopoly, concentration of business power and conglomerates of big business and big banks.

Mr. Speaker, my bill, H.R. 946, which I have introduced over the last two Congresses, would remove the exemptions to the Bank Holding Company Act, including the one-bank and the labor and agricultural organization provisions.

In 1965, when this legislation was before the House of Representatives, my amendment to a bill which would have removed the long-term trust exemption from the 1956 act, was passed on a record vote of 199 to 179. This amendment stripped the Bank Holding Company Act of all its loopholes, but only four exemptions were removed in the Senate.

I believe the Congress should and will act this year to remove all exemptions from the 1956 act. I have written to the distinguished chairman of the House Banking Committee of my interest in assisting him with this legislation.

Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN has said:

This issue concerns the question of the proper relationship between the business of

banking and all other businesses. It is not strictly a banking issue at all, or even an issue only involving the relationships among different segments of the financial community. It is, in essence, a question whose answer could shape the ultimate structure of the entire American economy for many years to come.

OUTSTANDING RECORD OF NATIONAL PROGRESS UNDER PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include an editorial.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, well-deserved recognition and praise for the outstanding record of national progress during Lyndon B. Johnson's 5 years as President of the United States continues throughout the country. Perhaps, a recent AFL-CIO News editorial best expresses the feeling of Americans in all walks of life with a simple, but deeply felt "Thank you, Mr. President." Under unanimous consent, I place the editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT

In the final days of the Johnson Administration the news media—especially the press—are apparently trying to redress the torrent of criticism, and in some cases abuse, that they have aimed at Lyndon Baines Johnson.

In summing up the five years of the Johnson presidency the editorialists, the interpreters, the columnists have discovered—or perhaps rediscovered—the tremendous Johnson record on civil rights, education, fighting poverty, conservation, consumer protection, health, aid to the cities, manpower and the real increase in income and purchasing power that stemmed from government economic policies.

The AFL-CIO was proud to have had a hand in helping build that record. It repeatedly called attention to the breakthroughs and benchmarks set by the Administration on behalf of all Americans. But the critics waved that aside along with the concrete accomplishments, and concentrated on a negative, carping theme geared to a dislike for the President's style, all the while ignoring or downplaying the substance.

An editorial in Memo from COPE notes that "the quieter facts of the Johnson presidency are without equal in our history." It adds that "no single administration will or can clear up all the problems of a society as vast and complex as our own. But Pres. Johnson was willing to challenge our problems on more fronts than anyone who has served in the office, and his success in many fields has been remarkable."

The Johnson record is imprinted in bold letters in the nation's lawbooks. Over the next few years that record will have an increasingly important impact on the development and the quality of American life.

The belated recognition by the news media of the substance of the five years of the Johnson presidency is welcome now because it will provide a yardstick to measure the new Administration.

For his dedicated efforts on behalf of all Americans we join the nation in a heartfelt "Thank you, Mr. President."

"PUEBLO" BLAME MUST BE SHARED

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

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, there can be no denying that Commander Bucher

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educate the know-it-alls today—in spite of themselves.

It is up to the public sector to define and defend that line that separates dissent from disruption. But it is up to the private sector—and especially to the family—to pave the way for a peaceful society. A lack of discipline in the home ultimately results in an undisciplined citizenry. The public sector cannot act in "Locust Parentis."

Our colleges and universities have an obligation here, too. College administrations must do more than offer courses on Democracy; they must assure their students the "due process" which is an integral part of our Democratic system. This means where abuses exist, ready avenues of redress must be available.

Student participation, where it can contribute to the quality of education, should be encouraged. But this must be developed in a manner that is constructive rather than disruptive.

We can take a lesson from history observed. Our university tradition began with two medieval universities. In Paris, faculty set up shop and students were the consumers. In Bologna, students set up shop and hired their teachers. The Bologna student-centered system lacked stability and, interestingly enough, educational "relevance." Ultimately, the University at Bologna survived by switching to the Paris system, putting the scholar in command.

A society as sophisticated as ours can establish practical, workable degrees of student participation. We can navigate some middle course without students locking teachers up or administrators locking students out.

Another middle-ground which must be found is the place of the college in the community. Higher education can only benefit from a close, introspective look at such policies as "publish or perish"—an insistence on relevancy in curriculum; a voice for faculty below the professorial level; the proper balance in decisions between administrators and academicians. The middle-ground appears to be somewhere between ivory tower retreat and settlement house, immersion. There should be strong ties between the college and the community.

Certainly if our institutions of higher education have an obligation to re-think their relationships with students, all levels of government have an equal responsibility and opportunity here too.

Our young people are not only our greatest product, but our most promising resource. I don't mean this poetically for some point in the future, but for today.

If our local governments could but learn to harness the volunteer power of high school and college students they would have an enthusiastic work force money couldn't buy.

As Governor of Maryland, I sought to energize and mobilize our Student resources. Our nucleus came from student groups seeking a voice in setting state college budgets.

Quite often, young people fail to appreciate the budgetary dilemma of a Governor with infinite good causes and finite resources. Abraham Lincoln brought home this point with humor when he described a struggle between his sons Willie and Tad. What was wrong between them, he said, was "just what's the matter with the whole world. I've got three walnuts and each wants two."

I urged the students to help their state and their campuses by doing their bit for the community. With student volunteers providing manpower on priority inner city projects, we could reallocate funds to higher education programs.

I sought to establish a youth corps with older students helping younger ones as tutors and recreational counselors, as big brothers and sisters. I feel it's not just enough to demand a say—you have to deserve it. Governments should make a way for students to participate and students should participate

in a way that earns their say in state government. We want youth advisors and we want them to be more than armchair experts. We're looking for civic activists.

Every level of government would benefit from a student internship program comparable to the federal government's.

Actually, at the state level, I favor an even broader program extending from post-graduate to pre-college youth. State governments are generally small enough to tailor summer work programs to the student's potential and will find it a valid investment. A good part-time internship experience in the present is a means of recruiting good full-time personnel in the future.

At the federal level our work is cut out for us. The first thing we should do is lower the voting age to eighteen. Not only because they're old enough to fight—but because they're smart enough to vote. I think it is illogical that in most states a girl's considered mature enough to enter a lifetime contract of marriage at eighteen, but not mature enough to vote.

Once our young people can sound off at the polls, I believe there will be less need to sound off in the streets. They'll have the chance to be counted where it counts.

Finally, I think we as a moral community must take heed of the disillusionment and disenchantment of our young. The young have a way of looking at reality with an honesty and freshness we cannot fail to appreciate. Hans Christian Anderson understood this when he wrote the wonderful story of the emperor's new clothes. Remember—no man in the kingdom, including the emperor, dared to admit he could not see the handsome cloth suit which the con-man tailors said was invisible to those who were selfish, vain and stupid. Only a little child in delightful candor piped up: "The emperor is naked."

Well, we have a veritable children's crusade telling us America can be an even better country. They are ready to go to work, and we must be ready to accept their contributions and to listen to their responsible criticism.

We must prove our system can change our world; and we must welcome all those who would change our world into our system.

President Nixon has put priority on including every American, young and old, in our system. White House Staffers are already working on the ways and means to mobilize those who would serve as well as seek a better America. But let me make it clear that while the volunteer movement may be sparked by the federal government, it must be managed by the communities and manned by the private citizens.

We may propose ways to serve but only the people can dispose. For our young it means doing their own thing in their own way, on their own time. It means doing as well as demanding. It means contribution as well as confrontation.

Freedom depends on order—on laws, not violence. And to any who would destroy our freedom, I will take a lesson from the minister friend of Abe Lincoln, who sermonized: "I'm prepared to defend this union till hell freezes over, and then I'll fight on ice."

We cannot afford self-delusion or delay. For as President Nixon says, "The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep."

MIZE INTRODUCES RESOLUTION OPPOSING EEC ACTION ON SOY-BEAN TAX

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

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, on February 6, I announced my profound concern over the "internal taxes" which the member

nations of the European Economic Community have proposed to impose on imported oilseed products.

These proposed taxes do not technically violate the letter of the agreement reached between the United States and the EEC, but they do violate the spirit of that agreement. If imposed, these taxes could destroy a third of the \$1.4 billion agricultural export market which the United States negotiated, at great sacrifice, with the EEC. Such action would be unconscionable, and could well destroy the U.S. chance for a favorable balance of trade in 1969 and years ahead.

Mr. Speaker, Kansas farmers have produced soybeans in increasing amounts in recent years. In fiscal 1968, Kansas farmers exported over \$14 million worth of soybean oils and meals to the EEC. This market, and the market upon which farmers depend in over 30 States, could be destroyed by the precipitous action under serious consideration in Europe.

I firmly believe that Congress must speak out on this issue as a body. Therefore, I am today introducing a House concurrent resolution which, if passed by this body, will put the House on record as opposing the internal taxes on oilseed products. The concurrent resolution which I propose clearly states that the United States cannot afford to ignore foreign action which would destroy substantial trade, carefully constructed over the years. Further, American farmers who have depended upon U.S. trade negotiators to assure them a market in Europe must also depend upon our European trading partners to conform to the spirit of resulting agreements.

I urge the Members of the Congress to support this resolution. I am encouraged that similar legislation has been introduced in the House and is under consideration by certain Members of the Senate.

A decision by the Council of Ministers of the EEC can be expected within 30 to 60 days, I am informed. It is imperative that the Congress speak with one voice in opposition to the proposed action, before it occurs.

TWO CHILDREN, TWO MIRACLES

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

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the miracle of life continues in Cincinnati, Ohio, today.

Christine Corhn, the 6-year-old girl who received the transplanted heart of a 7-year-old auto accident victim, continues to improve at the Children's Hospital.

She has done well since she underwent the heart transplant operation, February 8.

Christine's was only the fourth transplant attempted on a child; and doctors, who performed what was the first heart transplant in Cincinnati, are encouraged about Christine's chances.

The miracle of life, however, has another side to it. The 7-year-old boy, William Michael Becker, whose heart now keeps Christine alive, was fatally injured in an auto accident February 5.

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permitted the U.S.S. *Pueblo* to be taken. Likewise, he failed to scuttle the vessel. But, in all fairness, a closer examination of the situation shows that he had neither the means to defend his ship or to scuttle it. If indeed he must assume blame, he is by no means alone in this regard. The military traditions he violated were small by comparison with those violated by much higher authority.

In fact, in some respects, Commander Bucher can be even viewed as an innocent victim. He is the victim of fate; he found himself in a bad place at a bad time. Furthermore, he appears to be the victim of an attempt by his superiors to place the blame for this tragic and humiliating affair on his shoulders alone. Most important, the commander joins other courageous men as the latest victim of the failure of recent American military policy. Foremost among our failures are those which involve the new doctrines of flexible response and gradualism.

As formulated in 1961, flexible response was viewed in its broadest application to be the maintenance of military force sufficient to respond to enemy aggression at any level of conflict, up to and including nuclear war. Flexible response was necessary, proponents argued, because the doctrine of "massive retaliation" left the United States prepared to either surrender or instigate a nuclear holocaust. It was argued that since the threat of nuclear weapons was not credible to Communist nations engaged in small and ambiguous steps, a substitute would have to be found.

That an unarmed, unescorted, unprotected vessel of the U.S. Navy—inappropriately called an intelligence ship—should be sent on such a sensitive mission as "eavesdropping" on a hostile Communist power shows the complete bankruptcy of the military doctrine of flexible response.

The question of whether flexible response is an adequate military doctrine is one of judgment, but the fact is, as the *Pueblo* incident, among others, clearly reveals, the weapons, men and material necessary to implement flexible response were not available.

In this latest of incidents, a vessel of the U.S. Navy was sent on a sensitive mission close to the shoreline of a hostile power. Ordinary prudence would have required under the doctrine of flexible response that sufficient force or manpower be available to come to the aid of the ship if necessary. Yet, what were the facts?

There were only four jet fighters available for duty in Korea; all of them were armed with nuclear weapons. In order for the jets to be effective in dog fights, the nuclear weapons had to be removed. Time did not permit such removal.

The U.S.S. *Enterprise* was 600 miles away at the time of the seizure; the nearest American destroyers were a full day's sail away.

The Pacific Command, in other words, was unprepared to defend the *Pueblo*. Commander Bucher had only two possible responses, and neither was very flexible: he could surrender his ship, or sink it with heavy risk of American life. It

was like a one-sided flip of a coin, and Bucher was the loser either way.

Nor was the *Pueblo* the only incident of the past 18 months which reveals the hollowness of our flexible response capabilities.

In January 1968, the Vietcong launched the surprise Tet offensive and succeeded even in violating the security of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

In June 1967, the U.S.S. *Liberty* was attacked and sunk by units of the Israel Air Force.

In August 1968, the military warning system of NATO did not perceive the Soviet and Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Senate Preparedness Investigating Committee has reported that the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe are not sufficient to repulse a conventional Soviet attack.

The failure of "flexible response" in Vietnam was hardly reassuring and its effect as a deterrent to further trouble in Southeast Asia is therefore highly questionable.

Another of the questionable doctrines pushed upon us during this decade that has seen America appear to be a "paper tiger" is that of gradualism. Sometimes called measured response, it meant a slow, step-by-step increase of military force—never enough to defeat the enemy, but sufficient to keep the conflict raging. Others before Commander Bucher paid heavily for the failure of this doctrine.

Let us not forget that seizure of the *Pueblo* was accomplished by a government with which our country was recently engaged in a costly but undeclared war, and it occurred in the environs of another costly, but undeclared war, this time in Vietnam.

Through the doctrine of gradualism in both the Korean and Vietnamese wars, the greatest, most hallowed traditions of the United States were violated in a fundamental way. To illustrate:

In neither war was defeat of enemy forces established as our objective.

In neither were the resources of the United States ever mobilized behind our men in battle.

In neither were field commanders given traditional freedom to direct operations.

In neither was a declaration of war enacted by Congress or even asked for by the President.

In both wars, military commanders were denied permission to broaden attack on the enemy in order to shut off its sources of supply and replacement. Enemy sanctuaries were permitted.

Our military operations in Vietnam have been repeatedly described as a limited war with limited objectives. President Johnson refused to grant permission to field commanders to close Hai-phong Harbor, invade North Vietnam or engage in "hot pursuit" into Cambodia.

Although our Government in 1965 officially determined that South Vietnam was under attack from the north, only an air and sea response was ever permitted—and only then under sharp limitations which severely curbed its effectiveness.

Later, even this response was stopped

completely, although no determination was made that attacks from the north had either ceased or lessened.

Never was any serious effort made to employ sanctions against nations supplying the enemy, much less to quarantine North Vietnam.

Indeed, the Johnson administration resisted congressional attempts to impose modest sanctions. An example was administrative efforts, partly successful, to override the clear expression of Congress which I authored in 1966 which sought to block benefits under Public Law 480 from going to any nation making shipments of any kind to Hanoi.

Thus, if Commander Bucher must bow in shame, other more prominent heads should be bowed too. Chief among these are the political and military leaders who were the architects, proponents, and executors of flexible response and gradualism;

Those who allowed our defenses to deteriorate to a point where not only was our response not flexible, but nonexistent;

Those who cast aside and violated the great military traditions of the United States;

Those who sent a half-million U.S. troops into combat without declaration of war or other proper legislative sanction;

Those who shackled field commanders and refused to impose economic quarantine on the enemy;

Those who announced to the world, instead of leaving in doubt, that our super-weapons would never be used; and

Those who proceeded with business-as-usual attitude at home as well as in international policy. Business as usual applied even to the Soviet Union, heartland of Hanoi support.

Among these must be former President Johnson, who cannot escape primary responsibility for establishing the empty doctrine of flexible response and the fallacious one of gradualism. Also, to blame are the Joint Chiefs of Staff, chaired by Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, who acquiesced in the doctrine. Each could have resigned over the course of our Nation's military policy and thus likely forced a reassessment. Or, each could have publicly protested. None did. Each accepted, and went along, executing the policies with all their grim consequences.

How ironic it was that just a few days before Commander Bucher went on trial for violating military tradition, General Wheeler, under whom flexible response and gradualism flourished, received from the President the Distinguished Service Medal.

Is it just for these military leaders to continue in command with scarcely a word of censure while Commander Bucher is in the dock?

And my colleagues in the Congress who, like myself, served while the doctrines of flexible response and gradualism were being bandied about and carried out, can we escape judgment?

Despite the clarity of our constitutional responsibility to provide for the proper maintenance of the Armed Forces, we failed to establish that our ships at sea were not safe from capture by the

smallest of nations. We sat back and permitted the enlargement of combat forces in Vietnam without clear legislative sanctions. We shunned our fundamental responsibility. We failed to face squarely the question of war declaration. We thus denied to our military forces, and to the Nation as a whole, the unifying force the war-making decision would bring. We failed in our duty to delve into the hollowness of flexible response and gradualism doctrines.

So move over, Commander Bucher. You are not really the only one who should be in the dock. There are lots more of us who must share the blame and the shame. You just happen to be a convenient whipping boy.

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

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I have spoken out on many occasions, as the gentleman in the well is doing today, regarding the handling of the *Pueblo* matter. I would like to add a side light to what the gentleman has said.

I do not know if the American people are aware that Commander Bucher was an orphan. He was brought to Father Flanagan's boys' home in my district known as Boys' Town, Nebr., where Commander Bucher lived for many years. He was graduated from Boystown High School at Boys' Town, Nebr. After that he enlisted in the Navy and served his tour of duty and then came back to Omaha and married an Omaha girl and worked his way through the University of Nebraska, after which he was graduated, and the Navy became his career.

The people of my congressional district, knowing Commander Bucher was taken in by Father Flanagan's boys' home and was a star athlete and an outstanding citizen of Boys' Town, are overwhelmingly outraged at the seemingly inhumane treatment that is being given Commander Bucher.

I am sure that affects not only my own district. I know for a fact that this is the feeling of the people of the entire State of Nebraska and the feeling is intense not only in the State of Nebraska, but in the entire Middle West. I know now also that the feeling is intense throughout the United States.

So, aside from the military aspects of which the gentleman speaks, I did want to bring out this personal sidelight in this discussion, so the people will know that Commander Bucher was an outstanding individual. As I said, he was an orphan and took his schooling at Boys' Town under the leadership and direction of Father Flanagan and Monsignor Wegner, the present director. He was one of the outstanding students and athletes in that great "City of Little Men." Certainly people from our area and hopefully from all over the United States will bear that in mind as we discuss this sorry affair in the history of our country.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the gentleman's contribution. There certainly is the human side to this. In speaking today, I do not want to leave the impression that I minimize the gravity of whatever shortcomings Com-

mander Bucher had, and it appears quite plain that he failed in measuring up to the great traditions of the U.S. Navy. I feel very bad about that. I regret the boyhood experiences he had. However, I do not think we should overlook the gravity of this episode.

My main purpose is to point out that even though Commander Bucher violated military traditions, they are small by comparison with the military traditions that our very highest political and military leadership have violated in recent years.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Commander Bucher had no shortcomings. He is a great man and a credit to our country.

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

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, certainly it has been a sorry incident in the history of our country. It seems to me our Navy at least should have had a destroyer on the horizon to protect this spy ship—if that is what it was, and we recognize now that is what it must have been. If not a destroyer it should have had air cover.

Of course, there are many reasons advanced why these things were not provided. For instance, there is no doubt that we have overextended ourselves in South Vietnam, that most of our military might and muscle is in that area. Our flexible response was not available in the *Pueblo* incident.

Neither is it available now in Europe. I feel that even the recent maneuver which we carried out, in which we transported 15,000 troops over to Germany, was carried out slowly and not effectively done, showing again that we are concentrating on a distant area in Asia which really does not mean that much to our future.

Again it casts a reflection upon the character of the American people that the crew of the *Pueblo* was forced to sign a document admitting what was said was not the truth. And then a major general of the U.S. Army also signed a document saying that we were in enemy waters when actually we maintained that we were not. This involves problems of great significance. It involves the character of the people of the United States.

Certainly I believe we should return to the thinking of great men who have lived in history and have provided great leadership—for instance, Lincoln, who said:

Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

As I understand the facts, the commander and the crew of the *Pueblo* had no information that they were sent on any kind of suicide mission. They had every reason to expect if they got into trouble they would have support.

I am sure the gentleman, like myself, had some part in World War II. There was never any moment during my service with the U.S. Navy when I doubted that the full resources of the United States, whatever they might be, were be-

hind me and would seek to advance my safety and the success of my mission.

Yet, out of what has happened with the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, arises the question as to just how far we have departed from these traditions of yesterday.

Mr. CARTER. How weak we have become in our action.

It reminds me again of the President who said: "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

How far have we gone from that tradition?

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Koch). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MINSHALL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. MINSHALL addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

TRANSFER OF SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order granted to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood) for tomorrow, for 1 hour, be transferred to February 19.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

BANK HOLDING COMPANY AMENDMENTS—CRUCIAL TO THE CONTROL OF FINANCIAL CONGLOMERATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PATMAN) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which seeks to stop the dangerous trend toward mixing the business of banking with all other businesses.

In the wake of the great stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent great depression, Congress, in its wisdom, decided that commercial banking should be divorced from all other businesses. This principle was established in what is known as the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, an amendment to the Federal Reserve Act. It was further strengthened by the passage of the Bank Holding Company Act by the Congress in 1956.

However, many loopholes remain in the Bank Holding Company Act and, because of this and other trends in economic structure, such as the rise of financial and other conglomerates and the merger movement, present law is inadequate to control the situation.

Therefore, I am introducing legislation today which I feel will meet this problem in a straightforward and adequate way.

At this point in the Record I insert a press release issued this morning on my intention to introduce the bill, along with the bill itself and a section-by-section analysis of this bill:

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 17.—Chairman Wright Patman (D. Tex.) of the House Banking and Currency Committee, will in-

Intelligence Officer Testifies He Saw No Threat to Pueblo

CORONADO, Calif.—The senior naval intelligence officer in the command to which the USS Pueblo reported when it was captured has told a military court of inquiry that he was unaware of two North Korean threats broadcast in the weeks immediately prior to the capture.

An official Navy summary of Dwyer's testimony, heard in a closed session by the board of inquiry, quoted Capt. Thomas L. Dwyer as saying he "had not seen any warnings broadcast by the North Koreans Jan. 6 and 11, 1968."

The first broadcast came while the Pueblo was still in Japan, preparing for its mission. The second warning of "determined countermeasures" on the part of the North Koreans came the day the Pueblo left Japan. It was captured less than two weeks later, on Jan. 23.

Dwyer was assistant chief of staff for intelligence under the command of U.S. Naval Forces in Japan at the time of the broadcast warnings and the capture of Pueblo. He now is assistant to the commander of the naval intelligence command for ocean surveillance and intelligence operations.

His testimony before the five admirals conducting the court of inquiry tended to support the contention of Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, captain of the Pueblo, that he never received any indication of concern about enemy attack from his superiors at any time prior to or during the intelligence mission off the North Korean coast.

English Broadcast

The two communiques were carried by the English language broadcast service of the (North) Korean Central News Agency and monitored by the United States Foreign Broadcast Information Service, an intelligence gathering service maintained by the Central Intelligence Agency.

On Jan. 6, 70 South Korean fishing craft were attacked and five captured by three North Korean ships. On Jan. 11, an incursion was made by two fast North Korean ships into a group of 200 South Korean fishing boats, one of which was sunk in a collision and three forced to head north.

The North Korean broadcasts were virtually identical. The first said: "The United States imperialist aggressor army, which has been incessantly committing provocative acts lately on the sea off the Eastern coast, from 6 a.m. today again dispatched many armed boats, mingled with fishing boats, under the escort of armed warships into the coastal waters of our side on the eastern coast to perpetuate provocative acts."

"Detained Vessels"

"Our naval ships on patrol duty on the spot took necessary countermeasures and detained the vessels involved in the hostile acts. As long as the United States imperialist aggressor troops perpetuate provocative acts, our People's Army units will take more determined countermeasures against the enemy in the future, too."

Bucher, testifying in open session last week, said that during the briefings prior to his departure from Japan on the intelligence mission he never received any information "that would indicate that there was any danger of my ever coming under attack."

Dwyer also told the court of inquiry that the type of shipboard "destruct devices" which Bucher said he requested for the Pueblo several times but never

received was now being developed for future use on intelligence ships.

The Navy transcript of the closed hearing quoted Dwyer as saying "that he was not aware of any destruct devices at that time or now, although he understood that one was in the offing."

Lack Cited by Bucher

Throughout his testimony last week, Bucher said the lack of any such destruct device to keep sensitive electronic intelligence equipment and classified publications from falling into the hands of the North Koreans prevented his men from destroying all of the classified material and hindered his efforts to avoid capture.

The navy said Bucher told the court Friday that 80 to 90 percent of all classified information and equipment under his jurisdiction was destroyed before the ship fell into North Korean hands. He also said he was not aware of how successful the destruction effort was in the ship's intelligence quarters.

Dwyer concluded his testimony at a closed session yesterday, and was followed to the witness stand by Capt. Forrest A. Pease, chief of staff for the commander of United States Naval forces in Japan.

None of yesterday's testimony was disclosed by the Navy. The court is in recess today, and is expected to resume closed hearings tomorrow.

the central, the top-management, task. The purpose is to make it possible for top management to concentrate on decision-making and direction, to slough off the "doing" to operating managements, each with its own mission and goals and with its own sphere of action and autonomy.

If this lesson were applied to government, the other institutions of society would then rightly become the "doers." Decentralization applied to government would not be just another form of "federalism" in which local rather than central government discharges the "doing" tasks. It would rather be a systematic policy of using the other, the non-governmental, institutions of the society—the hospital as well as the university, business as well as labor unions—for the actual "doing," i.e., for performance, operations, execution.

LEARNING FROM "PUEBLO"

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 7, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the plight of Comdr. Lloyd Bucher and the crew of the *Pueblo* has touched all of us in this country deeply. The many questions arising from the capture of the *Pueblo*, the treatment of Commander Bucher and his crew by North Korea, and their subsequent release disturbs the conscience of our Nation.

While we cannot undo the circumstances of this national tragedy, I think there are lessons to be learned. I present for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial that states in commonsense words what so many of us feel. The editorial was printed in the February 5, 1969, edition of the *Norristown Times Herald*, a daily newspaper published in Norristown, Pa.

The editorial states:

LEARNING FROM "PUEBLO"

Things would be so much simpler if this were an either-or world—if people were always either all good or all evil, either all right or all wrong, either all wise or all stupid.

The impression emerging from the *Pueblo* is that there is no one villain responsible for the loss of the ship, and perhaps no villain at all.

Based on past experience, the Navy was not acting from deliberate stupidity in having "on call" rescue forces that existed on paper only.

According to Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, who commanded U.S. naval forces in Japan at the time of the *Pueblo* seizure, 16 spy runs were made off the coasts of Red China, Russia and North Korea during his tenure. While there had been numerous acts of harassment of U.S. ships by the Russians and Chinese, the North Koreans had never bothered them.

Apparently, an unwritten law of this particular espionage game makes it permissible to make things as miserable as possible for your opponent, but not cricket to employ outright violence. Until North Korea changed the rules, that is.

Anyway, said Johnson, he had little or no authority to take rescue action.

As for the *Pueblo* being armed with only two .50 caliber machine guns, Cmdr. Charles R. Clark, former skipper of the USS *Banner*, sister spy ship of the *Pueblo*, testified that he did not want even these aboard his ship. He felt they were not only useless but provocative.

Still unexplained, of course, is why the *Pueblo* was not provided with the wherewithal to enable her crew to destroy the ship's electronic gear and other secret cargo. Common sense would seem to dictate that not just enemy attack but any number of chance events, such as being blown aground on a hostile shore, might make such action necessary.

No one is being done proud by the revelations coming from the *Pueblo* inquiry. But while the Navy brass are busy passing the buck among themselves, the man in the street fervently hopes that someone in the Pentagon has learned and is applying the lessons that have been taught by the sorry incident.

AMENDMENTS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO PROVIDE NATIONAL MINIMUM WELFARE STANDARDS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 7, 1969

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation that would amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to require the establishment of nationally uniform minimum standards and eligibility requirements for aid and assistance.

The welfare situation in our major cities has, indeed, reached the critical stage. Other services, such as police, fire, sanitation, education, and transit have been and are being shortchanged because of the burgeoning welfare costs. It is now time for the Federal Government to act before the situation becomes totally unmanageable and the local tax base is eroded even further.

We have long recognized that needy persons, particularly dependent children, are a national responsibility. Nevertheless, the new budget request of the New York City welfare commissioner is \$1.7 billion, an increase of \$400 million over the current level and the largest single item in the expense budget. Much of this can be attributed to the disparity between the level of welfare payments in our city and those in the nonurban areas. The average monthly payment for aid to dependent children in New York City, for example, is \$61.70 per month as compared to only \$8.40 in Mississippi.

An editorial in the January 3 issue of the *New York Times*, entitled "Welfare Quagmire" sets forth some of the welfare problems confronting our metropolitan areas. I include the full text of the article at this point in the RECORD:

WELFARE QUAGMIRE

The necessity for a basic shift in welfare policy is painfully underscored by the request of the Department of Social Services for a monumental \$1.7 billion to finance aid to New York City's needy in the fiscal year beginning July 1. This represents a rise of nearly \$400 million over the budget the department originally requested for this year; it is four times the budget for 1964-65, the last full year of the Wagner administration.

What makes the astronomical upswing in the city's outlay for the relief of human misery doubly dismaying is that it occurs in a period of unparalleled general prosperity. As Mayor

Lindsay noted in a cheery New Year statement, the over-all level of unemployment in the five boroughs declined last year to 3.2 per cent—a rate he described as "the lowest in the city's history."

It becomes increasingly clear that the welfare rolls have a life of their own detached from the metropolitan job market. Twenty years ago there were a quarter-million people on relief in this city. By 1965 the number had risen to a half-million. Now it is just short of a million, and it is expected to go a quarter-million higher in the next fiscal year.

The most tragic statistic of all is that the rolls include nearly 600,000 children, growing up in homes bereft of hope. The great bulk of the rest in this roster of social casualties are mothers, the aged and the disabled. Apart from 25,000 receiving wages so low they require supplementary aid, the rolls contain only 42,000 men listed as employables—among them alcoholics, addicts and others with physical or emotional infirmities.

A great part of the increased caseload in this city results from the technological revolution in agriculture that has uprooted millions of Southern Negroes and sent them cascading into Northern cities in search of jobs. The first need in a new welfare policy is acceptance by the Federal Government of responsibility for the full cost of this exported misery.

National welfare standards are an essential part of such a shift so that people would be encouraged to seek new lives in their own home states instead of coming to strange cities without skills, schooling or friends. The New York State average payment for aid to dependent children is \$61.70 a month, as against \$8.40 a month in Mississippi.

But no restructuring of the welfare system will eliminate all the demeaning features that lead to a cycle of inherited dependency and withdrawal from a work-oriented society. That means a priority matter for the new Administration in Washington must be the development of a new system of income maintenance, through some such device as a negative income tax or universal children's allowances, that will bring the welfare population back into the mainstream of American society and provide incentives for their restoration to self-support.

Mr. Speaker, in the legislation I have introduced today, which is being co-sponsored by many of our colleagues, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will be given the power to set minimum standards and uniform criteria for all States, subject, of course, to congressional review. This policy was recommended in 1966 by the Advisory Council on Public Welfare in its report to the Secretary. More recently the task force organized by President Nixon to study public assistance made a similar recommendation and last week, Secretary Finch endorsed the concept.

This measure, therefore, represents an important and long overdue step by the Federal Government in its recognition of the welfare situation throughout the Nation. It would attack the problem in two fundamental ways: First, by establishing a uniform system in all the States, the current migration of needy persons from rural to urban areas would be greatly abated. Second, by setting uniform acceptance standards whereby persons are declared eligible for benefits, the present State-by-State shopping for the most liberal requirements would be curtailed.

Expert knowledge indicates that better education, training, housing, and employment opportunities can be made avail-

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the unproductive. All of man's institutions—and for that matter, all men—are committed to what they are used to and reluctant to accept that it no longer needs doing or that it does not produce results. But government is under far greater pressure to cling to yesterday than any other institution. Indeed, the typical response of government to the failure of an activity is to double its budget and staff.

Nothing in history, for instance, can compare in futility with those prize activities of the American Government, its welfare policies and its farm policies. Both policies are largely responsible for the disease they are supposed to cure. We have known this for quite some time—in the case of the farm program since before World War II; in the case of the welfare program certainly since 1950.

The problem of the urban poor is undoubtedly vast. No city in history has ever been able to absorb an influx of such magnitude as the American cities have had to absorb since the end of World War II. Wherever it happened in the past, there was the same collapse of family, community and local government—in the cities of England in the late 18th century when the Irish came in; in the cities of North America around 1840, again with the coming of the Irish; in the cities of continental Europe later on, as for instance when the Czechs started to migrate in large numbers into the Vienna of the Hapsburgs in the closing years of the 19th century.

The influx of almost two million rural Negroes and Puerto Ricans into New York City alone in less than a 15-year period exceeded any of these earlier migrations. It is unprecedented in the history of cities. But we certainly could not have done worse if we had done nothing at all. In fact, the 19th century cities that did nothing, did better. And so, these last 20 years, has Sao Paulo in Brazil, which, inundated by similar floods of rural, illiterate Negroes fresh from serfdom, did nothing—and is in better shape than New York City.

Our welfare policies were not designed to meet this problem. They were perfectly rational—and quite effective—as measures for the temporary relief of competent people who were unemployed only because of the catastrophe of the Great Depression. Enacted in the mid-1930s, the relief policies has essentially finished their job by 1940. But being government programs, they could not be abandoned. Far too massive a bureaucracy had been built. The emotional investment in these programs and in their slogan had become far too great. They had become "symbols" of the New Deal.

Small wonder, then, that we reached for them when the entirely different problems of the 1950s arose, that is, when the rural Negro moved into the core city in large numbers. And small wonder, that these programs did not work, that instead they aggravated the problem and increased the helplessness, the dependence, the despair of the Negro masses. But all we could do when relief failed to relieve was to double the budget and to double the number of people engaged in filling out forms.

AN OPPOSITE RESULT

The farm program tells the same story. It was designed—also in the 1930's—to save the family farmer and to restore his economic and social health. Instead it has subsidized his replacement by large, heavily capitalized and highly productive "industrial farms." This may well be a more desirable result than the one the farm program was meant—and is still meant—to produce. But it was an abysmal failure in terms of the programs announced objectives. Yet the program goes on, with an increased budget and increasingly perverse consequences.

Let this be read as a criticism of the American Government, let me add that this experience knows no distinction of race, creed or nationality. The depressed-areas

policy in Great Britain dates back to the 1920s. In all that time, it has not restored to economic health one single "depressed area." But it has effectively penalized the shift of labor to areas of higher productivity, higher wages and better jobs. It thereby has slowed growth in the healthy regions. Yet whenever it is realized that the "depressed areas" are still depressed, the budget goes up.

Government is a poor manager. It is of necessity, concerned with procedure, just as it is also, of necessity, large and cumbersome. Government is properly conscious that it administers public funds and must account for every penny. It has no choice but to be "bureaucratic"—in the common usage of the term.

Every government is, by definition, a "government of paper forms." This means inevitably high cost. For "control" of the last 10 per cent of any phenomenon always costs more than the first 90 per cent. If control tries to account for everything, it becomes prohibitively expensive. Yet this is what government is always expected to do.

And the reason is not just "bureaucracy" and red tape; it is a much sounder one. A "little dishonesty" in government is a corrosive disease. It rapidly spreads to infect the whole body politic. Yet the temptation to dishonesty is always great. People of modest means and dependent on a salary handle very large public sums. People of modest position dispose of power and award contracts and privileges of tremendous importance to other people—construction jobs, radio channels, air routes, zoning laws, building codes and so on.

To fear corruption in government is not irrational. This means, however, that government "bureaucracy"—and its consequent high costs—cannot be eliminated. Any government that is not a "government of paper forms" degenerates rapidly into a mutual looting society.

POLITICS LOOKS ELSEWHERE

The generation that was in love with the state 30 and 40 years ago believed fondly that government would be economical. Eliminating the "profit motive" was thought to reduce costs. This was poor economics, to begin with. It is worse public administration.

The politician's attention does not go to the 90 per cent of money and effort that is devoted to existing programs and activities. They are left to their own devices and to the tender mercies of mediocrity. Politics—rightly—is primarily concerned with "new programs." It is focused on crisis and problems and issues. It is not focused on doing a job. Politics, whatever the form of government, is not congenial to managerial organization and makes government defective in managerial performance.

We have built elaborate safeguards to protect the administrative structure within government against the political process. This is the purpose of every civil service. But although this protects the going machinery from the distortions and pressures of politics, it also protects the incumbents in the agencies from the demands of performance.

Of course, we maintain officially that civil service tenure is compatible with excellence. But if we had to choose, we would probably say that mediocrity in the civil service is a lesser evil than "politics." As far as the judiciary is concerned—where we first created "independence"—this is certainly true. How far it is true in administrative agencies is debatable. A good many people have come to believe that we need some way of rewarding performance and of penalizing nonperformance, even within civil service.

Still, the premium within government will be on not "rocking the boat" in existing agencies, that is, on no innovation, no initiative, but rather on doing with proper procedures what has been done before. Within the political process, attention will certainly not be paid to the on-going routine work unless

there is the publicized malfunction of a "scandal."

As a result, management of the daily work of government will remain neglected, or be considered a matter of following "procedure" and of filling out forms. By excelling as a manager, no one in politics will get to the top unless at the same time he builds his own political machine, his own political following, his own faction.

We can—and must—greatly improve the efficiency of government. There is little reason these days to insist on "100 per cent audit," for instance. Modern sampling methods based on probability mathematics actually give us better control by inspecting a small percentage of the events. But we need something much more urgently: the clear definition of the results a policy is expected to produce, and the ruthless examination of results against these expectations.

This, in turn, demands that we spell out in considerable detail what results are expected rather than content ourselves with promises and manifestos. In the last century, the auditor general became a central organ of every government. We learned that we needed an independent agency to control the daily process of government and to make sure that money appropriated was spent for what it was intended for, and spent honestly. Now we may have to develop an independent government agency that compares the results of policies against expectations and that, independent of pressures from the executive as well as from the legislature, reports to the public any program that does not deliver.

AUTOMATIC CUTOFF

We may even go further—though only a gross optimist would expect this today. We may build into government an automatic abandonment process. Instead of starting with the assumption that any program, any agency and any activity is likely to be eternal, we might start out with the opposite assumption: that each is short-lived and temporary.

We might, from the beginning, assume that it will come to an end within five or ten years unless specifically renewed. And we may discipline ourselves not to renew any program unless it has the results that it promised when first started. We may, let us hope, eventually build into government the capacity to appraise results and systematically to abandon yesterday's tasks.

Yet such measures will still not convert government into a "doer." They will not alter the main lesson of the last 50 years: government is not a "doer."

The purpose of government is to make fundamental decisions and to make them effectively. The purpose of government is to focus the political energies of society. It is to present fundamental choices. The purpose of government, in other words, is to govern. This, as we have learned in other institutions, is incompatible with "doing." Any attempt to combine government with "doing" on a large scale paralyzes the decision-making capacity.

There is reason today why soldiers, civil servants and hospital administrators look to business management for concepts, principles and practices. For business, during the last 30 years, has had to face, on a much smaller scale, the problem that government now faces: the incompatibility between "governing" and "doing." Business management learned that the two have to be separated, and that the top organ, the decision-maker, has to be detached from "doing." Otherwise he does not make decisions, and the "doing" does not get done, either.

In business, this goes by the name of "decentralization." The term is misleading. It implies a weakening of the central organ, the top management of a business. The true purpose of decentralization, however, is to make the center, the top management of business, strong and capable of performing

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CENTERS OF TERRORIST OPERATIONS

Jordan

Complete freedom of movement, activity and recruitment is permitted to the terrorist groups in Jordan. Their bases and camps exist openly along the cease-fire lines. In some areas they are in complete control—as was shown by documents captured during the Israel raid on Karameh, where the Fatah in this town have their own police force and jails.

Iraq

The Iraqi task force stationed in the Mifraq area of Jordan supplies the saboteurs with arms and equipment, including Russian 120 mm mortars.

Officers and men of the 421st Palestine Commando Battalion, part of the regular Iraqi Army, lead units infiltrating into Israel. Many members of this battalion were killed and others captured during the Karameh raid.

A fixed allocation has been made in the Government budget for "strengthening the movement of the armed struggle."

Syria

Until several months ago the major bases and headquarters of the infiltrator bands were located in Syria. On the eve of the Karameh operation, several hundred officers and men were transferred to Jordan, to join the terrorist organizations in that country.

A number of captured terrorists have said, in open court, that they had undergone military training in Syria. Others have proved to be officers in the regular Syrian Army.

Egypt

In January, 1968, senior Fatah officers visited Cairo and reached an agreement for the training of saboteurs in regular Egyptian army camps. According to documents captured at Karameh, more than 100 have already received such training.

On April 25, a unit of infiltrators intercepted near Beer-Ora carried documents issued by the Egyptian Embassy in Amman. They had completed a special sabotage course in a military camp near Cairo and were then transferred to Jordan.

In recent weeks the same pattern of ambush, sabotage and shelling has been initiated by units of the regular Egyptian Army on the bank of the Suez Canal.

HOPE FOR PEACE IS THE VICTIM

Although the campaign of terror has borne some fruit in the mounting toll of dead and wounded Israeli Jews and Arabs, it has proved totally futile in its primary purpose. It has not, at any level, affected the administration of the occupied areas, nor does it pose a threat to the survival of Israel. The danger of a major conflict still constitutes the basic problem for those who are concerned with the maintenance of peace in the area. But it is worth noting that the wars of 1956 and 1967 came as the culmination points of a deliberately escalated policy of terrorist warfare.

The past year has proved that terrorists from across the border can be contained and prevented from establishing a foothold among Arabs in the occupied areas. Counter measures against marauders have so far resulted in almost 900 terrorists dead and 800 wounded, with several thousand more serving prison terms in Israeli jails.* The casualty figures for the period from August 1 to October 10, 1968, amounted to 109 killed and 206 wounded.

In one area, however, the effects should not be minimized. Recent attacks on citizens in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv provoked spontaneous outbursts against Arabs who were near the scene, and pressure on the Government to review its liberal policy in the administered areas was increased. Although the Government has strongly resisted any

*September, 1968.

such change, a continuation of such incidents can only work to weaken and destroy the contact and daily intercourse which has developed between Israelis and Palestinians, in Jerusalem and in the other areas.

END NAVAL INQUIRY OF CAPTURE OF U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 7, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the capture and detention of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew by North Korea and the action of the U.S. Government to obtain the crew's release, raises many serious questions. I have been particularly concerned with the prospect that Captain Bucher and his men might be subject to persecution and punishment for alleged violations of the Code of Military Conduct and other Navy regulations governing the behavior of military men in combat or encounters with hostile forces. On the basis of what has appeared to date, I feel strongly that for several reasons Captain Bucher and his men should not be subject to prosecution. First, the Code of Military Conduct is quite new in American law, and its applicability to situations of warfare and international tension is untested. Second, the code was issued by Presidential decree, and has never been passed upon by the people through their elected Representatives in Congress, as I believe it should be.

I am particularly disturbed with the effects of the provision in the code that American soldiers held by hostile governments can give no more information than "name, rank, and service number." I have outlined why I feel this provision is unfair and unwise, and what I think should be done about it, in a letter to President Nixon urging him to change it as soon as possible.

I have received such a large volume of correspondence, from my own constituents and people across the country, expressing interest in the proposal set out in my letter to President Nixon that I feel it useful to insert the letter at this point for the readers of the RECORD:

TEXT OF LETTER BY CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM TO PRESIDENT NIXON CALLING FOR REVISED MILITARY CODE OF CONDUCT

JANUARY 27, 1969.

MR. PRESIDENT: The mental and emotional torture suffered by Commander Lloyd M. Bucher and members of the crew of the USS *Pueblo* at the hands of their North Korean captors shows (in addition to the inhumanity of the current government of North Korea) the shameful and ludicrous inadequacy of the Code of Conduct for Military personnel. The rule that requires American prisoners, under threat of court martial, to give their captors nothing more than "name, rank, and service number" must be drastically revised.

The mistreatment American prisoners are forced to undergo to avoid signing false "statements" and "confessions" does not prevent their captors from using such statements for propaganda purposes. If death or sheer stamina under torture permits an American prisoner to resist making or signing statements dictated by his captors, it is easy enough for them to use similar treatment on other prisoners until someone sub-

mits. Even if no prisoner can be forced to make or sign trumped-up statements, hostile captors can forge prisoner's signatures, or simply issue whatever propaganda statements they wish to promulgate without a prisoner's submission.

In short, American prisoners are forced, by the "name, rank, and service number" limitation, to trade severe mental and physical mistreatment, and sometimes their very lives, without in any way frustrating the enemy's goals—to suffer and often to die for nothing.

The probability that American prisoners would be subjected to this kind of severe mental and physical torture could be greatly reduced if the following steps were taken immediately:

1. Revise the "name, rank and service number" provision of the Code of Military Conduct to permit any American soldier imprisoned or detained by a hostile government to sign or make any statement or confession which does not contain any factual information that would be useful to the hostile power and that, to the best of the prisoner's knowledge, is not already known to the hostile government.

2. Announce through all available diplomatic and public channels, including the United Nations, that American military personnel have been so instructed, and that no statement or confession signed by any American military person held or detained by a hostile government can be believed.

These changes would be consistent with our international commitments under the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. American captives would not be allowed to give any real assistance or factual information to hostile governments, any more than they are permitted to do so under the current Code. What these changes would do is remove one of the major excuses used by hostile captors to torture and kill American military men, reduce the probability that American soldiers would have to suffer such torture and death, and reduce the propaganda usefulness of false enemy statements and confessions attributed to American captives.

I strongly urge you, as President of the United States, to make these changes in the Code of Military Conduct by Executive Order before any more American military men are forced to suffer and perhaps die under the senseless "name, rank, and service number" rule.

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
Member of Congress.

Public response to this statement has been nearly unanimously favorable. A few examples of the many letters I have received are included below:

LONGFORD, N.J.,
January 27, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: I was very much interested to read in the Atlantic City Press this morning your proposal to President Nixon on the Code of Military Conduct. These have been my thoughts for some time. I have wanted to express them to someone who could remedy this situation which I feel would beat the communists at their own game. I have never written to a Congressman or Senator before but after following the case of the *Pueblo* and Cmdr. Bucher, I feel that I must speak out. I have written to any state senator, Senator Clifford Case and asked him to support your proposal. This is of great concern to me as I have three young sons. Two of them will probably be in the service in a few years. As I told Senator Case, I don't want them to be traitors to their country, but I don't expect the impossible from them either. I feel this is the case with Cmdr. Bucher and other American prisoners. It is impossible to endure this inhumane suffering

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able on a more equitable basis in non-urban areas. If the Federal Government will act now to reform the system, it will be much easier to assist the poor in their present environment than try to provide for them in our large cities where it is becoming increasingly difficult to afford the programs they require.

The enactment of this legislation will not have an adverse or regressive effect on the present level of assistance in any State. In States with low levels of per capita income, Federal support grants will make it possible for them to attain the national minimum standard while keeping the present State and local effort requirements.

I am hopeful that the Ways and Means Committee will give early attention to this legislation and that action can be secured in the present session in order that steps can be taken to reverse the trend toward ever-increasing welfare costs.

BACKGROUND ON THE FATAH

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 7, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, Israel continues to be harassed by Arab terrorist groups. Because these raids occur with such tragic frequency, many Americans have become blunted to these incursions and threats to Israel's existence.

The following description of El Fatah activities appears in the January 1969 edition of the Middle East Information Series and vividly documents the frequent attacks of terrorist bands on Israel communities—a reminder to all of us of the daily loss of lives in the Middle East:

BACKGROUND ON THE FATAH

Since the end of the Six Day War some 236 Israelis have lost their lives and 870 have been wounded as a result of "border incidents".* The terrorists make no distinction between civilians, soldiers, Jews, Druse or Arabs.

In September alone, for example: On September 4, hand grenades set off in the crowded Central Bus Station in Tel Aviv killed one 65 year old man and injured 51 others, both Jews and Arabs.

On September 9, an explosive charge set off under a truck in the market place in Gaza, wounded the Israeli Arab driver and 15 other people.

On September 13, three Druse watchmen were murdered by a marauding band in the Negev.

Innocent bystanders are not the only targets in the campaign. The shelling of the string of settlements in the Jordan and Beit-shan valleys has become so frequent that in some kibbutzim (communal farm settlements) the younger children sleep in underground shelters. Farmers working in their fields are fired on, dirt roads are mined nightly and frontier patrols come under bazooka and mortar attack.

Almost daily the news headlines carry stories of soldiers killed or wounded, either on routine patrols or in unexpected artillery duels. Although the incidents may be provoked by one of the terrorist groups, it is the

*As of September, 1968. These figures have risen sharply within the last two months.

regular Jordanian Army, according to on the spot observers, which provides covering fire for the retreating saboteurs and sets up the heavy artillery barrages.

Until recently, terrorist activity operated exclusively from bases in Jordan and Syria. However, recent incidents along the Suez Canal—implanted mines, ambushing of Israeli soldiers, sniping and shelling—indicate the opening up of a "new front" in the operations.

WAR BY OTHER MEANS

Official statements of the Arab Governments and speeches delivered at the United Nations term the terrorists' activities a direct consequence of the June War and the Israeli occupation of Arab territory. However, for internal consumption, consistency is abandoned and a different purpose and goal of the campaign is generally conceded. For instance, the Egyptian government's paper "Al Com-houriya" stated, on November 17:

"These events are not a result of the aggression of June 5 and of Israel's conquest of part of the Arab lands. Almost three years ago and more, several Palestinian organizations began armed operations within occupied Palestine; their activity was merely stepped up after the aggression."

Even more explicit is the editorial of the Saudi Arabian paper "Al-Bilad" of March 18: "The Arab Fedayeen activities are simply the preparatory groundwork for the next Arab round and the launching of the victory campaign."

In other words, terrorism is to be used as a "softening up" stage to demoralize Israel and weaken its economy until such time as the Arab States can reach a level of military competence that will enable them to undertake the final liquidation.

RESISTANCE OR TERROR?

The employment of these methods is no new feature in the area. They were used as far back as the 1920's and 1930's, both against Jewish settlers and those Arabs who opposed the policies of their leadership. But in those days the terrorists did not call upon the ghost of Che Guevara; their leader and source of inspiration was the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj el-Russeini, ally of Hitler and friend of the Balkan fascist leaders. His support derived from the ultra-nationalistic elements who opposed all forms of Jewish-Arab cooperation and rejected a peaceful solution to the conflict based on coexistence. Despite the invocation of the name of Che and other "freedom fighters", the policy of the existing terrorist groups has changed little. They still cling to their former slogans and appeal for "another round".

To compare the activities of the Fatah and similar groups with those of the national resistance movements of the past, is to make a transparently false analogy. Successful resistance movements, whether in Ireland, Cyprus, Cuba or Algeria, were always based on the mass support of the people, seeking to liberate themselves.

This is far removed from the situation which exists in the Israeli occupied areas today. The success of the Vietcong is based on the support it receives from the local population—often undertaken at great personal risk. The Fatah has failed to make any substantial headway in achieving this basic prerequisite.

Part of this failure can be credited to the two-pronged policy of the Israel Army. Minor frictions are avoided and the edge is taken off hostility by a policy of giving the local inhabitants a free hand in the running of their own affairs. There are today less than 300 Israeli officials engaged in the total administration of the occupied areas. The lifting of travel restrictions and permitting a certain amount of trade between the East and West Banks of the Jordan have also served as stabilizing factors.

Terrorism is countered by tough measures and those caught harboring active Fatah elements face the prospect of having their houses blown up. Capital punishment, however, is not invoked, since it has been abolished under Israeli law. Collective punishment is not meted out to a community, as was practiced by the British in pre-1948 Palestine. Not only have the terrorists failed to bring about a popular uprising but the local population of the West Bank and Gaza have clearly demonstrated their reluctance to provide either shelter or support for the operations of the saboteur bands. Much of the information which has led to the capture of saboteurs has been supplied to the army by local citizens.

The Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza want an end to the Israeli occupation but, from all available evidence, the majority looks neither to total war nor to terrorist activities to achieve this goal. The people appear to be willing to come to terms with the reality of Israel's existence, and to seek some form of political accommodation and settlement.

While this applies to the majority, there remains a part of the population that undoubtedly sympathizes with the terrorists and from these circles are recruited the small groups of militants who form the terrorist cells operating in East Jerusalem, Gaza, Hebron and Nablus. But one indication of the extent to which they have to go in recruitment was the announcement by Fatah on May, 1968, that its ranks are now open to "non-Palestinians". Even the Vietcong—whose name is often invoked—has never been obliged to resort to foreign volunteers, and the FLN was never dependent on recruits from other Arab countries.

BASES OUTSIDE PALESTINE

Faced with inadequate support from the local Palestinian population, the terrorists have been compelled to depend on bases across the borders. From these centers they can infiltrate at night, lay their mines and return by daybreak.

Prior to June 1967, the terrorists' headquarters were based in Syria, with Jordan providing a transition point. Today the operations are conducted from camps in Jordan. No longer absolute master in his Kingdom, it is doubtful whether King Hussein could control the Fatah, even should he wish to do so. The result could well be the downfall of the regime, an eventuality which neither Egypt nor Syria would view with regret. One direct consequence of the Fatah operations from bases in the Jordan valley has been the abandonment of the villages in the area by the local population, resulting in a substantial loss, which the Jordanian economy can ill-afford.

Not only has the base of operations changed in the past year, but a radical transformation has taken place in the training and composition of the saboteur bands and in their relationship to the Arab States.

Frustrated by political stalemate, internal disaffection and military weakness, the Arab governments have turned to open support and encouragement of terrorism as part of their overall strategy against Israel—the "old" war is being conducted by other means.

Speaking at El-Mansura (Radio Cairo, April 18, 1968), President Nasser stated:

"We recognize the terrorist movement . . . we will support and give aid to this movement . . . the activities of the Asifa commandos and the Fatah are a positive element in our campaign."

In support of this policy, funds, arms, training facilities, shelter and covering fire when required are all being provided directly by the Arab Governments. Although most of the rank and file terrorists—among whom the casualty rate has been about 90%—are Palestinians, many of the officers are Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi and Jordanian.

over a period of time. I wish you every success in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARGUERITE PACENTRILLI.

ROCHESTER, MINN.,

February 1, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
 House Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BINGHAM: Thank you for your interest in the plight of the military man, beholden to say only "name, rank, and serial number" to an unreasonable captor.

The Navy, with which I have had recent acquaintance, makes no effort to prepare its men for imprisonment by a hostile power; no preparation for interrogation or "brain-washing".

Why can't we learn from our experiences in Korea? Is the military incapable of preparing its soldiers for an eventuality as real as combat?

Someone with interest, understanding, and compassion should review this difficult area with the Armed Services.

Sincerely,

DONALD SWITZ.

THE GEORGE W. HENRY
 FOUNDATION, INC.,

New York, N.Y., January 26, 1969.

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

SIR: I hope you will not consider it presumptuous for me to write to express wholehearted agreement with your proposal to amend the rules relating to the conduct of members of the Armed Forces who may have been taken prisoner. I am greatly and gravely concerned by the circumstances that necessitated your introduction of such a Bill. This concern arises out of the circumstances surrounding the Naval inquiry into the loss of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, from which it might appear that the Navy is primarily in search of a scapegoat to bear responsibility for the ship's loss. Certainly others than Commander Bucher, especially after hearing his testimony that he besought the Navy to provide him with electrical equipment that would speedily destroy the secret paraphernalia over which there is so much pother, must bear this burden. Someone, seemingly, was penny wise and pound foolish. Hence I think the Bill might profitably include provision that Commander Bucher and his crew, now, according to report, threatened with court martial, should be held blameless for the ship's capture or their conduct under trying conditions.

The rule that a man need give only his name, rank and serial number is little more than the proverbial scrap of paper. Certainly in our wars with civilized (?) Germany and Japan, enemy interrogators sought to find out much more than that; and we are told that their efforts to obtain information were accompanied by both physical and psychological pressures—not too different from the police "third degree". Were our and our Allied interrogators altogether blameless?

You are wise in suggesting that our Government should make proclamation that prisoners may feel free to sign anything, from a statement that the moon is made of green cheese, up or down, to be left unmolested. As to the turncoats, I feel each case should be investigated on its own merits. Young people are not superhuman. Only the Lord knows how much pressure they can stand; and a great deal of mercy should be available even to a repentant defector who was tortured or "brain washed" into telling more than his prayers.

With regard to Commander Bucher and the *Pueblo* crew, I believe that, instead of their being court-martialed, they should be welcomed in the words of the old gospel hymn:

"Home again, home again,
 From a foreign shore.
 And, oh, it makes our hearts rejoice,
 To see our friends once more."

Instead of a court martial, they would seem deserving of Purple Hearts, and even some sort of commendatory medal, as their country's evidence of appreciation of their ordeal.

We are told in the scriptures to make unto ourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Does it not follow that, in dealing with an unscrupulous enemy, the Marquis of Queensbury rules must be subjected to a great deal of interpretation?

In hope that your Bill will speedily become law, I am,

Your obedient servant,

ALFRED A. GROSS,
 Executive Director.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

January 26, 1969.

CONGRESSMAN JONATHAN BINGHAM: Congratulations on your asking Nixon to intervene in Bucher situation. Have gotten 100 signatures on letter which you will get copy of soon.

HARRY J. UFLAND.

MCALLEN, TEX.,

January 29, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I am enclosing a clipping from The Dallas News of a day or two ago, telling of your letter to President Nixon proposing a revision of the military code of conduct to allow captured servicemen to confess to "anything so long as the confession 'does not contain factual information that would be useful to the hostile power'." May I commend you on this!

About two years ago, when the very first American soldier to ever escape from the Viet Cong was given great publicity and I learned of the things they tortured him for because he would not admit to things or sign things, I had the great thought that every American soldier should be instructed to sign anything, say anything. Thus, what a laughing stock it would make of any enemy, flaunting "signed statements" . . . when all the world would know that U.S. soldiers had been instructed to sign or say anything! (any idiot knows that he would not be fighting for his country if he felt "that way" about it!) Thus, he could say he hated his country, he could say he loved Communism, he could say he thought "we" in the wrong . . . and sign the paper—and all would automatically be discounted—not only by us, but by the world!

Suddenly I realized, "Why haven't the people who know military not thought of this before!" I had a great urge to "take pen in hand" and write Johnson, or the Defense head, or a senator or representative, or somebody! My husband said, "If you feel this strongly about this, by all means, write!"

But—I thought—"who am I, a mere housewife, to enter into things military!" . . . also, I just didn't put in motion my fine thought.

And now you have come up with this great idea . . . and, my thanks to you!

Remember, if a gunman held you at bay and said he'd kill you if you didn't say you hated your wife, or your children, or your country . . . you'd say it! (Not that that would mean you did! . . . it's as simple as that!

Sincerely,

Mrs. GORDON KETHLEY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

January 27, 1969.

CONGRESSMAN JONATHAN BINGHAM,
 U.S. House of Representatives,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I was pleased to note in the news this weekend the position you have taken

with regard to the amendment of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. In fact, I was about to write to you to ask that you take some action in that regard. It is quite inequitable to permit diplomats to sign confessions and disclaim their validity while denying the men in the military the same privilege. It is particularly ludicrous in view of the fact that the latter rather than the former are most likely to be in the most immediate physical and psychological peril.

I am therefore in complete agreement with you, and if possible, I would like to see the proposal that you have made.

Sincerely yours,

CAROLYN GENTILE, Esq.

JESSUP, MD.,

January 27, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
 U.S. Representative,
 New York.

SIR: Congratulations on recommending a revised code of conduct for captured servicemen.

We should, in my opinion, announce to the world that we are instructing our servicemen to, should they become captive, tell any tale (true or false) that pops into their mind. Then, the enemy would never know whether they were receiving reliable information or not.

It is completely unrealistic to expect captured servicemen to remain silent (or to give only their name, rank, and serial number) while being tortured or threatened with torture. Any "brave" politician or other critic who expects this should volunteer to trade places with the captive.

I wish you well with your recommendation.

Sincerely,

KENNETH A. STEVENS.

SIDNEY, KY.,

January 31, 1969.

Representative JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
 Democrat,
 New York.

DEAR SIR: Support you in your support concerning Commander Lloyd M Bucher, Pueblo Skipper.

Please stop persecution immediately. He is to be honored for bravery in my opinion.

Respectfully,

Mr. & Mrs. WALTER M. ARROWOOD.

SAN MARINO, CALIF.,

January 30, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
 House Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I was delighted to see in the Los Angeles Times last Monday a report that you have urged a change in the code of military conduct "to allow American prisoners to make meaningless confessions, and that such confessions be branded as false by the government . . . (to the effect) that no statement or confession signed by any American military person held or detained by a hostile government can be believed."

In "Modern" warfare as practiced by our Communist enemies, torture and starvation of prisoners held by them indeed makes the present code a desertion of our armed forces by their government.

I trust you have made your recommendation a resolution.

Sincerely yours,

ROMAINE L. POINDEXTER.

RESEDA, CALIF.,

January 30, 1969.

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

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: According to the information printed in a recent newspaper—a copy of which is attached—you have written to President Nixon urging him to change

the Code of Military Conduct to, "... allow American prisoners (of war) to make meaningless confessions and that such confessions be branded false in advance by the government."

In effect, you are suggesting that we teach our fighting men to lie in certain situations, i.e., when they are prisoners of war. When does the lying stop? Are we to stop teaching the men the meaning of honorable conduct—under any circumstances? Who is to teach them right from wrong—for each "situation."

It would be much better if our leaders—and I presume you come under this category in some dubious fashion—would set good examples of honorable conduct in our daily lives—under all circumstances. Do not teach our fighting men to "give up" and lie and cheat their way out of a tight spot.

For your information, I served in the U.S. Navy—submarine service—during World War II and the Korean War; and, I have a draft-eligible son who has not been taught—either by precept or example—to lie or cheat, under any circumstances. I expect him to live by the "right" and "wrong" attitudes I have taught him.

Stop running down the moral fibre of our youth by such suggestions you have voiced to the President.

Yours truly,

ANTHONY PAOLANTONIO.

Mr. Speaker, the current hearing at which Commander Bucher and his men are being required to appear is not a formal trial. It is a preliminary investigation to find out what happened and whether there is any cause to prosecute Bucher, or any of his crew. As I have indicated, and as my letter to President Nixon implies, I do not believe that these men should be brought to trial.

It is unfortunate that the men of the *Pueblo* must suffer the anguish and strain of a full-scale inquiry, but I feel that a full disclosure of all the facts is necessary, and can bring nothing but desirable results. I believe that the facts will justify the actions taken by Commander Bucher and his men. Furthermore, and no less important, a complete airing of all the facts should make it clear to our military and political leaders, and to the public, that major and drastic changes must be made in the Code of Military Conduct, and that the content of the code must be determined not by Presidential decree but by the Congress.

The first several sessions of the inquiry conducted by the Navy in California confirmed what many observers suspected before the inquiry opened—that more was at issue in the *Pueblo* case than merely the behavior of Commander Bucher and his crew. It is now clear that the behavior of high Navy officials and the structure of the Navy command are also at issue. It is an elementary rule both of law and commonsense that it is unjust for any person or organization to stand in judgment of the facts of a matter in which that person or organization is itself involved. But that is exactly the position in which the Navy finds itself. The Navy, in its inquiry on the *Pueblo* incident, is in a position to pass judgment on its own case.

For that reason, and because I feel the men of the *Pueblo* should not have to endure more than one full-scale investigation, I have called upon Secretary of Defense Laird and Secretary of the Navy Chafee to cancel the Navy inquiry until such time as a joint congressional com-

mittee can be appointed to resume and conclude the inquiry which the Navy began, but is not now in a fair position to continue.

I have also urged the chairmen of several congressional committees which have indicated interest in conducting investigatory hearings into the *Pueblo* incident to consolidate their investigatory efforts by supporting a resolution to appoint a joint congressional committee to carry on the *Pueblo* inquiry. My letters to Secretary of Defense Laird, Secretary of the Navy Chafee, and the chairman of the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees, and the House Armed Services Committee, follow:

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD,

Secretary of Defense.

HON. JOHN H. CHAFEE,

Secretary of the Navy.

GENTLEMEN: I respectfully urge that you cancel the current Naval inquiry into the capture of the USS *Pueblo* by North Korea. It has become clear, as the Navy inquiry has progressed, that the Navy is in the position of adjudicating what may turn out to be a case against itself. The behavior—the action or inaction—of the Navy Command now seem to be as much at issue as the behavior of Commander Bucher and his crew. Since this is so, to permit the Navy to continue this investigation at this time would be improper.

The inquiry now being conducted in California by the Navy should be cancelled, to be resumed and completed by a more impartial and representative body. The men of the *Pueblo* should not have to endure more than one full-scale investigation.

Several Congressional Committees have indicated an interest in convening *Pueblo* investigatory hearings after the Navy inquiry is over. I am calling on the Chairmen of these committees to consolidate their efforts, and to support a resolution calling for formation of a joint Congressional investigating committee to conduct the inquiry hastily and, I believe, ill-advisedly begun by the Navy.

Cordially yours,

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,

Member of Congress.

HON. JOHN C. STENNIS,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Armed Services.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

HON. MENDEL RIVERS,
Chairman, House Committee on Armed Services.

GENTLEMEN: The men of the *Pueblo* should not have to endure more than one full-scale inquiry. Such an inquiry is already being conducted by the Navy, but it is now clear that the behavior of high Navy officials and the very structure of the Navy Command are at issue. This puts the Navy in the position of passing judgment on the facts of a case in which it is itself deeply implicated. For these reasons, I have today called upon Secretary of Defense Laird to terminate immediately the Naval inquiry currently in progress.

Your Committee, among others, has expressed interest in conducting investigatory hearings on the *Pueblo* incident. I wish to enlist your support for the consolidation of Congressional investigatory efforts by the formation of a single, joint Congressional investigating Committee to resume and complete the inquiry begun by the Navy. I will introduce a resolution to provide for the selection of such a joint committee when the House reconvenes on February 17, and I hope that my resolution—or a similar one—will have your support.

Cordially yours,

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,

Member of Congress.

PRIORITIES FOR PROGRESS OF CHICAGO

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 7, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday more than 2,000 leaders of industry, government, science, education, and commerce attended the 65th annual meeting of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry at which was unveiled an imposing program of priorities for progress for Chicago.

The president of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Mr. M. P. Venema, outlined the progress made by Chicago to date and outlined a breathtaking program of priorities destined to make Chicago the most imposing and impressive metropolis in the entire world.

Mayor Richard J. Daley of the city of Chicago acknowledged the huge opportunities that lie ahead for Chicago in the next decade and pledged his effort toward those goals.

I am today placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the entire statement of Mr. Venema; Mayor Daley; George W. Dunne, president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, and Mr. George L. Dement, chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority.

I think it is important for the Nation to see the impressive progress which has been made in Chicago and equally important for our friends throughout the country and the world to see what exciting plans lie ahead in the continued growth of metropolitan Chicago.

The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry is to be congratulated for the leadership it has provided in working with all levels of government toward a better Chicago.

I should like to call my colleagues' attention particularly to the acknowledgment Mayor Daley gave to the Federal programs and assistance which have made a great deal of the progress so meaningful.

Mayor Daley and all of those attending the meeting yesterday joined Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie in expressing a united dedication to the fact that government at all levels and industry working together can solve the great crises of America's urban areas.

I am also including the list of the leaders of Chicago who have worked so closely together toward the common growth of our city.

This is the kind of team that is determined to make Chicago the greatest industrial complex in the entire world.

The impressive speeches follow:

THE 65TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY—PRIORITIES FOR PROGRESS—WHO WILL PAY?

SPEAKERS TABLE

W. Stanhaus, Chairman and President, Spector Freight System, Inc.; New Director, CACI.

Sidney Epstein, President, A. Epstein and Sons, Inc.; New Director, CACI.

Otto L. Preisler, President, Home Federal Savings & Loan Association of Chicago; New Director, CACI.

MINORITY EMPLOYEE

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 238) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 238

Resolved, That pursuant to the Legislative Pay Act of 1929, as amended, Robert T. Hartmann is hereby designated a minority employee (to fill an existing vacancy) until otherwise ordered by the House, and shall receive gross compensation of \$28,000 per annum.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONGRESSIONAL SALARIES

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. FOLEY) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the December 1968 Report of the Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries recommended salary increases for the top officials of the three branches of the Federal Government. The Commission is chaired by Frederick R. Kappel, retired chairman of the board of directors of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., and is established by the Federal Salary Act of 1967. Before President Johnson left office his recommendations, pursuant to the Salary Act, were sent to Congress. The President lowered this advisory Commission's original recommendation of \$50,000 to \$42,500 per annum for Members of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make my position quite clear in this matter. I believe that this House avoids its responsibility when Presidential recommendations of this kind are submitted to it and when Members do not vote on such recommendations one way or the other within the 30 days required by the Federal Salary Act of 1967. I believe that the advisory Commission's study was useful and that the President's amended salary recommendations were essentially sound but the House should have acted formally with respect to them before the time expired.

Mr. Speaker, I think the recommendations were essentially sound because:

First. We cannot get enough top-flight people today from the private sector to serve as administrators of the Federal executive agencies unless the salary level is raised over the present rates for Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officials.

Second. Unless the Congress is to tend more toward becoming the domain of Members with independent incomes, salary increases are necessary. As the advisory Commission said:

It is our feeling that Members' salaries should be adjusted to compensate for the substantial and unique responsibilities they bear, to meet the cost peculiar to elective rather than appointive office, and to minimize the need to rely on other means of augmenting income.

But notwithstanding these considerations, the U.S. House of Representatives cannot, with any justification, complain about the erosion of its own power unless it has the candor to go on record for or

against this and other Presidential recommendations of similar import. If the House of Representatives wishes to maintain its national authority, it must meet this responsibility.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I intend to introduce an appropriate resolution to facilitate the House expressing its support of, or opposition to, any future Presidential recommendation made pursuant to the Federal Salary Act of 1967 for pay raises for top officials of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Federal Government. I believe that this House must have an opportunity to vote as a body on such Presidential recommendations within a reasonable period—if necessary, irrespective of the action of the concerned committees. Furthermore, in view of the Commission's suggestion that the income for Members of Congress is needed in part to "minimize the need to rely on other means of augmenting income," I believe this is an appropriate time to consider legislation requiring more complete disclosure of outside income and assets by Members of the House, and I also intend to introduce legislation to this end.

For my own part, I wish to announce that, had the President's salary recommendations come to the floor of the House for action, as should have been the case, I would have voted against a resolution disapproving these recommendations.

"PUEBLO" INCIDENT NEEDS FULL INQUIRY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. ASHBROOK) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are watching the U.S.S. *Pueblo* inquiry with the greatest concern. I am sure each Member of this body has received the great volume of mail I have—and it runs very nearly 100 percent in favor of Comdr. Lloyd Bucher and against the military-executive establishment. Above all, the individual thoughts expressed in these letters is the indication that we have entered a period in the history of the *Pueblo* affair when the vast majority of the people truly believe they are about to become the victims of the "closed Government." They are about to be thrown into the ranks of the uninformed because of bureaucratic coverup. The people are concerned that having waited patiently through 11 months while the men they supported were tortured and their Nation humiliated, they will now be treated to an exhibition of how government in error merely pulls the curtain from public view and buckpasses all the problems away.

In times such as these, the "people's right to know" is paramount. But this right is not always observed. We have had coverups following blunders; we have had our national pride and prestige s'andered by the demands of self-serving bureaucrats. And many people believe it is about to happen again, primarily because they have had too many bad experiences not to expect it.

Looking back just a few years reveals the massive coverups in the Billy Sol Estes, Otto Otepka and Jerry Jackis cases, where loyal employees were axed by the bureaucratic system while their tormentors were untouched and in some instances were awarded promotions. The strange circumstances of the Bobby Baker case are closed as far as the light of public scrutiny is concerned; the TFX contracts, a multibillion-dollar blunder with enormous political implication is now accepted by many as history; the Walter Jenkins-L. B. J.-Don Reynolds incidents are now nearly forgotten. All these have one common denominator. They represent the type of government above the people, government beyond their view, which threatens to subvert the truth in the search for the facts concerning the U.S.S. *Pueblo*.

I have been as concerned as anyone about the men of the *Pueblo* and the national and international ramifications of this piracy. And I am sure I have been as vocal as anyone. A look at the index to the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will reveal that as early as January 25, 1968, within hours after capture, and as late as January 30, 1969, I spoke out to the public and to my colleagues. And between these times there have been many other occasions when I have forcefully stated the positions of the people whom I represent and my personal views.

Nearly 6 months after the ship and crew were seized, my eighth annual public opinion questionnaire indicated the feelings by the people that the Government had taken the wrong tack. Asked if they favored an immediate retaliatory move when the ship was captured, nearly 80 percent of those answering said "Yes." Asked whether we should continue diplomatic activities—this was June 1968—or issue an ultimatum and go get ship and crew, 70 percent of those with an opinion selected the latter.

THE PEOPLE SPEAK

I indicated the concern of many people when, on April 17, 1968, I forwarded to President Johnson telegrams, letters, notes, and petitions. In this letter I stated:

There are nearly 700 names here and they represent an equal number of incredulous Americans—men, women, and children, wives, mothers and sisters, who are ashamed of the lack of success in bringing about the return of these men and their ship.

The apparent abandonment of the *Pueblo* and her crew is a frightening and shameful precedent and one which, as these letters pointedly indicate, a great number and I believe a great majority of Americans find totally alien to our time-honored standards and beliefs.

I was among the many millions who urged the President to take action. As the letter stated, two areas should have demanded attention:

Take whatever action is necessary to secure as quickly as possible the return of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew;

Explain, in full, to me and to the American people, what actions have been taken, what policy is being followed, and why.

The thousands of bumper stickers and the activities of many thousands of people, alone or in quickly organized groups indicated at the time that this was a

nationwide concern of a magnitude seldom seen in our history.

There can be no doubt that a critical need exists to conduct a detailed, wide-ranging, organized investigation. There were too many contradictions from Government spokesmen when the *Pueblo* was seized, and the responsibility has been shifted and reshifted too often. The delay in informing the President of the harassment and boarding of the ship has not even today been finally placed.

Our Government's response was muddled and totally ineffective and our diplomacy disastrous. We have had a consistently weak—indeed, foolish—policy vis-a-vis world communism so the *Pueblo* disaster was part of a larger sordid picture. With a strong sounding voice we took the weakest of stands. "We cannot tolerate this piracy," we said, but we stooped to the absurdity of having then Secretary of State Rusk appeal the "good offices" of the Soviet Union for help. By refusing, the Soviets added insult to the absurdity. This double blunder—first of assuming that the Communists were not the same tyrants of old and second of hoping they would aid us rather than their ally, was the type of policy which allowed 83 Americans to survive as best they could in the horrors of North Korean prisons.

The American people and the people of the entire world were asked to swallow a diplomatic lie in order to achieve the political—not humanitarian or military—expedient of seeing the captured men returned for Christmas. Again our policy in dealing with the Communists was based on weakness rather than strength, falsehoods, and compromise rather than truth.

Now, the people of America watch as a board of inquiry examines. The thought across the Nation seems to be that Comdr. Lloyd Bucher is to be made a scapegoat. This was the thought until the people and their Representatives in Congress began to protest.

It is now obvious that any full and final resolution to all the questions will come only from Congress. And the only way a full and final as well as a reasonably public inquiry can be had is through the operation of a joint bipartisan congressional committee. Secrets should be protected but we should not allow a coverup to be accomplished by simply stamping "secret" on the inquiry.

Admittedly, there are several options. We can rely solely on the investigation being conducted by the Navy but this is incomplete and of questionable objectivity. This sort of agency introspection is valuable to some degree but there is still the built-in limitation of having the accused sit as judge of what may well be his crime. We might also take as a supplement the correlative examination by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, but to a great extent the same limitations apply; the people in the Department supplying the information today were to a great extent also present when the blunders occurred and undoubtedly were a party to them. At least, they have been responsible for his policy of appeasement. In addition, neither of these investigations is directed at the probable liability of the White House, the State

Department or the interwoven patterns of the National Security Agency.

We might also rely on the various committee investigations which are being conducted or which have been announced. These, however, are approaching the total question in a segmented manner, on a nearly random basis and are not coordinated either within their Houses of Congress or between the House and the Senate.

MY INQUIRY PROPOSAL

I propose an alternative. Along with other Members of the House, I have introduced legislation to establish a joint House-Senate committee to conduct a full investigation. Its 16 members would be divided equally between the two political parties. It would have no other duties than to investigate all ramifications of the capture of the *Pueblo*. Eight of the members would be appointed by the President of the Senate and eight by the Speaker of the House.

This bill, House Concurrent Resolution 109, lists the function of the committee as:

Sec. 2. The joint committee shall undertake a full and complete investigation and study of all circumstances leading up to the capture of the United States ship *Pueblo* and all events pertaining to the vessel and her crew after its capture until the time of the crew's release. The investigation and study shall give special attention to the policy and actions of the military departments concerned with respect to the preparation of the United States ship *Pueblo* for its mission and the military response of such departments during the period immediately preceding the vessel's capture. Such investigation and study shall, in addition, examine in detail the activities of the Department of Defense and the Department of State with respect to the negotiations (including official statements issued to the public respecting such negotiations) undertaken to effect the release of the crew of the United States ship *Pueblo*.

The committee is charged with submitting an interim report as soon as possible and a final report not later than the end of the present session of Congress. It is also charged with making specific recommendations, including "specific recommendations for legislation." It will have the power to subpoena witnesses and papers and reports as needed.

Granted, the naval inquiry now in progress in Coronado, Calif., into the capture of the *Pueblo* is a procedural matter which follows serious events and tragedies involving naval personnel and material for the most part. In this light, the inquiry has been productive so far in revealing information regarding the operational aspects of the *Pueblo* affair.

If, however, the inquiry ends up by oversimplifying and placing responsibility for the capture of the vessel on a solitary naval officer, I am sure there will be a reaction from the American public loud and clear which will demand a complete exposé of the whole mess from top to bottom.

Take, for example, the question of whether Commander Bucher violated Navy regulation No. 0730, which forbids surrendering command to a foreign state "so long as he has the power to resist."

Either the injection of this question into the inquiry is a diversionary tactic or

the testimony of former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara before a Senate committee in 1968 is in error. On February 1, 1968, Secretary McNamara, along with Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee on a bill to authorize Defense Department appropriations for fiscal year 1969. When asked if the *Pueblo* and similar ships with their electronic gathering equipment were not one of the most important types of craft at that time, Secretary McNamara responded with specific reference to Commander Bucher:

Yes, and may I add there that his first responsibility was not to attack the harassing vessels but rather to destroy his equipment.

Several sentences later the Secretary again emphasized this point:

But I do know that his orders were that under such circumstances his first objective was to destroy equipment and associated documents.

Let me repeat a very key passage from the above statement:

... his first responsibility was not to attack the harassing vessels but rather to destroy his equipment.

From the testimony of Commander Bucher and others, we learn that the *Pueblo* skipper set out to do just that—destroy the electronic equipment and associated documents. Possibly he did not perform this duty well, but to charge him with policy errors is unfair.

Evidently, the responsibility for the capture of the ship lies with those much higher in authority than the commander of the *Pueblo*. General Wheeler, when asked during the Senate hearing if we had learned anything from the *Pueblo* affair, responded:

Certainly, we must take a look at the instructions to the captains of these vessels. [Deleted.]

If, as Secretary McNamara has stated, Commander Bucher's first responsibility was not to fight back if the enemy closed in but to destroy the intelligence equipment and data, then we might possibly have the spectacle of an inquiry board endeavoring to establish why one of its officers did not disobey, rather than obey, his first and most binding operating order.

I realize the danger of oversimplifying in complex cases of this nature, and this is precisely why a congressional investigation is urgently needed. Incidentally, such an investigation could review the *Pueblo's* operating orders which, of course, is classified information but which could well throw considerable light on the priorities under which Commander Bucher operated.

A MISMANAGED MISSION?

An even broader aspect of an investigation concerns the placing of responsibility for the pathetic mismanagement of the mission from its initial inception to the signing of the false statement late in 1968. The overall responsibility for the mission lies, as is to be expected, right here in Washington. Secretary McNamara, during the above-cited Senate hearings, stated:

The basic purpose of the mission was reviewed at the upper echelons of the Gov-

February 7, 1969

ernment in Washington. It is true that it had been recommended by field commanders, but it is equally true that I am certain other high officials in Washington must assume responsibility for it.

What role, for instance, did the highly secretive National Security Agency have in the *Pueblo* operations? Here again we have highly classified information which would have to be handled by a committee behind closed doors, the results of which might never be revealed to the public. This was precisely the case when the House Committee on Un-American Activities probed the security procedures and practices of NSA several years ago when two top echelon employees defected to the Soviet Union. These resulted in extensive overhaul of certain aspects of that agency's operation. The hearings in that case were behind closed doors—they were never published—but nevertheless many changes and the enactment of a Federal statute resulted thereby correcting serious deficiencies in that Agency.

At this point, one can only wonder why the *Pueblo* was allowed to begin its mission with highly secret intelligence gathering equipment but lacking the necessary destruct equipment to destroy it upon confrontation by the enemy. Possibly the answer is simple: our naive foreign policy planners do not believe that the Communists are our enemy. The intelligence sector of the *Pueblo* operation was under the jurisdiction of NSA which, in turn, is under the direction, authority and control of the Secretary of Defense. Should the NSA, which has both a security mission and an intelligence mission, bear the blame for not insisting on adequate destruct equipment to destroy, if necessary, the reams of secret documents which eventually did fall into the hands of the North Koreans? This certainly appears to be a relevant question when one considers that a function of the NSA is to prescribe security policies and procedures for the U.S. Government. In addition, it organizes, operates and manages certain activities and facilities for the production of intelligence information, areas which certainly appear to be pertinent to the *Pueblo* operation.

One thing is certain: one would be hard pressed to hang the blame for the loss of the sensitive equipment and documents on Commander Bucher who tried a number of times to have the necessary destruct equipment installed on the *Pueblo*. Who did make the judgment that time and money would not allow the installation of such equipment which, belatedly, is available today?

Another question which poses itself as the result of the hearings by the Naval Board of Inquiry is why the *Pueblo* was allowed to travel undefended in hostile waters. As I understand the chronology of events, up until June 1967, two destroyers had escorted the U.S.S. *Banner* in its sorties into unfriendly waters. Thereafter, the destroyers were withdrawn, leaving the *Banner* and later the *Pueblo*, virtually at the mercy of hostile forces. The need for protection was further increased when one considers that prior to the *Pueblo*'s arrival, the North Korean Government had publicly protested by radio that American surveillance ships were operating in the vicinity

of Korean waters and that the North Korean Government intended to take action.

As to the possibility of air cover for the *Pueblo*, the military airfield at Osan, South Korea, was, I understand, less than 30 minutes by air from where the *Pueblo* was accosted. Yet, there were only four U.S. fighter planes at Osan, none of which could have been called upon for help; one was being repaired and the other three were armed with nuclear weapons.

The question arises as to why the *Banner* at one time had the protection of two destroyers which were later withdrawn. We know from Secretary McNamara's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee that there were no contingency plans for the *Pueblo*. He stated:

I think the point is that we don't maintain contingency plans to react to hijacking on the high seas in all the situations in which that is possible, and there wasn't such a plan here.

This could explain why Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, commander of the naval forces, Japan, said, according to Commander Bucher, that if the *Pueblo* "got into trouble there would probably be no help forthcoming."

The question still remains to be answered as to what factors were involved in the change of policy whereby the *Banner* at one point in time required a two-destroyer escort when, in contrast, no protective provisions were made for the *Pueblo*. Was it some cold war "deal" with our enemies?

Finally, there remains the problem of what to do about future seizures. As I have previously indicated, adequate destruct equipment has been installed in other intelligence ships around the world. Also, according to Wayne Thomas in the Chicago Tribune of January 29, some of the newer recoilless guntubes in the 75-millimeter and 105-millimeter classes were probably added.

This, unfortunately, is but a minor step in our efforts to prevent further *Pueblo* recurrences. What will be our diplomatic policy in similar cases in the future? Shall we allow our men to rot in Communist prisons until Christmas rolls around, sign a false statement and hope to get them home for the holidays?

Or should we, perhaps, explore ways to persuade the allies not to trade with those regimes which hijack ships of other nations in international waters. Or should we totally revise our cold war strategy in this battle for survival?

The handling of the *Pueblo* incident will give some indication of whether we continue our same losing policies of the past decade or learn by our mistakes, clean house, and work to restore the United States to its position of prestige.

The resolution follows:

H. CON. RES. 109

Whereas there is deepening public interest and concern with respect to the capture of the United States ship *Pueblo* by North Korean forces; and

Whereas, although the open sessions of the court of inquiry have given the public a partial account of the circumstances surrounding the capture of the vessel and the treatment of the commander and crew during captivity, there remain many vital questions to be answered, particularly concerning the

actions of the military and other agencies with regard to the preparation of the United States ship *Pueblo* and crew for its ill-fated mission, the response made to the calls for assistance from the vessel upon the approach of hostile forces, and the manner in which the ultimate release of the crew was effected: Now, therefore, be it

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

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. There is established a joint congressional committee to investigate the United States ship *Pueblo* affair (hereafter in this concurrent resolution referred to as the "joint committee") to be composed of eight Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, four of whom shall be members of the minority party appointed after consultation with the minority leader, and eight Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker, four of whom shall be members of the minority party appointed after consultation with the minority leader.

FUNCTIONS

SEC. 2. The joint committee shall undertake a full and complete investigation and study of all circumstances leading up to the capture of the United States ship *Pueblo* and all events pertaining to the vessel and her crew after its capture until the time of the crew's release. The investigation and study shall give special attention to the policy and actions of the military departments concerned with respect to the preparation of the United States ship *Pueblo* for its mission and the military response of such departments during the period immediately preceding the vessel's capture. Such investigation and study shall, in addition, examine in detail the activities of the Department of Defense and the Department of State with respect to the negotiations (including official statements issued to the public respecting such negotiations) undertaken to effect the release of the crew of the United States ship *Pueblo*.

REPORT

SEC. 3. The joint committee shall submit an interim report to each House of Congress as to the results of its investigation and study as soon as possible after the date of approval of this concurrent resolution, and not later than the close of the current session of Congress shall submit a final report to each House of Congress with respect to its activities, investigations, and studies under this concurrent resolution, together with such recommendations (including specific recommendations for legislation) as it determines appropriate in the light of the investigations and studies conducted under this concurrent resolution.

VACANCIES; SELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN

SEC. 4. Vacancies in the membership of the joint committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. The joint committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members.

HEARING; SUBPENA POWER

SEC. 5. For the purpose of carrying out this concurrent resolution the joint committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the joint committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether either House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature

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of the chairman of the joint committee or any member of the joint committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

PERSONNEL AND UTILIZATION OF SERVICES OF AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Sec. 6. The joint committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and clerical and stenographic assistants, and to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures, as it deems necessary and advisable. The joint committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, and facilities of the departments and establishments of the Government, and also of private research agencies.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 7. The expenses of the joint committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives on vouchers signed by the chairman or vice chairman of the joint committee.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JAMES P. GRIFFIN

(Mr. McCORMACK (at the request of Mr. McFALL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay my respects to the life and service of the late James P. Griffin.

Since the year 1911, "Jimmy" or "Griff" was a familiar and popular personality here on the congressional scene. I am sorry, indeed, to note that his death will deny us that association here in the future.

Jimmy began his employment as a page in 1911. In the ensuing years he held several posts in the employ of the Republican leadership, but such was Jimmy's devotion to the House of Representatives that he gave of himself willingly, generously, and ably, to all Members regardless of party affiliation.

Those who knew Jimmy only in his later years of some infirmity, cannot remember the sprightly, eager, cheerful young James Griffin who contributed so much to this Congress during his 50 years of service. But all of us were younger once, and, God willing, we may be older, yet, I am sure nothing enriches the "golden years" like the knowledge that our friends remember the earlier miles we have walked together.

As I participated at the Mass celebrated for our departed friend, Jim Griffin, I was impressed by the sincere feeling of those who had come to pay their respects, and who would, like myself, be missing Jimmy in the days ahead.

To his sisters, to whom my dear friend, "Jim" Griffin was devoted, I extend my deepest sympathy.

I include in the RECORD at this point, the obituary from the Washington Evening Star of January 13, 1969:

JAMES P. GRIFFIN, PAIRS CLERK FOR HOUSE GOP UNTIL 1961

James P. Griffin, 75 who retired in 1961 as Republican pair clerk after 50 years of service with the House of Representatives, died Friday in Georgetown Hospital after a heart attack at his home, 2262 Hall Place NW.

Griffin, whose career spanned nine House speakers from Joseph Cannon to Sam Rayburn, was known as "the historian of Capi-

tol Hill" because of his minute knowledge of congressional lore.

His memory was such that he once floored an elderly excongressman by recalling not only his name, district, and term of service, but the subject of his maiden speech.

Born in Baltimore, Mr. Griffin spent his youth in New Jersey. He came to Washington in 1911 to be a House page. Known to House members as "Griff," he subsequently became chief page, deputy sergeant-at-arms, and minority clerk on the Republican side.

In his final job as pair clerk, Mr. Griffin was responsible for pairing congressmen on opposite sides of a question so that the votes of absent members could be recorded.

Although this required speedy footwork when a vote was scheduled in a matter of minutes, Mr. Griffin, despite the 275 pounds supported by his 5-foot 9-inch frame, always managed to come through.

After his retirement, Mr. Griffin continued to be a frequent visitor to the House press gallery.

He leaves three sisters: Mrs. Agnes Attridge, who lived with him, Mrs. Marie Buckley of Washington, and Mrs. Catherine Mack of Springfield, Va.

Friends may call from 2 to 4 and 7 to 9 p.m. today at Lee Funeral Home, 4th Street and Massachusetts Avenue NE. A rosary will be said at 8 p.m. tonight in St. Peter's Catholic Church, 313 2nd St. NE, and a requiem mass will be said at 10 a.m. tomorrow in the church. Burial will be in Mount Olivet Cemetery.

INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO AMEND THE AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1949 REGARDING THE SUPPORT LEVEL OF CIGAR-BINDER TOBACCO, TYPES 51 AND 52:

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. DADDARIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949 to revise the support level of cigar binder tobacco—type 51, broadleaf, and type 52, Havana seed.

This bill, I am convinced, would breathe new life into the Connecticut Valley cigar binder tobacco business in order to introduce an element of stability by placing a realistic support level on floor under the market for Connecticut tobacco.

It should be noted that the growers themselves voluntarily requested the Secretary of Agriculture to reduce the price support level from the then existing level, in an effort to prevent further accumulation of surplus cigar binder tobacco. This was a time of complexity in the fields, as a result of the development of synthetic sheet tobacco, variously known in the trade as homogenized cigar binder, reconstituted cigar binder, and other trade names. The use of sound leaves for tobacco binder had lost much of the market, for which growers had been producing fine quality cigar binderleaf since early colonial days. The growers found the impact of this technological development to be disastrous, and tremendous surpluses developed.

The present price support level has become ineffective in giving the grower the support of protection intended by the law. The enclosed bill would meet the need to restore an element of stability to this situation. I hope it can be passed promptly so that the growers can be

made aware of it in time to formulate their spring seedbed and growing plans for the 1969 crop.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the House will stand in recess for a few minutes while we await a message from the Senate.

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment, joint and concurrent resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.J. Res. 14. Joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H. Con. Res. 124. Concurrent resolution providing for an adjournment of the two Houses of Congress from Friday, February 7, 1969, to Monday, February 17, 1969; and

H. Con. Res. 133. Concurrent resolution commending the leadership of the Boy Scouts of America for their fine work and contribution to American youth.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Iowa rise?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to propose a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, since several House resolutions have been passed today by unanimous consent, my question to the distinguished Speaker is whether it would be in order at this time to call up House Resolution 133 disapproving the pay increase for certain officials and employees of the Federal Government?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Iowa that it has already been announced that there would be no legislative business today. Under those circumstances, and without determining the merits of the resolution, the Chair could recognize the gentleman. Yet the Chair in its discretion will not recognize the gentleman for that purpose.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. FOLEY, today, for 10 minutes; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. McClURE) to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

he will make a good President of our country. He seems like a good man. He has a very nice family. He has a big job. I think he is a very special man, and he made a very good speech. I hope he will stop the war. This is the first time I saw a President get sworn in, and I am glad we have a TV in our room. We made hats in our classroom and put Nixon on them. We wore them while we watched TV. We stood at attention while they played the National Anthem. It was an exciting day for all of us."

MY OPINIONS OF THE INAUGURATION

David Cooper: "In school today we saw the Inauguration and I liked it.

"It's too bad Mr. Johnson had to leave. But he was in the White House long enough.

"I don't see why any new President has to open a bubble and stick out his head and wave his arms around. They should just sit in the car and wave to people.

"And I don't see why they need bubble cars either."

MY FEELINGS OF THE INAUGURATION

Judy Yankelunas: "January 20, 1969 was a very exciting day for everyone. For Mr. Johnson it was probably a sad and a happy day for him. For Mr. Nixon it must have been a very happy day for him. In the next 4 years when another man is elected to be President of the United States will Mr. Nixon feel the same way as Mr. Johnson did?"

WHAT I LIKED ABOUT THE INAUGURATION

Nancy Corteville: "When the cars go down the road and the secret service men ran along the sides of the cars. And listening to the speeches and watching the balls in color seeing all the pretty dresses. And watching everybody get sworn in. The parade is fun to watch especially in color because it really is very pretty.

"And then they sometimes show pictures like of the White House at night with its light shining on it. It really is very pretty.

"When they are showing pictures of the President and where he is. It's just a day when almost everyone is happy."

UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY MARKS ANNIVERSARY

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Ukrainian-American community in Omaha recently observed the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian independence and the 50th anniversary of the Act of Union in a fitting and solemn celebration.

The glorious days of Ukrainian independence are not forgotten. I am proud to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people in my district and those behind the Iron Curtain and fervently hope they will again be free of the Communist yoke.

I include as part of my remarks the following letter from Dmytro Wijtek, chairman of the Ukrainian-American Association, Inc., of Omaha, Nebr.:

January 22, 1969 marked the 51st anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine, and the 50th Anniversary of the Act of Union, whereby all Ukrainian ethnic lands were united into one independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian nation. The independence of Ukraine was proclaimed in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, on January 22, 1918, and the Act of Union took place a year later, on January 22, 1919, also in Kiev.

The young Ukrainian democratic republic was immediately recognized by a number of

foreign governments, including that of Soviet Russia. The latter, however, almost simultaneously with recognition, began a large-scale invasion of Ukraine. By 1920, Ukraine alone and unaided, succumbed to the superior forces of Communist Russia, and in 1923 had become a part of the Soviet Union.

The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not accepted Soviet Russian domination and have been fighting for the reestablishment of their independence by all means at their disposal.

During World War II, the Ukrainians organized a powerful underground resistance movement, known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought not only against the Nazi regime, but against the Soviet Russian occupation as well.

Bloody and relentless persecution of Ukrainians continued after the death of Stalin, and it continues now under Breshnev-Kosygin.

Briefly, the Russian rule in Ukraine can be summarized as follows:

Exploitation of Ukraine's economic resources for the benefit of Moscow and its imperialistic ventures in Asia, Africa and Latin America;

Continued deportation of Ukrainians to Central Asia, replacing them with Russian settlers for the purpose of augmenting the Russian ethnic element in Ukraine;

Arrests and trials of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists," who in fact are Ukrainian patriots fighting for freedom of their country;

Terror and assassination of Ukrainian leaders outside Ukraine, such as the assassination of Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a noted Ukrainian writer, and Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), both of whom were slain by KGB agent Bogdan Stashynsky in Munich, in 1957 and 1959, respectively;

Persecution of all religions in Ukraine, despite the fact that Moscow claims that "religious freedom" is assured to all Soviet citizens;

Enforced Russification, aiming at the cultural and linguistic genocide of the Ukrainian people. A number of Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested, tried and sentenced at hard labor for advocating more freedom for the Ukrainian people. Among them are such known writers as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Ivan Dzyuba, and many others. In December 1968, the U.N., in defiance of the destruction of Human Rights in Ukraine, awarded a "Human Rights Award" to Prof. Peter R. Nedballo, a representative of the Ukrainian SSR in the U.N. Human Rights Commission, thus making a mockery of Human Rights Year, 1968.

Today, more than ever, Ukraine is a colony of Communist Russia.

Both the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States expressed their concern over Ukraine by enacting the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" in 1959, whereby Ukraine is enumerated with 21 other non-Russian captive nations in the USSR.

THE SAD "PUEBLO" STORY MUST NOT BE REPEATED

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, all Americans were disheartened by the capture of the U.S. vessel *Pueblo* by North Korea and the subsequent mistreatment of Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher and his crew. We are glad that Commander Bucher and his men were eventually released after lengthy diplomatic pressure and nego-

tiations. The outcome of the current Navy hearings on the matter is yet to be known, but certainly there will be few plaudits growing out of this sad episode in our history.

While it is fortunate that the explosive incident did not touch off another Korean war, it appears necessary that Congress also hold hearings and examine the facts concerning the *Pueblo* seizure. We must take whatever actions are justified to insure that there are no future repetitions, and I will be personally concerned with seeing that this is the case.

In the meantime, the Nation will be watching the Navy hearings which delve so deeply into our national pride and military tradition. I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial from the Miami Herald of January 23, 1969. This editorial asks penetrating questions about the "sorry naval affair" which it says has many of the undertones of the Pearl Harbor fiasco of more than 27 years ago. I believe that many of my colleagues will be interested in its contents, as follows:

THE SAD "PUEBLO" STORY MUST NOT BE REPEATED

All hands must be heard before public judgment is passed, of course, but the early testimony of the skipper of the intelligence ship *Pueblo* is disquieting. What Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher told a Navy court of inquiry in California has many of the undertones of the Pearl Harbor fiasco of more than 27 years ago.

Whatever its political origins, the Japanese attack on Hawaii was successful largely because U.S. commanders had poor communications and improper liaison. The intelligence system broke down.

Comdr. Bucher has testified that the *Pueblo* was outgunned by the North Koreans who waylaid her at some point offshore as yet to be determined. He did not resist because, properly, he "saw no point in senselessly sending people to their deaths."

His first warning message to naval headquarters in Japan took 12 to 14 hours in transmission, "as we had feared."

The ship contained few or no "destruct devices" and critical equipment was limited.

During the capture, the day after *Pueblo* had been detected by North Korean fishing vessels, the radio antenna was shot off. Apparently there was no substitute gear.

According to Comdr. Bucher's testimony, his fears about inadequate communications and a shortage of destruct devices was passed on to his superiors in Japan, where the vessel was based, before he sailed. But nothing happened.

Again there must be no prejudgments. But if the witness is telling the truth it is clear that *Pueblo* was a sitting duck for the enemy. The ship could not be defended. Neither could her commander alert headquarters ashore in time to get help.

It had been disclosed earlier that only nuclear bomb equipped planes were available to go to *Pueblo*'s help. Would the extra 12 to 14 hours have enabled the Navy to bring up air support of a conventional nature—fighter-bombers, say, from somewhere in the Pacific?

That is only one of the many questions which must be asked about a sorry naval affair.

This nation is deep in the intelligence business, as are most nations, for its own defense. It will continue that posture, which it is learning with difficulty. Thus there must be no more *Pueblos*. The public has a right to assurance on that score, and we trust it will come out of the humiliating inquiry into the plight of a brave man and his valiant crew.

February 6, 1969

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TELEGRAM

I join you in strenuously protesting the Iraqi government's execution of fourteen persons accused of spying. The United States and the United Nations, I feel, should promptly and formally condemn this barbarous act. It seems questionable, to say the least, that the UN should condemn Israel for the destruction of a few airplanes and remain discreetly mute at the public hanging of nine Jews and the violent murders of scores of others by Arab terrorists operating within Israel's borders. I hope and pray that Israel will achieve her goal of ending bloodshed in the Middle East and of establishing a just and meaningful peace there. Please inform me of any resolutions adopted at the protest meeting and I will make them known to the President and the Secretary of State.

A NEW THOUGHT, A NEW POSTURE

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the dignity and calmness surrounding the inauguration on January 20 of our new President, Richard Nixon. Few, however, in commenting or writing about this great and stirring event, have touched on the real spirit of the occasion with more insight than the writer of an article in the Chicago Sun-Times. I urge my colleagues to refresh their minds and spirits after this lapse of time since that event by reading the article and sharing the impact it made on Charles Bartlett, the writer.

The article follows:

A NEW THOUGHT, A NEW POSTURE
(By Charles Bartlett)

WASHINGTON.—A nation straining for an expression of Richard M. Nixon's leadership found it Monday in the calm, measured dignity of his inauguration. Even the skies cooperated to furnish a cathedral-like gray cast which gave the occasion an aura that was solemn but not grim, cold but reassuring.

The Democrats contributed by the generous style in which they departed. Lyndon B. Johnson was rarely friendly, more formal, or more presidential than he seemed as he gave up his office. The transfer bore no traces of the searing politics that produced it.

The onlookers seemed to catch quickly the spirit that Mr. Nixon has in mind. The absence of sparkle and jubilation was no more important than the presence of the hippies. The tone of the accession lay somewhere between protest and celebration, and the event gained its quality from its absorbance of both moods.

The impact of the new spirit stemmed from the consistency with which Mr. Nixon applied it. The cautious pace of his appointments, the low key of his pre-inaugural pronouncements, the unprecipitous fashion in which he debarked from the aircraft that carried him to Washington, his unexcited bearing as he stood on the inaugural platform, and his abstention from ringing rhetoric as he addressed the nation became manifestations of a leadership intent on launching an interlude instead of an era.

The key was the assertion "We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another, until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices." That was the new thought, the new posture that the new President offers, a challenge less stimulating than the New Deal

or the New Frontier or the Great Society, but nonetheless a response unarguably appropriate to the times.

Mr. Nixon spoke of "the long night of the American spirit," but he left it to the evangelist, Billy Graham, to lash the society for its materialistic and permissive inclinations and the erosion of its values.

He spoke of the measures the government must take in more emphatic and precise terms than his ambivalent campaign had promised. But he also made it clear the government cannot do all that needs to be done.

The sense of balance which Mr. Nixon is prescribing for the country was contained with his speech. It reached out to the young, the Democrats and the hostile, and it weighed the causes for hope against the sources of concern. His words leaned more upon reason than exhortation and they made themselves felt because they were clear and strong and not because they were eloquent.

The test of the occasion will not come in the immediate reaction to it. The test will be Mr. Nixon's success making his inauguration a turning point in popular attitudes. If he can kindle a new readiness to face the harsh dynamics of swift change in a more constructive and less contentious spirit, he will have contributed as much to this moment in history as he possibly could have.

An interlude cannot be the total theme of a Nixon Presidency because it is not in itself enough to carry the country on a progressive course. But an interlude calculated to summon character and composure can be a healing respite and a prelude to something greater and more positive. That seems to be the spirit in which Mr. Nixon intends to exert his calming influence.

VINCENT EDWIN FUMO II

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I note with great happiness an event of February 1. In the early hours of that day, in Methodist Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., Vincent Edwin Fumo II was born to Vincent J. and Susan Ann Fumo. The child is the first for the young couple.

Mr. Speaker, the joy of this occasion is first reserved to the proud parents and relatives. But I wanted the occasion to be acknowledged in the Record for at least two reasons. First of all, because the child may grow up to become President of the United States and this public mention of his birth may endear me to him to the point where he will then appoint me Chairman of the Tariff Commission—where I sometimes in frustration thirst to serve. Second, and most seriously, however, because his parents are fine examples of the best our society can produce.

His father, with whom I have had first a professional and now social association for some time, is a teacher and also studies law at Temple University. In addition, his passion for participation in good government should someday lead him into active public service, where I know he will serve with distinction. The child's mother is a beautiful young woman who has chosen the full-time profession of wife and mother, the most noble among the rest.

I know young Vincent is already surrounded with all he needs, and especially with the abundant love of his parents. I will only add my congratulations and the best wishes of us all.

OPINIONS OF INAUGURATION

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing so sincere as the words which express the feeling of youngsters. I would like to share with my colleagues short essays written by a group of fourth graders from my district at the Williamson Central School in Williamson, N.Y.

If anyone should think that ceremonies get to be old hat, they should read what these youngsters have to say. The feelings they express assure me that the youngsters of today do share a sense of history.

These letters appeared recently in the Williamson Sun, a weekly newspaper.

OPINIONS OF INAUGURATION

The Williamson Central School students of Mrs. Marjorie McCleery's fourth grade watched the inauguration of President Richard Nixon on TV January 20. Mrs. McCleery had her students write their opinions of the inauguration. A few of these are published here:

NIXON

Cindy J.:
"I wonder what Nixon did when he was a boy. Did he have a dog? Mr. Nixon how is Mrs. Nixon? How are you? I like Mr. and Mrs. Nixon and the dogs. Do you have one or two dogs? Do you have a horse? Do you like Snoopy? He likes you. Do you like me?"

FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW

Jackie Weaver:
"Today is a very special occasion. Mr. Johnson is our old President. Nixon is our new one.

"I liked the Inauguration very much. I can't remember having seen one before.

"I liked the bands. There is one thing I dislike about the Inauguration, they have too long prayers."

THE INAUGURATION

Jefferi Covington:
"It was a nice Inauguration.
"I missed Agnew Inauguration because I had to go get milk and ice cream for my class, and that is why I missed Agnew get inaugurated. I saw Nixon get Inaugurated. I liked his speech as well as the Sen. speech. I liked the parade very, very, very much."

MY FEELINGS OF THE INAUGURATION

Bob Verbridge: "It was like New Year's Eve. I felt the thrill go up and down my spine. After he took his hand off the Bible, I said amen. Lord, let this man go into his work safely and come back alive 4 years from now, safely, Amen. As Mr. Johnson left the white house, I could almost feel the joy of sadness go through me. As the office went from hand to hand. May there be light on the roads to come ahead. May it choose to go on getting men like this for all the years to come. I must say one more thing. This man will lead our country onward.

"He will always be a great American."

THE INAUGURATION

Lori Warren: "I thought that it was a very interesting Inauguration. I think that Mr. Nixon will keep our country at peace, and

Pueblo Probe Says Military Is Deficient

By Richard Homan
Washington Post Staff Writer

The massive high-level confusion and indecision that followed attacks on the USS Pueblo and the EC-121 spy plane lead to the "inescapable conclusion" that the U.S. "military command structure is now simply unable" to respond swiftly to a major crisis, a House subcommittee said yesterday.

In an era of nuclear missiles, the subcommittee warned, the shortcomings brought to light by the two incidents have "frightful implications."

The special Armed Services subcommittee formed to investigate the two incidents said the inquiry "has resulted in the unanimous view that there exist serious deficiencies in the organizational and administrative military command structure of both the Department of the Navy and the Department of Defense."

"The absent or sluggish response by military commanders to the emergencies evident in the Pueblo and EC-121 incidents demonstrate the need for a complete review of our military-civilian command structure and its capability to cope with emergency situations."

In a scathingly-worded and painstakingly-documented 77-page report, the Committee also:

- Accused the entire intelligence community of making no more than a "token effort" to scrutinize the potential hazards involved in the Pueblo mission and said its "failure . . . to provide essential and available information to potential consumers in a timely fashion necessarily raises serious questions concerning the effective operation and administration of these organizations."

- Recommended immediate steps to modify the rigid Code of Conduct governing activities of U.S. servicemen held prisoner, providing "clarification" and "latitude."

- Went far beyond official Pentagon statements in disclosing that the capture of the Pueblo resulted in "a serious compromise of our Nation's intelligence capability" and the "compromise of a great deal of classified information involving naval operations."

- Recommended that the full Armed Services Committee "monitor more closely" the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, requiring that each "provide the Committee with a detailed report concerning the scope of their activities, their personnel and their total expenditures." Because of their super-sensitive activities, both have been spared close scrutiny in the past.

- Accused the Defense Department of a "demonstrated lack of candor," of making "a deliberate effort to bury and obfuscate," of giving the subcommittee "half truths" and of being "less than forthright" in their testimony about the Pueblo incident.

- Acknowledged the need to continue such missions but said it was "not convinced that the magnitude of this intelligence reconnaissance activity is completely justified."

Scuttling Devices

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird announced yesterday that U.S. spy ships, under new orders, are now directed to use "all measures available to protect the ships from search and seizure," and have been given "new scuttling devices," smaller crews and a lesser amount of classified material.

The report of the nine-man subcommittee's findings and recommendations were released a day after transcripts of its hearings.

The committee warned that major weaknesses exist in the U.S. military's ability to transmit operational messages rapidly to commanders with authority to act, in the commanders' willingness to act decisively and in the procedures for prior approval of intelligence-gathering missions.

Charts in the report show that the message from the

Pueblo reporting it was being boarded reached the Pacific Command headquarters 1 hour, 17 minutes after it was sent and notification of the downing of the EC-121 did not reach Washington—either the Pentagon or White House—until more than an hour elapsed.

Because of communications delays, lack of readiness and proper equipment, indecision and uncertainty about U.S. treaty restrictions at Japanese bases, no combat aircraft were available to aid the Pueblo until several hours after it was seized.

"The advantages of speedy, modern and sophisticated communications equipment were often more than offset by the indecisive and inefficient handling of these communications by the various commands involved," the report said.

No Time

The committee noted that President Nixon recently said, "when a war can be decided in 20 minutes, the nation that is behind will have no time to catch up."

"The reluctant but inescapable conclusion finally reached by the subcommittee is that because of the vastness of the military structure, with its complex division into multiple layers of command, and the failure of responsible authorities at the seat of Government to either delegate responsibility or in the alternative provide clear and unequivocal guidelines governing policy in emergency situations—our military command structure is now simply unable to meet the emergency criterion outlined and suggested by the President himself."

The report disputed a U.S. Navy decision after the release of the Pueblo's crew that no changes were needed in the code of conduct.

"At the very least, clarification is required as to the applicability of the code of conduct in those instances in which detainees are not prisoners of war and are not accorded the protection of the Geneva Conventions," the report said, and when a prisoner is not given such protection, "the code of conduct should provide some latitude for the

The report itself did not judge Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher's decision to surrender the Pueblo without a fight.

Subcommittee chairman Otis G. Pike (D-N.Y.) and Rep. William G. Bray (R-Ind.), the ranking Republican, indicated in a press conference that they were not pleased with it.

"I believe I would not have reacted in the same way," Pike said, but he would go no further.

"Very frankly," Bray said, "I would have shot it out. Cmdr. Bucher simply did not want to take the responsibility that the old-time kind of officers took."

House Panel Accuses Military of Serious Defects

By HEDRICK SMITH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 28—A House subcommittee charged today that the North Koreans' capture of the intelligence ship Pueblo and their shooting down of an EC-121 reconnaissance plane showed that the United States' ability to react to national emergencies was imperiled by "serious deficiencies" in the military command structure.

In a sharply worded 77-page report, the nine-man subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee asserted that the American military command structure was so cumbersome and the responsibility sometimes so unclear that it "is now simply unable" to respond swiftly enough to crises.

Representative Otis G. Pike of Suffolk County, the subcommittee chairman, told a news conference this would affect the President's ability to deal with a nuclear war. Mr. Pike, asked if there would be enough opportunity for the President to get enough information and react, replied, "My answer would be a flat no."

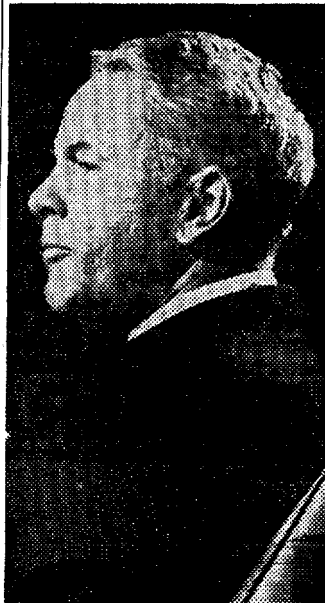
Time Lag Feared

"We have never demonstrated any capability to get a message from the scene of a crisis to the President and get a message back from him on what to do about it in the time frame necessary to act," Mr. Pike said.

The subcommittee report, equally sweeping and critical, charged that the "absent or sluggish response by military commanders to the Pueblo incident and North Korea's downing of an American EC-121 intelligence plane last April demonstrated the need for "a complete review of our military-civilian command structure and its capability to cope with emergency situations."

The subcommittee proposed a blue ribbon panel of civilian and military experts, Representative Pike said that he hoped the panel already appointed by Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird to investigate over-all Pentagon operations would "look hard" into this question.

The subcommittee, which held public and secret hearings last March and April, put much of the blame for the Pueblo seizure Jan. 23, 1968, on the defense establishment, from the American naval commander in



The New York Times

Representative Otis G. Pike

Chiefs of Staff and their aides.

The report, approved unanimously by the subcommittee, found fault with the Navy and Defense Departments for inadequately assessing the risk of the Pueblo mission off the North Korean coast, for not preparing adequate contingency plans in the event of emergency and for "unacceptably long delays" in relaying the Pueblo's distress messages to higher echelons.

Commander Criticized

The report was critical of Read Adm. Frank L. Johnson, former commander of American Naval forces in Japan, having called for the risk of the Pueblo mission "minimal" but said that the ultimate responsibility for this critical evaluation rested with the Defense Intelligence Agency headed by Lieut. Gen. Joseph F. Carroll.

The report also noted that a warning on Dec. 27 from the National Security Agency urging a consideration of protective measures for the Pueblo was rejected by the staff of Adm. Ulysses S. Grant Sharp, former commander in chief of American forces in the Pacific, and overlooked by D. I. A. during the Christmas holiday weekend.

The committee members also took issue with the Navy Department and former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara by contending that menacing broadcasts from North Korea, cited by the N.S.A. message,

The Congressional investigators also disputed official contentions that there had been contingency plans if the Pueblo ran into an emergency.

"No one on the staff of [Admiral Johnson] had the faintest idea of what forces might be made available to them in an emergency, and what appears to be more disturbing is the apparent total absence of any prior concern over this possibility," the report said.

Bucher Not Evaluated

The subcommittee made no attempt to evaluate the responsibility of the Pueblo's skipper, Lieut. Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher. Mr. Pike said its concern had been with higher echelons because Commander Bucher was facing a Navy Court of Inquiry at the time of its hearings.

But with North Korea's treatment of Commander Bucher and his crew obviously in mind, the subcommittee urged a "revision and clarification" of the military Code of Conduct that required captured servicemen to give only information about their identity.

Where the captives are not being protected by the 1949 Geneva conventions on the treatment of war prisoners—which was the case of the Pueblo crew—the subcommittee

suggested that "the Code of Conduct should provide some latitude."

Mr. Laird's response to the report was an announcement that the Pentagon had already taken steps to "correct a number of deficiencies in the area of military intelligence."

In a letter to Representative L. Mendel Rivers, the South Carolina Democrat who heads the Armed Services Committee, Mr. Laird said the Defense Department had done the following:

① Initiated a study in depth of world-wide reconnaissance missions to determine the degree of risk, value, cost, means of protection and other matters.

② Made arrangements for escorts and contingency support forces for patrols entering sensitive areas and set up survival, evasion, resistance and escape training for crew members sent on such hazardous missions.

③ Reduced the number of such personnel to the minimum.

The letter also said that the Pentagon had given the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Administration new responsibilities "to improve the over-all coordination and effectiveness of Defense Department Intelligence activities."

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Increasing GI Bill utilization is the principal purpose of the PREP program which would be established by the bill. This program would seek to reach the Veteran before his discharge by involving him, in the last year of his military service, in education or training which would prepare him to pursue education or training under the GI Bill.

Joseph Cannon, the acting director of the veterans' affairs division of the Urban League has stated:

Two major problems his organization faces are—

The inability of emerging servicemen to get information in regards to pursuing education and available education program; and

The failure of the average Negro GI to obtain skills in military service which can easily be transferred to any civilian jobs which offer upward mobility in either pay or status.

Although the PREP program is not limited to people from disadvantaged backgrounds, it is clear that they are the ones who are most in need of the assistance which PREP would provide. It would involve them in the program and then guide them in taking advantage of continuing aid available under the regular GI bill following their discharge.

The PREP program would operate as an extension of Project Transition presently run by the Defense Department. Project Transition was established in 1967. It is primarily for individuals who most need vocational training or education in order to make the change to civilian life. The in-service training is provided during the serviceman's last 6 months of duty and emphasizes counseling, training, education, and placement.

Thus far, the program has not reached its potential. Of the 940,000 men and women separated from the armed services during this period, only 60,000 were reached. Only 26 percent of the participants in the program have not finished high school. This is only slightly higher than the overall military level of 21.4 percent. Most of the training under Project Transition has been undertaken by the military services themselves. PREP would fill a link here by providing funds to entice private instruction, counseling, and guidance.

All members of the Armed Forces who have served at least 1 year of active duty and have 12 months or less of active duty remaining would be eligible. The Veterans' Administration, working jointly with the Secretary of Defense and the Commissioner of Education, would pay the expenses necessary for the program. It is important to note that the servicemen enrolled in PREP may only take courses required for, or preparatory to the educational training or vocation they plan to pursue following their release from active duty. As with the other provisions in the bill, the funds will be paid directly to the educational institution.

These four programs which provide educational and training assistance represent a giant step in repaying our obligation to our veterans and helping develop them into worthwhile citizens of peace. Senator KENNEDY expressed this feeling recently when he said:

This nation has a rare opportunity to assist and benefit from the men who have broken out of disadvantaged background; and matured in the service. If we follow through with full veterans programs, including edu-

cational services for veterans, we can insure that returning servicemen will not revert to unproductive lives in ghettos or other areas. Rather, veterans whose horizon and aspirations have broadened in the service can continue to contribute to our national welfare as constructive, well-educated citizens. We have an obligation both to the men as individuals, and to society as a whole to give them a chance.

It is my feeling that the enactment of H.R. 13006 would be an investment in these men which would reap a profit for all the citizens of America.

JULY 25 IN PUERTO RICO

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico (Mr. CORDOVA) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CORDOVA. Mr. Speaker, the 25th of July is a date which has long been significant in Puerto Rico. Its original significance, while Puerto Rico was part of the once vast Spanish domain in America, lay in the fact that it is the feast day of the patron saint of Spain, the Apostle James—Santiago. It acquired a very special significance in 1898, when Gen. Nelson Miles and his troops landed at Guánica on July 25 and brought with them the Stars and Stripes which have ever since flown in Puerto Rico. A third dimension was added in 1952, when July 25 was selected, precisely because of its already significant importance in Puerto Rican history, as the date on which the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico should become effective.

In a very real sense, the 25th of July symbolizes not only some of the most significant elements of the history of Puerto Rico but also some of the most significant elements of its culture and its spirit. For Puerto Rico is proud of the Spanish heritage, the Christian faith, which are recalled on this date in the celebration of the feast of Santiago throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Puerto Ricans are proud of the citizenship which they share with 200 million other Americans in the 50 States of the Union. Puerto Ricans are proudly bearing the Stars and Stripes in remote regions of the world, in the service of their country, as they have previously done in all of the conflicts in which our Nation has been involved since the First World War. And Puerto Rico is extremely proud of the democratic tradition, and the principles of individual dignity and integrity which are embodied in the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

In observing this anniversary, Puerto Rico is particularly happy to salute the three men who have successfully terminated the most momentous journey in the history of man, and to give thanks to God for their safe return.

U.S.S. "PUEBLO"—A TRAGEDY OF ERRORS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRAY) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, after 5

months' work and extensive hearings, the Special Subcommittee on the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and the EC-121 of the Committee on Armed Services has finished its report. I had the honor to serve as ranking Republican member of this subcommittee. The result of long, painstaking work, the report, in its own words, lays bare "serious deficiencies" with "frightful implications" for our national security. The subcommittee felt it was beyond the scope of the report to make specific recommendations for solutions to the problems uncovered. But the subcommittee does recommend, to quote from the report: "that the President establish a special study group of experienced and distinguished civilian and military personnel to approach this problem on an emergency basis and make such recommendations for changes in both the National Security Act and the military structure itself that will provide our Nation and its military forces with a genuine capability to respond quickly and decisively to emergencies of a national security nature."

The report, quite lengthy, reflects the unanimous view of all nine members of the subcommittee. The consequences of the *Pueblo* are that the incident destroyed a 150-year-old image of prestige and invincibility, and did incalculable harm to our diplomatic credibility, as well as to our reliability as military allies. It is an extremely serious compromise of our Nation's intelligence capability. Following are some of the highlights of the report.

U.S.S. "PUEBLO" INADEQUATELY PREPARED

Loss of the ship itself, and its equipment, was relatively harmless. But, overall, considering loss of the documents aboard, as the report says:

We have sustained a most serious intelligence loss, a loss which could have been precluded entirely by appropriate planning for the intelligence collection mission.

There was inadequate preparation; this was the first intelligence-gathering mission directed against North Korea, but the *Pueblo* did not have adequately trained personnel. The ship had no provision for storage of registered publications, nor did it have a proper incinerator. A request by Commander Bucher for emergency destruction devices was turned down.

The security group detachment was never formally inspected. Its state of readiness was only assumed. The officer in charge of the detachment knew that the North Korean linguists on *Pueblo* were not qualified, but he failed to inform Commander Bucher of this. The linguists were incapable of obtaining and passing on information that might have been monitored from North Korean radio broadcasts, and this fact alone may have contributed materially to the situation.

The Navy had not allowed for delays in outfitting the ship before it left, and, as a result, many of Commander Bucher's requests for outfitting were never approved. And, although the Navy had some months earlier ordered installation of defensive armament on all ships, save hospital ships and submarines, the Commander Naval Forces Japan never re-

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State, local, and institutional codes would involve a Federal force of campus policemen numbering in the thousands and would constitute an administrative nightmare, devoid of criteria for rational judgment.

One final objection—and this one perhaps the most fundamental of all. Such techniques of repressive Federal intervention into the affairs of each local campus violate the most deep-dooted, the most honored traditions of American education—and would, in the end, destroy its essential nature.

We want our universities to be centers of diversity . . . creative, independent, components of a vigorous pluralism. We do not want a monotonous and monolithic imposed unity—in which all our educational institutions conform to a Federal code of conduct, to a stifling Federal intervention.

To advocate such intervention, in my view, is a form of radical extremism—fatal, indeed, to the perpetuation of our free and pluralistic society.

COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR VETERANS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HALPERN) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, to correct the deplorable circumstances which cause returning Vietnam veterans not to take advantage of their GI bill of rights, I have introduced H.R. 13006 to provide added educational and training incentives for returning veterans and to establish a predischARGE education program.

The blatant inadequacies in the current veterans' law are disgraceful. Only one out of every 10 veterans are using the GI bill benefits today and those who need it the most—the disadvantaged and high school dropouts—are ignoring it.

Certainly we have an obligation to motivate these men and women to be just as valuable to their country in civilian life as they were in military life. Twenty-three percent of the 1 million men and women in the Armed Forces who will be discharged this year are high school dropouts, yet only 2.4 percent are participating in GI bill education programs.

The bill I have introduced is identical with the goals of similar legislation introduced by Senator ALAN CRANSTON, S. 2668. It would establish four programs administered by the Veterans' Administration. They are:

First. Educational assistance payments for college preparatory or academic deficiency courses in other than secondary schools.

Second. Direct allowances for expenses for refresher courses, tutorial or remedial aid, counseling or other special aid for veterans already enrolled in school.

Third. Allow noncredit deficiency courses to be counted toward full-time status to enable veterans to secure a full-time educational assistance payment.

Fourth. A predischARGE educational program—PREP—providing veterans with education or vocational training prior to their discharge from active military duty.

The program would be financed by VA payments to the eligible veterans or on

their behalf to educational institutions. The VA would also consult with the Secretary of Defense and would draw upon the experience of the Office of Education in establishing these programs.

Before explaining how each of these programs would operate, I want to say a few words about the failure of the existing GI bill which was amended in 1967 to help educationally disadvantaged veterans. One of the reasons the program has failed is because benefit allowances are not sufficient for today's cost of living. Following World War II, 50 percent of the eligible veterans utilized the college and vocational aid available under the GI bill. But since January of 1966, only 21.4 percent of the Vietnam vets have utilized their benefits. One of the reasons for this is the lack of funding available for prospective college students. At the present time only \$130 a month is available for a single man who wishes to continue his education. With the increase in prices since World War II, this amount is grossly insufficient. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. TEAGUE) has introduced H.R. 11959, which would raise these allotments. I heartily support his bill, as well as my own bill, H.R. 12461, which proposes an even larger increase in funding—a 50-percent increase to \$190 a month.

But the real reason for the failure of the GI bill today is lack of motivation. The average 22-year-old returning veteran today does not look favorably upon the prospect of returning to high school—especially if he already has a family or plans to get married, and most of these programs until now have not really met the needs of returning GI's.

This is evident from the statistics on veteran utilization of GI benefits. After World War II, 50 percent of the veterans used their rights; after Korea, 42 percent used their rights. Today a little over 20 percent are using their rights.

Today, almost a quarter of the over 70,000 returning Vietnam veterans each month have not finished high school. Only a tenth are taking advantage of the existing programs available under the GI bill. Many of these young men are from disadvantaged backgrounds—from from the Nation's ghettos as well as its rural wastelands where they have become alienated from the mainstream of American life.

It is essential that the country now does not lose the energy of these young men. President Nixon recognized this problem when he said, upon establishing his Committee on the Vietnam Veterans:

Veterans benefits have become more than a recognition for services performed in the past, they have become an investment in the future of the Veteran and his country. The time has come for a careful re-evaluation of this investment. Just as there is a difference between the kinds of battles fought at Normandy in 1944 and in South Vietnam in 1969, so there is also a difference in the kinds of problems faced by the returning veterans of these battles. Therefore, we must be certain our programs are tailored to meet the needs of today's veterans.

The first of the four programs established under H.R. 13006 tries to help motivate veterans to use their educational benefits under section 1678 of title 38 of the United States Code. This

program permits refresher courses to be taken at any appropriate institution offering such courses, including junior and senior colleges. At present these courses can only be taken at secondary schools which usually are not sensitive to the needs of veterans with records of failure in high school.

Under the 1967 GI bill amendments, the veteran who needed additional high school or equivalent training was entitled to receive full educational assistance allowances without having it charged against his entitlement. But the veteran was required to take these courses at a secondary school. The low utilization level—10 percent—which I previously mentioned has arisen from multiple causes which could be offset by this new program.

Presently, a veteran who needs a refresher or deficiency course in order to qualify for admission to an educational institution for which he is otherwise qualified, must take these courses at a secondary school. My bill would permit these courses to be taken at any qualified institution offering precollege assistance. This would include junior colleges, preparatory schools, community colleges, and special programs under the auspices of universities.

The second provision in H.R. 13006 provides for direct payment to the educational institution for expenses of refresher courses, remedial assistance, tutorial, counseling, or other assistance or training the veteran may undertake while enrolled there. This provision also falls under section 1678 which covers special training for the disadvantaged veteran. As in the first program, the payment is made directly to the educational institution involved and no charge is made against the veterans period of entitlement under the GI bill.

The third provision would provide that noncredit courses, which the veteran must take because of some deficiency in his educational background, may be counted toward full-time status, so that he can receive the full-time educational assistance allowance.

For instance, if a veteran started college before entering the service and now wants to change his major, but he is deficient in certain areas, the noncredit prerequisite courses he would have to take would count toward his full-time allowance eligibility. This would not apply to any noncredit courses which the Veterans' Administration would be paying for under the second provision in this bill.

The veteran would be allowed to take the number of noncredit courses necessitated because of a deficiency, which when added to his credit hours would be the equivalent of a full semester load.

The final provision envisioned in the bill is the most far reaching. It establishes a predischARGE education program—PREP—to provide educational vocational training to veterans prior to their discharge from active military duty. This would represent the farthest step yet taken to speed the assimilation of the veteran into civilian life.

As Senator CRANSTON so well stated, when introducing his bill:

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ceived the directive. As a result, the *Pueblo* only received two .50-caliber machineguns; the least any ship was to receive was 20-millimeter cannon.

The *Pueblo* was inspected by higher authority at Japan, before it sailed, to check the effectiveness of destruction capability of classified material, but the inspection was found to have been "informal and cursory" and *Pueblo's* capability was obviously inadequate. Commander Bucher was told in Japan that his mission was probably to be off North Korea, and that, if he was attacked, U.S. forces were prepared to act. But he was also told any rescue help would be too late to save the ship.

A POSSIBLE NORTH KOREAN REACTION TO
"PUEBLO" IGNORED

The report is especially critical of failure of high defense authority to realize the high risk involved in the *Pueblo's* mission. The risk was classed as minimal on the grounds that the ship would be operating in international waters, and on the very shaky and thoroughly unjustified assumption that North Korea would respect and observe international law in this regard. But, at the time *Pueblo* sailed, North Korea had been giving ample demonstration in various ways, for some time; of an increasingly hostile and belligerent attitude.

The National Security Agency, alone, deserves special praise for being alert to the risk. NSA, on December 29, 1967, sent a message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to the Joint Reconnaissance Center which, and I quote from the report: "questioned the minimal risk assessment assigned the U.S.S. *Pueblo* mission."

The report continued:

This message recited a history of North Korean incidents and suggested that in view of the evident increase in hostile actions taken by the North Koreans, it might be considered desirable to establish ship protective measures for the U.S.S. *Pueblo* mission.

THE LOST MESSAGE

This message never got from the Joint Chiefs, to the Chief of Naval Operations. It was lost somewhere in the Pentagon. A copy was sent to the Defense Intelligence Agency by the Pentagon's Special Communications Center but DIA took no action. When our subcommittee asked why, the explanation given was that the message came in at night over a holiday.

As the report says, about the handling of this message:

At best, it suggests an unfortunate coincidence of omission; at worst, it suggests the highest order of incompetence.

The existence of such a message was never even hinted at when the Pentagon briefed congressional committees immediately after the incident, and no mention was made of it until March 4, 1969. The impression is that there was a deliberate attempt to conceal the fact the message had ever existed. Handling of it was bad enough, but trying to cover it up is worse yet.

NORTH KOREA OPENLY BELLIGERENT

In addition to this, North Korea's Radio Pyongyang, on January 8 and January 11, 1968, accused the United States of committing provocative acts along the east coast of Korea, and the North Koreans threatened retaliatory action.

The *Pueblo* was seized on January 23, 1968; neither the commander in chief, Pacific Fleet Headquarters, nor commander, Naval Forces Japan, had been made aware of these newest North Korean threats.

Now, it has been known for some time that North Korea's Premier Kim Il-Sung is a reckless and quite possibly unstable man who will stop at nothing to get what he wants. A fellow-Korean has called him:

A Stalinist dictator whose fanatical dedication to revolutionary objectives is surpassed only by his brash audacity in seeking to carry them out in the face of all obstacles.

THE COMMUNICATION GAP

The Navy had no contingency plans for rescue of the *Pueblo* in case of an emergency. To compound this lack, the only forces on call that could have helped were air, but there was no provision for communication between the *Pueblo* and aircraft; the provisions were only for ship-to-ship transmission.

The report expresses great concern over, and uses the term "human inefficiency" to describe the delays in the two critical messages getting from *Pueblo* to higher authority, which could have acted. The report, incidentally, carries a full log of messages from the *Pueblo* and others, showing timelag until receipt.

I would like to cite some of these timelags. With the first message, it ranged from 23 minutes—to commander, Naval Force, Japan—up to 2 hours and 34 minutes—to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. With the second, it reached commander, Naval Forces Japan in 4 minutes, but did not get to the JCS for 1 hour and 39 minutes.

Lacking of emergency telephone procedures meant a 40-minute delay in the Navy's asking help from the Air Force. The Navy had a carrier about 1 hour's flight time away, but did not use it. At the same time, of the many Air Force bases in Japan, not one was alerted, nor was aid sought from them, by responsible authorities.

Air Force planes were eventually dispatched from Okinawa, but they did not have enough fuel, were diverted to South Korea, then kept from taking off again because of darkness. It seems the responsible commanders had both the authority and opportunity to act if they could have done so at once. But they could not, for the reasons outlined above.

REACTION OF COMMANDER BUCHER

I want to comment specifically on Commander Bucher's role when the ship was first threatened, then boarded. Our subcommittee studied transcripts of the messages sent to and from the *Pueblo*, from the time of the first threat to actual boarding. A complete log of these messages, with their content, and time of transmission, is included in the report. It is obvious from the text of the messages Commander Bucher sent, and from those going back to him, that he did not intend to resist, and that higher authority did not react to this, nor did they order him to take any other course of action.

Again, to quote directly from the report:

Therefore, the failure of Commander Naval Forces Japan and higher naval authority to officially respond to these communications and direct the *Pueblo* to take more aggressive and positive actions constitutes, in the view of the subcommittee, a tacit endorsement and approval by Commander Naval Forces Japan of the actions taken by the *Pueblo*.

EC-121

The subcommittee was also given responsibility for investigation of the EC-121 incident, when an air reconnaissance plane was shot down by North Korean planes in international air space, over the Sea of Japan, on April 14, 1969. Our response to this was quick, but, again, we found preparations had been lacking.

CONCLUSION

I wish to conclude by quoting directly from the "Summary of Findings and Recommendations" in the subcommittee's report:

The inquiry made by this special subcommittee into the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and the EC-121 incidents has resulted in the unanimous view that there exist serious deficiencies in the organizational and administrative military command structure of both the Department of the Navy and the Department of Defense. If nothing else, the inquiry reveals the existence of a vast and complex military structure capable of acquiring almost infinite amounts of information, but with a demonstrated inability, in these two instances, to relay this information in a timely and comprehensive fashion to those charged with the responsibility for making decisions.

As President Nixon recently said, "When a war can be decided in 20 minutes, the nation that is behind will have no time to catch up."

The reluctant but inescapable conclusion finally reached by the subcommittee is that because of the vastness of the military structure, with its complex division into multiple layers of command, and the failure of responsible authorities at the seat of government to either delegate responsibility or in the alternative provide clear and unequivocal guidelines governing policy in emergency situations—our military command structure is now simply unable to meet the emergency criterion outlined and suggested by the President himself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

[Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

FEDERAL CONTRACTING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation which would bar for a 2-year period Federal contracting and procurement officers from taking jobs with contractors or other direct beneficiaries of the contracts that they have participated in granting, awarding, or administering. It is the companion measure to legislation introduced by Senator PROXMIER, of Wisconsin, last Thursday.

The country has increasingly become aware of the fact that prime military

H 6404

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

July 28, 1969

weapons systems contracts normally exceed their estimates by 100 to 200 percent, that deliveries can be delayed for years, that the quality of the finished product is frequently quite poor, and that defense contractors in many instances enjoy huge levels of profits.

By taking effective steps now to eliminate this kind of waste, billions of dollars could be slashed from the defense budget annually without affecting national security or reducing funds for the Vietnam war. A former official of the Defense Department's Office of the Controller puts the figure that can be saved for fiscal 1970 at \$9.2 billion.

The Congress and the American people have the right to ask why the Defense Department not only has allowed this situation to develop but has attempted to cover it up once it was brought into the open.

I do not believe there is a conspiracy to defraud the American people. In the past many of the officers have performed valiant and even heroic service on behalf of the United States. The country is indeed grateful to them for their past service and for their patriotic endeavors.

But what can be said, and should properly be said, is that there are inherent factors in the present system of defense procurement which contribute to the waste and inefficiencies.

Primary among these is the fact that less than 10 percent of defense contracts are handled through open bidding. The advanced state of technology, we are told, has left the checks and balances of the free enterprise system inoperative. The highly specialized nature of military technology today has meant that only a few contractors, and in some cases only one, have the capacity to undertake many defense contracts. Turning this figure around, this means that over 90 percent of the \$40 billion in defense contracts annually let are negotiated putting DOD personnel on one side of a table with personnel of the defense firm on the other.

A second major fact is the conglomerate nature of the defense industry. A handful of American firms control the overwhelming majority of the personnel and facilities needed to successfully complete a defense contract. The result is that only 10 defense contractors during fiscal 1968 accounted for 30 percent of all defense contracts.

But what makes these two facts so critically important is that so many Defense Department personnel end up working for defense contractors when they leave the Department. According to a report prepared by the Department in March, there are 2,072 retired military officers of the rank of colonel or Navy captain and above employed by the 100 contractors, which do the most business with the Defense Department.

I am sure this most dangerous and shocking situation is not a question of deliberate wrongdoing, but rather a question of what can be called the "old school tie"—a community of interest between the Defense Department official and the defense contractor which works to the benefit of the large contractors who employ a large number of retired Defense Department personnel.

Former high-ranking military officials have access to the Pentagon that others do not have. Former high-ranking officials have personal friendships with those still at the Pentagon.

And in some cases former officers may even negotiate contracts with their former fellow officers. Or they may be involved in developing plans and specifications, making proposals, drawing up blueprints, or taking part in the planning process or proposing prospective weapons systems. And they may be doing this in cooperation with their former fellow officers with whom they served and by whom in some cases even promoted.

In addition, there is the subtle or unconscious temptation to the officer still on active duty. After all, he can see that over 2,000 of his fellow officers work for big companies. How hard a bargain does he drive with them when he is 1 or 2 years away from retirement?

Witness the case of five former Air Force officers who blocked efforts to cut costs of the Minuteman missile guidance and control system. In so doing they were helping the contractor. Subsequently, these officers accepted executive jobs with the system's manufacturer, North American Rockwell. According to the Justice Department, these officials violated no current law.

What we have is a 1969 version of the 5 percenters of the Korean war era—former Government employees who peddled their "influence" to contractors for a fee—usually 5 percent of the contract.

The bill I am introducing today would go a long way toward remedying this situation by making this type of activity a violation of Federal law, subject to criminal penalties.

My bill would bar an employee who participated personally and substantially in the granting, awarding, or administration of a contract or grant from taking a job within 2 years of terminating his Federal employment with anyone who has a direct or substantial interest in the contract or grant. The penalty for violating this bar would be a maximum fine of \$10,000 and/or a maximum prison sentence of 2 years.

This legislation is designed to cut down on the incentive for Federal contracting and procurement officers to make lucrative awards to private companies and then leave the Federal Government to accept a generous job offer from one of those companies. The ultimate effect should be to cut down substantially on the tremendous cost overruns that the Federal Government has been experiencing on its contracts.

The bill will apply to those individuals who play an important role in the decisional process which confers a financial benefit upon a contractor, grantee, claimant, or any other beneficiary. However, I do not intend to prevent any Federal officer or employee who works for the procurement or grant office, or who has responsibility over it, from taking subsequent employment with any beneficiary of Federal largesse. My bill would only prevent such employees from taking jobs with those contractors or grantees who have benefited directly from some action on their part—the participation must be personal and it must be sub-

stantial. The pro forma signature of the Secretary of Defense on a procurement authorization, for example, would not, in my opinion, constitute personal and substantial involvement such as to bar subsequent employment under this bill.

The text of H.R. 13138 follows:

H.R. 13138

A bill to amend Public Law 87-849, approved October 23, 1962, to strengthen provisions relating to disqualification of former Federal officers and employees in matters connected with former duties and official responsibilities, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. Subsection (a) of section 1 of Public Law 87-849 approved October 23, 1962 (76 Stat. 1123), pertaining to disqualification of former officers and employees in matters connected with former duties or official responsibilities, and disqualification of partners, is hereby amended by inserting after the word "responsibility" at the end of subparagraph (b) a new subparagraph (c) as follows:

"(c) Whoever, having been an officer or employee of the executive branch of the United States Government, or any independent agency of the United States, or of the District of Columbia, including a special Government employee, and who, having participated personally and substantially during the last two years of such employment as such officer or employee, through decision, approval, disapproval, recommendation, the rendering of advice, investigation, or otherwise, in the granting, awarding, or administration of any contract, bid, grant, or procurement authorization whose total value exceeds \$10,000, is employed in any capacity within two years after his employment has ceased by anyone other than the United States who has a direct and substantial interest in the contract, bid, grant, or procurement authorization in which he participated personally and substantially while so employed—

Sec. 2. Subsection (a) of section 1 of Public Law 87-849 is hereby further amended by—

(a) striking, after the word "responsibility" at the end of the second subparagraph, the dash, and inserting in lieu thereof "or";

(b) inserting after the words "That nothing in subsection (a) or (b) in the third subparagraph, the words "or (c)";

(c) striking the period after the word "employed" at the end of the third subparagraph, inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon, and inserting further the following additional proviso: "Provided further, That nothing in subsection (a) or (b) or (c) prevents a former officer or employee from becoming employed by an agency of any State or local government or any educational institution if the head of his former department or agency shall make a certification in writing, published in the Federal Register, that the national interest would be served by such employment, and that such former officer or employee may act as agent or attorney during such employment on any matter formerly within his official responsibility or in which he has personally and substantially participated if the certification shall so state"; and

(d) striking at the beginning of the fourth subparagraph the clause designation "(c)" and inserting in lieu thereof the clause designation "(d)".

MACHIASPORT

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

TELEVISION IS REVIEWED
BY JACK DU BRON

HOLLYWOOD (UPI)—SEVERAL HIGHLY PROVOCATIVE SUMMER DOCUMENTARIES HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED BY THE TELEVISION NETWORKS: ONE ABOUT THE SEIZURE OF THE AMERICAN SHIP PUEBLO, THE OTHER CONCERNING THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL RACE.

"PUEBLO: A QUESTION OF INTELLIGENCE" IS THE TITLE OF A ONE-HOUR PROGRAM THAT WILL BE BROADCAST ON NBC-TV AUG. 23. THE NETWORK IS OFFERING IT AS A "CLOSEUP STUDY OF A TRAUMATIC MILITARY EVENT IN AMERICAN LIFE," AND MAKES CLEAR THE HOUR WILL BE WELL BEYOND A MERE RECAPITULATION OF THE WELL-KNOWN EVENTS.
SAYS NBC-TV: "THE PROGRAM WILL ASK: WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THIS 'ROBERT COUNTRY'?"

PRODUCER FRANK PAPPAS SAYS THAT "CERTAIN EVENTS THAT OUGHT TO BE MORE THAN SIMPLY NEWS STORIES, AND THAT "WE BELIEVE IMMEDIATELY THAT SUCH HAPPENINGS HAVE A SPECIAL MEANING FOR US ALL."

THUS THE BROADCAST "WILL ATTEMPT TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS (OF THE PUEBLO CASE) ON AMERICAN SOCIETY TODAY," SAYS NBC-TV.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM, SAYS THE NETWORK, IS "TO EXAMINE ALL FACTORS CONCERNING THE SEIZURE OF AN AMERICAN SHIP IN NEUTRAL WATERS BY AN ENEMY NATION, THE INTERPLAY OF HER CREW IN THAT COUNTRY, AND THE FAILURE OF THE MILITARY AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TO FORESEE WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN UNDER THE EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES-- AND TO ASK WHEN IT DID HAPPEN."

FIRST, THERE WILL BE A STUDY OF THE MISSION ITSELF. NEXT, THE PROGRAM WILL ASK: "WHY WAS IT BLAME?... WAS THE INCIDENT MORE THAN JUST A FAILURE OF A MAN, OR A SHIP, OR A SERVICE, OR A GOVERNMENT, OR A NATIONAL POLICY?"

FINALLY, THE BROADCAST WILL EXPLORE "THE ROLE OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, AND THE METHODS OF GATHERING OF MILITARY INFORMATION."

"WAS THE PUEBLO EXPENDABLE BECAUSE IT WAS SUCH A SMALL PART OF A MUCH LARGER AND COMPLEX ORGANIZATION DEVOTED TO THE GATHERING OF TOP SECRET INFORMATION?... HOW LARGE A CHANGE FROM THE CLOAK-AND-DAGGER METHODS OF 50 YEARS AGO HAS TAKEN PLACE? HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES BECOME SO SOPHISTICATED THAT THEY NO LONGER HAVE THE ABILITY TO RESPOND TO A SITUATION LIKE THE PUEBLO?"

SEVERAL WEEKS AFTER "PUEBLO: A QUESTION OF INTELLIGENCE" IS BROADCAST, ANOTHER PROVOCATIVE NETWORK DOCUMENTARY, "THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT: 1968," WILL BE PRESENTED FOR 90 MINUTES ON CBS-TV. THE AIR DATE IS SEPT. 9. IT IS THE THIRD IN A SERIES OF PROGRAMS THAT ALSO COVERED THE 1960 AND 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS, AND ONCE AGAIN IT REUNITES HISTORIAN THEODORE H. WHITE WITH PRODUCER MEL STUART OF DAVID HOLPER PRODUCTIONS.

SAYS AN ANNOUNCEMENT FROM CBS NEWS: "THE PRODUCTION OF THE BROADCAST HAS BEEN UNDER WAY SINCE JANUARY 1968, BEGINNING WITH THE PRIMARY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND RUNNING THROUGH PRESIDENT RICHARD N. NIXON'S VICTORY ELECTION NIGHT. THERE WERE THREE FILM CREWS IN THE FIELD AT THE TIME."
SAYS CBS: "THE PROGRAM WILL ASK: WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THIS 'ROBERT COUNTRY'?"

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE
		9 JUL 69
TO: JMM		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
	✓	
REMARKS:		
ticket item on upcoming TV Documentary on Puerto Rico		
FROM: JLC		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

FORM NO. 241
1 FEB 55

REPLACES FORM 36-8
WHICH MAY BE USED.

(47)

June 26, 1969

25. Forrester, Carl, Mercer.
26. Funell, Richard, Farrell.
27. George, Michael, Erie.
28. Good, Paul, Sharpsville.
29. Harmon, Robert, Erie.
30. Hedglin, Miles, Grove City.
31. Henry, Leonard, Erie.
32. Higgins, Merle, Jamestown.
33. Hill, David, Erie.
34. Hymers, Charles, Erie.
35. Jarzenski, James, Cochranon.
- 35a. Julius, William, Erie.
36. Kahler, Charles, Meadville.
37. Kaspaul, Alfred, Fairview.
38. Kelly, Gregory, North East.
39. Kennedy, Thomas, Erie.
40. Klaric, Terrence, Farrell.
41. Kranonczyk, Richard, Erie.
42. Krupinski, Raymond, Erie.
43. Logue, John, Franklin.
44. Martin, Ronald, Erie.
45. McNeish, Richard, Mercer.
46. Millson, Dennis, Sharon.
47. Mitchell, David, Erie.
48. Neidrick, Jack, Erie.
49. Nelson, John, Erie.
50. Nichols, Collin, Spartansburg.
51. Niemann, David, Conneautville.
52. Norman, Gary, Erie.
53. Parobek, Silas, Albion.
54. Phillis, Donald, Titusville.
55. Powers, William, Erie.
56. Probst, Delmar, Erie.
57. Rahn, Donald, Erie.
58. Rauber, William, Wheatland.
59. Reagle, John, Titusville.
60. Reynolds, Jack, Erie.
61. Reynolds, John, Linesville.
62. Rudd, James, Meadville.
63. Russo, Augustine, New Castle.
64. Santone, Joseph, Erie.
65. Shaffer, William, Erie.
66. Shields, Robert, Erie.
67. Smith, Olen, Erie.
68. Snell, Marc, Erie.
69. Stearns, Allan, Girard.
70. Suvara, Frank, Erie.
71. Szoszorek, Gerald, Erie.
72. Tinko, Donald, Corry.
73. Trypus, Frank, Meadville.
74. Walter, Clifton, Erie.
75. Westfall, Robert, Meadville.
76. Vandervort, William, Erie.
77. Vaughn, John, Erie.
78. Yeast, John, Edinboro.

THE ROLE OF GOLD IN CONTRIBUTING TO INTERNATIONAL MONETARY STABILITY

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 25, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the past few years have seen a deterioration of confidence in the international monetary system. Compounding this problem, inflationary pressures have eroded the position of the dollar, the cornerstone of world currency stability.

Concerned with this serious situation, Mr. Charles Seigny, of West Hanover, Mass., has written me a series of articulate and thoughtful letters on the role of gold in contributing to international monetary stability. For the benefit of my colleagues in their deliberations on this issue, I include Mr. Seigny's latest letter here under unanimous consent:

JUNE 16, 1969.

HON. HASTINGS KEITH,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HASTINGS: This morning I received a notice from the South Shore National Bank

announcing that they are increasing our interest rate to 11%. This reminded me abruptly of our previous discussion concerning economics in this country.

You mentioned in your last letter that since you are now several years out of college you do not have a clear or sharp recollection of your course in Economics. I am sure that if you look back, or if you were to ask any college sophomore, that you would find that it has been a well established fact that no economy can survive without gold behind its currency or government as a stabilizing factor. The history of world government has proven this and it has been taught in all the schools and colleges.

We have two great basic problems in this country. I am not now talking about the social problems and all the racial and college upheavals but rather about basic problems. These two problems are shortage of manpower and unstable currency because it is not properly backed by gold and because we are unrealistically trying to buy gold in 1969 at 1935 prices.

Just for a moment let's talk about manpower. I am sure that you feel the pinch as well as we do, since the last time I talked to you you asked me if I knew where you could get some people to join your staff. The same applies everywhere no one has enough help, no one can get enough help. Every company that I know of, and I am sure you realize that I know a great many, are being forced to curtail their operations because they cannot get enough help to expand into the new fields that are opening up. In the meantime we are exporting our manpower at a rate that is beyond belief. We have over 100,000 civilians working in Vietnam and from all reports that I hear they are just in the way of everyone over there and adding to the troubles of that already unhappy country. The State Department employs at least an equal number of people around the world within most offices about three people doing one persons work. We have military men spread everywhere you can think of. We are supporting the military effort of former enemies that we defeated 25 years ago and are now well able to take care of themselves. In the meantime we are dying for help at home. Essential services like getting your roof fixed, having someone repair your oil burner, shoveling snow, painting your house, you cannot hire a plumber or an electrician all these things and thousands of others are going undone because we do not have the people and those people that we do have are not learning manual skills. We have a huge gap between college trained people and unskilled labor that is not being filled by trained people simply because there are no people to train for these positions. In the meantime all of this employment of Americans in foreign countries is contributing to our deficit of payments by the money that they spend overseas which is usually equal to just about their pay.

Add to the above the fact that we are not realistically facing the gold problem and you will find a combination of effects and side effects that can easily draw us into a very bad serious situation at home while we are busy trying to run the affairs of the rest of the world. This does not mean that I am an isolationist because I am not. It is however my experience that governments, like people, like to lead their own lives in their own way and they do not like to be helped until they ask for help. Then and only then should we offer our help and in such an instance it should be offered on a very limited scale. In this way other nations become self-sufficient not rather than dependent upon us.

I like to use the expression "increase the price of gold" rather than the negative term of "devalue the dollar". In my opinion the Republican Party, and in fact everyone in government, should use the positive expression rather than the negative. In connection

with this I have some very definite ideas. As you know any fool can criticize, however, I think that before one should criticize they should have a workable plan as an alternative ready to suggest. My suggestion would be that: Congress should pass a new Law governing the price of gold. This law should tie the price of gold to the world market value which is the true value of the metal. The Treasury should be authorized to buy gold only from domestic producers as long as it is available. In other words they should not be permitted to buy foreign gold until the domestic supply is exhausted unless or until some specific situation arises which would make the need for additional gold important to us. We should pay world gold prices for domestic gold and about \$1.00 an ounce less for foreign gold landed here.

I believe that I told you in my previous letter that Goldfield Corporation, one of the largest owners of gold producing property in this country, tried within the past two or three years to produce gold at the Treasury price of \$35.00 an ounce using the most modern possible methods. It was found that it was impossible to do so and they therefore shut down their operation. I hope you realize that I have no axe to grind in this other than good government. I do not own stock in Goldfields or any other mining company nor do I own a gold mine of any kind myself. I do think however that we are being very unrealistic trying to buy gold in 1969 at 1935 prices which were too low even for 1935.

The Republicans in Congress should get behind the increase in the price of gold in order to bring about a stable currency and therefore a stable government. This going off the gold standard was one of the great frauds imposed on the American public by the New Deal. We have only had one or two opportunities since the days of the New Deal where a Republican president could reverse this serious mistake. To me it is the only way that we will get enough solid valuable currency into circulation to meet the demands of a greatly expanding economy. If we do not take such a step as this the only alternative will be to print money with no backing and contribute seriously to the inflationary spiral that we are now in since the money will be nothing but paper. By using the method I recommend every dollar will then be backed by hard money at Fort Knox.

These two problems are tightly coupled together. The one on one hand drains our manpower reserves and creates tremendous deficit in our balance of payments thus contributing to the inflationary spiral and the other effects that I stated above.

I would be extremely grateful if you would give these facts your serious attention and do whatever is possible to spread the gospel.

Yours very truly,

SEVIGNY'S CANDY, INC.,
CHARLES P. SEVIGNY, *President*.

**U.S.S. "PUEBLO" SEIZURE CALLED
SOVIET SCHEME**

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 25, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of the Reader's Digest publishes the story of Communist Gen. Jan Sejna of Czechoslovakia, one of the highest ranking officers ever to defect to the West, regarding the participation of the Soviet Union in the hijacking of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, and the value to the enemy of the intelligence obtained in that venture.

The accurate assessment of our spineless response is a matter to which we

June 26, 1969

should give our serious attention. Perhaps our total incompetence to defend the U.S.S. *Liberty*, a similar ship, against Israeli attack in the Mediterranean suggested to the enemy the feasibility of the second operation. The obvious implication is that it is open season on Americans. This cannot be tolerated.

I include the article, together with a news clipping from the Washington Daily News, following my remarks:
[From the Washington Daily News, June 23, 1969]

CZECH DEFECTOR BARES DETAILS—"PUEBLO" CALLED SOVIET PLOT
(By Mike Miller)

A former Czechoslovakian general who defected to the United States said today that Russia planned the seizure of the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo* and collaborated with North Korea in carrying it out.

Gen. Jan Sejna, writing in Reader's Digest, said Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Andrei Grechko told him eight months prior to the incident that Russia was going to "humiliate" the United States by grabbing one of its spy ships.

The defector said the Russian also indicated the seizure would take place somewhere in the Pacific in collaboration with the North Koreans.

Gen. Sejna was the Czech Communist Party's senior secretary assigned to the Ministry of National Defense prior to his defection in February, 1968, the month after the *Pueblo* was seized.

INFORMATION GAINED

He said Russian generals also told Czech officers following the incident that "immensely valuable information" was obtained from the ship, including a detailed analysis of the deployment of U.S. Naval forces in the Pacific. Codes obtained from the spy ship also were enabling the Russians to read previously indecipherable U.S. messages which they had recorded on tape, he wrote.

The defector quoted Gen. Grechko as saying:

"It is absolutely insolent the way the Americans sail their damn ships around as if they owned the water.

"Their espionage ships come right up to our shores to spy on our communications. But I can tell you this: We have decided to humble the Americans. Just as we humiliated them in the air by shooting down the U-2, we are going to humiliate them at sea by grabbing one of those ships.

Asked about the danger of a U.S. reaction, Gen. Grechko replied: "Don't worry about that. The Americans haven't dared to blockade Haiphong (North Vietnamese port) because they know that our ships would shoot their way thru. They won't do anything about an incident like this, either. We are not afraid of them, and that is what the whole world will see."

Gen. Sejna wrote that Gen. Grechko said the Soviets had ruled out a seizure in waters where the incident might provoke a confrontation between the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO. The Black Sea was eliminated because it was regarded as a "Russian lake," but the Pacific was chosen because it was considered an "American preserve," the Czech said.

On Jan. 24, 1968, the morning after the *Pueblo* was seized, he quoted Soviet Colonel General Aleksandr Kushchev, senior Warsaw Pact representative in Prague, as telling a gathering of officers:

"During the night we learned that, with the collaboration of our Korean comrades, we have achieved a great success. The entire operation went off smoothly—incredibly smoothly. The *Pueblo* crew, to a man, capitulated. They did not fire a shot.

"We've all heard what a great communications and command system the Americans have.

"Well, yesterday it took Washington literally hours to pull itself together and even begin to react. This is a precise example of how the most advanced military technology cannot compensate for a lack of will and leadership."

A COMMUNIST GENERAL'S STARTLING CHARGE: RUSSIA PLOTTED THE "PUEBLO" AFFAIR

(By Gen. Jan Sejna)

(NOTE.—General Jan Sejna is one of the highest-ranking communists ever to defect to the West. Until February 1968 he was the Czechoslovak Communist Party senior secretary assigned to the Ministry of National Defense, charged with political control of the Czechoslovak Ministry and General Staff. As such, he dealt almost daily with the Soviet marshals, generals and agents who rule Eastern Europe as a Soviet colony, and was privy to many military and political secrets of the Warsaw Pact nations.

During 1967 and early 1968, in the struggle for control of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, he was accused of siding with the forces of arch-Stalinist Antonin Novotny. The general contends that he represented a group of politicians and young officers opposed to hard-line military men seeking their own gain in the political intrigue that has characterized the turmoil in Prague. Nevertheless, when Novotny lost, Sejna fled to the United States—bringing with him a perspective of the communist world rarely before available to the West.

(The following article, the first he has released since his flight, is excerpted from Sejna's forthcoming book. Much of what he reports here cannot be confirmed because of the rarefied circles in which he moved. But he has been interviewed at length by Digest editors, and specific references that could be cross-checked have been painstakingly investigated. No contradictions have been discovered.)

I first learned in May 1967 that the Russians were planning to capture an American intelligence ship—eight months before the USS *Pueblo* was seized off Korea. Some dozen Czechoslovak and Russian generals had gathered at the state guest villa in Prague for a luncheon honoring the Soviet defense minister, Marshal Andrei Grechko. I remember that the meal of delicate Czechoslovak fish, beef soup with liver dumplings, veal roulade, cream tarts and fruit was especially excellent. Our three-hour conversation was fueled by Italian aperitifs, Russian vodka, red and white Bulgarian wines, and some truly fine French cognac which we had liberated from the Germans.

Marshal Grechko, whom I had often encountered at Warsaw Pact conferences and during private visits in Prague, is taciturn to the point of rudeness when sober. But when he consumes too much vodka and Cinzano, he becomes a belligerent, loose-tongued braggart. Drinking heavily that afternoon, he embarked on his favorite subject—the invincibility of the Soviet armed forces—with emphasis this time on the multiplying might of Russian sea power.

He admitted that the Soviet Union had been powerless to intervene during the Cuban and Middle East crises because of the supremacy of American naval forces. The refusal of Nikita Khrushchev to allot enough money to develop a powerful Soviet fleet was a primary reason why the Russian military supported his ouster. But now Soviet naval strength was growing and would soon challenge the Americans on all the oceans of the world.

"It is absolutely insolent the way the Americans sail their damn ships around as if they owned the water," Grechko declared. "Their espionage ships come right up to our

shores to spy on our communications. But I can tell you this: we have decided to humble the Americans. Just as we humiliated them in the air by shooting down the U-2, we are going to humiliate them at sea by grabbing one of these ships."

Marshal Grechko did not specify when, where or how the Russians expected to commandeer a U.S. ship. But he indicated that the seizure would be accomplished somewhere in the Pacific, in collaboration with the North Koreans. The Russians, he said, did not want to stage an incident in waters which might involve the Warsaw Pact in a confrontation with NATO. The Black Sea also had been ruled out because the world looked upon it as "a Russian lake"; loss of an American ship there would not be sufficiently "sensational." The Pacific had been chosen because it was considered an American preserve.

As I listened to Grechko talk, it became apparent that the Russians were almost as intent upon hurting the Chinese as upon hurting the Americans. "Our Korean comrades, of course, are not capable of carrying this off without us," Grechko said. "But we will guide and protect them. This will again show them that it is we, not the Chinese, upon whom they can depend. They will see that we act while the Chinese simply bray and posture."

General Josef Vosahlo, deputy minister in charge of the Czech air force, asked, "Is there not a danger that the American reaction could cause serious complications?"

"Don't worry about that," Grechko replied. "The Americans haven't dared to blockade Haiphong, because they know that our ships would shoot their way through. They won't do anything about an incident like this, either. We are not afraid of them, and that is what the whole world will see."

Grechko's arrogance made me privately want to doubt anything he said that day. Still, I wondered. I had disbelieved Khrushchev in 1961 when he secretly let us know that within a few months a wall would be erected to seal off West Berlin. I now also recalled a conversation I had had in March 1966 with Grechko's predecessor, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, a much more prudent man. He had confided that the Russians suspected American ships of being extremely effective in ferreting out Soviet secrets. "Mark my word," he had vowed, "we are going to do something about those ships."

In the months following the Grechko luncheon, nothing related to his boasts came to my attention, and I almost forgot about them. Then, on the morning of January 24, 1968, I received a call from the secretariat of the National Defense Minister, informing me that "an unusually important announcement" would be made at the morning briefing. In the ministry council chamber, Soviet Colonel General Aleksandr Kushchev, the principal Warsaw Pact representative in Prague, rose.

"During the night we learned that, with the collaboration of our Korean comrades, we have achieved a great success," he began. We all were stunned as he announced that the *Pueblo* had been hijacked and was at the moment in communist custody.

"The entire operation went off smoothly—incredibly smoothly," Kushchev reported. "The *Pueblo* crew, to a man, capitulated. They did not fire a shot. Frankly, we thought it would be much more complicated. The Americans were so bewildered that they failed to destroy thousands of documents. It will take our experts quite a while to analyze them. We may have a gold mine.

"We've all heard about what a great communications and command system the Americans have," Kushchev went on. "How they use computers, how they can respond instantly to an attack. Well, yesterday it took Washington literally hours to pull itself together and even begin to react. This is a

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precise example of how the most advanced military technology cannot compensate for a lack of will and leadership."

Kushchev bragged on about the propaganda triumph. "On the one hand, it is a humiliation for the United States; we have made clear that the Americans do not rule the seas anymore. On the other, this is a disgrace for China. It proves to the entire socialist camp that the Soviet Union helped North Korea gain stature, while the loud-mouthed Chinese could do absolutely nothing."

No one in the room doubted that capture of the *Pueblo* was a great coup. However, I and some of my fellow officers could not quite accept Kushchev's account of it. Accustomed as we were to Soviet propaganda exaggerations, we simply could not believe that the crew had not attempted some resistance to prevent the capture of thousands of valuable documents.

In the next few days, though other Soviet officers confirmed Kushchev's version. Also, I began to see indications that the intelligence information the Russians were extracting from the *Pueblo* was immensely valuable.

At the weekly general staff briefing on February 23, we heard an extraordinarily detailed analysis of the deployment and operations of American naval forces in the Pacific. The source was identified as the *Pueblo*. Furthermore, we were told that, by using codes found aboard the ship, the Russians now were able to reach previously indecipherable American messages that they had been recording on tape.

I derive no pleasure in recounting this American defeat and Soviet victory. I report these details now because I think they carry with them a message of importance to the people of the United States and the West:

The Soviet Union today is increasingly dominated by a militaristic clique of marshals who, with few exceptions, are perilously ignorant of the West. These narrow-minded hard-liners understand and react only to the prospect of superior force. Signs of weakness tempt them to risk ever more irresponsible adventures.

Unless they are convinced that the American government and the American people are prepared to resist future aggression, then more aggression is inevitable. On the basis of my personal experiences with these men, I know that each time one of their military gambles pays off, they edge closer to the brink. And by recklessness and miscalculation, they are likely to plunge the world into war that ordinary men everywhere desperately want to avert.

(NOTE.—General Sejna's assertions were made available to The Reader's Digest last April 13, just two days before North Korean MIGs shot down a U.S. Navy EC-121 reconnaissance plane in the Sea of Japan. No evidence exists at this writing that the Soviet Union had a hand in this second act of piracy perpetrated by the North Koreans within 15 months.)

DR. ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI: DEDICATED AMERICAN PATRIOT OF UKRAINIAN ANCESTRY

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 25, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as many Members know an American of unusual stature and background passed away recently. I refer to Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, who died in the George-

town University Hospital at the end of April. He left us a legacy of literary works and experiences which, I have no doubt, we will greatly profit by as the aggressive forces in Moscow determine the next round of conflict with us.

Those who knew him personally esteemed him for his rich past of diversified experience as scholar, diplomat, and freedom activist. His roots were in Eastern Europe, and he was one of the first to witness the imperialistic onslaughts of the Soviet Russians into his beloved Ukraine. But his principles and dedication to a life in the cause of world freedom, and primarily for the sustained freedom of his adopted country, led him to the United States, for which, since the end of World War II to the day of his death, he defended with all his heart and mind as the last bastion against the forces of Soviet Russian imperial-colonialism.

As other Members have, I pay lasting tribute to this truly great man and dear, personal friend. His wit, his insights, and his wisdom we shall sorely miss. However, his truths and convictions have been transmitted by generations of students who today are working in diverse fields in the spirit of their venerable teacher. In my tribute, I include the following in the RECORD as a humble expression of his traits and works: First, a brief eulogy by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, titled "The Great Loss of a Patriot, Christian, Scholar"; second, the obituaries in the Evening Star of April 29, "Roman S. Smal-Stocki, Ukrainian Scholar, Dies," in the Washington Post of April 29, "R. S. Smal-Stocki, Slavic Expert at CU" and the New York Times of April 29, "Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki Dies; Ukrainian Educator was 76"; third, a complete release on the man by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, of which he was president; fourth, a memorial in the Ukrainian Weekly, *Svoboda*, dated May 17, by Dr. Clarence A. Manning, professor emeritus, Columbia University, titled "The Stream of History"; and fifth, the speech of Representative MARTIN B. MCKNEALLY, of New York, who was the last to appear before the Ukrainian Studies Center in Washington, D.C., which the late Professor Smal-Stocki directed and at which I and others had the privilege and pleasure to address in the past:

THE GRAVE LOSS OF A PATRIOT, CHRISTIAN,
SCHOLAR

(By Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University)

In the evening of Sunday, April 27, Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki died at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C. He passed away quietly. The last to visit him and to receive his courageous "thanks" and "good-by" were the Very Rev. Constantine Berdar, Rev. M. Makukh, Rev. Maletius Wojnar, Dr. Bohdan Skaskiw, and the UCCA President. With extraordinary strength of mind and moral fortitude to the last, one of Ukraine's greatest sons extended his arms to clasp the hand of each, then faintly uttered his final expression of friendship, and lapsed into a coma preceding his death.

These final moments typified the genuine greatness and towering stature of the man. For Ukrainians in particular, but for all free men in general, the death of Dr. Smal-Stocki is a grave loss to the ceaseless cause of freedom. It is truly the grave loss of a patriot,

Christian, and scholar. Selflessly and with unparalleled devotion, he dedicated his entire and long adult life to the cause of a free and independent Ukraine and later, through it to the preservation of the freedom and security of his America. Personal glory, money, even the advantages of a marital existence were alien considerations to his unique and priceless dedication. Through all the stages of his rich and varied life—as a student, an ambassador, a professor, an author, an intellectual leader, and a staunch defender of the Faith—he was wedded to the vital and promising cause of a free Ukraine.

As an internationally renowned scholar, the good and ever-witty Doctor has left the world an invaluable legacy of books and writings not as a monument to himself but to the life-giving cause that he served so brilliantly and incomparably. The interminable fears and anathema expressed by Moscow and its totalitarian offshoots toward his works are in themselves a measure of their power of ideas and spiritual force. As the President of the world-esteemed Shevchenko Scientific Society, he excelled all others in his writings to defend the erection of the Shevchenko Memorial in our Nation's capital. His warm humanism, his breadth of knowledge and understanding, and his Christian humility are immortally imprinted in this legacy.

Only relatively few might understand fully, but this tragedy is an irreparable loss to the freedom of all the captive nations in the USSR, and thus a heavy loss to man's struggle for freedom.

In tribute to the lasting memory of one of Ukraine's greatest servants, The UCCA president will initiate at the coming UCCA executive meeting the dedication of the 10th Congress of Americans of Ukraine Descent to the immortal spirit, works, and contributions of our departed intellectual leader. Also, this proposal will extend to the autumn issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*.

As he would have us remember—Three Cheers, our dearly beloved friend. Erue, Domine, animam ejus, Requiescat in pace.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star,
Apr. 29, 1969]

ROMAN S. SMAL-STOCKI, UKRAINIAN SCHOLAR,
DIES

Roman S. Smal-Stocki, 76, director of the Ukrainian Studies Center at Catholic University, died Sunday of cancer at Georgetown University Hospital. He lived at 201 Taylor St. NE.

Born in 1893 in Czernowitz, Bukovina, now a part of the Soviet Ukraine, Mr. Smal-Stocki studied at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Munich. In 1917 he lectured at the Oriental Academy, a foreign service school in Berlin.

In the early 1920s he was associate professor of Slavistics at the Ukrainian Massaryk University in Prague and later was a guest professor in English Universities.

He taught Slavistics at the University of Warsaw in Poland from 1925 to 1939, and then was a prisoner of the Nazis during World War II.

Coming to the United States after the war, he was professor of Slavic history at Marquette University from 1947 and director of its Slavic Institute from 1949 until becoming professor emeritus. He had been a visiting professor at Catholic University since 1965.

Mr. Smal-Stocki was a leader in the fund-raising campaign to erect a statue of the Ukrainian poet-hero Taras Shevchenko in Washington. The statue, dedicated several years ago, is at 22nd and P Streets NW.

He was also curator and a director of the Byzantine Slavic Arts Foundation here. From 1915 through 1960 Mr. Smal-Stocki published 11 books—in Ukrainian, German and Russian. He also had written more than 70 scholarly articles.

Outside his literary career, Mr. Smal-Stocki served as an envoy and minister of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in Germany and Great Britain in the early 1920s, and was deputy premier and foreign minister of the Ukrainian National government in exile from 1937 to 1940.

He was active in several societies devoted to the works of Shevchenko, as well as historical and other arts and sciences associations.

Prayers will be offered at 7 o'clock tonight at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, 201 Taylor St. NE.

A mass will be offered tomorrow in Philadelphia at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, the mother church of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Province in the United States.

It is requested that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Smal-Stocki Memorial Fund at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Apr. 29, 1969]

R. S. SMAL-STOCKI, SLAVIC EXPERT AT CU

Roman S. Smal-Stocki, 76, a Ukrainian-born Catholic University professor who escaped death sentences in both Hitler's Germany and Soviet Russia, died of cancer Sunday at Georgetown University Hospital.

He was condemned to death in absentia in the 1920s by a Russian tribunal for his activities in the Ukrainian independence movement, but he had fled to Poland.

From there he went to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he was arrested by Nazi troops after Germany's occupation of that country. Ukrainian guerrilla fighters freed him, however, and he escaped a Nazi death warrant by taking refuge in a monastery.

From there he went to Prague, Czechoslovakia, in the Soviet Ukraine, the son of a Ukrainian count. He studied at the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Munich, receiving his doctorate from the last in 1914.

After World War I, his native Ukraine won a brief interval of independence and Mr. Smal-Stocki became envoy to Great Britain for the short-lived Ukrainian Democratic Republic from 1920 to 1922.

When the Russian armies retook the Ukraine he fled. He taught at universities in both countries before being arrested by the Germans.

After World War II, with the help of several high American officials who were acquainted with his career, including then Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., he came to the United States. From 1947 to 1965 he taught Slavic history at Marquette University, before coming to Catholic University. Mr. Smal-Stocki authored 15 books and many articles, most of them on Slavic history, his specialty.

In Washington Mr. Smal-Stocki was a leader in the effort to bring to this city the statue of Ukrainian hero Taras Shevchenko that now stands at 22d and P Streets NW.

During his life he had known closely Winston Churchill, Georges Clemenceau, Thomas Masaryk, and other world leaders.

He was a member of the American Historical Society, American Catholic Historical Society, and numerous other professional groups, many of which he served as an officer. He was curator of the Byzantine Slavic Arts Foundation in Washington.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 29, 1969]
DR. ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI DIES; UKRAINIAN EDUCATOR WAS 76

Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, philologist, educator and author, died Sunday at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington. He was 76 years old and was a former leader of the Ukrainian National Republic, an independent state from 1917 to 1920.

Dr. Smal-Stocki, who was born under Austro-Hungarian rule, received a Ph.D. degree, *summa cum laude*, from the University of Munich in 1914. He was active in the establishment of the independent Ukrainian state and was the councilor of its legation in Berlin. Later he was Minister of its Government-in-Exile in Berlin and London. He was also formerly deputy premier of the exiled government.

Between the two world wars Dr. Smal-Stocki was associate professor of the history, language and culture of the Slavic peoples at the Ukrainian Masaryk University in Prague and at the University of Warsaw.

After the conquest of Poland he was arrested by the Germans and interned in Prague until the end of the war.

He came to the United States in 1947 and was associate professor of Slavic history at Marquette University and later directed Marquette's Slavic Institute.

At his death Dr. Smal-Stocki was a visiting professor of the history, language and culture of the Slavic peoples and the history of the Soviet Union at the Catholic University of America and the head of the Ukrainian Studies Center at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary of St. Josaphat, both in Washington.

He was president of the American Shevchenko Scientific Society, with headquarters in New York. The society is named for Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian poet.

Surviving are a brother, Dr. Nestor Smal-Stocki, and a sister, Mrs. Irene Luckij.

PROF. ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI, UKRAINIAN SCHOLAR, EDUCATOR AND STATESMAN, DIES IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, outstanding Ukrainian scholar, educator and statesman-diplomat, died on April 27, 1969 at Georgetown University Hospital, after a short illness, at the age of 76.

He was a Visiting Professor at the Catholic University of America for the past few years, and resided at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, 201 Taylor Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.

Prof. Smal-Stocki was born on January 9, 1893 in Chernivitsi (Czernowitz), Bukovina, then under Austria-Hungary (now part of the Ukrainian SSR). He came from a prominent and distinguished Ukrainian family, holding the nobility title of von Rawicz, bestowed upon the family in 1685. His father, Dr. Stephan Smal-Stocki, a professor at the University of Chernivitsi, was an outstanding Ukrainian philologist, member of the Provincial Diet of Bukovina, and a leader of the Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina; his mother, Emilia, nee Zarevych, was born into a Ukrainian priestly family.

Upon his graduation from a *gymnasium*, Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki studied at the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig and Munich, where he specialized in Slavic studies under such prominent scholars as W. Wondrak, E. Bernecker and A. Laskin, in comparative Indo-European philology and philosophy under A. Kulpe and W. Wundt. In 1914 he received *summa cum laude* his Ph.D. degree at the University of Munich.

SCHOLASTIC CAREER

Dr. Smal-Stocki began his academic career in 1917 when he became a lecturer at the *Orientalische Akademie* (German Foreign Service School) in Berlin. From 1921 to 1923 he was Associate Professor at the Ukrainian Masaryk University in Prague, and in 1924-25 he was a guest professor at King's College of London University, the School of Economics, and Pembroke College of Cambridge University. Subsequently, from 1925-1939 he was Professor of Slavistics at the University of Warsaw, Poland, where he was also very active in Ukrainian cultural and political life. With the outbreak of World War II, he

was arrested by the Gestapo and was detained as a civilian internee for the duration.

In 1947 he emigrated to the United States and joined the staff of Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisc., where he taught Slavic history until his retirement in 1965; he was also Director of Marquette's Slavic Institute since 1949. From 1965 until his death he was a Visiting Professor at Catholic University of America and Director of the Ukrainian Studies Center at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, both in Washington, D.C.

PROLIFIC AUTHOR, DEDICATED EDUCATOR

Prof. Smal-Stocki's contributions to the studies of Ukrainian and Slavic linguistics are enormous. Early in his scholastic career he published *New Educational Trends* (4 volumes, 1917-1919, together with Prof. W. Simovych), *Studies on Ukrainian Linguistics* (together with Prof. I. Ohienko) and *Travaux de l'Institut Scientifique Ukrainien* (6 volumes). In 1929, with the establishment of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, Prof. Smal-Stocki became its secretary and editor; under his direction, 40 volumes of Ukrainian studies had been published. He also participated in the publication of a complete edition of works of Taras Shevchenko, and was editor of its 15th volume in Warsaw.

In the United States, under his direction there appeared 6 volumes of the *Marquette University Studies* and 18 volumes of *Marquette University Slavic Institute Papers* (edited jointly with Prof. Alfred Sokolnicki).

Prof. Smal-Stocki wrote many books in Ukrainian, German and English, among them: *Outline of Word-Building of Ukrainian Adjectives* (1921), *Significance of Ukrainian Adjectives* (1926), *Primitive Word-Building* (1929), *Ukrainian Language in Soviet Ukraine* (1935), *Shevchenko in Foreign Languages* (1936)—all in Ukrainian; *Abriss der Ukrainischen Substantivbildung* (1915) and *Germanisch-Deutsche Kulturinflüsse in Spiegel der Ukrainischen Sprache* (1938)—in German; and *Slavs and Teutons: The Oldest Germanic-Slavic Relations* (1950), *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism* (1952), *The Captive Nations* (1959), and *The History of Modern Bulgarian Literature* (1960, with Prof. Clarence A. Manning). In addition, over 78 scholarly articles and papers were written by Prof. Smal-Stocki in Ukrainian, Polish, Bulgarian, German and English.

As president of the American Shevchenko Scientific Society (since 1951) and president of the Supreme Council of Shevchenko Scientific Societies (Europe, Canada, Australia and the United States), Prof. Smal-Stocki contributed greatly toward the prolific activities and expansion of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the United States, which in fact is a free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Under his presidency, the Society organized two World Congresses of Ukrainian Free Science and hundreds of scientific conferences and lectures, dedicated to Ukrainian history, language, culture and science. The American section of the Society under his direction issued 18 volumes of *Proceedings*, 18 volumes of *Ukrainian Studies*, 31 volumes of lectures, 21 volumes of monographs, 9 volumes of *Proceedings* of various sections of the Society, 3 volumes of *Ukrainian Archives*, and 2 volumes of *Ukrainian Literary Library*, and several non-serial publications. He was the founder in 1956 and president of the Committee of American Slavic Learned Societies in New York and served as its president since that time.

POLITICAL LEADER, STATESMAN AND DIPLOMAT

Prof. Smal-Stocki was one of the great and outstanding Ukrainian political leaders, statesmen and diplomats who took an active part in the establishment of a free and independent Ukrainian state in 1917-1920. His political career began in 1915 when he joined the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine,"

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right, fair, reliable, and highly professional.

He is not only a great commentator, but a fine gentleman, and on the occasion of his 25th year of broadcasting in the political arena, it is a pleasure to join the many friends of Joe McCaffrey in saying—you are more than a "household word"; you are the voice of Capitol Hill. Keep up the good work.

LEGISLATION TO EXTEND THE GOLDEN EAGLE PASSPORT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, last year the 90th Congress in amending the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act repealed the annual Federal recreation area permit, known as the Golden Eagle passport. The Federal agencies still have authority to collect recreation fees, but after March 31, 1970, there will be no annual permit which may be used at all Federal recreation fee areas.

The Golden Eagle passport, of which 692,300 were issued between 1965 and 1968 and 403,100 so far in fiscal 1969, permits the bearer and everyone within a private vehicle and attached camper or trailer, to use one or all of the over 3,000 national parks, forests, and refuges, as well as other federally operated recreational areas, with the payment of a single \$7 fee.

I am convinced that the people in my district in Virginia, as well as for the many hundreds of thousands of other Americans, who enjoy the wonders of nature, the national parks, the national forests, and other Federal recreation areas, the Golden Eagle passport is an unsurpassed bargain in outdoor recreation. I think there is no doubt as to the interest in preserving this simple method of collecting this fee, either for the Government or from its user citizens. As personal opinion, if for no other reason than its simplicity, it ought to be maintained as an example that all acts of this Government are not confusing and complicated. Not only does the Golden Eagle passport benefit the hundreds of thousands of our citizens who travel across the breadth of this land in campers and trailers, it users also put revenues into the land and water conservation fund. This revenue helps finance such projects as Federal acquisition of additional authorized areas, multipurposes metropolitan parks, snow-ski areas, campgrounds, swimming pools, and bicycling paths in all the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and our territories.

After a slow start in 1965, when only \$633,600 in fees were collected, ever-increasing acceptance and demand has increased estimated receipts in fiscal 1969 to \$5,200,000. The Golden Eagle passport has proved its value and popularity. We must not let it expire.

Mr. Speaker, it is for these reasons that I offer for introduction legislation to

extend this program. My bill will establish separate fee programs for entrance to and use of areas administered for outdoor recreation and related purposes by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, and for other purposes. This bill will extend the Golden Eagle passport indefinitely. One small change will be made to the fee now in use; the present fee is to be increased from \$7 annually to \$10. This increase is acceptable to the users as reasonable and the funds collected are to be used directly for the users benefits. I have been told it is still a bargain.

Mr. Speaker, I urge early consideration and action on my bill.

RUSSIA AND THE "PUEBLO"

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, when the U.S. Navy ship *Pueblo* was hijacked by the North Koreans about 18 months ago, there was considerable opinion in some places that Moscow was terribly embarrassed by such a rash act, and that the North Koreans had committed this piracy in spite of Russian efforts to prevent it.

Opinions such as this come from the same people who are flabbergasted when a few months later Russian armies invaded Czechoslovakia. In the view of these people the Soviet Union was supposed to have renounced the use of power.

Insofar as information is available to the public today, there is no certainty that the Soviet Union played a role in seizure of the *Pueblo*.

However, a news item pointing in this direction appeared today, and I include it at this point in my remarks as a development of real interest to those concerned with this issue:

CZECH DEFECTOR SAYS RUSSIA SPARKED SEIZURE OF PUEBLO

A high Czechoslovakian defense official who defected to the United States last year said yesterday that the Soviet Union collaborated with North Korea in the capture of the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo*.

The assertion by Gen. Jan Sejna in a copyrighted article in the July issue of Reader's Digest runs counter to the official position in Washington that the Russians had little—if anything—to do with the *Pueblo*'s capture.

Sejna based his contention primarily on remarks he said were made by Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko while Grechko was drinking heavily at a party in Prague in May, 1967, and on the words of a Soviet general who announced the *Pueblo*'s seizure to the Czechs the day after it happened.

Sejna quoted Grechko as saying: "It is absolutely insolent the way the American sail their damn ships around as if they owned the water. Their espionage ships come right up to our shores to spy on our communications. But I can tell you this: We have decided to humble the Americans. Just as we humiliated them in the air by shooting down the U-2, we are going to humiliate them at sea by grabbing one of these ships."

Sejna said Grechko did not say when,

where or how this would occur but that he indicated the Pacific area had been chosen because it was considered an "American preserve."

He quoted Grechko as saying: "Our Korean comrades, of course, are not capable of carrying this off without us. But we will guide and protect them."

He heard nothing more, Sejna said, until Jan. 24, 1968, when Soviet Col. Gen. Aleksandr Kushchey, the chief Warsaw Pact representative in Prague, announced the seizure at a meeting at the Czech Defense Ministry.

"During the night we learned that, with the collaboration of our Korean comrades, we have achieved a great success," Kushchey was quoted as saying. He then told—with an air of surprise, Sejna said—how the *Pueblo* had "capitulated" without firing a shot, leaving thousands of undestroyed documents, and how "it took Washington literally hours to pull itself together and even begin to react."

Sejna said other Soviet officers later confirmed Kushchey's account, and subsequent briefings indicated that "the intelligence information the Russians were extracting from the *Pueblo* was immensely valuable."

Until February, 1968, Sejna was the Communist Party official in charge of political control of the Czech Defense Ministry and General Staff, and frequently saw Soviet and Warsaw Pact officials. He flew to the United States when Antonin Novotny lost power in the 1968 Czech political crisis.

REPORT OF SOUTH VIETNAM STUDY TEAM

HON. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, a U.S. study team made up of eight prominent individuals recently visited South Vietnam. The team was sent there by a group of well-known churchmen concerned about the war and by reports of political repression in South Vietnam. The members included our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) and a noted Jesuit, the Reverend Robert Drinan, S.J., dean of Boston College Law School.

I found the report of the U.S. study team illuminating as well as disturbing. I was, for instance, surprised to learn that although most Catholics in South Vietnam support the Thieu government, a significant segment is critical of the war and of the present Government. The team found Catholics who want a closer tie with the Buddhists, who are actively seeking an early peace. Many of these Catholics are seeking what some call a "third solution"—between communism and militarism. Father Hoang Quynh, for instance, who is an active member of the All-Religion Citizens' Front, has worked with Buddhists in trying to prevent further friction between the Buddhist and Catholic communities. There are other Catholics who are close to Pope Paul's VI's views on negotiations and peace. They have won the confidence of Buddhist leaders.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the study team our colleagues will study its report and I join with others in praising the gentleman from Michigan for his part in this important effort.

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NEVADA CHAPARRAL TEA, A POSSIBLE CANCER CURE?

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. BARING, Mr. Speaker, with all the talk and debate about cigarettes allegedly causing cancer and with the keen interest this past week in House passage of a cigarette bill, I feel research underway in my State of Nevada and neighboring Utah deserves attention nationwide in regard to the drive of mankind to cure disease.

Therefore, I offer for the RECORD today a report from the Nevada Ranch and Home News about a "tea" made from a Nevada bush which the Indians have apparently been using for years as a sort of cure-all. This Indian habit has drawn the attention of some doctors in Reno and Utah at the respective universities with the thought being that perhaps the so-called "tea" may be a cancer cure.

I submit the news release for inclusion at this point in the RECORD:

DESERT CREOSOTE BUSH SHOWS PROMISE AS CANCER CURE

A little "Chaparral" or "Indian" tea brewed from the leaves of the desert creosote bush just might cure cancer.

Sound like an Indian medicine man talking or maybe a barker for patent remedies? If current research proves fruitful, it could be a highly trained and expert medical doctor.

"I've kidded some of my students that maybe the intricate and sophisticated world of medical science is catching up with the medicine men," said Dr. Ronald Pardini, associate professor of biochemistry at the University of Nevada, who is engaged in research concerning the creosote tea. Dr. Pardini delivered a paper last Friday, June 18 at a regional meeting of the American Chemical Society in which he discussed phases of the research into a derivative of the creosote bush leaves that has indicated some promise as an anti-cancer drug. The meeting was held in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Staff members of the Biochemistry Department, College of Agriculture, at the University of Nevada including Dr. Pardini, Dr. Dean C. Fletcher, chairman of the Department, and James C. Heider, a graduate student working toward the Ph.D. have now been conducting research on the creosote bush derivative for a number of months.

Dr. Fletcher related an intriguing story about how the research got started. Interest was first generated, he said, at the University of Utah Medical School concerning an elderly patient who was suffering from a melanoma or cancer of the face which had metastasized or spread. Previous surgeries had not helped. A radical surgery was recommended for the removal of a considerable amount of tissue but the person, due to his advanced age, refused. The disease was felt terminal and the old man went back to his home in St. George, Utah to wait. Some months later he returned to the University of Utah and exhibited a miraculous recovery. When questioned the only deviation from his normal routine was the drinking each day of the "Chaparral" tea as recommended by an old Indian friend. At any rate, the man's story intrigued those at the Utah Medical School enough to seriously look into the tea.

Researchers at Utah, according to Dr. Fletcher, were able to isolate the active ingredient in the creosote leaves which appeared to

be the only material which might inhibit cancer growth. This was "Nordihydroguaiaric Acid" or NDGA. When extracted this appears as a white powder that can be chemically synthesized in the laboratory and administered in capsule form.

Dr. Fletcher, who is a member of the clinical faculty of the School of Medicine, Utah University, became acquainted with the drug and decided to experiment with it in Nevada. So far only the University of Utah and Nevada are working with the "tea". The two university's are cooperating in the research.

Dr. Pardini's particular phase of the study, and that which he reported upon at the Salt Lake meeting, is to determine the site of action of the drug or where in the cell it works and how it works. Previous to coming to Nevada, Dr. Pardini had been associated with the Stanford Research Institute where he had worked on screening tests for anti-cancer drugs. Specifically he had researched the phenomenon of mitochondrial functions within the cell. This is the portion of the cell where energy metabolism takes place. He had worked with various drugs which inhibit mitochondrial functions, and in turn inhibit cancer cell growth. Dr. Pardini found NDGA to be a potent inhibitor of mitochondrial enzymes. It also appeared to work specifically on diseased or cancerous cells and not on other cells. His work also showed that the inhibiting action of NDGA was specific to the compound and not a nonspecific antioxidant effect. He also postulated how it can work to inhibit tumor growth.

Meanwhile, Dr. Fletcher has been working with the medical fraternity in Reno in actually administering the drug to patients. Similar work is also being done in Salt Lake. In addition, researchers at Utah are gathering case history studies on Indian people who have traditionally taken the tea to determine how this might have influenced or effected incidence of cancer or certain types of cancer.

"All we can say at this time," said Dr. Fletcher, "is that the drug appears extremely interesting and interesting enough that we are continuing study on it."

In the "Chaparral Tea" derived from *Larrea Divaricata*, one of the creosote bushes of the Southwest and found in Nevada, may be some hope in the fight against cancer. Indians in the country have had faith in it for a long time.

THE ACCOMMODATING ASTRONAUTS**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 19, 1969, the Washington Daily News carried an editorial describing the flight of Apollo 10 and the contribution of Astronauts Stafford, Young, and Cernan to the Apollo program and to the future of manned space flight. The key facts of this editorial are that these astronauts place the importance of space exploration above their own aggrandizement. I commend this editorial to your reading:

THE ACCOMMODATING ASTRONAUTS

The trio of astronauts now on their way to the moon in the Apollo 10 spaceship have got to go down as three of the most accommodating men in history

Their predecessors in Apollo 9, who blazed the trail to the moon two months ago, had

the thrill of looking back across space and seeing Earth as a bright blue ball of life.

And in mid-July of the three astronauts aboard Apollo 11 two will have the incomparable experience of being the first human beings ever to set foot upon another celestial body.

So the three men now flying Apollo 10 are sort of middle men, short on glamor—relatively—but long on the services they are called upon to perform. For their flight is the dress rehearsal for the planned moon landing. They are to make the final checkouts of the lunar landing craft by twice descending to within nine miles of the moon's surface, and they are to take a close look at the landing sites targeted for July's history-making moment.

Yesterday, everything seemed to go off "on the tick"—blastoff from Cape Kennedy, the long rocket "burn" that headed them racing for the moon, and the needle-threading link-up of the command ship with the lunar landing vehicle.

We pray that the rest of the trip will go without a hitch and that the three—Tom Stafford, John Young and Gene Cernan—will return safely from their most obliging service.

HONOR PLEDGE OF FOUNDING FATHERS**HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. Speaker, "Honor Pledge of Founding Fathers" was the title of a very incisive editorial by the Taunton Gazette recently. In a time of considerable confusion concerning the spirit of the more radical members of the younger generation, this editorial speaks to a key issue which has often been overlooked. It addresses itself to the problems of method and mental attitude which are so important in determining the character of any movement for change. I offer the full text of the editorial for consideration by all my colleagues, who share my concern over the crisis of spirit in our society:

HONOR PLEDGE OF FOUNDING FATHERS

The revolts taking place on the nation's campuses are a "symptom of the serious moral duplicity in our history and culture as well as the perversion of values in our society," says a psychiatrist.

The students are wise to the "say one thing and do another" attitude that pervades society, says Dr. Charles de Leon, assistant professor of psychiatry at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio.

"They know that two of our greatest heroes, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, their flowery rhetoric about democracy and justice notwithstanding, were simple slaveowners."

This is, to be sure, fact of history. But before anyone condemns the American experiment as a monumental sham and colossal fraud, perhaps we may be permitted to ask a silly question.

If Presidents Washington and Jefferson were slaveowners, why is not President Richard Nixon a slaveowner?

Perhaps it is because Nixon is a Quaker, as was Benjamin Franklin, who spent the last years of his life vainly petitioning Congress to abolish slavery.

Well, then, why is not former President Lyndon B. Johnson, a southerner, a slaveowner?

The Pueblo: Who Is to Judge the Judges?

By JAMES RESTON

Secretary of the Navy Chafee says the Pueblo case is "closed," but an interesting philosophic question remains. Who is to judge the judges? The men who make decisions about war and the men who carry them out live by different rules. The first volunteer, for political office and most of the second are drafted to fight, and both, being human, make mistakes; but the fighters must answer for their missions and the men who ordered the missions do not have to answer and even sit in judgment on their men.

It is easy to understand why the senior officers of the Navy recommended a court-martial for Commander Lloyd Bucher. He broke the Navy's tradition of going down with the ship, and tradition is important. It is also easy to understand why Secretary Chafee rejected the court-martial, for the Pueblo was not only a naval and political disaster, but a rebuke to the United States as well as to Commander Bucher. And Secretary Chafee clearly wanted to bury it as soon as possible.

Any reasonable man would have done the same thing, but after the legal and political problems of the Pueblo are over, everybody is still vaguely uneasy. It is out of the headlines

but not out of sensitive minds. For Commander Bucher, while he may have been a weak and blundering captain, has become a symbol of the helpless individual directed and even humiliated by the judgments and power of the state—and this is almost the central conflict in our society today.

The 303 Committee

Consider, for example, the 303 Committee in Washington, which very few people, and probably not even Commander Bucher, have ever heard of, even now.

This is the committee charged with approving intelligence missions all over the world, such as the Pueblo mission off the North Korean coast. It is composed of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Under Secretary of State, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Presidential Assistant for National Security Affairs in the White House, among others.

These are human beings, too, subject to human error. They have primary responsibility for recommending these spy missions. They are above even the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the commanders in the Pacific, let alone Commander Bucher or his superior officers in Japan.

They approved the Pueblo mission. They made the judg-

ment that even a spy ship outside territorial waters would not be attacked, or at least that the advantage of the spy mission was greater than the risk. In the perspective of history, it was not an unreasonable recommendation to the President, but it proved to be wrong—and was even repeated by the 303 Committee and by the President after the Pueblo incident when they approved sending an unguarded spy-plane into the same area, only to have it shot down.

All made mistakes of judgment, but only Commander Bucher was held accountable and put through a medieval trial which exposed his agony and broke his spirit.

Maybe he was unfit for command. Maybe this orphan boy, pushed beyond his capacities, was too weak to be strong enough to risk the resentment of his crew. But other men chose him for command and pushed him into a situation beyond his capacities—and they are invisible, unidentified and uncharged.

Kennedy's Reflection

"Life is unfair," President Kennedy said, and this is the only point of the story. The misjudgments in the Pueblo incident were general. No one man was to blame, but every-

body was to blame, and only Commander Bucher was blamed in the end.

"A time will come," H. G. Wells wrote many long years ago, "when a politician who has willfully made war and promoted international dissension will be as sure of the dock and much surer of the noose than a private homicide. It is not reasonable that those who gamble with men's lives should not stake their own."

It is a hard philosophy and one wonders whether it will ever come true. But the Pueblo Case dramatizes the inequality between the men who give the military orders and the men who have to carry them out. There were politicians and naval officers who tried to prove that all would have been well if only Bucher had carried out the old tradition, and gone down with his men and his ship, but he defied the tradition and has now taken his rebuke.

It is the old Billy Budd dilemma of duty and conviction all over again. The individual has been punished and the institution has been spared. Secretary Chafee tried to soften the tragedy by saying: "They have suffered enough and further punishment would not be justified," so the novelists and dramatists will have to take it from here.

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RESULTS OF THE MINSHALL
 OPINION POLL

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
 OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert in the RECORD a copy of my May Washington Report in which are given the results of my recent opinion poll, a copy of which was sent to every home in the 23d Congressional District.

WASHINGTON REPORT: MAY, 1969

Results of the 1969 Minshall opinion poll reveal that the more than 25,000 people who returned their questionnaires were almost evenly divided over the controversial ABM . . . overwhelmingly in favor of a national popular vote and suspending federal funds to colleges which tolerate continued flagrant disorders . . . strongly opposed to the SST, 10% surtax and guaranteed annual incomes . . . Law and order—in all phases including civil strife—head the list of problems facing the nation, according to nearly a third of those polled. Taxes and inflation rank second, the war in Vietnam third . . . Percentage of returns this year reached an all-time high: I welcome this enthusiastic response and only regret that time and staff limitations prevent my personally answering each of you who added comments to your return. All were read with great interest. Results of the poll follow:

	[In percent]		
	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you favor 1 year of compulsory training for all young men? . . .	67.7	30.4	1.9
2. Do you approve of the proposed limited antiballistic missile system? . . .	45.4	45.2	9.4
3. Does the U.S. space program justify its cost? . . .	43.9	50.8	5.3
4. Should the voting age be lowered to 19? . . .	43.7	54.6	1.7
5. In cases of continued flagrant campus disorder, should Federal funds for the college involved be suspended until order is restored? . . .	78.6	18.8	2.6
6. Should the electoral college be replaced by a national popular vote for the Presidency? . . .	86.0	11.9	2.1
7. Do you favor financing the research and development of a supersonic transport aircraft at an estimated Government cost of approximately \$1,500,000,000? . . .	20.6	76.5	2.9
8. Are you in favor of continuing the 10 percent income surtax? . . .	20.3	77.4	2.3
9. Should the Government subsidize a guaranteed annual income? . . .	15.5	81.1	3.4
10. Do you think the Nixon administration has made a good start? . . .	63.0	26.5	10.5
11. If the Paris peace talks do not succeed in ending the war in Vietnam, what alternative would you suggest?			
	Percent		
Escalate the war and win . . .	30.0		
Get U.S. troops out of Vietnam now . . .	27.6		
Phase out, turn war over to the South Vietnamese . . .	14.4		
"Win or get out" . . .	8.6		
Negotiate elsewhere or call in U.N. . . .	3.9		
Miscellaneous suggestions . . .	4.3		
No opinion . . .	11.2		
12. What do you think is the principal problem facing the Nation today?			
	Percent		
Law and order . . .	30.9		
Taxes and inflation . . .	23.1		
Vietnam . . .	13.7		
Race relations . . .	9.4		
Big Government/excessive Federal spending . . .	6.1		

	Percent
Poverty . . .	3.2
Communism in the United States . . .	2.2
U.S. Supreme Court decisions . . .	1.0
Miscellaneous . . .	5.3
No opinion . . .	5.1

THE NAVY WAY

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS
 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Navy, John H. Chafee, yesterday announced that he has overruled a board of inquiry recommendation seeking a court martial for Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher, captain of the *Pueblo*. The Secretary's decision, I think, is eminently just.

Secretary Chafee pointed out that the entire Navy—the chain of command stretching all the way from the Pacific to Washington—shares responsibility for this incident. Circumstances that the Navy's high command did not anticipate thrust Commander Bucher into this cruel dilemma: surrender his ship, or sacrifice the lives of his men. Commander Bucher, I feel, made the wise and humane choice. Armed with only a few small machine-guns, surrounded by a veritable flotilla of North Korean speedboats bristling with armament, Commander Bucher realized that to resist would be to invite certain disaster. It seems plain, too, that armed resistance would have given the *Pueblo's* crew even less time to destroy classified documents and devices.

The officers chiefly responsible for this task—Lt. Stephen R. Harris and Lt. Edward R. Murphy, Jr.—have also been exonerated from the board of inquiry's allegations. Caught up in the chaos of a sudden armed attack, lacking adequate equipment for the destruction of secret material, unaware whether the North Koreans meant to seize their ship or merely harass it, these two men reacted predictably under the circumstances. It is easy—after months of pondering their plight and analyzing their options—to second guess Harris and Murphy. It is far less easy to carry out, in the midst of battle, a mission made virtually impossible by the Navy's lack of foresight.

If anyone is responsible for the *Pueblo's* seizure, it is the Navy's high command itself. The Navy failed to equip the *Pueblo* adequately, failed to brief her officers on the latest relevant intelligence reports, failed to prepare defense plans in the event of an enemy attack.

Yet the board of inquiry placed little emphasis on the Navy's failures, preferring to level charges at the victims of these failures. I am delighted that Secretary Chafee has ruled against the board's recommendations. I am delighted, too, that Defense Secretary Melvin Laird has made assurances that the records of the *Pueblo's* officers will not be blemished by this incident.

With permission, Mr. Speaker, I put in the RECORD at this point a Washington Post editorial dealing with the *Pueblo* incident:

[From the Washington Post, May 7, 1969]

THE NAVY WAY

It figured that the Naval Court of Inquiry into the *Pueblo* case would render a stern and starchy judgment, recommending court-martials for the two principal officers-in-charge on the ship, and reprimands or admonitions for failures of one sort or another on the part of three other officers intimately involved in the affair. Orders must be obeyed and ancient traditions served for the sake of military discipline. And it also figured as the case moved up for review, first by the Commander in Chief, Pacific, and then the Chief of Naval Operations, and finally the Secretary of the Navy, that justice would be tempered by compassion and a keen awareness that there was blame enough to spread rather liberally up through the higher echelons to the top men of the service.

This is the Navy way, or more correctly the military way, and it is understandable, as far as it goes. Down the line there is morale to think about; and at the top there is an instinct for self-preservation that is by no means unique among military men.

So there would be much to be said for forgetting this whole unhappy affair were it not for the fact that its ending somehow doesn't satisfy. "I make no judgment regarding the guilt or innocence of any of the officers of the offenses alleged against them," Secretary Chafee was careful to say, in setting aside the court's recommendations—and there is something to his argument that, if punishment were indicated, the three who were actually captured by the North Koreans have suffered punishment enough. The fact remains, however, that a cloud of sorts has been cast over them and not dispelled; the real test of the Navy's compassion will therefore come in the effect this cloud will have on their careers.

Secretary Chafee is a good deal less persuasive in his argument that the two other officers—and by implication, even more senior officers who had a hand in this the *Pueblo* mission—should not be punished because their "failure to anticipate the emergency that subsequently developed" resulted from the "sudden collapse of a premise which had been assumed at every level of responsibility and upon which every other aspect of the mission had been based—freedom of the seas."

If this was in fact the premise upon which the whole project was based, it is hard to see how the Court of Inquiry could then have found any grounds for recommending a letter of reprimand against Rear Admiral Johnson, for "failing to plan properly for effective emergency support forces for contingencies . . . and negligently failing to verify effectively the feasibility of rapid emergency destruction of classified equipment and documents . . ." Apparently there was some planning for the worst, some consideration that "freedom of the seas" was not protection enough; it just wasn't done properly.

Secretary Chafee put it rather well. The charge of failure to anticipate the emergency, he said, "could be levelled in various degrees at responsible superior authorities in the chain of command and control and in the collateral support structure." And he added: "The consequences must in fairness be borne by all, rather than by one or two individuals whom circumstances had placed closer to the crucial event."

Amen, Mr. Secretary. But is that an argument for letting the matter drop? There obviously is more here than has met the public eye—more about how these missions are cooked up, how they are reviewed by higher authority, how the risks are weighed, and what has been done to improve the odds that this sort of thing doesn't happen again. We are told by Mr. Chafee that "a variety of corrective actions have flowed and will flow"

from the Pueblo incident. But we aren't told what they are and it is not all that easy, any more, to take these things on faith. Perhaps Congress can elicit more light. Perhaps the Defense Department will, on its own accord. The one interest that hasn't yet been adequately served in the Pueblo affair is the right of an uneasy public, long since grown skeptical, to know.

SMOTHERED BROTHERS

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on April 8 I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter which I sent to Dr. Frank Stanton of the CBS network registering my objections to the dismissal of the Smothers Brothers by CBS. I should like at this point to place in the RECORD his reply:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, Inc.,
New York, N.Y., April 16, 1969.

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KOCH: By your letter of April 8 concerning the cancellation of the "Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour"; you accuse CBS Television Network "censors" of having "little respect for the intelligence of the 33 million Americans who regularly enjoy these talented and irreverent entertainers" and you charge "that a few cautious and humorless men can decide what political or religious satire can be televised on air waves that belong to the American people in the first place."

The action of the CBS Television Network was taken precisely because of its obligation to the public—not despite that obligation. The central issue involved here is whether a broadcast organization has a responsibility to the public with respect to questions of taste and, if so, whether it is entitled to establish reasonable procedures in order to exercise that responsibility. The Smothers Brothers made it abundantly clear that they were unwilling to accept the criteria established by the Network. Moreover, they failed to observe their contractual obligation to deliver tapes of their programs in time for review by the Network and for preview by closed circuit to stations affiliated with the Network.

In the larger question of taste, we recognize that there are no simple, across-the-board standards that will be appropriate to all audiences or all times. What is in good taste for one individual may offend another. And certainly of all art forms, topical satire and parody are the most difficult to assess. At the same time there is also the problem of reconciling two distinct responsibilities. On the one hand, we have an obligation to the ideals and purposes of creative art, and we try to do everything we can to expand creative freedom and encourage artistic expression. On the other, we have an obligation to the audience—and to its sense of decency, propriety and morality.

In your letter you seem to suggest that we should eliminate all standards of taste, and let the viewers fend for themselves. As a mass medium that seeks to inform and entertain, television must maintain standards, as must other mass media. Standards of taste are basic to any civilized society, and it is the main function of the mass media to reflect those standards. If television were to eliminate such standards, I suspect that you—as a public official and a concerned citizen—would be among the first to deplore broadcasts you found offensive.

An editorial in the current *TV Guide* (copy enclosed) puts it this way—"The issue is: Shall entertainers using a mass medium for all the people be allowed to amuse a few by satirizing religion while offending the substantial majority? The issue is: Shall a network be required to provide time for a Joan Baez to pay tribute to her draft-evading husband while hundreds of thousands of viewers in the households of men fighting and dying in Viet Nam look on in shocked resentment? . . . For all the Smothers Brothers' pseudo-intellectualism, it seems doubtful that they have encountered George Bernard Shaw's statement that 'Liberty means responsibility.'"

At CBS we try to be constantly aware of that responsibility. And the vast majority of the public, I am certain, would have it no other way. The CBS Television Network affiliates—who, under the law, must bear the ultimate responsibility for what they broadcast in their communities and surrounding areas—have endorsed the Network's cancellation of the "Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour."

In light of these considerations, I trust you will understand my dismay at your letter.

Sincerely,

Dr. FRANK STANTON.

EUGENE TIMOTHY KINNALLY

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL, of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it was less than 10 months ago that we gathered in the House on a very happy occasion. We were honoring a great and noble American and a very dear friend on his 50th anniversary as a congressional aide in the House of Representatives. We were joyous in our tributes to Eugene Kinnally and were happy to have the opportunity to honor him.

Today we join once again to pay tribute to Eugene Kinnally, but this time in great sorrow for he has left us. I am doubly glad today that we did pay tribute to Eugene Kinnally on July 18 of last year, for all too often it is only after death that appropriate tribute is made to great men and great friends. We were fortunate to have known Eugene Kinnally and it was our fortune to be able to honor him while he lived.

For more than 50 years this exceptionally good and kind man served as the confidant of legislators and administrators. For 50 years he was a behind the scenes technician of legislation. For 50 years he was a dedicated public servant. But more than that, Mr. Speaker, he was a loyal, able, and devoted friend. He was a man of great responsibilities who never tired. He was a man of tremendous tasks whose energy never diminished. He never sought the fame and praise that was due him. His only goal was to serve the Speaker, the Commonwealth, and the Nation. This he always did, and he did it with such great knowledge and ability that all who came near him benefited from his assistance, his intelligent advice, and his great kindness.

He had a multitude of duties that covered the entire range of our beloved Speaker's endeavors, but throughout his

hectic day he was never too busy to take time to give someone a reassuring smile or a kind, encouraging word. He was a patient listener who always gave sound and thoughtful counsel to those who sought it. He was loved on Capitol Hill as he was loved in his home city of Boston. He was respected not only for his great ability but also for his magnificent virtue, for he was one of the most charitable and religious men I have ever encountered. He was considered a living saint by his friends and relatives and this was entirely justified for he had none of the vices and all of the virtues.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said that virtue was its own reward. This must be true, for Eugene Kinnally sought no other and his goodness was increased by the good he did for others. Emerson also said that the only way to have a friend is to be one, and Eugene Kinnally had so many friends because he had befriended all he encountered.

I mourn his passing and I grieve at our loss. I will miss his great warmth and understanding, his sincere friendship, and his kind and noble character. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his family and to our beloved Speaker and also to us, for we have all lost a dear and trusted friend. May God be with his family in their time of sorrow.

LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE TAX AID TO SERVICEMEN IN KOREA

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud today to join my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. Wolff) in sponsoring legislation to provide American servicemen in Korea with the same tax benefits enjoyed by servicemen in Vietnam.

Our enlisted men in Vietnam are currently entitled to exclude all income received for services performed in and around that country in computing their taxes. Officers are permitted to exclude up to \$500 per month from their gross income when tabulating their tax returns. This exemption also applies to income received by a serviceman while hospitalized as a result of injuries received in a combat zone. As my colleagues are aware, the Vietnam area is presently the only area designated as a combat zone.

Our American soldiers serving in Southeast Asia are highly deserving of these tax benefits for their hazardous duty but the distressing fact is that such severe hostilities are no longer confined to Vietnam. The capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and the recent fatal attack on an American EC-121 by the North Koreans are strong indications of the growing perils faced by our servicemen stationed in and around Korea.

Here in the House we will shortly be considering legislation that exempts from taxable income, the salaries received by the *Pueblo* crew during their

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be free and take its rightful place among the peace-loving nations of the world.

We should note today the heritage which the Rumanian people who have come to the United States have so willingly shared with us. We are all richer because of the contributions Rumanian Americans have made to this country.

**DARTMOUTH COLLEGE'S 200TH
ANNIVERSARY**

SPEECH OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker—

An Institution—

Wrote Emerson—

is the lengthened shadow of one man.

Of no place may this be said with greater truth than of Dartmouth and Eleazer Wheelock. Alone among the pre-Revolutionary colleges in America, Dartmouth owes its existence to the vision, the energy, and the tireless effort of one man who, in the finest American tradition, journeyed to the frontier, to what was then truly a wilderness, and brought into being a college whose name has entered significantly into the pages of our national history.

Born of the enthusiasm generated by the great awakening, the first truly American major religious movement, Dartmouth's origin as an Indian charity school reflects the lifelong zeal of its founder for the upraising of the American Indian. Indeed, the special association of Dartmouth with the North American Indian lasted more than 15 decades until well into the 20th century.

Perhaps the most notable feature of Dartmouth's beginning is the absence from Governor Wentworth's charter in 1769 of any kind of religious test for student, teacher, president, or trustee, a truly remarkable provision for the age and wholly in tune with Dartmouth's long championship of freedom of speech and inquiry.

The Dartmouth College case of 1819, argued by Dartmouth's greatest son, Daniel Webster, before the Supreme Court of the United States, "did more than any other single act," wrote Chancellor Kent, "proceeding from the authority of the United States to throw an impregnable barrier around all rights and franchises derived from the grant of government, and to give solidity and inviolability to the literary, charitable, religious, and commercial institutions of our country." Little wonder the inscription over the entry to Webster Hall today reads:

Founded by Eleazer Wheelock, Refounded by Daniel Webster.

The story of Dartmouth over the past two centuries is at once a vital part of American history and a significant challenge to the present. At a time when universities and colleges across the land are in turmoil, crucial elements in Dart-

mouth's past appear strikingly relevant, from the peaceful action of the undergraduate body, which, in 1824, persuaded the trustees to admit Edward Mitchell, a Negro from Martinique, to the firm stand taken in 1830 by President Lord against student rioting—

Go, young gentlemen, if you wish; we can bear to see our seats vacated but not our laws violated.

Not without reason has one observer of Dartmouth through many decades—Prof. James Linn of Chicago University—speaking metaphorically of universities and small colleges as the department stores and gift shops respectively of American culture, described Dartmouth as "the great American college; vivid; the one Rubens in our collection."

While few today might share the belief of Eleazer Wheelock that Dartmouth's location "was not determined by any private interest or party on earth, but the Redeemer's," none could deny the beauty of her physical setting in the New Hampshire hills, nor the extraordinary aptness in context of her venerable motto, *Vox clamantis in deserto*: "A voice crying in the wilderness." In a day when the humane and civilizing functions of our colleges and universities seem threatened, these words, spoken by President Hopkins some 3 decades ago have special pertinence:

Ill nature, intellectual arrogance, and churlish intolerance are but sorry concomitants of any movement, but they are singularly out of place and tragically harmful in association with any movement which desires to be recognized as liberal.

For two centuries, Dartmouth has served this Nation and the larger human community as a voice in the wilderness, calling men to heed those counsels of reason, tolerance, and understanding without which civilization itself will surely perish. Never was her mission more needed nor her message more timely.

**LAW AND ORDER: A MORAL
RESPONSIBILITY**

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to announce that the winner of the Pennsylvania American Legion's annual essay contest is Miss Debbie Skiba of 4859 Londonderry Road, Harrisburg, who wrote on "Law and Order: A Moral Responsibility."

Debbie is a member of the National Honor Society and editor of her school paper. She will be awarded a \$250 scholarship and a trophy at the American Legion's State convention on July 17. Although she is quite talented in the literary field, Debbie is planning her future career in medicine. Her achievements to date point to a promising future.

It is gratifying to know that young people of Debbie's caliber actually make up the majority of our youth and if this

were not so we would be living in a state of anarchy with no hope for the future. The leaders of tomorrow will come from today's youth and I strongly feel they should be given every encouragement possible, rather than relegate their accomplishments to the back pages of the newspapers.

In her essay, Debbie has projected some very astute observations about the turmoil and dissension, given so much attention these days. She has expressed wisdom beyond her years and her admonitions are thought provoking.

Congratulations, Debbie, on a job well done.

**THE DECISION OF THE SECRETARY
OF THE NAVY REGARDING THE
"PUEBLO" INCIDENT**

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to comment on the announcement made yesterday by the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable John H. Chafee. I am referring to the Secretary's decision not to try or otherwise punish anyone involved in the seizure last year by North Korea of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*.

The Secretary carefully reviewed the findings and recommendations of the court of inquiry, of the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet, and of the Chief of Naval Operations. He then reached his own decision that all had suffered enough, that there will be neither trial nor punishment for the *Pueblo* crew, their commanding officer, Comdr. Lloyd Bucher, nor any of his superiors in the chain of command.

The Secretary made this decision even though it amounted to overruling some of the recommendations made by each of the lower reviewing authorities. But, Mr. Speaker, the basis for Secretary Chafee's decision is probably of greater significance than the decision itself. I should like to quote from his statement of yesterday:

The major factor which led to the *Pueblo*'s lonely confrontation by unanticipatedly bold and hostile forces was the sudden collapse of a premise which had been assumed at every level of responsibility and upon which every other aspect of the mission had been based—freedom of the high seas. At that particular point in history, the common confidence in the historic inviolability of a sovereign ship on the high seas in peacetime was shown to have been misplaced. The consequences must in fairness be borne by all, rather than by one or two individuals whom circumstances had placed closer to the crucial event.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Secretary Chafee's decision was eminently correct. I also believe that his reasoning is sound and well founded.

But, certainly, Mr. Speaker, we must be able to derive some indirect benefit from his shattering and tragic incident. The disregard of some and the lack of other international treaties has led virtually every coastal nation to the point of unilaterally establishing its own boundaries for territorial waters. As is well

known to all Members of Congress, the *Pueblo* has not been the only American ship recently involved in seizures by foreign nations well beyond the territorial limits recognized by this country.

As an essential concomitant to world peace is certainly mutually established and uniformly recognized international maritime boundaries. And I submit that the longer the family of nations waits to address this growing problem, the more difficult it will be to resolve.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a resolution expressing the sense of this Congress that the President of the United States consider appropriate steps leading to the convening of an international conference for the purpose of establishing a uniformly recognized boundary for the territorial seas of all coastal nations.

I sincerely hope that all of my colleagues who agree that this step is seriously needed without delay will join me by introducing similar resolutions and by supporting an effort to obtain early adoption of this resolution by the Congress.

REMARKS OF DEPUTY DIRECTOR HARTHON L. BILL, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, AT DEDICATION OF RESTORED SUPREME COURT ROOM, INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., APRIL 28, 1969

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, as a member of the National Historical Park Advisory Commission, I had the honor of attending an impressive ceremony in Philadelphia when the restored Supreme Court room was dedicated at Independence Hall in Independence National Historical Park. On this important occasion the deputy director of the National Park Service, the Honorable Harthon L. Bill, gave the following eloquent address, which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues:

REMARKS OF DEPUTY DIRECTOR HARTHON L. BILL, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AT DEDICATION OF RESTORED SUPREME COURT ROOM, INDEPENDENCE HALL, INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PHILADELPHIA, PA., APRIL 28, 1969

In his epitaph which Ben Franklin composed—at a relative early age—he referred to himself as “Benjamin Franklin, Printer.” One of the greatest men this nation has produced, Franklin’s list of achievements in so many diverse fields reflects the scope and depth of his mind.

And yet, throughout his long and distinguished career, he retained his interest in the craft of printing, installing a private press in his Paris residence and reporting back to America on new printing methods which he encountered in Europe.

For a number of reasons, the career of Franklin seems to me to epitomize our purposes in gathering here today.

Franklin was first a craftsman, who never lost his love for the work of his skilled hands. And part of our appreciation today should go to the many skilled craftsmen whose com-

bined talents have set a stage in this room which will help us recall, vividly, the events of a dramatic era of our history. Through them, we see this courtroom today much as it looked when the Supreme Court of the United States came here to meet in 1791.

Whether as scientist, philosopher, diplomat, or printer, Franklin pursued excellence. Much is being written these days about the quest for excellence, and sometimes you get the idea that if one were to put his mind to it, he too could achieve excellence.

Unfortunately, to pursue excellence calls for a degree of devotion and patience which Franklin had, but which is seldom encountered.

John Gardner, you will recall, turned a memorable phrase a few years ago when he declared that we much recognize there can be excellence or shoddiness in every line of human endeavor, and that we must honor excellence, however humble the activity, and scorn shoddiness, however exalted the activity. Or, Gardner wryly observed, we could end up as a society with neither plumbing nor theories holding water.

Franklin has a relevance, also, because he was a consequential participant in many of the events which took place in Independence Hall.

The National Park Service has, as you know, uncovered portions of the foundation of Franklin’s home, and I have appointed a special committee to recommend how best the Franklin Court remains can convey to park visitors the contribution of Franklin. Before we can decide, for example, whether or not to reconstruct Franklin’s home, we must answer the question, “why?”

Why, indeed, do we painstakingly restore historic buildings such as Independence Hall, or entire districts such as Society Hill?

The Colonists, who declared their independence here, fought the Revolutionary War in pursuit of an idea, a concept best expressed by Christopher Gadsden, that “There ought to be no more New England men, no New Yorkers . . . but all of us Americans.”

We have been engaged in a search for national identity ever since the arrival of the first settlers, by which time Shakespeare had already portrayed the British character. Franklin himself had begun to note “American Traits,” during the Revolution.

It is in the preservation of the important sites of our cultural heritage that we help our children to appreciate their identity as Americans.

But there is, perhaps, an even more critical reason for the saving of historic buildings and urban districts. The preservation of a great historic monument is one thing. The integration of such a project into a major effort to improve the quality of the urban environment and to enhance the life of each citizen is quite another. This, perhaps, is one of the greatest contributions of Independence National Historical Park.

Not too long ago, when most Americans lived in rural areas, conservation was concerned almost completely with preserving natural resources and landscapes.

Today, when nearly three out of four Americans live in cities, the most effective conservation work is being done in urban areas, by organizations such as the Old Philadelphia Corporation, the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, and your City Planning Commission.

Arnold Toynbee reduced his whole theory of history to a basic equation: How has this come out of that?

The answer to this question should determine what this nation will do to celebrate the 200th anniversary of its founding here in Philadelphia in 1776. What has truly been the flowering of the spirit of the American Revolution?

A few years from now, in 1972, the National Park Service will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Yellowstone as the world’s first national park. We, too, must

answer the question: How has a National Park System of 275 separate areas come out of the Yellowstone idea?

It has evolved in response to the needs of people. It is a long way from busy Chestnut Street in Philadelphia to the wilderness back country of Yellowstone, but both are part of the single fabric of our natural and cultural inheritance. And in a world of change, national parks must maintain their relevancy to the needs of the nation.

The completion of this Supreme Court Chamber of Independence Hall is another milestone in fulfilling the dream of men such as Judge Lewis for the Independence Square group of buildings which served as the seat of the Legislative and Executive Branches of our Federal Government. As funds become available, we hope to complete the second floor of Independence Hall so that concerts and other social activities, once a part of the life of the city, can be resumed.

I am delighted that the Chairman of the Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Arthur Kauffman, is providing the leadership for a fund raising drive to reconstruct the Graft House, where Thomas Jefferson wrote the draft of the Declaration of Independence. As you know, the Federal Government has agreed to provide matching funds.

We live in a highly technical age which threatens to submerge the individual, and to root out or cover over the elements of beauty and tradition in our lives.

The face of America, the nature of the environment in which we live, these are the standards by which historians at the 300th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence will rightly judge us.

Changes in our lives and in the face of our cities and our countryside are inevitable. But, let such change reflect the consensus of a deeply concerned and widely informed nation.

GENE KINNALLY

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sorrow that I learned of the passing of Eugene T. Kinnaly, administrative assistant to the Speaker of the House, and one of the finest men who has ever served the Congress of the United States.

A kindly and modest man who was as completely loyal to Speaker McCORMACK as it is possible for any man to be, “Gene” Kinnaly was the very model of a congressional assistant.

Like Speaker McCORMACK, he was a native of South Boston, a peninsula which juts out into Boston Harbor and is one of this Nation’s greatest incubators for public servants.

Fifty years ago last summer, he came to Washington to serve as the right hand of the late Congressman James Ambrose Gallivan who then represented the Ninth Massachusetts District.

He served with Mr. Gallivan until the latter’s death in 1928 and such was his own popularity that there were many in South Boston and Dorchester who urged him to seek election to Congress in his own right.

It is a matter of history that instead of seeking elected public office, he offered his support to a young attorney

sponse of "All right, sir," Brother Peacock would always have a rejoinder, "My, what a handsome jacket you have on," and the like, and so it always went on each Sunday morning.

You can see why it is that we love Carl Peacock. To know him is to trust him and respect him—as a man, as a teacher, and as a minister.

He demonstrates by Biblical example, the ministry he teaches and preaches.

Henry Adams once said:

A teacher affects eternity. He can never tell where his influence stops.

Certainly this is true of the Great Teacher. It is also true of those who follow in His footsteps.

THE NEED FOR AN INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY THIS YEAR

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

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of the 91st Congress, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and as a member of the Democratic caucus, I expect to use every strength I can muster to ensure action this year on an adequate increase in social security benefits.

The critical inflation-created needs of our elderly retired must be considered in this session of Congress. The will of the majority of Congress to meet these critical needs must not be suppressed.

Our elderly retired should not be allowed to become the scapegoat for an inflationary condition which engulfs all segments of our economy. They must not be left out.

Next year is too late to prevent millions of our elderly retired to fall from levels of self-sufficiency to despair and poverty. The inflationary impact of the last 2 years has driven several millions of our senior citizens below poverty levels of subsistence.

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

[Mr. MADDEN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

MR. EUGENE T. KINNALLY—A GRACIOUS MAN, A KNOWLEDGEABLE ADMINISTRATOR

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

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is a sad occasion today in which I join with my colleagues in expressing my sincere sense of sorrow for your loss of an able assistant and a devoted friend, Mr. Eugene T. Kinnally. The only solace to come from the passing of a trusted and loyal adviser is through the remembrance of association. I am mindful that the 41 years in which Gene Kinnally served yourself and this House faithfully will remain with us forever. He was a gracious man

and a knowledgeable administrator. More qualities than these you cannot ask. I share your loss.

A COMPARISON OF MODERNIZATION OF RAILROAD SYSTEMS

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

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, it was interesting to see a recent news release from the World Bank and the International Development Association announcing a \$17 million loan for the modernization of the Tunisian railroad system. Since our total share of World Bank-IDA funds is about 33.8 percent, it would seem that our contribution toward improvement of Tunisia's railroads is on the order of \$5,670,000.

Of course I am delighted to hear that this fine north African country will soon have the most modern of transportation facilities, but it does seem ironic that while the desert will flower, commuters in Connecticut and New York are but crushed petals doing battle to gain Federal assistance for modernization of rail facilities.

Mass transit in the Northeast is a national disgrace. I wonder if Connecticut could apply to the World Bank for a railroad modernization grant.

THE SUPREME COURT QUESTION

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

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the shocking disclosures this week regarding a member of the U.S. Supreme Court have already stimulated great public controversy. I certainly have no desire to use this incident as a weapon with which to bludgeon the entire Court for its actions of the past, present, or future.

It seems to me that the really fundamental question is whether we will take any action or attempt any action to prevent a recurrence of such incidents. What is truly sad in the aftermath of the Fortas affair is that doubts inevitably have crept in and been created in the mind of the public as to the integrity of the judicial process itself. This is something that far transcends partisanship or even the reputation of any single member of that Court. It is doubly tragic because it must be viewed in the context of the crisis of our times, which is the growing disrespect for law and contempt on the part of some for our basic institutions. Therefore I am today introducing legislation which would have the effect of repealing the tax-exempt status of any foundation which makes or offers to make a payment of any kind or description either under the guise of honorariums, grants, payment of trips, retainers, fees, and so forth, to any public official either at the Federal or at the State level or to any member of the courts, either Federal or State courts, while such public official is in office, or which makes any such payments to a Federal or State official during the 2-

year period following his retirement from such public office or position on our courts.

It seems to me that the public expects some affirmative action from the Congress and that this is one direction in which we can and should move.

SECRETARY OF NAVY DECISION ON "PUEBLO" AFFAIR

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

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, as a Navy veteran of World War II, I have followed the *Pueblo* affair very closely and read this morning's statement by Secretary of the Navy Chafee with great interest.

I concur with the Secretary's conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by further legal proceedings against the personnel of the *Pueblo*, either individually or collectively. The facts surrounding the loss of the *Pueblo* have been fully aired, and our principal concern should be to make sure that such a tragedy is not repeated. The court of inquiry was properly convened, and should be commended for proceeding in a thoroughgoing yet dignified manner, leaving no stone unturned to insure a complete historical record. However, I agree with the Secretary of the Navy that to carry out the court's recommendations as to punishment would merely protract and inflame this unfortunate chapter in our otherwise proud naval history.

JUSTICE SHOULD ACT NOW

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, according to the newspapers, Louis Wolfson, whose family foundation gave Associate Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas \$20,000, which Fortas nursed for 11 months before returning, has made some statements which ought to be of prime concern to the U.S. Department of Justice.

According to the Washington Post, Wolfson, only days before beginning a 1-year Federal prison sentence for his financial manipulations, alleged that his Federal prosecution had been full of "shocking double standards and injustices," and that he had turned down high-level offers of political assistance.

The Wall Street Journal says:

If Louis Wolfson is to be believed, he could have obtained a Presidential pardon last December, sparing him the anguish of a one-year jail sentence . . . for the illegal sale of stock.

According to the Journal:

Through political connections, the millionaire industrialist says he could have secured a pardon from President Johnson if he had asked for it. Wolfson says he received this assurance "from somebody who is as close as anybody could be" to Mr. Johnson.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the Justice Department will move immediately to answer the charge that it is guilty of "shocking double standards and unjust-

about which he will have to suffer long. But I want our Speaker to know that those of us who knew Gene Kinnaly loved him, even as our Speaker loved him, because he was selected by the Speaker and he fulfilled that confidence of the Speaker with a distinction seldom equaled and which he never failed.

I extend the sympathies of Mrs. Rivers and myself to the family of Gene Kinnaly, and also to our beloved Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I value very much the thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend from South Carolina.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. FLYNT).

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks that have been made on the occasion of the death of the administrative assistant to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Eugene T. Kinnaly.

Gene Kinnaly served the gentleman from Massachusetts as a Member and in the capacity as administrative assistant to the majority leader, and as administrative assistant to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, long and well. Through serving the Speaker he also served all the Members of this body and the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I share the grief and sense of sadness expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, our beloved Speaker, (Mr. McCORMACK).

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I value very much the very thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend from Georgia.

I now yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. EDMONDSON).

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in extending our deep sympathy to you and to your family and to the many friends and loved ones of Gene Kinnaly.

From my first visit in your office, Mr. Speaker, and my first experience with his kindness and with his consideration, I have treasured the relationship that I had with this fine man. I know he was a man of great heart and a man of compassion and of great understanding—a man who accepted responsibility and met his responsibilities bravely and tirelessly. I know how much of a role he played in the important business of the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I join my colleagues in extending our deepest sympathy to all who loved him.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma.

I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROBERTS).

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the distinguished Speaker of the House yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I first met Gene Kinnaly when I came here in 1940 with Speaker Rayburn and my first instructions were to see Gene Kinnaly and let him tell me what I ought to be doing for Speaker Rayburn.

He was my friend and close associate during all these years. I deeply appreciate the contributions he made to this country, and particularly to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the very thoughtful remarks of my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, it was very sad to hear this morning of the death of your dear friend and long-time administrative assistant, Eugene Kinnaly, who so competently served his congressional district, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Nation for more than a half century on Capitol Hill.

I know what a tremendous loss this is for you, Mr. Speaker, and for your beloved wife; because Gene Kinnaly was not only your loyal and efficient assistant, but a warm and constant companion to you and Mrs. McCormack.

Gene Kinnaly loved the House of Representatives and Capitol Hill where he had labored for 51 years. He first came here in 1918 as secretary to the then Congressman James A. Gallivan, and remained here with you after Mr. Gallivan's death in 1928.

Over this long period of years, Gene Kinnaly earned the liking, respect, and the admiration of his friends and associates on Capitol Hill and in the executive departments downtown. His loyalty, tact, warmth, poise and dedication will long be remembered.

A brilliant man, Gene was remarkably well versed in all matters touching on Government and politics. He was a member of the Massachusetts bar, and was admitted to practice before the Federal courts and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Gene Kinnaly had a breadth of experience and depth of understanding of the problems of constituents and colleagues, of his beloved city of Boston, and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. At his fingertips was a wealth of knowledge about what makes Washington run and the intricacies of dealing with Federal agencies. He had a genius for getting things done which endeared him to everyone beset by the complexities of Government.

Every visitor to the Speaker's office was greeted by Gene with the same friendly smile and warm welcome. I never knew him to turn away anybody who had a problem. He listened patiently and his very manner gave quiet assurance that every effort was being made to answer each request, resolve each issue, or solve each problem.

Through the years Gene Kinnaly was dependable, trustworthy, sincere, always willing to lend a hand to the new Members of the Congress, and always quick to offer his time, talents and encouragement in behalf of others.

Mr. Speaker, it was a great privilege and a pleasure to have known and worked with Gene Kinnaly. He was a devoutly religious man, who attended daily morning Mass and strolled away from the busy clamor of the Speaker's office each noontime for private prayer in nearby Saint Peter's Church on Capitol Hill.

Although we shall miss him and we mourn his death, Gene has gone to join his beloved wife, Alice Louise—Mulholland—Kinnaly, who was separated from him by death in 1948.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, like all of my colleagues here, I was deeply grieved to learn of the sudden passing of

that great, good, and kind gentleman, Eugene T. Kinnaly, who spent some 50 years in dedicated service to his country and to the U.S. House of Representatives.

For some 40 of these 50 years, he was the chief assistant to our beloved Speaker, and if ever there was a supremely capable, intensely loyal, and devotedly patriotic congressional assistant, it was Eugene Kinnaly.

To the great majority of us, he was affectionately known as "Gene." He personified the highest traditions and ideals of patriotic service; his superior talents, his modest personality, his kindly nature and cooperative disposition have become a legend on Capitol Hill.

He has left, for all of us to follow, an inspiring example of honor and excellence in memorable service to his country and his fellow man. No man can do more and each of us should strive to do as much. We pray that the Lord will grant him eternal peace.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the death of Gene Kinnaly and I am proud to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to this outstanding public servant.

I have known Gene since coming to the Congress and I always found him to be knowledgeable, resourceful, and above all cooperative. He was not only a strong right arm to our Speaker in his congressional career of 41 years, having also served Mr. McCORMACK's predecessor for 11 years, but he also rose to the rank of personal and affectionate friendship and I commiserate with the Speaker in the knowledge that Gene's passing is a personal loss to him much more than a professional one.

There is one other facet of Gene's character which bears reference. In a world which is increasingly dominated by material considerations and regard for wealth and temporary things, Gene retained the religious devotion unfortunately more characteristic of another day. I have often seen him at noontime making his way from the Capitol to nearby St. Peter's church where he paused each day in the midst of his busy load to attend a service of divine worship.

This then was the friendly, devoted, and saintly man whom we all remember with such affection. His passing is a loss not only to the Speaker and his family, but to the House of Representatives itself.

REV. CARL PEACOCK, TH. M.

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

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, may I express the appreciation of the House to our visiting Chaplain, Rev. Carl Peacock, Th. M. He serves at Edgewood Baptist Church in Columbus, Ga., and is my friend, as well as my pastor, there.

His love for people dominates his life and is the pilot for his ministry. When I think of him, the picture which comes to my mind most clearly is of him standing in front of the Sunday school building and leaning over to shake hands with my 8-year-old perpetual motion machine, Freddie, and saying on a man-to-man basis, "How are you today, Freddie?" And to Fred's standard re-

March 26, 1969

all age groups in both the fatal and non-fatal accident categories. Their rate was only one-third that of the rest of the licensed drivers.

In Illinois, a high-population State, not only do senior drivers enjoy the lowest accident involvement rate, but their accident propensities are less than half those of the youngest age group, and 12 percent better than that of the next best group.

Indiana's senior drivers have the lowest frequency of accidents of all age groups;

Kentucky's senior motorists boast the best accident avoidance records of all age groups, both with respect to the "all accident" category and to injury or fatality-producing collisions;

Senior drivers in Maine have proportionately fewer accidents than other age groups;

In Maryland, senior drivers excelled all other motorists as the most accident-free drivers;

Minnesota, where senior citizens represented 12.28 percent of the driving public—the highest proportion of any State surveyed—they are on record with the best accident avoidance performance of any age group in the State; also, the safety record of these senior drivers ranked third best among the 31 jurisdictions analyzed, after Washington, D.C., and New York;

Montana's senior drivers enjoy the lowest accident involvement rate among that State's motoring public;

Senior drivers lead New Jersey's safety parade both with regard to "all accidents" and injury-accidents; they average about the same as all other drivers with regard to fatal crashes;

The senior 8.8 percent of New York's drivers boast the second best accident avoidance record among the 31 jurisdictions studied;

In Ohio, another highly populated State, senior drivers outranked others in regard to accident avoidance;

Oklahoma's senior drivers ranked tops among the six age categories with regard to involvement in accidents;

Senior drivers ranked most favorably in Oregon both as to "all accidents" and injury-producing accidents;

South Carolina's senior drivers are involved in proportionately fewer accidents than any other age groups in the State.

Virginia senior motorists rank tops in accident avoidance among the State's drivers;

Washington senior motorists enjoy the finest accident avoidance record among all Washington drivers, Finesilver noted that these findings "parallel and confirm" an earlier noteworthy study, the Crancer report, on older motorists in Washington State.

Wisconsin's senior citizens also rank lowest in accident involvement among the State's six age groups.

The District of Columbia study shows that there is a direct correlation between an increase in age and a decrease of responsibility for accidents. The highest accident involvement in the District of Columbia is with the teenagers—78 out of every 1,000 are responsible for an accident. The middleage driver ranks

medium in accident involvement—50 out of every 1,000; and the senior driver enjoys the lowest accident responsibility factor—31 out of every 1,000.

These remarkable findings confirm that the older driver is certainly not the hazard some would portray him. Quite the contrary, drivers past age 65 represent a rational, responsible, and reliable segment of the motoring public. Insurance practices ought to reflect that fact.

The Washington Evening Star published a report of the University of Denver study at the time it was released. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD as a vivid reminder of the excellent safety marks earned by the Nation's older drivers.

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

DRIVERS OVER 65 RATED AMONG SAFEST ON ROAD

DENVER.—Motorists over 65—long a scapegoat in analysis of the nation's spiraling accident rate—actually are among the safest drivers on the road, a University of Denver study showed yesterday.

The study, covering 31 states in all regions of the country, showed senior drivers averaged 37 percent fewer accidents than the proportion of accidents to numbers of drivers would indicate.

Although senior drivers represented 7.4 percent of all drivers in the states surveyed, they were involved in only 4.8 percent of the accidents.

Denver Dist. Judge Sherman G. Finesilver, head of the study team said it "will be pivotal in refuting current popular thinking about older drivers."

Senior drivers averaged the lowest of all age groups in frequency of injury-producing accidents. Older motorists averaged 40 percent below their proportionate share of the driving population.

Senior drivers also averaged slightly less fatal accidents—about 7 percent—than their proportion would dictate. Finesilver said it was possible the difference in fatal accidents was less surprising because older persons are less able to recover from injuries.

Commissioner William Mechill of the Federal Administration on Aging said he hoped the study will eliminate misconceptions about licensing and insuring senior drivers.

"I hope that it will lead to a cessation of arbitrary practices and attitudes directed to older drivers and ultimately create fairer, more enlightened practices in licensing and insuring of older drivers," Bechill said.

The study was financed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

SMOG CONTROL IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on March 17 the Oakland Tribune did an editorial urging the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to grant to the State of California a waiver which is required under my amendment to the Air Quality Act of 1967, unless the Secretary proves that the California standards are not technologically and economically feasible.

I submitted a statement to the Department urging that the complete waiver as requested by the State of California to implement the State's pure air act of 1968 be granted.

Mr. President, because of the importance of this issue, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

SMOG CONTROL STANDARDS

The Federal Government assumed primary jurisdiction for establishing and enforcing automobile smog control standards when Congress passed the Federal Air Quality Act of 1967.

Because California's scheduled standards were stricter and were aimed at a more critical smog problem than exists elsewhere, Sen. George Murphy secured passage of an amendment authorizing the granting of a waiver for this state.

The Federal Government is required to grant the waiver unless the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare determines that California's proposed standards are not necessary and are not technologically and economically feasible.

A series of public hearings have been held on California's request for the waiver. When these formalities are concluded and when the testimony presented is fairly evaluated, we trust that California's request will be granted.

The Murphy amendment was passed because Congress acknowledged that the special conditions existing in California might require tougher state smog control standards than those incorporated in federal regulations. The State must and should have the authority to establish its own air pollution standards so long as they do not fall below the federal minimums.

THE "PUEBLO" INCIDENT—GENERAL MCKEE DOES ANSWER

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, on March 4, 1969, I referred to views of the distinguished and able Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK) which suggested publicly raising some pertinent questions regarding the *Pueblo* incident. It was suggested that the Government respond to these questions, and there has been some response in the testimony of Lt. Gen. Seth J. McKee, U.S. Air Force Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, formerly commander of the U.S. 5th Air Force at the time of the *Pueblo* incident.

Also on March 4, 1969, the Senate gave its unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Let the Senate Investigate" from the Cheyenne, Wyo., State Tribune of January 25, 1969, be printed in the RECORD. The editorial noted that a Long Island newspaper, *Newsday*, had alleged General McKee made a decision not to send Air Force fighters to assist the *Pueblo*. The Cheyenne newspaper suggested that General McKee be afforded the opportunity to testify publicly on what took place.

The House Committee on Armed Services Special Subcommittee To Inquire Into the *Pueblo* Incident gave General McKee that opportunity March 20, 1969.

General McKee's testimony shows he did, in fact, order Air Force fighter aircraft to assist the *Pueblo*, but that because of distance involved the aircraft were unable to reach the *Pueblo* before darkness.

Since questions were raised earlier as to whether General McKee did issue proper orders in regard to the *Pueblo* incident, I ask unanimous consent that his statement before the House subcommittee be entered here in the RECORD.

March 26, 1969

On the heels of this pronouncement came an arrangement for the sale of land to U.S. military commissaries abroad, and this effort may be extended to the Antarctic and U.S. bases there.

This could be the time for sheepmen in the United States to discuss some sort of an agreement.

PROPOSED REREFERRAL OF SUBMERGED LANDS BILL

Mr. JACKSON, Mr. President, on Thursday, March 20, the distinguished junior Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) introduced a bill to amend the Submerged Lands Act with respect to the seaward boundary of certain States. This measure was assigned the number S. 1619, and was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

It will be recalled that the Interior Committee was the unit of the Senate to which in 1953 was referred the measure that formed the basis of the Submerged Lands Act which S. 1619 would amend. This measure was Senate Joint Resolution 13, 83d Congress, and it was sponsored by the able Senior Senator from Florida (Mr. HOLLAND), for himself and 39 Senators from both sides of the aisle. Senate Joint Resolution 13 was the latest in a long series of bills dealing with the so-called, but miscalled, "tidelands" issue.

Under the acting chairmanship of then Senator Guy Cordon, of Oregon, the Interior Committee held hearings on the Holland bill as it had on previous submerged lands bills in the 81st and 82d Congresses. Some 13 days of hearings were held, beginning on February 16, 1953, and concluding on March 4. The committee met in executive session for 4 days to work out amendments to the resolution; it was reported out with minority views, and the text of Senate Joint Resolution 13, as amended by the Interior Committee, was passed by the Senate on May 5, 1953. The House accepted the Senate amendment, and the measure was signed by President Eisenhower on May 22, 1953, to become Public Law 31 of the 83d Congress.

I cite the details of the legislative history only to establish that in at least three Congresses measures in the Senate respecting the submerged lands have been referred to the Interior Committee, and it was the text, substantially, of the Interior Committee's bill that became the law that S. 1619 of this Congress would amend.

As the Members of the Senate know, the Submerged Lands Act was and is part of a legislative package, so to speak, with the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act. The former deals with the lands inside the sea boundaries of the States, which were clearly established for the first time by the Submerged Lands Act. The other, the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, deals with the lands beyond the States' sea boundaries.

Significantly, when the very able junior Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON) introduced on February 28, 1969, his bill, S. 1219, which concerns operations under the Outer Shelf Act, this measure was, properly, referred to the Interior Committee.

Now, I am aware that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1948 provides that proposed legislation affecting "State and Territorial boundary lines" shall be referred to the Judiciary Committee. However, Mr. President, in view of the long and clear history of referral of submerged lands legislation to the Interior Committee, I submit that the quoted provision means, or certainly has come to mean, boundary-line problems between a State or a territory and another State or territory—not between a State or territory and the Government of the United States.

Therefore, Mr. President, in view of the legislative history and the precedents, when S. 1619 is called up I shall move that it be re-referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for consideration.

THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION ON THE ABM SYSTEM

Mr. MURPHY, Mr. President, in announcing his decision on the anti-ballistic-missile system, President Nixon once again displayed those qualities of leadership which have made the beginning of his administration such an outstanding success.

It is heartening to see the favorable response which his studied and intelligent approach to the complexities of the anti-ballistic-missile decision has brought from the people. One such example is an editorial in the March 17 National Observer and I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE VERDICT ON ABM—A SOVIET TEMPTATION?

The President's decision on missile defenses must be viewed in psychological as well as military terms. As such, the decision made good sense, and could ultimately do much to slow down the arms race.

The most vocal critics of the decision won't see it that way. They will see it simply as a triumph of the "military-industrial complex" over those who would strive for arms-limitation agreements with the Soviet Union. But any talk of conferring with the Russians about arms or anything else requires a good measure of guesswork about what the Russians really intend. So any decision on an anti-ballistic-missile (ABM) system—even a decision to defer a decision—would be a gamble. Mr. Nixon has made the best gamble.

First of all, Mr. Nixon's decision is less likely to provoke the Soviets than would a decision to push ahead with the Sentinel system. A decision to protect the cities, if that were truly possible, could be interpreted by the Russians as a way to blunt a Soviet retaliatory attack against the American population after a U.S. first strike.

Mr. Nixon's decision also recognizes a brutal but apparently unavoidable fact. It is now not possible to provide adequate protection for the American population against Soviet missiles. The best defense, the President has concluded, remains the nation's second-strike capability—the ability of this country to inflict unacceptable losses on the Soviet Union, or any other nation, should that nation decide to launch nuclear missiles against the United States.

The United States and Russia each have the capability to destroy each other many times over. This raises a good question: Is a defense system really necessary to protect

American offensive missiles, or aren't there already enough—or soon to be enough—land-based and seaborne missiles available to survive any first strike by Russia or anybody else?

Perhaps there are. But the arms race being what it is, the Soviet Union might easily be tempted to increase its offensive arsenal even more, with the goal of developing an attack that could destroy much of the American offensive arsenal. A defense system to protect U.S. long-range missiles could discourage such a step-up in arms competition.

The Nixon decision also means that the United States will go into any arms talks with Russia having made a determination to employ a missile defense. This certainly gives this country a better bargaining position than it would have had had Mr. Nixon decided against any deployment, or decided to delay a decision on deployment. A decision to delay would leave great doubt in Soviet minds about American intentions.

Mr. Nixon's decision has left the next move in the quest for weapons control up to the Russians. His statement last week was conciliatory, and left plenty of openings for the Soviets if they truly wish to slow down or stop the arms race.

OLDER DRIVERS RANKED HIGH IN DRIVER SAFETY

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. President, last year during hearings on automobile insurance coverage, I told the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee that older drivers are being penalized—because of their age—by the insurance companies. It seemed to me that preliminary data confirmed what I had long suspected: many motorists in their seventies, sixties, and even late fifties, are left without coverage because of arbitrary cancellation of their automobile insurance—in spite of consistently good driving records.

Now the point has been corroborated by the final results of a study conducted with funds from the Administration on Aging. The plain fact is that motorists over 65 may be among the safest on the road. For those who think that living past 65 automatically reduces an individual's capabilities, the study should be a revealing glimpse into the safe and steady world of the older driver.

Conducted by the University of Denver College of Law, the study examined the driving records of 30 States and the District of Columbia. It found that senior drivers averaged 37 percent fewer accidents than expected, based on their proportion of the driving population. Judge Sherman G. Finesilver, head of the study team, points out that the nationwide survey shows senior drivers to have better records, by comparison, as their number increases in the total driving population of a given State.

Judge Finesilver supplied the following highlights of the State-by-State survey:

In Arizona, a State with a large senior population, the older driver ranks second lowest in accident involvement among the six age groups studied;

Delaware's senior drivers enjoy the lowest accident rate of any of the six age groups; namely, under 24, 25 to 34, 35 to 44, 45 to 54, 55 to 64, and 65 and over;

In the District of Columbia, senior drivers had the lowest accident record of

March 26, 1969

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

STATEMENT OF LT. GEN. SETH J. MCKEE, U.S. AIR FORCE, ASSISTANT VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. AIR FORCE, WASHINGTON, D.C., FORMERLY COMMANDER U.S. 5TH AIR FORCE, FUCHU AIR STATION, JAPAN, FROM AUGUST 1, 1966 TO JULY 1, 1968, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO THE "PUEBLO" INCIDENT, MARCH 20, 1969

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I am Lt. General Seth J. McKee, Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, United States Air Force. At the time of the *Pueblo* incident, I was Commander of the United States Fifth Air Force, with headquarters at Fuchu Air Station, Japan.

I welcome this opportunity to answer questions you may have concerning the Fifth Air Force role in connection with the *Pueblo* incident. Based on public media statements it appears that two of the central questions relating to the Fifth Air Force role are: (1) Why were Alert Aircraft not provided; and (2) Why were aircraft not sent to relieve the *Pueblo*? Perhaps my response to these questions will further your investigation and provide a background for additional questions you may desire to ask.

In order that my response to the first question may be fully understood, I believe it appropriate that I provide some background regarding previous Fifth Air Force association with this type mission.

Prior to the *Pueblo* mission, her sister ship (the U.S.S. *Banner*) was used for this type of mission in the waters that were in the Fifth Air Force Geographical area. Of some sixteen missions known at Fifth Air Force to have been planned or conducted by the U.S.S. *Banner*, Air Force Alert Aircraft were requested of Fifth Air Force by the Navy for three of them. On one additional occasion, a request was made that air support forces be notified of the area and time frame of the mission, and this was done; however, no request was made for alert aircraft, and no aircraft were committed to alert. Of the three missions for which we planned air support, one request for support was cancelled by the Navy due to mission cancellation, and two missions were supported by Fifth Air Force with aircraft and crews on alert.

The first mission Fifth Air Force supported was mission number nine for the *Banner*. Coordination between CINCPACAF, CINCPACFLT, Fifth Air Force, and COMNAVFOR Japan, established the alert requirement, the rules of engagement, and the alert posture to be maintained. Coordination with elements of the Strategic Air Command was effected to provide in-flight refueling for the fighter aircraft. Copies of the CTF-96 Operations Order which detailed the ship's operations and procedures were distributed to Air Force units, and Fifth Air Force and subordinate units issued implementing instructions. The *Banner* was directed by the Navy to add the Air Defense Control Center at Naha, Okinawa, as action addressee on assistance requests, and to perform a communications check with the Naha Air Defense Control Center when the ship arrived in the operating area. The Defense Control Center at Naha was directed to forward any request for assistance to my Fifth Air Force Command Center by flash precedence, with information copies to CINCPAC, CINCPACAF, CINCPACFLT, and COMNAVFOR Japan. Direct voice communications would be used as back-up. Additional communications procedures were established to be used by the ship and the alert aircraft, and standard visual and voice identification signals were established to aid in spotting the vessel in relation to other surface craft. Fifth Air Force aircraft were then committed to the alert (in Okinawa) with the stipulation that they would be utilized only when directed and as considered

appropriate by CINCPAC or higher authority. The authority to launch aircraft was subsequently delegated to me as Commander, Fifth Air Force, with the restriction that it could not be delegated lower. Aircraft were placed in incremental launch reaction time of 5 minutes, 15 minutes, 30 minutes, and one hour, with the provision that upon call from the *Banner*, or upon launch of any aircraft, all others would go to cockpit alert. Reaction time from first notification to the *Banner* operating area would have been approximately 45 minutes. This Fifth Air Force alert posture was in fact maintained from the time the ship arrived in the operating area, until seven hours after it departed that area.

Similar coordination between the various command and control agencies occurred on each of the missions for which Fifth Air Force was requested to plan or to provide air support. In the case of the *Pueblo*, no Fifth Air Force support was requested. Therefore no alert was provided, just as no alert was provided the *Banner* in those instances where none was requested.

I have gone into these details, Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen, to underscore the fact that when aircraft are dedicated to an operation, and committed to an advanced alert, these aircraft are dedicated to the specific operation by command directive, and brought to that state of readiness only through carefully planned, coordinated, and directed actions.

With reference to the second question, as to why were aircraft not sent to relieve the *Pueblo*, I would like to emphasize that contrary to articles that have been published in the newspapers, no decision was made at Fifth Air Force to not send aircraft to relieve the *Pueblo*. In fact, I personally made the decision to send aircraft, issued appropriate orders to effect such action and Fifth Air Force fighters were launched.

We began launching fighter aircraft out of Okinawa (where my only operationally ready combat units were located) as rapidly as possible. Unfortunately, they could not get to the scene prior to darkness or prior to the time that the *Pueblo* entered the three mile limit. Therefore after they landed in Korea, it was too late to refuel and relaunch in support of the *Pueblo*.

The first notification to my headquarters of the *Pueblo*'s predicament was by a secure phone call to a member of my staff. This was followed by two closely spaced critic messages citing the *Pueblo*'s position and first call for help. These were received in the Message Center at 1357 and 1407 Local (0457Z and 0507Z) respectively. Following receipt of the phone call, my staff plotted the ship's position, checked the availability of aircraft, and proceeded to my office where I was receiving a previously scheduled briefing. The staff members brought with them the message that had been received at 1407. I was personally notified and promptly briefed on the *Pueblo* situation at 1415 Local (0515Z). I immediately proceeded to my Command Center which was a two to three minute walk from my office, and placed near simultaneous phone calls to CINCPACAF in Hawaii and to the 18th Tactical Fighter Wing in Okinawa. While waiting for CINCPACAF to get to the secure phone in his headquarters, I directed the Commander of the 18th Wing to prepare all available aircraft for launch as soon as possible. Knowing that available aircraft would be in a normal training configuration, I directed that the first six aircraft be launched armed with 20 mm cannon only in order to expedite their arrival in South Korea.

About this time CINCPACAF came on the phone. I advised him of the *Pueblo* and its state of stress and of actions that I was taking. I further advised him that it was my intent to strike in support of the *Pueblo* provided I could get aircraft to the scene

prior to darkness and prior to the time the ship reached the three mile limit. CINCPACAF concurred in my actions and told me to carry on with my plans unless advised by him to the contrary. I then passed these instructions on to the Commander, 18th Fighter Wing, with the further instruction that his aircraft would stage through Osan, Korea, because the scene of action, with recovery in Korea, was beyond the range of the F-105s stationed in Okinawa.

I then directed all other Fifth Air Force units (which were all in the process of converting to a new type aircraft) to bring all possible aircraft to operational readiness and to prepare for deployment as rapidly as possible. The 18 TFW on Okinawa launched the first increment of aircraft at 1611 Local (0711Z), which was one hour and twenty-three minutes after I gave the order to launch. This involved recalling seven aircraft from training flights, diverting six from various stages of training preparation, servicing all aircraft, and briefing aircrews.

A later incoming critic message reported that the *Pueblo* had been boarded and had gone off the air at 1432 Local (0532Z). At 1645 Local (0745Z) CINCPAC Headquarters replotted the position of the *Pueblo* and reported the ship was estimated to be in the harbor at that time. It was somewhere around this time that I came to the unhappy conclusion that we would arrive too late to be of assistance to the *Pueblo* and so advised Headquarters PACAF. The first F-105s which were launched from Okinawa arrived at Osan at 1735 Local (0835Z). Sunset at Wonsan was 1741 Local (0841Z) and darkness at 1753 Local (0853Z). Obviously later arriving aircraft were also too late to be of assistance.

Therefore, in answer to the second question, Fifth Air Force aircraft were sent to relieve the *Pueblo* with orders to attack, but, regrettably, they could not get there before the ship was captured and in port.

Gentlemen, this concludes my prepared statement. I would be happy to respond to other questions that you may have at this time.

GENOCIDE: WE MUST ACT NOW— XXIX

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President: take 5 quarts of water, 6 pounds of human fatty acids; add 8 ounces of caustic soda. Boil for 2 or 3 hours, then cool.

As late as 25 years ago, this formula was practiced and perfected for the manufacture of soap. The second ingredient is stated correctly—it calls for "6 pounds of human fatty acid." A civilized mind can only be disgusted by such an unappetizing recipe.

And for the victory gardens of the Third Reich, after wide research and experiment, the perfect fertilizer proved to be the ashes of human bodies.

Dachau, Treblinka, Belsen, Auschwitz—these are but a handful of the places where Nazis flirted unceasingly with the most precious commodity we know, a human life. For example, at Auschwitz alone, 17 tons of gold were extracted from the dental fillings of slaughtered men, women, and children. As a caveat for those unfortunate living dead, an infant would be torn in two by ripping apart his legs.

Mr. President, my purpose in citing these atrocities, these crimes against humanity, is not to rekindle old flames of hatred and revenge or to encourage further retribution of those guilty, but rather to make a plea to the living. We must respect the sacrifice of these mil-

lions of fellow human beings, and we must at this time make a solemn vow that we will never again, as civilized people, allow such inhumane annihilation to occur on this earth.

For the last 20 years, the Genocide Convention has been stalled in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. We cannot conveniently blame our inaction on the State Department, the Executive, or the House of Representatives. This time, the Senate alone and each of us as Senators must accept individual responsibility for our collective failure to act.

The very keystone in the defense of peace is universal condemnation of genocide. Let the Senate follow the lead of almost 70 other countries and now, in 1969, ratify the United Nations convention on genocide.

AN ABM APPROACH FOR HAWKS AND DOVES

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the substantially modified anti-ballistic-missile system proposal endorsed by President Nixon on March 14 has given Members of Congress a rare opportunity. Those among us who have been labeled "hawks" or "doves," either by editorialists or self-professed, have the unusual chance to shed these labels and build themselves new images.

The administration's proposal bears the mark of the statesman—the mark of compromise, often so difficult to achieve but often so essential for the welfare of the United States and the people of this planet.

At the same time, this proposal does not compromise our national security, nor does it feed the costly fires of an arms race. It is a realistic and reasonable approach. It is the best offered to date.

Mr. Saul Friedman, of the Akron, Ohio, Beacon-Journal has made some observations about the administration proposal. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

NIXON'S "LITTLE ABM" HAS WINNER SIGNS
(By Saul Friedman)

WASHINGTON.—Once again, President Nixon is carrying water—or in this case anti-ballistic missiles (ABM)—on both shoulders.

But in his attempts to head down the middle of the ABM controversy, the President may have given his critics, especially Democrats, their first real reason to fight with the new administration. In short, the honeymoon may be at an end.

Yet a strong argument can be made that his plan for the deployment of the ABM, has given much more to the opponents of the missile system than to its supporters. For that reason it now has a better chance for approval in Congress.

At his Friday press conference, the President said he thought his plan would pass after a close vote. There were signs he may be correct.

Not only did Nixon withdraw the missiles from the cities, at least for the present, he also backed off even further from the original Johnson Administration deployment plan.

Here is what Nixon gave the ABM doves: He rejected a "thick" or "thin" system to

protect the cities, thus deflating criticism that it would not work, that it would be too costly, and that it would upset the strategic balance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and begin a new round in the arms race.

He cut deployment of the ABM back from 15 sites in the Johnson Administration plan, to just two sites.

The primary purpose of Nixon's plan is to protect American Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) sites, rather than cities. This would protect the U.S. ability to retaliate, or give a better "second strike." The Nixon plan strengthens the U.S. "deterrent," and may stabilize rather than upset the arms balance.

Finally, Nixon has reduced by nearly \$1 billion the Defense Department appropriations request for work on the ABM next year. The amount requested for the Johnson proposal was \$1.8 billion.

Nevertheless the hawks were more satisfied than the doves, because they too got some significant concessions.

Most important, if Nixon's plan is approved, the ABM foot will be through the door. Citing the beginning of other weapons systems which have grown like topsy, ABM critics expect that once started, the system will be unstoppable and will expand into a \$100 billion giant.

AN INDEPENDENT SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Urban and Rural Economic Development of the Select Committee on Small Business, I am well acquainted with the plight of the urban small businessman.

In my home State of New Jersey, which is, as Senators know, highly industrialized and urbanized, I feel that the Small Business Administration has done a splendid job in dealing with the many business problems facing the urban small businessman. SBA has several excellent programs which can be tailored to the need of either the urban or rural small businessman. That agency has in almost every case brought these programs to bear effectively in resolving small business problems in New Jersey.

I have always considered one of the great advantages of small business to be that a small shopowner or storekeeper has an opportunity to meet his customers, hear their complaints, and make sure that his business measures up to his own high standard of excellence.

This same analogy is true with regard to the SBA. It is a small, decentralized, Government agency. SBA has field offices in every State in the Nation, and it is highly responsive to the people and vastly more effective than some of the larger bureaucracies centered in Washington.

I am concerned over recent reports and rumors that the SBA will be transferred to the Department of Commerce or in some way lose its status as an independent Federal agency. I think the majority of the Members of Congress and the Nation's small business community, which consists of over 5 million small concerns, strongly feel that the American small businessman deserves a forum, free from conflicting responsibilities to the large business community, to protect and promote his interests.

In terms of the difficulties facing to-

day's urban small businessman, I want to see the SBA remain independent; remain viable; and remain ready to translate its programs into responsive action without the lost motion engendered by cumbersome bureaucracy.

Mr. President, this matter of SBA's independence is not new to my colleagues in the Senate. Several years ago there was another effort to transfer the SBA into the Department of Commerce. The Senator from Alabama (Mr. SPARKMAN), the distinguished chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business at that time, led the fight to preserve SBA's independence, and now it appears that we must once again fight this same battle.

During the previous attempt to abolish the independency of SBA, I took the Senate floor to speak out against this proposed transfer. The remarks I made then are just as cogent today. Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent to have these remarks printed following the conclusion of my statement.

In summary, I can only urge Senators to give serious consideration to any attempt to downgrade or dilute the independent status of SBA. This is not now, nor has it ever been, a partisan battle. For over a decade and a half SBA has lived up to its mandate to aid, counsel, and assist small businessmen throughout the Nation. It seems highly illogical to tamper with this proven formula for success in these times of business uncertainties.

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

THE TALK ABOUT ABOLISHING THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. President, continuing rumors that the Small Business Administration will be done away with or lose its status as an independent agency have become a matter of great concern to New Jersey voters and to me.

For the past 15 years there has been a clear line of support, on a bipartisan basis, for a program of intelligent concern for the problems of growing and dynamic independent businesses.

This has been shown in the formation of a Select Committee on Small Business in 1960, the enactment of the Small Business Act of 1953, the Small Business Investment Act of 1958, several small business provisions to the Revenue Act of 1964, and of course, the creation of the Small Business Administration.

However, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], who has been the acknowledged leader in this field during this period, was moved recently to comment on a current rumor that the Small Business Administration would be consolidated with the Department of Commerce and thus lose its identity.

It seems to me that the 15 years of solid support for SBA and its programs has reflected recognition by the Congress and the Presidency that the self-reliance and resourcefulness of independent business were basic national values.

The founders and those who are carrying on the nearly 5 million of these firms are not relying on quantities of Government aid or creating manifold problems. They are furnishing jobs, producing useful goods and services, and providing tax support for all levels of Government; and are thus helping to resolve many problems.

From my contacts with businessmen across the State of New Jersey, I know that the Small Business Administration is looked to by these people as a source of counsel, assistance, and individual consideration of

ORDERLY AND RATIONAL PROGRESS AT GEORGETOWN: THE IDEOLOGICAL GAP NARROWS

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has been made very much aware in recent months of the numerous disorders and violent disruptions which have plagued many of the campuses of our institutions of higher learning, as militant groups of students have sought to impose immediately various kinds of drastic changes in the structure, curriculums, and administration of these institutions. What is not generally known, however, is that in some colleges and universities equally important changes are being brought about by an intense but quiet expression of student activism which, because of its orderly, rational, and patient character, lacks the dramatic quality to be considered newsworthy. Thus, only a few days ago, the students of Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service won a significant victory in their 2-year campaign to bring about important reforms in the basic structure and functioning of that world-famous institution. This student achievement at Georgetown appropriately coincides with the celebration of the foreign service school's 50th anniversary, and the university newspaper, the *Hoya*, in its March 13 issue, has described, in its editorial of that day, the significance of this achievement, not only to the Georgetown community but to universities throughout the Nation. Under unanimous consent, I include their editorial in the Extensions of Remarks:

THE SFS VICTORY

The results of the proceedings which took place last Saturday in the Hall of Nations will not make nation-wide headlines, nor merit extensive coverage by the broadcasting media, but they are nevertheless a victory of the greatest dimensions for Georgetown students in general and School of Foreign Service students in particular. This victory is truly unique when one considers the means to which students on other campuses have resorted in order to make known their demands. The recent incidents at American University and the continuing controversy at Howard are prime examples.

The movement for a core faculty with a separate budget for the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service had been debated for two years prior to passage. Since the first proposal for such a structure was made in *The Hoya* by Dr. Walter I. Giles, patience and persistence have characterized the movement, both when defeat seemed imminent and passage assured. Victories were few at the outset, but the students, led by the untiring examples of Dr. Giles, Dr. Quigley, and more recently Dean Mann, never gave up.

Indeed, it may be stated that Georgetown has not seen such a display of activism and unity on the part of her students in a long while. When faced with the question of the future of their school's existence in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the students responded to the challenge with a vigorous intensity that surprised everyone but themselves. They presented their case not with violent protest, but with intelligible communication. By their actions and words, they did not widen the ideological gap with

the opposition, but in fact narrowed it, to the point where some of the proposal's earliest critics voted in favor of final analysis.

The students of the School of Foreign Service may well be proud of the method by which their victory was achieved. But the entire Georgetown community should be proud, too. Georgetown has presented an example of student power to which universities throughout the nation would do well to subscribe.—R. H.

SUPPORT OF LEGISLATION TO PERMIT TAX CREDITS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES AND TAX DEDUCTION ALLOWANCES FOR TEACHERS

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, our tax laws have been used in a variety of ways to help and encourage the business community, but there is no business that is more important than the education of our young people.

Today, I am again introducing two bills which I sponsored in the 90th Congress to further education. The first would allow a tax credit for higher education expenses such as tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment. The second would amend the Internal Revenue Code to permit teachers to deduct expenses, including the cost of certain travel, incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher learning.

We all know how the cost of a college education has risen in recent years and will probably continue to rise in the future. It is our responsibility as Members of Congress to devise a solution to this cost problem which will benefit both moderate- and low-income families and students, and we must also preserve the diversity of higher education by assisting all of our institutions. At the same time, we must accomplish these goals with the least amount of governmental interference in our educational system.

While this tax credit provision admittedly is not a cure-all, it will provide relief for strained family budgets and allow for the continued independence and diversity of our institutions of higher education. It would be my hope that the provision in the bill which allows the tax credit to anyone who pays the expenses of a college student regardless of the relationship between the two individuals would lead to increased private scholarship assistance to low-income students. This would be in line with President Nixon's efforts to involve voluntary citizen participation in meeting America's needs.

All Members of Congress are aware of the outstanding job being done by the teachers of our Nation. Furthermore, they are doing a better job every year, as can be shown by the success the United States has had in meeting the educational challenges and demands of our times. To be able to meet these challenges, however, teachers must continually return to colleges and universities to study new developments in their fields of academic en-

deavor and in educational devices and methodology. Continuing teacher education is an absolute prerequisite for those who wish to become principals, superintendents, or other administrators. But beyond this, teachers are in increasing numbers, having to continue their education merely to retain their present status.

The purpose of the second bill I am introducing today is to provide by statute the tax deductions which are allowed teachers for educational expenses. While Internal Revenue Services rulings and regulations on this question are subject to change on very short notice, teachers must plan their return to colleges and universities many months in advance. It is for this reason that I am sponsoring specific legislation to provide for such deductions.

SOME THINGS TO KEEP IN MIND ABOUT THE NAVY'S COURT OF INQUIRY ON THE "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, because some aspects of the Navy's court of inquiry on the *Pueblo* incident have been misinterpreted, I feel that it is fair to examine an explanation of what a court of inquiry is and why one was convened for the *Pueblo* incident. Such an explanation has been provided by Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations and president of the Naval Institute, in an address to the members of the American Bar Foundation on January 25, 1969.

These remarks were later circulated as a memorandum to the members of the Naval Institute. I have seen a copy of this memorandum and feel that its publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will help clear the air of some of the misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the memorandum at this point in the RECORD:

MEMORANDUM TO MEMBERS OF THE NAVAL INSTITUTE

You, as lawyers, will understand why I, as Chief of Naval Operations, and thus in the reviewing chain of command, cannot make comments on the substantive aspects of testimony given during the Inquiry. I will be ready to do this at the appropriate time.

I can, however, put the nature of the Inquiry in proper perspective and, hopefully, reassure the American people that the Court of Inquiry is being conducted in a straightforward, legal and objective manner.

First: What is a Court of Inquiry? It is a fact-finding body—that and nothing more. It is not a court-martial. Witnesses at a Court of Inquiry are *not* on trial. A Court of Inquiry cannot even prefer charges. It simply records the facts and makes recommendations to the convening authority—in this case the Commander-in-Chief of The Pacific Fleet. These recommendations may cover such things as operational procedures, material improvements, communications, training of personnel, international law—and many other subjects—and, if warranted, the

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Listed below are parity percentage levels for January and February for some of our major crops.

Commodity	January 1969	February 1969
Cotton	41	42
Wheat	47	48
Corn	65	65
Peanuts	74	74
Butterfat	74	75
Milk	83	83
Wool	44	43
Barley	65	66
Flax	67	68
Oats	69	70
Sorghum	64	65
Soybeans	70	70
Beef	78	80
Chicken	67	69
Eggs	83	76
Hogs	74	78
Lamb	85	89
Turkey	65	62
Average	72	73

THE TEKRITE I PROJECT

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago, on February 15, 1969, at 1152 hours, e.s.t., four brave scientists from the Department of Interior entered the waters of Great Lameshur Bay, St. John Island, in the U.S. Virgin Islands. For 60 continuous days these pioneers of the last frontier will live and work beneath the surface in a four-chambered habitat designed by the missile and space division of the General Electric Co. headquartered in Valley Forge, Pa. Behaviorists and biomedical experts from the Department of the Navy and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration will monitor the movements and even the dreams of these daring Americans.

The Tektite I Project, named after a mineral originating in space and found on earth and symbolizing the project's multidisciplinary, has three primary missions or programs. These are a biomedical program, a behavioral program, and a marine sciences program. The goals of these three programs range from gaining knowledge valuable to Navy missions to long-range space missions to learning how to harvest the oceans' riches.

Tektite I is a prime example of economy and teamwork which in less than a year and a half brought together four divergent agencies—three Federal and one private industry—to begin, on schedule, a project which will have great impact on our Nation's progress in the oceans. The Navy, NASA, Department of Interior, and General Electric Co. are all equal sponsors.

The four scientists, who are aquanauts merely as a means to an end—exploring the oceans—are Richard A. Waller, oceanographer; Conrad V. W. Mahnken, oceanographer; Dr. H. Edward Clifton, geologist; and John G. Van Derwalker, biologist. In the early days of their quest for knowledge, these Americans have already found and met the perils of the ocean. They have had to battle a moray

eel which was blocking the entrance into their habitat, and they were trapped beneath the surface as a severe thunderstorm ravaged the islands above them. In the coming weeks, they will set a new record for duration in living and working in a saturated condition. For the 60 days, they will be subjected to pressures on their bodies equaling two and a half atmospheres. Little is yet known of what this could mean to the human body.

All Americans, indeed the people of the world, will follow with interest and pride these four intrepid scientists. We will anxiously await the results of their 60-day mission with an eye to preparing for future missions so that one day soon we will be able to use the oceans to help fill the empty stomachs of starving people throughout the world.

COLUMNIST DAVID LAWRENCE VIEWS COURT RULING ON NEWS- PAPERS AS LEADING TO MORE MONOPOLY

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was recently pleased to join with others in introducing and sponsoring H.R. 279, a bill to allow two newspapers operating under joint arrangement to be treated as a single entity under antitrust laws.

The purpose of this bill is to give to newspapers who have combined their printing and other mechanical facilities equal treatment with one-owner newspaper cities where both newspapers have been merged under single ownership with a single editorial policy. In other words, the purpose of this bill is to assure two editorial voices and to afford the same rights and privileges to two owners who wish to preserve separate, independent editorial voices available to single owners who have acquired two newspapers in the same city.

This bill is especially important in view of the fact that the Supreme Court has recently made an adverse ruling which will tend to wipe out the two-newspapers arrangement with joint mechanical agreements.

In this connection, I place in the RECORD herewith a column from the Nashville Banner, written by Mr. David Lawrence, which outlines the impact of the Supreme Court ruling.

The column follows:
COURT'S NEWSPAPER RULING LEADS TO A TOTAL
MONOPOLY

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Supreme Court of the United States has just proclaimed a novel doctrine—that two competing businesses cannot merge unless one is on the verge of bankruptcy and cannot find some other purchaser. What the court has unwittingly recommended is a means of awarding the stronger business an eventual monopoly.

The case in point arose in Tucson, Ariz., where one newspaper was making about \$25,000 a year, and the other was losing about the same amount. An agreement was reached which provided that each paper would retain its own news and editorial departments as well as its corporate identity, but the produc-

tion and distribution equipment were to be combined, and the circulation and advertising departments operated jointly.

This arrangement has been in effect since March 1940, and the venture proved profitable to both papers. In 1965, the owners of one paper purchased the other, but continued separate news and editorial departments for each.

Now the Supreme Court calls the combination "an unreasonable restraint of trade" and declares that there was no real proof that in 1940 one of the papers was "on the verge of going out of business." The new decision is important, because there are at least 44 newspapers in 22 cities which have entered into similar arrangements during the last 25 years.

What the Supreme Court overlooked is the nature of the competition faced even by a single newspaper in a community today. It may not have a rival in printed form within the same city, but it has newspapers coming by airplane and bus into its territory from cities not far away. Likewise, television and radio cover the area, and a daily newspaper has plenty of competition from the "commercials" used by advertisers on local broadcasting stations.

In 1920, there were 2,042 daily newspapers in the United States. This total, according to the latest figures, has declined to 1,749. There are only 327 morning papers and 1,438 evening papers, and 16 of these are "all day" newspapers.

Many a large city has only a morning paper and an evening paper, whereas even 20 years ago, when the population of the United States much smaller, they had several. New York City, for instance, has gone from 10 dailies to only three. Boston had seven papers, and now has four. Los Angeles today has two dailies—half of the number it once had.

What most people do not realize is that newspapers cannot survive on the income obtained only from the subscribers or purchasers at the newsstands. Advertising revenue is essential to meet expenses and furnish a profit. Competition from other media, such as radio, television, magazines and outside newspapers in the same area, has severely cut down opportunities for the small dailies to stay in business, particularly when payrolls, equipment and other costs continue to rise.

The merging on the production and business side has saved many a community newspaper. In most cases where a morning and evening newspaper are published by the same ownership, editorial pages are independent of each other.

What is not perceived by the Supreme Court is that when two newspapers combine some of their operations, they have not by any means stifled all competition in the community. They have merely devised a way of meeting the heavy competition they face from other sources.

Meanwhile, national labor unions, operating as a monopoly with apparent immunity from antitrust laws, impose wage scales all over the country which have brought about the downfall of a number of newspapers over the last several years.

Unless Congress passes a pending bill which would permit two daily newspapers to enter into joint operations when one could not otherwise survive, many of these publications will go out of business. This writer, on June 1, 1964, in discussing a similar antitrust case filed by the Department of Justice at that time against a combination of two newspaper enterprises, wrote:

"Under the oldest concept of property rights, it has never been held that an owner should be forced to go to the borderline of bankruptcy before he can sell a deteriorating asset to a competitor. The Department of Justice evidently thinks otherwise and that antitrust laws may be used to bring about a form of commercial suicide."

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recommendation for further legal proceedings.

Next: Why are we having of Court of Inquiry? A ship has been lost. We always have a Court of Inquiry when this happens—whatever the cause.

Particular emphasis is being placed on protecting the rights of the individuals, and on lessons learned. These lessons will be of great assistance in the future.

When the Inquiry opened its initial session, the first witness was Commander Bucher. He was given the legally required advice concerning his rights as a party to the Inquiry. Counsel for the court made it clear that Commander Bucher was not at that time suspected of having committed any offense under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

Later, when Commander Bucher, in his testimony, indicated that the North Koreans had boarded his ship, the counsel for the court—as required by the law you know so well—told Commander Bucher it was possible that he had violated U.S. Navy Regulations, Article 0730 which reads: "The commanding officer shall not permit his command to be searched by any person representing a foreign state nor permit any of the personnel under his command to be removed from the command by such persons, so long as he has the power to resist." He explained to Commander Bucher his right to testify no further and gave him the routine, required warning that, if he did so, the information could be used against him later.

Since this simple act of legal procedure—basic to our legal system—caused so much controversy, was so misinterpreted and has caused so many to prejudge the outcome of this Inquiry, let me emphasize three points:

First: Such a warning was not unexpected by Commander Bucher or his counsel—here are the words of Commander Bucher's counsel addressed to the counsel for the court: "We have discussed this matter with Commander Bucher in some detail. As you know, we had some preliminary conversations with you before this Court of Inquiry convened as to the procedures that would be followed and the manner by which Commander Bucher's story and the story of the USS *Pueblo* could be presented to this Court. We obviously anticipated the situation that we find ourselves in at the present moment. We have discussed this in detail with Commander Bucher. In view of your warning, Commander Bucher persists in his desire to fully and completely tell this Court of Inquiry the details of the 23rd of January and the event subsequent thereto. Based on that, Commander Bucher, with the Court's permission, requests that he be permitted to testify, and complete this phase of the story. Commander Bucher, am I correctly reciting your wishes in this matter? And do I correctly recite that you have been adequately and fully apprised of all your legal rights which include the right to remain silent on this portion?" Commander Bucher answered in the affirmative.

Second: I would like to emphasize that a Court of Inquiry must begin with a blank record. Newspaper accounts, rumors, second-hand reports or prejudgments cannot be considered. The official record of the *Pueblo's* capture and the treatment of her crew must come from testimony and evidence presented to this Court of Inquiry. For the Court, what has appeared and will appear in public accounts simply does not exist.

Third: Whether the Navy—or anyone in the Navy—was pleased or displeased with Commander Bucher's testimony could have nothing whatever to do with that warning. I realize I am "preaching to the choir" when I tell you that. However, the requirement to warn Commander Bucher is obviously not so well understood by some.

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am deeply troubled—that what was a routine and totally correct legal procedure has been widely misinterpreted.

As Chief of Naval Operations—I intend to ensure—and the Court itself will ensure—that Commander Bucher's rights—as well as all others appearing before the Court—are fully protected. Possibly there will be similar warnings concerning self-incrimination as additional witnesses testify. The point to keep in mind is that the Navy is searching for facts—not scapegoats. We are doing so—within limits imposed by national security—in open hearings, because I believe that this is the way the American people would want it done. And we are taking well-tested and legally prescribed steps to protect the rights of all concerned.

I earnestly request you, who are so well-qualified, to assist me in explaining the legal aspects of the *Pueblo* Inquiry to the American people. And, I earnestly request the American people to be patient, not to prejudge, and to have full trust and confidence that the procedures used in developing the facts surrounding the piracy against the *Pueblo* are being carried out by experienced men of great integrity who have only the welfare of our country at heart.

THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD

SPEECH OF

HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss in my duty if I did not take the opportunity which the gentleman and the gentlewoman from Hawaii have provided to participate in the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the adoption by Congress of legislation admitting Hawaii to the Union as the 50th State.

As a Representative from your relatively young sister State of Oklahoma, I think I have a special appreciation for the meaning and importance of statehood to the people of Hawaii. I was born in what was then Oklahoma Territory and am the only member of the Oklahoma delegation—and, I suspect, one of the few Members of this entire body—who can claim to have been born in a territory of the United States before its admission to statehood. I recognize that Hawaii's two very able Representatives share that distinction with me, as do both of the gentlemen who represent the State in the U.S. Senate.

At the time Congress was considering statehood for Hawaii, there was considerable doubt expressed about the wisdom of statehood for noncontiguous territories and, in some people's minds, doubt about the island's readiness for statehood. I am glad to be able to say that I was one who did not share either of those doubts. And I share the view expressed by other Members who have spoken that the contribution which Hawaii has made, as a State, to her own people and to the Nation as a whole have surpassed even the most optimistic expectations and have more than warranted my support and that of the other Members of Congress who voted for admission.

I congratulate the citizens of Hawaii upon the excellence with which they have assumed the responsibilities of statehood, and I congratulate the gentleman and gentlewoman, upon the qual-

ity of representation which they have given their State. While I have differed with them on issues, I know them as dedicated public servants who are conscientious in their efforts to serve the people who have sent them here.

May the next 10 years be as remarkable as the past decade has been, is my wish for Hawaii and her people.

MAKE PUNISHMENT FIT CRIME

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, the *Janesville Gazette* in my district is one of the finest newspapers in the country. Robert W. Bliss is the knowledgeable publisher of the *Janesville Gazette*. He has written a challenging and provocative editorial on the Vietnam war which I submit to my colleagues in the House. It is directed to the President of the United States. It should be read by every Member of Congress as well.

The editorial follows:

MAKE PUNISHMENT FIT CRIME

The Vietnam War forced Lyndon Johnson to abandon any plans he might have had for another term as President, and now that same issue starts Richard Nixon squarely in the face. And events in recent weeks have sharply reduced his maneuvering room.

The Paris peace talks drag interminably on, with progress measured in millimeters. While the talk continues, Americans are being killed and the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese are strengthening their position.

President Johnson reached an "understanding" with the North Vietnamese last November. Under its terms, the United States would stop bombing North Vietnam if the Communists would not shell population centers in South Vietnam.

That understanding has been violated at least four times by the Communists. Saigon was hit by enemy rockets yesterday, with 25 civilians killed and 70 wounded. The attack came hard on the heels of Nixon's statement that the United States "will not tolerate a continuation of this kind of attack without some response that will be appropriate."

The latest attack put the next move up to Nixon, but he apparently will not make it until Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird returns next week from Vietnam. Whatever decision he makes will be an agonizing one.

Nixon could resume full scale bombing of North Vietnam, which would be nothing more than continuation of Johnson's discredited war policy. We bombed North Vietnam for more than three years with little effect on the enemy's fighting effectiveness. Even the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when asked by former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford last year what effect the bombing had, replied "Not much."

North Vietnam would gain more politically than it would lose militarily from resumed full-scale bombing. The bombing of the north was the single greatest factor that turned world opinion against the United States in this seemingly endless conflict.

But if Nixon does nothing about the recent Communist attacks, the enemy is likely to escalate them to gain a better bargaining position in Paris as well as a better military position in Vietnam. Doing nothing also would undercut Nixon's largely conservative support at home.

One thing Nixon has on his side is the fact that the United States has demonstrated

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a sincere desire for peace. We have not violated the "understanding." The Communists have

Clearly Nixon must make some response, but the punishment should fit the crime.

What seems to be indicated here is a clear message to North Vietnam that their next attack will result in a bombing mission against a military concentration in North Vietnam. One attack, one bombing mission.

This limited response will demonstrate that we seek no wider war, and at the same time will serve notice on the Communists that we do not intend to negotiate under the gun.

RECENT PAY RAISES UNETHICAL

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, although I agree with the comments which my colleague, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. CARTER), made on the House floor on Monday, March 10, and join in his sentiments, nevertheless, I feel that if the recent pay increase is as he says unconstitutional, then a court suit would be sufficient to determine the validity of the law granting the raise. I believe, however, we should be justifiably sure and for this reason I have introduced legislation that would repeal the pay raise granted to Congress, the judiciary, and other Federal officials.

I, like many of my colleagues, had strong objection to the manner by which these pay raises came about, since I felt that in these trying times when inflation threatens the very economic foundation of our Nation, our right to enact pay raise legislation should have been debated and passed by the vote of the Members rather than by the back-door method that was used.

Some of us through our vote in Congress have consistently exercised restraint and responsibility when voting on important fiscal matters. The fact that we were denied the opportunity to directly oppose the pay increase is in sharp conflict with our past efforts to be sure to help bring our financial picture into sharper focus through our vote.

I am not a rich man and could use the increase, but I did not think that we had the moral or ethical right to take the method that the Congress did in arriving at the figure recommended by the select Commission.

More importantly, the method by which the pay increase was implemented raises a far more serious question of what is right and what is wrong—particularly in these times when inflation is literally robbing millions of people of any hope for their economic future.

It is my hope that through passage of this legislation Congress will repeal the pay raise. In this way, it can later bring the case for the raise to the floor for debate and grant to each of us the right to vote as we should, either for or against.

IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, 1969, students and professors in colleges and universities throughout the nation took time to reflect upon, to question, and to protest the misuse of science for military ends. When one pauses to consider the fact that defense now absorbs 60 percent of our national budget, and about 12 percent of the gross national product, and that the United States and Russia between them have nuclear stockpiles which allow for approximately 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth, the significance of this day take on tragic proportions.

Dr. George Wald, the 1968 Nobel Prize winner in physiology and medicine, addressed a crowd of 1,200 on that day at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Participants there in the March 4 Movement were disturbed at the lack of focus in the day's numerous panel discussions and speeches. Dr. Wald provided that focus.

In what the Boston Globe said "may be the most important speech of our time," Dr. Wald discusses some of the most immediate issues facing our country today—the conflict in Vietnam, the draft, the ABM system, the crisis in our educational system, nuclear stockpiling, and the increasing size of the military-industrial complex.

This is the profound, moving testimony of a man deeply troubled by the incongruities of life today. But, these are also the words of a man truly aware of mankind's potential for good—of man's ability to create one world, a world for all men.

I commend this speech to my colleagues, and I include it in the RECORD with the sincere hope that Dr. Wald's thought will help us all to become more completely committed to the idea that "our business is with life, not death." The speech follows:

A GENERATION IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE

(By Dr. George Wald)

All of you know that in the last couple of years there has been student unrest breaking at times into violence in many parts of the world: in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Mexico and needless to say, in many parts of this country. There has been a great deal of discussion as to what it all means. Perfectly clearly it means something different in Mexico from what it does in France, and something different in France from what it does in Tokyo, and something different in Tokyo from what it does in this country. Yet unless we are to assume that students have gone crazy all over the world, or that they have just decided that it's the thing to do, there must be some common meaning.

I don't need to go so far afield to look for that meaning. I am a teacher, and at Harvard, I have a class of about 350 students—men and women—most of them freshmen and sophomores. Over these past few years I have felt increasingly that something is terribly wrong—and this year ever so much

more than last. Something has gone sour, in teaching and in learning. It's almost as though there were a widespread feeling that education has become irrelevant.

A lecture is much more of a dialogue than many of you probably appreciate. As you lecture, you kneep watching the faces; and information keeps coming back to you all the time. I began to feel, particularly this year, that I was missing much of what was coming back. I tried asking the students, but they didn't or couldn't help me very much.

But I think I know what's the matter, even a little better than they do. I think that this whole generation of students is beset with a profound uneasiness. I don't think that they have yet quite defined its source. I think I understand the reasons for their uneasiness even better than they do. What is more, I share their uneasiness.

What's bothering those students? Some of them tell you it's the Vietnam War. I think the Vietnam War is the most shameful episode in the whole of American history. The concept of War Crimes is an American invention. We've committed many War Crimes in Vietnam; but I'll tell you something interesting about that. We were committing War Crimes in World War II, even before Nuremberg trials were held and the principle of war crimes started. The saturation bombing of German cities was a War Crime and if we had lost the war, some of our leaders might have had to answer for it.

I've gone through all of that history lately, and I find that there's a gimmick in it. It isn't written out, but I think we established it by precedent. That gimmick is that if one can allege that one is repelling or retaliating for an aggression—after that everything goes. And you see we are living in a world in which all wars are wars of defense. All War Departments are now Defense Departments. This is all part of the double talk of our time. The aggressor is always on the other side. And I suppose this is why our ex-Secretary of State, Dean Rusk—a man in whom repetition takes the place of reason, and stubbornness takes the place of character—went to such pains to insist, as he still insists, that in Vietnam we are repelling an aggression. And if that's what we are doing—so runs the doctrine—anything goes. If the concept of war crimes is ever to mean anything, they will have to be defined as categories of acts, regardless of provocation. But that isn't so now.

I think we've lost that war, as a lot of other people think, too. The Vietnamese have a secret weapon. It's their willingness to die, beyond our willingness to kill. In effect they've been saying, you can kill us, but you'll have to kill a lot of us, you may have to kill all of us. And thank heavens, we are not yet ready to do that.

Yet we have come a long way—far enough to sicken many Americans, far enough even to sicken our fighting men. Far enough so that our national symbols have gone sour. How many of you can sing about "the rockets' red glare, bombs bursting in air" without thinking, those are our bombs and our rockets bursting over South Vietnamese villages? When those words were written, we were a people struggling for freedom against oppression. Now we are supporting real or thinly disguised military dictatorships all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples struggling for their freedom.

But that Vietnam War, shameful and terrible as it is, seems to me only an immediate incident in a much larger and more stubborn situation.

Part of my trouble with students is that almost all the students I teach were born since World War II. Just after World War II, a series of new and abnormal procedures

Warning on Peril to the Pueblo Went Astray, House Unit Says

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14 — The National Security Agency issued a written warning a month before the U.S.S. Pueblo was captured that the danger of its mission had been underestimated and protection for the intelligence ship should be given serious consideration.

But, a House subcommittee reported today, the message never got through to any of the top military authorities to whom it was sent, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations and the Commander in Chief of United States Forces in the Pacific.

The investigating committee also reported for the first time officially that the National Security Agency had been responsible for the special intelligence unit aboard the Pueblo and that the Central Intelligence Agency had had nothing to do with the mission.

Even if the military communications system had not failed at the critical moment, the warning was sent, the Pueblo and its crew of 83 might have been seized by the North Koreans on its first intelligence mission anyway.

The admiral who cleared that mission as involving "minimal risk" testified today that he would have taken exactly the same action even if he had received the message from the National Security Agency —



United Press International
Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson

which he did not. "These messages come through all the time," said Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, who was Commander of United States Naval Forces Japan, at the time of the Pueblo incident.

Later, Admiral Johnson said he did not want to give the impression he ignored messages from the National Security Agency, but he said that there was "a constant flow of this type of accusation and threats — reports of possible enemy attacks — passing through his Navy office.

Admiral Johnson testified for

Continued on Page 7, Column 2

nearly four hours before the House Armed Forces subcommittee investigating the Pueblo. The subcommittee is headed by Representative Otis G. Pike, Democrat of Suffolk County.

At the opening of the hearing, Representative Pike read a three-page "statement of fact" — conclusions reached by the subcommittee based on a series of closed hearings "on the Pueblo with intelligence officials.

Story of the Warning

This statement included the story of the National Security Agency warning and how it went astray, plus two more ultimate ironic facts: The director of the agency never saw the message, which had been sent over his signature by a staff member, until after the Pueblo was captured; and the agency, according to the Pike subcommittee, "had neither the responsibility nor the author-

ty" to send the message, in the first place.

The Pike committee also said its inquiry had established the following:

"The Central Intelligence Agency did not propose the Pueblo mission, staff it or play any part in its formulation. The special intelligence unit aboard the Pueblo was under the supervision of the National Security Agency, which deals basically with electronic surveillance and cryptographic work.

"The amount of review that the Joint Chiefs of Staff give any one of the large number of intelligence missions, such as the Pueblo's, is "necessarily cursory and perfunctory."

"There is a great difference of opinion at high intelligence levels as to whether or not the loss of the Pueblo was very serious in terms of our national security and national intelligence effort.

"There was, and remains, a great deal of confusion at high Navy levels as to the rating of missions in terms of risk."

Warning on Pueblo Never Delivered

By WILLIAM GRIGG
Star Staff Writer

Closed-door hearings of the House Armed Services subcommittee investigating the Pueblo seizure have disclosed that a National Security Agency message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff warned that the Pueblo might be in more danger than first thought.

But the message never reached the Joint Chiefs, who, on the same day, approved as low risk the spy ship's mission off North Korea, where it was seized by the Communists last year.

The subcommittee today released a summary of its closed-session findings, which also said:

"There was, and remains, a great deal of confusion at high Navy level as to the rating of (intelligence) missions in terms of risk."

Thousands of reconnaissance missions are approved each year, the statement said. Because of this volume the review and approval procedures of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have been "necessarily cursory and perfunctory."

The statement continued:

"On the same day that the (Pueblo) mission was approved by the Joint Chiefs, a message was sent over the signature of the director of the National Security Agency suggesting that the characterization of the mission as minimal risk might be wrong. The message did not object to sending the Pueblo but said consideration should be given to protecting it.

"The message was directed to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. No

Continued From Page A-1

member of the Joint Chiefs received the message.

"The message was received at the staff level of the Joint Chiefs and redirected to the commander in chief, Pacific.

"The commander in chief, Pacific, apparently never received the message. It was received at the staff level in his office and not brought to his attention.

"At the same time that the message was redirected to the commander in chief, Pacific, an information copy was sent to the chief of naval operations. The information copy was never delivered."

Although the message carried the signature of the director of the NSA, the subcommittee said "There are hundreds of people in the National Security Agency who are authorized to send out messages signed 'Director, National Security Agency'."

"The director never saw it until after the Pueblo was captured" by North Korea last year, said subcommittee chairman Otis Pike, D-N.Y.

Pike also acknowledged that NSA "had neither the responsibility nor the authority" to ques-

tion the risk of the Pueblo mission.

However, the subcommittee said that, while the Pueblo's mission was requested by the Navy, additional tasks were given to it by the National Security Agency at the Navy's invitation.

"The Central Intelligence Agency neither requested the mission, had any part in its formulation nor any personnel involved in it," the report said.

The subcommittee found there remains a great difference of opinion at high intelligence levels about whether the loss of the Pueblo also was very serious in terms of either the national security of the United States or the national intelligence effort.

None of the witnesses the subcommittee heard said they felt the risk to the Pueblo was increased when 31 North Korean infiltrators made an attack and an attempted assassination of the president of South Korea was made two days before the Pueblo's capture.

According to the subcommittee, military intelligence missions numbering in the thou-

sands are conducted each year approaching the sensitive areas such as the territorial waters and the air space of Communist bloc countries. These range from very simple projects such as weather patrols to "more sophisticated" missions than that of the Pueblo.

"To put this into some perspective," the subcommittee said, "the Soviets have over 4 times as many reconnaissance ships similar to the Pueblo as we have."

American intelligence missions can be planned at very high levels or "from quite far down" in the Navy, Air Force or Army.

The subcommittee resumed open hearings today with testimony from Rear Adm Frank L. Johnson, commander of U.S. naval forces, Japan, at the time of the Pueblo incident.

He testified he was "somewhat opposed" to even the two .50-calibre machine guns which were installed on the Pueblo because these "might be considered provocative."

He said he was also opposed because of the success of 16 unarmed missions conducted as of December 1967 and because the capabilities of such weapons are "marginal in any except limited circumstances such as small boats and personnel."

He said he also felt that the availability of these weapons "might encourage ill-advised counteraction" by crew members and "create the opposite of the desired unopposed use of and safety on the high seas."

The guns were not used by the crew when the North Koreans

March 10, 1969

dents, but was up 19 percent in cities of only 25,000 to 50,000 people. And in suburban areas, an increase of 18 percent was recorded.

The FBI also stated that the police were successful in clearing only 20 percent of the crimes reported, a decline of 9 percent from the clearing rate for the previous year.

And during 1968, police arrests for all criminal acts rose only 4 percent, compared to the 17-percent overall rise in crime.

Crime is clearly a nationwide problem requiring action at every level of government from the Federal level down to the States, counties, cities, and towns. These new FBI statistics serve to point up the dimensions of the crime crisis. Every State should review its own laws and enforcement procedures, and especially its courts. Congressional committees should immediately do the same.

DEPARTMENT DENIES HOOVER RETIREMENT

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 10, 1969

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, many Americans heaved a sigh of relief when it became known officially that J. Edgar Hoover does not plan to retire as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover has a tremendous record, one which many of us feel will never be equaled again in our history. We all wish him continued good health, for while he is on the job we feel we can rest at night. The Copley News Service printed the denial, which I am pleased to quote:

PLANS TO CONTINUE: DEPARTMENT DENIES
HOOVER RETIREMENT

WASHINGTON.—The Justice Department Wednesday flatly denied reports that J. Edgar Hoover plans to retire next Jan. 1 as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The report has been published in various newspapers and syndicated columns in the past week.

"There is absolutely no truth to it," said a spokesman for Atty. Gen. John Mitchell.

"There is no understanding between Mr. Hoover and the attorney general concerning any resignation or retirement. Mr. Hoover has not indicated any such plans to the President or the attorney general.

"President Nixon asked Mr. Hoover to continue in his position as director and he agreed. That is the simple situation."

One published report, it was disclosed, was traced to "a cocktail party conversation." The man who wrote it did not check with the Justice Department, officials said.

Speculation about Mr. Hoover's future has flared from time to time for several years in Washington.

The director is 74 years old. He will be 75 next Jan. 1. He entered the Justice Department in 1917, became special assistant to the attorney general in 1919 and was appointed assistant director of the old Bureau of Investigation in 1921. He became director of the bureau in 1924 and began building the FBI.

Associates describe Hoover's health as "excellent."

"I have a hard time keeping up with him," confessed one aide many years his junior.

WHAT NEXT FOR COMMANDER BUCHER?

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 10, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today, Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher is scheduled to testify for the last time before the Naval Court of Inquiry in Coronado, Calif.

But last week the man who commanded the *Pueblo* was in a different atmosphere. The orphan who overcame many obstacles to gain that command was enjoying two of the things he loves most—his family and the sea.

Washington Post staff writer George C. Wilson recorded this poignant return to the sea of the man whom we in Nebraska are especially proud. He is one of ours—a graduate of Boys Town and the University of Nebraska.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues Mr. Wilson's account which appeared on page 1 of that paper's Sunday, March 9, edition, as well as the Parade magazine story, "What Next for Commander Bucher?" of the same date:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 9, 1969]

BUCHER RETURNS TO THE SEA

(By George C. Wilson)

"I'm about ready to go to sea again," Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher of the *Pueblo* said as he felt the sloop rising with the swells from the open sea.

Point Loma—holding the Pacific back from San Diego Bay—was dead ahead. Once past the point, Bucher would be free again—free of the oppressive atmosphere in that tiny hearing room in Coronado, Calif., where five admirals are trying to decide what to do about this skipper who gave up the ship.

But on this day, the courtroom was well astern of the graceful *Kahala*, a 29-foot sloop chartered for the day. And "Pete" Bucher was feeling a helm for the first time since Jan. 23, 1968, when his ship was captured by North Koreans off Wonsan.

It felt good. His wife, Rose, said she could tell. "Pete wants to go to sea again," she said even before the commander himself announced it from the bow. And Rose—though separated from her husband for 11 harrowing months while he was imprisoned in North Korea—did not try to fight it.

She was enjoying the sail, taking the tiller herself occasionally and grateful the whole family was together at last.

The Buchers' sons—Michael, 16, and Mark, 14—were aboard, accompanied by a friend. They worked the jib sheets and tried the tiller when their skipper-father relinquished it.

Bucher's eyes roved the shoreline. He spotted the unmistakable shape of the type of vessel he still loves most—a submarine. He headed the *Kahala* right for the base where the sub was tied up.

He got close enough to read the numbers. And there beside the sub he had first spotted lay the *Ronquill*, a submarine he knew inside and out. He had served as her executive officer before getting command of the *Pueblo*.

Easing the sloop alongside the nearest sub, Bucher asked permission to tie up. The sub's executive officer came on deck and welcomed the fellow submariner and his family aboard.

"Welcome home, captain," said a sailor standing atop the long black hull of the sub. An officer told Bucher: "I plastered my car with Remember the *Pueblo* stickers."

Bucher and his family retired to the Bal-

last Tank—a club near Point Loma which submariners built. He met a few old friends there and relived the days before the *Pueblo*.

Then it was back to the sloop and back to Coronado. On Monday he is scheduled to testify for the last time before the Naval Court of Inquiry there. Then maybe—a big maybe—it will be back to sea.

WHAT NEXT FOR COMMANDER BUCHER?

(By Lloyd Shearer)

CORONADO, CALIF.—Last month, the U.S. Navy's court of inquiry, investigating the North Korean capture of our spy ship *Pueblo*—the Navy prefers to call it an Auxiliary Oceanographic Environmental Research Craft—got into gear.

It is the most publicized hearing of its type in the 194 years of American Naval history, which began in 1775 when George Washington ordered officers and men from his Army to man five schooners and a sloop to prey on inbound English supply vessels.

The *Pueblo* court of inquiry was covered by every major radio and television network in this country, plus 68 journalists representing the domestic and foreign press.

One result of this intensive press coverage and almost daily TV exposure is that Comdr. Lloyd "Pete" Bucher, skipper of the *Pueblo*, is today, in the eyes of the public, the best-known and most identifiable man in the U.S. Navy.

If you doubt that statement, stop any ten pedestrians or as many as you like, ask them if they can identify two prominent Navy officers, one named Moorer, the other named Bucher.

Adm. Thomas Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is the Navy's highest ranking officer. But publicity-wise, he is understandably enough, no match for Pete Bucher.

FLOOD OF LETTERS

Like it or not, and he doesn't particularly, Bucher at 41 but looking 55, has become a public idol. Circumstances have launched him into a celebrity orbit where he is trying to maintain a "standard" bearing—standard is one of his favorite adjectives—in what is for him a strange environment of congratulatory telegrams, supportive letters, and admiring phone calls, all numbering in the hundreds.

He is also, via his civilian attorney Miles Harvey, the recipient of many lucrative offers for books, articles, TV, radio and club appearances, none of which he can presently accept without Navy clearance.

His wife, Rose, has already received \$27,500 from *McCall's* magazine for an article, largely ghost-written, describing her wifely and frustrating efforts to free the *Pueblo* and its crew. While Bucher, if he resigns from the Navy, can easily, in the opinion of one top Hollywood agent, "earn a million bucks or more from the film rights to his life story."

"Bucher's biography," claims agent Red Hirschhorn, "has all the ingredients for a great motion picture: adventure, humor, tragedy, love, danger, and, best of all, a happy ending."

"What I would like to see him do is to play the leading film role himself. I'm sure he can do it. He's intelligent, articulate, photogenic. As an actor, he could lend authority to the part. Even more important, we could probably get him a percentage of the profits, which I feel would be more than sizable. If lucky, he might earn as much as \$2 million."

Pete Bucher has 18 years of Navy service to his retirement credit. He can retire at the end of 20 or 30 years. The choice is his. If he retires at the end of 20 years, he draws 50 percent of his salary or about \$503 a month. If he retires at the end of 30 years, he draws two-thirds of his commander's salary.

There is little doubt that Bucher can probably earn more money outside the Navy than inside. But if there was a man who lived

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the service with unflagging dedication it's Pete Bucher. Friends say it would take more than money for Bucher to resign his commission. "A bum rap," says an old shipmate, "a serious reprimand by higher authority might do it. Otherwise, I'm sure Pete will pull his 20 or 30 years."

Bucher has described the Navy as "my whole life," and has reportedly requested a submarine command. But he probably will have a lengthy wait before he learns of his next assignment.

The court of inquiry, studying thousands of pages of transcript, will first send its findings and recommendations unannounced to Adm. John J. Hyland, Commander in Chief of the U.S. Navy in the Pacific, who originally ordered the court to convene.

Admiral Hyland's review and recommendations will then be bucked along to Admiral Moorer in Washington. Moorer in turn will pass his recommendation to Secretary of the Navy John Chaffee.

That ends the Navy's immediate chain of command. But Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird will probably take a good, hard, close look at the findings and then pass them along to President Nixon, who has declared publicly that he will review the entire Pueblo affair, not only on the basis of innocence or guilt of Bucher but on the basis of preventing any other such ship loss.

In addition, the Pueblo skipper will have to testify before the Senate Armed Forces Committee, and will probably submit to further questioning by Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, also charged with investigating the cause celebre.

"I LOVE, ROSE"

In fact, Bucher is likely to spend most of this year responding on a number of occasions to the same questions put to him by Capt. William Newsome and the five scrupulously fair admirals who conducted the court of inquiry. He answered these questions in detail—honestly, forthrightly, factually, with a minimum of melodrama until that memorable, emotion-charged Thursday morning when his brown eyes welled up with tears and a lump formed in his throat. It was the morning during which he told the court in cracked voice of how, when he thought the North Koreans were about to blow out his brains, "I repeated over and over again a phrase, 'I love you, Rose.' I thought this would keep my mind off what was going to happen."

The two questions the public as well as Bucher are most interested in at this point are (1) will he be court-martialed for having violated Navy regulations, Article 0730? It states: "The commanding officer shall not permit his command to be searched by any person representing a foreign state nor permit any of the personnel under his command to be removed from the command by such person, so long as he has the power to resist." (2) Will he be given command of another U.S. Navy ship?

During the course of the Pueblo court of inquiry, I polled four separate groups on these two questions. They consisted of 38 journalists covering the hearing, 18 retired Navy officers, 30 enlisted Navy men on the amphibious command base, and 12 Navy wives.

These groups agreed almost unanimously, for a variety of reasons, that Comdr. Lloyd Bucher would never again command a Navy ship. And of the 98 persons questioned, only 11 thought that the admirals of the court of inquiry would recommend a court-martial for the Pueblo commander.

Most thought he would be exiled to a safe, non-controversial shore job in some quiet, out-of-the-way Navy installation rarely visited by journalists. There he would be permitted to languish until retirement.

"My guess," said one Navy wife, "is that Pete Bucher will be assigned to a weather station in Key West, Fla."

"My feeling," cracked a reporter, "is that they will send him back to Boys Town to head the Navy ROTC there."

A yeoman second class suggested possible transfer to the U.S. Embassy in Bolivia as our Naval attache.

NO SCAPEGOAT

Despite what some people may think, the Navy is not attempting to make Commander Bucher a scapegoat. He remains sure that the sins of his superiors, if any are revealed, will not accrue to him. The upper echelons of the Navy are staffed by professional, fair-minded, and humane men, not bloodless martinets, and they will not permit Bucher to suffer for the bad luck or incompetency of others. Even if a few admirals were thusly inclined, President Nixon, a former Navy man like his two presidential predecessors, would not countenance it.

The Navy operates on the traditional, helpful, and valid doctrine of accountability. A captain in command of a ship and a ship's company is held accountable for his decisions. If he loses his ship, he must explain its loss before the proper authority and be prepared to accept praise or condemnation.

In the exercise of this doctrine the Navy's motivation may be partially punitive—after all, punishment serves as a deterrent to carelessness and irresponsibility—but it is also motivated by a constructive search for truth to remedy faults in equipment, control, command, and tactics.

The Pueblo was not lost in vain. The Navy has since taken steps to increase the armament of its intelligence ships and to provide them with destruct systems, secret weapons, and rapid scuttling devices.

The crew of the Pueblo had to use sledgehammers to destroy secret gear and tin cans in which to burn secret papers. It had no quick way of scuttling. But its two sister ships, the Banner and Palm Beach, have already been improved 100 percent in those departments.

Moreover, the Navy has re-examined the vital questions of how, where, and when intelligence ships should operate, what captains and crews should do in the case of harassment, and how communications between command and control forces can be bettered.

Even more important, the general public as well as Navy hands now know that according to terms of the U.S.-Japan security treaty, the U.S. is not permitted to launch an attack from any base in Japan unless Japan is being attacked or will grant permission for the strike. This treaty comes up for renewal next year, and Leftist elements in Japan do not want it renewed. They want no U.S. bases, Air, Army, or Naval, on Japanese soil for fear they will be involved in a war not of their making.

Several Japanese editors have been quick to point out that if aircraft from the Enterprise, 600 miles away from the Pueblo on Jan. 23, 1968, had been ordered to rescue Bucher and his men, North Korean MIG's would have flown out to meet them. An air battle would have ensued. Eventually Japan might have found herself under air bombardment from North Korea.

Bucher testified at the court of inquiry that he was expecting U.S. assistance of some sort from American forces in Japan, South Korea or at sea. "How about a little help out here?" the Pueblo radioed. "These guys mean business."

When no help was forthcoming, Bucher decided that hemmed in as he was by North Korean torpedo and gunboats, he had no alternative but to stall the enemy while his crew destroyed as much secret gear as possible.

To fight back with two .50-caliber machine guns and hand arms, he decided, would have meant the loss of his entire crew.

What would Bucher have gained if he had fought back to the last man, losing his com-

pany of 83 men, and in the process creating 38 Pueblo widows and causing 68 children to become fatherless?

A large segment of the public believes that in losing both his ship and men in addition to possibly involving the U.S. in a resumption of war with North Korea, Commander Bucher would have gained nothing but tragedy.

Several veteran Navy officers, however, believe that by resisting, Bucher would have gained honor. He would have been true to the Navy tradition of "don't give up the ship." He would have done his professional duty. He would have shown the North Koreans that they could not violate international law and pirate an American ship without paying some price. He would have added to the prestige of the nation and inspired our soldiers and sailors all down the line.

GO DOWN FIGHTING

A representative of such thinking, Adm. Arleigh Burke, former Chief of Naval Operations, says, "A man has to die sometime, and he should die proud. A ship is, after all, a part of your country. A captain doesn't give it up easily. He should go down fighting."

Adm. William Raborn, Jr. formerly in charge of the Polaris missile project and later chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, is not so sure.

"When I was first asked," he says, "what I would do if I had been in Bucher's shoes, I said, 'I would've shot the hell out of them. I would've made those North Koreans pay a high price.'

"But now in retrospect," Raborn asserts, "I think I shot my mouth off. The more I read about the capture of the Pueblo, how Bucher was ordered to lay low, to play it cool, not to be aggressive, the more I realize that no man can truly realize how he would act under those same conditions. I would rescind my previous statement and say that Bucher may have done the right thing. I am not in any position to know, and I do not want to generalize in a spirit of bravado how I would have fought gallantly to the last man."

FOUR MARYLAND MARINES DIE IN VIET WAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 10, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Arnold Hilb, Pfc. Robert H. Trail III, 1st Sgt. Warren R. Furse, and Pfc. John T. Hare, four fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

FOUR MARYLAND MARINES DIE IN VIET WAR
 Four more Maryland marines, including two from Baltimore, have been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Listed as dead were:
 Pfc. Arnold Hilb, son of Mrs. Klara Hilb, of 5613 Cross Country boulevard, who died February 27 from wounds received in a mortar explosion near Quang Tri.

Pfc. Robert H. Trail 3rd, ward of Mr. and Mrs. Eli F. killed in a skirmish with enemy troops February 26 in Bien Hoa province.

First Sgt. Warren R. Furse, husband of Mrs. Arrie A. Furse, of 811 Surly road, Aberdeen, Md., who died February 28 in a field camp 6 miles northeast of An Hoa.

Pfc. John T. Hare, son of James E. Hare, of 206 Elder street, Cumberland, Md., killed in action February 25.

Message on 'Risk' To Pueblo Strayed

United Press International

A message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff warning that the ill-fated last mission assigned the USS Pueblo might be quite risky never reached the Chiefs, Congressional investigators charged yesterday.

The warning by the National Security Agency was sent on the same day as the Joint Chiefs approved the mission as a low-risk operation, Rep. Otis Pike (D-N.Y.) declared.

The message carried the signature of the director of the NSA, "suggesting that the characterization of the mission as minimal risk might be wrong," Pike said.

Pike is chairman of a special House Armed Services Subcommittee that has been investigating the seizure of the Pueblo by Communist North Korea on Jan. 23, 1968. He said the NSA message did not object to sending the spy ship off the coast of North Korea but said consideration should be given to protecting it.

The Pueblo carried out its mission and was captured without any sea or air protection.

Opening yesterday's session, Pike said the Subcommittee had unanimously reached agreement on certain "facts"—among them that the message went astray.

"The message was directed to the Joint Chiefs of Staff," Pike said. "No member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff received the message.

"The message was received at the staff level of the Joint Chiefs and redirected to the Commander in Chief, Pacific. The Commander in Chief, Pacific, apparently never received the message. It was received at the staff level in his office, and not brought to his attention.

"At the same time that the message was redirected to the Commander in Chief, Pacific, an information copy was sent to the Chief of Naval Operations. The information copy was never delivered.

"This message, over the signature of the director of the National Security Agency, was sent by a member of his staff. The director never saw it until after the Pueblo was captured."

Pike said hundreds of people in NSA are authorized to send messages signed "director" and acknowledged that NSA "had neither the responsibility nor the authority" to question the risk of the Pueblo mission.

He added, however: "There was, and remains, a great deal of confusion at high Navy levels as to the rating of missions in terms of risk."

For its second open session, the Subcommittee summoned the Admiral who sent the Pueblo on its final mission—Rear Adm. Frank L. Johnson, who was commander of Naval Forces in Japan at the time.

Johnson, now commandant of the 13th Naval District in Seattle, Wash., repeated testimony given before the Naval Court of Inquiry in Coronado, Calif. He added one new piece of information about Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher, the Pueblo's skipper. Johnson said the skipper asked at a briefing if he should use the machine guns against a boarding party attempt. Johnson said the answer given was "yes." When North Koreans did board the Pueblo, Bucher did not fire back. He told the Court of Inquiry that to do so would have been a futile gesture leading to the "complete slaughter" of his men.

Aid to Spy Ships Pledged



By Bob Burchette—The Washington Post

Admirals Moorer, left, and McDevitt at Capitol Hill hearing on the Pueblo.

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Navy's top admiral told Congress yesterday that future Pueblo-like missions will be backed by forces that could go to their rescue at a moment's notice.

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations, told a House Armed Services subcommittee no rescue forces had been placed on alert when

the Pueblo sailed to its capture 14 months ago because its listening mission off the North Korean coast was considered a "minimal risk" operation.

Rep. William G. Bray (R-Ind.) asked who had decided there was little risk "when anyone who read the newspapers knew of threats and harassment" by North Korea against the South.

Moorer said the decision

was made by field commanders and approved here by the Joint Chiefs of Staff on which he serves and by the office of the Secretary of Defense, then Robert S. McNamara. A number of similar missions had been carried out without incident, said Moorer. But it is easy to see now that "we goofed," he said.

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Moorer met with the sub-
committee for 1 1/2 hours in
closed session yesterday after-

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