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Irving Dillard, the respected columnist of Chicago's American, has pointed this out in a recent article. He correctly argued that equal apportionment, or the right of each citizen to have his vote count equally, is the essence of representative government.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Dillard's article, from the Chicago American of March 28, 1965, be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Chicago American, Mar. 28, 1965]

REMAP SHOULD BE KEY ISSUE

(By Irving Dillard)

The headlines that have gone properly to the war in Vietnam, the Selma march, and the American and Russian space shots have tended to obscure a most important struggle in Congress and many of the States. This is the battle over redistricting for seats in the House of Representatives and in both branches of the legislatures.

Here is something that is the very essence of representative government. For next to the right to vote comes the right of each citizen to have his vote count on a basis approximately equal to the vote of each other citizen. This is the heart of the Supreme Court's series of redistricting decisions which say in effect: "One man, one vote."

Greatly to their credit, some dozen States have responded to the Court's decision by reapportioning substantially on a basis of population in both legislative chambers. The dozen include States as widely separated as Michigan and Oklahoma, New Hampshire and Oregon, Virginia and Connecticut, West Virginia, and Colorado.

ALL CAN ACT SIMILARLY

What approximately a fourth of the States have already done, all the States can and should do promptly. This is the one best way to guarantee that each voter's ballot is close to equal in influence to each other voter's ballot.

So far so good. But unfortunately this desirable reconstitution of the legislatures on the fair basis of equitable population districts could go off the track at this point, Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, Republican leader, along with several other Senators, is pushing a proposal to amend the Constitution to override the Supreme Court's long overdue, beneficial decision.

The Dirksen amendment would invite the States to apportion one legislative branch on a basis other than population.

While the Dirksen proposal has picked up some additional, uncritical support, its hard-core backing is the same crowd that tried to slip over the "monkey wrench" amendments a couple of years ago. These were the anti-Supreme Court proposals designed to foster disunity at the expense of our historic Federal system.

FEW CAN CONTROL THE MAJORITIES

The case against all these diehard roadblocks to fair representative government has been made with all the chapter-and-verse documentation anyone should need by Democratic Senator DOUGLAS, also of Illinois. He showed, for example, that fewer than 45 percent of the population can elect majorities in both legislative chambers in some 33 States. A consequence is that urgent urban needs are frequently ignored by the dominant majorities from sparsely settled areas.

The highly esteemed Federal legislation committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York says the Dirksen amendment could endanger "all constitutional rights and the independence of the judiciary." That ought to set warnings bells ringing all over America.

MORE ON OUR FREEDOM ACADEMY GAP

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, events on the continent of Africa over the last year and a half constitute strong argument for the Freedom Academy bill.

Basic to this bill, perhaps the part most critically needed in conduct of American foreign relations, is the proposal that we provide political training to foreign nationals who are not unfriendly to our own interests. All the programs proposed in the bill—intensive research plus concurrent extensive training for first, American government personnel who work in foreign affairs; second, citizens of foreign countries who need to learn how best to resist nonmilitary aggression; and, third, citizens employed in the private sector whose work closely involves international relations—all are critically important. I hesitate to select one program as most important because all are so closely related, but adequate training for defense against techniques of nonmilitary aggression is so sorely needed by government officials and by leading private citizens in scores of countries the world over—countries right now targeted for subversion and conquest—that this phase of the Freedom Academy proposal stands out.

The bill, S. 1232, sponsored by Messrs. CASE, DODD, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIRE, SCOTT, SMATHERS, MURPHY, and myself, offers, in section 2(a)(7), this finding:

Finally, the cause of freedom has been severely handicapped by the inhibited attitude of the United States toward the education and training of foreign nationals. Nowhere, with limited exceptions, is education and training provided for foreign nationals which will acquaint them, in depth, with the spectrum of Communist subversion and insurgency and the wide range of instruments that may be developed and utilized to defeat this while seeking to build free, independent, and viable societies. Yet, the principal burden of repelling Communist subversion and insurgency must be borne by the citizens of the nations involved.

We have identified at least six schools within the Communist bloc, or blocs if that is preferable, where foreign nationals are educated in the arts of nonmilitary warfare. A whole new academic discipline has matured in the last generation—this discipline of nonmilitary warfare involving subversion, psychological warfare, infiltration, guerrilla tactics, and all the rest—but the United States has not kept apace.

Understanding the tactics of the aggressor is the first step in stopping aggression, but we do not fully understand these tactics ourselves; and, worse, we make very little effort to disseminate what understanding we do have among leaders of non-Communist countries which are targets of this aggression.

That is, our antagonists have trained thousands of professional revolutionaries to carry out their nonmilitary aggressive campaigns over the last generation, and we have looked in awe as a great part of the world turned unfriendly or blatantly hostile to us.

Today, in my continuing effort to utilize the current news in our American press to support these contentions of Freedom Academy bills sponsors—see pages 4059, 4751-4753, 5276-5281, and 6382-6387 of the RECORD, I would like to concentrate on the continent of Africa.

More than a year ago the New York Times spelled out how the newly independent country of Zanzibar had fallen to a Communist coup. The subsequent combination of Zanzibar with Tanganyika partially alleviated this loss, but observers expect that Tanganyika may well follow Zanzibar instead of saving it. What I want to emphasize, however, is evidence of the tactics used by Communists to conquer Africa.

Robert Conley wrote the article. It appeared in the New York Times for January 20, 1964, as follows:

One week after Zanzibar's revolution it is clear that Communist-trained Africans have seized every bit of real power on the island. They were trained by Communist China, the Soviet Union, and Cuba.

The leftist revolutionaries control the principal ministries, including Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Internal Affairs.

Fewer than 50 subversives trained in guerilla warfare and political revolution carried out the Zanzibar takeover. Cuba trained the guerillas. Communist China and the Soviet Union trained the political experts.

Real power is concentrated in the hands of the Vice President, Kassim Hanga * * * a bitter opponent of the West, who is Soviet trained.

Shiek Mohammed is head of the militarist leftist UMMMA, or People's Party. He was trained by Chinese Communists and had been the representative in Zanzibar of Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist press agency.

Three other prominent Africa nationalists are in the revolutionary government as further camouflage * * *. Trained subversives have been assigned to them, however.

In the President's office, Mr. Karume's chief executive assistant is * * * a Soviet-trained labor agitator who is publicly committed to setting up a "Socialist Zanzibar in which the working people would establish their dictatorship."

Mr. Hanga is in control of internal affairs and security with Cuban-trained guerillas under him. The guerillas retain their automatic weapons.

In the Ministry of Communications * * * is * * * a political activist trained by the Soviet Union.

He arranged for young Zanzibaris to go on scholarships to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Communist revolutions occurring all over Africa, Mr. President, are not coincidental. They are planned and coordinated by experts trained in the art of nonmilitary warfare in countries which are antagonistic to our interests. Against this professional training in aggression, we offer nothing in training for defense.

Mr. Conley continues:

Every indication, suggests that the revolution itself had been planned clandestinely before Zanzibar gained independence. Twenty-two Zanzibaris are reported to have returned to the island on independence day, after several months of training in Cuba, to make final preparations.

These guerrillas became the hard core within the untrained ranks of the "liberation army."

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The purpose of the "liberation army," Conley says, was to give "the impression that the revolution was a 'spontaneous uprising,'" and "to give African followers a sense of direct participation in an insurrection that was not of their making."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the article "Red-Trained Africans Consolidate Hold After Zanzibar Revolt," from the New York Times of January 20, 1964, appear at this point in my remarks.

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

RED-TRAINED AFRICANS CONSOLIDATE HOLD AFTER ZANZIBAR REVOLT

(By Robert Conley, special to the New York Times)

One week after Zanzibar's revolution it is clear that Communist-trained Africans have seized every bit of real power on the island. They were trained by Communist China, the Soviet Union, and Cuba.

The leftist revolutionaries control the principal ministries, including foreign affairs, defense, and internal affairs.

Fears have been expressed that neither the rest of Africa nor the West can prevent the revolutionaries from turning Zanzibar into a Communist state—just 25 miles off the East African coast.

The takeover of Zanzibar gives the Communists their greatest victory in Africa. It has been likened to the loss of Cuba by the West to the revolution of Fidel Castro 5 years ago.

Fewer than 50 subversives trained in guerrilla warfare and political revolution carried out the Zanzibar takeover. Cuba trained the guerrillas. Communist China and the Soviet Union trained the political experts.

REGIME GIVEN AFRICAN IMAGE

They made Abeid Karume President of the revolutionary regime to give an African image to the revolution, which overthrew the island's Arab minority government. Mr. Karume is the leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party, the main political movement of the African majority among the island's 310,000 people.

But the real power is concentrated in the hands of the Vice President, Kassim Hanga, and the Minister of External Affairs and Defense, Sheik Abdul Rahman Mohammed.

Mr. Hanga, a bitter opponent of the West, is Soviet trained. He studied international law in Moscow and has a Russian wife.

Sheik Mohammed is head of the militarist leftist UMMA, or people's party. He was trained by Chinese Communists and had been the representative in Zanzibar of Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist press agency.

The two men are believed to be chiefly responsible for changing the course of the revolution.

Their takeover appears to have put an end to the role of John Okello, self-styled field marshal of the revolutionary army. His army, a ragtag collection of 600 men, is being disarmed.

The takeover means that the Communists now are a direct threat to the African mainland. By winning Zanzibar they have gained a stepping stone for penetrating the heart of Africa. Zanzibar has been a gateway to Africa for centuries for slave traders, explorers, and colonizers.

Three other prominent African nationalists are in the revolutionary government as further camouflage. They are Othman Sharif, Minister of Education and Information; Hasnu Makame, Minister of Finance and Development; and Abound-Jumbe, Minister of Health.

Trained subversives have been assigned to them, however.

In the President's office, Mr. Karume's chief executive assistant is Abdul Aziz Twala, a Soviet-trained labor agitator who is publicly committed to setting up a "Socialist Zanzibar in which the working people would establish their dictatorship."

Mr. Hanga is in control of internal affairs and security with Cuban-trained guerrillas under him. The guerrillas retain their automatic weapons.

In the Ministry of Communications the chief executive assistant is Hassan Naesor Moyo, a political activist trained by the Soviet Union.

He arranged for young Zanzibaris to go on scholarships to the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. He founded Zanzibar's Young Workers League in 1962 to "unite all young workers and enable them to receive trade union and political educations."

Mr. Mohammed Babu, a former editor, was released from prison last year after serving a 15-month sentence for sedition. He had run the pro-Communist news sheet Zanews supported by his Chinese Communist patrons.

Mr. Hanga was one of two members who walked out of the island's national assembly last November when the legislative body expressed its condolences over the assassination of President Kennedy.

THREEFOLD PURPOSE EVIDENT

Every indication suggests that the revolution itself had been planned clandestinely before Zanzibar and its northern island of Pemba gained their independence from Britain December 10. Twenty-two Zanzibaris are reported to have returned to the island on independence day, after several months of training in Cuba, to make final preparations.

These guerrillas became the hard core within the untrained ranks of the "liberation army." Field Marshall Okello, a 27-year-old Ugandan, had been a branch secretary of the Afro-Shirazi Party in Pemba.

He and his army, it is now evident, had a threefold purpose.

First, they gave the impression to the outside world that the revolution was a "spontaneous uprising." The idea was to obscure for a time the fact that the revolution was a Communist coup.

Second, the rebel army was a means to give African followers a sense of direct participation in an insurrection that was not of their making. They were allowed to run through the streets of the town of Zanzibar, the island's capital, shooting and looting at will.

Third, Field Marshall Okello had little apparent knowledge of weapons or strategy.

For his uniform he wore a black visored cap, a black shirt with one epaulet—on the left shoulder—and black trousers. The image of an eagle and a ball were on the epaulet. The epaulet was supposed to represent him and the ball represented the world. He said he had been a "brigadier" of the Mau Mau terrorists in Kenya. Former Mau Mau leaders here say they never heard of him.

His followers went wild with racial hatred against their former Arab rulers.

There is no evidence to suggest that the guerrillas were supplied with arms from outside Zanzibar. They seized their weapons and ammunition by first raiding a police armory and the security forces' arsenal before dawn last Sunday.

Mr. MUNDT. Editors of the Times must have found that article interesting, for 3 days later an unsigned background story appeared.

Preparations for last week's pro-Communist revolution in Zanzibar began quietly in Cuba late in 1961, when a Zanzibari political office was established in Havana. They reached their peak with the arrival 6 weeks ago of a Cuban chargé d'affaires in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

Several hundred African "students" are being trained in Cuba. The training is said to include guerrilla warfare tactics.

These students are divided into four main groups.

One is from east Africa, the second group from South Africa.

Students from Ghana, Mali, the Congo, and Nigeria are said to form the third group. The fourth group is made up of students from Spanish Guinea.

But most interesting about this article is the summary of State Department attitude toward the whole development:

The fact that Cuba had been steadily increasing her interest in Africa has been known to officials here for a long time. But it caused no particular concern until the events in Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

The assumption was that Cuba was mainly concerned with commercial and cultural ties.

Facts that once seemed insignificant, such as the establishment in 1961 of the Havana office of the Zanzibar National Party, were being pulled out of the files and studied.

I submit, Mr. President, that had the Freedom Academy been established in 1960 when the Senate first passed the bill, we would have had numerous officers in the State Department and related agencies who would have recognized the significance of these events when they occurred, not years thereafter when country after country in the non-Communist sections of the world seem inexplicably propelled toward the Communist bloc.

I ask unanimous consent that the article "Cuba Began Role in Zanzibar in 1961" from the New York Times of January 23, 1964, be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

CUBA BEGAN ROLE IN ZANZIBAR IN 1961; WASHINGTON GETS DETAILS OF HAVANA'S INVOLVEMENT IN UPRISING IN AFRICA

WASHINGTON, January 22.—Preparations for last week's pro-Communist revolution in Zanzibar began quietly in Cuba late in 1961, when a Zanzibari political office was established in Havana. They reached their peak with the arrival weeks ago of a Cuban chargé d'affaires in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

The detailed story of Cuba's involvement in the Zanzibar revolt and Cuban activities in connection with the training of East African and South African guerrillas and other African groups has been pieced together from reliable reports that became available today.

In addition to tracing the Cuban strategy in preparing for the revolution in Zanzibar, which lies off Tanganyika. The information, which comes from many quarters, indicates that several hundred African "students" are being trained in Cuba. The training is said to include guerrilla warfare tactics.

These students are divided into four main groups.

One is from East Africa. Special emphasis is placed on the second group, trainees from South Africa, who were said to form the largest single unit. Those from Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar also received special emphasis.

This is believed to indicate that Cuba, working with the Soviet Union and possibly Communist China, is centering her attention and activities on South Africa and the east coast of Africa, where the successful revolt in Zanzibar took place January 12 and an army uprising broke out in Tanganyika on Monday.

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Students from Ghana, Mali, the Congo and Nigeria are said to form the third group. The fourth group is made up of students from Spanish Guinea, on Africa's northwestern coast, where there have been pro-independence movements.

The fact that Cuba had been steadily increasing her interest in Africa has been known to officials here for a long time. But it caused no particular concern until the events in Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

The assumption was that Cuba, which maintains diplomatic relations with nine African countries, and trades with six, was mainly concerned with commercial and cultural ties. But the east African violence this month and information coming to light is rapidly changing this evaluation.

AIDES TAKE NEW LOOK

Officials who were reluctant to believe that Cuba would become deeply involved in African revolutionary movements are taking a new look at the situation. They had assumed that she was concentrating on internal problems and Latin American affairs.

Facts that once seemed insignificant, such as the establishment in 1961 of the Havana office of the Zanzibar National Party, were being pulled out of files and studied.

For example, the man who ran the Zanzibar political office in Havana has emerged as a top aide of John Okello, the self-styled field marshal of the Zanzibar revolution. His name was not available here tonight, but dispatches from Zanzibar last Wednesday quoted an aide of Mr. Okello as having said that he had been trained in Cuba along with other Zanzibaris.

As far as is known, the Zanzibar office was the only African organization of its kind operating in Havana, though African students had been going to Cuba for a long time.

How much power Mr. Okello has at this point is not known here, but the available information suggests that Cuban "graduates" still play an important role in the Zanzibar situation.

LINK TO SOUTH AFRICA SEEN

Informed sources here also saw a relationship between Cuban operations and the activities of a nine-man South African Liberation Committee based in Tanganyika.

It was suspected that Dar es Salaam might have become a center for revolutionary activities for east and South Africa and that the Cuban Embassy there, which began functioning suddenly last month, might be one of the key elements in this effort.

Also under study here was a report that the Algerian vessel *Khaladoun* arrived in Dar es Salaam on January 2 with a cargo of arms, supplies, and uniforms.

Some specialists here were checking the possibility that these may have been some of the arms sent by Cuba to Algeria last October during Algeria's brief border conflict with Morocco. The Cubans sent two shiploads of weapons, including tanks, to Algeria, and, according to intelligence sources, they have not been returned to Cuba.

Cuban military personnel accompanied the arms and they, too, are believed to have remained in Algeria. There was interest here whether the Cuban military men might have traveled with the shipment that arrived in Tanganyika 10 days before the Zanzibar revolution.

Mr. MUNDT. Now I should like to skip to the more current press, first the New York Times and then the Washington Post.

Just north of Tanganyika, between Tanganyika and the Sudan, lies Kenya, which, according to recent press dispatches, is also experiencing the early stages of nonmilitary warfare.

Mr. Lawrence Fellows outlined an article which appeared in the Times on April 3, 1965.

The role of Communist China in Kenya was discussed in Parliament today during a debate on arms smuggling.

[The] Health and Housing Minister said the activities of Communist China in the country posed a special problem for Kenyans.

If they came like the British, with guns, it would not be so bad, the minister said. But if the Chinese work underground and supply arms to overthrow the popular government, there is a very real danger to the country.

Obviously there has been some smuggling, the [Defense] minister said, for someone has furnished weapons to the bandits the Government is fighting * * * in the north * * *.

The Information Minister declared: "Kenya is trying to fight a foe she cannot see or touch."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article "Hand of Red China Arouses Kenyans" from the New York Times of April 3, 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

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

[From the New York Times, Apr. 3, 1965]
HAND OF RED CHINA AROUSES KENYANS;
MINISTERS CHARGE SMUGGLING OF ARMS
AIMS AT REVOLT

(By Lawrence Fellows)

NAIROBI, KENYA, April 2.—The role of Communist China in Kenya was discussed in Parliament today during a debate on arms smuggling.

Joseph Otiende, health and housing minister, said the activities of Communist China in the country posed a special problem for Kenyans.

"If they came like the British with guns, it would not be so bad," the minister said. "But if the Chinese work underground and supply arms to overthrow the popular government, there is a very real danger to the country."

He was speaking in a heated debate on a motion urging the government to put a stop to the smuggling of arms into the country lest it be drawn into revolution or an unwanted external war.

A THREAT TO INDEPENDENCE

Ronald Neala, who was the leader of the now defunct opposition party in Kenya, said:

"I feel very strongly on the matter. The country has just finished fighting for independence and I do not want to see a new form of imperialism—communism—coming."

President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda would all be overthrown by revolution in East Africa, according to a document produced by Mr. Ngala.

The document, which was attributed to communism, sources said the three East African leaders had been condemned for having "tried to eat out of both sides of their mouths," he reported.

ARMS SMUGGLERS WARNED

Defense Minister Njoroge Mungai said the government had no knowledge of arms smuggling on large scale. He cautioned anyone who might be contemplating such smuggling to beware not only of the army and the police but of the wrath of the whole people.

Obviously there has been some smuggling, the minister said, for someone has furnished weapons to the bandits the Govern-

ment is fighting in desolate areas in the north. But the government is tightening its control, he added.

Achieng Ouko, the information minister, declared:

"Kenya is trying to fight a foe she cannot see or touch."

"I lost my own youth in the fight for independence and I do not want to see brother fighting brother because some people from outside the country have found a clever way of getting in."

Mr. MUNDT. Then on April 7 we see evidence again supplied by fellows of Kenyan students undergoing political training in the Soviet Union. From their ranks, of course, will come the future subverters of independent Kenya.

"It was more of an indoctrination camp than a university," one student said. "Most of our studies were taken up with brainwashing and learning the Communist doctrine."

"It was hell," another exclaimed.

These students had been among African strikers for better living conditions. Eighty-four students had begun the strike; only 29 returned to Kenya. We are not told the total number of Kenyan students are enrolled in such Communist indoctrination camps.

I ask unanimous consent that the article "Kenyans Charge Soviet Brutality," by Lawrence Fellows, from the New York Times of April 7, 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

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

KENYANS CHARGE SOVIET BRUTALITY; STUDENTS
FLY HOME AND TELL OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(By Lawrence Fellows)

NAIROBI, KENYA, April 6.—Twenty-nine Kenyan students told today after their return from the Soviet Union of misery, hostility and beatings they suffered while at a university in Baku.

"It was more of an indoctrination camp than a university," one student said. "Most of our studies were taken up with brainwashing and learning the Communist doctrine."

"It was hell," another exclaimed. "May God let us all forget that place."

"All the people hated us," one student said. "They just didn't like black people. If we went into restaurants, they refused to serve us. They don't allow you to dance with white women and if we tried to dance with a Russian girl in a club we were beaten up."

He pulled up the sleeve of his jacket to show a scar he said was inflicted during an attack on him by a group of Russian youths.

Cut off from the world and unwilling to stay in Baku unless they were given better protection, they said, the students staged a 2-week strike at the university.

When that failed to get results, the students moved in a body to the Baku railway station and camped on wooden benches there for 8 days. Finally, Soviet authorities put the students, hungry and cold, aboard an Aeroflot plane for home. Two of them were women.

None of the African students at Baku were pleased with their lot, those who returned said, and the strike had been kept from growing larger because the African groups at the university were kept from communicating with one another.

The strike had begun with 84 students and was pared down by sickness to 77 students by the time they moved to the railway station.

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There, in freezing weather and with only enough money to buy a few soft drinks and cakes at the station, many of the students fell ill and returned to the university. Others were bribed away with money or promises of women, they said.

By Sunday, when authorities gave them an ultimatum to return to the university or suffer the consequences, the 29 remaining students stood firm and were given 50 minutes to prepare for the flight home.

The Kenyan Government, which had been notified of the expected arrival of the students only after they were underway, had some officials on hand at the airport to meet the students and to rush them off to a dormitory at the Kenya School of Administration at Kabete, on the edge of Nairobi.

This morning, John Ole Konchellah, assistant minister of education, met with students in a closed session for about 4 hours.

Afterward, Mr. Konchellah said: "The problem arose at Baku when the students wanted a transfer to any other university in the Soviet Union. There were allegations that they were beaten up, that the population was savage, hostile, would attack anybody among the students."

Mr. MUNDT. Finally, I should like to discuss a remarkable article from the Outlook section of the Washington Post of April 4, 1965. Written by Donald H. Louchheim, it presents another variation on the same old theme—citizens and government officials of a nonhostile country who do not recognize nonmilitary aggression against them and, worse, who have no place in the world to turn for enlightenment about this modern risk in statescraft:

A small number of well-disciplined Communists—fewer than 2,000—came startlingly close to winning control of Africa's largest nation.

All agree that the recent events in the Sudan add up to a textbook case of an attempted Communist takeover.

These words are similar to those filed a few weeks ago concerning the Communist overthrow of the legitimate government in the Congo Republic—the Brazzaville government. Here it is called a textbook case; there it was a classic Communist-style takeover—page 4752 of the RECORD.

We should be teaching these people and our own people what constitutes a textbook case.

The article continues:

The drama began with an unexpected revolution last October and culminated in a quiet anti-Communist coup in mid-February.

On October 28 (there was a "glorious revolution," a genuinely popular movement joined by all segments of the population.

No one here believes that the Communists triggered the revolution. But as it unexpectedly began to succeed, they did move to the forefront. And when the collapse came, they were the only organization capable of picking up the pieces.

The extent of the party's penetration was not appreciated until after the revolution. It soon became evident that the Communists had won either control of, or a commanding position in, the executive organs of all the leading professional organizations of doctors, lawyers, and engineers.

This turned out to be their ace in the hole during the tense maneuvering to form a provisional government in the aftermath of the revolution.

The Communists were in good position, as the only cohesive political force in the country, to secure acceptance of

their recommended interim successor government. They proposed to—according to the article:

1. Create an apolitical government with a neutral Premier;
2. Limit the parties to one council member each;
3. Let the other nine members, a majority, represent independent professional groups such as lawyers, doctors, and workers.

The Communists, though, controlled beforehand these "independent professional groups."

Fortunately for us who are not Communists, an independent politician remained who commanded tribal loyalties. He eventually mustered 23,000 men armed with spears, sticks, and blunderbusses, who camped quietly in the city for the tense week of renewed government negotiations.

This article needs no interpretation. It describes plainly the near loss of the Sudan, the recovery, although perhaps only temporary, and the tenuous position which the non-Communist government now occupies. I ask unanimous consent that it appear at this point in my remarks.

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

IT ALMOST HAPPENED IN THE SUDAN—A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF AFRICA'S LARGEST COUNTRY SEEMS AVERTED AFTER TOUCH-AND-GO TUSSLE

(By Donald H. Louchheim)

KHARTOUM.—Perhaps it can't happen here, but it almost did. A small number of well-disciplined Communists—fewer than 2,000—came startlingly close to winning control of Africa's largest nation.

Some observers here believe that the Communists could never have succeeded. Others are not so sure, and they suggest that the threat is still very real. But all agree that the recent events in the Sudan add up to a textbook case of an attempted Communist takeover.

It is no accident that on the desk of one American official in Khartoum there is a copy of Harry and Bonaro Overstreet's "What We Must Know About Communism" or that paperback editions of the book were made available to influential Sudanese.

A REGIME CAVES IN

The drama began with an unexpected revolution last October and culminated in a quiet anti-Communist coup in mid-February.

Talks with diplomatic observers, Sudanese newsmen, leaders of political parties, and participants in the hectic 4-month struggle reveal this story:

On October 28, the 6-year-old military regime of Gen. Ibrahim Abboud collapsed. Five days of demonstrations in this sun-baked city at the confluence of the two Niles had succeeded. But, to the surprise of everyone, the regime was not overthrown. It caved in.

The glorious revolution, as it is now called, was a genuinely popular movement joined by all segments of the population. The demonstrations climaxed 6 years of stagnation and gentle but firm suppression. They were born of frustration and a desire to start afresh on the political and economic problems that had plagued the country since independence in 1956.

No one here believes that the Communists triggered the revolution. But as it unexpectedly began to succeed, they did move to the forefront. And when the collapse came, they were the only organization capable of picking up the pieces.

A VIABLE CORPSE

Throughout the Abboud regime, the Communist Party had been outlawed, along with every other party in the Sudan. But where the other groups either faded into obscurity or became dormant, the Communist Party's apparatus remained intact and moved into active underground opposition.

Significantly, Abboud's half-hearted efforts to suppress the party provided its main source of strength. The Communists became identified as the only resistance to the military government, and they made important gains in the labor movement and in the 100,000-member tenant organization in Sudan's vast Gezira agricultural project. They were also known to have tightened their grip on the country's small but influential intellectual community.

But the extent of the party's penetration was not appreciated until after the revolution. It soon became evident that the Communists had won either control of, or a commanding position in the executive organs of all the leading professional organizations of doctors, lawyers and engineers.

This turned out to be their ace in the hole during the tense maneuvering to form a provisional government in the aftermath of the revolution.

PRESSED FOR TIME

For 4 days and nights, the leaders of the professional, student and labor groups that participated in the demonstrations met with representatives of the former political parties to formulate a government.

According to leaders of the Umma and National Union Parties, the two major anti-Communist groupings, which are credited with the support of about 60 percent of the population, their representatives were cleverly duped by the Communists.

They explain that time was running out. They were haunted by memories of the impotence of the political parties during the parliamentary period between 1956 and the Abboud coup in 1958. They wanted to reach a temporary consensus that would embrace all elements of the population. And they felt that unless they could produce a government quickly, they would lose the confidence of the country.

The Communists played on all these apprehensions during the negotiations. Time was on their side, and their proposal appeared to be a fair one:

1. Create an apolitical government with a neutral premier.
2. Limit the parties to one council member each.
3. Let the other nine members, a majority, represent independent professional groups such as lawyers, doctors, and workers.

RIPE FOR TRANSITION

On October 30, a new Council of Ministers was announced. From the 15 members, the Communists could muster 10 votes. Sources say that the number of card-carrying party members may have numbered only four but that the other members of the group, principally drawn from hidden sympathizers in the professional organizations, could be counted on for their consistent support.

On November 4, the party held its first aboveground plenum in 8 years. It was decided that the revolution had been a national democratic revolution, that the necessary first stage had been completed and that the time was ripe for the transition to socialism. Party members and their supporters were given the green light.

From subsequent developments, it appears that the Central Committee determined that the army was the most serious potential threat to the hoped-for transition.

On November 9, a bold stroke was carried out in an effort to build support for a massive army shakeup. A party member walked into the state radio station and broadcast a false report that the army was trying to

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carry out a reactionary coup. He appealed for immediate demonstrations to counter the threat and urged the replacement of the counterrevolutionaries with more reliable subordinates.

A JOLTING BOOMERANG

Observers here are unanimous that the broadcast was a serious tactical error from the Communist point of view. It was revealed as a hoax before the Communists could implement their plan. More important, it served as a jolting eye opener to the non-Communist parties and it marked the beginning of their campaign to regain control.

It was to be a tough, 2-month battle. The Communists still had a healthy majority in the Council of Ministers, and they began a systematic campaign to tighten the noose.

They already had succeeded in getting a pledge of support for all "liberation movements" written into the provisional national charter. Capitalizing on genuine popular sympathy for the Congolese rebels, they now opened up the Sudan as an arms pipeline into the northeastern Congo. In addition, the Government began to provide support to Eritrean dissidents seeking to detach that coastal province from Ethiopia.

Domestically, the Communists pushed even harder, possibly too hard. A purge committee was established and it attempted a systematic cleanup of anti-Communists in key sectors of the country, including the army and the judiciary. The British-trained civil service, which had kept the country operating during the first 8 uncertain years of independence, was one early target. A dozen key administrators were forced out and the Communists cleverly whetted the appetites of junior officials eager for advancement.

The press was another major target. Several papers were closed outright. In two other cases, anti-Communist editors were pushed into retirement and low-echelon Communist sympathizers rose to power. By January, the anti-Communist press comprised only the Umma and National Union Party newspapers, both house organs with limited circulations.

Many of the purge casualties were victims of a stroke of a pen and it is conceded that in some cases the retribution was just. Others, however, were subjected to blackmail.

Dossiers citing instances of possible collaboration with the Abboud regime were produced with warnings of what could happen if the individuals failed to play ball. Businessmen, landowners, and other influential persons outside of direct government control were put under pressure.

The Communists rode the crest of the wave through mid-January. By then, the reaction to the heavy-handed purge efforts began to increase. It coincided with a rallying of strength by the leadership of the Umma and National Union Parties.

The turn of the tide was reflected in the second Communist Party plenum, held January 14. The party secretary general, Abdelkhalig Mahgoub, admitted that the assessment of the first postrevolutionary gathering in November had been premature.

"We made some mistakes," he said. "There were certain weaknesses which prevented the national democratic forces from realizing complete success."

He conceded that the party had overestimated its support and coordination and urged a more gradual "transition to socialism."

The switch came too late. A month after the plenum, the anti-Communist parties launched their counter-coup. It was signaled by an event similar to the false Communist broadcast directed against the Army Nov. 9.

The Information Minister, a Communist

supporter, unilaterally took the air in the name of the government. He claimed that the revolution was being threatened and called for demonstrations of support. Observers say that the now familiar demonstration squad turned out but with limited results.

The next day, Sadiq Elmahdi, leader of the Umma Party and a political chieftan of the powerful and disciplined Moslem Ansar brotherhood, summoned 23,000 of his followers to Khartoum "to prevent any monkey business." Armed with spears, sticks, and blunderbusses, they camped quietly in the city for the tense week of renewed government negotiations.

Prime Minister Serrel-Khatim Khalifa who throughout the post-revolutionary period had been little more than a tall wagged by the top dog in the Council of Ministers, resigned on Feb. 18. The negotiations to form a second transitional government began, but this time the Umma and National Union representatives found themselves armed with most of the cards. Their trump was the presence of the 23,000 Ansari.

In the reshuffle, the Communist Party and its ally, the People's Democratic Party, were allotted only four of the 15 Council posts and the anti-Communist parties held a majority. The Communist refused to participate in the new alignment; they demanded two additional seats for "workers and tenants' representatives" but the other parties refused to budge.

This second transitional government ended officially last Thursday under a mandate limiting it to March 31 unless it could guarantee elections by April 21. It could give no such assurance, but a last-minute flurry of political jockeying will keep it in power for a few more weeks and possibly longer.

Most observers here think that the danger of an outright Communist takeover has passed, at least for the immediate future, but they are aware that the Communists retain a strong influence that could soar if the traditional parties fail to come up with a constructive and progressive government.

At the moment, the Communist Party is somewhat divided into Moscow and Peking factions, but it is still the best organized and best financed group in the Sudan. It has been receiving large donations of Sudanese pounds bought by the Russians in Beirut and by the Chinese in Dar Es Salaam.

The Party publishes five newspapers and a mimeographed monthly circulates within the army. It has also established a busy network of workers' clubs throughout the country's major cities. Although most of its supporters have been exposed, it is still campaigning hard with both carrot and stick.

Mr. MUNDT. What is important to comment on here is that Communist experts in nonmilitary aggression will study their failure in the Sudan and will subsequently apply what they learn in new essays in aggression. Louchheim, on the other hand, tells something of our patchwork efforts at resistance during these weeks in the Sudan:

It is no accident that on the desk of one American official in Khartoum there is a copy of Harry and Bonaro Overstreet's "What We Must Know About Communism" or that paperback editions of the book were made available to influential Sudanese.

It is good that we are consulting this perspicuous book. But it is time that we provide thorough familiarity with nonmilitary aggression for those persons in non-Communist countries upon whom our own defenses rest.

Enactment of the Freedom Academy bill would be an excellent start.

NEW MEXICANS MAKE STRONG CASE FOR BAYARD VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL PRESERVATION

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, President Johnson's decision to review the Veterans' Administration order closing a number of VA hospitals has been very encouraging to us who feel the closing would be a serious disservice to the veterans of this country.

Just before establishing a committee to review the closing order, the President instructed the Administrator for the Veterans' Administration, Mr. William J. Driver, to visit each of the endangered hospitals.

Unfortunately, Mr. Driver was not treated with proper courtesy at some of the institutions, but I am happy to say that the citizens of Silver City and Grant County in New Mexico were not among this group. Mr. Driver's reception when he visited Fort Bayard Veterans' Hospital on April 3 so impressed him that he sent a letter of thanks to the chamber of commerce.

I believe the comments of Mr. Jim Elliott, of the Silver City Daily Press, following Mr. Driver's visit may be of interest to my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that the comments be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Silver City-Grant County Chamber of Commerce has received a letter from William J. Driver, Veterans' Affairs Administrator, complimenting Grant Countians on their presentation of the case for retention of the VA hospital at Fort Bayard, as being orderly, dignified, and without dramatics.

Driver, who was at the Fort Bayard facility on direct orders of the President, was met by hospital administrators, leaders of the Tri-State Veterans Steering Committee Thomas P. Foy, Ernie Parra, Dr. George Cornell, and others; news representatives, and Senator JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, representing the New Mexico congressional delegation.

Also on hand were a number of veterans organization members, including ranking State officers of the DAV.

In addressing the local people, Driver stated in the briefest terms that his mission was to make a personal inspection, that other VA officials with him were even then touring the Fort Bayard complex, and that he would submit his evaluation of the facility's worth and importance directly to President Johnson.

Many of the assembled veterans shook hands with the Administrator, said they were certain his on-site inspection would be reflected in a favorable report, and left any formal statements to Senator MONTOYA.

Senator MONTOYA said he wished to speak, not of economic importance of the facility, but of the hardship its closing would work on veterans of this area, especially the great distance to be traveled by ailing veterans to the nearest VA hospital.

In less than 10 minutes the conference was over, and Driver began his own tour of the plant.

Driver's treatment in Grant County was in sharp contrast to that he received in some supposedly more sophisticated communities, where groups of exservicemen, wearing little caps jangling with hardware, dogged his steps as he toured facilities, wore placards de-

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nouncing him, booed his every remark and railed at him.

Grant Countians didn't have to make a personal attack on the VA chief to make their point. The point was well made by the sparkling appearance and obviously smooth operation of the hospital itself.

It shouldn't be hard to guess which facilities left the more favorable impressions on the inspection team.

REPRESENTATIVE WHITTEN CALLS FOR UNDERSTANDING ABOUT PESTICIDES

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, from time to time, various of our colleagues have seen fit to discuss in this Chamber the several aspects of pesticides, insecticides, and weedicides: their place and value in agriculture; their proper use; their effect upon agricultural production, availability of foodstuffs as well as their quality; and proposed legislative measures relating to their manufacture, distribution and use.

This Senator has also engaged in such discussions in this Chamber previously. In common with others who have done so, I too have counseled that before acting by way of legislation, we should have all the necessary facts firmly in mind.

As we all know, the book, "Silent Spring," by Miss Rachel Carson, forcibly centered attention on this subject.

In spite of her high dedication to the cause of public well-being, however, the book regrettably caused many fears, feverish inquiries and concerns. This was regrettable because with more complete information and consideration, such apprehensions have for the most part been classed as unfounded; better balance has been achieved.

It is gratifying to note that with the passage of time and further studies, much of that original furor has subsided and has assumed more realistic nature and degree. But this did not occur before a good deal of harm had been done to farmers, growers, and consumers, as well as the chemical industry.

This illustrates the need for exercise of caution in acting or speaking in the name of public safety when the hazard warned against is not sufficiently demonstrated or does not exist in the harmful degree claimed, or where the detrimental effects of such acting or speaking far outweigh the criticisms or charges leveled.

Recent inquiries, investigations, and studies have brought out salient and vital facts in this field.

Modern agriculture of adequate size and quality is impossible without pesticides.

Pesticides are one of the greatest bulwarks against disease.

The greatest beneficiary of the use of pesticides is the American consumer.

The consumer, because of pesticides, derives and enjoys better quality, greater purity, and wider variety in his food at a lower price than anywhere on earth.

No case of injury to human beings from the proper use of pesticides has been documented.

This Senator knows that the farmer of the Midwest places high store and great necessity on pesticides, insecticides,

and weedicides. The same is true throughout the Nation.

Every precaution should be taken for human safety, to be sure. But let there not be ill-advised, hasty action which will be based on emotion or hysteria but which will result in heavy and irreparable damages to those whose safety is being sought.

A Member of the Congress who has studied the pesticide matter carefully and thoroughly is Representative JAMIE L. WHITTEN, of Mississippi, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture. He is one of the country's foremost agricultural authorities. All who have dealt with him have confidence in his integrity, ability, and knowledge.

Recently Representative WHITTEN gave a speech to the Council of California Growers. It is entitled "Our Pesticide Problem—Public Understanding Our Greatest Need." Because of its timely and factual information, I ask unanimous consent to have the speech printed in the Record.

I hope every Member of the Congress will take the time to read it. It puts this entire pesticide situation in its proper context. Sooner or later, the Congress will, in my opinion, be called upon to legislate in this field. The speech will prove invaluable to those who wish to wholesomely inform themselves in advance.

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

OUR PESTICIDE PROBLEM—PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OUR GREATEST NEED

(Speech of Congressman JAMIE L. WHITTEN, chairman, Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture, to the Council of California Growers)

On the bulletin board at the University of California at Davis appears the following: "One controversial book has boited us into reevaluating man's entire relationship within his environment."

This is a holdover from the food conference held at this institution in 1960, entitled "Food for Man in the Future."

Truly, the book, "Silent Spring," written by Miss Rachel Carson, has created perhaps as much furor and activity as any book in this generation. It has actually resulted in tremendous expansion, if not the creation of a pesticide laboratory at the university. It has resulted in the enlargement of the research activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Department of Agriculture; and the Fish and Wildlife Service, as well as the creation of the President's Committee on Science, and five or six new laws.

Not only this, but it has created greatly expanded work in the field of ecology, a branch of science concerned with the interrelationship of organisms and their environments, and in renewed tests of man and animals. The conferences resulting are without number, and the tests made and being made go on ad infinitum. Like the work of the ecologist, this will continue forever.

In many areas the public clamor following "Silent Spring" has almost reached the point of hysteria. Reassessments have been made as to effects of chemicals on fish and fowl, man and animals, all of which if taken in proper balance might be good. Certainly, the sum total will be increased knowledge, much of which will doubtless prove beneficial and all of which will prove of interest to those who by training are scientists.

With the untimely passing of the late

Miss Carson, not only should the present activity be taken as a well-deserved and well-merited result of her efforts to shock the American people into a realization of the change which man's efforts to improve his status have caused upon the face of the earth; but I am further convinced that with Miss Carson no longer here there is a real need to bring these matters into focus, that we may keep a sense of balance with regard to man's essential weapons in his never-ending contest with insects and diseases, with pests and pestilence.

In connection with this effort on my part to place "Silent Spring" and the resulting activity by an aroused public in proper focus, we must realize that the substitutes which were offered not only in "Silent Spring" but by those who took its public warning as the last word are, themselves, dangerous to the extreme.

Recommended as a substitute in "Silent Spring" was bacteria, though it is the cause of much suffering by man and animal life. Also suggested as a substitute for chemicals were viruses. As we know, viruses are not only the known cause of many diseases of man and animals, but to you and me they are the cause to which is attributed just about everything for which the doctors can find no answer. Not only is this true, but the books are replete with illustrations of the mutations of viruses; thus, though our scientists may be able to determine a means of control for a particular virus, in succeeding generations changes may occur so that it becomes something entirely different and not subject to any known control, a virus running wild.

Another item recommended by Miss Carson as a substitute was gamma rays, which according to the Atomic Energy Commission requires the greatest care and attention. A real help in the treatment of cancer, there are those who begin to suspect that radiation may be the cause of leukemia.

All of which means that if a Daphne du Maurier or Ernest Hemingway were to write a book to the effect that Americans, with government approval if not direction, were deliberately releasing into our environment viruses, bacteria, or gamma rays, they, too, could scare the public to death with their power with words, in describing use of these substitutes for chemicals suggested by Miss Carson.

The problem she points up is that some chemicals do not break down readily and that some residue is stored. One way of looking at it is that the substitutes recommended would be far more dangerous, since, as with the use of viruses, the mutation process could produce dangerous new viruses as an offshoot of one which at the outset is perfectly harmless and, perhaps in some instances, actually beneficial.

In a television program several years ago, Miss Carson raised this significant question: "Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poison (chemical pesticides) on the surface of the earth without making it unsafe for all life?"

To which I would reply that, with all the known benefits and, in some cases absolute dependence upon chemicals, can anyone believe it should be mandatory to prohibit their use simply because some place, somewhere, sometime, something bad just barely might happen? Truly, we must find a medium for reaching a median.

"Silent Spring" pleads eloquently for the balance of nature. When there were only 800,000 Indians on this continent, the number at the time of the discovery of America by Columbus, nature did a fair job for them. Today, if we had to depend on nature, we would probably die of disease at a fairly early age, if we did not starve to death first.

The facts show that the proper use of chemical pesticides, as well as other weapons of our American agriculture, is necessary

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both to human health and to the production of a nutritious and abundant supply of food, for farm labor is simply not available; and if people from our cities were forced into farm work, they would be little if any help, judging by other nations where dire necessity has brought this about.

In recent years it has become more and more difficult to convince the public and Members of Congress of the importance of chemical pesticides and herbicides to a productive agriculture, and to the consumer as well.

Public health and a constantly increasing life expectancy are threatened today by such attacks. Already there is legislation which has led to requirement by the Government of zero tolerance for pesticide residues for some foods, meaning there must be no detectable pesticide residue. From the standpoint of practical application, there can be no such thing as zero tolerance, for constantly improved techniques of testing show traces so small as to be of interest only to a scientist.

Some years ago, a few cranberry producers violated instructions for the use of pesticides on cranberries, and residues resulted. The problem was solved. Subsequently, around Thanksgiving, sensational and unnecessary statements were made to the press which scared the buying public and destroyed the market for good, wholesome cranberries. The damage was felt for a long time. At the direction of President Eisenhower, approximately \$10 million was paid the cranberry producers for the unnecessary injury inflicted as a result of this uncalled for and damaging publicity.

Other industries have been hurt by such irresponsible publicity, including the dairy industry. Yet, as I have stated, there has been no evidence that human health has been injured nor endangered where pesticides and other chemicals have been properly handled. On the contrary, it is plain that human health is dependent upon chemicals and chemical pesticides in many ways.

If it were possible to do without chemicals, I believe all would be for such a course, for chemical pesticides are costly. They require frequent use, and care must be used in their application. However, only by their use do we provide our high standard of living; only by their use can we continue the good life we now take for granted; and only by their use do we protect our health.

In 1962 we had an estimated 60 million television sets; the rest of the world had around 69 million. We have approximately 2.6 million miles of paved and surfaced highways; the rest of the world has 1.4 million miles, exclusive of the U.S.S.R. We had approximately 78 million automobiles and commercial vehicles in use in 1962; the rest of world had only an estimated 62 million. We spent approximately 18 percent of our annual income for food; the average for some other countries is as follows: Italy, 46 percent; Japan, 51 percent; Ceylon, 57 percent; Nigeria, 71 percent.

All of this is made possible because the 8 percent of our people on the farm provide food and raw materials for the other 92 percent. To do so, they must rely upon: (1) intricate and expensive machinery; (2) chemicals, including chemical pesticides—both of which take the place of farm labor which is no longer available; (3) greatly increased investment and risk; and (4) constant research. Each of these four is absolutely essential if 8 percent of our people are to free the other 92 percent from the farm, so they may maintain national defense, keep for us our standard of living, and protect the public health.

Yet today we find some of these essentials under serious attack from an aroused public opinion, which we must calm. For, like the foundation of a building, if one of these four essentials is taken away not only will it bring

down American agriculture, but it will seriously weaken our defense, greatly reduce our standard of living, and endanger our welfare.

Unless public thinking is brought back into balance, insects and disease could run rampant. The distribution of our population could well reach a balance—50 percent in the towns and cities and 50 percent forced back to the farm. Our standard of living would likely fall to the low level of Russia. This may sound extreme, but I am confident that a study of the facts will bear me out.

Recently I visited several of our airfields and missile bases. There I saw the awesome power of manmade fuels, saw demonstrated the terrible destructiveness of our bombs, the unbelievable speed of our fighter planes, loaded with enough destructive force to destroy many cities at one strike.

I visited Cape Kennedy where I saw all the equipment demonstrated, manpower multiplied to the nth degree by machines, was provided a complete briefing and stood at the exact spot where the next space capsule will soon be bolted to the missile.

As I stood there, I thought of Miss Carson's melancholy sense of foreboding, which she expressed in these words: "Now I truly believe that we, in this generation, must come to terms with nature, and I think we are challenged as mankind has never been challenged before to prove our maturity and our mastery, not of nature, but of ourselves."

Necessary though all of this defense effort appears to be, it occurred to me that it is here Miss Carson's admonition should make its deepest imprint; it is here that nature or natural laws are being turned, not toward a better food supply, a higher standard of living, but toward the destruction of mankind.

Yet as I viewed these machines of destruction, while standing on top of the missile which will hurl our next astronaut into space, I felt I had some understanding of the thoughts which must have crossed Miss Carson's mind as she dedicated "Silent Spring": "To Albert Schweitzer who said, 'Man has lost the capacity to foresee and to forestall. He will end by destroying the earth.'"

"To Keats, who said in the 1820's, 'the sedge is wither'd from the lake and no birds sing.'"

"And to E. B. White, who said, 'I am pessimistic about the human race because it is too ingenious for its own good. Our approach to nature is to beat it into submission. We would stand a better chance of survival if we accommodated ourselves to this planet and viewed it appreciatively instead of skeptically and dictatorially.'"

But back to the problem of insects, Miss Carson says, in "Silent Springs": "All this is not to say there is no insect problem and no need for control. I am saying, rather, that control must be geared to realities, not to mythical situations, and that the methods employed must be such that they do not destroy us along with the insects."

To me, this is a call for a public balance of opinion. Had she foreseen clearly the way in which the public received her story as the last word, as scientific fact, she might well have said the same with a slight variation, as follows: "While my warnings are timely, for there is a problem of care and caution in the use of chemicals, let care and caution be geared to realities, not to mythical situations, and the methods employed must be such that they, the public, do not destroy themselves (by going) along with the insects."

Today we have 2,683,078 people in the military service of the United States and 1,173,542 civilians working for the Defense Department; 2,975,000 people are engaged in the manufacture of weapons and materials for military use and uncounted millions in related support.

We have 32,417 people engaged in the space program and an estimated 300,000 people in

our plants and factories in this program, with 20,000 people providing general support and supplies.

The fiscal year 1965 appropriations include an annual expenditure for the national defense and related programs, including space, of some \$58 billion, approximately 60 percent of our total annual governmental budget. To support this defense activity, the Defense Department has an estimated investment of \$36.5 billion in plants and land (original cost valuation) and 26.8 million acres of land for defense use.

The heavy burden of national defense can be readily appreciated when it is realized that a B-52 military bomber costs about \$8 million to produce, a conventional aircraft carrier costs around \$330 million, and a nuclear carrier runs in the neighborhood of \$400 million.

No nation in the history of the world has ever spent such a large share of its governmental income on defense and other items over a long period of time without a crackup of its economy; yet in the United States of America we have the highest standard of living of any nation in the world.

It was my privilege during the period of November 15-22, 1964, to participate in a traveling symposium of the National Academy of Sciences. We spent a full day at the U.S. Laboratory at Beltsville, Md.; the American Cyanimid Laboratory at Princeton, N.J.; the Taft Engineering Laboratory at Cincinnati, Ohio; the Wildlife Laboratory at Denver, Colo.; and the University of California Laboratory at Davis, ending with a presentation by the U.S. Health Service at San Francisco, flying between these points at night in order to save time.

At each place, detailed presentations were made by leading scientists of the United States, some from the institutions which we visited, invited there to be on the program. Each session was concluded by a question-and-answer period.

This symposium did much to convince me that our scientists can work together cooperatively and that it is primarily in the field of public opinion that we need to seek a balance.

In these hearings many things became clear. First, without today's chemical pesticides our timber would become depleted and our lands eroded, our watersheds would become funnels for floodwaters rushing down upon our cities.

I am well aware that real research progress has been made. At Beltsville numerous examples of damages to crops and timber stands by various insects which have responded to these modern persistent chemicals, and only to them on any significant basis, are available. There it was demonstrated that the sex attractant approach toward elimination of insects, on which the Department of Agriculture has worked for many years, is very effective. We were shown that male roaches literally would be driven wild by the scent from the female of the species. Detailed statements were presented, describing many of the so-called modern means of controlling insects and pests, though rather than modern they are actually a mere expansion of the various programs which have gone on in the Department for many years.

Study of this subject further shows the absolute dependence which modern-day man has upon all his weapons, the old and the new. Yet in the care and caution involved are many years of research which go on prior to the acceptance or approval of any new insecticide or pesticide, the average being 5 to 6 years and the investment averaging some \$2½ to \$3½ million for each new product. These products, paid for by private companies, are made possible only because of the urgent need on the part of the buying public and only after tremendous amounts of energy and effort to make sure they are safe for human use when properly handled.

We have read of numerous instances of fish kill; yet a study shows this has occurred throughout history. In the recent Mississippi River fish kill it was contended that the chemical, endrin, was the cause; and yet Dr. Arnold, head of our laboratory in Florida, stated to our panel that once a fish is dead there is no known way to be certain what the cause might be. Dr. Arnold further stated that periodically the "red tide" would strike salt water fish at sea, resulting in death to large numbers of fish; why it causes their death, we do not know.

A friend and participant in the symposium repeated the oft-told tale about the ancient Indian tribe which spent its summers in the mountains of the West but, on occasion, would travel to the shore for shellfish and other seafood. At times the Indians would be deathly sick after eating the shellfish. Scientists have since determined that the pink plankton became diseased, affecting the fish and resulting in the illness of the tribe. A tribal order was issued by the chief that members of the tribe were not to eat the oysters or other shellfish when the water was red (with plankton). However, it wasn't long until one of the braves, having taken unto himself too much of a beverage which brought about intoxication, determined to have the fish and when he started toward the ocean the chief struck him down with a club.

This, it is said, is the first time the controlling Government ever interfered with the food supply.

Even the scientists who did the research work in an effort to determine the cause of the fish kill in the Mississippi River acknowledged that in an inland lake, Oxbow, in Sunflower County, Miss., where for many years the persistent chemicals used on the crops have run into streams which feed the lake, the fish are fat, healthy and sassy; and yet, these fish contained more than 40 times as much chemical residue from persistent chemicals as did the fish involved in the Mississippi River kill.

Demonstrated to us also was the tremendous pollution of our streams from other causes. To stand in one of our national laboratories and see in glass containers the junk which had been taken from 250,000 gallons of water from each of several rivers in the general area, to remove the cover of the container and smell the revolting odor, certainly made us realize that in this generation we must give some consideration to the protection of essential water and other things in our environment.

It was demonstrated that lethal doses of the chemicals would kill fish and, as explained, would kill people—a fact all of us know; deadly amounts of anything will kill. We have even had cases described where drinking pure water has killed, when some unbalanced individuals on a gamble or dare took on too much.

It was further shown that everything has chemical content in varying degrees and that minerals are nature's chemicals.

One of the scientists advised us that while tests and research are excellent and necessary, for they add to the sum total of human knowledge, it will doubtless prove of some benefit in most cases but in all instances would prove of interest to the research scientists. With all of this, the public scare about measurable residues seems to have no basis in fact, since tests show levels are far below the point at which anyone contends public health would be endangered.

We were told that tests clearly show residues seem to have reached the maximum level when built up to a level of 10 or 12 parts per million; and beyond that point residues are thrown off by our bodies as rapidly as they are taken aboard. An example was given of one man who worked with one of the persistent chemicals—where tests showed he had 648 parts of residue per million—and he felt good, looked good, and said he was completely healthy.

Our finite new testing methods show that in rain on top of Mount Everest there is a slight degree of residue from various pesticides, while the average for Americans is some four or five parts per billion. Here it was disclosed that the zero tolerance now required on residues for milk is an impossibility, for today we have come up with methods of tests whereby it is possible to separate three parts of chemical residues from the persistent chemical from a trillion (three out of 1 trillion) or, as expressed another way, 1 second could be separated from the time in 32,000 years. Thus, it is no wonder that at the University of California, at Davis, the scientists referred to "working level zero" in our discussions of pesticide research.

In our hearings at Denver, Colo., at the Fish and Wildlife Research Laboratory, much time was given to discussion of predator animals, birds and rodents which destroy young timber and in the absence of persistent pesticides would prevent us from restoring the forests and refuges, for as the young seedlings were set out these rodents and other predators would destroy them.

Pictures were presented of the vast hordes of blackbirds which steal from the feed lots in the cattle areas of this country and from the rice and grain fields of the southeastern region. These hordes of birds continue to increase; and in one spot in Arkansas 40 million were counted in one roost. Pictures were also shown of the starlings which infest much of the United States and on which \$10,000 was spent in the last Presidential inauguration, just to prevent the embarrassment which might have resulted to the people attending the inauguration parade.

With regard to the title of the book, "Silent Spring," the spring is anything but silent, for the birds do sing. In reality, according to personal observation and the best figures available, those of the Audubon Society, there are more birds today than ever before and certain kinds of birds constitute a real economic threat.

We were presented with facts as to the serious and sincere effort by the Fish and Wildlife Service to handle predator birds and animals and to rid the Nation of the tremendous costs and damages brought about by the blackbirds and starlings. This year the Department of the Interior will spend some \$600,000 trying to get rid of birds which due to tremendous numbers and hearty appetites, have become pests. The Federal Aviation Agency will join in spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in an attempt to remove the hazard to air travel by striking birds.

Testimony was given to show the buildup of residues in birds, as formerly had been shown with regard to fish. Yet with the directives and appropriations by the Congress, I learned of no instance where dieldrin, endrin, DDT, or other chemicals were used in the efforts to get rid of these damaging birds. As one scientist told me, facetiously, I'm sure, failure to use these chemicals is due to the fact that it would take over 100 years to eliminate the birds by that means, and by that time these chemicals might become a necessary seasoning for their food.

Subsequently this whole problem was brought into focus to a great degree. At the University of California, at Davis, it was readily agreed that we need to know more about chemicals and chemical pesticides. We need to learn to stop drift, so that when we use airplanes for distribution of the pesticide, as is essential in dealing with this matter on a large scale, we need to see the chemical doesn't blow across the fields to plants for which it was not intended. It was clearly developed that we need to know more of the effects on land, as some vegeta-

bles have a tendency to absorb the soil and more of the chemicals used in preceding years than others, though all of this, too, becomes important because of government-fixed tolerances rather than of proven dangers to health.

It was learned that 20 percent of all the chemical pesticides used in this country are used in California. The following statement was made: "Without these chemicals and chemical pesticides it would be impossible for California to continue its present production, with the resulting effect upon the availability of vegetables and agricultural products upon the markets of the central and eastern part of the United States."

We found that the challenge has been accepted, that man is doing everything possible to stay one step ahead in this constant battle with insects and disease. Repeated was the fact that tolerance builds up in man as it does in animals and insects. Since this is true with regard to insects, it calls for continued efforts by man to find new chemicals, new methods and ways to overcome the tolerance which does build up in animals and in insects. We must see to it that tolerances are based upon safety and set by a standard test.

OUR ROAD AHEAD

"It takes so few of us to provide food, clothing and shelter for the rest of us, the rest of us can provide the highest standard of living for all of us ever known by man."

I have made the foregoing statement in quite a few speeches. To me, it sums up the secret of our great success, but also expresses a most serious threat to our welfare. With so few people on the farm, the voice of agriculture is weak in the legislative halls of a majority of the States and of the Nation. No longer does agriculture figure prominently in the planning of those who look to the majority. This leaves a major task of keeping the consumers informed, the 92 percent of the farm who must depend on agriculture for their supply of food and fiber.

Unless our urban population understands agriculture, future generations could go hungry and our Nation could go down to ruin as did the city-states of the past. After all, the eventual loser in the declining voice of agriculture in our legislative bodies could be the consumers that agriculture serves.

A few years ago I spoke to the annual convention of the National Agricultural Chemicals Association at Del Coronado, Calif., with some 1,500 to 2,000 delegates in attendance from all over the United States. I spoke as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture.

When the San Diego newspapers reported I was to speak at Del Coronado, just outside San Diego, I received a wire from the mayor of San Diego offering me the keys to the city. We have a big naval base at that city and then, as now, I was a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Defense, which handles the appropriations for the activities of the base.

Representatives of the local newspapers came to the hotel to interview me. We had about a 45-minute talk about the speech I was to present. As they were leaving, one of the reporters remarked, "Congressman, I note you are also on the Defense Subcommittee. I see in the press today that we had another failure at Cape Canaveral."

I replied: "That is typical of the United States, to tell about every one of our failures while Russia tells only of her successes."

Now, these reporters had spent 45 minutes with me discussing my speech about agriculture. However, the newspapers carried my picture with a writeup under the heading, "Congressman Says United States Advertises Its Failures." There followed a story built around my offhand comment. The interview on my farm speech was ignored, except for a brief statement at the end that I was there to speak to an agri-

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cultural group, the National Agricultural Chemicals Association.

The next day I referred to the brushoff given my farm remarks to illustrate how difficult it is to reach our urban dwellers. Following my speech, a reporter for the afternoon paper called me aside. He said he wanted to see that his newspaper gave my speech better treatment. We discussed the address at considerable length. The next day, believe me, the newspaper not only did not mention my talk, but carried an editorial saying San Diego County was a large agricultural county and, in effect, was not getting its share of Federal financial assistance.

My complaint is not about the treatment accorded me. If I had worn my defense appropriations hat, what I said would have been reported at length. The real tragedy is that the editors of those newspapers knew their readers, living in towns and cities, took agriculture for granted and preferred to read about Cape Canaveral (now Cape Kennedy) and guided missiles.

This experience certainly points up the problem we now have in reaching the American consumers who are not on the farms. The consumers must be told that the good health of agriculture is vital to their own good health and welfare.

I wish to emphasize that we must see that the 8 percent on the farm has the means which will enable it to supply the 92 percent in the cities with wholesome, nutritious, abundant and, comparatively speaking, cheap food. The 8 percent must have the means of production—efficient pesticides, fertilizers, modern machinery and other techniques of modern agriculture. The 8 percent also must get a fair price for what it raises. As the Communist experience shows, one way to wreck agriculture is to kill the incentive of the farmers, and without reasonable profits, there is no incentive.

We must continue research, including pesticide research, in many fields so that we can keep our farm plant efficient and ready to meet the demands which will be put upon it, both here and abroad. As I have tried to make plain, our agriculture is an asset in many respects. Its scope embraces both national security and national health.

We must not permit anyone or any group to saddle our sources of food and fiber with the burden of the unknown. We must abolish once and for all time this effort to force the home gardener, the homemaker, the florist, and those engaged in agriculture to prove that their tools and working materials do not cause that for which even our best researchers, physicians, and scientists do not know the cause.

So far as chemicals are concerned, we must provide for, and establish, reasonable tolerances for residues, tolerances which provide ample protection for the public health. We must see that tolerances are determined by standard procedures and that they remain fixed so long as there is no evidence of danger to the public. We must not allow compensation for damages resulting from misuse, but also we must prevent damages by government, local or other, where the instructions providing for health protection have been carried out. The regulations must abide by the rules of commonsense as well as by scientific rules.

We must be ready with new weapons and new methods; but in the meantime we must not give up those we have. If we do not follow this policy, we can get ready to tell our farewell to our high level of living.

Both sides of the story must be told. The overwhelming number of Americans living in the towns and cities, including sportsmen, must become aware of the fact that they are heavily dependent on the latest and best chemical pesticides.

The ability of animals and insects, as well as man, to propagate is such that any one species except for the problems of his competitors and his environment would reach such numbers as to fill the earth. From the beginning, man has changed his environment for the purpose of improving his own lot, of better handling his competitive situation with other forms of life around him.

With man's ingenuity, in time the final and best method of testing developed would not limit us to locating a dime in a budget of a hundred billion dollars, or a second in the time of 32,000 years, but in all likelihood man's ingenuity is such that every change in our environment from the beginning of time could be identified, all to add to the sum total of man's knowledge—though perhaps not in large degree to his benefit. Doubtless, the results of such tests will be of help in bringing to the people of our Nation and the world a sense of balance, causing public attention, properly aroused, to be given to care and caution, to learning for the future. In no case must we allow the hysteria which might result in man depriving himself of the very means by which he controls at least a part of the environment in which he lives. Public opinion running wild can be like the mob which destroys itself. We should lend our effort to acknowledging Miss Carson's great contribution and join others in tribute to that great lady, underwriting the statement appearing on the walls of the auditorium of the University of California, at Davis: "One controversial book has boited us into reevaluating man's relationship with his environment."

But let us pledge to ourselves that we will not allow that spirit or feeling to get out of hand; that we will make every effort to see that man continues to prosper, continues to lengthen the years of his life.

PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR PUBLIC DISASTER RELIEF

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, we do not ordinarily find an industry or its public relations representatives receiving wide acclaim for exceptional accomplishment in time of area-wide disaster.

That is why, in my opinion, the work of the American Plywood Association, its public relations manager, George C. Cheek, of Tacoma, Wash., and of its publicity manager, Tom McCarthy during winter floods in the Pacific Northwest and northern California, is exceptionally noteworthy.

Public Relations News, published in New York, related the fine work of the association, and of Mr. Cheek and Mr. McCarthy, in a recent issue under the appropriate heading "How an Industry Used PR To Help Overcome the Effects of a Disaster."

The seriousness of this flood disaster has been attested also in a special visual report on the flood, carried over the National Broadcasting Company's television network.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to above published in Public Relations News and the script of the NBC-TV special report on these floods be printed in the RECORD.

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

HOW AN INDUSTRY USED PR TO HELP OVERCOME THE EFFECTS OF A DISASTER

The foresighted public relations practitioner is prepared with written plans for handling the kinds of disasters which might affect his organization. But unexpected crises must be handled, too, and such a one occurred when sudden floods hit the Pacific Northwest just before last Christmas.

An unprecedented 13 inches of rain within a few hours developed raging torrents which brought death and tremendous destruction. Forty-three plywood mills were out of production. Some 5,000 homes were demolished and another 6,000 damaged. Almost every survivor in the area was affected job-wise or businesswise because its economy is so heavily dependent upon such mills. Vast quantities of logs and finished goods were swept downstream, carried out to sea, and redeposited as far away as 100 miles along the coast. Many major highways and bridges were washed out and vital logging and secondary roads simply disappeared. One key railroad was put out of business for an estimated half year and another lost some of its lines for more than a month. (Plywood is shipped chiefly by rail and about 10 percent of the Nation's plywood-producing capacity was involved.)

It quickly became obvious to the American Plywood Association (APA), Tacoma, Wash., the largest association in the forest products field, that its help would be needed. Many mills were closed down for the Christmas-New Year's holidays, with staffs on vacation. Disruption of communications and transportation would make it difficult for individual mills to solve their problems alone. What's more, the loss of shipping facilities and supplies threatened disruption of the plywood market.

APA's PR manager, George C. Cheek, quickly launched a "flood mop-up" program. He dispatched Publicity Manager Tom McCarthy, a former newspaper reporter and competent photographer, to the hardest-hit region to gather as much information as possible. Based upon preliminary facts, a summary of the situation and an explanation for the need for quick action were telegraphed to APA members and Governors of the affected States. An offer to extend APA technical assistance to nonmembers as well as members was announced. Senators and Representatives from the area were asked to introduce legislation which would restore the depleted disaster relief fund of the Small Business Administration.

When the damage to transportation had been appraised, APA moved to obtain water transportation from areas cut off from the railroads. It telephoned all shipping lines operating on the west coast and alerted Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, to the possible need for requesting the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Maritime Administration for a temporary exemption from the prohibition, under the Jones Act, of shipments in foreign bottoms between American ports. (The first boat carried away a load of plywood by mid-January.)

APA offered help toward provision of emergency housing. The prime need, however, turned out to be for facilities to replace schools which had been destroyed. Calling upon the industry's know-how for turning out sound structures with great speed, APA hired, on January 2, a contractor and three foremen experienced in school construction. Six days later a "school factory" was in operation. Lumber and plywood were contributed by all the major producers in the area—Georgia-Pacific, Arcata Redwood, Pacific Lumber, Simpson Timber, U.S. Plywood, Weyerhaeuser—and many smaller ones. With all bridges to the operation destroyed,

these materials were flown in by cargo planes loaned by the U.S. Government. Nine classrooms, equipped with salvaged desks and blackboards and meeting State requirements "in every respect," were in operation on January 18; all were completed within the next week.

With McCarthy's information and photos in hand on December 31, a special report (4-page, tabloid-sized, and about 75 percent pictures) went to the printer on January 3. Dated January 5, it carried the name of Western Wood Products Association (WWPA) as copublisher and was mailed to members of that organization as well as of APA, Federal legislators, and other potentially interested persons. Adding pictures from other sources (U.S. Forest Service and local papers) the report dramatically told the story of the damage wrought by the floods, summarized what was being done, and carried a joint message from Executive Vice Presidents James R. Turnbull and Wendell E. Barnes of, respectively, APA and WWPA.

Prompt restoration of production was essential for such important reasons as providing jobs and reassuring consumers that shortages would be temporary. Such steps as these were taken: (1) on request, Congress appropriated funds to enable the Forest Service to restore access roads to publicly owned timber lands; (2) timber from such lands was made available, on an emergency basis, to mills cut off from their normal supplies; (3) heavy logging equipment was loaned to State and county authorities for use in road restoration; and (4) the bigger companies built temporary bridges strong enough to carry logging trucks and, in selecting locations, favored the smaller companies lacking resources for such a type of construction.

From the time the disaster began, APA has taken pains to assemble and disseminate information which demonstrates the good citizenship and public spirit of its members. The contributions to school rebuilding and efforts of APA members to provide jobs are examples of such attitudes and Cheek has made sure they are known to the media. A 15-minute film about the flood, one which points out the industry's efforts to assist affected families, is now in preparation.

While, to quote Cheek's quip that "APA members aren't out of the woods—or, rather, in them—yet," a special report on the NBC-TV network, last week, indicated that much progress has been made in both rehabilitation and in winning public understanding for the plywood industry.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, we do not normally expect to find our national heroes among the members of the public relations profession, although, of course, these practitioners serve an important function in our economy. Yet, the work of the American Plywood Association and, in particular, the good works of its public relations manager, George C. Cheek, of Tacoma, during the Christmas floods which hit the Pacific Northwest, can justly be called heroic.

A case study of the actions of the Plywood Association during the floods, published in the Public Relations News tells of the "Flood Mop Up" program launched by APA. APA's action ranged from the gathering and dissemination of up-to-date information on the flood, to spearheading a massive school rebuilding program.

The State of Washington, indeed, the whole Pacific Northwest, can take great pride in the effective and public spirited efforts of George Cheek and the American Plywood Association.

I ask unanimous consent that the case study, "How an Industry Used Public Relations to Overcome the Effects of a Disaster," from the February 15 issue of Public Relations News, be printed in the RECORD, together with the script of a special report on the flood, carried by the NBC-TV network.

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

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA LUMBER INDUSTRY

Millions of dollars worth of logs line the beaches of northern California.

They had been swept into the ocean by flooding rivers and driven ashore by Pacific Ocean tides and currents.

It is expensive to burn the debris, retrieve the logs, and truck them back to the mills. But this process is essential to recovery of the California lumber industry which supplies a good portion of the Nation's lumber needs.

Some redwood logs were carried more than 100 miles to the beaches near Crescent City from California's hardest-hit mill at Scotia—Inland on the Eel River.

The river is tranquil now. But it did between \$5 and \$10 million damage to one mill.

Pacific Lumber Co. was the world's largest redwood mill.

In December, the river stole \$3 million worth of logs and lumber from this now-empty storage yard. Pacific lost its entire winter supply of logs—the basis for months of production.

Gradually, the logs are being returned. But production of lumber is only a fraction of normal. Most of the mill machinery still is being cleaned of silt and grit.

The entire spring inventory of finished, high-grade redwood—\$2 million worth—was hit by 12 feet of water and mud.

Now it must all be re-sorted, regraded, re-washed. It will be months before it will get to market.

Pacific lumber figures it can absorb the multimillion dollar loss.

The men who work in the mills are hit harder by smaller losses. A skilled millworker who normally makes \$3 an hour takes a 70-cent pay cut to work as a cleanup man. If he can get that.

Some mills have laid off half their workers. One of them is John Miller, 24, father of two. He usually makes \$75 a week. Now he will draw \$50 a week in unemployment benefits.

The total payroll in Humboldt County, Calif. is down by half-a-million dollars a week.

The impact on the business life of little lumber towns is painfully apparent. And even more men will be walking the street with nothing to do, unless the transportation system is straightened out.

The Northwestern Pacific Railroad, main line for carrying northern California lumber to market, literally is out of business for from 4 to 6 months.

This means costly reshipment by truck to more distant railheads. And road damage is immense.

In the forests, access to new timber is uncertain. No one knows for sure, even now, how badly the wood industry has been hurt.

With all this wood, seemingly all over the place, it seems ironic, yet understandable that there may be a lumber shortage this spring. Tom Pettit, NBC News, near Crescent City, Calif.

DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE BELLINGHAM, WASH., HERALD

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I should like to speak briefly on behalf of

myself and my colleague from Washington [Mr. JACKSON].

The readers, advertisers, and employees of the Herald, published in Bellingham, Wash., toasted a diamond on March 26.

Certainly newspaper carriers who delivered the 110-page diamond anniversary edition will not soon forget the day; the Bellingham Herald became 75 years of age. Nor will the rest of us.

Every page bulged with history well told.

Two editorials recounted the enormity of the task of summarizing 75 years of history, growth, and accomplishment. Having known the Bellingham Herald management and writing team personally over the years, I ask unanimous consent to enter those editorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

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

[From Bellingham Herald, Mar. 26, 1965]

A LONG LOOK BACK OVER THE HERALD YEARS

Some months ago, it occurred to some of us that 1890 subtracted from 1965 leaves a remainder of 75. We decided we had to do something about it. Today's look back over "the Herald Years" is the result.

It is a long look back, by local standards, considering that Henry Roeder, who in 1852 had become, along with Russell Peabody, the first settler, was still alive in 1890. So were Edward Eldridge and his wife Teresa, the first couple to make their home on Bellingham Bay. The link with the origins of the towns around the bay was direct and personal when the Herald published its first edition in the town that Dirty Dan Harris had recently sold to the Fairhaven Land Co.

It also is something of a wistful look back. Somehow, in retrospect, covering the news in a bygone era seems today to have been more exciting—at least as recalled by the oldtimers—than during this more staid and complex time.

The city and the county do have a magnificent past, of course, with a full measure of local lore and legend based on fact. And when 75 years are telescoped into 40 pages, it is possible to gain a panoramic view of local history that lends drama and color, as well as appreciation of our heritage in north-west Washington.

Through it all, the Herald has fulfilled its role as daily historian; recorder of the humorously trivial as well as the significant acts and decisions that have affected the lives of all of us. This newspaper—any good newspaper—also has done its best, on the editorial page, to interpret, criticize, encourage, oppose, and advocate important matters of public concern.

To acknowledge that its judgments have not always been perfect is to acknowledge that it is a human institution, vulnerable to human errors and limited by human shortcomings.

But it has, as best its personnel have known how, lived up to its promises and ideals. We expect it to continue to do so for another 75 years.

FASCINATING TODAY, A VALUABLE KEEPSAKE IN THE FUTURE

Combining the 84 tabloid pages of two special 1965 progress edition sections with the 56 full-size pages in the main news and "Herald Years" anniversary sections, makes today's paper the largest weekday edition ever published here.

The Evergreen Century edition—142 full pages, including comics—was larger, but it