

March 11, 1968

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 2561

Responsible, intelligent U.S. citizens, who want to see us achieve our objectives in Vietnam, can help to stem and counteract this irresponsible, senseless campaign to discredit our allies in Southeast Asia, which encourages the enemy, prolongs the war and increases our casualties.

EAST-WEST TRADE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, Congress is now on record in opposition to East-West trade. The votes came on the bill to extend the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank.

Unfortunately, this opposition comes at a time when the solidarity of the Communist bloc is cracking. The members gathered in Budapest recently evidenced their disarray. The Eastern European countries have instituted broad economic reforms in the expectation that increased trade possibilities will help them strengthen their economic independence.

We should be encouraging trade with these nations, but the advantages to be gained from East-West trade are removed from the realm of possibility when one of the chief sources of financing such trade—the Eximbank—is prohibited from engaging in transactions with Communist countries.

What have we really done by voting against East-West trade? While we are patting ourselves on the back for striking a blow at communism, we have actually helped the Stalinist-type elements in Communist nations who are opposed to any contact with the West, preferring instead to intensify the cold war. Our "blow" at communism denies American business opportunities and markets at a time when increasing exports is crucial to our balance of payments.

We are denying trade opportunities for Eastern European nations which could assist them to break away from monolithic economic control by Russia. We are denying chances for Eastern European leaders to assert nationalistic preferences. We are denying chances to encourage all Communist nations to supply consumer products.

Our "blow" at communism only makes us appear silly in the eyes of Europeans. I ask—how can any nation which has been built by the strength of its economic system wear blinders when it has an opportunity to build economic ties throughout the world? An uneasy world can only benefit from peaceful and stabilizing contacts through trade. I deplore any action by Congress which makes more difficult such economic ties.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Some Cracks in the Communist Bloc," published in the Minneapolis Tribune of February 26, 1968, be printed in the RECORD.

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

SOME CRACKS IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC

Inadvertently the United States is helping to convert the economic aspect of Eastern European communism into something suspiciously similar to capitalism. President Johnson's endorsement in 1966 of "building bridges" to the Communist world was acknowledged by a proposal in Congress for relaxed restrictions on East-West trade, but

no action was taken then or in 1967, and none is expected this year.

Ironically, many Western Europeans felt this to be a go-ahead, and their trade with the East, already growing steadily, accelerated in the past two years. The East Europeans, in turn, have initiated broad economic reforms. Most countries, for example, have adopted the distinctly non-Communist rule of permitting profit-making plants to retain up to 50 per cent of their foreign exchange earnings as a competitive incentive.

Politically as well as economically, the evidence points to the growing independence of what used to be known as Communist-bloc countries. Least conforming has been Romania, which shocked the Soviets last year by refusing to go along with the Communist condemnation of Israel and support for the Arab states.

In the spring, while incidents along the Syrian border brought Soviet denunciations of "Zionist aggression," a top-level Israeli delegation accepted a Romanian invitation to Bucharest, where they successfully completed a commercial treaty. Even after the June war, Romania refused to change its stand. In December a new, expanded agreement was negotiated, this time in Israel—not in Tel Aviv but in Jerusalem, where the political significance of Romanian recognition of Israeli claims could not be missed.

Such events illustrate the changing nature of the Cold War and the ability of other nations to exploit the opportunities those changes offer. Political realities of American preoccupation with Vietnam probably prevent similar "bridge-building" from this country now. Our hope is that those congressmen who recognize the changing nature of the Communist "bloc" will eventually persuade their colleagues that the United States should join the rest of the West in expanded trade with the East.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON REAFFIRMS AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO SOUND CONSERVATION POLICIES

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the President of the United States, in his environmental improvement message last Friday, reaffirmed our Nation's high esteem for the natural values of the environment. The preservation of nature's beauty and order for recreational and esthetic enjoyment is in the best tradition of our stewardship of this land. More recently, we have come to recognize the great value of scientific observations and engineering to help correct inadvertent abuses of our natural heritage. And we now have available new opportunities to protect the land, air and water for many previously incompatible uses.

These problems and opportunities do not stop at the seacoast. We have learned that untampered wetlands or coastal lands and waters, for example, are in many cases highly productive—yielding substantial quantities of shellfish, with commercial values exceeding that of our most fertile farmland. Conservation means not only an end to waste resources, but the reclamation of natural wealth. And our responsibility to our children's children provides a moral dimension to these efforts.

Two years ago the Congress took the initiative to enunciate a policy to utilize more effectively the seas around us—including inshore waters over the Continental Shelf, the ocean deeps, and the inland seas formed by the Great Lakes.

Enactment of Public Law 89-454 was an expression of the conservationist philosophy at its best. It looks to preservation of marine resources for constructive use by mankind.

I am pleased that the President's message underlines the promise of the sea, the inshore waters and its resources, and the determination by the Federal Government to intensify its efforts to study and to utilize the sea. This is particularly significant for the State of Maine.

The President spoke highly in the message of the National Sea Grant College and Program Act as a "new partnership between the Federal Government and the Nation's universities" which will prepare men and women for careers in the Marine Sciences. Skilled talented manpower is essential to progress in our future study and use of the sea. The President's recommendation of \$6 million for the sea grant program for fiscal year 1969 is a modest program for continuation of new university activities being begun in fiscal year 1969. This investment supports our institutions of higher education, opens fresh opportunities to our young people, and plants the seeds for realizing the great potential benefits from the sea. We should be doing far more than this, if the demands of our military commitments were not so overriding.

I congratulate the President on his vision and his initiative. The deep ocean is the final geographic frontier for exploration on our planet. He sounds a challenging and exciting call when he announces our intent to seek with other nations to launch an international decade of ocean exploration for the 1970's. He rightly characterizes this as a "historic and unprecedented adventure." The long-range benefits from tapping the ocean's resources—in magnitudes not now known—are reason enough for a partnership among all the nations bordering the oceans to initiate their exploration. But the opportunity offered by a decade of ocean exploration is not limited to national advantages. It is above all a spiritual challenge to modern man to explore fully his environment. The self-discipline to master the environment without despoiling it; to preserve and even occasionally to enhance nature for her joint occupancy—that is the moral imperative before us.

AFL-CIO STATEMENT ON EDUCATION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, at its recent convention at Bal Harbour, Fla., the executive council of the AFL-CIO issued a forward-looking statement on education. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., FEBRUARY 20, 1968

Few achievements of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have been as important or long lasting in their effect as the broad range of educational legislation enacted by the Congress. The entire span of educational services from pre-school pro-

grams to college and adult education programs have been strengthened by the federal government's new commitment to share in the financial support of education. President Johnson quite properly described the 89th Congress as one that would go down in history as the "Educational Congress."

In his education message to the 90th Congress, on February 5, 1968, the President expressed his belief that the mid-1960's "will be remembered as a time of unprecedented achievement in American education." The AFL-CIO shares this view, even as it recognizes that staggering problems still remain and that what has been accomplished must be regarded only as a beginning.

In many regards, however, the AFL-CIO would go further than the President's proposals. We urge Congress to take the message as the starting point for a legislation program rather than as the outer limits of one.

Particularly in the field of higher education there is need for going far beyond the Administration recommendations. The proposed cut of more than \$500 million in funds for construction of new facilities for higher education will mean that thousands of young people who stand ready for higher education will be denied it by simple lack of space. Student aid programs will be of little help if there is no room for the students in the nation's colleges and universities. The AFL-CIO believes that the proposed cuts in construction funds should be restored in addition to an increased student aid program.

The Administration proposed to increase available student loans through the method of subsidized and guaranteed private loans. So far this method has been tried and the results have not been promising. Banks have been reluctant to lend money at reasonable rates. To encourage them, the Administration proposes to make the loans more attractive by giving the lender a service fee of up to \$35 for each loan. Rather than making student loans more profitable to the banks, Congress should, in the view of the AFL-CIO, return to the principle of government loans such as have been available on a limited basis through the National Defense Education Act. Government loans are surer to get to the student who needs them, and they are less expensive in the long run than the guaranteed private loan plan.

The Administration proposes a \$40 million increase in Headstart funds, but most of this is for follow up programs. Headstart is still much too limited. It needs to be expanded and placed on a year around basis. To do this will require far more federal support than is envisioned at the federal level.

The AFL-CIO welcomes the changes recommended by the President in vocational education. More than one-half of the young men and women who graduate from high school every year do not go to college. In addition, three out of every ten students fail to complete high school.

Three-fourths of the graduating class of 1965 found employment by the fall of 1965 but less than one-half of those who dropped out of school during the school year 1964-65 were able to get jobs. It is obvious that education and training are essential factors that increase the earning power of the individual and thus, his purchasing power—the principal bridge to full employment.

Vocational education must prepare every boy and girl who does not go to college with the necessary skills to obtain and hold a job.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 has provided our schools with new and modern tools to relate training and vocational education to the realistic needs of the labor market. A National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, established by the Act and appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, just completed an evaluation of the status of vocational education. The Council came to the conclusion that "the promise of the Act has not been

realized." We in the AFL-CIO concur with that evaluation.

We believe that innovative programs, separately funded, must be encouraged to carry out the purpose of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Work-study programs that combine education, training, work experience as well as income opportunities must become an integrated part of our overall vocational education system. In addition, residential schools should be constructed and operated to provide training opportunities away from an unfavorable home environment. Specific funds must be earmarked for the vocational education of persons with educational, social and economic handicaps.

The AFL-CIO strongly supports greater flexibility in federal matching grants to the states. Innovation projects, work-study programs and residential schools and programs for the socially and economically disabled require the federal government to assume a much larger portion of the costs than presently provided by the 50-50 matching base in the law. To carry out the programs that are urgently needed now requires a much higher appropriation of funds than is presently authorized in the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

No sounder investment can be made by the citizens of the United States than an investment in their own children's economic future. In his message, the President reminded us that "many of our urgent educational programs which directly affect the young people of America cannot be deferred." He concluded that "the cost—the human cost—of delay is intolerable."

The adult programs described in the President's message, like those for younger students, move in the right direction but at far too slow a pace. Considering the fact that there are 23 million adults who have not completed the eighth grade, a program which reached only 330,000 of them last year is hardly a cause for rejoicing. Expanded programs, adequately funded and administered by the states are clearly needed.

Organized labor has long recited the need for a federally supported university labor extension program. Those extension services which are now in existence make a great contribution to labor education. They need to be greatly expanded to meet the needs of unions. This expansion will not come about without federal support.

The AFL-CIO believes that federal funds should be provided for training and education of union members, stewards and officers in the same way as federal grants are made available to farmers and business.

Universities across the nation have manifested a genuine interest in servicing the needs of labor through the expansion of meaningful labor education programs. We, therefore, urge the Congress to give affirmative consideration to supplementary aid in this area.

In assessing our national priorities, we need to maintain a keen awareness that everywhere across the nation the urban crisis continues to be America's greatest domestic problem. In responding to that crisis there is no more essential tool than quality education at every level for all. Much of the unrest in our cities can be related to the hopelessness manifested by those who cannot see any substantive improvement in the quality of education in our inner city schools. In our view, the rate of improvement is still too slow and falls to meet the urgency of our times.

Where progress has been made, quite often it has been obscured by rapid movement from rural areas to the inner city. Attention to the quality of education in the rural areas therefore should be stepped up in the light of these developments.

To effectively address ourselves to this total problem, high priority should be given

to the expansion of programs which compensate for the years of decay, discrimination and apathy experienced by those who dwell in the ghettos of our cities. We believe that meaningful efforts in this direction will ultimately give rise to new hope to those who have long since given up.

COMMISSION ON HEALTH SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I recently introduced a joint resolution calling for the creation of a Commission on Health Science and Society to study some of the social and ethical implications of the recent medical breakthroughs, including heart transplants.

The University of Minnesota has pioneered in the development of the techniques and information needed in its animal research program, thereby paving the way for some of the recent breakthroughs. The university has been responsible for the training of many of the outstanding surgeons responsible for the recent heart transplant operations. In addition, many in the university have been involved in research and development in related areas.

Dr. Jesse E. Edwards, president of the American Heart Association and professor of pathology at the University of Minnesota, is a leader in the field of medical research who is well aware of the ethical and moral implications of the health sciences.

In a recent statement to the University of Minnesota's Minnesota Daily, he discussed the need for establishment of a committee to consider the ethical problems of transplants and other medical practices.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Edwards' illuminating remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

HEART ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT PROBES TRANSPLANT ETHICS

(By George Mitchell)

Human heart transplants involve serious ethical problems, Dr. Jessie E. Edwards, president of the American Heart Assn. and professor of pathology, said Tuesday.

The American Heart Assn. approved the establishment of a committee on the ethical problems of transplants and other medical practices in the middle of January, Edwards said. He said that in addition to doctors it will include members of the clergy, the legal profession, and the judiciary and will cut across social and racial lines.

"It will address itself to the subject of transplants both from the view of the recipient and the donor," he said, "and it will evaluate the definitions of life and death and the issue of who is logically responsible for the disposition of the organs."

Edwards called heart transplants "clinical trials." "You have to start somewhere," he said. "It was the same for the first open-heart operation. It had been tried on dogs, but would it work on man? You didn't know. We have to accept this as a fact of life. It has to be done. The day has to come when somebody is the first person to whom it's done."

Asked if an ethical problem is presented by a physician's inability to accurately predict a heart patient's longevity, Edwards replied that "a patient can get in a state verging on