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Tanager

Talmy

1955

VOGUE

THE CONDÉ NAST PUBLICATIONS INC.
420 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17
LEXINGTON 2-7500

February 21, 1955

Dear Alfred,

The Matisse feature is coming out in the March 1 issue. As you will see, we used your Matisse book extensively.

Thank you ever so much for going over the colour transparencies for me. We are all grateful to you.

Cordially yours,

Allene

Allene Talmy
Feature Editor

P.S. I am, of course, sending you a copy of the issue.

Mr. Alfred Barr
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, New York

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cc: DM

Tanager

January 24, 1955

February 11, 1955

Tanager Gallery
90 East 10th St.
New York City 3

Mr. Alfred S. Barr, Director
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

Dear Mr. Cajori:

I wished to acknowledge, somewhat belatedly, the history of the Tanager Gallery, and upon the attached sheet have added the material which you sent to Mr. Barr on January 24th on the Tanager Gallery. He was very glad to have such a detailed report on the gallery.

Sincerely,
Marie Alexander
Secretary to Mr. Barr

Mr. Charles Cajori
Tanager Gallery
90 East 10th Street
New York 3, New York

Sincerely,
Charles Cajori

Charles Cajori

Charles Cajori

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January 24, 1955

Tanager Gallery
90 East 10th St.
New York City 3

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Director
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

Dear Mr. Barr,

In response to your letter of November 18th, I have written a short history of the Tanager Gallery, and upon the attached sheets have added the information that you asked for. Please forgive the delay in getting it into the mail.

In attempting to set down the salient facts of the Tanager's three years, I was struck by the difficulty of gauging the gallery's significance. There has been no meteoric career launched, no manifesto issued, no embattled growth of a new esthetic. And yet, in a quiet and un-pretentious way, it has; I believe, assumed an important role in shaping the structure of New York's "art world", not only by the number of artists it has introduced and in the generally high quality of its exhibitions, but in the position it has taken in the minds of many painters and sculptors, who look upon it with affection and with an odd sense of reassurance. I wonder if this banding together, with none of the older reasons, might not be a new sort of occurrence; a new stance, braced against the "bitter wind", and the uses that a post-war world finds for the artist and his work.

I hope that the enclosed will give you a more complete picture of the activity of the Tanager, and want to thank you, on behalf of the group, for the interest you have shown.

Sincerely Yours,

Charles Cajori

Charles Cajori

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE Tanager GALLERY

The Tanager Gallery was formed in the Spring of 1952. The notable exception to the indifference of most dealers toward the growing number of young painters and sculptors deserving attention was the Artist's Gallery. A single gallery was necessarily limited in what it could accomplish. Against this background, with no financial resources, and no experience in the operation of a gallery, four painters and a sculptor rented a small store on East 4th St., close to the Bowery, and converted it into a place for exhibition.

From the beginning, our purpose was to provide opportunity to as many artists as possible, whose work warranted a showing, but would otherwise not be seen. We felt that the gallery should not be the sounding board for a particular group or point of view. We wanted to keep the Tanager entirely open, in touch with as many tendencies and directions as possible. Policy decisions and selection of work to be shown was the function of the gallery membership as a whole.

The Tanager's first exhibition opened on May 21st, 1952, with a group show of 11 painters and one sculptor, receiving the attention of reviewers in Art News and the Art Digest. On June 17th an exhibition of graphics opened, with five new exhibitors. It was decided that the third show would include some of the more established painters, who could thereby give their support to the gallery. This third show continued through most of that summer. In early September, the first exhibition of the 1952-53 season opened, and

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2.

shows have followed regularly ever since. In April 1953, the Tanager moved to its present location on 10th street. This was accomplished with only a two week break in the exhibition schedule.

The Tanager, since its inception, has exhibited the work of 137 artists, about 65 of whom had not previously shown in a New York Gallery. Most of the exhibitions have been three-man shows and small, carefully selected groups, but nine painters have held their first one-man shows in New York at the Tanager. (See attached sheet for list of exhibitors.)

Because of its location and the sympathy shown it by the artists, the Tanager has exceptional advantages for the young painter or sculptor. It gives him a predominately professional audience; he is assured of critical attention, and very often exhibition in other galleries will follow. Several of the members, as well as exhibitors in the Tanager, now have permanent positions in other galleries.

The large annual invitation show, held in December each year, with the cooperation of other galleries provides an extraordinary opportunity to view the field of painting and sculpture as a whole.

The Art Digest said of last years annual-"...The show is an excellent cross-section of the contemporary spirit in the visual arts. It contains links; it sets up connections. It helps us gauge the speed and depth of the current."

The organization of the Gallery has from the beginning revolved about the core group - the members. Membership is entirely voluntary, and

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members have, from time to time, been added; others have left. At the present writing three of the original five remain and there are four newer members. Responsibility for financing; selecting work; hanging exhibitions; falls upon the membership, as well as the preparing and printing of releases and announcements; being on hand during the gallery hours, etc.

Two problems are constant. The financial burden, and, the difficulties in establishing contact with new work of exhibition calibre. The Tanager is seldom able to advertize, and sales are so infrequent as to be negligible in maintaining operations. There is occasional financial assistance from the outside, for which the gallery is grateful, but there still remains a situation in which the membership is being continually drained. All are practicing artists and in no position to assume such a heavy load, either financially or in time and effort. Too often this has resulted in a slackening in the important search for new work; leads not followed, studios not visited. Ideally the gallery should have a managerial secretary, who would assume the job of running the gallery, leaving the membership more freedom in the pursuit of new and unknown paintings and sculpture.

Since 1952 many small galleries have opened, often taking the lead from the Tanager in operating upon a cooperative basis. There seems to be an increased awareness and receptivity to younger artists on the part of commercial galleries. For this growing attitude, the Tanager can rightfully claim a share of the credit, and

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Artists who have exhibited in the regularly scheduled small groups, three-man shows or in one-man shows. Asterisks indicate first showing in New York.

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| * Elise Asher | * Mar-Jean Kettunen |
| Irene Aronson | Kenny Kilstrom |
| * Robert Beauchamp | Louise Kruger |
| * James Benton | * Howard Kanowitz |
| * Anita Berger | * Betty Klavun |
| * Paul Beattie | * Alex Katz |
| Gandy Brodie | * Saul Leiter |
| * Paul Brach | * Fred Mitchell |
| * Robert Broner | * Robert Maxwell |
| * Angela Bing | George Morrison |
| * Robert Becker | Corrado Marca-Relli |
| * Charles Cajori | Joan Mitchell |
| * Jean Cohen | * Kyle Morris |
| * Edward County | * George Ortman |
| * Dorothy Cantor | * Felix Pasalis |
| * Lois Dodd | Raymond Parker |
| Willem De Kooning | * Philip Pearlstein |
| Louis Finklestein | * Vita Peterson |
| Helen Frankenthaler | * Charlotte Park |
| Jane Freilicher | Ann Ryan |
| * Aaron Furman | Milton Resnik |
| Suzy Frelinghuysen | Larry Rivers |
| * Joseph Groell | * Theophil Repke |
| * Michael Goldberg | * Raymond Rocklin |
| John Grillo | * Joop Sanders |
| Peter Grippe | Albert Swinden |
| Salvatore Grippe | * Jean Stuebing |
| Nanno de Groot | * Robert Stone |
| Sidney Geist | * Miriam Shapiro |
| Hans Hofmann | * David Slivka |
| Harry Hoehn | Karl Shrag |
| * Sally Hazelit | Ary Stillman |
| * Terry Haas | * Marvin Stein |
| * Angelo Ippolito | * Joellen Todd |
| * Ben Isquith | * Albert Terris |
| * Harlan Jackson | Jack Tworkov |
| * Alfred Jensen | * Yvonne Thomas |
| George Johansen | Esteban Vicente |
| Laura Jones | * Jane Wilson |
| William King | * Constance Whidden |
| Franz Kline | * William White |

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Further artists who have participated in the 3 Annuals-

Pat Addams	* Jasper Johns
* Mary Abbott	Lester Johnson
Calvin Alberts	Wolf Kahn
Dorothy Andrews	Earle Kerkam
Bernard Bovasso	M. Karpilow
Tom Boutis	Al Kresh
Janice Biala	Ibram Lassaw
Nell Blaine	Linda Lindenberg
James Brooks	Vincent Longo
* Daniel Brustlein	Marcia Marcus
Rudolf Burkhardt	* Marisol Escobar
Giorgio Cavallon	Joseph Messina
Herman Cherry	Robert Motherwell
Elaine De Kooning	Fairfield Porter
Dubowski	* Dan Pierce
Edward Dugmore	James Rosati
* Dan Dickerson	Ad Reinhardt
* Alvaro De Silva	Edith Schloss
* Arthur Elias	* Arlene Singer
John Ferren	Ludwig Sander
Perle Fine	* Ann Sarolea
Sidney Gordin	Robert Sowers
* Harold Goldstein	Giorgio Spaventa
Philip Guston	* Raymond Spillenger
Ruth Hageman	Lucia Varnarelli
John Heliker	* Pennerton West
David Hare	* Joseph Zepel
* Murray Israel	Wilfred Zogbaum

Artists who have held their first New York one-man shows

John Grillo	Angelo Ippolito
Fred Mitchell	Ben Isquith
Joseph Groell	Sally Hazelit
Elice Asher	Lois Dodd
George Ortman	Philip Pearlstein

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Tammabauer

Membership -

Original founding group -

- Lois Dodd
- Charles Cajori
- Angelo Ippolito
- William King
- Fred Mitchell

May 14, 1938

Present Group -

- Lois Dodd
- Charles Cajori
- Angelo Ippolito
- Sally Hazelit
- Ben Isquith
- Perle Fine
- George Ortman
- Philip Pearlstein

Those who have been members -

- Joseph Groell
- Nanno De Groot

Breakdown of the financial situation of the Gallery

Per Month -

Rent -	\$40.00
Announcements -	35.00
Postage -	20.00
Telephone -	15.00
Electricity -	15.00
Miscellaneous -	10.00
	<u>\$135.00</u>

Members are assessed \$10.00 per month, and exhibitors are asked to help in defraying the costs of their announcements and mailing, when possible. In a one-man show this is approximately \$55.00. In a three-man show about \$18.00.

When a sale is made the gallery receives 25%. Over the Three year period of the gallery's operation the number of sales has been extremely small.

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cc: D. Miller

Tannenbaum

May 16, 1955

106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
June 16, 1955

Dear Libby,

It is a great pleasure to receive
Many thanks for sending me the manuscript of
in your handsome exhibition
"Galaxies, Constellations, Fission and Fusion -- All on
I do ask you to read that paper about which I am
57th Street." I'm completely submerged at this moment with
preparations for our exhibition of Paintings from Private
Collections which opens on May 31st. May I hold the manu-
script until after that date? Or would you prefer that I
send it back to you now?

I simply can't take time out for anything until
Libby
Libby Tannenbaum
June.

Hastily,

Miss Libby Tannenbaum
106 Bedford Street
New York 14, New York

AHB:ma

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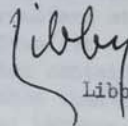
106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
June 16, 1955

Dear Alfred:

It is a great pleasure to see so many new pictures
in your handsome exhibition.

I did ask you to read that paper about which I am
quite serious, because I quite seriously wanted to know
what you thought about it. I still do.

Sincerely,



Libby Tannenbaum

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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Tannenbaum

106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
March 20, 1955

Dear Alfred:

I did enjoy your Art Nouveau outline. As you know, I could only presume in the letter to the Times to speak for myself (and for Art Nouveau). I do think the Museum might make its own protest -- especially since only a week later the lady apparently sees no incongruity in a quick switch of sides on what to me is fantastically the same issue. Only now straight lines become "Lenten fare" and what the lady craves is the "good red meat" of Rodin. There is an irresponsibility in this that the Times would not tolerate in any other department. Is the answer that art is really such a negligible activity that it doesn't matter if she has only given the semblance of a performance in valiantly demolishing the "Tiffany promoters" and the "New Estheticians" she has herself fabricated?

Directly after mailing my letter last week, I realized tardily that 99 44/100 percent of the Times' readers would probably have forgotten what it was about. So on Tuesday I sent Devree a revised version in which the second paragraph begins:

Since Mrs. Saarinen brought up "Three Modern Styles" in a reference to "the Tiffany promoters at the Museum of Modern Art", perhaps I may be forgiven for taking this opportunity to observe that the exhibition contained exactly one item by Louis C. Tiffany among its more than 150 other items. Etc.

Also a short new paragraph inserted between 2 and 3 reads:

If Mrs. Saarinen wishes to describe Art Nouveau as "that curious, short-lived turn-of-the-century style", how can she immediately go on to include an artist with the enormously broad, reverberating influence of Van Gogh? Further, Mrs. Saarinen refers to "Beardsley in painting". To my knowledge, Aubrey Beardsley never painted; he was an illustrator who worked exclusively in black-and-white.

Much more might be said.

Sincerely,

Libby
Libby Tannenbaum

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

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COPY

106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
March 14, 1955

Dear Mr. Davros:

March 16, 1955

The dates of the "Three Modern Styles" exhibition were incorrectly given by Mrs. Saarinen in her Sunday article. I prepared this show for the Circulating Exhibitions Department at the Museum of Modern Art, and it had its first opening at Williams College in October 1949. It was shown at the Museum of Modern Art itself in the summer of 1950. (I believe it is still touring the country in a reduced version.)

Dear Libby:

Thanks for a copy of your letter to the Times. I hope it's published. Maybe the following paragraphs will amuse you. They are quoted from the original copy of "Exhibitions - List of Suggestions" which I prepared during 1932-1933 for the trustees who were alarmed for fear we might run out of ideas for exhibitions:

20th Century Painting and Sculpture

General Exhibitions

- Abstract Design in Modern Art 1
- Experimental Sculpture 1A
- Superrealism 2
- Romantic Revival in Contemporary Painting 2
- Modern Watercolors 3
- Art Nouveau Period 3

5. The Art Nouveau Period.

Architecture and decorative arts: van de Velde, Bing, Tiffany, etc.

Painters, sculptors, graphic artists, poster designers; - who are more or less related to Art Nouveau: Toulouse-Lautrec, van Gogh, Edvard Munch, Rodin, Minne, Beardsley, Conder, Vallaton (early), Vuillard (early), Bonnard (early), Whistler (later work), Gauguin, Maillol (woodcuts), Klimt, Schiele, Slevogt, de Carolis, Boldini, Walter Crane, Beerbohm, Nicholson, Picasso (early), Redon, Steinlen, Hodler, Sluyters.

Sources and analogies: - late Japanese art and XIV century gothic.

Remarks: The common sense of design and to some extent the community of spirit among many of the artists, architects, and decorators of the period 1885-1905 has never been shown in an exhibition, though it is more noticeable than in many other periods.

(Debussy and Masterlinck may be mentioned as characteristic in other arts.)

Sincerely,

Miss Libby Tannenbaum
106 Bedford Street
New York 14, New York

AHB:mb

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COPY

106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
March 14, 1955

February 23, 1955

Dear Mr. Devree:

The dates of the "Three Modern Styles" exhibition were incorrectly given by Mrs. Saarinen in her Sunday article. I prepared this show for the Circulating Exhibitions Department at the Museum of Modern Art, and it had its first opening at Williams College in October 1949. It was shown at the Museum of Modern Art itself in the summer of 1950. (I believe it is still touring the country in a reduced version.)

Perhaps I may be forgiven for taking this opportunity to observe that the exhibition contained exactly one item by Louis C. Tiffany among

Dear Alfred:

I am apparently on one of my letter-writing binges and have sent the enclosed to the New York Times.

Sincerely,

Libby

Nouveau furniture and objects on permanent exhibition. The look back, like much history, is an attempt to understand "how we have come to where we are at". It is difficult to share Mrs. Saarinen's apprehensions about our own exposure to Art Nouveau. Someone once tagged its decorative excesses with the indomitable phrase, "needles in delirium". Since this matches with curious exactitude many of the "calligraphic" paintings (and fabric patterns, etc.) we are currently admiring, what have we, after all, to lose?

Sincerely yours,

Libby Tannenbaum

Mr. Howard Devree, Art Editor
The New York Times

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COPY

106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
March 14, 1955

Dear Mr. Devree:

February 23, 1955

The dates of the "Three Modern Styles" exhibition were incorrectly given by Mrs. Saarinen in her Sunday article. I prepared this show for the Circulating Exhibitions Department at the Museum of Modern Art, and it had its first opening at Williams College in October 1949. It was shown at the Museum of Modern Art itself in the summer of 1950. (I believe it is still touring the country in a reduced version.)

Perhaps I may be forgiven for taking this opportunity to observe that the exhibition contained exactly one item by Louis C. Tiffany among its more than 150 other items. It was an effort to demonstrate an historical development and a systematic concordance of architecture and design with painting and sculpture, and by no means intended to convey enthusiasm for all the objects included, as Mrs. Saarinen seems to think. Art Nouveau did not, however, produce a greater number of foolishly conceived objects than did the primitive machine esthetic that followed. The third style shown, the still developing Free Form, can be seen as a synthesis (and a vigorous synthesis that I believe is likely to last much longer) of various aspects of these two earlier styles, greatly strengthened in its fluid handling of materials, space and line, by the example of Art Nouveau. For in the hands of a great practitioner like the Belgian Henry van de Velde, Art Nouveau was not decoration but design in the purest sense -- the serious, and imaginative rethinking of the object.

In calling attention to Art Nouveau, a brilliant series of articles by such writers as P. Morton Shand and John Betjeman which appeared in The Architectural Review (London) through the middle 1930's was certainly as important as the work of the Germans mentioned by Mrs. Saarinen. The exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1952 is only one item in a continuing British interest which has taken the form of many publications and exhibitions, including the Charles Rennie Mackintosh show last year. In Paris, the Musée des Arts Décoratifs has several large rooms of Art Nouveau furniture and objects on permanent exhibition. The look back, like much history, is an attempt to understand "how we have come to where we are at". It is difficult to share Mrs. Saarinen's apprehensions about our own exposure to Art Nouveau. Someone once tagged its decorative excesses with the indomitable phrase, "needles in delirium". Since this matches with curious exactitude many of the "calligraphic" paintings (and fabric patterns, etc.) we are currently admiring, what have we, after all, to lose?

Sincerely yours,

Libby Tannenbaum

Mr. Howard Devree, Art Editor
The New York Times

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106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
February 21, 1955

February 23, 1955

Dear Alfred:

I was curiously fascinated by the Phillip Martin show. They are surely very powerful pictures, but I didn't realize why I was quite so enthralled until after I came home to my own bricabrac.

Esner! The impact of the intensely felt personal symbol, the monsters, the "sh" and the "zerde". And above all, the composition of pictures on a wall, which are not there simply for shape or color, but because each also functions as an essential fragment in the much more complicated **Dear Libby:** the whole. Esner began to use his own paintings in this way in the 1890's and they are the characteristic iconographical device of his. **As usual, I can't attend to important or interesting matters such as your letter, which I think is well observed and very interesting -- indeed, I wish you might develop it into an article for Art News where I think it would command a great deal of intelligent attention. However, I would advise you to consult with the Art News people before undertaking it.**

Sincerely,

Was there ever an age in which there were really, when you come to think of it, so many paintings representing paintings?

All the paintings on the background wall that are there mainly for shape and color and/or to suggest an art-loving interior.

The Veronica's Veils in which the image is an essential part of the subject. **Miss Libby Tannenbaum** Van Gogh's "Tangay" with its Japanese prints **106 Bedford Street** with its reflection of the Kanon.

New York 14, New York is a borderline example: aren't the Japanese prints more an attribute of the artist than of his subject? Seurat's "Les Femmes" with its "Grand Jatte". And then the big jump all the way to the autobiographical, self-identifying figureless interiors of Esner's "Ma chambre preferée" in Tel Aviv, and your Matinee the "Red Studio". The Esner is 1890. Do you know of any earlier examples?

Vermeer creates a symbolic interplay with background pictures, and Bell might be said to deal with Millet's "Peasants" in a quite Vermeerish way.

Sharrer's "Workers and Paintings" is not far from the same line with the Murals in exploiting the fact that a style superimposed on a very different and established - strong inconsistency.

The really relevant category is picture as a sum of overlaid colored pictures no longer functioning as furniture, even the furniture of a life, but rather as a means of assembling a variety of detached spatial and iconographical systems. Esner aside, last Giorgio had the first wall-hung picture.

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106 Bedford Street
New York 14, N.Y.
February 21, 1955

Dear Alfred:

I was curiously fascinated by the Phillip Martin show. They are surely very powerful pictures, but I didnt realize why I was quite so enmeshed until after I came home to my own bricabrac.

Ensor! The impact of the intensely felt personal symbol, the monsters, the "sh" and the "merde". And above all, the composition of pictures on a wall, which are not there simply for shape or color, but because each also functions as an essential fragment in the much more complicated statement of the whole. Ensor began to use his own paintings in this way in the 1890's and they are the characteristic iconographical device of his later work.

I dont mean to suggest that Martin has been influenced by Ensor or even seen him (though this is not inconceivable what with the big shows in Antwerp in 1951, Paris 1954 and recent Biennale's). What does strike me as particularly interesting is the whole question of paintings as subject-matter.

Was there ever an age in which there were really, when you come to think of it, so many paintings representing paintings?

All the paintings on the background wall that are there mainly for shape and color and/or to suggest an art-loving interior.

The Veronica's Veils in which the image is an essential part of the subject, a kind of attribute: Van Gogh's "Tanguy" with its Japanese prints, Vuillard's "Duret" with its reflection of the Manet.

Manet's "Zola" is perhaps a borderline example: arent the Japanese prints more an attribute of the artist than of his subject? Seurat's "Les Poseuses" with its "Grande Jatte". And then the big jump all the way to the sutobiographical, self-identifying figureless interiors of Ensor's "Ma chambre prefereé" in Tel Aviv, and your Matisse the "Red Studio". The Ensor is 1892. Do you know of any earlier examples?

Vermeer creates a symbolic interplay with background pictures, and Dali might be said to deal with Millet's "Angelus" in a quite Vermeerish way.

Sharrer's "Workers and Paintings" is not far from the Mona Lisa with the Mustaches in exploiting the fact that a style superimposed on a very different one establishes a strong incongruity.

The really relevant category is picture as a sum of component original pictures no longer functioning as furniture, even the furniture of a life, but rather as a means of assembling a variety of detached spacial and iconographical systems. Ensor aside, isnt Chirico here the first influential modern

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example? Chirico, under the influence of the Cubist fragmentation of space and the object, finding in the picture within the picture a new, ambiguous and poetically affective fragmentation of idea as well as space. Magritte exploits the same device. Dali's multiple images are really a much trickier version of the picture within the picture, and since it is not possible to see the various images simultaneously he achieves a sort of cinematic time-sequence.

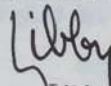
If I write this all down and impose it on you too, it is because I am beginning to wonder whether fragmentation in one form or another hasn't become a remarkably consistent feature of our painting. Isn't Phillip Martin here the obverse of the same strange coin that gives us Kiesler dealing with a single image by hacking it into a "Galaxy"? Cubism moves around the object not in an unbroken passage through integral space as Van Eyck does in the "Arnolfini" by means of the background mirror, but rather in a series of disconnected "shots". And isn't it the point of collage that it always attacks the integrity of the image, in a literal, material sense if in no other. "Pure painting" tends to be driven all the way back to the narrow battlements of Mondrian and Rothko.

Outside such battlements, isn't this conception of a whole as a continuity of spatially disjointed images basically a cinematic ~~way~~ way of thinking? Isn't it the attempt to assimilate or compress the cinematic movement-in-time sequence within the single frame of the canvas that has largely provoked the response of the new form language? From Cubism which moves the eye around the object, to Futurism which moves the object, to all the more recent paintings which are really basically diagrams of movement.

Isn't the picture within the picture only a more ostensibly conventional device for presenting as it were a series of "frames"? Fission and fusion!

With warm apologies for so many questions,

Sincerely,



Libby Tannenbaum

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

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Mr. Soby
cc: D. Miller

Tanguy
Tanguy

March 14, 1955

Dear Kay:

I thought you would like to know that we are placing the Multiplication des Ares on view in a special gallery as a new acquisition this Wednesday. (It has been hanging for a week or so informally, but this will be a formal announcement.)

We placed it in the gallery with the big Giacometti Man Pointing, also a new acquisition. The two of them are wonderful together. They will be on view now until the 24th of April.

Let me say again how really impressed and delighted I am with this picture. I feel it may be Yves' greatest work and I am pretty sure it's his best painting since the late '20s, though I suppose I am prejudiced by my having been fascinated by the pictures reproduced in Breton's Surrealismes et la Peinture.

Jim says that he has started work on the memorial show. I am so glad that he has been willing to take this on since there is no one I think whom I would trust to do the job as thoroughly as Jim. I am glad he can count on your help.

Sincerely,

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

Mrs. Yves Tanguy
Town Farm
Woodbury, Connecticut

AHB:mr

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F. H. Tanguy
Tanguy

Town Farm
Woodbury, Conn. 18 October 1957

Dear Alfred -

Dear Kay,

I have been out of New York for most of the summer or I should certainly have written you before this to tell you how much Marga and I appreciated receiving the copy of Demain Monsieur Silber. Our belated thanks -- and our best to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Yves Tanguy
Town Farm
Woodbury, Connecticut

I do so hope that you will come out here for lunch some day with him - I feel it is terrible that you have never seen Yves - Louise which is so full of his personality - Jim told me that Marga had not been well and in any case, the weather is not

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F. H. Taylor

Tanguy

WOODBURY 449

TOWN FARM
WOODBURY, CONNECTICUT

Dear Alfred -

Thank you for your very nice letter and for what you say about the Multiplication des Arce -

I was so pleased to know that Jim is going to look after the exhibition in the autumn - certainly, as far as I am concerned, he is the person I would have chosen -

I do so hope that you will come on here for lunch some day with him - I feel it is terrible that you have never seen Yves' Louise which is so full of his personality - Jim told me that Margo had not been well and, in any case, the weather is not

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yet very conducive to coming out to
the country - I hope she is
much better by now and that her
troubles are over - and that
some time in the not too far
future, I can lure you out.

Affectionately to you both,

Kay

March 17 '55

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F. H. Taylor

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

cc: Mr. Barr
Mr. Ritchie

Date March 20, 1956

To: Mr. d'Harmoncourt

Re: _____

From: Porter McCray

September, 1954

The Museum takes pleasure in advising its Members and friends that **FIFTY CENTURIES OF ART** by Francis Henry Taylor will be published on October 4th.

Dear René:

It will be of interest to you to know that Francis Henry Taylor in a three month tour under USIA auspices is lecturing in the leading cities in Western Europe on the following subjects:

1. Contemporary art in America
2. American primitive painting
3. Art museums and the community
4. Art collecting and collection in America
5. Art education in America
6. Cultural routes in America

These lectures are scheduled in Vienna, between April 17 and the 21st.

Because of an exceptionally large run printing FIFTY CENTURIES OF ART is regularly priced at only \$3.00. WITH THE SPECIAL DISCOUNT OF \$2.00 THE BOOK IS AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS OF THE MUSEUM AT \$4.75 A COPY.

An order form, including space for your instructions on mailing gift copies is enclosed together with a reply envelope for your convenience.

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MC Barn

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
NEW YORK 28. N. Y.

*Taylor
an extra copy
for your file*

September, 1954

The Museum takes pleasure in advising its Members and friends that FIFTY CENTURIES OF ART by Francis Henry Taylor will be published on October 4th.

Cooperation between the Museum and Harper & Brothers, publishers, has made possible one of the extraordinary publishing accomplishments of the past decade. For the first time, a one volume survey, covering the history of art from early Egyptian to modern times, is illustrated entirely in color - throughout one hundred and ninety-two pages.

Three hundred and forty-two full color plates reproduce great works of art. Over two hundred paintings and objects from the collections of the Metropolitan Museum are supplemented by masterpieces from the Louvre, the Uffizi, the Prado, the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), the National Gallery (London), the Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) and other world-famous American and European museums.

Mr. Taylor's text provides a concise summary of the history of Eastern and Western art. The broad patterns of development are outlined, and the major periods and the influence of important schools are analyzed and compared. Particular attention is given to the great artists and their individual achievements.

One authority has suggested that the book might have a second title, "A Companion to Art." Those of us who have had the pleasure of looking at the proofs of the book feel that he is right. It can serve either as an entertaining guide through the history of art to be read for leisurely enjoyment, or as a handy reference book at home or in travel. No other single book on art offers the advantage of such extensive and varied color illustration.

Because of an exceptionally large initial printing FIFTY CENTURIES OF ART is regularly priced at only \$5.00. WITH THE SPECIAL DISCOUNT OF 25% THE BOOK IS AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS OF THE MUSEUM AT \$3.75 A COPY.

An order form, including space for your instructions on mailing gift copies is enclosed together with a reply envelope for your convenience.

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Thomas

BYRON THOMAS · WOODSTOCK · VERMONT

Dear Alfred,

20 February 1956

As you may know I am having an exhibition in New York. I will be in town next week and would be so pleased if you could ^{Dear Byron:} luncheon with me.

This week is awfully crowded. Couldn't you come in and have tea with me some afternoon -- perhaps the 23rd? I hope so. I arrive Tuesday Feb 21 and leave the following week, the day the show closes Feb 28.

Sincerely,

If by any chance you have a luncheon date open during that time, please ^{Alfred H. Barr, Jr.} send a note ^{at the:}

Mr. Byron Thomas
Edwin Hewitt Gallery
29 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York
Edwin Hewitt Gallery
29 East 65 St
N.Y. 21 N.Y.

I look forward with hope of seeing you.

Very best

Byron

Feb. 15, 1956

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B Y R O N T H O M A S · W O O D S T O C K · V E R M O N T

Dear Alfred,

As you may know I am having an exhibition in New York. I will be in town next week and would be so pleased if you could have luncheon with me.

I arrive Tuesday Feb 21 and leave the following week, the day the show closes Feb 28.

If by any chance you have a luncheon date open during that time, please drop a note to me at the:-

Edwin Hewitt Gallery
29 East 65 St
N.Y. 21 N.Y.

I look forward with hope of seeing you.

Very best

Byron

Feb. 15, 1956

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FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
New District, New Jersey

COMMITTEES:
ELECTIONS AND LABOR
FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON OFFICE
132 WOOD STATE STREET

28 November 1956

WASHINGTON OFFICE
149 East 96th Street
New York 28, New York

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

CHARLOTTE N. ELDRIDGE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I am so late in replying to your letter of October 30th that I now find myself in the position of being able to congratulate you on your victory in the recent election. I noted with pleasure and satisfaction the laudatory comments made by such newspapers as the New York Times on your re-election.

In retrospect, I suppose the New York Times advertisement of the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower made little difference in the election, but at the time it was published I was angered by the contents, but with a very few exceptions, not surprised at the names which appeared under it. I don't believe that you should feel that this conservative minority in any way reflects the political beliefs of the majority of artists -- but then, I don't suppose you really do. I suppose my Republican opponent has been trying to make a big thing over my record in the 84th Congress in support of Lloyd Goodrich and I read carefully the Milwaukee Journal article, "Politicians vs. Artists" which was very revelatory of the people behind Congressman Dondero. If another Congressman seems tempted to take up the banner after his retirement, perhaps a few lessons in art history would ward him off.

Thank you for your letter, and again, my congratulations. I was under a somewhat of a back last fall I came out strongly in his support as my newsletter of Sept. 16, 1955, shows. Rep. Kearns circulated my newsletter widely in his District to Sincerely, effect and later expressed his deep appreciation for my efforts in his behalf. He also was being attacked by an aspirant to his seat, who was a Republican and running on a Republican ticket. This was in the primary. NO ONE HAS COME TO MY DEFENSE. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. Eisenhower to be interested in culture. The House of Representatives less have to take it easy. Of course, Washington, D. C. art and artists with impunity as Rep. Dondero has done for years. Did you see the article, by the way, in the Milwaukee Journal of October 7, 1956, entitled "Politicians vs. Artists"?

Until art and artists learn to support their friends regardless of party there will be precious little support in the Congress for the things they are interested in. These are the facts of life, basic and fundamental, in our system of Government.

Cordially yours,

Frank Thompson, Jr.
Frank Thompson, Jr., Jr.

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FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
4TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

TRENTON OFFICE:
122 WEST STATE STREET

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
452 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

PAUL D. FALCEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

CHARLOTTE R. ELDREDGE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 30, 1956

Hon. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barr:

What was your reaction, if any, to the advertisement of the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower in the New York Times on Monday?

You will be interested to know that my Republican opponent has been trying to make a big thing over my record in the 84th Congress in support of culture. He says: "If my opponent's interest and activity to make Washington the cultural center of the world had been spent in providing for Trenton some of these same cultural facilities, he would have served better the people of his District."

When Representative Carroll D. Kearns (R. Pa.) was under a somewhat similar attack last fall I came out strongly in his support as my newsletter of Sept. 16, 1955, shows. Rep. Kearns circulated my newsletter widely in his District to excellent effect and later expressed his deep appreciation for my efforts in his behalf. He also was being attacked by an aspirant to his seat, who was a Republican and running on a Republican ticket. This was in the primary. NO ONE HAS COME TO MY DEFENSE, HOWEVER.

Apparently its OK for President Eisenhower to be interested in culture but Members of Congress have to take it easy. Of course, they can attack art and artists with impunity as Rep. Dondero has done for years. Did you see the article, by the way, in the Milwaukee Journal of October 7, 1956, entitled "Politicians vs. Artists"?

Until art and artists learn to support their friends regardless of party there will be precious little support in the Congress for the things they are interested in. These are the facts of life, basic and fundamental, in our system of Government.

Cordially yours,

Frank Thompson, Jr.
Frank Thompson, Jr., M. C.

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Thompson

23 October 1956

Congress of the United States
 House of Representatives
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

October 22, 1956

I gave the reference to the enclosed article to a young man associated with your office this past weekend while working at the Stevenson headquarters at 54th and Broadway, but now I am afraid that I may have quoted the wrong date.

11 Street
 New York 19, N. Y.

Just in case the interview with Dondero interests you, I am sending you a copy now. Please do not bother to acknowledge it.

It occurred to me that you might be interested in the attached press releases, etc., and I would appreciate having your comments thereon.

Sincerely,
Secretary to Mr. Barr

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr.
 Congress of the United States
 452 House Office Building
 Washington, D. C.

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FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
NINTH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

TRENTON OFFICE:
122 WEST STATE STREET

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
452 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

PAUL D. FALCEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

CHARLOTTE R. ELDRIDGE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Received

October 22, 1956

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barr:

It occurred to me that you might be interested in the attached press releases, etc., and I would appreciate having your comments thereon.

Cordially,

Frank Thompson, Jr.
Frank Thompson, Jr., M.C.

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FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1956, TO A.M. PAPERS
FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., DEMOCRAT, NEW JERSEY
Suite 452, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat, 4th District, New Jersey, has released the text of a telegram he sent on Thursday, October 4, to the chairman of the national Commission of Fine Arts, the Honorable David E. Finley. Mr. Finley was director of the National Gallery of Art for years.

The telegram was in reply to a report by the Washington Post and Times Herald of October 4 which was to the effect that Chairman David Finley said it would take a "year" for the commission to round up the information which Congressman Thompson requested by registered letter on September 28. The Post went on to say that Mr. Finley felt the commission's staff wasn't large enough to get the wanted information quickly.

Thompson said "Since I have no intention or desire to obstruct or hinder the orderly processes of government I am perfectly willing to reduce the time period for which the information is sought to any length which you consider reasonable."

In recent days Thompson has charged the Commission of Fine Arts with being "Republican-controlled".

He also called attention to the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower saying "under the present Republican Administration, the major purpose of artists and scientists is considered to be the reelection of a Republican President rather than the advancement of the arts and sciences in America and a committee is organized with the Administration's blessing with this purpose boldly stated in the committee's title."

Thompson said today that he had a letter from James S. Schramm, president of the American Federation of Arts commenting, with obvious reference to the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower, that --

"The American Federation of Arts cannot participate in any activities with a partisan-political flavor and it is my personal conviction that only by scrupulous avoidance of partisan implications can we hope to develop a sound, long range federal policy with respect to the arts."

The New Jersey Democrat said he doubted the Republican Administration could establish effective communication between U. S. intellectuals and those abroad since "the basic platform on which it obtained its position of power is that an intellectual is, in President Eisenhower's own words "a man who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows".

The text of Thompson's telegram to Finley follows--

"I wrote you on September 28, 1956, requesting certain information which I felt would be helpful in developing legislation which is at this very moment being reviewed by ten Federal departments and agencies. The Washington Post and Times Herald reported on October 4 you said it would take a year for the Commission of Fine Arts to round up the information I asked for. Since I have no intention or desire to obstruct or hinder the orderly processes of government I am perfectly willing to reduce the time period for which the information is sought to any length which you consider reasonable. Could you furnish me the information only for the period 1948 to present date thus covering one term of President Truman's administration and one term of President Eisenhower's administration? Or would this be too burdensome on the Commission? I note you did not say the information I sought was either secret or confidential and I therefore assume you agree with me that President Eisenhower was right when he said at his press conference on Sept. 27 that when there is no question of national security involved every federal official from a filing clerk on up is supposed to testify freely. May I say, however, that I have had great admiration for your ability to accomplish a great deal in a short space of time ever since I read Roger Butterfield's glowing tribute to you in the Saturday Evening Post of March 8, 1947, entitled "The Millionaire's Best Friend". He credited you with dashing off the trickle-down theory in the book "Taxation: the People's Business" in only ten days. The main argument of the book according to Butterfield was that taxes should be rapidly reduced or eliminated on business and large incomes, so that private initiative and enterprise would boom the country, and prosperity would continue indefinitely. He added that this scheme of taxation was followed, in fact, right up to the great collapse of 1929."

Thompson said today he was an avid reader of the Saturday Evening Post and thought Butterfield's article was important evidence in support of his charge that the Commission of Fine Arts was "Republican-controlled".

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FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1956
 FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., DEMOCRAT, NEW JERSEY
 Suite 452, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat, 4th District, New Jersey, announced today he has sent a registered letter to David E. Finley, Chairman, national Commission of Fine Arts, requesting the following information:

- 1) a list of the Members of the Commission of Fine Arts from 1938 to date
- 2) a statement of any and all work for payment such members of the Commission of Fine Arts performed for the Federal Government during the time they were members of the Commission. The period for which this information was sought extends from 1938 to date. The amount of such payment was also requested.
- 3) a list of artists regarding whom the Commission of Fine Arts has advised from 1938 to date together with a summary of the advice given and to whom.

Thompson said he had gone back to 1938 and thus covered 14 years of Democratic Administrations in order to be clear of any charge of playing partisan politics in seeking this information which he requested. He released today the text of his letter to the Commission which only last week he charged with being "Republican-controlled".

In calling for the information which, the New Jersey Democrat said, "can in no wise be considered to have any relation to the national defense and thus be held to be secret or confidential", Thompson noted that President Eisenhower, at his press conference on Sept. 27, said--

"when there is no question of security, national security involved, everybody is supposed to testify freely before Congressional committees . . . I don't believe that any individual who happens to be, let's say, from a filing clerk on up can by themselves decide what is right for them to tell and what is not right."

Thompson was author and sponsor of four cultural bills which became law during the 84th Congress. One of these bills, co-sponsored by Senator Theodore Francis Green, more than tripled the annual budget of the Fine Arts Commission. It raised the budget from \$10 thousand where it had rested since 1910 when the agency was created, to \$35,000.

A second Thompson measure, co-sponsored by Senator Humphrey (D. Minn.) made our cultural exchange program permanent. A third, co-sponsored by Senator Lehman, granted Federal recognition to music through a Congressional charter to the National Music Council. The fourth measure which was adopted created a Federal commission to plan a cultural center in the Nation's Capital.

Thompson has developed a 9-point JEFFERSONIAN ART PROGRAM for introduction in the 85th Congress. One of the bills would bring distinguished leaders in music, drama, dance, and poetry onto the Commission for the first time since 1910. Thompson quoted Theodore C. Streibert of the U. S. Information Agency as saying of this proposal: "The central thought of the resolution - the benefit to be derived from consultation between officers of the Federal Government and eminent American representatives of the arts and crafts -- is an important one which we have sought to carry out in several ways. Any new way of effectively meeting this problem would be a great help to us."

The letter to Hon. David E. Finley from Rep. Thompson, dated Sept 28 follows:

Dear Mr. Finley:

I was very pleased to be advised by Comdr. L. W. Wilson, Secretary, Commission of Fine Arts, that my draft legislation, providing that distinguished cultural leaders in the fields of the living arts of the theater shall be members of the Commission, will be made a matter for discussion at the October meeting.

As I pointed out in my letter of transmittal, my measure was prompted by the disastrous experience of the Congress with the President's plan for a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts which he recommended to the Congress in his Message on the State of the Union of January 6, 1955. As you know, he said at that time that--

(over)

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"In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities. I shall recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation." Page 2

This Administration measure was introduced in the House by Representatives Celler, Wainwright, and myself, and in the Senate by Senator Smith of New Jersey, and Senator Lehman for himself and Senators Ives, Murray and Douglas. As it turned out, it later became obvious that there were only two things wrong with the President's plan as it was developed by the Department of Health Education, and Welfare and sent to the Congress on April 19, 1955. First, the Republican Members of the House Education and Labor Committee managed to kill the measure after it had passed the Senate. Secondly, the Commission of Fine Arts was created in 1910 to, among other things, "advise generally upon questions of art when required to do so by the President, or by any committee of either House of Congress."

In my study of this entire problem I went back to the hearings held by the House Education and Labor Committee on H. R. 9111 and some 13 companion measures in June 1954. A companion measure to H. R. 9111 was introduced by Senator Lehman on April 22, 1954, as S. 3340. (These bills were all sponsored by Democrats, and the Republican-controlled House Education and Labor Committee rejected all of them). As I wrote Comdr. Wilson, I have greatly revised the legislation offered by my predecessor Congressman Howell and Senator Lehman because I felt that the arguments presented by Mr. Finley in his adverse reports on these measures were sound." However, the basic idea contained in the Howell-Lehman plan was the spur that prompted the President's proposal a year or so later.

The Howell-Lehman measure proposed bringing together in a Federal inter-agency commission representatives of all those Federal departments and agencies having art programs. Such agencies, as the 1953 Report to the President on Art and Government shows, have a wide range of programs. I am advised that in the Defense Department, in addition to the Bands and Orchestras of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps there are the soldier shows with 40,000 presentations a year, soldier music, and so on. As you know, Federal inter-agency committees are authorized by section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134; 31 U. S. C., sec. 691). In a report on the Howell bill under date of May 8, 1953, the Secretary of Agriculture E. T. Benson said:

"The Department would be glad to assist in development of the fine arts for the national benefit within the limits of its authorization and resources. We would be particularly interested in advances in the fine arts that would be of value in the cultural development of rural people, especially our farm youth."

I note that in your own Agency's report on H. R. 9111 to the House Education and Labor Committee under date of May 26, 1954, you wrote:

"The Commission of Fine Arts was established for the purpose of giving expert advice to the President, the Congress and departments and agencies of the Federal Government in matters pertaining to the fine arts!"

In the same report you go on to declare that "Anyone is now at liberty to suggest to the President names of persons suitable for membership on the Commission. The law requires only that they should be 'well qualified judges of the fine arts'". You also pointed out that "During the last 44 years, about 60 architects, landscape architects, sculptors, painters, and lay members interested in the fine arts have served on the Commission. They have considered it an honor to serve the Government in this way and have been glad to do so without compensation."

I am, of course, not unmindful of the contributions made by these well qualified judges of the fine arts through the years to their country and to the arts. I was impressed that the President's measure provided that members of the 21-member commission it proposed to establish, as well as members of special committees, would be given compensation at a "rate to be fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding \$50 per diem, and shall be paid travel expenses." I have kept this same provision in my draft measure for I believe "the laborer is worth of his hire".

In a letter to Jarvis Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1820 of the Judges of the Supreme Court that "Our judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the

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privilege of their corps. Their maxim is 'boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem', and their power the more dangerous as they are in office for life. . . The constitution has erected no such tribunal, knowing that to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party, its members would become despots." Page 3

It would be very helpful to have the following information and, since it can in no wise be considered to have any relation to the national defense and thus be held to be secret or confidential, I would, therefore, deeply appreciate it if you would furnish me at your earliest convenience the following:

- A) a list of the Members of the Commission of Fine Arts from 1938 to date.
- B) a statement of any and all work for payment such members of the Commission of Fine Arts performed for the Federal Government during the time they were Commission members. The period for which this information is sought extends from 1938 to date. The amount of payment should be furnished.
- C) a list of artists regarding whom the Commission of Fine Arts has advised from 1938 to date together with a summary of the advice given and to whom.

With kind regards,

Cordially yours,

s/ Frank Thompson, Jr.,

Frank Thompson, Jr., M. C.

A JEFFERSONIAN ART PROGRAM

Washington and Jefferson knew and understood the purpose of the fine arts is to mould capable and cultivated human beings and, therefore, to help build better citizens and better communities. Jefferson considered the fine arts to be as necessary as the other disciplines to a knowledge of the State. Author, architect, musician, Jefferson's bill for a system of public education provided a public art gallery and a Department of Fine Arts. The following 9-point program would be a major step toward implementing his dreams for this nation. It is in truth a Jeffersonian Art Program.

(In a letter to the Washington Post and Times Herald Rep. Thompson 9/29 quoted Vice President Nixon who said, in a speech on June 8, 1956, at Lafayette College: "In many areas of the world a place of honor is given to leaders in the arts and intellectual fields and in religious activities. The intellectual is not dismissed as an egghead. The artist is not called a long-hair. The minister of religion is not considered an impractical idealist." Thompson doubted the present Republican Administration could establish effective communication between the United States and the intellectuals of other countries since "the basic platform on which it obtained its position of power is that an intellectual is, in President Eisenhower's own words, 'a man who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows'").

1. Remove the burdensome and destructive federal admissions and cabaret taxes from music and the theater arts.
2. Expand the present national Commission of Fine Arts by making it mandatory for all of the major art fields to be represented on it.
3. Make extensive use of the talents and skills of American artists in the present huge Federal building program (decorative arts, murals, etc.)
4. Encourage growth of the arts in the several States, reversing trend toward centralized control of art.
5. Establish a Federal Arts and Crafts Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Precedent is the Public Health Service.
6. Establish the office of Assistant Secretary of State for International Cultural Relations.
7. Preserve our great historic sites, buildings, and objects as provided in the Historic Sites Act of 1935. This act largely ignored at present.
8. Establish a National Museum of American Arts and Crafts in the historic Patent Office Building to balance the Mellon Gallery. (Mellon Gallery is a monument to dead art of other countries. American artists must be dead 20 years to have work in permanent collection. Federal Government appropriates more than \$1 million a year to Mellon Gallery but has no voice in management).
9. Extend Federal recognition to the living arts of music, drama, poetry, and dance by establishing an important American National Theater, Music, and Dance Center in the Nation's Capital as important in these fields as the Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art are in their particular art fields. This Center for the Living Arts should be a branch of the Smithsonian Institution, as should the National Museum of American Arts and Crafts above.

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FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, September 19, 1956
 FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democrat, New Jersey
 Suite 452, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Oddly enough, a good many Republicans have been suffering pain about the fact that eggheads seem to be pro-Democratic. The hard-boiled Republican National Committee campaign director, Robert Humphreys, in a recent speech to GOP ladies, complained that their party had been negligent in allowing Democrats a monopoly of "intellectuals". The upshot is that the Republicans have now established the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower with Miss Helen Hayes, actress, and Dr. Harry Carman, Dean Emeritus of Columbia College, as co-chairmen.

The New York Times in reporting the formation of this new committee observed: "One thing seems certain. The Republicans will go slower than in 1952 in laughing about 'eggheads' this year. And President Eisenhower will not be caught, as he was in 1954, defining an intellectual as 'a man who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows.'"

Now might be a good time to look at the record. The score to date is 5 Democratic bills on the arts enacted into law, and no Republican bills on the arts enacted into law. Maybe one of the first things the new Republican arts committee should set about doing is to support those Members of Congress who worked for the passage of cultural legislation, Republicans and Democrats.

Here is the Democratic record in the arts--

1. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Congressman Frank Thompson sponsored legislation to make permanent the Government's program of sending our artists overseas. This became the Humphrey-Thompson Act, Public Law 860-84th Congress.
2. Senator Lehman and Congressman Frank Thompson sponsored legislation to grant a Federal Charter to music and officially recognize it for the first time in our history (it is not represented on the Republican-controlled national Commission of Fine Arts). This legislation became Public Law 873-84th Congress. Other Members of Congress who introduced the Lehman-Thompson bill were Senators Wiley and O'Mahoney, and Representatives Celler and Kearns.
3. Senator Theodore Green and a number of his colleagues in the House joined Congressman Frank Thompson in sponsoring his bill to establish a Federal commission to plan a cultural center in the Nation's Capital. This became Public Law 128-84th Congress. House sponsors were Representatives Thompson, Celler, Metcalf, Morrison, Rhodes, Wier, Blatnik, Powell, Williams of New Jersey, Lankford, and Zablocki all Democrats. Also Representatives Kearns, Norano, and Merrow, Republicans.
4. Senator Green also co-sponsored Frank Thompson's bill tripling the annual budget of the present Commission of Fine Arts and this became law. This Republican-controlled arts commission was established in 1910. During the last 44 years, about 60 architects, landscape architects, sculptors, painters, and lay members interested in the fine arts have served on this Commission.
5. Representative Cecil R. King introduced H. R. 9875 on March 12, 1956, and this became law. This bill had as its purpose the exemption from the Federal admissions tax of admissions to motion picture theaters costing 90 cents or less. Financially speaking, this measure cost many times the entire amount of all the other cultural measures combined.

Republican Record on the Arts

In his San Francisco acceptance speech President Eisenhower referred several times to the arts and artists as an important part of a broad program leading to a stable peace. The President on January 6, 1955, in his Message to the Congress on the State of the Union said--

"In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities. I shall recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation."

This Administration measure was introduced in the House by Representatives Thompson, Celler and Wainwright, and in the Senate by Senator Smith, New Jersey Republican, and Senator Lehman for himself and Senators Ives, Murray, & Douglas.

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The New York Times.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1956.

Letters to The Times

To Subsidize the Arts

Failure of Republicans to Support President's Legislation Charged

The writer of the following letter represents New Jersey's Fourth District in the House of Representatives.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I was much interested in John Briggs' eye-catching title "Cultural Silver Congressman's Proposed Plank Shaved Down by the Democratic Convention" in The New York Times music section of Aug. 26.

Mr. Briggs pointed out that the platform adopted at the Democratic convention in Chicago contained a plank on education which advocated "expansion of the program of student, teacher and cultural exchange with other nations." He added: "This was cited by Mr. Thompson's associates as evidence that their labors had not been wholly in vain."

Now Mr. Briggs is entitled to his opinion that this is a silver rather than a plank. But he should have, in all fairness, gone on to point out that there isn't any mention of culture or the arts in the Republican platform at all.

Of course, in his acceptance speech the President strongly supported the arts. But this speech doesn't add up to a silver, let alone a plank, as the legislative history of his plan for a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts shows. Yet it is obvious that if we are going to use the arts increasingly in our foreign policy we are soon going to have to do something to encourage the arts to grow here at home or we won't have anything at all to export before long.

Support of Democrats
I believe this is the position taken by James C. Petrillo, Dr. Howard Hanson and other cultural leaders in our country also. On the basis of past performance in the adoption of cultural legislation I know the Democratic party and the Democratic members of the Congress will support and vote for all sound legislation which is advanced in this field.

Thelma Parkinson Sharp, Democratic National Committeewoman from New Jersey and co-chairman of the Platform Committee at Chicago, wrote me: "I took your recommendations up with the Platform Committee. I then took them up with the Drafting Committee and while they felt that the whole thing was a splendid idea, they would have to be condensed in the platform and if you will read the platform carefully you will find them incorporated in our program on education."

In preparing my recommendations I tried, successfully I think, to be completely objective and to avoid partisanship, while listing the many splendid accomplishments of earlier Congresses. Also, I pointed out that while the Eighty-fourth Congress enacted into law four cultural bills I had developed it failed to adopt the President's measure for a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Senate Approval

I was, I must admit, keenly disappointed in the fact that while the Senate adopted the President's measure for a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts, of which Senator Lehman was the principal Senate sponsor, this measure failed in the House Education and Labor Committee by a vote of sixteen to seven when only one Republican member, Representative Stuyvesant Wainwright of New York's First District, voted for it. Five Democratic members joined me in supporting the President's proposal.

I can only say that the Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee, aside from Representative Wainwright who, along with me, was one of the original sponsors, seemed to be completely unaware of the President's interest in this legislation or that he had strongly recommended it to the Congress in his Jan. 6, 1955, message on the State of the Union and that the measure was developed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare when Mrs. Hobby was its Secretary. If the Republican members knew of the President's

interest they evinced absolutely no intention of following his leadership in this matter at any time, now or in the future.

I worked very hard for this measure during the past two years and interested my colleagues in it, including Representative Emanuel Celler, who also sponsored it.

Fate of Legislation

I was successful in having hearings held, and I arranged for many of the distinguished witnesses who testified for it. I am, however, most reluctant to fight for the President's own measures when he doesn't fight for them himself and when his Republican leaders in the House fail to fight for them. With just a little help at the time the full Committee on Education and Labor had the measure before it this legislation would now be law.

If the twelve Republican members who voted against the bill had joined the six Democratic members and Representative Wainwright in voting for the bill the measure would have cleared the committee, nineteen to eleven, instead of being tabled by a vote of sixteen to seven. Since the measure had previously passed the Senate its favorable report to the House by the Education and Labor Committee would undoubtedly have carried the day and this legislation would by now be safely on the statute books.

If the Republican leadership in the House had worked even half as hard for this legislation as the Democrats did it would be law by now. This whole legislative history proves that what is required to get cultural legislation, or any other kind of measure, enacted into law is hard work, plenty of it, and able leadership.

Mere lip service and fine phrases about the importance of the arts and other cultural activities and how they "make our civilization endure and flourish" will not get cultural legislation through the Congress now or in the future.

FRANK THOMPSON JR.
Washington, Aug. 27, 1956.

... must be able freely to use their talent. Likewise, our people must have unimpaird opportunity to see, to understand, to profit from our artists' work. As long as artists are at liberty to feel with high personal intensity, as long as our artists are free to create with sincerity and conviction, there will be healthy controversy and progress in art. Only thus can there be opportunity for a genius to conceive and to produce a masterpiece for all mankind.

"But, my friends, how different it is in tyranny. When artists are made the slaves and the tools of the state; when artists become chief propagandists of a cause, progress is arrested and creation and genius are destroyed.

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Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr., (D.N.J.) -2- Newsletter 9/19/56

There were only two things wrong with the President's plan as it was developed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and sent to the Congress on April 19, 1955: 1) the Republican Members of the House Education and Labor Committee managed to kill the measure after it had passed the Senate (see my letter in the New York Times of Sept. 2, editorial page); and 2) there already existed the Commission of Fine Arts which was created in 1910 specifically to do the very job which the President described so movingly in his January 6, 1955 Message on the State of the Union.

Surely the President and the officials of the present Administration must know that two Federal Advisory Art Commissions to do the very same job are out of all reason. Actually, of course, the Administration measure as it was sent to the Hill didn't do what the President said should be done. The Federal Advisory Commission it proposed to create only advised the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. When Senator Lehman amended the measure to do what the President recommended the present Fine Arts Commission gave it an adverse report and launched an all-out, last-ditch campaign to defeat the legislation and was successful.

The present Commission of Fine Arts is Republican-controlled and it was roundly condemned in resolutions adopted in 1953 by the American Federation of Musicians, the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Many national organizations in the art world have also condemned it and the art critics of such great newspapers as the New York Times have also scathingly attacked the present Commission. The National Music Council, which was granted a charter by the 84th Congress, has unanimously adopted a resolution urging that "provision be made for a nonpolitical National Commission of the Arts in which the National Music Council and its member organizations shall have adequate representation."

Art News, and Arts Magazine have just come out with articles in their current September issues roundly criticizing the Administration for its cancellation of art shows organized by the Henry Luce publication Sports Illustrated and the conservative American Federation of Arts. The New York Times said editorially on September 13 that: "It is difficult to understand how President Eisenhower squares his admirable views on the need for expanding 'people-to-people' contacts among the nations of the world with some of the obstructive actions in this area taken by agencies of his own Administration. Probably the most important single people-to-people activity engaged in by this Government is the educational exchange program. It is hard to puzzle out why this program is sometimes treated like a stepchild in the State Department, and why less money was asked for it this year than last. Furthermore, the cultural exchanges with other countries--in the field of art, music, drama and the like--are of incalculably great importance in spreading mutual understanding; and, so far as the United States is concerned, our musical and artistic envoys (such as the Boston Symphony at this moment) have surely created more goodwill for this country than most of the things done by the \$100 millions we are now spending on official propaganda."

These Precious Freedoms of America

It is clear that any relationship between what the President says about art and what his Administration does about art is purely coincidental. You will recall the President's message to the Museum of Modern Art, October 19, 1954, on the occasion of the museum's 25th anniversary:

"To me, in this anniversary, there is a reminder to all of us of an important principle that we should ever keep in mind. This principle is that freedom of the arts is a basic freedom, one of the pillars of liberty in our land. For our Republic to stay free, those among us with the rare gift of artistry must be able freely to use their talent. Likewise, our people must have unimpaired opportunity to see, to understand, to profit from our artists' work. As long as artists are at liberty to feel with high personal intensity, as long as our artists are free to create with sincerity and conviction, there will be healthy controversy and progress in art. Only thus can there be opportunity for a genius to conceive and to produce a masterpiece for all mankind.

"But, my friends, how different it is in tyranny. When artists are made the slaves and the tools of the state; when artists become chief propagandists of a cause, progress is arrested and creation and genius are destroyed.

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Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr., (D. N.J.) -3-

Newsletter 9/19/56

"Let us therefore on this meaningful anniversary of a great museum of art in America make a new resolve. Let us resolve that this precious freedom of the arts, these precious freedoms of America, will, day by day, year by year, become ever stronger, ever brighter in our land."

A Place of Honor

In a speech on June 8, 1956, at commencement exercises held by Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, the Vice President said, in what may well have been the opening of the Republican campaign to win the egghead vote this year, that: "In many areas of the world a place of honor is given to leaders in the arts and intellectual fields and in religious activities. The intellectual is not dismissed as an egghead. The artist is not called a long-hair. The minister of religion is not considered an impractical idealist." This checks with what a shrewd observer who is a constituent of mine said not so long ago in a speech at the Museum of Modern Art. I refer to the former Ambassador to Russia George F. Kennan who said: "I can think of few countries in the world where the artist, the writer, the composer, or the thinker is held in such general low esteem as he is here in our country."

The President said recently, in commenting on the Supreme Court decision and the country's school integration problems, that "I think it makes no difference whether or not I endorse it." To which Adlai Stevenson replied in a speech at a Liberal Party rally in New York City on September 11: "I count it the responsibility of the Chief Executive to do all in his power to create a climate of compliance with the law, and to encourage with the immense prestige and power of this office those who are earnestly trying, often in difficult circumstances, to comply with the court's decision. Freedom is not a treasure to be hoarded; it is a faculty to be used and to be constantly renewed through use. This is as true of our civil liberties as it is of our civil rights."

Is it too much to hope that the newly organized Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower (with offices located in room 719, 1406 "G" St., northwest, Washington, D. C.) will ask President Eisenhower to encourage American artists and craftsmen, writers, composers, and "intellectuals" with the immense prestige and power of his office? Is this committee writing a blank check to be cashed by this Administration which is, in fact, responsible for the low esteem in which the artist, the writer, the composer and the thinker are today held in this country? The Republicans can't sow the wind without reaping the whirlwind. They can't sow the seeds of mistrust and hatred and suspicion of artists and intellectuals as they did to win in 1952 and not have these grow and grow into the kind of thing of which even the Vice President complains and our artists and intellectuals are the victims of today.

9-Point Program to Clean up Mess in Washington

I have drafted several measures designed to bring order and sanity back into the Government's many art activities. Things have by now gotten so bad that only a major operation will get at the disorder and prevent future recurrences. Far-reaching cultural legislation has clearly become necessary. This kind of program will go a long way to restore American arts and crafts to the place of honor they occupied under such great Presidents as Washington, Jefferson, Roosevelt, and Truman. Art and intellectual activity must be given again a place of honor and prestige in our society such as it has had in our own greatest periods and all other countries give it.

The Democratic Platform adopted at Chicago has a plank calling for "expansion of the program of student, teacher and cultural exchange with other nations." It is most unfortunate that the Republican Convention in San Francisco did not see fit to mention art, or artists, or cultural exchange anywhere in the Republican Platform and left this to the lesser position of the President's acceptance speech.

It is becoming increasingly clear to those actively concerned with the arts here at home, cultural leaders such as James C. Petrillo, Dr. Howard Hanson, Clarence Derwent and others, that if the Federal Government is going to use the arts more and more to win friends and influence people throughout the world then positive steps must be taken to encourage and foster them here.

Today when, under the present Republican Administration, the major purpose of artists and scientists is considered to be the reelection of a Republican President rather than the advancement of the arts and sciences in America

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Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr., (D. N.J.)

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Newsletter 9/19/56

and a committee is organized with the Administration's blessing with this purpose boldly stated in the committee's title; when, in the words of the New York Times editorial, leading officials of this Administration "have not the courage to risk a fight for principle or the perspicacity to see that if a political censorship of art is established one of the foundations of American freedom is gone" -- now, now is the time to get back to first principles. Now is the time to remember that Washington and Jefferson knew and understood what the liberal and fine arts were for. They knew and understood their purpose is to mould capable and cultivated human beings and, therefore, to help build better citizens and better communities. Jefferson, a renaissance man, considered the fine arts to be as necessary as the other disciplines to a knowledge of the State. Author, architect, musician, Jefferson's bill for a system of public education provided a public art gallery and a Department of Fine Arts. The following 9-point program would be a major step toward implementing his dreams for this nation. It is, in truth, a Jeffersonian art program.

A Jeffersonian Art Program

1. Remove the burdensome and destructive Federal taxes from music and the theater arts. While other countries subsidize their arts we tax ours and stubbornly refuse to support them financially at the national or State levels.

2. Expand the present national Commission of Fine Arts by making it mandatory for all of the art fields including the performing arts and crafts to be represented on it with nominations being made by leading national art organizations.

3. Make extensive use of the talents and skills of American artists and craftsmen, in the way Jefferson did in the Capitol Building in Washington, in the huge public building program authorized by the 84th Congress.

4. Promote the further development of the arts and crafts in the several States thereby reversing the present disastrous trend toward centralization and control of the arts and artists by the Federal Government. Without a strong movement in the several States in support of the arts and crafts the present trend toward centralization will lead inevitably to an increasing number of incidents such as the cancellation of art shows by the Government.

5. Establish a Federal Arts and Crafts Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with a Special Assistant to the Secretary of that Department. Health and Medical Affairs has a Special Assistant in that department, and there is a Public Health Service under the Surgeon General. The arts and crafts should have equal representation at the least.

6. Establish the office of Assistant Secretary of State for International Cultural Relations in order to expand our cultural exchange programs with other nations in an orderly manner.

7. Preserve our great historic sites, buildings, and objects as provided in the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1953, an Act often ignored these days by the present Administration.

8. Establish a National Museum of American Arts and Crafts in the historic Patent Office in Washington to balance the Mellon Gallery of Art which is Republican-controlled and is entirely devoted to the work of artists of other countries and earlier centuries. The music program carried on in the gallery, while of the highest standards, is partly designed to disarm those critics of the gallery who contend that while the Federal Government appropriates more than \$1 million a year for the gallery's maintenance the government is denied all voice in its management; also that the Mellon Gallery is a monument to dead art, since an artist must be dead twenty years before his work can be made part of the permanent collection.

9. Extend Federal recognition to the living arts of music, drama, poetry and dance by establishing an American National Theater and Music Center in the Nation's Capital as important in these fields as the Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art are in their particular art fields.

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FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
4TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

TRENTON OFFICE:
~~120 WEST STATE STREET~~

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
452 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

PAUL D. FALCEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

CHARLOTTE R. ELDRIDGE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

August 24, 1956



H. R. 12060
Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53d Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Barr:

In view of the current building program upon which the Federal Government has launched, probably the largest in many years, I feel there is an urgent need for a bill such as my H. R. 12060. I would appreciate having your comments upon this measure.

Cordially,

Frank Thompson, Jr.
Frank Thompson, Jr. M. C.

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84TH CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. R. 12060

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 29, 1956

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Public Works

A BILL

To provide for decorative art in Federal buildings.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That (a) it is hereby declared to be the purpose of this
4 Act (1) to encourage the development of a strong and
5 vital American art through maximum use of American
6 artists in the decoration of Federal buildings; (2) to pro-
7 mote the progress of the useful arts; (3) to secure suitable
8 art of the best quality for the decoration of buildings of the
9 Federal Government in this country and in foreign countries;
10 (4) to carry out this work in such a way as will best assist
11 in stimulating the development of American art and reward-
12 ing the outstanding talent which develops; and (5) to

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1 encourage and secure local participation and autonomy to
2 the greatest extent compatible with the quality of the pro-
3 grams authorized by this Act.

4 (b) As used in this Act—

5 (1) the term “decorative art work” includes murals,
6 mosaics, paintings, sculpture (including architectural and
7 monumental sculpture), ironwork, pottery, weaving,
8 woodcarving, stonework, and artistic work in other
9 media.

10 (2) the term “Administrator” means the Adminis-
11 trator of General Services.

12 (3) the term “Federal agency” means any depart-
13 ment, agency, or establishment of the Federal Govern-
14 ment.

15 (c) Whenever a public building is to be constructed
16 by or under contract to a Federal agency, the Administrator,
17 the head of the Federal agency performing the construc-
18 tion, and the head of the Federal agency which will have
19 jurisdiction over such building upon its completion shall
20 jointly determine what percentage, if any of the total amount
21 of money available for the construction of such building
22 should be used to provide decorative art work for such build-
23 ing. Such determination shall, whenever practicable, be
24 made in advance of the availability of the funds for such
25 construction, and shall be based upon a consideration of the

1 purposes for which the building is to be used, the types of
2 decorative art work which would be most fitting and appro-
3 priate in the light of such purposes, and any other factors
4 deemed relevant by the Administrator and such agency
5 heads. Within the limits of the percentage determined under
6 the first sentence of this subsection, the Administrator and
7 such agency heads shall jointly prescribe the type and extent
8 of the decorative art work, if any, to be provided for such
9 building, and shall, as provided in subsection (d), select
10 the artists, sculptors, or other persons to execute such work.

11 (d) The Administrator shall establish a system of open,
12 anonymous, juried competitions to be used by each Federal
13 agency, under the supervision of the Administrator, in select-
14 ing the persons who will execute the decorative art work to
15 be provided pursuant to the determination made under sub-
16 section (c) for any public building which, upon completion
17 of construction, will be under the jurisdiction of such agency.
18 In conducting such competitions, every opportunity shall be
19 given to American artists from the community in which
20 the construction will occur, and the artists to execute such
21 work shall be selected on the basis of their artistic qualifi-
22 cations.

23 (e) In order to secure the participation of the best
24 possible talent under this Act, there shall be established
25 such other procedures as may be deemed appropriate by the

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1 Administrator to provide for the award of commissions
2 without competition, as well as for the award of commis-
3 sions through competitions in which artists are invited to
4 compete and are paid for designs submitted.

5 SEC. 2. This Act shall not be deemed to invalidate any
6 provision in any Act of Congress or Executive order vesting
7 authority in the Commission of Fine Arts.

84TH CONGRESS
2ND SESSION

H. R. 12060

A BILL

To provide for decorative art in Federal buildings.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

June 29, 1966

Referred to the Committee on Public Works

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

August 13

tion is historically and unalterably pledged.

I believe that under the circumstances this Government, which is frequently making pious and understandable professions concerning its interest in world peace, should recognize that the issue of Cyprus is not only measurably disturbing world peace but it is gravely and seriously affecting our own interests and prestige in the Middle and Near East and throughout the world.

As the leading world democracy we above all should recognize that this question of Cyprus involves the sacred principle of self-determination to which Americans have been committed since before the founding of this Nation and which has been reiterated so very strongly during and following two great world wars as well as at many other times.

There is another very serious question involved here and that is the rights of religious minorities—a question which is very dear to the hearts of all true believers in freedom. This question relates not alone to freedom of worship which should be respected everywhere but also as it bears upon this issue, full respect for religious personages.

The callous treatment accorded Archbishop Makarios by the British Government was shocking to the conscience and moral instincts of the Christian and non-Christian world. It was an affront to all followers of religion. I hope and urge that our Government may take vigorous, affirmative steps to acquaint the British Government with the fact that oppression of the kind that is being practiced in Cyprus is offensive to the moral sense of enlightened mankind and will not be condoned by democratic, freedom-loving peoples.

Clearly Cyprus is having most unfortunate, adverse effects upon the cause of the free Western nations. Our Government should, therefore, use all means at its disposal to bring the issue of Cyprus to an early, just, and permanent solution. The free world as a whole will think the better of us for it.

Hon. F. Ertel Carlyle

SPEECH
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, North Carolina has lost a most able legislator and lawyer from their congressional delegation in the person of the Honorable F. ETEL CARLYLE.

It was my pleasure to serve with this gentleman in this legislative body for the past 10 years during which time he more than once demonstrated his ability in legislative matters. The service which he has rendered to not only the people of the Seventh District of North Carolina, but to the people of the United States, is a matter of record.

I sincerely wish that he will enjoy a most lucrative law practice during his coming years and hope that some day he will once again serve with us here in the Congress.

Is the Southern Pacific Ready To Quit?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a forthright editorial from the Medford Mail-Tribune of July 22, 1956, entitled "Is the Southern Pacific Ready To Quit?"

The editorial quite rightly emphasizes the fact that our railroads, which often enjoy a monopolistic position with respect to freight hauls, have an obligation to give the American public adequate and efficient passenger service.

The author of this editorial is the distinguished journalist, Robert W. Ruhl, former winner of the Pulitzer prize for outstanding journalistic attainment.

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

IS THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC READY TO QUIT?

If we were the board of directors of the "friendly Southern Pacific"—too bad we aren't—we would fire D. J. Russell, president of the billion dollar corporation, even though he is a highly-successful ex-Jacksonville boy.

We would fire him for one good, and we believe, sufficient reason, namely: no man should direct the destiny of an important business who no longer believes in that business.

President Russell doesn't believe in the railroad business—at least as far as passenger traffic is concerned. We quote:

"In 20 years Pullman travel will be a thing of the past and there will be little if any passenger business for long distances at least."

Small wonder that a railroad directed by a person holding such views should have deprived all of southern Oregon of passenger service by rail, and defied all orders of the public utility commissioner to restore it.

For this, according to the Russell philosophy, is just "good business." When a department in any corporation starts to lose money, don't waste time trying to improve it and make it—drop it. That is what United States steel or any other billion dollar concern would do, why shouldn't Southern Pacific? So goes the Southern Pacific story.

There is only one reason and the Russell school of thought refuses to consider it. That reason is—the railroad business, unlike United States steel, is a public utility. It enjoys a monopoly in southern Oregon and northern California. According to the terms of its original franchise, it agreed in return for tremendous grants of valuable public lands and this monopoly privilege to provide a continuous service to the people of the areas involved, passenger and freight.

But what is a franchise between a billion dollar corporation and a hundred billion dollar Government when there is no profit in it? Let the long-hairs and the egg-heads talk about the obligations of public service, the rights of the "dear people," etc., etc.—

such obligations and rights end in the Southern Pacific philosophy today as they did in the "public be damned" days of Commodore Vanderbilt, several generations ago.

Fortunately, however, all railroad presidents do not share President Russell's defeatism regarding the passenger department of American railroads. The passenger departments for many years have not been profitable, the railroad freight traffic has literally "paid the freight" since the war with Spain. But such directing heads as those of the great New York Central system and the Santa Fe, believe they owe a certain obligation of service to the traveling public and they are making a determined effort to meet it, not by dropping passenger service entirely and becoming freight lines only as S. P. proposes—but by improving both.

These two railroads have improved their service to passengers materially, provided better cars and more modern diesels, offered special family rates, and increased speeds. They have not put on more trains, but better schedules. It is doubtful they expect to make their passenger traffic pay a profit, but they are obviously doing their best to so improve the service that the losses, if any, will be so slight the large freight profits can carry them.

In the end they may fail. No one can be sure about the future. But at least they are not quitting. They are making a fight for it, which is more than can be said for the friendly Southern Pacific.

And we have a hunch they won't fail. Motor and air transportation are growing by the proverbial leaps and bounds, and this growth as the country grows will continue. But both are based very largely on the American mania for speed, and more speed. Because of increasing congestion on land as well as in the air both casualties and discomforts in these areas of transportation are on the increase also.

In far greater comfort and safety, and in a free and exclusive right-of-way, with terminals in the business sections of cities instead of miles away, the railroads, we believe, enjoy an advantage the importance and value of which will increase as time goes on. After all, there is a limit to this passion to pass the car ahead.

In other words, the people of this country as they grow more mature, will—or at least should—not care so much about how fast they can get somewhere else, as how safely, how comfortably, and with how little stress and strain.

When they do arrive at this point, the "friendly S. P." may find that becoming a freight line only, putting the almighty dollar above goodwill and public service, did not add up to such a smart business move after all.—R. W. R.

Activities of the House Committee on
Public Works, 84th CongressEXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, with the adjournment of the 84th Congress the Committee on Public Works left behind it an outstanding record of legislative enactments which, without doubt, is the most important program of public works that has ever come from this committee during any session of the Congress.

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Register-Guard's Capital Reporter Bob
SmithEXTENSION OF REMARKS
OFHON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGONIN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many residents of different cities in Oregon, as well as elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest and in Alaska, get their news about events in the Nation's Capital which will affect their own communities and region under the byline of A. Robert Smith, a young journalist who covers the Washington beat for 10 western newspapers. Many of the people who read Bob Smith's stories, however, know very little about the man who digs up these stories which are of importance to the Northwest and reports them in articles which are interesting and readable as well as factually correct.

Recently, Bob Smith himself became the subject of a column by Mr. Warren C. Price, professor at the University of Oregon School of Journalism, who is currently spending a year on the staff of the Washington Post and Times Herald. As Warren Price reports to the readers of the Eugene Register-Guard, Bob Smith has proved the significant point that there is still an opportunity in the newspaper business for a young man who has the ability, the energy, and the imagination to stake out for himself a new field in which he can provide a segment of the public with interesting and accurate information not otherwise readily available to them.

I ask to have included in the RECORD this column about Bob Smith by Mr. Warren C. Price, from the Eugene Register-Guard of July 25, 1956.

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

REGISTER-GUARD'S CAPITAL REPORTER PROVES
SIGNIFICANT POINT
(By Warren C. Price)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Here in Washington reporting the national scene for the Eugene Register-Guard is a young newspaperman who has proved a significant point. One can still start from scratch in this journalistic bedlam, with little experience, and make a fine success of it.

He is A. Robert Smith, now just past 30, whose bylines on Oregon affairs in Washington frequently background the news that comes out of here and that the press associations cannot handle. Bob Smith has been corresponding for the Register-Guard for about 5 years now. He is showing that accurate, interesting, important material from Washington need not come from big-name correspondents and columnists.

Bob today is "doing Washington news" for 10 western papers in Oregon, Washington State, and Alaska, but he is fondest, perhaps, of the Register-Guard and the Bremerton (Wash.) Sun. These are the two that first had faith in him early in the 1950's to put him on assignment in Washington and to feel that good reader-information about the Northwest would come out of their reliance.

THE OTHER PAPERS

The other papers are the Oregon Statesman in Salem, Pendleton East-Oregonian, Medford Mail-Tribune, Roseburg News-Review, Portland Oregonian, Walla Walla Union Bulletin, and in Alaska the Anchorage Times and Fairbanks News-Miner.

There have been other papers in the West that have taken Bob's service from time to time, but 10 is all that 1 man can handle adequately. After all, news events covering two States and Alaska range over a wide number of problems.

The interesting thing about Bob's work for western newspapers is that he himself is an easterner who was graduated after World War II from Juniata College in Pennsylvania, a small liberal arts school with less than 1,000 students. Bob, like many other beginners in journalism, was interested in sports. But his wife made a comment on one occasion, "What's there in sports? What's the difference if it's 2 strikes and 3 balls or 3 strikes and 2 balls?"

Bob Smith thought about that and then decided that maybe there should be something more in newspaper work than sport writing. (He and his wife know there is a difference between 2 strikes and 3 balls and 3 strikes and 2 balls. However, the point is obvious. Washington correspondence is perhaps of higher level than sports writing, whatever sports devotees may say.)

Then it happened in 1950 that Mrs. Smith was doing work for a onetime Washington State Congressman and Senator named Hugh Mitchell. It was Mitchell who in 1946 was defeated for the Senate by the controversial Harry Cain.

This political development brought the Smiths on a trip to the west coast. There Bob began presenting his ideas to small newspapers of the area on the value of news coverage in Washington beyond the straight AP and UP reports.

It was an intelligent approach, too. Young reporter Smith knew there would be little opportunity trying to break in with big papers of the East, or for that matter with even the smaller eastern papers. Washington always has been well blanketed with coverage. Where but in an untapped area like the Northwest would a young reporter find a better place to get started?

KEEPING WATCH

That's how it began. Now Bob Smith is busy keeping watch on news developments relating to Hells Canyon, Oregon and Washington State agriculture, Alaskan statehood, and particular operations of the congressional contingents that are important out West but of no meaning to the press associates.

No single newspaper could do this job alone without maintaining an expensive bureau in Washington. But Bob, on his own as an individual contractor, can pool the region for 10, serve all with what they would not otherwise get, and carve for himself a useful career.

Bob spends most of his time on Congress on the sound premise that it most represents the people of the region he is serving. His beat is, as he puts it, "anything in Washington that affects the lives of people in the Pacific Northwest—floods, schools, or whatever happens."

Now that the 84th Congress is about to wind up its session, Bob may be slightly less busy. But that is doubtful. Things happen in the United States Capital at all times. No sooner will Congress be out of here than the Washington angle on the political conventions will take its place in interest.

SHARES OFFICE

Smith shares an office on the eighth floor of the National Press Building with reporters representing the Salt Lake City Tribune, the

Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and the Hilo (Hawaii) Herald. He is only one of hundreds of Washington correspondents in a building loaded with big stars who think they know answers. But Bob Smith does his job, for a region which he picked himself, and with no one but himself for a boss.

His is in 1956 the young journalist's dream come true—Washington reporter and his own boss. It can still be done. It takes work and brains and accuracy and fairness—along with all else.

Settle Cyprus Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I forwarded strong appeals and intercessions to the Department of State expressing my deep interest, and urging the good offices of this Government to try to settle this very disturbing issue. At the time the State Department stated in effect that the Cyprus issue involved the direct interests of close friends and allies of the United States and was, therefore, a matter which the United States views with attentive interest.

The Department declared that this Government is ready to assist its friends to work out a solution in the Cyprus question, and that it viewed present problems with sympathetic concern and confidence that a solution can be found which will strengthen overall Western interests.

I find that the State Department Bulletin of some time ago, which was formulated in response to numerous inquiries and protests, is not particularly responsive to the many urgent requests that this Nation use its good offices to bring about a settlement of this dangerous issue; nor does it adequately set forth an outline of American policy in this distressing matter.

Reading the Bulletin, I got the distinct impression that it was comprised of generalized statements that would be applicable to almost any pending diplomatic situation.

In that sense it was disappointing, because I had high hopes that the Department would take a much more active interest and play a much more affirmative and positive role in seeking to bring about a satisfactory solution.

It would appear that the Department is more concerned about the feelings of some of our allies than it is about the settlement of this great human question which affects the claims to freedom of a historic and honored people, and which day by day is causing the deterioration of the attitude toward the western democracies in the Middle East. Cyprus is the type of question that should be approached not on the basis of the interests of allies alone, but on the basis of great fundamental principles to which this Na-

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Six hundred and twenty bills were referred to the committee during the first and second sessions. Eighty-six of these measures were acted upon favorably by the committee, 72 of which were passed by both Houses.

In addition, the committee adopted 74 river and harbor resolutions and 65 flood-control resolutions. These resolutions authorized review survey studies by the Corps of Engineers that will ultimately result in project reports submitted to Congress if the projects are found worthy and are approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers.

The committee also approved 141 post office and Federal office buildings for construction under the Lease-Purchase Act—Public Law 519, 83d Congress—involving a total estimated cost of \$753,040,994. Of this number 88, at a total estimated cost of \$516,532,540, carried budget approval; 22 at a total estimated cost of \$11,662,954 were revised projects with budget approval; and 31 at a total estimated cost of \$224,845,500 were approved subject to budget approval.

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956
(PUBLIC LAW 627)

Probably the most outstanding piece of legislation handled by this committee is the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, providing for a \$25.5 billion construction program on the Interstate Highway System through fiscal year 1969, and \$2.5 billion for Federal-aid highways through fiscal year 1959. The States will provide matching funds in the amount of 50 percent on the Federal-aid highway system and 10 percent on the Interstate System. As a result of this legislation, the 43 States of the Nation are about to embark upon the largest highway building program in the history of the world.

RIVER AND HARBOR AND FLOOD CONTROL OMNIBUS ACT OF 1956 (H. R. 12080)

Equally important to the Nation is the Omnibus River and Harbor and Flood Control Act of 1956, H. R. 12080. The committee gave detailed consideration to the needs of every section of the country in formulating this bill, especially with respect to flood control remedial works necessary as a result of the disastrous floods in the Kansas River area in 1954, and the northeast floods induced by hurricanes which occurred last fall and the west coast floods of last December and January. The bill contains 103 project authorizations in 37 States.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL AMENDMENTS OF 1956 (PUBLIC LAW 660)

This legislation is designed to strengthen and extend the Water Pollution Control Act of 1943. It authorizes funds for research, investigations, training, and information programs, and provides financial assistance to States and Territories to assist them in meeting the cost of establishing water pollution control measures. In addition, it provides, for the first time, financial assistance to States, cities, and municipalities for construction of sewage treatment works. Fifty million dollars annually is authorized to be appropriated for this purpose, with a maximum of \$500 million for 10 years. The Federal grant for any project will be 30 percent of total cost, or \$250,000, whichever is the smaller. The measure provides that 50 percent of the funds must be used for communities with less than 125,000 population. The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1957 carries a \$50 million appropriation for the start of this program.

Below is a brief summary of other general bills acted upon favorably by the

committee and enacted into law during the 84th Congress:

Small flood-control projects—Public Law 685: Authorizes the Secretary of the Army to allot not to exceed \$10 million in any one fiscal year for construction of small flood-control projects not specifically authorized by law, when in the opinion of the Chief of Engineers, such work is warranted, with not more than \$400,000 to be allotted for any single locality. Will permit immediate construction of flood-protective works in many areas which might otherwise be unduly delayed awaiting the usual detailed survey and authorization process.

Federal participation in protection of private as well as public shore property—Public Law 826: Extends the policy of Federal participation in the construction of shore-protection measures to shores of privately owned property under certain circumstances, as well as the shores of publicly owned property. Also clarifies existing policy with respect to periodic placement of sand fills, and eliminates the presently unnecessary seawall proviso.

Hurricane damage study—Public Law 71: Authorizes Chief of Engineers to make an examination and survey, together with the United States Weather Bureau and other agencies, along the coastal and tidal areas of the eastern and southern United States to secure data on movement of hurricanes, forecasting their paths, and investigating possible structural improvements which may be provided to prevent loss of life and property damages during the occurrence of hurricanes.

Following is a list of lease-purchase public buildings projects approved by the committee in the 84th Congress:

Public buildings approved, lease purchase program

Location	Type of building	Estimated cost	Location	Type of building	Estimated cost
Albuquerque, N. Mex.	Federal office building	\$6,227,300	Oklahoma City, Okla.	Courthouse and Federal office building	\$7,140,000
Atlanta, Ga.	Communicable disease center	12,330,000	Los Angeles, Calif.	Customhouse and Federal office building	30,800,000
Omaha, Neb.	Post office and courthouse	9,579,823	Houston, Tex.	Courthouse and Federal office building	15,300,000
Brunswick, Ga.	do	1,431,000	Washington, D. C.	Federal Office Building No. 5	25,290,000
Carthage, Tenn.	Post office, etc.	272,000	Boston, Mass.	Federal office building	28,150,000
Biloxi, Miss.	Post office and courthouse	1,110,000	Gulfport, Conn.	Post office, etc.	154,500
Durham, N. H.	Post office, etc.	433,600	Helena, Ark.	do	1,020,000
Jefferson, Ohio	Post office	78,125	Camden, Ala.	Post office, etc.	\$272,000
Houston, Tex.	do	7,100,000	Romeoville, W. Va.	do	205,000
Richmond, Va.	Federal office building	7,410,000	Marshfield, Mo.	do	324,000
New York, N. Y.	United States mission to U. N.	3,300,000	Winnetka, Ill.	Post office	350,000
Burlington, Vt.	Post office and courthouse	2,820,000	Gering, Neb.	do	130,915
New Orleans, La.	Post office, etc.	14,200,000	Phoenix, Ariz.	Courthouse and Federal office building	\$8,600,000
Minneapolis, Minn.	Courthouse and Federal office building	5,877,815	Little Rock, Ark.	Federal office building	9,100,000
Burlington, Iowa	Post office, etc.	1,328,987	Emporia, Kans.	Post office, etc.	600,000
Lafayette, La.	do	1,095,000	Pittsburgh, Pa. (Home-wood)	Post office	238,500
Washington, D. C.	Federal office building and Civil Service Commission building	9,830,000	Pittsford, N. Y.	do	135,305
Gainesville, Tex.	Post office, etc.	645,036	Leavenworth, Kans.	Post office and courthouse	968,000
Toronto, Ohio	do	83,125	Mount Hope, W. Va.	Bureau of Mines	700,000
Fort Mill, S. C.	do	49,800	Sisseton, S. Dak.	Post office, etc.	530,000
Wayland, N. Y.	do	55,250	Greenwich, N. Y.	Post office	112,890
Parkersburg, W. Va.	Courthouse and Federal office building	2,045,000	Washington, D. C.	Federal Office Building No. 8	12,190,000
San Francisco, Calif.	do	45,300,000	Smithville, Tenn.	Post office, etc.	205,000
Minden, La.	do	412,000	Rittman, Ohio	Post office	136,773
Philadelphia, Pa.	Post office garages	1,805,000	National City, Calif.	do	376,500
Sioux City, Iowa (Morningside)	Post office station	85,500	Detroit, Mich. (North End Station)	do	525,877
Sheboygan Falls, Wis.	Post office	105,000	Newark, N. J. (Roseville)	do	227,673
Washington, D. C.	Federal Office Building No. 9	15,275,000	Jersey City, N. J. (Bergen)	do	265,009
Do	U. S. Geological Survey Building	22,200,000	Waukesha, Wis.	do	408,000
Sparta, Mich.	Post office	103,400	Livingston, Ala.	Post office and Federal office building	279,081
Hudson, Mass.	do	198,789	Miami, Fla.	Federal office building	8,875,000
Kingsport, Tenn.	Federal office building	1,146,000	Breese, Ill.	Post office and Federal office building	271,000
Sacramento, Calif.	Courthouse and Federal office building	10,210,000	Jonesboro, La.	do	365,000
Bellflower, Calif.	Post office	297,500	Moorhead, Minn.	do	555,000
Tupper Lake, N. Y.	do	107,554	Laurel, Miss.	do	829,000
Lansford, Pa.	do	94,000	McKinney, Tex.	do	480,000
Teaneck, N. J.	do	385,500	Terrell, Tex.	do	392,900
Greenville, Miss.	Post office and courthouse	1,200,000			
Washington, D. C.	Meteorological center	30,990,000			

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Public buildings approved, lease purchase program—Continued

Location	Type of building	Estimated cost	Location	Type of building	Estimated cost
Washington, D. C.	Federal Office Building No. 7	\$27,450,000	Redwood Falls, Minn.	Post office and Federal office building	\$40,000
Do	Federal Office Building No. 10	40,900,000	New Orleans, La.	Post office and garage facilities	19,670,000
Do	Federal Office Building No. 9	22,115,000	Beaver, Pa.	Post office and Federal office building	310,000
Martinsburg, W. Va.	Post office and courthouse	1,400,000	Do	do	394,000
Dallas, Tex.	Courthouse and Federal office building	24,490,000	Hot Springs, Ark.	Post office and courthouse	1,729,000
Sedan, Kans.	Post office and Federal office building	218,000	Victoria, Tex.	do	1,563,000

Public buildings approved, subject to budget approval

Location	Type of building	Estimated cost	Location	Type of building	Estimated cost
Hartford, Conn.	Federal office building	\$8,350,000	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Federal office building	\$23,960,000
Denver, Colo.	Courthouse	6,420,000	Sharon, Pa.	Post office and Federal office building	898,000
Monticello, Fla.	Post office and Federal office building	310,000	Lafayette, Tenn.	do	275,000
Milledgeville, Ga.	do	802,000	Do	do	216,000
Fort Dodge, Iowa	Post office and courthouse	1,980,000	Do	do	620,000
Baltimore, Md.	Federal office building	19,170,000	San Marcos, Tex.	do	576,000
Denton, Md.	Post office and Federal office building	415,000	Salt Lake City, Utah	Federal office building	7,600,000
Do	do	1,300,000	Portsmouth, Va.	Post office and Federal office building	3,575,000
Brainerd, Minn.	do	612,000	Waynesboro, Va.	do	380,000
Moberly, Mo.	do	487,000	Do	Warehouse building	3,820,000
St. Louis, Mo.	Federal office building	13,700,000	Charleston, W. Va.	Courthouse and Federal office building	757,000
Do	Federal records office	6,740,000	Walhalla, T. H.	Post office and Federal office building	1,580,000
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Courthouse and Federal office building	15,300,000	Ocala, Fla.	Post office and courthouse	1,100,000
New York, N. Y.	Customhouse and Federal office building	65,100,000	Do	do	1,100,000
Cincinnati, Ohio.	Federal office building	21,700,000	Toledo, Ohio.	Federal office building	4,930,000
Portland, Ore.	do	5,092,500			

Projects approved on which revised specifications have been submitted

Location	Type of building	Estimated cost	Location	Type of building	Estimated cost
St. Mary's, Ohio.	Post office	\$126,400	Grundy, Va.	Post office	\$104,000
Point Pleasant, N. J.	do	536,500	Newkirk, Okla.	do	98,100
Oxford, Pa.	do	109,000	Refugio, Tex.	do	117,700
East New York Station (New York)	do	491,300	West Memphis, Ark.	do	138,045
Do	do	8,209,000	Cashmere, Wash.	do	97,200
Denver, Colo.	do	232,644	Madison, Tenn.	do	138,000
Atlanta, Ga.	Motor vehicle shop and garage	94,300	Camden, N. Y.	do	347,300
Scranton, Pa.	Post office	183,450	Maplewood, N. J.	do	357,600
Garland, Tex.	do	245,000	Skaneateles, N. Y.	do	103,500
Grand Prairie, Tex.	do	107,400	Newtown, Pa.	do	150,915
Two Harbors, Minn.	do	106,000	New Richmond, Wis.	do	147,600
Ontonagon, Mich.	do				

Textile Enigma Under the Trade Treaties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, are we not shocked by recent figures indicating that from 1947 to 1955 textile jobs in New England declined from 301,000 to 172,000? Do we not realize that this means a loss of 43 percent in the largest manufacturing industry in our region? How long can this continue, I ask in all reasonableness, without completely wrecking this vital industry?

What is the remedy? Well, a large part of it lies in checking cutthroat foreign competition. Rapidly growing imports from Japan added to the rest, now create a great additional threat.

Now we are selling surplus cotton to Japan 25 percent below domestic prices. If this continues, it will provide us with another fantastic, crazy-quilt economic pattern—American cotton purchased and stored with money of American taxpayers, sold at reduced prices to foreign nations, converted under sweatshop and coolie conditions into textile goods and shipped back into the United States un-

der the terms of the Geneva agreement to compete with high-standard, high-cost American labor and goods. The conclusion is inescapable that the New England textile industry under this agreement is made to bear the brunt and become the goat of the help-Japan policy now being followed at Washington.

Is it wise for us to give ourselves a knockout, economic blow in order to help other nations? Yet that is just what is happening under the current policy. It is interesting to note that a single European country granted comparable concessions to ours in the 1955 parleys. How long can this Nation pursue this policy without most serious impact upon our economy?

We can ill afford to overlook the importance of attacking the problems presented by cut-throat competition in textiles by Japan and other nations, and I hope that satisfactory agreements may be reached at an early date and, if not, that Congress will go forward with appropriate legislation to check these injurious imports.

By all means, let us be friendly and helpful in every practicable way to Japan and other free nations. But let us, in that process, in carrying out that aim of good will and cooperation, let us avoid measures that will inevitably destroy our own industries and seriously impair the overall strength of our own economy.

American Music at Home and Abroad—No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we in America can be proud of our country for a great many reasons, reasons which have been stated often on the floor of the House during this session of the Congress. It does seem to me, however, that there is a tendency on the part of our fellow citizens to overlook one aspect of American life of which we have every right to be proud. I refer to our cultural attainments. In this area we sometimes tend to think that we are weak and must look to other countries for leadership. America is, of course, greatly indebted to Western Europe for a great deal of its cultural heritage and we should be thankful for it but, at the same time, we have contributed a great deal that is of outstanding and lasting value to Western culture in the field of the arts and crafts.

Of all these contributions none is more important than our jazz music. This musical form has been developed fully

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in the United States in recent years and it has been one of our most successful exports abroad. Of this export I should like to speak in a moment. At this point, I should like to discuss briefly the state of music in America in 1956.

For many years our musicians who played American music played to very small audiences, and, as a result, many a fine American musician was forced either to give up his music or starve. Of course, a few musicians whose names were widely known were extremely well paid from the beginning but those musicians who were less well known, while in many cases they were equally gifted as musicians, found it extremely difficult to make a living at all.

Today, we have begun to appreciate our music on a much wider scale and it is possible to hear it in many cities of our land. It is played by our symphony orchestras of which there are more than 900. It is played over the air by radio and television stations. We hear it on records, long playing and short, classical and jazz. We hear it in our night clubs and in our fine hotels. We hear it in our theaters, especially the living theater, and in our movies. In many, many places—but so much of it is recorded and played by only a few name bands, and our symphony orchestras devote less than 10 percent of their programs to our own music. So, while Americans in all walks of life are now beginning to appreciate our own music it is still very hard for a musician to earn a living, and if something is not done soon to correct the situation, it may soon reach a point where it is not possible for more than a few musicians to make a living at all.

One of the principal reasons for this unfortunate situation is very simply that the places where music is being played are finding it increasingly difficult to stay in business. Cabarets and night clubs, hotel dining salons, and so on are all existing on the slimmest of profit margins or going out of business. All too frequently they are being forced by high taxes, among other things, to drop live entertainment and living musicians in order to stay in business. Thus at place after place throughout our land music is being heard increasingly on records and the living musician is finding it increasingly difficult to make a livelihood—and this is in the wealthiest nation in the entire history of the world.

In a speech before the New Jersey Hotel Association I attempted to develop the background information supporting a bill I have introduced in the Congress to help keep music alive in our land. My measure would eliminate the entertainment or cabaret tax. I am confident that the elimination of this tax would help relieve a deplorable unemployment situation which is facing many thousands of good American musicians and I should like to see the Congress adopt this legislation during the next session.

I include here my speech before the New Jersey Hotel Association in which I set forth my concern for American music and American musicians:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., DEMOCRAT, NEW JERSEY, AT THE 38TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW JERSEY HOTEL ASSOCIATION, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., APRIL 23, 1956

Many hotel people in New Jersey and particularly in my district have complimented me on my sponsorship of H. R. 8403 to repeal the so-called 20 percent cabaret tax. I am deeply appreciative of the support you and your national office in Washington are giving me and others who seek to abolish this uneconomic and wholly repressive tax. I am conscious that your industry has been one of the chief sufferers under this misguided Federal tax policy. In the last 6 years, I am informed, fully two-thirds of all of the hotel rooms throughout the country formerly devoted to dine-dance entertainment have either been darkened or converted to other uses. I am conscious, too, of the unemployment this tax policy has occasioned among service people, entertainers and particularly musicians.

Down in Washington where the administration continues to proclaim this as a "no-tax-cut-year," we are told that it would cost the Treasury \$40 million a year to abolish this tax. I do not accept that kind of schoolboy mathematics or economics. Recently I have seen the findings of a national survey conducted by a responsible independent fact-finding agency, the Research Company of America. It was made at the instance of the American Federation of Musicians. During the course of this survey the researchers talked to many hotel people like yourselves and to hundreds of others in the entertainment business. They came up with a finding that if this prohibitive 20 percent tax is repealed the Treasury will actually benefit to the extent of some \$12 million annually over and above the \$40 million which this tax now turns in to the Treasury. These extra accruals would come, of course, from increased business taxes and largely increased personal taxes resulting from more business and more employment.

It would be pure political "bunkum" for me to tell you today that my sole motivation in sponsoring repeal of the 20-percent cabaret tax was to help the hotel industry. That would be only half the truth and half truths are half lies. There was an added motive that cuts much deeper than the economics of my industry. That motive concerns our future as society which can hold its head high as a leader of the free world.

I imagine that many of you know that, in addition to my sponsorship of legislation to repeal the cabaret tax, I am the author of several other proposals to safeguard music and the arts. It happens that the cabaret tax is probably responsible for fully half of the wide unemployment existing among musicians, a critical situation that now threatens the very existence of musical culture in our Nation. In a country which has done so much in the past to overcome its inferiority complex regarding its musical creativeness and appreciation, this is a tragic situation.

I am concerned, too, that the weakest link in our defense against communism, the puniest effort in our all-important contest to win the hearts and minds of free men, lies in the fields of our cultural relations with other nations. The administration in Washington confesses that the Russians are spending more than \$3 billion annually on direct propaganda designed to communize the free world. Yet we have matched this mammoth effort with something like \$5 million a year over the last 2 years to display our cultural attainments abroad.

Presently we have the advantage of great talents for export. The timid, parsimonious experiments our State Department have made have paid off handsomely. I refer to

the tours of some of our great symphonies, the triumphal appearances abroad of the American folklore classic, Porgy and Bess, and yes, to the American jazz presentation of "Satchmo" Armstrong and his lusty horn-blowers. I repeat that presently we have great talent for export. But the wells of great talent, particularly in the field of music, are fast drying up. Why? Because I am forced to admit reluctantly there is some merit to the Russian claim that we are a materialistic people bent on corralling a fast buck while we let our great heritage in the arts exist in a garret, and the garret, I fear, is about to be foreclosed by the United States Treasury unless the present tax policy is modified.

In spite of an outmoded, uneconomic Federal tax policy the hotel industry still is a large employer of musicians. If we are successful in abolishing or reducing substantially the 20 percent cabaret tax your industry will become a much larger employer of instrumentalists. It is from employment pools such as you create and maintain that great talents in music emerge, just as the sandlots of America supply the great stars of the baseball diamond.

Unless we can awaken the Federal Government to its responsibilities with respect to music and all of the cultural arts the vaunted "American way of life" will become a very dull and pallid export product indeed. Take the field of music alone:

While most occupational groups have enjoyed a great expansion of job opportunities since 1930, musicians have suffered a 40 percent job loss. There were enough jobs in 1930 to provide full-time work for 99,000 musicians. By 1954 there were full-time jobs for only 59,000. The instrumental musicians lost 20,000 man-years of work between 1930 and 1940 due to the advent of mechanical music. Since 1943 an additional 25,000 man-years of work has been lost in places subject to the 20 percent cabaret tax which you and I seek to abolish. Average earnings for instrumentalists in 1954 were \$3,454. Little wonder the profession of music attracts fewer newcomers each succeeding year.

My concern for the shrinking field of music and musicians lies in the area of jazz and theater music as well as "longhair" or cultural instrumentation. I realize that we cannot continue to have great musicians in America unless we have great numbers of musicians gainfully employed. Nor can we continue to create a great American musical idiom of our own unless we encourage the dance and jazz musicians which you largely employ.

The one consoling aspect of this gloomy story of the decline of music in America is that the public is not to blame. Indeed, there are significant signs that public demand for good music is beginning to tax the dwindling supply of skilled instrumentalists. Between 1945 and 1954 this public demand created new part-time jobs for some 7,500 players of symphonic music. Unfortunately, our major symphonies operate for an average season of only 22 weeks per year and the secondary orchestras average no more than 8 weeks a year. Although the major symphonies require the finest in musical talent and training, the minimum scale for instrumentalists of many years' training averages only \$89.02 per week. No fond father is going to willingly consent to son John perpetuating his horn-blowing career in college unless the economics of professional musicianship improve.

As people in the hotel business many of you are acutely conscious of the importance of our natural resources as an attraction for tourists. As a Congressman, I have frequent occasions to vote upon bills devoted to the conservation of natural resources. It re-

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minds me that there are more natural resources for us to be concerned about than our forests and our minerals and water supply. None of us in Congress or here in this room would willfully destroy valuable timber lands by lighting a forest fire. I see no reason why we should be less concerned about our cultural resources. The depletion of our musical profession is more insidious than a great forest fire because it takes place slowly and it doesn't throw up a great light. For this reason it is more difficult to fight. The reduction of the present cabaret tax, however, is as clear a bit of fire prevention as I can think of in this area of conservation, and I urge your support of our efforts in Congress to reduce this destructive bit of taxation.

American Music at Home and Abroad— No. 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, while the American jazz musician is finding acceptance difficulties at home, his reception abroad has been overwhelmingly favorable. The tours undertaken by our outstanding artists, such as Louis Armstrong and Dizzy Gillespie, have been unqualified successes whether appearances were made in France and Italy or in Liberia and Indonesia.

Music is, of course, a medium that needs no translation from one language to another. It speaks to all who will listen in the same voice. Yet, I can think of no better way of making friends for the United States in other lands than by letting people overseas have an opportunity to hear exponents of a musical form which has grown and developed entirely on American soil.

To illustrate just how valuable our own music can be, I should like to include an article which appeared in the Saturday Review of July 14, 1956, entitled "Is Jazz Good Propaganda?—The Dizzy Gillespie Tour." The article was written by Marshall W. Stearns, one of America's leading authorities on the jazz idiom, who accompanied the band on its tour. The article follows:

IS JAZZ GOOD PROPAGANDA?—THE DIZZY GILLESPIE TOUR

(By Marshall W. Stearns)

During the past few years the number of jazzbands touring abroad has swollen mightily while stories of their incredible success have multiplied. Louis Armstrong, Stan Kenton, Lionel Hampton, Woody Herman, Count Basie, Jazz at the Philharmonic, and many others have racked up impressive scores. The demand is great and the profit considerable. But early last spring, through the International exchange program which is run by ANTA (American National Theatre and Academy), the State Department helped to send a jazzband abroad without thought of profit and to countries where no jazzband has ever played. The tour, which covered eight Middle Eastern and Balkan countries, lasted from approximately the middle of March to the middle of May, and I went

along as a sort of combined artistic adviser, bandboy, and lecturer on jazz.

The idea was simply to make new friends for the United States, especially in those critical nations which Russia, at enormous expense, is flooding with free but strictly supervised talent. The American approach was different—a sort of do-it-yourself plan with emphasis upon free enterprise. The band did its own booking, with the help of the American Embassies and the United States Information Service, and the Government more or less guaranteed it against loss. The band was paid a reasonable minimum, no matter how financially successful the concerts might be, and no more. It was a sparkling new idea in the jazz world, and it worked out famously.

After careful consideration the musicians for the modern-styled Gillespie band were selected from those available. The group rehearsed for a month in New York a program which illustrated the history of jazz as well as the latest experimental music. They played Abadan, Dacca, Karachi, Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Ankara, Istanbul, Zagreb, Belgrade, and Athens. In some places the people had never heard of jazz—let alone Louis Armstrong ("Then I knew I had to work," moaned Gillespie), but the music was received with wild enthusiasm and the musicians were treated like heroes.

Why? On the surface, everybody—even the old folks—seemed to want to love jazz, even before they heard it. They definitely associated jazz with the cheerful, informal, and generous side of American life, and they were bowled over by its spontaneity and vitality. The stereotype notion that jazz is lowbrow never got in the way of their enjoyment. On the contrary, the folk origins of jazz were considered a high recommendation. "Jazz is fun," they said admiringly, and even respectable middle-aged citizens were transformed into rabid jazz fans in the course of one concert.

Beneath the surface, we bumped into more complicated reasons for this love of jazz. Our stay in Yugoslavia, where the Communist government has only recently permitted jazz, furnished the most illuminating evidence. In Belgrade and Zagreb we found some of the best jazzmen and most devoted fans. They knew the birthplace, age, and recordings of every member of the band, but they begged desperately for more recordings. A process involving several consecutive stages seemed to be at work: Yugoslav jazz musicians had been trying to leave the country for the United States—a dangerous move in their country—for many years; the jazz fans had been applying for American visas when we arrived. And the newly converted fans, young and old, were beginning to think the same way. Their admiration for the United States was unbounded.

What made them think this way? The concerts were a resounding success. In Zagreb the militia dumped members of the audience back into their seats when they tried to jump up on the stage during the concert, and they formed a cordon across the stage at the end of every performance to let the musicians escape from the admiring crowds. Even the militia seemed to enjoy the music. But one repeated observation by our most devoted fans furnished a clue: "You are all so unorganized," they said, "until the band begins to play."

Other episodes helped to fill in the picture. A minor incident occurred in Zagreb, where a member of the band toasted his local colleagues a little too thoroughly. The press might have used it to discredit the band, but when a well-known native journalist was asked if he would print the story, he replied, "Don't worry, after last night's concert I am a jazz fan first and a newspaperman second." He didn't bother to mention how his government might feel. That night a lady from a fine old family staged a jam ses-

sion for some members of the band. "The local musicians got down on their knees and salaamed," says Ermet Perry. When the party broke up at dawn, Yugoslav jazzmen serenaded the Americans as they straggled back to their hotel. "What this country needs," the lady was heard to observe, "is fewer ambassadors and more jam sessions."

After some negotiations, the first lecture on jazz to be heard in the sacrosanct halls of the famous Zagreb Music Conservatory was arranged. An audience of 50 students and faculty members concentrated on every word—translated by an interpreter—with an intensity that was frightening. In the following discussion, the group agreed that jazz symbolized an element of unconscious protest which cut through the pretenses of tradition and authority. It spoke directly and truly of real life. Such honest discussion in a country known to be infested with secret police must have taken real courage and conviction. When we were leaving, trumpeter-arranger Quincy Jones remarked casually to a local musician that he hoped to see him someday in New York. The man burst into tears. "It is my dearest wish," he said, "but I haven't a chance."

Did the Gillespie tour create good will? There was no conscious attempt to do so. The musicians just had "a mighty fine time" being themselves and making friends with everyone who seemed interested. In Abadan, Bandboy Marion Frazer, who is a disk jockey back home, gave away two suits to a needy native. Later he didn't have a dark suit to wear to the dinner parties. Clarinetist Jimmy Powell found a local musician who had been using the same clarinet reed for a year. "I laid a couple of reeds on him and he almost cried," Powell recalls cheerfully, although he ran out of reeds himself in Athens. Quincy Jones bought a complete outfit for a sailor in the Pakistan Navy. "Why, he only got \$1.50 a month," said Jones.

In Dacca, where there are no jukeboxes and few radios, the audiences didn't know how they were supposed to express their delight. They sat wide eyed on the edge of their chairs at the first concert, and applauded politely as if the noise might interfere with the strange and wonderful music. By the third concert, however, they were participating fully—clapping on the right beat, yelling, and whistling like any college crowd at home.

At the Shahbaugh Hotel, Gillespie set off a near riot by taking a flute-playing snake-charmer to his room for a duet. The management was flustered but Dizzy remained unmoved: "The man's a musician, isn't he?" You could hear the bellboys spreading the news outside the hotel. In Ankara, Gillespie produced another crisis. At an outdoor concert, sponsored by the Turkish-American Society, he noticed that a horde of ragamuffins had gathered outside the walls to hear him. Every now and then a youngster would sneak over, only to be thrown back by a cop. Dizzy forthwith announced that he would rather not perform unless everybody was admitted: "I came here to play for all the people." But the refreshments, he was told, were insufficient. Dizzy wasn't hungry. So the kids were admitted, the refreshments disappeared, and Gillespie played far into the night.

The impact went deep. In Karachi, Mrs. Lorraine Gillespie, who spent much of her time in the hotel room taking care of correspondence, gained the confidence of the chambermaid. The chambermaid had been hammered with tales of the terrible fate of dark-skinned people in the United States. She would bare her own arm, compare it with the similar shade of Mrs. Gillespie's, and jump back in wonder. "Are you ordered to come here and play? Do they really pay you? Is the trombone soloist, Melba Liston, really a woman or a man dressed like a woman? Are those white men in the orchestra or do they cover their faces with

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chalk?" To the chambermaid, the jazzmen seemed like a gang of wealthy and eccentric capitalists and her conversion to capitalism was complete. The musicians hardly realized the close scrutiny they were receiving.

The austere Conservatory of Music in Ankara—a topnotch incubator of great Turkish musicians—was approached about a lecture on jazz. The dean replied hesitantly that he would rather have the lecture given somewhere else because his students spent too much time with jazz anyway. So a well-received lecture was given in the political science auditorium. That evening, however, the dean went to the Gillespie concert. The next morning he phoned excitedly and begged for a lecture. "This is wonderful modern music," he said. "Anyone who knew anything about jazz would have been an overwhelming success on that occasion, for the students were ecstatic and they insisted upon a 5-minute standing ovation."

Later, in Istanbul, the musicians noticed a pretty girl who attended every concert and sat in the front row. She turned out to be a famous ballerina who swore that she had sold her slippers in order to pay for the tickets. "This music can even make dance the seats in the hall," she said excitedly. An elderly Turk in charge of lighting backstage memorized the band numbers and was soon conducting the orchestra from the wings. He brought two bottles of Turkish cognac with him every night—with a vile concoction called Kola-Koka for a chaser—and wound up manipulating the lights and conducting from a sitting position. He referred to the orchestra as "his band."

The only thing that might be called trouble came from American tourists. Americans abroad seem to consider themselves automatic authorities on jazz by right of birth, and they would take it upon themselves to tell Gillespie either that he wasn't playing jazz or to request some tune such as "Deep in the Heart of Texas." Gillespie was patient and continued to astonish the members of his own band with new variations on his own tunes. At that, the band educated a few Americans. One wealthy dowager from Arizona, staying at the Hilton Hotel in Istanbul, was gently persuaded by one of the musicians with whom she had fraternized to attend a dinner dance. By midnight she was stationed in front of the band. "If I had been at home and not terribly upset in this foreign country," she boasted, "I never would have discovered jazz."

The acid test of jazz as an ambassador of good will came in Athens. We arrived just after the rioting, and anti-American feeling was real and intense. Although the band had been booked months in advance, newspaper editorials asked why the United States was sending jazz bands to Greece when they needed arms against Britain. The USIS Office had been stoned and there was a rumor that the Greek Government had suggested that the Gillespie tour might be postponed. New arrangements for rooms and transportation were impossible and the band flew into town to play a scheduled matinee for students only. They were the people, we were told, who had hurled the rocks.

The success of the concert was unbelievable. The Greek students danced in the aisles with the local gendarmes who were there to preserve order. They drowned out the large and powerful band, playing fortissimo, with a solid wall of applause. They chanted "Dizzy, Dizzy, Dizzy" over and over again. After the concert they carried Gillespie home on their shoulders. Traffic was stalled for a half hour and several blocks. Even the traffic cops danced in the streets. It was like a Greek Mardi gras. "Greek Students Lay Down Rocks and Roll With Diz," ran the headlines.

Backstage, members of the Russian folk dance troupe, which alternated with us at the same theater, were jitterbugging quietly, deadpan. We were told that they could not speak to anyone without permission and that

their director locked them up every night. On the afternoon of the second concert, however, they came and sat in two rows near the front. During intermission, after the band had finished illustrating the history of jazz, several of them came backstage. They wanted to shake hands.

The spokesman for the group played accordion and looked just like a movie version of a commissar: chunky, determined, and grumpy. He let us know that the Gillespie band has "colossal technique and ensemble precision," but his expression told us that this was not enough. He wanted more "plano," meaning less volume, and more melody—in fact, the music lacked "sentimentality." Then he went back to his seat for the second half of the program when the band played its modern compositions. Gillespie even inserted some improvised phrases from "Ochy Chornia" in honor of the occasion.

The next time I saw the commissar he was rushing backstage at the end of the concert. I arrived in time to see him bow low from the waist, blow Gillespie a kiss, and speak his first word in English: "Master." Then came a barrage of questions: "How high does Dizzy go?" He was thunderstruck when I diagrammed A-flat above high C. Impossible. "Was the phrase from 'Ochy Chornia' written out for Gillespie and was he commanded to play it?" He wouldn't believe me when I said "No," and pointed to my forehead to indicate that Gillespie had improvised it. When I added that the band would love to play in Moscow, he said that it would be a great success and clapped his hands to show me what would happen. At that point the frowns of his colleagues silenced him.

What are the lessons to be drawn from the Gillespie tour? There is the old one, of course, that many people in many lands and for many reasons enjoy jazz tremendously. But that is not all. People said to me, "We are sick to death of propaganda about democracy. We want deeds and people, not words and theories. We are convinced that you have many bathtubs, skyscrapers, and automobiles, but we have real doubts about your culture. Send us true examples."

At this point in the conversation the American of good will speaks anxiously about American opera, painting, theater, symphony, poetry, sculpture, and the novel. Great as they are, however, these arts were born in Europe and Europeans judge them by their own high standards. In a very real sense they are partly derivative and sometimes competing arts, not new contributions to the culture of the world.

It has never dawned upon Americans that many people in foreign lands consider jazz a new and impressive contribution to culture. It is the old story of finding the bluebird in your own garden. Thus the concrete example of one good jazz band may communicate more of the sincerity, joy, and vigor of the American way of life than several other American creations inspired by Europe. Jazz was born and grew up in the United States and nowhere else. As a European composer remarked to me, "Jazz is one of America's best-loved artistic exports."

Zirconium, Titanium Open Fresh New Industrial Vistas in Linn County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, new industrial vistas are opening in Linn

County with the reactivation in Albany, Oreg., of the United States Bureau of Mines zirconium production facilities by the Wah Chang Corp. of New York. The newly formed Oregon Metallurgical Corp. plant is due to go into operation in August with 50 employees and will engage primarily in production of titanium and zirconium ingots and castings.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article entitled "Zirconium, Titanium Open Fresh New Industrial Vistas in Linn County," published in the monthly newsletter of the Oregon Development Commission, Progress in Oregon.

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

ZIRCONIUM, TITANIUM OPEN FRESH NEW INDUSTRIAL VISTAS IN LINN COUNTY

Any reference to the Pacific slope as the Golden West is strictly old hat, as far as Albany's Chamber of Commerce Industrial Committee is concerned.

The metals that really count nowadays—to hear it from an Albany resident—are zirconium and titanium. The two are opening up a fresh industrial vista for the Linn County seat and environs.

TWO PLANTS INVOLVED

The Wah Chang Corp., of New York, has reactivated the United States Bureau of Mines zirconium production facilities at Albany and may eventually build a larger plant of its own.

The other local development tending to make Albany citizens metals-minded is the new operation of the new Oregon Metallurgical Corp.

The latter is due to go into operation in August. Its 50 employees will represent a monthly payroll of \$25,000. They will be engaged primarily in production of titanium and zirconium ingots and castings. Their output also will include ingots of such rare (and dictionary busting) earth-metal alloys as tantalum, columbium and hafnium. The program will include extensive research.

Sixty percent of Oregon Metallurgical's stock is held by Eugene and Reedsport lumbermen and Albany residents. Dale Fischer, Eugene, is president, and S. M. Shelton, Albany, vice president and general manager, of the undertaking which was formed only this year with an authorized initial issue of 1 million shares of \$1 par value stock.

The Wah Chang Corp., established in New York 42 years ago, is recognized as one of the world's foremost manufacturers and fabricators of tungsten. It maintains large reduction and fabricating plants at Glencove, N. Y., and Union City, N. J., and tungsten mines in this country and abroad.

Since 1949 Wah Chang engineers have been conducting research on the so-called rare metals for the purpose of determining their commercial feasibility. As a direct result of this exploration, the company entered into agreements with the Federal Government to operate United States Bureau of Mines properties at Albany, and Boulder City, Nev.

Under its contract with the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Wah Chang will produce approximately 300,000 pounds of high-purity zirconium sponge annually at the Albany plant for at least 2 years.

NEW FACILITY POSSIBLE

In the event of increased commercial demand and a contract extension, the corporation would construct a larger plant of its own in Linn County. The Albany layout employs 130 at present, and the general manager there and at Boulder City is Stephen Yeh. James McClain, former Albany Bureau of Mines production engineer, is

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plant superintendent for the Oregon operation which employs 4 ex-Government engineers, in all, and more than 60 percent of the production crew of the one-time Federal plant.

Timber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 27, 1956

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, when an arrow, swift in flight, "hits ye mark," the shaft may very well have been cut from Port Orford cedar found on the Oregon coast. The cedar from which these arrows come, interestingly enough, represents in part a salvage operation that is significant from the standpoint of both economy and conservation. The story of it all, Mr. President, is told by Roy Hoff in the July 1956 issue of *Archery*. I ask unanimous consent to have included in the Appendix of the RECORD this article from the July issue of *Archery*.

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

TIMBER

(By Roy Hoff)

McKinney "scooped" me when he wrote the text for his last month's ad. But there were a few details he overlooked.

After hearing a considerable number of stories regarding the Port Orford cedar shortage in southwestern Oregon, we decided to take a run up to McKinney's balliwick and take a look-see for ourselves. What we learned was very interesting to us, and I hope it will be to you.

Supposing you and I have decided we want to go primitive and make up our arrows from "scratch." Where would we go to find some Port Orford cedar, and how would we know it was Port Orford when and if we did find it? We'd first have to go to southwestern Oregon, because that's the only place in this country where this species of cedar grows. Upon arrival, the first thing we'd have to do would be to find some cedar, then determine if it were red, white, or Port Orford. Southwestern Oregon covers a huge area, and we might drive for days before we found what we were looking for. During our recent trip to Oregon we didn't have to follow this procedure because we had a very competent guide in M. L. McKinney, one of the early pioneers in the Port Orford cedar-cutting industry, who spent considerable time taking us back into the woods so we could see for ourselves what goes on in the cedar business.

Early one morning, "Mac" hitched up his pickup and we drove from his home in Oakland, Oreg., to Coquille, a distance of about 40 miles. On the way I asked many questions in regard to the species of trees in this heavily wooded area and wondered how come we didn't stop to examine some Port Orford. Mac explained that most of southern Oregon's forests consist of Douglas-fir, and that Port Orford cedar is found only in certain spots. He pointed out that there was no explainable reason why Port Orford could not be found most anywhere, as it has often been transplanted in other areas and always seems to flourish.

Shortly after we had passed through Coquille, we turned onto a dirt road which wound its way deep into the forest and to an elevation of several thousand feet. After about an hour of bouncing and sliding over this rough, rutted, and muddy logging road, Mac stopped the truck near a recently logged-over area.

"See those tall, barkless, white, skinny, pointed-tip snags over there," Mac suggested, pointing his finger at some long-ago-fire-killed snags in the distance. "Well, that's Port Orford cedar which has been left by the loggers as being of no value."

We got out of the truck. Mac took his double-bitted ax and we started a trek toward the snags. When we reached the first one he chopped a chip out of the side of it and held it out to me. "Smell, it," he said, "there's no mistaking the odor of Port Orford cedar." I agreed with him, for this chip smelled just like your arrow shaft when it is fractured.

After we had tramped a couple of hundred yards farther, Mac stopped in the middle of scattered slash and explained: "Here's a dandy." I took one look at what resembled a log, and the thought occurred to me that Mac perhaps should have his head examined. "A dandy," he says. What I was looking at wouldn't even make a good stovewood. This deadfall had been lying there for perhaps a hundred years, all moth-eaten and covered with moss. Mac chopped away about 2 inches of the moth-eaten part which he pointed out was formerly the sap wood, and then split off a silver a couple of feet long and an inch thick. To my astonishment, the heart of that old log was absolutely perfect, straight grained and without a blemish of any kind.

We spent a fascinating 2 hours on that mountain. It was much like prospecting for precious metals. You never could tell what you'd find just beyond the next rise. We'd sometimes spot what looked like a bonanza of Port Orford only to find, after testing, that it was some other kind of cedar, worthless insofar as material for arrow shafts.

When we returned to the truck I asked Mac, "How come you haven't purchased this tract?" His answer was, "I already have, and as soon as this rain stops, we're going to start cutting."

"How many cords would you estimate can be taken from this tract?" I asked.

"About 50 cords," said Mac.

"Well, that should just about last you for a year," I suggested.

Mac looked at me in disgust and said, "You're kiddin', I presume. Why that's not much more than a 6 weeks' supply. We need a minimum of 300 cords a year to supply the demand for arrow shafts."

Mac explained that this tract was one of those lucky finds, a tract owned by private interests who, after having logged the valuable fir, are willing and eager to pick up some extra money for what, to them, is worthless down timber or fire-killed snags. Mac continued:

"See those white snags on that mountain? (Approximately 2 miles distant.) I estimate there are 100 cords in that stand, but I can't buy it."

"How come?" I queried.

"Well, that section is owned by the Wilson Box Co. (a tremendous big plywood manufacturer) and they won't even listen to a sale. They explain that in their holdings in that area, and adjacent to this stand of Port Orford, are millions of board feet of grade A fir, and they're not taking any chances on some small outfit going in there and causing a fire which would wipe them out."

This explained one of the headaches the cedar-cutters have to suffer. The cedar is there, but you can't buy it.

We then cranked up the truck and drove to another area. We drove to the end of the road, then hiked to the top of a ridge for a better view. Mac pointed out two stands of fire-killed timber and explained that he had spotted this from the air during one of his exploration trips in his private plane. After he had discovered this spot and located it on the map, he reported it to the Forest Service and asked to buy it. Incidentally, to locate a plot of forest land, you must first survey it from the nearest section line marker post. The Forest Service, as requested, put it up for sale, but there was a slight hitch. They offered it for sale to the highest bidder, and all were sealed bids. As a result, another guy got the land and all Mac got for the discovery, research, and survey was a lot of good exercise.

After that experience Mac got a little more cagey, and when he'd locate a stand of timber he'd go to the Forest Service, ask to buy it and try to persuade them to do the surveying and mapping. The Forest Service's answer to this was that it was impossible; that they did not have the funds nor the manpower to do this work.

Summing up our experiences in the cedar area, I'd say there is definitely a shortage of down and fire-killed Port Orford cedar, regardless of who owns it, private parties or the big lumber interests. If all the known Port Orford were heaped in one pile and made available to the dowel manufacturers, I'd venture to say that it would all be gone in 5 years, 10 at the most.

But, all is not lost. There are many fine stands of green cedar, and available to the cedar-cutters. Of course, this is an unexplored field, but one which the cedar men must take cognizance of and immediately start experimentation and development.

The recent hassle with the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, emanating from McKinney's article in *Archery* magazine and his appeal to you fellows to write your Congressmen, has done a lot of good. As a result, the Forest Service promised to put up 500 cords of Port Orford cedar for sale this year. And they have kept their promise. I have just received a Notice of Timber Sale Prospectus from the United States Forest Service. Though most of it is Greek to me, some of it seems significant. For one thing, there will be no tracts sold under sealed bids; all will be sold by oral auction to the highest bidder. Provided, however, that no one may enter a bid in the oral auction who has not first submitted a sealed bid, together with a deposit to show good faith. Five different tracts will be placed on the auction block. These tracts vary in size from 37,000 board-feet to 60,000. The Forest Service figures there are 2 cords per 1,000 board-feet. McKinney tells me it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get that many cords of usable arrow wood stock out of 1,000 board-feet. Here is an example of a parcel which is up for sale:

"Tract 1, section 22, Eden Valley: A sale consisting mainly of live green Port Orford cedar, primarily suited for use as arrow wood. All trees live, dead, or windfall which are to be cut are marked. Located in South Fork Coquille River drainage. Area approximately 3 acres * * *. Conditions of sale: All equipment will be restricted to the South Fork Coquille Road. Felling and bucking will be conducted in a manner which will allow all logs to be yarded from the road. Operator shall not block the South Fork Coquille Road to traffic."

McKinney is wondering how the cedar cutters are going to yard from a heavily traveled road without blocking it. Well, that's his department. I'm sure I wouldn't know.

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*F. Thompson
F. Thompson*

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

February 27, 1956 6 July 1956

Dear Mr. Thompson;

In the absence of Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., who is
 no/abroad, may I thank you for your thoughtfulness in
 forwarding copies of the recent speeches by Representative
 Dondero and Senator Humphrey. Both, of course, were of
 great interest to us and I have forwarded copies to Mr. Barr
 in Europe. Also, if it is possible at this date, I would appreciate
 a reply which either you or Representative Javits
 of New York sent to Congressman Dondero's attack on modern art
 as an instrument of subversion. Very sincerely yours,

Thanking you in advance for your kindness.

Secretary to Mr. Barr

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr.
 House of Representatives
 Washington, D. C.

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
 Director of the Museum Collections

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr.
 Congressman from New Jersey
 The United States Congress
 Washington, D. C.

Frank Thompson

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F. Thompson

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

February 27, 1956

February 7, 1955

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Director of the Collection
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 54th Street

Dear Mr. Thompson:

We very much appreciated receiving the photostat from the Washington Daily News of Mrs. Roosevelt's column of August 1, 1955 commenting on your speech concerning the Huntington Hartford advertisement in various New York papers. However, we don't have a copy of your speech, and should you have a reprint available, I would appreciate receiving one.

Also, if it is possible at this date, I would appreciate a reprint of the reply which either you or Representative Javits of New York made to Congressman Dondero's attacks on modern art as an instrument of subversion. I hope to be able to attend your lecture.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness.

In view of President Eisenhower's remarks on the fine arts in his Message on the State of the Union, I feel sure that the arts will be more sympathetically considered by this Congress than any previous one. The views of cultural leaders like yourself are, therefore, of considerable importance in helping the Congress arrive at wise decisions. It is possible to make

Director of the Museum Collections

The Committee on Government and Art had a forceful Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. of view at the Federal level Congressman from New Jersey June 1954 hearings and a copy of the The United States Congress his testimony is enclosed as is a Washington, D. C. on the bills. Your attention is invited to the Statement of Minority Views in that Report.

With kind regards,

Cordially,

Frank Thompson, Jr.

Frank Thompson, Jr., N. C.

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FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
4TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.



Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Director of the Collection
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53d Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Barr:

At the request of Mrs. Leslie Judd Portner, art critic of the Washington Post and Times Herald, I am sending you a copy of my bills on the fine arts together with related material.

Mrs. Portner advises me that you will speak on the subject of Government and Art at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington on Friday evening, February 11th. If I can arrange to be in town that evening, I hope to be able to attend your lecture.

In view of President Eisenhower's remarks on the fine arts in his Message on the State of the Union, I feel sure that the arts will be more sympathetically considered by this Congress than any previous one. The views of cultural leaders like yourself are, therefore, of considerable importance in helping the Congress arrive at the most intelligent decision it is possible to make in the matter.

The Committee on Government and Art had a forceful spokesman for an intelligent point of view at the Federal level in Lloyd Goodrich at the June 1954 hearings and a copy of the hearing record containing his testimony is enclosed as is a copy of the Report on the bills. Your attention is invited to the Statement of Minority Views in that Report.

With kind regards,

Cordially,

Frank Thompson, Jr.

Frank Thompson, Jr., M. C.

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The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 5, D. C. • REPUBLIC 7-1234

February 6, 1954

H. R. 1825

Dear Alfred:

Thank you so much for your letter about your lecture next Friday. I do have a copy of your New York Times article, and shall draw upon it in connection with the article. I think, however, that if you do not have a script of the speech, it might be better if I delayed the article until February 20th, when I shall have heard the lecture; I should hate to misrepresent what you are planning to say.

I shall try however to get the Post to send a reporter to the lecture, so that it will be covered in the daily press. As you know, hearings will be held all this coming week in Washington on the Thompson Bill, now before the Committee, so that your remarks about government and art will be particularly timely. I am enclosing a copy of the Morrison Bill, which is identical to the Thompson Bill, in case you have not yet seen it. Thompson is working with the Zeckendorf boys on the plan for the redevelopment of southwest Washington, with the thought that the Fine Arts Center could be the key to the Zeckendorf Plan.

We are all looking forward with such pleasure to seeing you. Best regards to Marga,

and to you,

Leslie..

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1825

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 10, 1955

Mr. MORRISON introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia

A BILL

Creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That (a) there is hereby established a commission to be
4 known as the "District of Columbia Auditorium Commis-
5 sion" (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission") for
6 the purpose of formulating plans for the design, location,
7 financing, and construction in the District of Columbia of a
8 civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents
9 and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

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1 (b) The Commission shall be composed of thirteen
2 members appointed as follows:

3 (1) Three persons appointed by the President of the
4 United States;

5 (2) Three members of the Committee on the District
6 of Columbia of the Senate appointed by the President of
7 the Senate;

8 (3) Three members of the Committee on the District
9 of Columbia of the House of Representatives appointed by
10 the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

11 (4) One person selected by each of the following na-
12 tional organizations: The American Legion, the Veterans of
13 Foreign Wars, the American Veterans of World War II,
14 and the Disabled American Veterans.

15 (c) The Commission shall—

16 (1) consider a suitable site for the civic auditorium
17 referred to in subsection (a);

18 (2) procure such plans and designs and make such
19 surveys and estimates of the cost thereof as it deems
20 advisable;

21 (3) endeavor particularly to formulate a method of
22 financing the project on a self-liquidating basis; and

23 (4) make a report to the President and to the
24 Congress, together with its recommendations, at the
25 earliest practicable date.

1 (d) The Commission is authorized to accept in its dis-
2 cretion from any source, public or private, money and prop-
3 erty to be used in carrying out its functions under this Act.

4 (e) The Commission is authorized to avail itself of the
5 assistance and advice of the Commission of Fine Arts, the
6 National Capital Planning Commission, the National Capital
7 Regional Planning Council, the Board of Commissioners of
8 the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Recrea-
9 tion Board, and the District of Columbia Redevelopment
10 Land Agency, which shall upon request render such assist-
11 ance and advice.

12 SEC. 2. (a) The members of the Commission shall serve
13 without compensation; but travel, subsistence, and other
14 necessary expenses incurred by them in connection with the
15 work of the Commission may be paid from any funds avail-
16 able for expenditure by the Commission.

17 (b) The Commission is authorized, within the limits of
18 funds available to it, to employ and fix the compensation of
19 such officers, experts, and other employees as may be neces-
20 sary to carry out its functions, and to make such other ex-
21 penditures as it may deem advisable in carrying out its
22 functions.

23 SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby created an Advisory Board,
24 which shall advise and consult with the Commission in carry-

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ing out its functions under this Act. The Board shall consist
of—

(1) one person selected by each of the following
national organizations: The American Legion Aux-
iliary, the Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association,
the Marine Corps League, the Marine Corps War Me-
morial Foundation, the American Veterans Committee,
the Catholic War Veterans of the United States, the
Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America,
and the Reserve Officers' Association of the United
States;

(2) one person selected by each of the following
national labor organizations: The American Federation
of Labor, the American Federation of Musicians, the
Congress of Industrial Organizations, the United Steel-
workers of America, and the United Mine Workers of
America;

(3) one person selected by each of the following
national organizations serving farmers and rural people:
The American Farm Bureau Federation, the National
Grange, the Cooperative League of the United States
of America, the National Council of Farmer Coopera-
tives, the National Farmers Union, the National 4-H
Club Foundation, the American Home Economics

Association, and the National Home Demonstration
Council;

(4) one person selected by each of the following
national organizations in the field of business and civic
affairs: The United States Chamber of Commerce, the
United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the
National Federation of Independent Business, the
National Foreign Trade Council, the National Planning
Association, the Committee for Economic Development,
the Committee for a National Trade Policy, the National
Committee for an Adequate Overseas United States
Information Program, the American Association of
Advertising Agencies, the American Trade Association
Executives, the Exhibitors Advisory Council, the Audi-
torium Managers Association, the National Association
of Exhibit Managers, and the Medical Exhibitors
Council;

(5) one person selected by each of the following
national organizations in the field of State and local
government and civic affairs: The Council of State
Governments, the American Society of Planning Offi-
cials, the National Association of Housing and Redevel-

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1 opment Officials, the National Trust for Historic Preser-
2 vation, and the Society of Landscape Architects;

3 (6) one person selected by each of the following
4 women's national organizations: The General Federa-
5 tion of Women's Clubs, the Women's Division of the
6 Democratic National Committee, the Association of
7 Junior Leagues of America, the Women's Division of
8 the Republican National Committee, the Daughters of
9 the American Revolution, and the American Association
10 of University Women;

11 (7) one person selected by each of the following
12 national organizations in the field of education: The
13 National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National
14 Education Association, the American Council on Edu-
15 cation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the
16 American Educational Theatre Association, the Music
17 Educators National Conference, the National Art Edu-
18 cation Association, the Association of Land-Grant Col-
19 leges and Universities, the College Art Association, the
20 American Musicological Society, the Association of
21 American Colleges, the American Political Science
22 Association, and the American Federation of Teachers;

23 (8) one person selected by each of the following
24 national organizations in the field of the plastic arts and
25 letters: The Committee on Government and Art, the

1 American Institute of Architects, the National Institute
2 of Arts and Letters, the American Federation of Arts,
3 the National League of American Pen Women, the
4 National Society of Arts and Letters, the American
5 Association of Museums, the American Institute of
6 Decorators, the Association of Art Museum Directors,
7 the National Association of Women Artists, the Sculp-
8 tors Guild, the National Society of Mural Painters,
9 and the Society of Architectural Historians;

10 (9) one person selected by each of the following
11 national music organizations: The National Music
12 Council, the National Federation of Music Clubs, the
13 American Symphony Orchestra League, the Music
14 Teachers National Association, the American Guild of
15 Organists, the American Guild of Musical Artists, the
16 National Association of Schools of Music, the Music
17 Library Association, the National Association of
18 Teachers of Singing, the American Society of Com-
19 posers, Authors, and Publishers, the Music Publishers'
20 Association of the United States, Broadcast Music,
21 Incorporated, and SESAC, Incorporated;

22 (10) one person selected by each of the following
23 national organizations in the field of drama: The Na-
24 tional Association of Community Theaters, the National
25 Theater Conference, the Children's Theater Conference,

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1 the American National Theater and Academy, the
2 Actors Equity Association, and the Chorus Equity As-
3 sociation;

4 (11) one person selected by each of the following
5 national organizations in the field of mass communi-
6 cations: The Motion Picture Association of America,
7 Incorporated, the National Association of Radio and
8 Television Broadcasters, the Film Council of Amer-
9 ica, and the National Citizens Committee for Educa-
10 tional Television;

11 (12) one person selected by each of the following
12 national organizations in the field of recreation and
13 sports: The American Recreation Society, the National
14 Recreation Association, the United States Olympic
15 Association, the National Federation of State High-
16 School Athletic Associations, the National Association
17 of Intercollegiate Athletics, the National Collegiate
18 Athletic Association, the Amateur Athletic Union, the
19 American Association for Health, Physical Education,
20 and Recreation, the Society of State Directors of Health,
21 Physical Education, and Recreation, the Athletic Insti-
22 tute, and the Sports Fishing Institute; and

23 (13) one person selected by each of the following
24 national service organizations: The United Service Or-
25 ganizations (USO), the Young Women's Christian

1 Association, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the
2 National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations,
3 the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the American
4 Association of Social Workers, and the National Social
5 Welfare Assembly.

6 (b) The Advisory Board may exercise its functions
7 through a Working Committee composed of thirteen mem-
8 bers, one selected jointly by the organizations named in each
9 of the categories enumerated in subsection (a).

10 SEC. 4. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated
11 such sums, not to exceed \$25,000, as may be necessary to
12 carry out the provisions of this Act.

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1825

A BILL

Creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

By Mr. MORRISON

JANUARY 10, 1955

Referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia



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See pages 83-90 v 194-198

FEDERAL GRANTS FOR FINE ARTS
PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS



HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**H. R. 452, 5136, 5330, 5397, 7106, 7185, 7192,
7383, 7433, 7533, 7953, 8047, and 9111**

BILLS RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROGRAM
OF FEDERAL GRANTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF
FINE ARTS PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS, AND
FOR OTHER PURPOSES

HEARINGS HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUNE 8 AND 9, 1954

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor



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FEDERAL GRANTS FOR FINE ARTS PROJECTS

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During the last 44 years, about 60 architects, landscape architects, sculptors, painters, and lay members interested in the fine arts have served on the Commission. They have considered it an honor to serve the Government in this way and have been glad to do so without compensation. I enclose the last report of the Commission, covering the years 1910 to 1950. It contains (p. 45) the names of those who have served on the Commission. The report also contains a brief record of the achievements of the Commission. In view of this record, it is hoped that the character and composition of the Commission and its function as an advisory body, will not be changed.

The views of the Commission on this and other matters referred to in H. R. 9111 are covered in the Report on Art and Government which the Commission sent to the President in 1953, and of which a copy is herewith enclosed.

For the Commission of Fine Arts:

Sincerely yours,

DAVID E. FINLEY, *Chairman.*

(The reports referred to were filed with the committee.)

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I submit in support of H. R. 9111, my bill to establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs, and to provide for the establishment of an American National War Memorial Arts Commission, a message which I sent to the National Music Council.

A number of letters which I have received regarding my bill are also submitted, and I request that they be included in the printed hearings.

Reports from all of the Federal departments and agencies named in my bill have been received by the House Education and Labor Committee either on H. R. 9111 or the bills which it supersedes. I would appreciate it if these were also included in the printed hearings, as well as related articles.

Mr. BOSCH. Without objection, they will be made a part of the permanent printed record.

(The information, reports, statements, and letters referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL TO THE NATIONAL MUSIC COUNCIL,
STEINWAY HALL, NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 15, 1953

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to appear today in this company of distinguished cultural leaders of our country. The occasion provided to discuss the provisions of my fine arts bill, H. R. 5397, before this general meeting of the National Music Council and its invited guests is a happy one.

We can well be proud of the accomplishments over the years of the American people in the arts. Whatever our enemies may say about us, our contributions to literature, music, painting, architecture, sculpture, theater, and the dance refute any charge that Americans are unsympathetic to the arts.

Some of our activities may be briefly stated: We have established 938 symphony orchestras, according to the American Symphony Orchestra League. One of these, the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, is heard by from 10 to 15 million people each week. Paid admissions to serious musical performances exceeded the gate receipts of baseball games in 1952 by some \$5 million. Twenty-four percent of the record sales last year were of classical music, and 2 symphonies ranked among the 10 best record sellers. Eighty opera companies present performances of the musical masterpieces, and opera workshops are constantly being established. Five thousand community theater groups, the educational theater in our colleges and universities—as well as music programs of the highest excellence—and the professional theaters play to constantly growing audiences. Three hundred and seventy-six art museums serve some 300 cities.

Today, millions of Americans have a new opportunity to participate in the cultural and artistic life of the Nation. All over the country men, women, and children are finding pleasure in the arts, as the Secretary of Health, Education,

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and Welfare, Mrs. Hobby, pointed out the other day. Two of our Presidents themselves practice the arts: President Eisenhower paints, and former President Truman plays the piano for relaxation. In the fall of 1952 President Truman was given an award by the National Symphony Orchestra Association for being it said, the most musical President in the history of our country. The 22d annual forum of the New York Herald Tribune in October this year gave its 2d and 3d sessions over to a timely discussion of the arts and leisure time—one of the most important art forums ever held in this country. Hundreds of organizations are providing guidance and leadership in the development of contemporary art. Among these are such great bodies as the National Music Council, the Committee on Government and Art, the Music Educators National Conference, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Library Association, the American Educational Theater Association, the American National Theater and Academy, and the American Federation of Labor with its important constituent groups such as the American Federation of Musicians and the American Guild of Musical Artists. Leading mass circulation magazines give increasing space to the arts. Time magazine devotes a large amount of its space to the arts each week. I was heartened, as I am sure you all were, by the article in Life magazine of May 18, 1953, entitled "The Creative Middle West."

In this room today there will be no argument that those arts represented by the National Music Council and its guests are indeed worthy of preservation and encouragement, nor will it be argued that these arts are a part of the good living that we see as the goal of the American dream. There may be room for discussion among us, none the less, as to the best method of accomplishing the necessary encouragement of the arts to the end that all of our people, in the city, the hamlet, or on the farm may have access to them. The magazine Musical America warns us editorially that:

"Americans have become too passive about music. We buy musical performances as we buy professional games. But where, as Arthur Judson puts it, are the sandlot musical teams? Choruses, amateur orchestras, small opera companies, chamber-music groups in homes and schools—these are the activities that build a permanent identification with music in people who love the art because they have tried, however inadequately, to make music themselves. The contribution of the schools and colleges toward the provision of opportunities for amateur music-making is enormous; but scarcely a community in the United States has taken care to see that these opportunities continue to be available for those who have finished school. Yet the largest and most loyal audience is composed of those who have come to know something about music from the inside. We must enlarge and solidify this audience."

Miss Alice Eversman, distinguished music editor, the Star newspaper, in Washington, D. C., agrees with Arthur Judson as to the value of amateur art activities. She says:

"The pride in an active musical season in a community is usually centered around the major concert events and the glamour of visiting celebrities. If these were the beginning and end of local endeavors, no lasting musical growth would be recorded. What counts in civic progress are the activities among the people themselves for here are efforts that reach far deeper than all that the concert hall can give. It is the work done in smaller groups and on a more modest level that keeps the fires of community progress burning brightly. * * * Most communities are delinquent in supporting lesser musical endeavors but it is time that recognition be given their value."

It is clear that much more must be done. We must plan to assure continued and wider support for the arts. Mr. Floyd G. Blair has summarized one of the basic needs in his 1952 annual report to the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York:

"When the next emergency does come, which may well face us all should either world war III or a depression confront us, many orchestras will be in serious straits. When troublous days beset us, it will be difficult to formulate a sound plan, get it approved by Congress and put into operation in time. I therefore feel strongly that all orchestras in the United States ought to be taking a long look ahead now and be preparing to meet whatever may be in store for them. If some sort of Government help becomes essential to the continued life of our musical organizations, it is better to accept it than to see them shrink in importance and many perhaps pass out of existence."

With reference to previous bills introduced into the Congress, Mr. Blair said: "While these bills are an indication that there is a growing need for action in the field of music, none of them has ever reached the inevitable heart of the

matter which is the establishment of some broad plan under which our great orchestras, opera and ballet companies can work out the financing of their increasing deficits."

My bill is an attempt to create the broad plan for dealing with emergencies as they arise. Without discussing the provisions of the bill in too great detail, the basic creation is a commission representative of all of the arts which will attempt to formulate a plan of action. The bill also would authorize appropriations—though I must make it very clear that it is not an appropriation measure—for the very purpose of assisting artistic endeavors which can obtain at least 75 percent of the needed funds from local sources. The administration in Washington also is looking ahead, mindful of the future. Large-scale public works are being planned as one of several standbys against a possible depression, it was announced by Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers. I asked him if he had in mind any projects relating to the arts. He wrote me on November 17 as follows, in part: "We are, of course, examining the potential value of a great many programs that could be used in the event of a decline in business activity * * * full consideration will be given to the advantage of the type of public works project you provide for in your bill." This is the first time I have publicly mentioned receipt of this important letter.

My bill is primarily a pump-priming measure which would recognize the national interest in the fine arts. The matching funds principle in it demonstrates clearly that it is my belief that the fine arts must always get most of their financial support from the local community. Mr. Blair in his 1953 annual report says: "difficult as the financial problems of our orchestras may be, they still should be met by each community which the orchestra serves and not solved by grants from Washington." Mr. Blair and I are in agreement here. It is my conviction that once the Federal Government gives the cultural and artistic side of our lives the recognition it deserves—recognition already granted the sciences by the Federal Government through the National Science Foundation Act and other legislation—that private, business, and foundation gifts to the arts will be forthcoming. Individuals are allowed up to 20 percent tax deductions, and business up to 5 percent for contributions to the arts, but, unfortunately, the arts get small support through these allowable tax deductions provided by the Congress today. It is from this area of private giving that the lion's share of support for the fine arts must come in our country.

Speaking before the cultural leaders of Washington who had assembled to observe National Music Week, I said on May 4, this year, that "many leading businessmen including Frank W. Abrams, chairman of the board of Standard Oil of New Jersey, the members of the business committee of the National Planning Association, and Beardsley Ruml, have tried to stimulate business giving for educational and cultural purposes. Business firms are allowed tax reductions for such purposes up to 5 percent of their gross income before taxes. Currently such contributions average under 1 percent for a total of about \$235 million yearly, whereas a contribution of approximately 1¼ billions of dollars is possible. The fine arts receive only an insignificant amount of the \$235 million that is contributed." If my bill is enacted into law an immense stimulus will be provided to private contributions to the arts in every community in our country.

NATIONAL FINE ARTS AND MUSIC CENTER

One section of my bill may warrant specific discussion. This is the proposal for the erection of a fine arts and music center in the Nation's Capital, and its authorization of the Commission it would establish to undertake the production of artistic performances. There has been some criticism—as there is of every new proposal—of the provision that the Commission arrange for the development of resident companies in the live arts, something that is done under the national art programs of most foreign countries where the concern is with more than brick, stone, and mortar.

When people in New York and other American cities seek assistance in any worthy project, they naturally turn first to the city government, then they seek additional support from the State and Federal Governments. In the city of Washington, Congress is the city's government. The affairs of the Federal city are managed by the Senate and House District Committees and by Congress as a whole. These particular committees of the Congress correspond somewhat to the mayors and councils of other cities. Consequently, what the bill contemplates localities and States will do for their own people in matters of art must

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be done in Washington in cooperation with the Congress if it is to be done at all. It is perhaps not an overstatement to describe as a national disgrace the fact that the Nation's Capital is without adequate housing for the presentation of artistic performances. It is high time that the Federal Government recognized its responsibility in the matter, something it has successfully ignored since the Federal City was established in 1800.

My bill does not propose or contemplate that the arts commission it seeks to establish would create a symphony orchestra. Washington already has a fine National Symphony Orchestra. Because of the special relationship of the Federal Government to the Federal City—a relationship that obtains with no other city in our country for, after all, there is only one National Capital—I have provided in my bill for drama, music, and ballet programs to be carried on jointly by the citizens of Washington and the Federal Government. This joint undertaking is essential if the Federal City is ever to have the cultural and artistic amenities enjoyed by every capital city in the world, and by all of the major cities of our own country, for many, many years.

There are other extenuating circumstances in the Washington picture which you will surely want to consider. In 1950, the most recent year for which I could secure figures, the citizens of the National Capital paid \$170 million in Federal income taxes alone, yet they are denied the right of franchise and all voice in how this vast sum shall be spent, yes, and all voice even as to the taxes that are levied against them. More populous than many of our States, Washington is in some respects like a Federal department or agency, and must clear its civic problems with the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.

Those sections of my bill which provide for a theater and music center in Washington reflect the sound advice of, among others, Patrick Hayes, chairman, cultural development committee, Washington Board of Trade, which is repeated in the magazine *Musical America*, November issue: "I believe we need a program of continuing action in living arts; it is more than a question of real estate involving the land and buildings. The Chicago Opera House is my favorite point of reference—there it stands, with no opera or continuing program in the arts of opera, dance, symphony." I can think of no more destructive influence on the development of a national arts program than an opera house in Washington without opera—or opera 3 days a year as is the case now.

TWO POINTS OF VIEW

There is a philosophical difference in viewpoint which must be considered in the evaluation of the measure I have sponsored. The debate is between the proponents of the belief that arts are living and must be encouraged with every resource at hand, and those who regard the arts basically as the product of a past age, which must be preserved rather than encouraged. Writing in support of my bill, Mrs. Roosevelt said the other day that "until a nation supports cultural programs, one cannot say that it is really mature." Authority is provided in H. R. 5397 for the Federal Government to carry out the recommendations of the Founding Fathers regarding the arts. It will be recalled that Jefferson's bill for a system of public education provided for a public art gallery and a Department of Fine Arts. Jefferson considered rhetoric, letters, music, drama, architecture, and the fine arts generally as necessary to a knowledge of the state as language, ethics, history, geography, philosophy, and the sciences.

George Washington in his will provided funds for an educational program which included the fine arts, hoping thereby to develop a true understanding of our form of government and the "true and genuine liberties of mankind." His will reads in part: "For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have the tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising Empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils." No better short statement on the purposes to be attained by a national arts program could be framed.

A national arts program should be concerned not only with the arts but with the artist, the living artist. When the concern is with art alone, there is a very strong tendency to be interested only in what is conventionally accepted as art. This generally means, in practice, concern with the art of the past. A congressional committee, headed by Congressman Sirovich, which was considering his bill to establish a Federal Department of Fine Arts, was given the estimate by one of our country's cultural leaders a few years ago that American museums devoted from 75 to 80 percent of their funds to the art of other countries

and earlier centuries. An American composer finds it difficult even today to have an original composition of his played by a major orchestra, or produced by a major opera company. Just imagine what would happen to our national economy if it were managed in the same way. Congressman Sirovich and the members of his committee were assured that "the great art traditions of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages were not built up in that way. They were created by thousands of artists who were given an opportunity to work—by the church, by the government, and by private citizens—by patrons who believed in a living art." The status of our creative artists is brilliantly portrayed by Gian-Carlo Menotti in his *Plea for the Creative Artist*, and deserves our earnest consideration.

The picture is changing in the museum world under the inspired leadership of such men and women as Leslie Cheek, director of Virginia's Museum of Fine Arts; Grace Morley, director of San Francisco's art museum; Lloyd Goodrich, of the Whitney Museum; and Rene d'Harnoncourt of New York's Museum of Modern Art. The Louisville Symphony Orchestra was recently given a very large sum of money—\$400,000—by the Rockefeller Foundation for the leadership it has shown in commissioning new music. Mayor Charles Farnsley of Louisville provided much of the drive and imagination to get the program there in motion. We desperately need other civic leaders of equal ability and concern with the arts. The National Music Council has been in the very forefront of our concern with contemporary music and the living American composer. In the theater arts Broadway, despite the greatest difficulties, continues to be one of our country's greatest innovators. The work of hundreds of art organizations, some of which I mentioned earlier, are contributing to the new look in the art world of today.

One of the strongest bulwarks of the older conception of art is the Mellon Gallery in Washington, and the present Commission of Fine Arts. Mrs. Aline B. Louchheim, associate art editor, the *New York Times*, reported in that newspaper on September 6, 1953, that "under its own charter the National Gallery cannot concern itself with work by artists less than 20 years dead." Many students of our form of government seriously question whether America's only great national gallery of art should be a gallery so deeply wedded to this art concept and hold, with justice, I think, that our cultural organizations must be concerned not only with the preservation of the best of the past but assist the birth of the future.

PRESENT ARTS COMMISSION CONCERNED LARGELY WITH WASHINGTON

The present Commission of Fine Arts, established in 1910, is an advisory agency consisting of 3 architects, 1 landscape architect, 1 painter, 1 sculptor, and 1 layman. While the act creating the Commission does not specify that only the arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture shall be represented on it, the Commission apparently has had no members drawn from the fields of music, theater, literature, and the dance in the 43 years of its existence. It is, however, largely concerned with the location of statues, fountains, and monuments in the public squares, streets, and parks in the District of Columbia. In its report on art and government the Commission says that "The L'Enfant plan is the overall control that gives direction and ultimate unity to the work of the Commission. . . . The preservation of that plan is sufficient reason for the existence of the Commission of Fine Arts and constitutes a first charge upon the time and attention of its members."

Since the Commission is first and foremost concerned with the city of Washington it should have, it seems to me, major representation among its members of the citizens of Washington, who should have a strong voice in the selection of the Commission members. Also, because the present Commission is primarily concerned with one city—even though that city is the National Capital—it follows logically that the cultural and art programs of 160 millions of Americans in 48 States cannot reasonably be held to be subordinate to the requirements of the L'Enfant plan. The Commission is looking through the wrong end of the telescope.

The American Institute of Architects, which was instrumental in establishing the present Commission, seems very well satisfied with the present arrangement where architecture has 4 representatives, painting and sculpture 1 representative each, and music, theater, literature, and the dance no representation whatsoever. Edmund R. Purves, executive director, American Institute of Archivists, stated its position this way in a letter to me dated September 24, 1953: "The Institute was instrumental in establishing the Commission of Fine Arts in 1909 and em-

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phatically endorses the basic principles outlined in its recent report to the President, relating to art and government." Among the basic principles so emphatically endorsed is the following recommendation on page 13 of the report on Art and Government: "The Commission recommends that, insofar as the Commission of Fine Arts is concerned, no change be made in its basic character."

It must be pointed out that architects have been employed by the Federal Government since the time Thornton, Latrobe, Hoban, and L'Enfant were given the task of designing and building the Federal City. Architecture has occupied a preferred and unique position since that time, for no Federal building is ever built anywhere without the advice and the employment of architects. Leaders in the other fine arts justifiably feel discriminated against under the present arrangements. I refer you, for instance, to the strong resolution adopted in September this year by the American Federation of Labor at its 72d annual convention.

In the course of its two and a half year survey the present Commission consulted with no representatives from the field of the living arts outside of government, and heard only two in government, Luther H. Evans and Edward N. Waters from the Library of Congress. No private institutions and organizations in the fields of music, theater, dance, and literature are listed. Whatever the reason for the Commission's failure to consult with representatives of all of the fine arts, it is quite certain that before the Congress takes any action in the matter it will want to have the views of cultural leaders from all sections of the country, and in all the fields of the fine arts. If the Commission had made a more thorough survey its report would be more helpful to the Congress when it comes to consider the problem. The Canadian Royal Art Commission in its 2-year survey held 114 public hearings throughout Canada at which some 1,200 witnesses testified; 462 formal submissions were made to it and hundreds of letters were received. This is the kind of broad and conscientious art survey that must be made in our country, if any definite picture of our present situation regarding the arts is to be obtained.

The Federal Government has now been without a comprehensive art program for over 160 years. In the period from 1872 to the present time, according to the Library of Congress, about 70 bills for the establishment of some type of national program including the arts have been introduced in the Congress. The Library also tells me that the following reasons for the failure of the Congress to enact such legislation have been advanced by competent authorities: (a) The inertia of the general populace, (b) the opposition of some influential cultural leaders, and (c) the many substitute proposals which were sponsored by competing groups to accomplish one or more of the aims. There is merit, I believe, in studying past failures in order to be better able to surmount similar obstacles in the future.

The art representatives who attended the UNESCO Arts Conference in Venice in September 1952 arrived independently at some of the conclusions spelled out in my bill: (1) Government funds to assist the arts should be directed through impartial institutions of high standing, such as museums, universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera companies, theater, dance, and other performing groups in the various art fields. An equally important point (2) is that the receipt of Government funds should not be construed to mean that the artist should in any way be subservient to governmental dictates or serve any other dictate than his art and his own integrity in relation to that art.

A living concept of our Government, stated by Abraham Lincoln, is that the Government should do those things for the people which they cannot do or do so well. Mr. Blair has stated that no orchestra in the United States can exist without financial help. Under a concept of government which meets the needs of the people, there is no doubt but that the Federal Government should assist, recognize, and encourage the development and growth of the fine arts once we agree, as we must, that the arts are not a luxury but an essential part of our way of life.

THE ARTS IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

There is need not only for the preservation of our cultural institutions and their enhancement for the welfare of our own people, we also must let other nations and other peoples know of their merit. The situation facing us in this regard was best described by Dr. Vergil D. Reed, whose speech, *Us Uncultured Americans*, was reprinted in the September bulletin of the National Music Council: "Only yesterday we were cast in the role of world leader. The success of that leadership will depend largely upon a proper balance between material and nonmaterial values. Frankly, it will be largely a problem of

the wealthiest country in the world learning to win the respect and cooperation of the less fortunate nations who are sensitive, resentful, and afraid. Ideas and not commodities, understanding and not dollars, culture and not boastful materialism must be our means of leading."

A start toward sending the best of our performers abroad has been made, and an increased activity in this direction is of the highest importance in meeting and mastering the huge cultural offensive which our enemies are conducting against us. My bill would provide Federal funds for tours abroad by our leading orchestras, theater, ballet, and other fine arts groups of merit. An example of the present deplorable situation is provided by Mr. Blair in his 1953 report. He relates that several proposals to send the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra abroad were carefully studied. He says: "As they seemingly would have been in the national interest, we approached the Federal Government for financial assistance. As none was forthcoming and none from private sources, the tours were abandoned." I am sure everyone here will agree that this isn't the way to meet the terribly effective Soviet cultural drive. Gian-Carlo Menotti, in his stirring plea for the creative artist, has this to say on the art we do send abroad:

"It is pathetic to see the timidity and apologetic air with which Americans introduce their creative artists to Europe. (I insist on the distinction between creative and interpretive artists.) Who can ever forget the shabby concerts of American music half-heartedly organized all through an expectant Europe by well-meaning souls in the State Department shortly after the war? At one of the Lucerne festivals, while England sent an orchestra conducted by Sir Adrian Boult to represent its composers, and France, an orchestra conducted by Muench, American composers were embarrassingly represented by a concert of records—the kind of concert one might expect in a summer camp. (After the concert, however, cocktails served by the American Embassy to the stunned body of international critics were by far the best served by any Embassy.)"

Mr. Blair later refers to the recommendation of the Fine Arts Commission that the music division of the Library of Congress "should be utilized by the Department of State in connection with sending abroad symphony orchestras, ballet, and other organizations for which Government funds might be available."

THE FORM OF NEW ARTS COMMISSION EXPLAINED

It should be pointed out that the Commission's report states that the Librarian of Congress at the time, Dr. Luther H. Evans, expressed doubt that the Library of Congress was the best agency to sponsor symphony orchestras on foreign tours, inasmuch as it reports only to the Congress, to which it is responsible for its appropriations and its policies. He felt that some new agency whose sole purpose was the promotion of music might better serve as sponsor for such projects. H. R. 5397 would establish such a new agency, the sole purpose of which would be the promotion of the fine arts on a truly national level, and the development of a true national policy regarding all of the fine arts. It is very clear that the separation of powers prevents the Library of Congress from embarking on the kind of major program recommended by the present Fine Arts Commission. Such a program can belong, properly, only to the executive branch of the Federal Government. This, it seems to me, was the point that Dr. Evans was making.

A word now about the form of my bill, which I note Mr. Newbold Morris, of the governing board of the New York City Center of Music and Drama, believes has too many members at the policymaking level. My bill is based on the National Science Foundation Act—the Foundation established by that act has 24 non-Government members. The Fine Arts Commission which my bill would establish has 15 non-Government members. Whether the number of advisory members is 15, as provided in H. R. 5397, or 24, as provided in the Science Foundation Act, is not too important. There is a tremendous job to be done in any case. The British Arts Council has some 16 members for a country much smaller in land space and in population numbers.¹ The national interest in our country would be best served, or so it seems to me, by having roughly as many citizen, non-Government members in the top policymaking body as Federal officials. These non-Government members should be drawn from the fields of the fine arts

¹ The annual grants made by the British Government to the Arts Council of Great Britain over the past 5 years are as follows: 1952-53, \$1,890,000. The following, excluding special grant for Festival of Britain: 1951-52, \$1,610,000; 1950-51, \$1,610,000; 1949-50, \$1,680,000; 1948-49, \$1,610,000.

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in most, if not all, cases. One must also bear in mind that Federal art programs which are not specifically covered by legislation are thereby exempted. If the present art activities of the Federal Government are ever to be integrated and coordinated in order to achieve a national policy this must be spelled out in a bill, and this bill must travel the long and difficult path of congressional consideration before it becomes law.

The present art programs of the Federal Government are scattered through some 15 or more departments and agencies. This is shown by the recent survey of the present Commission of Fine Arts, which I urge you to read. One of the most important previous proposals presented to the Congress was sponsored by Congressman Sirovich in the 74th and 75th Congresses. There were serious defects in his bill to establish a Fine Arts Department, and after lengthy consideration his bill was defeated. I have tried to avoid the mistakes he made, and this accounts in large measure for the form of my bill. In politics, as Mr. Morris knows, a perfect bill can seldom be written because we have to deal with far from perfect conditions. In the world of art perfection is more often attainable—and often achieved. Many of you here today represent organizations which have supported my bill. I ask all of you to study it, and I welcome any suggestions and amendments for improving it which you may wish to submit.

We may differ as to approach, but we have no fundamental differences as to the objective. The American people will support the principles embodied in this bill if honestly informed of its purposes. There are those who say now is not the time to extend Federal recognition to the arts, and who equate recognition with "ministerial domination." More and more, however, with increasing urgency, cultural leaders, and Mr. Average Citizen are demanding that we conserve artistic talent as an important and priceless part of our national heritage. The challenge to America based upon the flourishing myth that Americans are gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians, used so effectively abroad by our enemies, must be decisively met and its falsity demonstrated. What is imperatively needed is national leadership in the arts, as Howard Taubman so eloquently urged some months ago. One seeking that leadership must surely find it here today, or it will not be found.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF HON. CHARLES E. HOWELL BY JOHN C. JACKSON, FISCAL ANALYST, ECONOMICS DIVISION, THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON 25, D. C., JANUARY 4, 1954

Research activity appropriations, and obligations of appropriated funds, are shown herein for a number of departments and bureaus. The research activities included were selected principally on the basis of whether administrative officers of the agencies labeled the activities as "research" in their budget statements. Such a list probably is not complete nor is it necessarily consistent with a uniform definition. No precise definition, once agreed upon, could be uniformly applied without considerable study of the work of each agency. The meaning given to "research" will determine whether to include or to exclude a number of activities which directly inform and precede the administrative decisions and actions of an agency; and activities in which information is collected and reported at regular periods.

A statement relative to this point appeared in the National Resources Committee study, *Research—A National Resource, 1938* (p. 62):

"No unanimity was found among experienced research directors as to the kind of work that should be included as 'research' in this study. For example, some scientists would exclude the reports of both the Bureau of the Census and the Weather Bureau; while on the other hand a classification by a Government agency about 15 years ago listed these 2 Bureaus as the only Government agencies whose entire work was 'research.'"

"While preparing data for this study the chief of a technical office reduced his estimate of research expenditures from \$140,000 to \$25,000 after a reconsideration of the application of the identical definition to the existing activities of his office."

In addition to the items listed below, there are numerous other agencies which conduct substantial research, especially in the social field, but they are excluded for the reason already noted, namely, a lack of information on research costs in budget presentations and in appropriation information.

There will be, of course, new forces rising in any event. If the program comes into being, there will be constant growth and constant greater need.

As to the present situation among practicing visual artists, the plastic artists, Artists Equity Association did a survey and conducted a survey some few years back and found that 90 percent of the top recognized American artists have found it necessary to engage in other activities in support of their chosen profession.

There is one thing that has not been mentioned to any great extent in the testimony that I have heard so far, and that is the importance of bringing our painters and sculptors, and their works, to the American Embassies in different countries, as a kind of an island representation of the culture, and of the cultural manifestations of this country.

At present, the State Department engages in a dissemination of reproductions and prints as the only means of showing to our allies and our foreign embassies the kind of work that is being done in this country, and our art has grown a great deal.

There is a constant question, when one travels in Europe, "What is being done in the United States?" There is little opportunity for the foreigner to see in his own country what is being done because of a limitation in the delivery of publications.

In many of the countries, they cannot subscribe to our art publications, so that there is little opportunity to know.

These bills, in most cases, would do much to push the use of the American arts just as today American furniture and rugs, and such things, are used in the Embassies.

Thank you, gentlemen. And I will be pleased and proud if there are any questions that I can answer.

Mr. BOSCH. Thank you, Mr. Van Veen.

Mr. HOWELL. I do not believe I have any questions. We appreciate very much having your valuable testimony and your interest in the legislation.

Mr. BOSCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Van Veen.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement by Representative John F. Shelley, of California, in support of legislation establishing an American National War Memorial Arts Commission.

Also I have a statement by Representative Richard Bolling, of Missouri, in support of his bill, H. R. 7106.

I have a statement by Herman Finkelstein, general attorney for the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers.

I have a letter from Mrs. Rose Robison Cowen, a member of the advisory council of the American Educational Theater Association.

I have a telegram from Leonard Feist, president of the Music Publishers' Association of the United States, 47 West 63d Street, New York City.

If there is no objection, may they be submitted for the record?

Mr. BOSCH. Without objection, that will be done.

(The statements, letters, and telegrams referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT BY HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Chairman, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to be able to express my support to you and the members of your committee for the various bills which have been introduced to give recognition to the role the Federal Government

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should play in fostering an appreciation of the fine arts. I want also to congratulate my distinguished colleague from New Jersey, Congressman Howell, for sparking this worthy endeavor. I was only too happy to join with him in his efforts to establish the Nation's Capital as a cultural center from which the entire country can draw in encouraging and developing artistic achievements in various fields. My own bill, H. R. 8047, which is among the bills under consideration at these hearings, was modeled after Congressman Howell's original legislation and was introduced at his suggestion.

You will hear a great deal of testimony at these hearings about the general purposes of the National War Memorial Arts Commission bill and about its various specific features. Leaving that field to the expert witnesses who are more competent than I to discuss these aspects, I do want to comment on one very important point in connection with Federal Government participation in programs in the fine arts field. That point is this: Great artistic works can only be produced by living artists at work in their respective fields, whether they are painters, sculptors, composers, or writers. It seems to me that the Federal Government has a duty to not only preserve and encourage an appreciation of the great works of dead artists, as we do through the National Art Gallery, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and other organizations, but to promote and foster the continued activity by living artists which is necessary if work in that necessary part of our lives is to be kept from dying away. Although the so-called great works of art must be recognized as the highest forms of expression in those fields, we must also remember that an appreciation of art in its various forms is not and cannot be limited to the geniuses who create them. If that were the case our civilization would soon become completely materialistic, since the cultural progress of the people as a whole is necessary if we are ever to balance our successes in scientific and technical work with the similar advances needed in the social and artistic fields to make for a full national life in all its phases. It seems to me that the bills now before the subcommittee deserve favorable action on that basis alone. Such forward-looking action would serve to let the world know that ours is not strictly a dollar civilization as has been charged.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation has aroused a great deal of interest and favorable comment in my home city of San Francisco, as I am sure it has elsewhere throughout the Nation. I hope very much that your subcommittee will see fit to report on it favorably as a means of giving opportunity to all the people of the United States to take active, personal part in creating a "homegrown" cultural movement.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD BOLLING, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. Chairman, in thinking over what might be most useful to the committee in its consideration of the various bills, including my own, H. R. 7106, which would establish a national program in the fine arts as a living war memorial, I came to the conclusion that the most forceful single statement which I had seen was contained in a speech by that distinguished member of this subcommittee, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Howell. I need not point out to this group how influential Mr. Howell has been in bringing about these hearings.

At any event it seemed to me that extracts from Mr. Howell's speech of May 24, 1954, should be in the record and that since they very nicely expressed my own views in the matter I could not do better than insert them myself.

Excerpts of the Howell speech follow:

"Briefly, my bill, H. R. 9111, provides for grants to the States for the development of fine arts programs. This title of my bill is modeled after the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act, and for administrative purposes is placed in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It contemplates an important improvement in the Office of Education. My bill is, in fact, a Federal-aid-to-education measure and the fine arts are considered to be basic to a general education on the sound premise that an education which includes the humanities is essential to political wisdom.

"Secondly, under title II, which is modeled after the National Science Foundation Act, my bill would establish a National Arts Commission and directs this commission to (1) develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of, and for education in the fine arts by all age groups in our population; (2) award scholarships and graduate fellowships in the fine arts;

(3) foster international exchange of fine arts programs and information; (4) establish a national theater, music center, and contemporary gallery of art in the National Capital; (5) establish the John Basilone National Memorial Stadium and Christopher Columbus Civic Auditorium.

"America has always fought tyranny and oppression. My war memorial bill and its companion measures pays tribute to those who have made the supreme sacrifice for the principles of freedom. How can we best pay tribute to those whose memories we honor. The living memorial we have proposed honors all of our fighting forces. It is named in part after one of the great heroes of World War II, John Basilone who was killed at Iwo Jima. John Basilone was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor "for extraordinary heroism and conspicuous gallantry in action against enemy Japanese forces, above and beyond the call of duty." A citizen of New Jersey, John Basilone was born in Buffalo, N. Y. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in New Jersey.

"The war memorial which we propose is a fitting national tribute, and has more merit than the numerous spires and cavalry charges in stone which have been the memorials of past glorious events in our history. The kind of living memorial called for in these bills have been established in a number of our cities including Indianapolis, Ind., and Trenton, N. J., as well as San Francisco with its War Memorial Opera House and other buildings in its civic center. * * *

"It seems to me that it is of the highest importance to destroy the Communist myth that Americans are gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians. The cultural status of our own country must be greatly advanced, and, at the same time, we must let other peoples know the best of our cultural programs. We were cast in the role of world leader only yesterday. The success of that leadership will depend largely upon a proper balance between material and non-material values. As Dr. Vergil D. Reed, of J. Walter Thompson Co., points out, it is largely a problem of the wealthiest country in the world learning to win the respect and cooperation of the less-fortunate nations which are sensitive, resentful, and afraid. He declares that it is with 'ideas and not commodities, understanding and not dollars, culture and not boastful materialism' that we must lead now and in the future.

"This point of view was supported by Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, who said in a speech before the Economic Club of Detroit last September that the skillful communication of democratic ideas, rather than sheer weight of armaments or economic power, was the ultimate safeguard of a free society. He went on to declare to his business audience that 'where we have failed in some places has been in communicating basic American ideas and ideals overseas along with our dollars and our armament, and I fear that this has happened because we have not sufficiently understood our neighbor's problems and have attempted to deliver our way of life all neatly packed according to our own specifications.'

"Here we get to the heart of the problem. Vice President Nixon touched on this when he spoke on March 17, 1954, before the Dunbar High School in Washington on the occasion of the presentation of the Asian art exhibit by the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation. He said, in part, that—

"You are aware of the great struggle between the forces of freedom on the one side and the forces of totalitarianism on the other. And in that struggle the balance between the peoples of the world has shifted in the last 7 years a little against us. I would say we can probably count perhaps 600 million on this earth on the side of the free nations; we can count perhaps 800 million or so people that we will have to call uncommitted—they haven't made up their minds which side they are going to be on. * * * And it is very important that we develop the ways and means to bring to them a true picture of the system that we believe in—that all free peoples believe in—so that in the struggle that is going on, which is fundamentally one for the minds, the hearts, and souls of men, that eventually they will turn in our direction rather than in the other direction for lack of a positive alternative.'

"The military battles are important, of course, the Vice President went on, but more important 'than the military battles today, in the long run, is what people are going to do—what they think in their hearts; and, therefore, that is why we must create, between ourselves and the people of Asia, these great uncommitted areas of the world, a better understanding than we have at the present time.'

"The Vice President went on to emphasize the importance of mutual understanding between peoples on the foundation of common cultural understanding, saying that as you study the arts and crafts of the people of Asia—

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"You will realize that the traditions that were necessary to create the things you saw were developed over centuries, and, therefore, I think we in America can have a little better appreciation of the fact that the people of Asia have a lot to offer us, and we should deal with them on the basis of mutual respect, of mutual understanding, rather than on the basis, well, we're a great advanced nation because we have all the motorcars and the television sets and the like, and these Asians, we can teach them a lot. Yes; we can teach them something, but we can also learn a great deal from them, and we should never forget that." * * *

"These words of the Vice President make much better sense—in fact, this whole speech makes much better sense—even though the Vice President makes no pretense of knowing anything about art, than the official art doctrines of the Federal Government and the art doctrines of the experts—the so-called experts—of the Federal Government. Take the National Gallery, for instance. The National Gallery is, as we all know, the Federal Government's greatest monument in the field of the fine arts. It is one of the great cultural monuments of the Western World. Yet here is what the New York Times of September 6, 1953, * * * says about the National Gallery of Art and the Report to the President on 'Art and Government,' prepared by the present Commission of Fine Arts:

"They, referring to the opponents of the report, 'point out that under its own charter the National Gallery cannot concern itself with work by artists less than 20 years dead. They feel that of all major museums and organizations it is perhaps the one least qualified to assume responsibility for international showing of modern art. They urge vehemently that this important activity be given to a large, experienced, and broadminded Commission of Fine Arts.'

"The large, experienced and broadminded Commission of Fine Arts called for by the New York Times would be established if the bill I have sponsored were enacted into law. I have continually urged that everyone concerned with the cultural status of our country should read the report on Art and Government in order to see for themselves how far it falls short of a comprehensive study of the subject. One can only conclude from a review of the requirement that an artist be dead 20 years that the Federal Government's experts on art in the Smithsonian Institution, of which the National Gallery is a branch, are convinced that the only good American artist is a dead American artist. It is certainly a most remarkable theory and one that deserves the closest scrutiny. My art bill is a much-overdue attempt to correct this mischievous doctrine, a doctrine that has been widely accepted in other branches of the Federal Government in Washington. And proof of this is the fact that the only art shows being sent overseas these days consists of 17th, 18th, and 19th century art. The Federal Government has no money to send our orchestras, drama, opera, or ballet organizations abroad—these are live artists creating a living art.

"I am of the opinion that our people will not long continue to accept unquestioningly, as they have in the past, the requirement that our artists must be dead 20 years—an art theory which is known in the trade, I believe, as the real-estate theory of art. This art theory walks hand in hand with the art program, once widely accepted but now maintained principally by the National Gallery, of spending 75 to 80 percent of the funds of our museums and art galleries for art of other countries and earlier centuries. I shall come to this second theory a little later. In the meantime, I would like to point out that both of these doctrines in the field of art have their counterpart in the field of economics. In the field of economics the counterpart theory is known as the trickle-down prosperity plan which is widely credited to Andrew Mellon. Millions of Americans became painfully and bitterly familiar with the trickle-down theory during the depression of the 1930's. That theory was developed in a book entitled 'Taxation: The People's Business' published by Andrew Mellon and this book was widely used as a Republican campaign document in 1924. The scheme of taxation set forth in the book was followed right up to the great collapse of 1929. The interconnection of the three quaint theories I have mentioned is, curiously enough, explored in a delightful article by Roger Butterfield in the Saturday Evening Post of March 8, 1947, entitled 'The Millionaires' Best Friend.'

"Yes, there is a philosophical difference in viewpoint which must be considered in the evaluation of the measure which I have sponsored. The debate is between the proponents of the belief that arts are living and must be encouraged with every resource at hand; and the belief, also, that the artist, the poet, and the philosopher have as much to contribute to the welfare of the community as the engineer, the doctor, the scientist. The contrary belief is that the arts are the

product of a past age only, and must be preserved rather than new art encouraged.

"I am convinced that once the Federal Government gives the cultural side of our lives the recognition it surely deserves, recognition such as has already been granted medicine and the sciences, then financial support for the arts will be forthcoming from private and business sources. Individuals are allowed up to 20-percent tax deductions and business up to 5 percent on gross income before taxes for contributions to educational and cultural programs but the arts get small support from these allowable tax deductions. Education, likewise, must have greatly increased support. Currently, contributions for educational and cultural purposes by the business community average under 1 percent for a total of about \$235 million yearly, whereas a contribution of approximately \$1½ billions is possible. Additional large sums are allowable and tax free under the 20-percent individual rates but are slow in developing. It is from this area of private giving that the lion's share of support for the fine arts and education must come in our country. Many leading businessmen, including Frank W. Abrams of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Beardsley Ruml * * * and the business committee of the National Planning Association have for several years tried to stimulate business giving for educational and cultural purposes without notable success. If any of you have a million dollars which you want to give to the fine arts you should first get a copy of the book *The Manual of Corporate Giving* edited by our good friend Beardsley Ruml. If my bill is enacted into law an immense stimulus will be provided private financial support of the arts and education.

"I am particularly happy to take this occasion to endorse the recent extensive proposal by William Zeckendorf of the New York firm of Webb & Knapp for overall redevelopment and slum clearance of southwest Washington. This plan calls for a cultural center of major proportions. The Zeckendorf plan is to be financed by private capital. The cultural center will probably need Government funds for at least a major portion unless, as provided in the 16 bills for a national war memorial, funds for such a center were contributed by private businessmen and individuals. It is clear that compared with even small European cities, our National Capital has very few cultural attractions for the many thousands of tourists, American and foreign, who visit it. The objective of the congressional sponsors of these war memorial bills is to make Washington the cultural center of the world and wrest that title from Paris, London, and Rome. This was pointed out in a joint statement at the time our bills were introduced.

"Authority is provided in my bill for the Federal Government to carry out the recommendations of the Founding Fathers regarding the arts. Jefferson's bill for a system of public education, as we learned in school, provided for a public art gallery and a department of fine arts. Jefferson considered rhetoric, letters, music, drama, architecture, and the fine arts generally to be as necessary as language, ethics, history, geography, philosophy, and the sciences. Jefferson's interest in music began early and remained with him throughout his life. He was one of the greatest Americans of all time, writer, architect, scientist, and the ablest musician ever to occupy the White House. I believe Harry Truman would join me in this estimate despite the fact of his own considerable musicianship—because of which he was given a scroll by the National Symphony Orchestra Association in September 1952 as 'the most musical President in the history of our country.' Eleanor D. Berman has recorded Jefferson's manifold interest in the arts in her book *Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts*. According to Dumas Malone in *Jefferson the Virginian*, the third President during the 12 years preceding the Revolution managed to play no fewer than 3 hours a day. This prompted Howard Taubman, music editor of the New York Times to say in a recent column that 'Whether in private practice or in amiable social groups, that is a lot of playing for any but professional musicians or the most devoted amateurs.' * * *

"George Washington provided in his will funds for an educational program which included the fine arts, hoping thereby to develop a true understanding of our form of government and the true and genuine liberties of mankind. His will reads in part: 'For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have the tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils.' No better short description of a national arts program than this sentence by George Washington has ever been formulated.

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FEDERAL GRANTS FOR FINE ARTS PROJECTS

"A national arts program should be concerned not only with the arts but with the artist, the living artist. When the concern is with art alone, there is a strong tendency to be interested only in what is conventionally accepted as art. This generally means in practice, concern with the art of the past. A congressional committee headed by Congressman Sirovich, which was considering in the 1930's his bill to establish a Federal Department of Fine Arts, was given an estimate by one of our country's cultural leaders that American museums at that time were spending more than 75 percent of their funds for the art of other countries and earlier centuries. One of the country's greatest bulwarks of this conception of art—and one of the last of the great museums and art galleries of the country holding to this policy—is the National Gallery of Art. My only comment on this art theory is to point out that if a similar policy were applied to the spending of the national income of the United States our country would go broke in about 10 minutes. Indeed we would never have developed any industry or agriculture at all, and would never be in a position to defend ourselves. As things stand now, with the Congress appropriating more than \$1 million each year for the maintenance of the National Gallery, over a period of years the Federal Government will have invested or spent on the National Gallery an equal and in time a greater amount than Andrew Mellon the original donor. Despite this the Federal Government has little or no real voice in the making of the gallery's policies.

"Congressman Sirovich and the members of his committee were assured at the time of their hearings that 'the great art traditions of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages were not built up in that way,' by spending the country's art funds for the art of other countries and earlier centuries. Rather, 'they were created by thousands of artists who were given an opportunity to work, by the church, by the government, and by private citizens, by patrons who believed in a living art.'

"As I have pointed out earlier, one of the major ways in which we might turn reluctant and uneasy military allies—and the 800 million of uncommitted people which the Vice President spoke of—into friends would be to earn their respect for our own culture. It is obvious, however, that if we have no respect and are officially indifferent to our own best cultural efforts, if we shown no concern as a people and as a nation with our own contemporary culture and our living artists, then the peoples of other countries are hardly to be blamed if they ignore and underrate the cultural contributions which we have to give the peoples of the world. We have only ourselves to blame, for they take their cues from our own Federal Government. In this situation the Communist Parties in the various countries and the Russians find it extremely easy to spread the lie that we are gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians.

"I, for one, do not propose to make it easy for the U. S. S. R. to win the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men throughout the world. I believe the time has come, indeed it is long overdue, for the United States to mount a counteroffensive against the huge Soviet cultural drive, which includes everything from athletes to ballerinas to chess players. The first step is to take a 'new look' at ourselves and to review the cultural traditions of the West. If we do this, I am convinced that we will take steps to place due emphasis on American accomplishments in the cultural field in the perspective of our European heritage. There is no quicker, no more effective way to destroy the Communist myth that we are a nation of barbarians."

STATEMENT OF HERMAN FINKELSTEIN, GENERAL ATTORNEY, AMERICAN SOCIETY OF COMPOSERS, AUTHORS, AND PUBLISHERS

My name is Herman Finkelstein. I reside at 440 East 56th Street, New York City. I am a member of the New York and Connecticut bars and am general attorney for the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers.

The board of directors of the society has not yet had an opportunity to study the bill introduced by Congressman Howell (H. R. 9111), and this statement, therefore, represents my personal viewpoint rather than that of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP). The society has at all times supported forward-looking measures in aid of American art, literature, and music. ASCAP itself comprises only one segment of the musical life of America, that is, those who professionally compose music and write the lyrics of musical compositions, and those whose business consists of publishing such compositions. The enclosed booklet tells something of the purposes and methods of ASCAP.

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See pages 4-5

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THIRTEENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT
ON
EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

LETTER
FROM
CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, DEPARTMENT
OF STATE
TRANSMITTING
THE THIRTEENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT ON THE
EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED
UNDER THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AND
EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACT OF 1948 (PUBLIC LAW
402, 80TH CONG.), FOR THE PERIOD FROM JULY 1 TO
DECEMBER 31, 1954

*From the Washington Office
of Congressman Thompson*

JANUARY 13, 1955.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs
and ordered to be printed

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THIRTEENTH SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT
ON
EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

LETTER

FROM THE CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO THE HONORABLE SAM RAYBURN,
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 12, 1955

FROM THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
TO THE CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 12, 1955

J. L. MORRILL,
Chairman, United States Advisory Commission
on Educational Exchange

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE,
January 12, 1955.

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange submits herewith its 13th semiannual report on the educational exchange activities conducted under the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402, 80th Cong.) from July 1 to December 31, 1954.

This report fulfills the requirements of section 603 of the above-mentioned act, which states that this statutory Commission shall transmit—

*** to the Congress a semiannual report of all programs and activities carried on under authority of this Act, including appraisals, where feasible, as to the effectiveness of the programs and such recommendations as shall have been made *** to the Secretary of State for effectuating the purposes and objectives of this Act and the action taken to carry out such recommendations.

The membership of this Commission is as follows:

- J. L. Morrill, Chairman.
- Arthur H. Edens, Vice Chairman.
- Rufus H. Fitzgerald, member.
- Arthur A. Hauck, member.
- Anna L. Rose Hawkes, member.

A duplicate copy of this report is being furnished to the Senate.

Very truly yours,

J. L. MORRILL,
*Chairman, United States Advisory Commission
on Educational Exchange.*

(Enclosure: Advisory Commission's 13th semiannual report to the Congress.)

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
 ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE
 January 12, 1955

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,
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*** to the Congress a semiannual report of all progress and activities
 carried on under authority of the act including questions which remain
 to the effectiveness of the program and such recommendations as shall have
 been made *** to the Secretary of State for effectuating the purposes and
 objectives of this Act and the action taken to carry out such recommendations.

The membership of this Commission is as follows:

- J. L. Stouffer, Chairman
- Arthur H. Edson, Vice Chairman
- Richard H. Fitzpatrick, member
- Arthur A. Haack, member
- Anna L. Rose Hawley, member

A duplicate copy of this report is being furnished to the Senate
 by first class mail.

J. L. Stouffer,
 Chairman, United States Advisory Commission
 on Educational Exchange.
 (Enclosure: Advisory Commission's 13th semiannual report to the
 Congress.)

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THIRTEENTH SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT
 TO THE CONGRESS

BY THE

UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
 EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

(July 1—December 31, 1954)

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THIRTEENTH SEMANNUAL REPORT
 TO THE CONGRESS
 BY THE
 UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
 EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE
 (Sept. 1-December 31, 1953)

THIRTEENTH SEMANNUAL REPORT ON EDUCATIONAL
 EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

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The Commission on Educational Exchange was reconstituted by new Presidential appointments on June 15, 1953, in accordance with the provisions of the President's Reorganization Plan No. 8, effective August 1, 1953. The new members of the Commission were appointed by the President in accordance with the provisions of that plan. During the period from September 1, 1953, to December 31, 1953, the Commission has been engaged in a study of the educational exchange and cultural programs administered by the Department of State. The Commission has held several public hearings and has received many suggestions from interested parties. The Commission has also conducted a study of the educational exchange and cultural programs administered by the Department of State. The Commission has held several public hearings and has received many suggestions from interested parties. The Commission has also conducted a study of the educational exchange and cultural programs administered by the Department of State.

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THIRTEENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

I. RECONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION

The reconstitution of the Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange by new Presidential appointments on June 16, 1954, to fill vacancies which had occurred during the past year was reported in the 12th semiannual report to the Congress. This again establishes direct public participation in the execution of national policy for the Department of State's international educational exchange program as envisioned by the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

During the period covered by this report the Commission held two meetings: August 5-6 and October 4-5, 1954.

Pursuant to the bylaws of the Commission, which were adopted in accordance with the provisions of section 602 (g) of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Commissioner Arthur H. Edens was unanimously elected Vice Chairman of the Commission.

At the first meeting of this reorganized Commission, in addition to the Director of the International Educational Exchange Service and his principal officers, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs invited the Secretary and a number of Members of Congress who were interested in the educational exchange program to meet with the Commission.

The reconstituted Commission wishes to report to the American people, the Congress, and the executive branch of the Government, that it deems it an honor to be able to participate in a program which is an integral part of the foreign relations of the United States, being concerned with the role of the Government in promoting the interchange of persons, and thereby of knowledge and skills as between the United States and foreign lands.

Furthermore, the Commission takes great satisfaction in the fact that it can serve an enterprise that is under the administration of public officials and leaders in national affairs whose interest and belief in such a program have been so enthusiastically expressed. The Secretary of State, in conference with the Commission, stated that he attached the greatest importance to the educational exchange program. He considered this program, he said, to be one of the indispensable elements in the effort to keep alive and vigorous in the world the ideals on which this Nation was founded.

The Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs stated his belief that the educational exchange program has been one of the most successful aspects of United States foreign policy—indispensable in the interpretation of United States foreign policy objectives. It has been found that the leaders or students who had been in the United States upon returning to their own countries have helped in achieving United States foreign policy objectives, because they have either

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assumed positions of importance in their governments or have influenced foreign government leaders, he said. He pointed out that in his official travel to foreign lands, whether the Far East or Europe, the good effects of the exchange program were evident in the furtherance of international understanding. It is the type of program which is achieving results since it comes influentially into action almost daily in various parts of the world, he observed.

The Commission desires to commend the administration of the program as evidenced in the excellent briefing given by the Director of the International Educational Exchange Service and his immediate staff at the initial meeting of the reorganized Commission.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS AS THE RESULT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 8, EFFECTIVE AUGUST 1, 1953

During the period covered by this report the Commission examined the overseas operation of the educational exchange program and other matters relating to the conduct of this program since Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 became effective. As a result of this study, the following recommendations were made to the Secretary of State:

1. That the Department of State undertake at its earliest possible moment to obtain more explicit clarification of the distinction between cultural relations activities and cultural information activities, identifying the elements contained in each, and that the respective terms of reference of the Department of State and the United States Information Agency in these areas be more clearly specified.

2. That the overseas personnel which are required to carry out the educational exchange and cultural relations activities of the Department of State be regular officers of the Foreign Service of the United States assigned as regular members of the United States diplomatic missions abroad.

At the time these recommendations were submitted to the Secretary of State, the Secretary was informed that this Commission stands ready to be of assistance to the Department in this matter in any way possible. The Commission also expressed its hope that when consideration is given to the above recommendations by the Department of State, in collaboration with the United States Information Agency, that both the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange and the United States Advisory Commission on Information will be consulted.

These recommendations were made as a part of the Commission's continuing responsibility to the Department of State. Intensive consideration was given to the basic policies and operating principles of the exchange program as administered under the reorganization plan. The legislative history of the Smith-Mundt Act, which authorized this program, as well as the wording of the Reorganization Plan No. 8, were reviewed in order to determine whether or not the operation of the international educational exchange program is being carried out in accord with congressional intent.

In this connection, it is to be noted that the reorganization plan called for transfer of the international information program authorized

by the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402, 80th Cong.) to a new, independent agency—the United States Information Agency. All functions authorized by this act, except those specifically assigned to the United States Information Agency by the language of the reorganization plan, remained in the Department of State.

The implementation of this plan has not been fully satisfactory, the Educational Exchange Commission believes. By reason of this imperfect implementation, the Commission is strengthened in its conviction that the separation of information activities from the intercultural activities is definitely to be desired.

The Commission find that, notwithstanding certain defects in the overseas operation of the exchange program, the program has achieved notable successes during the past year and certain positive gains are clear. Never in its history has the prestige of the program been higher; never has its value in the conduct of foreign relations received comparable recognition; and never has it been accorded so much heartening praise from the American public.

Despite the fundamental defects in the working arrangements whereby the Department's overseas operations are carried out by contract delegation with the United States Information Agency, the Commission finds that the Department of State has done a generally effective job of leadership and management.

The Commission, however, is mindful that the Information Agency is one that deals largely and logically at the level of immediacy with urgency in respect to objectives. In solving its problems the United States Information Agency must think of immediate impact, an approach different from that of the educational exchange program in that it is unilateral rather than cooperative in terms of the other country.

The Commission believes that the Information Agency's policy of short-range operation inevitably handicaps—if, indeed, it does not positively preclude—the sound development of long-range cultural relations between the United States and other nations which the educational exchange program was conceived to accomplish.

The Commission, therefore, in reaffirming its continuing concern for distinctive planning and operational emphasis on long-range educational exchange objectives (as contrasted with more immediate foreign policy needs and purposes) has reached certain definite conclusions which resulted in recommendations 1 and 2 above cited:

First, in order to be assured that the provisions of Reorganization Plan No. 8 are carried out in such a manner that cultural relations and cultural information are so defined and coordinated as to achieve maximum effectiveness in support of United States foreign policy objectives, the Commission now is of the opinion that there is an urgent need for clarification, as between the Department of State and the United States Information Agency, of the respective responsibilities of each for cultural activities. The Commission believes that the basis for such clarification lies in the distinction, implied in Reorganization Plan No. 8, between the dissemination of "cultural information" by the United States Information Agency and the *cultural relations* themselves which are a continuing responsibility of the Department of State.

Secondly, with a view to developing means and ways whereby the Department of State may improve the administration of cultural

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relations activities, including the operation of the educational exchange program in United States missions abroad, it also appears to this Commission that the Department of State should operate its own program overseas, rather than by contract with another agency. The experiences of the last year indicate that there are many problems and difficulties involved in the present arrangement, whereby the exchange program is administered by the United States Information Agency overseas; difficulties which could be obviated by having officers concerned with the exchange program directly responsible, through the chief of mission, of course, to the Department of State, which administers the program in the United States.

These recommendations are now under consideration by the Department of State.

III. THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL FUND FOR UNITED STATES CULTURAL REPRESENTATION ABROAD

At its meeting, on October 4, 1954, the Department informed the Commission of the special \$5 million fund which had recently been appropriated by the Congress at the request of the President for his use to meet unusual circumstances arising in the international field. This fund is to be used (1) to increase United States participation, mostly through private industry in international trade fairs, and (2) to encourage outstanding American cultural and artistic groups to visit abroad.

The President has appointed the Secretary of State to Chair a Cabinet committee to assist him in making effective use of this fund in spreading world knowledge of American progress in the performing arts through the democratic system of free enterprise. The President designated Mr. Theodore A. Streibert, Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), as executive agent of this Committee.

Two subcommittees, one under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary of Commerce and the other under the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, have been appointed to provide general supervision and policy guidance over the two aspects of this special fund. The Department of Commerce Subcommittee is concerned exclusively with the participation by the United States in international trade fairs abroad. The Department of State Subcommittee, which is made up of representatives of USIA, the Bureau of the Budget, Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in addition to those from the State Department, is concerned with the cultural presentation abroad.

The Department of State is concerned with cultural presentations abroad of American performing artists, and the International Educational Exchange Service has been designated as the element of the Government responsible for the actual administration of this part of the program.

The International Educational Exchange Service presented to the Commission its detailed plans for administering the portion of the program concerned with cultural presentations abroad for review and comments. Attention was called to the proposed operating principles, developed by the Department of State and approved by the inter-

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agency subcommittee to provide guidance in the administration of this program. Briefly, these basic operating principles provide that—

(1) To the maximum extent possible, all details should be conducted through private channels. Similarly, all domestic aspects of the program should be handled by private, nonprofit organizations under contract to the Department;

(2) Priority will be given to professional and amateur presentations of dramatic productions, musical comedies, operas, ballet productions, concert groups and individual singers, dancers and concert artists, and sports groups;

(3) Financial assistance will be given only to performances abroad by such American individuals or groups as are generally recognized to be of the highest distinction in their fields;

(4) The selection of individuals and groups to be assisted should be determined in consultation with groups of private citizens who are generally recognized by the public as authoritative in the appropriate field;

(5) Funds be used principally for the purpose of underwriting the cost of a free flow of certain professional and amateur performances through normal commercial channels to regular paying audiences by providing international transportation and by insuring the performers against potential losses, and to extend the travel of performers into areas not usually considered commercially feasible but which could fill a need for making an effective cultural impact upon selected local communities;

(6) Only projects of urgency in priority fields and areas, as indicated by comments, reports, or requests from Foreign Service posts be considered for support;

(7) Appropriate consideration should be given, especially in the fields of drama and music to the presentation by American performers of works by American writers and composers, and that normally assistance be given only to individuals and groups of American citizenship;

(8) Appropriate clearances be obtained in connection with public relations and security problems involved in selecting individuals to participate in this program.

In accordance with the provisions of the Department's policy, as set forth above, the American National Theater Academy (ANTA), a recognized private agency with competence in this field, was selected as the contracting agency to assist the Department in carrying out this project. A contract has been signed with ANTA, which has set up three panels (music, theater, and the ballet), composed of the most eminent and competent people in those professions, to advise ANTA, as an agent, in determining what artistic productions have the merit necessary to meet the President's requirement standards.

The Commission expressed its approval of this expanded program in international cultural exchanges and commended the Department of State for its proposed general administration of such a program through the auspices of a nongovernmental organization.

The Commission, moreover, unanimously approved a proposal, formulated by the Department, to be submitted to a leading private foundation for larger and continuing support of this program, supplementing governmental assistance.

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IV. GEOGRAPHIC AND INSTITUTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTEES, BOTH AMERICAN AND FOREIGN, IN THE UNITED STATES

The report of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, dated June 9, 1954 (S. Rept. No. 1841, 83d Cong., 2d sess.), contains the following statement:

It is the sense of the committee that smaller colleges and universities, nationwide, be provided with a greater opportunity to participate in the international educational exchange program. This applies not only to the selection of exchanges being sent abroad, but also to foreign exchanges coming to the United States. The tendency has been to concentrate on the larger institutions of learning. The committee in no way objects to the utilization of these larger institutions, but believes that the selection of American exchanges to go abroad and the assignment of foreign exchanges should be spread over the greatest geographical area possible. It is only in this way that foreign exchanges will catch the true breadth of the American character and way of living. The committee states frankly that its recommendation for the fiscal year 1956 will depend upon the success of carrying out the above recommendation.

This problem has for several years received the close attention of this Commission since the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (the Smith-Mundt Act) implies nationwide participation to the fullest extent possible.

It is to be noted that the Board of Foreign Scholarships has also given this problem serious consideration, since the provisions of Public Law 584, 79th Congress, the Fulbright Act, is even more specific in this connection, stating that "due consideration shall be given to applicants from all geographic areas of the United States."

As a result of the statement in the Senate committee report, cited above, the Department of State presented this problem to the Commission, at the Commission's August 1954 meeting, with the request that it offer advice as to what further action the Department might undertake to carry out the Senate committee's recommendation.

Therefore, during the period covered by this report, the Commission has given intensive study to the problems confronting the Department in achieving proportionate and institutional distribution of grantees.

The Commission has reviewed the many factors which have limited the complete solution of this problem, the many steps which have been taken by the Department of State in its attempt to solve it, as well as various proposals developed by the Department in its continuing efforts to remedy this situation. In this connection the Commission considers that the Department of State, in cooperation with other Government and private agencies, has been progressively solving many of the problems involved.

The Commission has noted with interest the many current proposals which the Department of State has developed in a further effort to solve the problem:

(1) The Department has now established a working committee composed of officers in its International Educational Exchange Service to review all aspects of this problem and to work out procedures for possible improvement;

(2) A booklet is being prepared for distribution in the United States to encourage greater participation in the program and to outline concrete ways in which institutions, organizations, and civic groups can help by offering financial aid;

(3) The Department's overseas missions have been circularized for suggestions, and are being requested to prepare needed information for use of advisers in this country in guiding applicants;

(4) Data is also being gathered on the missions' needs for further material helpful in counseling foreign nationals desiring to come to this country for educational purposes;

(5) The Department has sent letters to the principal cooperating agencies, requesting additional and more specific data on their efforts to date; factors still inhibiting solution of the problem; suggested means for further expansion of their efforts; and an analysis of selection and placement data which will reveal certain characteristics of the problem.

On August 5, officers of the Department's International Educational Exchange Service discussed with the Commission the feasibility of requesting the American Council on Education to assist with this problem by establishing a consultative committee to review data gathered by the Department from the cooperating agencies and from program advisers on American campuses and study the problem with a view to offering advice and suggestions in seeking a solution thereto.

In its first quarterly report for fiscal year 1955, the Commission advised the Secretary of State that it fully concurred with the Department's proposal that the American Council on Education be requested to assist the Department in this connection.

In addition to concurring with the Department's proposals, the Commission (1) agreed that Commissioner Fitzgerald would explore the possibility of the Association of American Colleges taking action to secure foundation support of supplementary grants to faculty members from the smaller colleges and (2) suggested that the Department of State have some person who understands the problem and knows the facts speak before the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges in Washington, D. C., on January 13, 1955.

Departmental reply (submitted to the Commission October 4, 1954)

"Since the meeting of the Advisory Commission on August 5-6, the following developments have occurred and are submitted for the Commission's information:

"1. Dr. Arthur S. Adams, of the American Council on Education, has discussed the Department's proposal regarding a consultative committee with Dr. Herman Wells, chairman of the American Council on Education's international committee, informing him also of the Advisory Commission's endorsement of the proposal. The international committee of the American Council on Education, at its meeting in Washington in October, will discuss this proposal. The Department will be represented at this meeting.

"2. Commissioner Fitzgerald has reported his discussions of this question with the executive director of the Association of American Colleges. The agenda for the January meeting of the Association of American Colleges is full, but the possibility of a Department speaker or a panel discussion of the question will be kept under consideration. The executive director has agreed to discuss the matter of possible foundation support for American lecturers or research scholars coming to such institutions with representatives of the Carnegie Foundation.

"3. The Department will receive detailed statistical analyses from the cooperating agencies by November 15. These are expected to

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provide important background data on the problem and will be used in making a full report to the Commission at its January 1955 meeting.

"The Commission will be interested to know that the executive and planning committee of the Board of Foreign Scholarships at its meeting on August 24 approved the following statement which is being circulated by the cooperating agencies:

The Board of Foreign Scholarships, responsible under the provisions of Public Law 584, 79th Congress (the Fulbright Act), for the selection of individuals and educational institutions participating in the educational exchange program, emphasized again its continuing concern in the matter of achieving to the maximum extent feasible a greater nationwide participation in the program of smaller colleges, universities and communities in the United States, both in the selection of American exchangees to go abroad and the assignment of foreign exchangees in the United States.

The Board urges the cooperating agencies, including their advisory, regional, and State committees, State officials, educational administrators, and the Fulbright advisers on college campuses to encourage maximum participation by individuals and institutions over the greatest geographical area possible in the United States.

"The Chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships appointed a subcommittee of the Board to give further attention to this problem. At the meeting of the full Board, September 16-17, these matters were further reviewed.

"The Board expressed its pleasure at the excellent suggestions made by the Advisory Commission and looks forward to continued cooperation with the Commission in dealing with this problem.

"It was suggested that the regional accrediting associations through the American Council on Education be asked to set up committees on foreign study and travel as a means of stimulating discussions at their meetings and encouraging more active interest on the part of smaller colleges in participating in the program as well as keeping them better posted on the opportunities offered and the problems involved. The Board also asked the departmental staff to make maximum efforts to keep the advisers on college campuses well posted on this problem and provided with information on how the grantees from their institutions make out while abroad, especially if they are effective."

Commission's recommendation (submitted to the Secretary of State, November 1, 1954—Interim quarterly report)

As the result of a continued study of the problem which concerns the geographic and institutional distribution of educational exchange grantees, the Commission wishes to express its conviction that information about opportunities offered under the international exchange program should receive the widest possible dissemination among universities and colleges throughout the country.

The Commission was impressed with the report on a conference sponsored by the University of Kansas on September 27-28, 1954, which was attended by Fulbright program advisers and other representatives from over 20 colleges and universities of Kansas, Nebraska, and western Missouri. The purpose of this conference was to (1) point out the exchange opportunities, especially to the smaller colleges which had not been participating as effectively as they might have been; (2) find out what was being done in these various institutions; and (3) ascertain how actively the Fulbright advisers were carrying out their responsibilities in the smaller institutions.

The Commission was glad to learn that the policy established by the University of Kansas whereby the recipients of Fulbright grants in

the advanced category—lecturers and research scholars—are given sabbatical leave with half salary while receiving such grants, has facilitated the faculty in participating in the Fulbright program.

The Commission believes that this type of regional conference where the more active advisers indicate what they are doing broadens the knowledge of those administering smaller institutions so that they may play an active role on their campuses in making the exchange opportunities known to the faculty.

In view of the success of this regional conference, the Commission recommends that—

1. The Department of State explore the possibility of encouraging and assisting further conferences of this type on a regional basis;
2. The Department explore this possibility with its cooperating agencies, with particular institutions and with the Commission on Education and International Affairs of the American Council on Education, as appropriate.

The Commission hopes that the American Council on Education will encourage the regional associations to use their resources to stimulate greater participation in the program.

In carrying out its advisory responsibilities to the Secretary of State on policies governing the international educational exchange program, the Commission has been concerned that colleges and universities throughout the United States participate to the maximum extent feasible. In this connection, the Commission wishes to express its appreciation for the active cooperation and support of the American Council on Education in studying this important question and the problems related thereto.

Recognizing that much has already been done to diagnose and solve this problem, the Commission believes that the survey being conducted by the Commission on Educational and International Relations of the American Council on Education and the recommendations which may evolve from this study, will be of great value in clarifying the situation which now exists and in helping to solve remaining problems.

V. THE DEPARTMENT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE SECOND MEETING OF THE INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL COUNCIL TO BE HELD IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

The Department of State presented the problem of its need for securing expert advice from private individuals who have had wide experience in the field of inter-American cultural relations in preparation for the second meeting of the Inter-American Cultural Council at São Paulo, Brazil, which had been scheduled for October 25, 1954. The Commission's advice on the policy and principles governing this program was requested.

It was pointed out that the Charter of the Organization of American States (the so-called Charter of Bogota, 1949) provides that the Council of the Organization shall have as 1 of its 3 organs, an Inter-American Cultural Council. (The other two organs are the Inter-American Economic and Social Council and the Inter-American Council of Jurists.)

The functions of the Council are to render to the several governments such technical services as the latter may request and to advise

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the Council of the Organization on matters within its jurisdiction. The specific purpose of the Cultural Council is—

to promote friendly relations and mutual understanding among the American peoples, in order to strengthen the peaceful sentiments that have characterized the evolution of America, through the promotion of educational, scientific and cultural exchange.

The first meeting of the Cultural Council took place in Mexico City in September 1951, and was attended by a delegate of the United States. Likewise, this Government will be represented at the second meeting of the Inter-American Cultural Council at São Paulo by an official delegate appointed by the President.

It is the State Department's opinion that—since a major portion of the activities sponsored by the Cultural Council, although of interest to the Government, are in fields which in the United States are of private concern—advice from those who have had experience with private activities related to the work of the Cultural Council is necessary if the views of the United States on the various problems to be considered by the Council and the Committee on Cultural Action are to be effectively developed, and if the resolutions of the meeting are to be reasonably carried out.

The Commission was of the opinion that advice of private educators for the purpose of exchanging views on how to make more effective United States participation in the activities of the Inter-American Cultural Council would be most helpful.

It was the Commission's further belief that this special advisory function might best be performed by the appointment of a subcommittee of the Advisory Commission in accordance with the provisions of section 801 (6) of the Smith-Mundt Act. However, before establishing such a subcommittee, and in view of the time element involved, the Commission expressed its views that it might be preferable to defer such action until the idea could be tested further by holding 1- or 2-day Conferences in Washington of between 5 and 9 private educators who have had wide experience in inter-American cultural relations to discuss the major problems which the Department faces in connection with its participation in the activities of the Inter-American Cultural Council.

The Commission, therefore, approved the calling of this Conference with the following provisos: That a subcommittee on inter-American cultural relations be subsequently established if developments warranted the Department's need for continuing advice and counsel in connection with these activities in which event specific terms of reference for the subcommittee should be developed by the Department for the approval of the Commission. This recommendation was reported to the Secretary of State in the Commission's first quarterly report for fiscal year 1955.

Departmental reply (October 4, 1954)

The Brazilian Government has requested postponement of the second meeting of the Inter-American Cultural Council scheduled for October 25, 1954. At the meeting of the Council of Other American States on September 16, the request was formally considered and agreed to, the suggestion being offered that the date not be postponed too long. There are indications that the meeting may be scheduled sometime during the spring of 1955.

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The Department of State is presently developing a list of names composed of United States Latin American experts from which 5 to 9 individuals may be selected to assist the Department in this matter.

VI. CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF HIGHLY SPECIALIZED SCIENTIFIC AND SCHOLARLY PERSONNEL, HELD AT PRINCETON, N. J., DECEMBER 2-4, 1954

This Conference was called by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils to assess what has been accomplished in the various programs in this country involving the international exchange of persons at the advanced professional level, visiting professors and research scholars—private and governmental—to analyze weaknesses and recommend improvements with the view to assuring the most effective possible role of the program under the Fulbright Act.

The Conference was unique in that it was the first such conference on a national scale to concern itself directly and solely with exchanges in these senior categories, and in that the findings of the Conference represent the work of representative specialists who in their day-to-day work are directly concerned with the operation of these programs. Thus they were able to bring to bear a practical knowledge of the topics under discussion that could give focus to the existing needs realistically on a high nationwide level.

There were 55 responsible officials of universities, colleges, private foundations and agencies, and Government officials directly engaged in international educational exchange activities at this Conference. Included among these were J. L. Morrill, president of the University of Minnesota and Chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange; and Messrs. Francis J. Colligan, Deputy Director of the International Educational Exchange Service and Executive Secretary of the Board of Foreign Scholarships; and J. Manuel Espinosa, Chief of the Professional Activities Division of the International Educational Exchange Service, Department of State.

Prior to the Conference a series of detailed background studies were sent to the Conference participants as a basis for the discussions. The papers presented the material in the form of discussions of problems, with varying problems and points of view presented. The principal topics discussed in these papers were—

1. The present scale and distribution of the flow of persons to and from the United States in the advanced categories of exchange with respect to geographic coverage, subject coverage, and other aspects.
2. The present scale and distribution of effort to achieve support and carry out international exchanges with special reference to the nature and scope of financial support, organizational participation and support, and support by individuals and institutions.
3. The aims, objectives, and accomplishments of exchange-of-persons programs, from the point of view of both the United States and the affected foreign nations.
4. The problems and possibilities in long-range planning with respect to forms and patterns of such exchanges.

At the opening session three papers were read. The first was on The Exchange Program as Seen From the Board of Foreign Scholarships. This presentation emphasized the binational character of the

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program under the Fulbright Act in its planning and operation, and the administrative role of private cooperating agencies in its operations here and abroad, as the basis for the prestige and importance of the Fulbright program here and abroad. It stressed the even more important and more positive role which the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils could play in bringing to bear upon the program the cooperative resources of the academic world and the national agencies and foundations in the planning and development of the program. Also, the continued desirability of maintaining the administration of the educational exchange program separate from that of the USIA, both in the United States and overseas was stressed. Another paper stressed the challenge to American universities and colleges to review their own scene, and their resources, needs, and interests as institutions, before their role could be brought to bear most effectively in international exchanges. In discussing the Job of the Conference, it was emphasized that the Conference would be the first major step in assessing the problems under consideration, which will be followed up, aided by the discussions, findings, and conclusions of the Conference. It was pointed out also that the work of this Conference would continue into the future until the whole job under review was accomplished.

The opening session was followed by a full day of discussion, carried out in three discussion groups, each group discussing all of the major problems included in the Conference agenda. These were discussed under the following general headings: (1) Objectives; (2) Role of the Academic Community; (3) Foreign Effects; (4) Needs—of the individual, foreign areas, projects. These sessions were followed by a report from each of the discussion groups, and at the final session the findings of the Conference were summarized.

In the various Conference sessions some of the principal topics discussed were:

A. OBJECTIVES

There was a general consensus that no conflict currently exists between the educational goals (the diffusion and advancement of knowledge) and "political goals" (mutual understanding between the United States and other countries).

In this connection Chairman Morrill called attention to the danger of the apparent increasing invasion of the cultural field based on propaganda ideology. He informed the conferees that the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange had gone on record for a clear separation between education and propaganda in administering these respective activities here and abroad.

B. ROLE OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

In this connection the following points were discussed:

1. Needs in the internal organization of universities and colleges to enable them to assume their responsibilities in international educational exchanges.
2. The role of universities and colleges (a) as institutions, (b) in relation to each other, and (c) as a community of interest in relation to the United States Government and other agencies, in international educational exchange activities.

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3. The role of universities, colleges, and private foundations and agencies in the planning of international educational exchanges sponsored by the United States Government.

During the discussion on this topic, Chairman Morrill pointed out that he believed American universities are looking for means to bring to bear on their more effective participation in opportunities that exist in the international exchange of persons. He pointed out that it was necessary, among other things, to study the impact of international educational exchanges on the university, with a view to finding out how it can make its role more meaningful.

C. NEEDS

In terms of what needs to be done a number of specific ideas were formulated on the action which should be taken, and/or what further research should be done in each case. At the closing session of the Conference, it was pointed out that the conclusions reached regarding what needs to be done, and how, were in themselves a rich reward for the effort that went into the Conference; that no effort was being made by the Conference sponsors to go on record as advising specific courses of action; and that the printed report of the Conference should be considered as a progress report, the discussions and conclusions reached, serving as a basis for continuing followup action until the job delineated by the Conference is done.

It was generally agreed that the Conference was highly successful in focusing attention on the basic needs for effectively carrying out international educational exchanges in this country in the advanced categories, and that it should be highly productive if vigorously followed up under the proposed plans and leadership of the Conference Board, with the cooperation of the academic world, the national agencies and foundations concerned, and the Federal Government.

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FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1956

FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., DEMOCRAT, NEW JERSEY
Suite 452, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat, 4th District, New Jersey, announced today he has sent a registered letter to David E. Finley, Chairman, national Commission of Fine Arts, requesting the following information:

- 1) a list of the Members of the Commission of Fine Arts from 1938 to date
- 2) a statement of any and all work for payment such members of the Commission of Fine Arts performed for the Federal Government during the time they were members of the Commission. The period for which this information was sought extends from 1938 to date. The amount of such payment was also requested.
- 3) a list of artists regarding whom the Commission of Fine Arts has advised from 1938 to date together with a summary of the advice given and to whom.

Thompson said he had gone back to 1938 and thus covered 14 years of Democratic Administrations in order to be clear of any charge of playing partisan politics in seeking this information which he requested. He released today the text of his letter to the Commission which only last week he charged with being "Republican-controlled".

In calling for the information which, the New Jersey Democrat said, "can in no wise be considered to have any relation to the national defense and thus be held to be secret or confidential", Thompson noted that President Eisenhower, at his press conference on Sept. 27, said--

"when there is no question of security, national security involved, everybody is supposed to testify freely before Congressional committees . . . I don't believe that any individual who happens to be, let's say, from a filing clerk on up can by themselves decide what is right for them to tell and what is not right."

Thompson was author and sponsor of four cultural bills which became law during the 84th Congress. One of these bills, co-sponsored by Senator Theodore Francis Green, more than tripled the annual budget of the Fine Arts Commission. It raised the budget from \$10 thousand where it had rested since 1910 when the agency was created, to \$35,000.

A second Thompson measure, co-sponsored by Senator Humphrey (D. Minn.) made our cultural exchange program permanent. A third, co-sponsored by Senator Lehman, granted Federal recognition to music through a Congressional charter to the National Music Council. The fourth measure which was adopted created a Federal commission to plan a cultural center in the Nation's Capital.

Thompson has developed a 9-point JEFFERSONIAN ART PROGRAM for introduction in the 85th Congress. One of the bills would bring distinguished leaders in music, drama, dance, and poetry onto the Commission for the first time since 1910. Thompson quoted Theodore C. Streibert of the U. S. Information Agency as saying of this proposal: "The central thought of the resolution - the benefit to be derived from consultation between officers of the Federal Government and eminent American representatives of the arts and crafts -- is an important one which we have sought to carry out in several ways. Any new way of effectively meeting this problem would be a great help to us."

The letter to Hon. David E. Finley from Rep. Thompson, dated Sept 28 follows:

Dear Mr. Finley:

I was very pleased to be advised by Comdr. L. W. Wilson, Secretary, Commission of Fine Arts, that my draft legislation, providing that distinguished cultural leaders in the fields of the living arts of the theater shall be members of the Commission, will be made a matter for discussion at the October meeting.

As I pointed out in my letter of transmittal, my measure was prompted by the disastrous experience of the Congress with the President's plan for a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts which he recommended to the Congress in his Message on the State of the Union of January 6, 1955. As you know, he said at that time that--

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"In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities. I shall recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation." Page 2

This Administration measure was introduced in the House by Representatives Celler, Wainwright, and myself, and in the Senate by Senator Smith of New Jersey, and Senator Lehman for himself and Senators Ives, Murray and Douglas. As it turned out, it later became obvious that there were only two things wrong with the President's plan as it was developed by the Department of Health Education, and Welfare and sent to the Congress on April 19, 1955. First, the Republican Members of the House Education and Labor Committee managed to kill the measure after it had passed the Senate. Secondly, the Commission of Fine Arts was created in 1910 to, among other things, "advise generally upon questions of art when required to do so by the President, or by any committee of either House of Congress."

In my study of this entire problem I went back to the hearings held by the House Education and Labor Committee on H. R. 9111 and some 13 companion measures in June 1954. A companion measure to H. R. 9111 was introduced by Senator Lehman on April 22, 1954, as S. 3340. (These bills were all sponsored by Democrats, and the Republican-controlled House Education and Labor Committee rejected all of them). As I wrote Comdr. Wilson, I have greatly revised the legislation offered by my predecessor Congressman Howell and Senator Lehman because I felt "that the arguments presented by Mr. Finley in his adverse reports on these measures were sound." However, the basic idea contained in the Howell-Lehman plan was the spur that prompted the President's proposal a year or so later.

The Howell-Lehman measure proposed bringing together in a Federal inter-agency commission representatives of all those Federal departments and agencies having art programs. Such agencies, as the 1953 Report to the President on Art and Government shows, have a wide range of programs. I am advised that in the Defense Department, in addition to the Bands and Orchestras of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps there are the soldier shows with 40,000 presentations a year, soldier music, and so on. As you know, Federal inter-agency committees are authorized by section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134; 31 U. S. C., sec. 691). In a report on the Howell bill under date of May 8, 1953, the Secretary of Agriculture E. T. Benson said:

"The Department would be glad to assist in development of the fine arts for the national benefit within the limits of its authorization and resources. We would be particularly interested in advances in the fine arts that would be of value in the cultural development of rural people, especially our farm youth."

I note that in your own Agency's report on H. R. 9111 to the House Education and Labor Committee under date of May 26, 1954, you wrote:

"The Commission of Fine Arts was established for the purpose of giving expert advice to the President, the Congress and departments and agencies of the Federal Government in matters pertaining to the fine arts!"

In the same report you go on to declare that "Anyone is now at liberty to suggest to the President names of persons suitable for membership on the Commission. The law requires only that they should be 'well qualified judges of the fine arts'". You also pointed out that "During the last 44 years, about 60 architects, landscape architects, sculptors, painters, and lay members interested in the fine arts have served on the Commission. They have considered it an honor to serve the Government in this way and have been glad to do so without compensation."

I am, of course, not unmindful of the contributions made by these well qualified judges of the fine arts through the years to their country and to the arts. I was impressed that the President's measure provided that members of the 21-member commission it proposed to establish, as well as members of special committees, would be given compensation at a "rate to be fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding \$50 per diem, and shall be paid travel expenses." I have kept this same provision in my draft measure for I believe "the laborer is worth of his hire".

In a letter to Jarvis Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1820 of the Judges of the Supreme Court that "Our judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the

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privilege of their corps. Their maxim is 'boni judicis est Page 3
ampliare jurisdictionem', and their power the more dangerous as
they are in office for life. . . The constitution has erected no such tribunal,
knowing that to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and
party, its members would become despots."

It would be very helpful to have the following information and, since it
can in no wise be considered to have any relation to the national defense and
thus be held to be secret or confidential, I would, therefore, deeply
appreciate it if you would furnish me at your earliest convenience the follow-
ing:

- A) a list of the Members of the Commission of Fine Arts from 1938 to date.
- B) a statement of any and all work for payment such members of the Com-
mission of Fine Arts performed for the Federal Government during the time
they were Commission members. The period for which this information is sought
extends from 1938 to date. The amount of payment should be furnished.
- C) a list of artists regarding whom the Commission of Fine Arts has ad-
vised from 1938 to date together with a summary of the advice given and to
whom.

With kind regards.

Cordially yours,

s/ Frank Thompson, Jr.,

Frank Thompson, Jr., M. C.

A JEFFERSONIAN ART PROGRAM

Washington and Jefferson knew and understood the purpose of the fine arts
is to mould capable and cultivated human beings and, therefore, to help build
better citizens and better communities. Jefferson considered the fine arts to
be as necessary as the other disciplines to a knowledge of the State. Author,
architect, musician, Jefferson's bill for a system of public education provided
a public art gallery and a Department of Fine Arts. The following 9-point
program would be a major step toward implementing his dreams for this nation.
It is in truth a Jeffersonian Art Program.

(In a letter to the Washington Post and Times Herald Rep. Thompson 9/29
quoted Vice President Nixon who said, in a speech on June 8, 1956, at
Lafayette College: "In many areas of the world a place of honor is given to
leaders in the arts and intellectual fields and in religious activities. The
intellectual is not dismissed as an egghead. The artist is not called a long-
hair. The minister of religion is not considered an impractical idealist."
Thompson doubted the present Republican Administration could establish
effective communication between the United States and the intellectuals of
other countries since "the basic platform on which it obtained its position
of power is that an intellectual is, in President Eisenhower's own words, 'a
man who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows'").

1. Remove the burdensome and destructive federal admissions and cabaret
taxes from music and the theater arts.
2. Expand the present national Commission of Fine Arts by making it
mandatory for all of the major art fields to be represented on it.
3. Make extensive use of the talents and skills of American artists in
the present huge Federal building program (decorative arts, murals, etc.)
4. Encourage growth of the arts in the several States, reversing trend
toward centralized control of art.
5. Establish a Federal Arts and Crafts Service in the Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare. Precedent is the Public Health Service.
6. Establish the office of Assistant Secretary of State for Internation-
al Cultural Relations.
7. Preserve our great historic sites, buildings, and objects as provided
in the Historic Sites Act of 1935. This act largely ignored at present.
8. Establish a National Museum of American Arts and Crafts in the
historic Patent Office Building to balance the Mellon Gallery. (Mellon Gallery
is a monument to dead art of other countries. American artists must be dead
20 years to have work in permanent collection. Federal Government appropriates
more than \$1 million a year to Mellon Gallery but has no voice in management).
9. Extend Federal recognition to the living arts of music, drama, poetry,
and dance by establishing an important American National Theater, Music, and
Dance Center in the Nation's Capital as important in these fields as the
Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art are in their particular
art fields. This Center for the Living Arts should be a branch of the
Smithsonian Institution, as should the National Museum of American Arts and
Crafts above.

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FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1956, TO A.M. PAPERS
FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK THOMPSON, JR., DEMOCRAT, NEW JERSEY
Suite 452, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat, 4th District, New Jersey, has released the text of a telegram he sent on Thursday, October 4, to the chairman of the national Commission of Fine Arts, the Honorable David E. Finley. Mr. Finley was director of the National Gallery of Art for years.

The telegram was in reply to a report by the Washington Post and Times Herald of October 4 which was to the effect that Chairman David Finley said it would take a "year" for the commission to round up the information which Congressman Thompson requested by registered letter on September 28. The Post went on to say that Mr. Finley felt the commission's staff wasn't large enough to get the wanted information quickly.

Thompson said "Since I have no intention or desire to obstruct or hinder the orderly processes of government I am perfectly willing to reduce the time period for which the information is sought to any length which you consider reasonable."

In recent days Thompson has charged the Commission of Fine Arts with being "Republican-controlled".

He also called attention to the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower saying "under the present Republican Administration, the major purpose of artists and scientists is considered to be the reelection of a Republican President rather than the advancement of the arts and sciences in America and a committee is organized with the Administration's blessing with this purpose boldly stated in the committee's title."

Thompson said today that he had a letter from James S. Schramm, president of the American Federation of Arts commenting with obvious reference to the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower, that --

"The American Federation of Arts cannot participate in any activities with a partisan-political flavor and it is my personal conviction that only by scrupulous avoidance of partisan implications can we hope to develop a sound, long range federal policy with respect to the arts."

The New Jersey Democrat said he doubted the Republican Administration could establish effective communication between U. S. intellectuals and those abroad since "the basic platform on which it obtained its position of power is that an intellectual is, in President Eisenhower's own words 'a man who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows'".

The text of Thompson's telegram to Finley follows--

"I wrote you on September 28, 1956, requesting certain information which I felt would be helpful in developing legislation which is at this very moment being reviewed by ten Federal departments and agencies. The Washington Post and Times Herald reported on October 4 you said it would take a year for the Commission of Fine Arts to round up the information I asked for. Since I have no intention or desire to obstruct or hinder the orderly processes of government I am perfectly willing to reduce the time period for which the information is sought to any length which you consider reasonable. Could you furnish me the information only for the period 1948 to present date thus covering one term of President Truman's administration and one term of President Eisenhower's administration? Or would this be too burdensome on the Commission? I note you did not say the information I sought was either secret or confidential and I therefore assume you agree with me that President Eisenhower was right when he said at his press conference on Sept. 27 that when there is no question of national security involved every federal official from a filing clerk on up is supposed to testify freely. May I say, however, that I have had great admiration for your ability to accomplish a great deal in a short space of time ever since I read Roger Butterfield's glowing tribute to you in the Saturday Evening Post of March 8, 1947, entitled "The Millionaire's Best Friend". He credited you with dashing off the trickle-down theory in the book "Taxation: the People's Business" in only ten days. The main argument of the book according to Butterfield was that taxes should be rapidly reduced or eliminated on business and large incomes, so that private initiative and enterprise would boom the country, and prosperity would continue indefinitely. He added that this scheme of taxation was followed, in fact, right up to the great collapse of 1929."

Thompson said today he was an avid reader of the Saturday Evening Post and thought Butterfield's article was important evidence in support of his charge that the Commission of Fine Arts was "Republican-controlled".

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From the Office of
 Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
 140 Senate Office Building
 Washington 25, D.C.
 National 8-3120, Ext. 881

For Release: Monday A.M.
 October 8, 1956

SENATORS AND CONGRESSMAN SCORE ASSERTION THAT IKE, NOT CONGRESS, HAS
 TAKEN LEADERSHIP IN CULTURAL LEGISLATION

Democratic members of Congress today took sharp issue with a newspaper article currently being distributed by the American National Theater and Academy which praises President Eisenhower "as an ardent believer in the patriotic services which can be rendered by American artists" and suggests that some of our Congressmen are "abysmally ignorant of the importance of cultural exchange."

In a telegram addressed to Robert S. Schnitzer, General Manager of the ANTA, Senators Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), Herbert H. Lehman (D., N.Y.) and Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D., N.J.) expressed regret that ANTA was distributing this article "because of its misleading implications in the present political campaign."

"It is well known in art circles, if not by the public generally," the three members of Congress wired, "that Democratic Members of the House and Senate were successful in getting five cultural bills enacted into law by the 84th Congress. Democratic leaders in the 84th Congress were especially responsible for sponsoring, promoting and enacting Public Law 860, which placed on a permanent basis our international cultural exchange program."

"Meanwhile," they observed, "the President was unsuccessful in obtaining adoption even of his own proposed Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts, when members of his party successfully killed it in the House after it had passed the Senate through Democratic leadership."

Pointing out that "lip service is not leadership," the three Democratic members of Congress reminded the ANTA General Manager that "single-minded dedication to cultural pursuits is especially suspect when it comes from a man like General Eisenhower, who has told us in his own words that an intellectual is 'a man who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows'".

The five cultural ^{ACTS} referred to in the telegram include, beside the international cultural exchange act: the tripling of the annual budget of the Fine Arts Commission; the grant of a Congressional charter to the National Music Council; the creation of a Federal commission to plan a cultural center in the Nation's Capitol; and the repeal of the Federal admission tax on motion-picture theater tickets costing ninety cents or less. All were Democratically sponsored.

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84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 10970

A BILL

To direct the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to proceed with the acquisition of works of art as authorized by the joint resolution of May 17, 1938, and to provide for the display of such works of art in galleries and museums throughout the United States.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

MAY 2, 1956

Referred to the Committee on House Administration

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House of Representatives, U.S.
PUBLIC DOCUMENT
FREE

Frank Thompson, Jr.
M. C.

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

Referred for your comment.

NEW JERSEY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That the Congress hereby finds and declares that—

4 (1) the growth and flourishing of the arts depend
5 upon freedom, imagination, and individual initiative;

6 (2) the encouragement of creative activity in the
7 performance and practice of the arts, and of a wide-
8 spread participation in and appreciation of the arts, is
9 essential to the general welfare and the national interest;

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1 (3) the encouragement of the arts, while primarily
2 a matter for private and local initiative, is an appropriate
3 matter of concern to the United States Government;

4 (4) our program of building armed strength should
5 be widened into a more flexible and imaginative strategy
6 for competitive coexistence with the Communists in every
7 field and on every front;

8 (5) the Communists have taken sports and culture
9 and the impressionable years of youth and transformed
10 them into arenas of the cold war; ballet, the theater,
11 and literature are all shaped toward aiding commu-
12 nism's long-range scheme of world domination, and
13 from Moscow there radiate troupes of athletes and ar-
14 tists, circulating through the Soviet world, the satellites,
15 Red China, India, and the West with their gospel of
16 communism;

17 (6) America is proud not only of its material
18 achievements but also of its artists and its cultural
19 achievement;

20 (7) the whole global scene should be surveyed and
21 plans developed for getting the peoples of the world on
22 our side through maximum use of the arts, the theater,
23 and educational exchanges, and indeed no field should
24 be neglected;

25 (8) in the advancement of the various activities

3

1 which will make our civilization endure and flourish,
2 the Federal Government should do more to give official
3 recognition to the importance of the arts and other cul-
4 tural activities;

5 (9) there is an important principle—the principle
6 that freedom of the arts is a basic freedom, one of the
7 pillars of liberty in our land—which we should ever keep
8 in mind, since this is one of the areas in which we dif-
9 fer most markedly from the Communist countries;

10 (10) we must make the effort to understand some-
11 thing of the culture of other peoples—their history, their
12 tribulations, and the trials through which they may have
13 passed—for unless we understand these things we will
14 never comprehend why our motives are so often mis-
15 understood;

16 (11) while American artists and exhibitions are
17 being sent abroad under our international cultural ex-
18 change programs, the objective of true cultural exchange
19 cannot be achieved unless we can receive artists and
20 exhibitions from other countries on a reciprocal basis;

21 (12) while the National Gallery of Art is one of
22 the greatest cultural monuments in the Western World
23 and the Congress appropriates more than a million dol-
24 lars a year to maintain it, there is no gallery to house
25 the century-old National Collection of Fine Arts and

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1 no discernible efforts are being made to carry out the
2 important program to advance American art authorized
3 by the joint resolution of May 17, 1938 (providing for
4 the construction and maintenance of a Smithsonian Gal-
5 lery of Art, and for other purposes) ;

6 (13) the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian In-
7 stitution has not solicited or received any contributions
8 for the purposes of such joint resolution of May 17,
9 1938, and has not expended any funds for the purchase
10 of works of art under such joint resolution since its
11 enactment; and

12 (14) it is essential that the Board of Regents of
13 the Smithsonian Institution take all possible steps to
14 foster a growing appreciation of art (both of past and
15 contemporary times) in the United States, to encourage
16 the development of the best and highest forms of con-
17 temporary art, and to effect the widest possible distribu-
18 tion and cultivation in matters of such art.

19 SEC. 2. The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Insti-
20 tution shall without delay proceed to exercise the authority
21 contained in section 4 of the joint resolution of May 17,
22 1938, by soliciting and receiving private donations of works
23 of art, by soliciting and receiving contributions of funds
24 from private sources, by acquiring (by purchase or other-
25 wise) and selling contemporary works of art or copies there-

5

1 of, by conducting exhibitions, and by taking such other ac-
2 tions as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the
3 program set forth in section 4 of such joint resolution.

4 SEC. 3. The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian In-
5 stitution shall, until such time as the Smithsonian Gallery
6 of Art is finally established, provide for the widest possible
7 distribution and display of the works of art acquired under
8 section 2 of this Act by placing such works of art on ex-
9 hibition in art galleries and art museums throughout the
10 United States on a loan or rental basis or under other
11 arrangements made between the Board and such galleries
12 and museums.

13 SEC. 4. There is authorized to be appropriated for each
14 year to carry out this Act such sum (which shall be in
15 addition to the funds received under section 4 of such joint
16 resolution of May 17, 1938) as may be necessary, but not
17 exceeding the amount appropriated for such year for the
18 National Gallery of Art.

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From the Washington Office
of Congressman Thompson

84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 21

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 5, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia

A BILL

Creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That (a) there is hereby established a commission to be
4 known as the "District of Columbia Auditorium Commis-
5 sion" (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission") for
6 the purpose of formulating plans for the design, location,
7 financing, and construction in the District of Columbia of a
8 civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents
9 and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

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1 (b) The Commission shall be composed of thirteen
2 members appointed as follows:

3 (1) Three persons appointed by the President of the
4 United States;

5 (2) Three members of the Committee on the District
6 of Columbia of the Senate appointed by the President of
7 the Senate;

8 (3) Three members of the Committee on the District
9 of Columbia of the House of Representatives appointed by
10 the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

11 (4) One person selected by each of the following na-
12 tional organizations: The American Legion, the Veterans of
13 Foreign Wars, the American Veterans of World War II,
14 and the Disabled American Veterans.

15 (c) The Commission shall—

16 (1) consider a suitable site for the civic auditorium
17 referred to in subsection (a);

18 (2) procure such plans and designs and make such
19 surveys and estimates of the cost thereof as it deems
20 advisable;

21 (3) endeavor particularly to formulate a method of
22 financing the project on a self-liquidating basis; and

23 (4) make a report to the President and to the
24 Congress, together with its recommendations, at the
25 earliest practicable date.

3

1 (d) The Commission is authorized to accept in its dis-
2 cretion from any source, public or private, money and prop-
3 erty to be used in carrying out its functions under this Act.

4 (e) The Commission is authorized to avail itself of the
5 assistance and advice of the Commission of Fine Arts, the
6 National Capital Planning Commission, the National Capital
7 Regional Planning Council, the Board of Commissioners of
8 the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Recrea-
9 tion Board, and the District of Columbia Redevelopment
10 Land Agency, which shall upon request render such assist-
11 ance and advice.

12 SEC. 2. (a) The members of the Commission shall serve
13 without compensation; but travel, subsistence, and other
14 necessary expenses incurred by them in connection with the
15 work of the Commission may be paid from any funds avail-
16 able for expenditure by the Commission.

17 (b) The Commission is authorized, within the limits of
18 funds available to it, to employ and fix the compensation of
19 such officers, experts, and other employees as may be neces-
20 sary to carry out its functions, and to make such other ex-
21 penditures as it may deem advisable in carrying out its
22 functions.

23 SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby created an Advisory Board,
24 which shall advise and consult with the Commission in carry-

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1 ing out its functions under this Act. The Board shall con-
2 sist of—

3 (1) one person selected by each of the following
4 national organizations: The American Legion Aux-
5 iliary, the Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association,
6 the Marine Corps League, the Marine Corps War Me-
7 morial Foundation, the American Veterans Committee,
8 the Catholic War Veterans of the United States, the
9 Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America,
10 and the Reserve Officers' Association of the United
11 States;

12 (2) one person selected by each of the following
13 national labor organizations: The American Federation
14 of Labor, the American Federation of Musicians, the
15 Congress of Industrial Organizations, the United Steel-
16 workers of America, and the United Mine Workers of
17 America;

18 (3) one person selected by each of the following
19 national organizations serving farmers and rural people:
20 The American Farm Bureau Federation, the National
21 Grange, the Cooperative League of the United States
22 of America, the National Council of Farmer Coopera-
23 tives, the National Farmers Union, the National 4-H

5

1 Club Foundation, the American Home Economics
2 Association, and the National Home Demonstration
3 Council;

4 (4) one person selected by each of the following
5 national organizations in the field of business and civic
6 affairs: The United States Chamber of Commerce, the
7 United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the
8 National Federation of Independent Business, the
9 National Foreign Trade Council, the National Planning
10 Association, the Committee for Economic Development,
11 the Committee for a National Trade Policy, the National
12 Committee for an Adequate Overseas United States
13 Information Program, the American Association of
14 Advertising Agencies, the American Trade Association
15 Executives, the Exhibitors Advisory Council, the Audi-
16 torium Managers Association, the National Association
17 of Exhibit Managers, and the Medical Exhibitors
18 Council;

19 (5) one person selected by each of the following
20 national organizations in the field of State and local
21 government and civic affairs: The Council of State
22 Governments, the American Society of Planning Offi-

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1 cials, the National Association of Housing and Redevel-
2 opment Officials, the National Trust for Historic Preser-
3 vation, and the Society of Landscape Architects;

4 (6) one person selected by each of the following
5 women's national organizations: The General Federa-
6 tion of Women's Clubs, the Women's Division of the
7 Democratic National Committee, the Association of
8 Junior Leagues of America, the Women's Division of
9 the Republican National Committee, the Daughters of
10 the American Revolution, and the American Association
11 of University Women;

12 (7) one person selected by each of the following
13 national organizations in the field of education: The
14 National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National
15 Education Association, the American Council on Edu-
16 cation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the
17 American Educational Theatre Association, the Music
18 Educators National Conference, the National Art Edu-
19 cation Association, the Association of Land-Grant Col-
20 leges and Universities, the College Art Association, the
21 American Musicological Society, the Association of
22 American Colleges, the American Political Science
23 Association, and the American Federation of Teachers;

24 (8) one person selected by each of the following
25 national organizations in the field of the plastic arts and

7

1 letters: The Committee on Government and Art, the
2 American Institute of Architects, the National Institute
3 of Arts and Letters, the American Federation of Arts,
4 the National League of American Pen Women, the
5 National Society of Arts and Letters, the American
6 Association of Museums, the American Institute of
7 Decorators, the Association of Art Museum Directors,
8 the National Association of Women Artists, the Sculp-
9 tors Guild, and the National Society of Mural Painters,
10 and the Society of Architectural Historians;

11 (9) one person selected by each of the following
12 national music organizations: The National Music
13 Council, the National Federation of Music Clubs, the
14 American Symphony Orchestra League, the Music
15 Teachers National Association, the American Guild of
16 Organists, the American Guild of Musical Artists, the
17 National Association of Schools of Music, the Music
18 Library Association, the National Association of
19 Teachers of Singing, the American Society of Com-
20 posers, Authors, and Publishers, the Music Publishers'
21 Association of the United States, Broadcast Music,
22 Incorporated, and SESAC, Incorporated;

23 (10) one person selected by each of the following
24 national organizations in the field of drama: The Na-
25 tional Association of Community Theaters, the National

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1 Theater Conference, the Children's Theater Conference,
2 the American National Theater and Academy, the
3 Actors Equity Association, and the Chorus Equity As-
4 sociation;

5 (11) one person selected by each of the following
6 national organizations in the field of mass communi-
7 cations: The Motion Picture Association of America,
8 Incorporated, the National Association of Radio and
9 Television Broadcasters, the Film Council of Amer-
10 ica, and the National Citizens Committee for Educa-
11 tional Television;

12 (12) one person selected by each of the following
13 national organizations in the field of recreation and
14 sports: The American Recreation Society, the National
15 Recreation Association, the United States Olympic
16 Association, the National Federation of State High
17 School Athletic Associations, the National Association
18 of Intercollegiate Athletics, the National Collegiate
19 Athletic Association, the Amateur Athletic Union, the
20 American Association for Health, Physical Education,
21 and Recreation, the Society of State Directors of Health,
22 Physical Education, and Recreation, the Athletic Insti-
23 tute, and the Sports Fishing Institute; and

24 (13) one person selected by each of the following
25 national service organizations: The United Service Or-

9

1 ganizations (USO), the Young Women's Christian
2 Association, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the
3 National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations,
4 the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the American
5 Association of Social Workers, and the National Social
6 Welfare Assembly.

7 (b) The Advisory Board may exercise its functions
8 through a Working Committee composed of thirteen mem-
9 bers, one selected jointly by the organizations named in each
10 of the categories enumerated in subsection (a).

11 SEC. 4. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated
12 such sums, not to exceed \$25,000, as may be necessary to
13 carry out the provisions of this Act.

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 21

A BILL

Creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

JANUARY 5, 1955

Referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia

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From the Washington Office
of Congressman Thompson



84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2210

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 13, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "American National
4 Arts Act".

5 STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND POLICY

6 SEC. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that great
7 contributions can be and are being made by the fine arts
8 to the morale, health, and general welfare of the Nation.
9 The Congress, recognizing the fact that man cannot live
10 by bread alone, further finds that an education which

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1 includes the humanities is essential to political wisdom,
 2 and that in the world of today, as we face the persistent
 3 problems of men and defend and attempt to add stature
 4 to the ideals and principles of freemen and of free insti-
 5 tutions, the relevance of the humanities to our task is
 6 unquestionable, for it is the humanities, more than science
 7 or statistics, which provides the real answer to communism.

8 (b) It is therefore declared to be the policy of the
 9 Congress and the purpose of this Act (1) to assist the sev-
 10 eral States in developing projects and programs in the fine
 11 arts in order to serve better the needs of the people of the
 12 United States, and to encourage the growth and develop-
 13 ment of the fine arts throughout the United States for the
 14 purpose of developing greater knowledge, understanding,
 15 and practice of the fine arts; (2) to establish in the execu-
 16 tive branch of the Government a Federal agency to advise
 17 and cooperate with public and private agencies and organ-
 18 izations operating in the field of the fine arts on all matters
 19 directly or indirectly concerned with these objects, and to
 20 establish an advisory body of experts eminent in the fine
 21 arts to assist such agency in its activities; (3) to facil-
 22 itate the formulation of plans for the development of the
 23 fine arts in time of war, depression, or other national emer-
 24 gency, in order to prevent our cultural institutions from
 25 shrinking in importance or passing out of existence and to

3

1 avoid the often deplorable standards exemplified by art
 2 projects of Federal agencies at such times in the past, and
 3 in order to offset declining employment by providing for
 4 Federal assistance to States and local governments in proj-
 5 ects for the construction, alteration, expansion, and repair
 6 of public facilities and for the development of cultural pro-
 7 grams; (4) to integrate, coordinate, improve, and raise the
 8 standards of the fine arts programs which are presently
 9 being carried on in more than fifteen Federal departments
 10 and agencies; (5) to reaffirm our faith in fundamental human
 11 rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person;
 12 to fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, per-
 13 sonal freedom, and political liberty, the constitutional tra-
 14 ditions, and the rule of law, which are our heritage; and
 15 to strengthen, with these aims in view, the social and cul-
 16 tural ties which unite us as a people and with the free
 17 nations of the world, with our allies, and with other States
 18 inspired by the same ideals and animated by a like deter-
 19 mination to resist aggression; (6) to stimulate private,
 20 business, and foundation giving to the liberal and fine
 21 arts; (7) to protect and preserve our artistic and historic
 22 inheritance through the protection and restoration of his-
 23 toric monuments, houses, buildings, and sections of our
 24 cities; and (8) to destroy finally the Communist myth that
 25 Americans are insensitive, materialistic barbarians.

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1 TITLE I—GRANTS TO STATES FOR THE DE-
2 VELOPMENT OF FINE ARTS PROGRAMS AND
3 PROJECTS

4 DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

5 SEC. 101. The purpose of this title is—

6 (1) to assist the several States to inventory their
7 existing programs in the fine arts of music, dance,
8 theater, literature, architecture, painting, sculpture, and
9 the other fine arts, to survey the need for additional
10 programs in these arts, and to develop programs and
11 projects for public and other nonprofit activities in the
12 fine arts in such a manner as will, in conjunction with
13 existing programs and facilities, furnish adequate pro-
14 grams, facilities, and services in the fine arts to all their
15 people;

16 (2) to assist in the construction of public and other
17 nonprofit centers for music, dance, theater, literature,
18 architecture, painting, sculpture, and the other fine arts
19 in accordance with such programs, and particularly to
20 assist in the construction of such centers in communities
21 where urban renewal or redevelopment projects have
22 been undertaken by local public agencies as provided in
23 title I of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended;

24 (3) to assist the several States to protect and pre-
25 serve our artistic and historic inheritance through the

5

1 protection and restoration of historic monuments, houses,
2 buildings, and sections of our cities;

3 (4) to assist the several States in developing proj-
4 ects and programs designed to supply leadership, train-
5 ing, and experience in the field of the fine arts; and

6 (5) to authorize the Secretary to conduct and
7 make grants for the conduct of research, experiments,
8 and demonstrations relating to the effective development
9 and utilization of facilities and resources in the fields
10 of the fine arts, and to encourage the presentation in all
11 parts of the country of productions and programs in
12 every field of the fine arts.

13 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

14 SEC. 102. In order to assist the States in carrying out
15 the purpose of this title and the purpose of this Act, there
16 are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year
17 1955 and subsequent fiscal years such sums, not to exceed
18 \$5,500,000 for any one fiscal year, as may be necessary for
19 the effective development of public and other nonprofit fine
20 arts programs and projects.

21 STATE PLANS

22 SEC. 103. (a) Any State which desires to take advan-
23 tage of the benefits of this title may submit a State plan
24 for carrying out the purpose of this title. Such State plan
25 must—

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1 (1) designate the State department of education or
2 a similar State agency selected by the Governor (herein-
3 after in this title referred to as the "State agency") as
4 the sole agency for the administration, supervision, and
5 control of the State plan;

6 (2) contain satisfactory evidence that the State
7 agency will have authority to carry out such plan in
8 accordance with this title;

9 (3) provide that the State treasurer (or, if there
10 is no State treasurer, the officer exercising similar
11 functions for the State) be appointed as custodian of
12 funds received under this title from the Federal
13 Government and receive and provide for the proper
14 custody of such funds;

15 (4) set forth the program, policies, and methods to
16 be followed in carrying out the State plan and in its
17 administration and supervision;

18 (5) contain adequate assurances that high stand-
19 ards will be maintained for the fine arts programs and
20 projects assisted under this title;

21 (6) provide for such methods of administration
22 as the Secretary deems necessary for the proper and
23 efficient administration of the plan;

24 (7) provide that the State agency will make such
25 reports, in such form and containing such information, as

7

1 the Secretary may from time to time require, and comply
2 with such provisions as the Secretary may find neces-
3 sary to assure the correctness and verification of such
4 reports;

5 (8) provide such rules, regulations, and standards
6 with respect to expenditures of funds made available
7 under this title as the Secretary may find reasonable and
8 necessary; and

9 (9) provide that the State agency will from time to
10 time review its fine arts programs and projects and sub-
11 mit to the Secretary any modifications thereof which it
12 considers appropriate.

13 (b) The Secretary shall approve any State plan and
14 any modification thereof which he believes to be feasible and
15 which complies with subsection (a).

16 (c) No changes in a State plan shall be required within
17 two years after the initial approval thereof, or within two
18 years after any change thereafter required therein, by reason
19 of any change in regulations prescribed by the Secretary,
20 except with the consent of the State or in accordance with
21 further action by the Congress.

22 (d) The State plan may include standards for determina-
23 tion of the Federal share of the cost of fine arts programs
24 and projects approved in the State. Such standards shall
25 provide equitably (and, to the extent practicable, on the

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1 basis of objective criteria) for variations between programs
 2 and classes of programs, and between projects and classes of
 3 projects, on the basis of the economic and cultural status of
 4 areas, the relative need for additional programs and projects
 5 as between areas, and other relevant factors. No such
 6 standards shall provide for a Federal share of more than 50
 7 per centum of the cost of any such program or project. The
 8 Secretary shall approve any such standards and any modifi-
 9 cations thereof which comply with the purpose of this title
 10 and the purpose of this Act.

CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

12 SEC. 104. For each project undertaken pursuant to a
 13 State plan to carry out the purpose of section 101 (2),
 14 there shall be submitted to the Secretary a special application
 15 by the State agency or by the political subdivision, institu-
 16 tion, or organization undertaking the project. Such appli-
 17 cation shall set forth such information (including a
 18 description of the project and its plans and specifications in
 19 detail) and assurances as the Secretary may require. The
 20 Secretary shall approve such application if he determines
 21 that the project is feasible, desirable, and consistent with this
 22 Act, and if he determines, on the basis of consultation with
 23 the Council of Economic Advisors, that the project is con-
 24 sistent with the policy of the Employment Act of 1946 and
 25 the responsibility of the Federal Government thereunder in

9

1 promoting maximum employment, production, and purchas-
 2 ing power; and no Federal funds shall be available for the
 3 project until the application has been so approved. No such
 4 application shall be disapproved until the Secretary has
 5 afforded the State agency an opportunity for a hearing.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

7 SEC. 105. (a) Each State for which a State plan has
 8 been approved prior to or during a fiscal year shall be en-
 9 titled for such year to an allotment not to exceed \$100,000
 10 (as determined by the Secretary within the limits of avail-
 11 able appropriations) to assist in defraying the cost of
 12 approved programs and projects in the fine arts within such
 13 State for that fiscal year. Such allotment shall be available,
 14 in accordance with this title, for payment of the Federal
 15 share of such cost.

16 (b) The Secretary shall calculate the allotments to be
 17 made under subsection (a) and certify to the Secretary of
 18 the Treasury the amounts thereof. Upon receipt of such
 19 certification, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, prior to
 20 audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office, pay in
 21 accordance with such certification. Sums allotted to a State
 22 for a fiscal year under this section and remaining unobligated
 23 at the end of such year shall be made available to such State
 24 for the same purposes for the next fiscal year (and for such

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1 year only, except in the case of sums allotted to carry out
 2 the purpose of section 101 (2)) in addition to the sums
 3 allotted to such State for such next fiscal year. Any amount
 4 of the sum appropriated pursuant to the authorization con-
 5 tained in section 102 for a fiscal year which is not allotted
 6 in such year by reason of the failure of any State or States
 7 to have a plan approved under this title, and any amount
 8 allotted to a State but remaining unobligated at the end
 9 of the period for which it is available to such State under
 10 the preceding sentence, is hereby authorized to be appro-
 11 priated for the next fiscal year in addition to the sum other-
 12 wise authorized for such next fiscal year under section 102.

13 (c) For the purposes of this section, the term "Federal
 14 share" with respect to any program or project means the
 15 proportion of the cost of such program or project to be paid
 16 by the Federal Government, and shall be determined as
 17 follows:

18 (1) If the State plan in effect at the time of such
 19 program or project contains standards approved by the
 20 Secretary as provided in section 103 (d), the Federal
 21 share with respect to such program or project shall be
 22 determined by the State agency in accordance with such
 23 standards;

24 (2) If the State plan does not contain such stand-
 25 ards, the Federal share shall be the amount, not more

1 than 50 per centum of the cost of the program or proj-
 2 ect involved as established by the State agency, deter-
 3 mined by the Secretary at the time he approves the
 4 State plan.

5 WITHHOLDING OF CERTIFICATION

6 SEC. 106. Whenever the Secretary, after reasonable
 7 notice and opportunity for hearing to the State agency,
 8 finds—

9 (1) that such agency is not complying substantially
 10 with the provisions of this title or the terms and con-
 11 ditions of its State plan approved under this title;

12 (2) that any funds paid to such agency under this
 13 title have been diverted from the purposes for which they
 14 were allotted or paid;

15 (3) that any assurance given in the State plan is
 16 not being or cannot be carried out; or

17 (4) that adequate State funds are not being pro-
 18 vided annually for the direct administration of the State
 19 plan,

20 the Secretary may forthwith notify the Secretary of the
 21 Treasury and the State agency that no further certification
 22 will be made under this title with respect to such State
 23 agency until there is no longer any default or failure to
 24 comply or the diversion has been corrected, or, if compliance
 25 or correction is impossible, until the State repays or arranges

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12

1 the repayment of the Federal funds which have been im-
2 properly diverted or expended.

DEFINITIONS

3
4 SEC. 107. For the purposes of this title—

5 (1) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of
6 Health, Education, and Welfare; and

7 (2) The term "State" means a State, the District of
8 Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, or the Virgin
9 Islands.

ADMINISTRATION OF TITLE I

10
11 SEC. 108. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make
12 such administrative regulations and perform such other func-
13 tions as he finds necessary to carry out the provisions of this
14 title.

15 (b) In administering this title, the Secretary is au-
16 thorized to utilize the services and facilities of any executive
17 department or agency in accordance with an agreement
18 with the head thereof. Payment for such services and
19 facilities shall be made in advance or by way of reimburse-
20 ment, as may be agreed upon between the Secretary and
21 the head of the executive department or agency furnishing
22 them.

13

TITLE II—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

3 SEC. 201. The Act entitled "An Act establishing a
4 Commission of Fine Arts", approved May 17, 1910 (40
5 U. S. C., secs. 104-106), is amended to read as follows:
6 "That (a) a permanent Commission of Fine Arts is
7 hereby created, to be composed of fifteen well-qualified
8 judges of the fine arts, who shall be appointed by the Presi-
9 dent, and who shall serve for a period of four years each, and
10 until their successors are appointed and qualified. The Presi-
11 dent shall have authority to fill all vacancies.

12 "(b) The President, in appointing the members of the
13 Commission, shall give due consideration to any recommen-
14 dations which may be submitted to him by the National Music
15 Council, the Committee on Government and Art, the Music
16 Educators National Conference, the American Council of
17 Learned Societies, the American Library Association, the
18 American Federation of Labor, the American Educational
19 Theater Association, the American National Theater and
20 Academy, the Association of American Colleges, the National
21 Education Association, the Motion Picture Association of
22 America, the National Association of Radio and Televi-

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1 sion Broadcasters, the Film Council of America, the National
 2 Citizens Committee for Educational Television, the Associa-
 3 tion of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, the National
 4 Recreation Association, the National Art Education Associa-
 5 tion, the American Council on Education, the National Trust
 6 for Historic Preservation, the Children's Theatre Conference,
 7 the National Theater Conference, the National Association of
 8 Community Theaters, the American Recreation Society, the
 9 American Federation of Musicians, and other organizations
 10 and institutions in the fields of the fine arts, education, rec-
 11 reation, and public affairs. The persons nominated for ap-
 12 pointment as members (1) shall be eminent in the fields
 13 of the fine arts and the educational fine arts; (2) shall be
 14 selected solely on the basis of established records of distin-
 15 guished service; and (3) shall be so selected as to provide
 16 adequate representation for the views of leaders in the fine
 17 arts in all areas of the Nation.

18 " (c) Any person who has been a member of the Com-
 19 mission for four consecutive years shall thereafter be ineligi-
 20 ble for appointment during the two-year period following the
 21 expiration of such fourth year.

22 "SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Commission to ad-
 23 vise generally upon questions of art when requested to do
 24 so by the President, or by any committee of the Senate or
 25 the House of Representatives, and also to advise upon the

1 location of statues, fountains and monuments in the public
 2 squares, streets, and parks in the District of Columbia, and
 3 upon the selection of models for statues, fountains, and
 4 monuments erected under the authority of the United States,
 5 and upon the selection of artists for the execution of the
 6 same. It shall also be the duty of the Commission to advise
 7 upon architecture, painting, sculpture, music, dance, theater,
 8 writing, and the other fine arts, in the District of Columbia.
 9 It shall be the duty of the officers charged by law to deter-
 10 mine such questions in each case to call for such advice.
 11 The foregoing provisions of this section shall not apply to the
 12 Capitol Building of the United States or to the building of the
 13 Library of Congress.

14 "SEC. 3. The Commission shall have a secretary and
 15 such other assistance as the Commission may authorize, and
 16 the members of the Commission shall each be paid actual
 17 expenses incurred in going to and returning from Washing-
 18 ton to attend the meetings of the Commission and while
 19 attending the same.

20 "SEC. 4. The Commission of Fine Arts is hereby au-
 21 thorized and directed to establish a number of annual prizes
 22 to be awarded for outstanding contributions made by in-
 23 dividuals and organizations to the beautification of the city
 24 of Washington and the advancement of its progress in the

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1 fine arts, to be given in annual ceremonies by the President
2 to those chosen for contributions made in this field.

3 "SEC. 5. To meet the expenses made necessary by this
4 Act, an appropriation of not exceeding \$50,000 a year is
5 hereby authorized."

6 THE SMITHSONIAN ART COMMISSION

7 SEC. 202. (a) There is hereby established a commis-
8 sion to be known as the Smithsonian Art Commission
9 (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Commis-
10 sion"). The Commission shall give consideration to all
11 matters pertaining to the fine arts coming under the juris-
12 diction of the Smithsonian Institution, and shall report
13 thereon to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian
14 Institution.

15 (b) The Commission shall consist of fifteen members—
16 seven artists and seven well-qualified judges of the fine arts
17 who shall be appointed by the Board of Regents, and the
18 Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who shall be an
19 ex officio member of the Commission. The persons so
20 appointed (1) shall be eminent in the fields of the fine arts
21 and the educational and recreational fine arts or public
22 affairs; (2) shall be selected solely on the basis of established
23 records of distinguished service; and (3) shall be selected so
24 as to provide adequate representation for the views of leaders
25 in the fine arts in all areas of the Nation. The Board of

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1 Regents is requested, in making such appointments, to give
2 due consideration to any recommendations which may be
3 submitted to it by the Committee on Government and Art,
4 the American Council of Learned Societies, the American
5 Association of Museums, the American Federation of Arts,
6 the American Institute of Architects, the American Institute
7 of Decorators, the Association of Art Museum Directors, the
8 College Art Association of America, the National Academy
9 of Design, the National Association of Women Artists, the
10 National Institute of Arts and Letters, the National Society
11 of Mural Painters, the Sculptors Guild, the American Society
12 of Landscape Architects, the National Art Education Associ-
13 ation, the American Recreation Society, the American
14 Council on Education, the National Education Association,
15 the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, the
16 Association of American Colleges, and by other organiza-
17 tions, as well as institutions, in the field of the fine arts,
18 education, recreation, or public affairs. The term of office of
19 each member of the Commission shall be four years. Any
20 person who has been a member of the Commission for four
21 years shall thereafter be ineligible for appointment during the
22 two-year period following the expiration of such fourth year.

23 (c) Vacancies in the membership of the Commission
24 shall be filled by appointment by the Board of Regents, and

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1 any member elected to fill a vacancy shall serve for the
2 remainder of his predecessor's term.

3 (d) Each member of the Commission not holding other
4 office in the Federal Government shall receive compensation
5 at the rate of \$25 for each day he is actually engaged in the
6 business of the Commission pursuant to authorization of the
7 Commission, and shall be allowed travel expenses as author-
8 ized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of
9 1946.

10 (e) The Commission shall have the authority to pre-
11 scribe such rules and regulations as it deems necessary
12 governing the manner of its operations and its organization,
13 the time and place of its meetings, the establishment of
14 standing committees, subcommittees, advisory committees,
15 and vacancies, and prescribing the duties of such committees.

16 (f) The primary functions of the Commission shall be
17 (1) to promote the administration, development, and utiliza-
18 tion of the National Collection of Fine Arts, including the
19 acquisition of material of high quality representing the fine
20 arts; and (2) to study the best methods of exhibiting mate-
21 rial to the public audits utilization for instruction. All plans
22 for administration of the collections proposed by the Com-
23 mission shall be submitted to the Smithsonian Institution for
24 approval and action.

25 (g) A report of the operations of the Commission for

19

1 each year shall be submitted with the report of the Secretary
2 of the Smithsonian Institution at the annual meeting of the
3 Board of Regents on the first Tuesday in December, and
4 shall be printed in the annual report of the Board to
5 Congress, under the heading "National Collection of Fine
6 Arts".

H. R. 5510
A BILL

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2210

A BILL

To establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects, and for other purposes.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

JANUARY 13, 1955

Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

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From the Washington Office
of Congressman Thompson

84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2211

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 13, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

TITLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SHORT TITLE

5 SEC. 101. This Act may be cited as the "Student Aid
6 Act of 1955".

FEDERAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION PROHIBITED

8 SEC. 102. Nothing contained in this Act shall be con-
9 strued to authorize any department, agency, officer, or em-
10 ployee of the United States to exercise any direction, super-
11 vision, or control over the curriculum or program of instruc-

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tion of any educational institution or, except as provided in sections 207, 305, and 306 (d), over its administration or personnel.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 103. (a) This Act shall be administered by the Commissioner of Education, under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Commissioner shall, with the approval of the Secretary, make all regulations specifically authorized to be made under this Act and such other regulations, not inconsistent with this Act, as may be necessary to carry out its purposes. The Commissioner is authorized to delegate to any officer or employee of the Office of Education any of his powers and duties under this Act, except the making of regulations.

(b) In administering the provisions of this Act, the Commissioner is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes, of any other public or nonprofit agency or institution, in accordance with agreements between the Secretary and the head thereof. Payment for such services and facilities shall be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon by the Secretary and the head of the agency or institution.

(c) The Commissioner shall, with the advice and

assistance of the National Council, make or cause to have made studies, investigations, and reports of the effectiveness of the student aid program established by this Act, and prescribe objective tests and other measures of ability for the selection of individuals to be awarded certificates of scholarship.

(d) At the beginning of each regular session of the Congress, the Commissioner shall make through the Secretary a full report to Congress of the administration of this Act, including his recommendations for needed revisions in the Act.

(e) The Secretary shall advise and consult with the heads of executive departments or independent establishments of the Federal Government responsible for the administration of scholarship, fellowship, or student-loan programs, with a view to the full coordination of all specialized scholarship, fellowship, and student-loan programs administered by or under all departments and establishments of the Federal Government with the general programs established by this Act.

(f) When deemed necessary by the Commissioner for the effective administration of this Act, experts or consultants may be employed as provided in section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 806, 810).

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON STUDENT AID

1 SEC. 104. (a) There is hereby established a National
2 Council on Student Aid, consisting of the Commissioner, as
3 chairman, and twelve members appointed without regard
4 to the civil-service laws by the Commissioner with the
5 approval of the Secretary. The twelve appointed mem-
6 bers shall be so selected that the Council will be broadly
7 representative of the individual, organizational, and profes-
8 sional interests in education, and of the public. Each ap-
9 pointed member of the Council shall hold office for a term
10 of four years, except that any member appointed to fill a
11 vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for
12 which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed
13 only for the remainder of such term, and except that, of the
14 members first appointed, three shall hold office for a term
15 of three years, three shall hold office for a term of two
16 years, and three shall hold office for a term of one year, as
17 designated by the Commissioner at the time of appointment.
18 None of such twelve members shall be eligible for reappoint-
19 ment until a year has elapsed since the end of his preceding
20 term.
21
22 (b) The Council shall advise the Commissioner as spe-
23 cifically indicated in this Act and assist and advise him
24 with respect to other matters of basic policy arising in the
25 administration of this Act.

5

1 (c) Persons appointed to the Council shall, while serv-
2 ing on business of the Council, receive compensation at rates
3 fixed by the Secretary, but not to exceed \$50 per day,
4 and shall also be entitled to receive an allowance for actual
5 and necessary travel and subsistence expenses while so
6 serving away from their places of residence.

7 (d) Whenever the Council considers matter of concern
8 to another agency of the Federal Government, the Sec-
9 retary may invite the head thereof to designate a repre-
10 sentative to be present at such consideration.

ADMINISTRATIVE APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

11 SEC. 105. There are hereby authorized to be appro-
12 priated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and for
13 each fiscal year thereafter, such sums as may be necessary
14 for the cost of administering the provisions of this Act, in-
15 cluding the administrative expenses of State commissions on
16 Federal scholarships.

DISCRIMINATION PROSCRIBED

17 SEC. 106. The awarding of certificates of scholarship,
18 the granting of scholarship stipends, and the making of loans
19 under this Act shall be without regard to sex, creed, race,
20 color, national origin, or residence, except as provided in
21 section 206 (a).
22
23

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DEFINITIONS

SEC. 107. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "State" means a State, Alaska, the Canal Zone, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, or the Virgin Islands.

(b) The term "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State which (1) admits as regular students only persons having a secondary education or its recognized equivalent, (2) is legally authorized within its own State to provide a program of higher education, (3) offers and conducts an educational program extending at least two academic years beyond the high school, and (4) either is nonprofit and tax-supported, or is determined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue to be an organization described in section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 exempt from taxation under section 501 (a) of such Code.

(c) The term "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

(d) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(e) The term "State commission" means the commission on Federal scholarships established in any State for the purposes of this Act.

(f) The term "National Council" means the National

7

Council on Student Aid established in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

TITLE II—PROGRAM OF SCHOLARSHIPS

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 201. For the purpose of providing scholarship stipends for young persons of demonstrated ability and need, to assist them to attend institutions of higher education, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, the sum of \$32,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, the sum of \$64,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, the sum of \$96,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, the sum of \$128,000,000; and for each fiscal year thereafter, the sum of \$128,000,000 or such greater sum as the Congress may hereafter authorize to be appropriated.

APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS FOR SCHOLARSHIP STIPENDS

AND DETERMINATION OF FIELDS OF STUDY

SEC. 202. (a) The Commissioner shall for each fiscal year beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, estimate the total sum from the appropriation under section 201 which is necessary for continuing to make payments with respect to such year to individuals receiving scholarship stipends for previous years. He shall, in accordance with regulations prescribed by him, apportion such sum among the States on the basis of the aggregate amount paid

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1 in the preceding year to scholars from each State, his esti-
 2 mate of changes in the number of such scholars from each
 3 State who will be eligible for continuing payments in the
 4 year for which such apportionment is made, and such other
 5 factors as he may find to be relevant.

6 (b) The remaining portion of such appropriation shall
 7 be available for such year for grants of new scholarship
 8 stipends. One-half of such remaining portion shall be ap-
 9 portioned among the States on the basis of the relative num-
 10 bers of students graduating from high school in such States
 11 during the most recent year for which Nation-wide figures
 12 are available through the Office of Education, and one-half
 13 shall be apportioned among them on the basis of the relative
 14 numbers of their total population between the ages of eighteen
 15 and twenty-one, inclusive, as determined by the most recent
 16 available estimates furnished by the United States Bureau
 17 of the Census.

18 (c) In time of actual hostilities involving the Armed
 19 Forces of the United States, or when found by the President
 20 to be necessary in the interest of national defense, the Com-
 21 missioner shall for each such year designate the percentage,
 22 uniform for all States but in no event less than 60 per centum,
 23 of the total number of scholarship stipends to be paid to
 24 students engaging in fields of study which are determined, in

1 a manner prescribed by the President, to be related to the
 2 national defense or to defense-supporting activities.

3 SELECTION OF RECIPIENTS OF SCHOLARSHIP CERTIFICATES
 4 AND STIPENDS

5 SEC. 203. (a) To be eligible to compete in any State
 6 for a certificate of scholarship, an individual (1) (A) must
 7 hold a certificate of graduation from a school in the State
 8 providing secondary education, or (B) must be determined
 9 by the State commission for the State in which the in-
 10 dividual finished his secondary education (or, in case of an
 11 individual who finished his secondary education abroad, by
 12 the State commission for the State of which he is a resi-
 13 dent), to have attained a level of educational advancement
 14 generally accepted as constituting the equivalent of second-
 15 ary school graduation in the State; and (2) must not be
 16 eligible for education and training under title II of the
 17 Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, or
 18 title II of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of
 19 1952; and (3) must make application for such certificate
 20 of scholarship in accordance with such rules as the State
 21 commission for such State may establish; and (4) must not
 22 have had any Federal scholarship, previously granted under
 23 this or any other law, terminated or vacated for any reason

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1 (except health) which was inconsistent with continued
2 eligibility to compete for such previous scholarship.

3 (b) From among those competing for certificates of
4 scholarship for each fiscal year, the State commission shall,
5 in accordance with the objective tests and other measures of
6 ability prescribed by the Commissioner pursuant to section
7 103 (c), select the individuals who, on the basis of their
8 outstanding ability to do work in higher education, are to be
9 awarded certificates of scholarship for such year. From
10 among those selected for certificates of scholarship (includ-
11 ing individuals so selected in prior years), it shall also select
12 the individuals who, on the basis of their financial need and
13 demonstrated ability, are to be granted scholarship stipends
14 from the State's apportionment for new stipends made pur-
15 suant to section 202 for such year, determine the amount
16 of stipend payable to each, and, in the case of a scholar whose
17 stipend is to be charged against a percentage quota estab-
18 lished pursuant to section 202 (c), designate the field of
19 study for which the stipend is to be granted. Such selections
20 and determinations shall be made in accordance with general
21 principles and methods, including objective measures for
22 determining the fact and degree of financial need and the
23 amount of the stipend, prescribed in regulations made by the
24 Commissioner with the advice of the National Council and in

1 accordance with percentage quotas, if any, established pur-
2 suant to section 202 (c).

3 (c) The Commissioner shall award certificates of schol-
4 arship, and within the limits of the State's apportionment for
5 new scholarship stipends for a fiscal year and applicable
6 quota (if any) established pursuant to section 202 (c) grant
7 scholarship stipends, to individuals certified to him by the
8 State commission of the State as having been selected for a
9 certificate, or for a certificate and stipend, as the case may
10 be, in accordance with the State plan.

11 AMOUNT AND DURATION OF SCHOLARSHIP STIPENDS

12 SEC. 204. (a) The Commissioner, with the advice of
13 the National Council, shall prescribe regulations for deter-
14 mining for each academic year scholarship stipend amounts
15 related to the scholar's financial need (objectively measured
16 pursuant to regulations prescribed under section 203 (b)),
17 and for each such year shall fix a maximum stipend amount
18 not in excess of \$800. The scholarship stipend granted to
19 any scholar under this title shall, for any academic year of
20 the scholarship stipend's duration (as provided in subsection
21 (b)), be the amount determined (pursuant to regulations
22 of the Commissioner prescribed under section 203 (b)) with
23 respect to such scholar for such year by the State commission

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1 which selected him and shall be payable in such installments
2 and at such times as the Commissioner shall prescribe.

3 (b) The duration of a scholarship stipend granted under
4 this title shall be a period of time not in excess of four
5 academic years (as defined in regulations of the Commis-
6 sioner) or, subject to such regulations, such longer period
7 as is normally required to complete the undergraduate cur-
8 riculum which the recipient is pursuing; but in no event
9 shall the duration extend beyond the completion by the re-
10 cipient of the work for his first post-secondary school degree.
11 Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this subsection,
12 a scholarship stipend granted under this title shall entitle the
13 scholar to payments only while (1) the recipient is in
14 financial need thereof, as determined annually (pursuant to
15 regulations of the Commissioner prescribed under section
16 203 (b)) by the State commission which selected him,
17 (2) the recipient devotes essentially full time to educational
18 work in attendance and in good standing at an institution of
19 higher learning (except that failure to be in attendance at
20 an institution during the summer months shall not by itself
21 constitute a violation of this requirement) and, in the case of
22 a stipend charged against a percentage quota established
23 pursuant to section 202 (c), does so in the field of study to
24 which his stipend is restricted except as otherwise permitted

13

1 pursuant to regulation, (3) the recipient is not receiving ex-
2 penses of tuition or other scholarship or fellowship aid from
3 other Federal sources (other than (A) a monetary allow-
4 ance under a reserve officers' training program, or (B)
5 compensation for work done for the institution which he is
6 attending or any other work, regardless of the source of the
7 funds from which such compensation is paid), and (4), in
8 the case of a stipend holder considered for a continued pay-
9 ment under a stipend granted for a prior year, the amount of
10 such payment is within the limits of the apportionment for
11 continuing payments made pursuant to section 202 (a) to the
12 State from which such stipend holder was selected.

13 PLACE OF MATRICULATION

14 SEC. 205. (a) An individual granted a scholarship
15 stipend under this title may attend any institution of higher
16 education which has been determined as such in accordance
17 with section 206 and which admits him, regardless of the
18 State in which such institution is located.

19 (b) An individual granted a scholarship stipend under
20 this title may attend any institution outside of the United
21 States, its Territories, and possessions which admits him, if
22 the Commissioner determines that such institution is sub-
23 stantially comparable to an institution of higher education as
24 defined in section 107 (b).

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SCHOLARSHIP COMMISSIONS IN THE STATES

1 SEC. 206. (a) Any State desiring to participate in the
2 administration of the scholarship program under this title
3 may do so by establishing a State commission on Federal
4 scholarships broadly representative of educational and public
5 interests in the State and by submitting through such com-
6 mission a State plan, authorized under State law, for carry-
7 ing out the purposes of this title, which is approved by the
8 Commissioner under this section. Such plan must (1) pro-
9 vide that it shall be administered by such commission; (2)
10 provide for the determination of the institutions in the State
11 which are institutions of higher education as defined in
12 section 107 (b); (3) provide for the determination, in
13 accordance with the provisions of section 203, of eligibility
14 to compete for certificates of scholarship, for the selection, in
15 accordance with such provisions, of individuals to be awarded
16 certificates of scholarship, and of individuals to be granted
17 new scholarship stipends out of the State's apportionment,
18 for certification of such individuals to the Commissioner, and
19 for subsequent certification of the fact and degree of the
20 continued financial need of, and the amounts payable to,
21 recipients of scholarship stipends and for charging of stipends
22 against any applicable quota established pursuant to section
23 202 (c); (4) provide that the selection of individuals for
24 certificates of scholarship and scholarship stipends under this
25

1 title shall be made without regard to sex, creed, color, race,
2 national origin, or residence, except that in States in which
3 racial or minority groups are segregated for purposes of
4 public elementary and secondary education, the plan must
5 provide (A) for dividing the funds for new scholarship
6 stipends apportioned to the State among such groups in the
7 same manner as is provided in section 202 for apportion-
8 ment of the funds for new scholarship stipends among the
9 States, and (B) for criteria for the granting of the scholar-
10 ship stipends which shall be applied separately within each
11 group and which shall be such as to assure a just and
12 equitable opportunity to members of each group to receive
13 scholarship stipends; (5) provide for the making of such
14 reports, in such form and containing such information, as the
15 Commissioner shall from time to time reasonably require for
16 the purposes of this Act, and for compliance with such pro-
17 visions as the Commissioner may from time to time find
18 reasonably necessary to assure the correctness and verification
19 of such reports; and (6) indicate the official to whom funds
20 for the administrative expenses of the State commission are
21 to be paid.

22 (b) The Commissioner shall approve any plan which
23 fulfills the condition specified in subsection (a).

24 (c) In the case of any State which does not establish
25 a commission and submit and have approved a State plan

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1 in accordance with the provisions of this section, the Com-
 2 missioner shall perform the functions of the State commis-
 3 sion in such State until such time as a plan has been sub-
 4 mitted by such a commission and is approved under this
 5 section.

6 (d) In the case of any State plan which has been
 7 approved by the Commissioner, if the Commissioner, after
 8 reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State
 9 commission administering such plan, finds (1) that the plan
 10 has been so changed that it no longer complies with the pro-
 11 visions of subsection (a), or (2) that in the administration
 12 of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with
 13 such provisions, the Commissioner shall notify such State
 14 commission that the State will not be regarded as eligible
 15 to participate in the program under this title until he is satis-
 16 fied that there is no longer any such failure to comply. Until
 17 such time he shall perform the functions of the State com-
 18 mission in that State.

19 PAYMENT OF SCHOLARSHIP STIPENDS

20 SEC. 207. The Commissioner shall from time to time
 21 determine the amounts payable to recipients of scholarship
 22 stipends under this title, and shall certify to the Secretary
 23 of the Treasury the amounts so determined and the name
 24 of each individual to whom such amounts are to be paid.
 25 The Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon pay in accord-

1 ance with such certification by check payable to such indi-
 2 vidual, transmitted through an official of the institution of
 3 higher education which such individual is attending. Such
 4 official shall be selected by the institution with the approval
 5 of the Commissioner. The official thus selected shall transmit
 6 such checks to the payee only upon his determination in each
 7 instance, and certification thereof to the Commissioner, that
 8 the recipient is at the time of such transmittal devoting es-
 9 sentially full time to educational work in attendance and
 10 in good standing at the institution, that, in the case of a
 11 student whose stipend was charged against a percentage
 12 quota determined pursuant to section 202 (c), he is pur-
 13 suing such studies in accordance with his designated field
 14 except as otherwise permitted pursuant to regulation, and
 15 that, so far as can be ascertained on the basis of the re-
 16 cipient's work at that institution, his scholarship stipend has
 17 not, under the provision of the first sentence of section 204
 18 (b), terminated. If for any reason such certification can-
 19 not be made by any such official with respect to an indi-
 20 vidual, the official shall return the check or checks involved
 21 to the drawer for cancellation.

22 ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES OF STATE COMMISSIONS

23 SEC. 208. The Commissioner shall from time to time
 24 certify to the Secretary of the Treasury for payment to the
 25 official designated in each State to receive funds for the ad-

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1 ministration of the State plan such amounts as the Commis-
 2 sioner determines to be necessary for the proper and efficient
 3 administration of the State plan (including reimbursement
 4 to the State for expenses which the Commissioner determines
 5 were necessary for the preparation of the State plan approved
 6 under this title). The Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon
 7 receiving such certification and prior to audit or settlement
 8 by the General Accounting Office, pay to such official, at the
 9 time or times fixed by the Commissioner, the amounts so
 10 certified.

11 TITLE III—INSURANCE OF LOANS TO STUDENTS
 12 IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

13 SCOPE OF PROGRAM

14 SEC. 301. For the purpose of facilitating loans to stu-
 15 dents in institutions of higher education, such institutions
 16 shall be insured by the United States against losses on loans
 17 made by them to such students in any fiscal year beginning
 18 after June 30, 1955, if made upon the conditions and within
 19 the limits specified in this title. The total principal amount
 20 of new loans to students covered by insurance under this title
 21 in any fiscal year shall not exceed \$10,000,000. The Com-
 22 missioner may, if he finds it necessary to do so in order to
 23 assure an equitable distribution of the benefits of this title,
 24 assign, within such maximum amount, insurance quotas ap-
 25 plicable to eligible institutions of higher education, or to

1 States or areas, and may from time to time reassign unused
 2 portions of such quotas.

3 LIMITATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL LOANS AND ON INSURANCE

4 SEC. 302. (a) No loan or loans by one or more institu-
 5 tions of higher education in excess of \$600 in the aggregate
 6 to any single student in any fiscal year shall be covered by
 7 insurance under this title, nor shall the aggregate insured
 8 unpaid principal amount of loans made to any student exceed
 9 \$2,400 at any time.

10 (b) The insurance liability on any loan insured under
 11 this title shall be limited to 80 per centum of the unpaid
 12 balance of such loan, including the interest accrued at the
 13 time of default.

14 ELIGIBILITY OF LENDING INSTITUTIONS AND SOURCE OF
 15 FUNDS

16 SEC. 303. (a) Any lender, in order to be eligible for
 17 insurance on its loans to its students pursuant to this title,
 18 must be an institution of higher education which has been
 19 certified as such by the State commission. No such institu-
 20 tion shall be so eligible while disqualified by the Commis-
 21 sioner pursuant to section 306 (d).

22 (b) Loans made by eligible institutions of higher
 23 education in accordance with this title shall be insurable
 24 whether made from funds fully owned by the lender or

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1 from funds held by the lender in a trust or similar capacity
2 and available for such loans.

3 ELIGIBILITY OF STUDENT BORROWERS AND TERMS

4 OF STUDENT LOANS

5 SEC. 304. (a) A loan by an eligible institution of
6 higher education in accordance with this title shall be in-
7 surable only if made to a student in such institution who
8 devotes essentially full time to educational work in attend-
9 ance at such institution, but failure to be in attendance at
10 an institution during the summer months shall not in itself
11 constitute a violation of this requirement.

12 (b) To be insurable under this title, a loan must be
13 evidenced by a note or other written agreement which (1)
14 provides for repayment of the principal amount of such loan
15 in periodic installments beginning (except in the event of
16 default in the payment of interest, or in the payment of the
17 cost of insurance premiums, or other default by the bor-
18 rower) during the fourth calendar year following the year
19 in which the student ceases to devote essentially full time
20 to educational work in attendance at any institution of higher
21 education, (2) requires full repayment of the principal with
22 interest within six years after the date on which the first
23 installment of principal becomes due, (3) provides, (A)
24 until the date on which the first installment of principal
25 becomes due, for interest on such loan at a per annum rate

1 not exceeding by more than 1 per centum the average interest
2 rate on marketable Treasury obligations, as certified by the
3 Secretary of the Treasury for the month of December of the
4 calendar year preceding the year in which such loan was
5 made, and (B) thereafter for interest on all unpaid balances
6 of principal at a per annum rate not exceeding by more than
7 2 per centum such average rate of interest on marketable
8 Treasury obligations, (4) entitles the student borrower at
9 his option to accelerate repayment of the whole or any part
10 of such loan without thereby accelerating the effective date
11 of any rate of interest higher than the rate which would be
12 payable in the absence of such acceleration, and (5) con-
13 tains such other terms and conditions consistent with the
14 provisions of this title and with the regulations issued by the
15 Commissioner pursuant to this Act as may be agreed upon
16 by the parties to such loan, including, at their option, a pro-
17 vision requiring the borrower to pay to the lender, in addition
18 to principal and interest, amounts equal to the insurance
19 premiums payable by the lender to the Commissioner with
20 respect to such loan.

21 CERTIFICATES OF INSURANCE—EFFECTIVE DATE OF

22 INSURANCE—PREMIUMS

23 SEC. 305. (a) If, upon application by an eligible institu-
24 tion of higher education, made upon such form, containing
25 such information, and supported by such evidence as the

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1 Commissioner may require, and otherwise in conformity with
2 this section, the Commissioner finds that the applicant has
3 made a loan to an eligible student which is insurable under
4 the provisions of this title, he shall, upon tender by the
5 applicant of the first year's insurance premium payable pur-
6 suant to subsection (d), issue to such applicant a certificate
7 of insurance covering such loan and setting forth the amount
8 and terms of such insurance.

9 (b) Insurance evidenced by a certificate of insurance
10 pursuant to subsection (a) shall become effective upon the
11 date of issuance of such certificate: *Provided*, That the Com-
12 missioner is authorized, in accordance with regulations, to
13 issue commitments with respect to proposed loans submitted
14 by eligible institutions, and in that event, upon compliance
15 with subsection (a) by the institution, the certificate of
16 insurance may be issued effective as of the date when the
17 loan to be covered by such insurance was made. Such in-
18 surance shall cease to be effective upon thirty days' default
19 by the institution in the payment of any installment of
20 the premiums payable pursuant to subsection (d).

21 (c) An application submitted pursuant to subsection
22 (a) shall contain (1) an agreement by the applicant to
23 pay, in accordance with regulations, the premiums fixed by
24 the Commissioner pursuant to subsection (d), and (2) an
25 agreement by the applicant that if the loan is covered by

1 insurance the applicant will submit such supplementary
2 reports and statements during the effective period of the
3 loan agreement, upon such forms, at such times, and con-
4 taining such information as the Commissioner may by or
5 pursuant to regulation prescribe.

6 (d) The Commissioner shall, pursuant to regulations,
7 charge for each insurance on a loan under this title a
8 premium in an amount not to exceed one-half per centum
9 per annum of the unpaid balance of principal and accrued
10 interest of such loan, payable in advance, at such time and
11 in such manner as may be prescribed by the Commissioner.
12 Such regulations may provide that such premium shall not
13 be payable, or if paid shall be refundable, with respect to
14 any period after default in the payment of principal or
15 interest, or after the borrower has died or become totally
16 and permanently disabled, if (1) notice of such default or
17 other event has been duly given, and (2) request for pay-
18 ment of the loss insured against has been made or the
19 Commissioner has made such payment on his own motion
20 pursuant to section 306 (a).

21 (e) The rights of an institution of higher education
22 arising under insurance evidenced by a certificate of insur-
23 ance issued under this section may be assigned as security
24 by such institution to any financial or credit institution (in-
25 cluding any insurance company) which is subject to exam-

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ination and supervision by an agency of the United States or of any State and which has made a loan to such institution of higher education under a loan agreement expressly requiring that the proceeds of the loan be used solely for providing the principal sums of student loans covered by insurance under this title. Such rights may not be otherwise transferred, assigned, or pledged by such institution of higher education except as may be authorized by regulation.

(f) The consolidation of the obligations of two or more insured loans obtained by a student borrower in any fiscal year into a single obligation evidenced by a single instrument of indebtedness shall not affect the insurance by the United States. Upon surrender of the original certificates of insurance in such cases, the Commissioner may issue a new certificate of insurance in accordance with this section upon such consolidated obligation.

PROCEDURE ON DEFAULT, DEATH, OR DISABILITY

OF STUDENT

SEC. 306. (a) Upon default in payment of principal or interest due upon any loan covered by insurance pursuant to this title, or upon the death of the student borrower or a finding by the lender or insurance beneficiary that the borrower has become "totally and permanently disabled" (as such term is defined in regulations prescribed by the Commissioner) before the loan has been repaid in full, and prior

to the commencement of suit or other enforcement proceeding upon the loan or upon any security for such loan, the insurance beneficiary shall promptly notify the Commissioner who shall thereupon, if requested by such beneficiary or on his own motion, if the insurance is still in effect, pay to the beneficiary, within the limits of liability specified in section 302 (b), the amount of the loss sustained by the insured upon such loan as soon as such amount has been determined. The "amount of the loss" on any loan shall, for the purposes of this subsection, be deemed to be an amount equal to the unpaid balance of the loan, including interest accrued and unpaid on the date of payment by the United States on its insurance obligation pursuant to subsection (b), except that where the Commissioner has decided to make payment on his own motion the amount of loss as so determined shall be deemed tentative and shall be increased by the excess, if any, over such tentative amount of any net recovery made by the Commissioner on such loan or security therefor after deduction of the cost of such recovery (including reasonable administrative cost).

(b) Upon payment by the Commissioner of the insured portion of the loss, or tentative amount of loss, pursuant to subsection (a), the United States shall be subrogated to the rights of the holder of the obligation upon the insured loan and be entitled to an assignment of the note or other evidence

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1 of the insured loan and any security therefor by the insurance
2 beneficiary.

3 (c) Nothing in this section or in this title shall be con-
4 strued to preclude any forbearance for the benefit of the
5 student borrower which may be agreed upon by the parties
6 to the insured loan and approved by the Commissioner, or
7 to preclude forbearance by the Commissioner in the enforce-
8 ment of the insured obligation after payment on such insur-
9 ance, or to require collection of the amount of any loan by
10 the insurance beneficiary or by the Commissioner from the
11 estate of a deceased borrower or from a borrower found by
12 the insurance beneficiary to have become permanently and
13 totally disabled.

14 (d) Nothing in this section or in this title shall be
15 construed to excuse the institution of higher education from
16 exercising, in the making and collection of loans under the
17 provisions of this Act, the same care and diligence which
18 would reasonably be used in making and collecting loans not
19 insured. If the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and
20 opportunity for hearing to the institution, finds that an insti-
21 tution of higher education has substantially failed to exercise
22 such care and diligence, or to make the reports and state-
23 ments required under section 305 (c), or to pay the re-
24 quired insurance premiums, he shall disqualify such institu-
25 tion for further insurance on loans granted pursuant to this

1 title until he is satisfied that such failure has ceased and finds
2 that there is reasonable assurance that the institution will in
3 the future exercise necessary care and diligence or comply
4 with such requirements, as the case may be.

5 (e) As used in this section, the term "insurance bene-
6 ficiary" means the insured or its authorized assignee, if the
7 certificate of insurance is held by such assignee.

8 REVOLVING INSURANCE FUND

9 SEC. 307. (a) Premiums and all other moneys derived
10 by the Commissioner in the course of operations under this
11 title shall be deposited in a revolving fund in the Treasury
12 of the United States. All moneys in the revolving fund
13 shall upon requisition by the Commissioner, be available
14 until expended, (1) for the payment of losses in connection
15 with insurance undertaken pursuant to this title, and (2),
16 for any fiscal year, in the amount provided for by an appro-
17 priation Act, for defraying the expenses of administration
18 incurred under this title.

19 (b) For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of
20 this title, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated to
21 the revolving fund provided in this section—

- 22 (1) the sum of \$500,000 for the initial establish-
23 ment of the revolving fund; and
24 (2) such further sums, if any, as may become
25 necessary for the adequacy of the revolving fund.

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1 (c) The Commissioner shall, from the revolving fund,
2 pay annually into the Treasury, as miscellaneous receipts,
3 interest on any sums appropriated to the revolving fund pur-
4 suant to subsection (b) which have not been repaid into
5 the Treasury as provided in subsection (d). The Secretary
6 of the Treasury shall determine the interest rate annually
7 in advance, such rate to be calculated to reimburse the
8 Treasury for its costs in connection with such appropriated
9 funds, taking into consideration the current average interest
10 rate which the Treasury pays upon its marketable obligations.

11 (d) Until all advances made to the revolving fund by
12 appropriation pursuant to subsection (b) (1) and (2)
13 have been repaid through credits as provided in this sub-
14 section, the Commissioner shall, at least annually, determine
15 any balance in the revolving fund in excess of an amount
16 determined by him to be necessary for the requirements
17 of the fund, and for reasonable reserves to maintain the
18 solvency of the fund, and such balance shall be paid into
19 the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts and the amount
20 thereof be credited against such advances.

21 (e) The Commissioner may authorize the Secretary of
22 the Treasury to invest and reinvest such portions of the
23 revolving fund as he may determine to be in excess of
24 current needs in any interest-bearing securities of the United
25 States or in any securities guaranteed as to principal and

1 interest by the United States, and the income therefrom shall
2 constitute a part of the revolving fund.

3 LEGAL POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

4 SEC. 308. (a) With respect to matters arising by reason
5 of this title, or this title as it may hereafter be amended, and
6 notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Com-
7 missioner may—

8 (1) sue on behalf of the United States and be sued
9 in his official capacity in any court of competent juris-
10 diction, State or Federal;

11 (2) subject to the specific limitations in this title,
12 consent to the modification, with respect to rate of
13 interest, time of payment of principal and interest or any
14 portion thereof, or security, of the provisions of any
15 note, contract, mortgage, or other instrument evidencing
16 or securing a loan which has been insured under this
17 title;

18 (3) enforce, pay, or compromise, any claim on, or
19 arising because of, any such insurance; and

20 (4) enforce, pay, compromise, waive, or release
21 any right, title, claim, lien, or demand, however ac-
22 quired, including any equity or any right of redemption.

23 (b) The Commissioner shall, with respect to the finan-
24 cial operations, arising by reason of this title—

25 (1) prepare annually and submit a budget program

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1 as provided for wholly owned Government corporations
 2 by the Government Corporation Control Act;
 3 (2) maintain an integral set of accounts, which shall
 4 be audited annually by the General Accounting Office in
 5 accordance with principles and procedures applicable
 6 to commercial corporate transactions, as provided by
 7 section 105 of the Government Corporation Control Act:
 8 *Provided*, That the financial transactions of the Com-
 9 missioner, including the settlement of insurance claims,
 10 and transactions related thereto and vouchers approved
 11 by the Commissioner in connection with such financial
 12 transactions, shall be final and conclusive upon all ac-
 13 counting and other officers of the Government.

H. R. 5511

A BILL

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2211

A BILL

To establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education, and for other purposes.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

JANUARY 13, 1955

Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

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From the Washington Office
of Congressman Thompson

84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3004

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 25, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To promote the further development of public library service in rural areas.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Library Services Act".

DECLARATION OF POLICY

5 SEC. 2. (a) It is the purpose of this Act to promote
6 the further extension by the several States of public library
7 services to rural areas without such services or with inade-
8 quate services.

9 (b) The provisions of this Act shall not be so construed
10 as to interfere with State and local initiative and responsi-
11 bility in the conduct of public library services. The admin-

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1 istration of public libraries, the selection of personnel and
2 library books and materials, and, insofar as consistent with
3 the purposes of this Act, the determination of the best uses
4 of the funds provided under this Act shall be reserved to
5 the States and their local subdivisions.

6 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

7 SEC. 3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated
8 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and for each of the
9 four succeeding fiscal years the sum of \$7,500,000 which
10 shall be used for making payments to States which have
11 submitted and had approved by the Commissioner of Edu-
12 cation (hereinafter referred to as the "Commissioner") State
13 plans for the further extension of public library services to
14 rural areas without such services, or with inadequate services.

15 ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

16 SEC. 4. (a) From the sums appropriated pursuant to
17 section 3 for each fiscal year, the Commissioner shall allot
18 \$10,000 to the Virgin Islands and \$40,000 to each of the
19 other States, and shall allot to each State such part of the
20 remainder of such sums as the rural population of the State
21 bears to the rural population of the United States, according
22 to the most recent decennial census.

23 (b) The amount of any allotment to a State under
24 subsection (a) for any fiscal year remaining unpaid to such
25 State at the end of such fiscal year shall be available for

1 payment to such State under section 6 until the end of the
2 succeeding fiscal year. No payment to a State under
3 section 6 shall be made out of its allotment for any fiscal
4 year until its allotment for the preceding fiscal year has been
5 exhausted or has ceased to be available.

6 STATE PLANS

7 SEC. 5. (a) To be approved under this section, a State
8 plan for the further extension of public library services to
9 rural areas must—

10 (1) provide for the administration, or supervision
11 of the administration, of the plan by the State library
12 administrative agency, and provide that such agency
13 will have adequate authority under State law to ad-
14 minister the plan in accordance with its provisions and
15 the provisions of this Act;

16 (2) provide for the receipt by the State treasurer
17 (or, if there be no State treasurer, the officer exercising
18 similar functions for the State) of all funds paid to the
19 State pursuant to this Act and for the proper safe-
20 guarding of such funds by such officer, provide that such
21 funds shall be expended solely for the purposes for
22 which paid, and provide for the repayment by the
23 State to the United States of any such funds lost or
24 diverted from the purposes for which paid;

25 (3) provide policies and methods of administra-

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1 tion to be followed in using any funds made available
2 for expenditure under the State plan, which policies and
3 methods the State library administrative agency certifies
4 will in its judgment assure use of such funds to maximum
5 advantage in the further extension of public library
6 services to rural areas without such services or with
7 inadequate services;

8 (4) provide that the State library administrative
9 agency will make such reports, in such form and con-
10 taining such information, as the Commissioner may
11 from time to time reasonably require; and

12 (5) provide that any library services furnished
13 under the plan shall be made available free of charge
14 under regulations prescribed by the State library ad-
15 ministrative agency.

16 (b) The Commissioner shall approve any plan which
17 fulfills the conditions specified in subsection (a) of this
18 section.

19 (c) The determination of whether library services are
20 inadequate in any area within any State shall be made
21 by the State library administrative agency of such State.

22 PAYMENTS TO STATES

23 SEC. 6. (a) From the allotments available therefor
24 under section 4, the Secretary of the Treasury shall from
25 time to time pay to each State which has a plan approved

5

1 under section 5 an amount computed as provided in subsec-
2 tion (b) of this section, equal to the Federal share of the total
3 sums expended by the State and its political subdivisions
4 under such plan during the period for which such payment
5 was made, except that no payments shall be made to any
6 State from its allotment for any fiscal year unless and until
7 the Commissioner finds that (1) there will be available for
8 expenditure under the plan from State or local sources dur-
9 ing the fiscal year for which the allotment is made (A)
10 sums sufficient to enable the State to receive under this sec-
11 tion payments in an amount not less than \$10,000 in the
12 case of the Virgin Islands and \$40,000 in the case of any
13 other State, and (B) not less than the total amount actually
14 expended, in the areas covered by the plan for such year,
15 for public library services from such sources in the fiscal
16 year ending June 30, 1955, and (2) there will be available
17 for expenditure for public library services from State sources
18 during the fiscal year for which the allotment is made not
19 less than the total amount actually expended for public
20 library services from such sources in the fiscal year ending
21 June 30, 1955.

22 (b) The Commissioner shall from time to time, but
23 not less often than semiannually, and prior to the period for
24 which a payment is to be made, estimate the amount, within

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1 the balance of the allotments for each State, which may
 2 be necessary to pay the Federal share of the total expendi-
 3 tures for carrying out the approved State plan for such period.
 4 The Commissioner shall certify to the Secretary of the
 5 Treasury the amount so determined, reduced or increased
 6 as the case may be by the amount by which he finds that
 7 his estimate for any prior period was greater or less than
 8 the amount which should have been paid to the State for
 9 such period. The Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon,
 10 prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office,
 11 pay to the State, at the time or times fixed by the Commis-
 12 sioner, the amount so certified.

13 (e) For the purposes of this section the "Federal share"
 14 for any State shall be 100 per centum less the State percent-
 15 age and the State percentage shall be that percentage which
 16 bears the same ratio to 50 per centum as the per capita in-
 17 come of such State bears to the per capita income of the
 18 continental United States (excluding Alaska), except that
 19 (1) the Federal share shall in no case be more than 66 per
 20 centum or less than 33 per centum, and (2) the Federal
 21 share for Hawaii shall be 50 per centum and for Alaska,
 22 Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be 66 per centum.

23 (d) The "Federal share" for each State shall be pro-

1 mulgated by the Commissioner between July 1 and August
 2 31 of each even-numbered year, on the basis of the average
 3 of the per capita incomes of the States and of the conti-
 4 nental United States (excluding Alaska) for the three most
 5 recent consecutive years for which satisfactory data are
 6 available from the Department of Commerce. Such pro-
 7 mulgation shall be conclusive for each of the two fiscal years
 8 in the period beginning July 1 next succeeding such pro-
 9 mulgation: *Provided*, That the Commissioner shall promul-
 10 gate such percentages as soon as possible after the enactment
 11 of this Act to be effective until July 1, 1956.

12 (e) No portion of any money paid to a State under
 13 this Act shall be applied, directly or indirectly, to the pur-
 14 chase or erection of any building or buildings, or for the
 15 purchase of any land.

16 (f) No portion of any money paid to a State under
 17 this Act shall be used, directly or indirectly, to provide or
 18 improve library services in any area other than a rural area;
 19 except that nothing contained herein shall be construed to
 20 prohibit the utilization of such money by public libraries in
 21 nonrural areas for the exclusive purpose of extending public
 22 library services to rural areas, if such utilization has been
 23 provided for in an approved State plan covering the areas
 24 affected.

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WITHHOLDING

1
2 SEC. 7. If the Commissioner finds after reasonable notice
3 and opportunity for hearing to the State agency administer-
4 ing or supervising the administration of the State plan
5 approved under this Act, that the State plan has been so
6 changed that it no longer complies with the requirements
7 of this Act or that in the administration of the plan there is
8 a failure to comply substantially with the provisions re-
9 quired to be included in the plan, he shall notify such State
10 agency that further payments will not be made to the State
11 under this Act until he is satisfied that there is no longer
12 any such failure to comply. Until he is so satisfied, he shall
13 make no further certification to the Secretary of the Treasury
14 with respect to such State.

ADMINISTRATION

15
16 SEC. 8. (a) The Commissioner shall administer this
17 Act under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of
18 Health, Education, and Welfare, and shall, with the ap-
19 proval of the Secretary, prescribe such regulations as may
20 be necessary for the administration of this Act.

21 (b) The Commissioner is also authorized to make such
22 studies, investigations, and reports as may be necessary or
23 appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, including
24 periodic reports for public distribution as to the values,

1 methods, and results of various State demonstrations of public
2 library services in rural areas undertaken under this Act.

3 (c) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated
4 for expenses of administration such sums as may be necessary
5 to carry out the functions of the Secretary and the Com-
6 missioner under this Act.

DEFINITIONS

7
8 SEC. 9. For the purposes of this Act—

9 (a) The term "State" means a State, Alaska, Hawaii,
10 Puerto Rico, or the Virgin Islands;

11 (b) The term "State library administrative agency"
12 means the official State agency charged by State law with
13 the extension and development of public library services
14 throughout the State;

15 (c) The term "public library" means a library that
16 serves free all residents of a community, district, or region,
17 and receives its financial support in whole or in part from
18 public funds;

19 (d) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of
20 Health, Education, and Welfare; and

21 (e) The term "rural area" does not include an in-
22 corporated or unincorporated town having a population of
23 more than ten thousand persons.

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3004

A BILL

To promote the further development of public
library service in rural areas.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

JANUARY 25, 1955

Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

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MUSIC AND THE ARTS

EDUCATION

THE REALM of IDEAS

Edited by THOMAS B. SHERMAN SUNDAY POST-DISPATCH, DECEMBER 9, 1956 50

Federal Aid for the Arts

Legislation Likely in Coming Session of Congress

By WILLIAM K. WYANT JR.

BILLIONS FOR DEFENSE but not one cent for art, to paraphrase what Charles Cotesworth Pinckney told the French in 1796, has seemed the motto of many a United States Congress. It may be that the record of the incoming Eighty-fifth Congress will be different. President Eisenhower's proposal for a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts died after serious consideration in the last session, and it will be revived in the session to come.

Passage of such legislation would authorize no direct subsidy of artists but would set up a mechanism by which the advisability of financial support could be studied. There are people in the United States, a minority perhaps, who believe that the fiscal undernourishment of music and other artistic endeavors in this country justifies Federal intervention, if only to keep the arts alive for another generation or two.

Under the bills sponsored this year by Senator Herbert H. Lehman (Dem.) of New York and Representative Frank Thompson Jr. (Dem.) of New Jersey, Mr. Eisenhower would have been authorized to appoint a 24-member council. The mission of the council: To function within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the role of encouraging cultural and artistic endeavors, nationally and internationally, and at the same time to stimulate in the American public a greater appreciation of the arts.

THE PROPOSED composition of the council gave a voice to lusty new arrivals in the arts field as well as to the starveling classics. Twenty-one members were to be drawn from seven arts categories, at least two from each, and three were to represent museums or similar institutions. The seven fields were as follows: (1) Music; (2) drama and dance; (3) literature; (4) architecture and allied arts; (5) painting, sculpture, graphic and craft arts, and photography; (6) motion pictures, and (7) radio and television.

In the Senate last session, the measure passed. In the House Education and Labor committee, it failed by a vote of 16 to 7. This happened despite the support of the President and Nelson A. Rockefeller, and of the National Council on the Arts and Government, which urged enactment in a letter signed by 318 persons of prominence in 30 states. The defeat was not decisive.

WITHOUT QUESTION, the federal arts council and other cultural bills will be back again and soon. Representative Thompson, who was re-elected Nov. 6, said last week he and others intended to work actively in the next session for the proposed council and for other matters designed, in his opinion, to make the Federal sun shine more benignly on the arts. They include:

(1) Removal of Federal taxes from music and the theater. Exemption from



REP. FRANK THOMPSON JR.

Federal admission taxes was granted to non-profit symphony orchestras and opera companies in 1951. The last Congress exempted motion picture admissions up to 90 cents. On this point, Mr. Thompson said that other nations subsidized arts "while we tax ours and stubbornly refuse to support them financially at the national level."

(2) Firm establishment of a program of decorating new Federal buildings with the work of American artists and craftsmen. In some European countries, the policy is that a small percentage of a building's cost goes into adornment—murals, painting, sculpture. This gives employment to artists and assures that some attention, at least, will be given to esthetics in public buildings.

(3) The creation of a National Museum of American Arts and Crafts in Washington, along with a national theater and music center, as a means of extending what Mr. Thompson calls "Federal recognition" to living art.

SOME OF THESE IDEAS now fermenting in Congress have a better chance of reaching positive legislative action than would have been true formerly, if only because of the current and growing awareness that the nation's race with Soviet Russia involves cultural as well as military competition. President Eisenhower in 1954 sought \$5,000,000 for cultural exchange, pointing out that Russia was active in such matters, and the United States must send out groups "to go forth and demonstrate that America, too, can lay claim to high cultural and artistic accomplishments."

The money was promptly forthcoming. Subsequently the "Porgy and Bess" company (invited by Russia), Louis Armstrong, and the Boston Symphony Orchestra penetrated the Iron Curtain. The Humphrey-Thompson "International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956" became law. This

was fine, of course, but it was, as the British say, for export only.

On the domestic front, the United States has the poorest record of support for art and culture of any nation that can be described as civilized. Those citizens who favor a more active Federal role say the consequences are to be seen at every hand, and they are convinced that unless something is done, quickly, certain forms of art will suffer irreparable harm.

THE LAISSEZ-FAIRE attitude, which seems to apply to American artists but not to American hog farmers or real estate men, is that if a town wants a symphony orchestra it can pay for it, and if it does not, that's too bad. To this, proponents of some kind of Federal aid answer that such endeavors as symphony orchestras have rarely, if ever, made their own way financially. Neither have public schools or libraries.

In the case of the symphony orchestras, in the United States, however, it is often the musicians themselves who absorb a large part of the difference between operating expenses and proceeds from ticket sales. They do so by accepting salaries not large enough for subsistence and eking out their livings by part-time work. The same is true in a great many of the arts, including serious painting.

Congressional hearings a few years ago brought out the fact that the 32 major symphony organizations in this country employed less than 2270 musicians. These musicians worked an average of about 22 weeks a year at an average pay of \$81 a week.

HOWARD HANSON, president of the National Music Council, testified: "There are some patrons of orchestras who prefer to support their orchestras without governmental assistance. They are, of course, entitled to their belief, but I say that in any situation where a skilled performer is guaranteed a \$1500-a-year salary, that orchestra is supported not by philanthropists but by the idealism and devotion of the underpaid musician who serves them."

Without question, meager pay and precariously uncertain terms of employment are eroding the supply of musicians. Such conditions naturally affect the willingness of parents to pay for instruction in a difficult instrument, just as it does the inclination of young people to enter the profession at all.

History shows clearly enough that when governments take an interest in art the consequences can be evil as well as good. The dead hand of the European academies has been cited often. But those who favor a more direct Federal concern with cultural affairs hold that there must be a practical, intelligent way for the world's most wealthy nation to provide nourishment for the arts now languishing within its own borders. They think an effort by Congress in that direction is long overdue.

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 101

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1955

No. 4

Senate

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God our Father, in the white light of whose presence all our motives stand revealed, for this hallowed moment, turning from our divisive loyalties and our party cries, we would bow humbly in a unity of spirit with a vivid realization of our oneness in Thee. Closing the door of prayer upon the outer world, with its tumult and shouting and its unpredictable trends, and bowing now in the searching light of Thy holiness, we know ourselves for what we are, petty and proud creatures who too often seek their own wills and whims in spite of the polished courtesies and noble professions with which we come to Thee.

Cleanse the inner fountains of our hearts from all defiling foulness and from the secret sin of pretense. In tense days, when the words that are uttered here may affect the uttermost parts of the earth, fit us faithfully to protect the Republic from outward aggression and subversion and from the treason of inner selfishness. We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 10, 1955, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, its reading clerk, informed the Senate that the Speaker had appointed as members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the part of the House, Mr. DURHAM, of North Carolina; Mr. HOLIFIELD, of California; Mr. PRICE, of Illinois; Mr. KILDAY, of Texas; Mr. DEMPSEY, of New

Mexico; Mr. COLE, of New York; Mr. HINSHAW, of California; Mr. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania; and Mr. PATTERSON, of Connecticut.

FEDERAL PERSONNEL LEGISLATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—(H. DOC. NO. 66)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States relating to Federal personnel legislation, which was read and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(For President's message, see House proceedings of today.)

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, we have heard the President's message, recommending the enactment of legislation which would further improve the position of Government career employees. This message included recommendations for increased pay, adjustments in pay scales, group health insurance, employee training, personnel practices affecting Government employees stationed overseas, and increased travel allowances.

It is my sincere hope that we may obtain early consideration of this legislation, and favorable action on the part of the Senate and the Congress. In my opinion, the Federal employees merit these proposed recommendations.

Last evening I was presented a citation by the Federal Club for outstanding service to the career people of our Federal Government. The membership of the Federal Club is composed of men in responsible career positions in our Federal Government. This was a great honor, and was greatly appreciated by me.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks, a copy of the citation.

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

In recognition of outstanding services rendered to the common well in civic, State, and Federal activities, in his professional and legislative career, and for his vigorous advocacy of the improvement of the quality and public recognition of the integrity of

the career service, and for fostering of the welfare of Federal civilian personnel, the Federal Club, Inc., hereby confers its honor award citation on the Honorable FRANK CARLSON.

In testimony whereof there is affixed the seal of the Federal Club, Inc., and the signature of the president, the secretary, and the chairman of the awards committee this 13th day of December 1954.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD at this point a copy of the speech I made on receiving the award, and I ask that it be made a part of the permanent RECORD at the point following the President's message to the Congress.

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

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CARLSON

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and my good friends and members of the Federal Club, I shall long remember the gracious remarks which accompanied the presentation of this wonderful award by the Federal Club. When I think of the distinguished public figures who have received this annual award from your fine organization, I realize your great kindness to me. I shall cherish this honor and I will keep faith with you.

At the outset, I wish to commend the Federal Club for its many contributions to our Government service. Your members have been responsible for developing ideas which have helped maintain our Federal service in the respected place it occupies among the governments of the world. Over the years you have been complimented by chief executives of the Nation and other high public officials. I wish to add my commendation to the many richly deserved compliments you have already received.

For over a quarter of a century I have served the people of my State in the House of Representatives, as Governor of Kansas, and as a Member of the United States Senate. In all of this public service I have firmly believed in a merit civil-service system for public employees.

In the capacity of chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee during the past 2 years I worked for the improvement of the Federal civil service. I will continue to work toward securing fair and just benefits for Federal employees in the future as I have in the past.

Under the leadership of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the past 2 years have been great milestones on the road of civil service progress.

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Federal employees have secured benefits and privileges which they have strived for years to obtain.

Upon recommendation of the President the Congress last year approved low-cost life insurance and unemployment compensation for Federal employees.

I introduced legislation which became known as the fringe benefits bill. Following the hearings when our committee considered the views of Federal employees organizations and the endorsements of the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget, this bill was approved and became law. In my opinion, it is one of the most progressive laws to improve the civil-service system which has been enacted in recent years.

Among the important provisions contained in this law are: a more realistic overtime pay structure; authority to pay above the minimum rates in grades where competition with private industry requires additional compensation to attract well-qualified Federal employees; the repeal of the restrictive provisions of the so-called Whitten amendment which have interfered with necessary civil-service reforms; a uniform allowance for Federal employees who are required to wear uniforms in connection with their official duties; and a more effective incentive awards program for Federal employees under which initiative and contributions to the public service by Federal employees are recognized through higher monetary awards to individual employees.

For retired Federal employees the last Congress provided for making permanent temporary annuity increases and under the tax law which was approved—retired Federal employees are granted a generous exemption. As a member of the Senate Finance Committee, it was a pleasure to assist in writing and securing approval of this legislation.

I was the author of the pay-increase bill for Federal and postal employees which was approved by the Congress but vetoed by the President. I believed that bill was fair to all Federal employees and it is my earnest hope that at an early date the Congress will pass similar legislation which will be approved by the President.

Tomorrow, January 11, President Eisenhower will send a special message to the Congress outlining his views with respect to a proposed salary adjustment for Federal and postal employees. From what I have learned, this proposal will not differ materially from my bill which was approved by the Congress last summer.

Federal employees deserve a salary adjustment because for many positions the salaries paid Federal employees are substantially less than those paid for similar work in private industry. While I recognize that Government salaries in top-level positions will never be comparable to salaries paid persons in private industry for similar work, yet I think the Government owes an obligation to all of the people of the United States to make certain that its employees are treated as fairly as possible within a reasonable budget.

In my opinion, the cost of such a pay adjustment and the cost of other fringe benefits which were approved during the last Congress are necessary and vital operating costs of conducting the business of the finest Government in the world.

I look upon these expenditures as an investment, an investment in the future of America. Those who devote their working years to public service are entitled to at least two things: First, reasonable security with an expectation of adequate retirement benefits; and, second, adequate compensation for the work performed as well as entitlement to those fringe benefits now enjoyed by most workers in private industry. Federal employees demand no more and the people of our Nation expect no less for those persons who conduct the day-by-day affairs of our Government.

During my service in Congress I have had an opportunity to know and cherish the friendship of many hundreds of Federal employees. From the many things they have told me about their problems, I know that there is more to their work than is generally realized by the public outside our Nation's Capital.

First, I know the zeal and integrity with which they approach their daily work; I know that the overwhelming majority are loyal to our country. The vast majority are not concerned with politics and they readily adapt themselves to whatever changes in Government the American people decide.

It is these thousands upon thousands of Federal employees who are responsible for the continuity of Government operations through good years and bad years, war and peace, depression and prosperity.

It is for these reasons that I cannot consider Federal employees in terms of statistics, personnel actions, 201 files or pieces of paper.

We have made great progress in many fields relating to personnel administration which has produced a better civil-service system. But there remains yet a vast unexplored field which relates to the important functions of proper placement, improved training programs, management-employee relations, executive development, recruiting methods, promotion policies, and a host of other factors which daily affect the lives and futures of Federal employees and their families.

It is in this relatively unexplored and uncharted sea that remains in the future's challenge to all of us to make greater progress and to obtain improvements.

This is why I feel that we must devote our energies and attention to the improvement of the individual dignity of each Federal employee, and make certain each employee understands the role he plays in the important activities of Government. It will be from this new sense of pride in a job well done and the fact that each employee will understand the part he plays in making our Government strong, that the true measure of Federal employee morale will be determined in the future.

In spite of the outstanding record of the last Congress toward improving the civil-service system and providing liberal benefits for Federal employees, there are those who contend that Federal employee morale has suffered during the past 2 years. Nothing could be further from the truth. The recent election did not demonstrate that Federal employees are dissatisfied with the record of the Congress or of the administration. As a matter of fact, I believe the rank and file of Federal employees consider themselves as having received as fair treatment during the past 2 years as at any other time in history. I believe, too, that these charges of lowered employee morale are based on political considerations. They have no substance.

In my opinion, the President will submit legislative proposals to the Congress within a short time to raise further the standard of the Federal service and to provide additional benefits for Federal employees. In addition to the pay adjustments which will be requested tomorrow, I believe the President will submit proposals strengthening the new life-insurance program and providing health insurance for Federal employees. From time to time during the session additional legislative proposals will be submitted to Congress strengthening the civil-service system generally which will react to the benefit of all Federal employees.

During the past few months there has been considerable discussion in regard to the dismissal of Federal employees for security reasons and rumors are current that the new Congress, under new leadership, will initiate an investigation of the entire security program.

Permit me to observe that I do not oppose any honest inquiry or study which will be

productive or result in a better civil-service system.

I know that nothing has been done during the past 2 years in the executive branch that requires concealment from the public.

President Eisenhower is surrounded by an excellent group of able and conscientious public officials. They have been fair and honest with the people of the United States. I would consider it shameful if the present congressional leadership would seek to initiate any kind of investigation which would tend to destroy the progress which has been made or will use their present authority for partisan political demagoguery.

I am and have always been a strong supporter of the true merit system, but I desire to differentiate between that and the equally illustrious group of those in policymaking positions. I have always felt that to aid the administration in power all of this latter group should be selected carefully by the administration so that the philosophy of that administration would be implemented throughout the entire Government.

I believe everyone must agree that the administration in power is entitled to and must have men and women in key positions whose thinking is attuned to that of those in authority.

We cannot afford the luxury of indulging in political fights of this nature while larger issues involving the maintenance of a sound domestic economy, military preparedness, and a firm foreign policy are of paramount importance.

This month we begin a new year. Most of us here are engaged in the great work of making our Government stronger to resist the dangers inherent in an atheistic philosophy which seeks to engulf and destroy the free nations of the world.

I have thought of what ideals and principles should motivate us during the coming year. I can think of no better description of our point of view than to recall for you a poem written by Walter Reed Hunt, a famous New England church official in the 19th century whose ideas are as appropriate today as they were during his lifetime:

"A MORNING WISHE"

"The sun is just rising on the morning of another day, the first day of a new year. What can I wish that this day, this year, may bring to me? Nothing that shall make the world or others poorer, nothing at the expense of other men; but just those few things which in their coming do not stop with me, but touch me rather, as they pass and gather strength:

"A few friends who understand me, and yet remain my friends.

"A work to do which has real value without which the world would feel the poorer.

"A return for such work small enough not to tax unduly any one who pays.

"A mind unafraid to travel, even though the trail be not biased.

"An understanding heart.

"A sight of the eternal hills and unresting sea, and of something beautiful the hand of man has made.

"A sense of humor and the power to laugh.

"A little leisure with nothing to do.

"A few moments of quiet, silent meditation. The sense of the presence of God.

"And the patience to wait for the coming of these things, with the wisdom to know them when they come."

LEGISLATION FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—(H. DOC. NO. 65)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, relating to legislation for postal employees, which was read, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

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Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses received Presidential messages on Federal pay increases and postal pay-postal rate increases.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 197-206

Bills Introduced: 39 bills and 2 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 301 to S. 339; S. J. Res. 15; and S. Res. 21.

Pages 199-200, 203

President's Messages: Two messages from the President were received, as follows, and both were referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: (1) Recommending adjustments of Federal pay scales, establishment of group health and employee-training programs for Federal civilian employees, and improvement in overseas-personnel management; and (2) recommending approval of a new salary plan, including 5-percent pay increases for postal employees, policy determination that Post Office Department shall be self-supporting, separation of postal costs to be paid by patron from those to be paid by general taxation, establishment of a permanent commission on postal rate adjustments, and enactment of an interim postal-rate bill.

Pages 197-199, 211-214

Standing Committee Assignments: The majority and minority slates of assignments to standing committees

for the 84th Congress were submitted by Senators Johnson of Texas and Knowland, and were approved as submitted.

Pages 206-207

Nominations: The nomination of Joseph F. Finnegan, of New York, to be Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director, was received, along with those of Loy W. Henderson, of Colorado, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, James C. H. Bonbright, of New York, to be Ambassador to Portugal, James C. Dunn, of New York, to be Ambassador to Brazil, Robert C. Hendrickson, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador to New Zealand, John Lodge, of Connecticut, to be Ambassador to Spain, and 67 Foreign Service nominations.

Pages 209-210

Program for Friday: Senate adjourned at 12:55 p. m. until noon Friday, January 14, when consideration will be given to S. Res. 18, favoring continued investigation and combating of Communist international conspiracy against the U. S.

Committee Meetings

No committee meetings were held.

House of Representatives

Bills Introduced: 39 public bills, H. R. 2000-2038; 51 private bills, H. R. 2039-2089; and 4 resolutions, H. J. Res. 115 and H. Res. 81-83, were introduced.

Pages 214, 222-224

President's Message—Federal Employees: Heard the reading of a message from the President recommending enactment of legislation to benefit Federal employees by providing adjustments in basic pay scales, group health insurance, employee training, and increased travel allowances. The message was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and ordered printed as a House document (H. Doc. 66).

Pages 211-212

President's Message—Postal: Received a message from the President recommending a 5-point program for the Post Office Department designed to provide, among other things, a 5-percent increase in basic salary rates and a reduction in the postal deficit. The message was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and ordered printed as a House document (H. Doc. 65).

Pages 212-214

House Employees: Adopted H. Res. 81 and 82, providing for additional compensation for certain employees of the House of Representatives.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — DAILY DIGEST

January 11, 1955

Program for Thursday: Adjourned at 12:36 p. m. until Thursday, January 13, at 12 o'clock noon, when the House will consider an emergency appropriation bill and receive the President's message on Armed Forces Reserve plan and military pay.

Committee Meetings

No committee meetings were held.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1955

(All meetings are open unless otherwise designated)

Senate

Committee on Rules and Administration, executive, organizational meeting, 10:30 a. m., room 104, Senate Office Building.

Joint Committee

Joint Committee on the Economic Report, executive, on Committee Organization, 10:30 a. m., room G-14, Capitol.

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The Agency is glad to have been able to render assistance to the committee and we appreciate the committee's acknowledgment of our work. As the report clearly indicates, the material compiled by the committee has been put to important use in our Voice of America broadcasts as well as in our library and press programs. We are planning a worldwide distribution of the report to our United States Information Service posts.

The Agency is particularly gratified at the committee's recognition of the effectiveness of the overseas information program and its recommendations for increased support of our operations. I wish to thank you as a member of the committee for the valuable contribution that has been made to promoting the objectives and mission of the United States Information Agency.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE C. STREIBERT,
Director.

Not for Partisan Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Ulm (Minn.) Daily Journal of November 22, 1954, entitled "Not for Partisan Politics":

The Minnesota Farm Union right now is making a lot of noise about the farm program, especially that portion of it that deals with supports. As there are people who hold with the union, so there are people who oppose what the union demands.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has been less vocal on the subject, apparently willing to sit back and see what Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's program will do for them, if permitted to continue to its conclusion.

Meanwhile, the farm program has been a political football between the Republicans and Democrats. During this time, there is one class of citizens—which includes Republicans, Democrats, DFLers and Independents—which has been largely overlooked. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say they have overlooked themselves. They are the farmers.

Adoption and implementation of a workable farm program is not—at any rate should not—be a partisan affair. It should represent the best thought, the most sound and sensible program that can be devised by the combined presently contending forces.

One has but to drive through the Corn Belt for a few miles to be staggered at the sight of even more steel bins going up. Hundreds of millions of bushels are stored in Government bins today, where once it was held on the individual farms or at a few grain terminals. This is what is known as the "ever normal granary."

Since the ever normal granary program was inaugurated, new types of corn have been originated and developed. Production per acre has doubled and almost trebled, in face of the fact that demand has not trebled, nor even doubled. And still the contending political forces trying to woo the farm vote, seek more and more guarantees; the Government keeps on building more and more bins. Somewhere along the line the onward surge must come to a halt, and no one has a greater stake in the eventual outcome than does the farmer.

First problem to be solved, it would seem, is one concerning disposition of the present tremendous surpluses and to set up an effective control to prevent further increase in surplus. That, most certainly, will involve opening up the export field. It should be just as good business on the part of the Department of Agriculture to finance the purchase of corn and other farm products for export as it is for the United States to send billions of dollars to foreign governments which, in turn, send the money back here for munitions and armament.

The farm union, the farm bureau, Republicans and Democrats will never get anywhere pulling 40 separate ways from Sunday. The sensible thing, it would seem, would be for them to set up a joint committee, representing the best talent they can find, lock them in a conference room and hold the keys until they came out with a workable solution.

American agriculture is too important to continue as a political football. There is too much at stake. Farm prosperity is essential to the welfare of our Nation, quite as much as it is to the farmer.

Advancing Activities Which Will Make Our Civilization Endure and Flourish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, many millions of dollars and much talent and shrewd organizing brains are going into the Russian propaganda drive to picture the citizens of our great country as gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians, without souls.

It was pointed out in the report on the 14 cultural bills considered by the 83d Congress that—

One of the major ways in which we might turn reluctant and uneasy military allies—and the 800 million of uncommitted people—into friends would be to earn their respect for our own culture. It is obvious, however, that if we have no respect for and are officially indifferent to our own best cultural efforts, if we show no concern as a people and as a nation with our own contemporary culture and our living artists, then the peoples of other countries are hardly to be blamed if they ignore and underrate the cultural contributions which we have to give the peoples of the world. We have only ourselves to blame, for they take their cues from our own Federal Government. In this situation the Communist parties in the various countries and the Russians find it extremely easy to spread their lies that we are gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians.

One place to begin righting things is in the Federal City which is singularly underprivileged regarding cultural matters as compared with other capital cities of the world and even as compared with most of the leading cities of the United States. We find W. M. Kiplinger reporting in his book, *Washington Is Like That*, published in 1942, for instance:

Despite the wealth of national tradition attached to Washington, there is very little

native culture. The city has never been a notable breeding place for art, or music, or literature. Unlike other great capitals of world thought, such as prewar London and Vienna and Paris, where the native-born leaders of the cities shaped the intellectual patterns which influenced the nation, Washington as a city has no homegrown culture. Its influence in cultural matters is not by Washington, but rather via Washington. Whatever culture there is here was started elsewhere and brought in and pasted on.

Some 10 Representatives and 6 Senators joined Congressman Charles R. Howell in presenting bills in the 83d Congress for a national cultural program including a cultural center in the Nation's Capital. Hearings were held on them, but they were rejected by the majority in a report that will surely go down in history as a classic example of disinterest in the cultural heritage of the West.

In a speech to the National Symphony Orchestra Association in September 1952, when he was given a testimonial scroll calling him the most musical President in the history of our country, former President Harry S. Truman said Washington should be developed into the greatest musical center in the history of the world. In urging an auditorium and opera house, Mr. Truman recalled that as a Senator he had twice helped to push through the Senate legislation providing such a building. But he said the bills had been murdered in the House by the efforts of lobbyists acting for cities around Washington. "They did not appreciate the fact that Washington was to be the capital of the world," he said.

Mr. Truman pointed out that he had seen show places in Mexico City, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, and he remarked:

There isn't a reason in the world why Washington shouldn't have a place where the greatest symphony in the world can play for the public.

The gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; and the gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON have joined me in introducing in the Congress H. R. 21, H. R. 630, H. R. 1822, and H. R. 1825, respectively—legislation "creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an inaugural hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center." Very broad support has been expressed for this legislation in principle by leaders in business, labor, education, recreation, city planning, libraries, and the fine arts generally. I cordially invite other Members of Congress, from both sides of the aisle, who may be interested in advancing the cultural status of our country, and our Nation's Capital as well, to join in sponsoring this legislation.

The bill would authorize an appropriation of \$25,000 for the commission whose members would serve without pay in considering a suitable site, procuring plans and designs, and formulating a method of financing the civic cultural center on a self-liquidating basis. The people of the District of Columbia pay more than \$170 million in Federal taxes and Con-

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gress, in its role as the City Council of Washington, should sympathetically consider the city's need for a civic and cultural center. In this connection I would like to call to your attention the following splendid editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 11, 1955:

ENCOURAGING THE ARTS

In the long view of history, a society is likely to be judged most definitively by its cultivation of the arts. American culture has frequently been criticized abroad—to a large extent unjustly and as a consequence of shrewd Soviet propaganda—as materialistic; but increasingly American artists have been making significant contributions in music, literature, drama, painting, and sculpture. What is perhaps lacking in the United States is a diffusion of the arts to the people. And it was no doubt to remedy this lack as well as to counter some of the current misconceptions about American culture that President Eisenhower promised in his state of the Union message to "recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission of the Arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation."

Art is never likely to flourish under governmental direction. Nothing could be further from the American tradition, or from the thought in President Eisenhower's mind, we are sure, than the kind of Commissariat of Culture which operates in the Soviet Union to make art an instrumentality of the state. Artists cannot be mobilized. But they can be encouraged by recognition and appreciation of their work; they can be stimulated by increased public understanding of the arts and by expanded opportunities for the public to see and hear their work. In the promotion of popular interest in the arts, the Government can play a most helpful role.

We hope that the President will give consideration, in this connection, to the admirable proposal put forward sometime ago in a House bill by former Representative Charles Howell for the construction of an auditorium and art center in the Nation's Capital. There could scarcely be a more appropriate beginning for a Federal program to foster interest in the arts. Creation of the means through which music, drama, and pictorial art can be brought to the people is one important contribution which can be made by government. But the sine qua non, of course, is the propagation of an atmosphere in which innovation, experimentation, and unorthodoxy can find free expression.

A Great Big Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Rome Daily American dated January 1, 1955:

A GREAT BIG HAND

"How's Clare Boothe Luce doing?"

That's the first question usually asked by a visiting American, and any summing up of 1954 would be incomplete without an answer to the question.

What do you expect from an Ambassador? Personality? The very fact that visiting Americans inquire with the familiar use of her name rather than her rank of Ambassador is a tribute to her personality, not a lack of respect to her position.

Diplomatic skill? In London recently a veteran American newspaperman baited us with, "Don't tell me you think Mrs. Luce settled the Trieste problem?" Our answer was that so far as we know Mrs. Luce has never claimed credit for the settlement—but she certainly was on the team that solved that knotty problem, and was still on the scene when Italy voted smashing approval of the Paris accords.

Courage? During the tense pre-Trieste settlement days, a hostile crowd gathered in front of the American Embassy to shout its protests on the delay in carrying out the Anglo-American decision to turn back zone A to Italy. Some Embassy personnel avoided the main entrance to the Embassy that morning to minimize the possibility of ugly incidents. Mrs. Luce arrived, stepped from her car and walked calmly through the hushed crowd to the front gate.

Insight? She has consistently avoided the many traps set for her by the Communists. She has never worn her religion on her sleeve.

Inspiration? She has won the admiration and loyalty of her own staff, which is also a mark of leadership. She has gotten out of a sick bed to attend both American and Italian functions which demanded her presence, and she has set an example for her Foreign Service family by devoting endless hours of hard work to her job. She has been a good listener as well as a good talker, and has always shown willingness to heed the advice of experienced career diplomats.

Kindness? A generous portion of her own personal fortune has been quietly, never ostentatiously, distributed to various Italian charities and institutions. She has taken time from a filled calendar to greet the children of old friends passing through Rome. And her private parties have included Americans from all walks of life in Rome—not merely the bankers and the businessmen.

Pressed for an answer to the visitors' question we shall reply:

The lady is doing quite well, thank you.

Statehood Is the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the case for Alaska statehood as the one way to solve the complex problems referred to in the state of the Union message could not be better or more concisely stated than in the editorial written for the Scripps-Howard newspapers which appeared in the Washington Daily News yesterday:

CHICKEN AND EGG

"As the complex problems of Alaska are resolved, that Territory should be expected to achieve statehood," said President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message.

That is somewhat like telling Alaskans that when they learn to swim they will be permitted to go into the water.

It ignores the overwhelming evidence that Alaska's "complex problems" are complex precisely because of the Federal Government's long neglect of the Territory and

refusal to give it control over its resources. In that respect the present administration's record is no better than that of its predecessors.

Alaskans have been hearing vague promises like this for many decades. It is high time they were offered the concrete action they deserve. And statehood is the only logical answer.

Why I Want a College Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following essay written by John H. Henry, of El Dorado, Ark. John's essay on Why I Want a College Education was chosen as the best of hundreds entered in a contest zone embracing Arkansas and a portion of Texas. He was presented a \$1,000 Lion Oil college scholarship, after winning first place in a Lion Oil scholarship fund essay contest. John is now a senior in the El Dorado, Ark., High School.

Under leave granted to extend my remarks, I include the essay:

WHY I WANT A COLLEGE EDUCATION

(By John H. Henry)

The old master worked continually and tirelessly on a rare but beautiful old vase. His strokes were firm but kind, for to him it was something of great value. Passers-by often inquired why he spent hours working only on that vase, hours of engraving and seemingly useless hours of shining it. The old man always replied that it takes years to perfect a masterpiece, to bring out its beauty, and to give it a dark and lustrous polish. What could deserve the painstaking polishing and delicate engraving more than life itself? Is it not a thing of great value?

A college education offers ample opportunity to polish, to engrave, and to bring out the abilities and beauties of nature that give meaning to life. The desired design and true tone of life can best be attained in a university that provides a broad and firm foundation on which to build. This is best provided by liberal arts courses. Such courses as languages, literature, history, philosophy, fine arts, mathematics, natural sciences, economics, government, and sociology give one a clearer view of the present by providing generous information of the trends of the past.

What is common to these subjects that makes it proper to group them together? They have a common aim. In contrast to the technical subjects, which are the acquisition of some specific skills, the liberal courses present an understanding of human nature and of the environment in which man lives. Their aim is to throw light upon the greater problems that confront mankind today. In our age the world demands young men and young women, who possess something of that understanding of man's world. It calls for young people who have been in contact with these liberalizing subjects, and which it is the business of the college to teach. I, therefore, choose a college education in favor of a technical school.

A college education is also essential in that it will help me to prepare for a career and to seek certain characteristics of life that I shall always endeavor to possess. First of all,

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 101

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1955

No. 5

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, January 14, 1955, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1955

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. Father Edward J. Kammer, C. M., executive vice president of DePaul University, Chicago, Ill., offered the following prayer:

O God, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, look with favor and help with Thy grace this group of Thy creatures upon whose intelligence, strength, and integrity Thou hast placed the terrible burden of world leadership.

Mayest Thou grant to each of them the cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance; prudence that they may say and do the right thing at the right time; justice that they may be to the world a beacon of hope; fortitude that they may not be swayed by the expediency of the moment; temperance that they may have patience and understanding when things go awry.

These virtues we humbly ask of Thee, O God, in the name of Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, January 11, 1955, was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS

Mr. CHIPERFIELD and Mr. ALLEN of California appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 84) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Ways and Means and the subcommittees thereof be authorized to sit during sessions and recesses of the 84th Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO COMMITTEES

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I offer another privileged resolution (H. Res. 85) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

Committee on Agriculture: Harold D. Cooley (chairman), North Carolina; W. R. Poage, Texas; George M. Grant, Alabama; E. C. Gathings, Arkansas; John L. McMillan, South Carolina; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; Carl Albert, Oklahoma; Watkins M. Abbitt, Virginia; James G. Polk, Ohio; Clark W. Thompson, Texas; Paul C. Jones, Missouri; John C. Watts, Kentucky; Harlan Hagen, California; Lester Johnson, Wisconsin; Victor L. Anfuso, New York; Ross Bass, Tennessee; Coys Knutson, Minnesota; Pat Jennings, Virginia.

Committee on Appropriations: Clarence Cannon (chairman), Missouri; George H. Mahon, Texas; Harry R. Sheppard, California; Albert Thomas, Texas; Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio; W. F. Norrell, Arkansas; Jamie L. Whitten, Mississippi; George W. Andrews, Alabama; John J. Rooney, New York; J. Vaughan Gary, Virginia; John E. Fogarty,

Rhode Island; Robert L. F. Sikes, Florida; Antonio M. Fernandez, New Mexico; Prince H. Preston, Georgia; Otto E. Passman, Louisiana; Louis C. Rabaut, Michigan; Sidney R. Yates, Illinois; Fred Marshall, Minnesota; John J. Riley, South Carolina; Alfred D. Sleminski, New Jersey; Joe L. Ewins, Tennessee; Henderson Lanham, Georgia; Charles B. Deane, North Carolina; John F. Shelley, California; Edward P. Boland, Massachusetts; Don Magnuson, Washington; William H. Natcher, Kentucky; Daniel J. Flood, Pennsylvania; Winfield K. Denton, Indiana; James C. Murray, Illinois.

Committee on Armed Services: Carl Vinson (chairman), Georgia; Overton Brooks, Louisiana; Paul J. Kilday, Texas; Carl T. Durham, North Carolina; L. Mendel Rivers, South Carolina; Philip J. Philbin, Massachusetts; F. Edward Hébert, Louisiana; Arthur Winstead, Mississippi; Melvin Price, Illinois; O. C. Fisher, Texas; Porter Hardy, Jr., Virginia; William J. Green, Jr., Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, California; Victor Wickersham, Oklahoma; George P. Miller, California; Charles E. Bennett, Florida; Lester Holtzman, New York; Robert H. Mollohan, West Virginia; Richard E. Lankford, Maryland; George Huddleston, Jr., Alabama.

Committee on Banking and Currency: Brent Spence (chairman), Kentucky; Paul Brown, Georgia; Wright Patman, Texas; Albert Rains, Alabama; Abraham J. Multer, New York; Hugh J. Addonizio, New Jersey; William A. Barrett, Pennsylvania; Earratt O'Hara, Illinois; Vera Buchanan, Pennsylvania; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; Martha W. Griffiths, Michigan; Thomas Ludlow Ashley, Ohio; Charles A. Vanik, Ohio; Irwin D. Davidson, New York; John J. Bell, Texas.

Committee on the District of Columbia: John L. McMillan (chairman), South Carolina; Oren Harris, Arkansas; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; Howard W. Smith, Virginia; Arthur G. Klein, New York; Olin E. Teague, Texas; James O. Davis, Georgia; James H. Morrison, Louisiana; William L. Dawson, Illinois; John Bell Williams, Missis-

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issippi; Tom Steed, Oklahoma; Roy W. Wier, Minnesota; Woodrow W. Jones, North Carolina; J. T. Rutherford, Texas.

Committee on Education and Labor: Graham A. Barden (chairman), North Carolina; Augustine B. Kelley, Pennsylvania; Adam C. Powell, Jr., New York; Cleveland M. Bailey, West Virginia; Carl D. Perkins, Kentucky; Roy W. Wier, Minnesota; Carl Elliott, Alabama; Phil M. Landrum, Georgia; Lee Metcalf, Montana; James B. Bowler, Illinois; Earl Chudoff, Pennsylvania; Edith Green, Oregon; James Roosevelt, California; Herbert Zelenko, New York; Harris B. McDowell, Jr., Delaware; Frank S. Thompson, Jr., New Jersey.

Committee on Foreign Affairs: James P. Richards (chairman), South Carolina; Thomas S. Gordon, Illinois; Thomas E. Morgan, Pennsylvania; A. S. J. Carnahan, Missouri; Thurmond Chatham, North Carolina; Clement J. Zablocki, Wisconsin; Omar Bureleson, Texas; Brooks Hays, Arkansas; Edna F. Kelly, New York; Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut; Wayne L. Hays, Ohio; James G. Donovan, New York; John Jarman, Oklahoma; Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia; Armistead I. Selden, Jr., Alabama; J. L. Pilcher, Georgia; Harrison A. Williams, Jr., New Jersey.

Committee on Government Operations: William L. Dawson (chairman), Illinois; Chet Holifield, California; John W. McCormack, Massachusetts; Earl Chudoff, Pennsylvania; Jack B. Brooks, Texas; Lester Holtzman, New York; Robert H. Mollohan, West Virginia; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Porter Hardy, Jr., Virginia; John A. Biatnik, Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Jr., Alabama; Edward A. Garmatz, Maryland; John E. Moss, Jr., California; Joe M. Kilgore, Texas; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Martha W. Griffiths, Michigan; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin.

Committee on House Administration: Omar Bureleson (chairman), Texas; Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia; Samuel N. Friedel, Maryland; Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina; Wayne L. Hays, Ohio; Paul C. Jones, Missouri; George M. Rhodes, Pennsylvania; John Lesinski, Jr., Michigan; Frank E. Smith, Mississippi; John Dowdy, Texas; George S. Long, Louisiana; James A. Haley, Florida; Hugh Q. Alexander, North Carolina; Frank S. Thompson, Jr., New Jersey.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: Clair Engle (chairman), California; Wayne N. Aspinall, Colorado; Leo W. O'Brien, New York; Walter Rogers, Texas; Gracie Pfost, Idaho; James A. Haley, Florida; George A. Shuford, North Carolina; Adam C. Powell, Jr., New York; Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma; Lee Metcalf, Montana; George H. Christopher, Missouri; B. F. Sisk, California; Stewart Udall, Arizona; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan; J. T. Rutherford, Texas.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: J. Percy Priest (chairman), Tennessee; Oren Harris, Arkansas; Arthur G. Klein, New York; William T. Granahan, Pennsylvania; F. Ertel Carlyle, North Carolina; John Bell Williams, Mississippi; Peter F. Mack, Jr., Illinois; Kenneth A. Roberts, Alabama; Morgan M. Maulder, Missouri; Harley O. Staggers, West Virginia; Isidore Dolinger, New York; Walter Rogers, Texas; Martin Dies, Texas; Samuel N. Friedel, Maryland; John J. Flynt, Jr., Georgia; Torbert Macdonald, Massachusetts; Don Hayworth, Michigan.

Committee on the Judiciary: Emanuel Celler (chairman), New York; Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania; Thomas J. Lane, Massachusetts; Michael A. Feighan, Ohio; Frank Chelf, Kentucky; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; James B. Frazier, Jr., Tennessee; Peter W. Rodino, Jr., New Jersey; Woodrow W. Jones, North Carolina; E. L. Forrester, Georgia; Byron G. Rogers, Colorado; Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts; Sidney A. Fine, New York; Jack B. Brooks, Texas; William M. Tuck, Virginia; Robert T. Ashmore, South

Carolina; James M. Quigley, Pennsylvania; Charles A. Boyle, Illinois.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Herbert C. Bonner (chairman), North Carolina; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; Edward A. Garmatz, Maryland; Edward J. Robeson, Jr., Virginia; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; T. A. Thompson, Louisiana; George P. Miller, California; John C. Kluczynski, Illinois; James A. Byrne, Pennsylvania; John J. Bell, Texas; T. James Tumulty, New Jersey; Irwin D. Davidson, New York; Herbert Zelenko, New York; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Thomas Ludlow Ashley, Ohio.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: Tom Murray (chairman), Tennessee; James H. Morrison, Louisiana; James C. Davis, Georgia; George M. Rhodes, Pennsylvania; John Lesinski, Jr., Michigan; John Dowdy, Texas; Hugh Q. Alexander, North Carolina; John E. Moss, Jr., California; Edward J. Robeson, Jr., Virginia; Gracie Pfost, Idaho; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; T. James Tumulty, New Jersey; Joe M. Kilgore, Texas.

Committee on Public Works: Charles A. Buckley (chairman), New York; George H. Fallon, Maryland; Clifford Davis, Tennessee; John A. Biatnik, Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Jr., Alabama; John J. Dempsey, New Mexico; Frank E. Smith, Mississippi; Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, Michigan; John C. Kluczynski, Illinois; Tom Steed, Oklahoma; T. A. Thompson, Louisiana; Brady Gentry, Texas; M. G. (Burnie) Burnside, West Virginia; Iris Faircloth Blitch, Georgia; Jim Wright, Texas; W. R. Hull, Jr., Missouri; Kenneth J. Gray, Illinois.

Committee on Rules: Howard W. Smith (chairman), Virginia; William M. Colmer, Mississippi; Ray J. Madden, Indiana; James J. Delaney, New York; James W. Trimble, Arkansas; Homer Thornberry, Texas; Richard Bolling, Missouri; Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Massachusetts.

Committee on Un-American Activities: Francis E. Walter (chairman), Pennsylvania; Morgan M. Maulder, Missouri; Clyde Doyle, California; James B. Frazier, Jr., Tennessee; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs: Olin E. Teague (chairman), Texas; W. J. Bryan Dorn, South Carolina; Elizabeth Kee, West Virginia; George S. Long, Louisiana; James A. Byrne, Pennsylvania; D. R. (Billy) Matthews, Florida; Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma; Frank W. Boykin, Alabama; Wayne N. Aspinall, Colorado; Leo W. O'Brien, New York; George A. Shuford, North Carolina; George H. Christopher, Missouri; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan; B. F. Sisk, California.

The resolution was agreed to.

COMPOSITION OF ARMED FORCES— MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 68)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

The military security of the United States requires armed forces, disposed and alerted for instant action, quickly reinforceable by units ready for mobilization, assured an adequate pool of trained manpower for necessary expansion. Three elements are necessary to this military posture: (1) active forces in the strength and effectiveness necessary to meet, to repel, and to punish a first massive assault or to conduct a

lesser operation that does not require mobilization; (2) reserves so organized and trained as units that they can be speedily mobilized to reinforce the active forces in combat or to man defense operations at home; (3) an unorganized reserve pool, adequate in training and numbers, to permit a quick general mobilization of all our military strength.

Never, in peacetime, have we achieved this proper military posture. The penalties of our unreadiness have been manifold—in treasure, in blood, in the heartbreak of a mighty Nation buying time with the lives of men. Now, in an uneasy peace, we can and must move toward this proper posture—at tolerable cost, with due regard for tradition, without disruption of human plans or the material economy.

Korea and Indochina are bitter reminders of the ever-present threat of aggression. The masses of armed men and the vast array of warmaking machines, maintained by the Soviets and their satellites along the frontiers of the free world, sharpen the reminders.

The first purpose of our defense planning remains the maintenance of a just, secure peace. If, however, unwanted war should come, it should find us ready with every resource at our command to repel and defeat the enemy. And, at home, we must have forces trained for every emergency, should an aggressor be so criminally unwise as to attempt an atomic attack.

In seeking to attain these goals, we must remember that the active military forces are only the cutting edge of our Nation's full strength. A vigorous economy, a strong mobilization base, and trained citizens are the invincible elements in our military striking power.

But we cannot possibly keep armed and in uniform the total forces that might ultimately be required in all-out war. The inescapable burdens would endanger the liberties and the economic system we are determined to defend.

On the other hand, in case of a global war, the Nation could not count on having time to marshal its strength while the enemy was engaged elsewhere. Unquestionably, the United States would be involved from the outset of such a conflict. We must be prepared.

The Defense Establishment, through the past 2 years, has concentrated on effectiveness, economy, and efficiency within the active military forces. The result is a formidable assurance to any aggressor that we would react to attack instantly and powerfully.

In the same period, exhaustive studies have been made on manpower—the key to a proper military posture. The recommendations herewith submitted, dealing with both the active and the reserve forces, are based on them.

In summary, I recommend (1) that the present statutory provisions authorizing the induction of young men by the Selective Service System for 24 months of training and service, scheduled to expire July 1, 1955, be extended until July 1, 1959; (2) that the existing special statutory provisions authorizing the registration and induction of doctors and

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telegrams which were received in my office this morning, protesting the scheduling of hearings on the proposed reciprocal trade agreements, and H. R. 1, to begin next Monday the 17th. That is only 4 days away, which is hardly time to get Californians to Washington, let alone to prepare themselves adequately for the hearing.

I have written the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COOPER], calling his attention to this situation, which I am sure was unintentional. I know that the hearings will be extended to give an opportunity for our people to prepare themselves and appear. The situation will affect various commodity groups in California, although the walnutgrowers and the almondgrowers are the only two from whom I have as yet received wires:

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., January 13, 1955.

HON. JOHN PHILLIPS,
House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

Vigorously protest hasty scheduling of hearings by Ways and Means Committee on reciprocal-trade agreements, H. R. 1, beginning next Monday, because does not allow interested parties adequate time to prepare presentations. Tree-nut industries constantly endangered by excessive import competition, and believe committee exhibits prejudice against our viewpoint.

CALIFORNIA WALNUT GROWERS
ASSOCIATION.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., January 13, 1955.

HON. JOHN PHILLIPS,
House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

Rush hearings on H. R. 1 as set for January 17 are indicative of attempt to railroad measure seeking to dissipate existing congressional tariff authority. We earnestly urge you exert your fullest possible opposition to such steamroller tactics. Letter follows.

D. R. BAILEY,
General Manager,
California Almond Growers Exchange.

A Program of Financial Aid to Students in Higher Education and the Crisis in Western Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am joining with the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, CARL ELLIOTT, in sponsoring a bill to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education. This bill was first developed by the United States Office of Education about 2 years ago in cooperation with some 30 leading national organizations in the field of education.

The Federal Government has now, as it has had in the past, an active responsibility for the education of our youth. This means not only institutional support as under the Morrill Land-Grant College and University Act of 1862, and special programs on a regional basis in such fields as public health

and veterinary medicine, but also a concern for the post-high-school education of this Nation's students, who are not able, otherwise, to continue their formal schooling. The Federal Government's responsibility is not merely residual, as has been maintained by some who have held important national positions during the past 2 years but must, for the good of the Nation, be conceived of as a dynamic one where the national interest is directly involved. Federal funds should be available for this purpose where State and local support is lacking in view of the fact of the high percentage of young people who, though qualified in all other respects, are financially unable to continue their education. The active participation of the Federal Government may be needed in a variety of ways, for instance, to assist in identifying needy students who should be helped.

It should be obvious to everyone that the minimum need for this Nation in the world of today is to hold its own in all ways against Russian communism and to attempt to win friends in other countries. These efforts must include all fields of knowledge such as the natural and social sciences and the humanities.

In 1900 the United States spent \$2 per capita on general governmental tasks as compared to \$1 per capita on education. In 1953 the Federal educational effort was \$76 per capita while general Federal expenditures, including defense, was \$467 per capita. In other words, the ratio of educational to general Federal expenditures, which in 1900 was 1 to 2, had declined, in the intervening 50 years, to a ratio of 1 to 6. This has taken place at a time when Russian communism has risen to commanding power leading a totalitarian power bloc of hundreds of millions of people. The correlation between these facts seems fairly evident.

It is very important that we develop ways and means to bring to the hundreds of millions of people who are still free and who look to us for leadership a true picture of our form of government so that in the struggle that is going on for the loyalty, the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men throughout the world they will turn to us rather than to the Russians. Strong and courageous leadership is needed. This bill will assist in the development of the kind of leadership without which we may well lose the cold war. A short summary of the provisions of the bill I am sponsoring follows:

SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED STUDENT AID ACT OF 1955

Under the bill, Federal aid would be made available to selected students in higher education in the form of scholarship stipends. The bill would also provide for Federal insurance of loans to students made by institutions of higher education. The institution, however, could assign its rights under such insurance to a financial institution as security to obtain funds for making loans to students.

Any high-school graduate would be eligible to apply for a scholarship. From

among those applying, those showing greatest promise would be granted certificates showing that they are American scholars. Stipends would be granted to the neediest among these scholars, the amount of the stipend varying with the demonstrated need of the recipient, but not exceeding \$800 per academic year. The recipient could attend any bona fide college or university of his choice which admits him; and so long as he continued in good standing at the educational institution, his stipend would be paid directly to him in installments suited to the demands of the academic year.

During a time of active hostilities or when found by the President to be necessary in the interest of national defense, at least 60 percent of the stipends must go to students engaging in studies which are determined in a manner prescribed by the President to be related to the national defense or defense-supporting activities. Scholars receiving stipends thus earmarked must, in general, continue their studies in the designated fields if they wish to continue receiving stipends.

The stipends are subject to annual renewal for the normal course of time necessary to complete the work for the first posthigh-school degree, the amount of the stipend being fixed each year in terms of the financial need of each student.

The bill would authorize appropriations not exceeding \$32 million for scholarship stipends for the fiscal year 1956, \$64 million for the next year, \$96 million for the third year, and \$128 million thereafter. Each State would be allotted a proportionate share of the funds available each year, the amount being based on the number of high school graduates in the State and the number of youths between the ages of 18 and 21. The number of persons aided would depend on the amount of money appropriated by Congress; but the bill contemplates that when the program is in full operation approximately 50,000 to 60,000 men and women will enter college or university each year with the aid of Federal stipends of varying amounts.

Scholarship commissions in each State would receive applications from students, conduct the objective examinations to select the abler among the applicants, assess the financial need of those qualifying as scholars, and certify to the Commissioner of Education the persons eligible to be certified as scholars and those among the able whose financial need justifies the payment of a stipend, with the amount of the stipend in each case.

A national council on student aid, composed of 12 persons representative of individual, organizational, and professional interests in education and of the public, would advise and assist the Commissioner in the development of principles to guide the State commissions in the selection of persons for scholarship certificates and stipends, and on other important policy matters arising in the administration of the act. Provision is also made for consultation between the Office of Education and the

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various Federal agencies, such as the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Defense, which operate special programs of aid to undergraduate and graduate students. The bill is so drawn as to assure full coordination of the Federal scholarship program with other federally supported programs which aid students in higher education.

The loan insurance program would eventually be self-financing, with the participating colleges and universities paying insurance premiums in to a revolving fund established in the United States Treasury, out of which 80 percent of the loss on each insured student loan would be paid. The interest rate charged the student would be geared to the average interest paid on marketable United States Treasury obligations. The institution would be permitted to charge the student this rate plus an additional amount of not more than 1 percent, plus the insurance premium charged by the Federal Government.

The student would not have to start repaying the principal of his loan until 4 years after he completes his education, and then would be given an additional 6 years to repay it. The institution could charge an additional 1 percent interest beginning at the time payments on the principal become due.

With their losses thus insured by the Federal Government, it is expected that the educational institutions would have no difficulty in borrowing money from banks or other financial institutions with which to make loans to students. They could, if they wished, use their own funds or student loan funds over which they have control.

Any student would be permitted to borrow from educational institutions up to \$600 a year and up to \$2,400 in the aggregate. The total principal amount of new loans to students covered by insurance under the act in any fiscal year would be limited to \$10 million.

Mack Resubmits Moro Vets Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the National Tribune—the Stars and Stripes, of January 13, 1955, entitled "Mack Resubmits Moro Vets Bill":

MACK RESUBMITS MORO VETS BILL—WOULD PENSION THOSE WHO FOUGHT TO 1914—IDENTICAL MEASURES DROPPED IN HOPPER

A new version of the Moro-Leyte-Samar veterans' bill, House Joint Resolution 65, was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 5 by Representative RUSSELL V. MACK, World War I veteran, of Washington. Identical bills were also introduced by Representatives GEORGE S. LONE, of Louisiana; BARRATT O'HARA, Spanish War veteran, of Illinois; ROY W. WHEA, World War I vet-

eran, of Minnesota, and EDITH NOURSE ROGERS of Massachusetts.

The new bill, according to Jack Kyle, national legislative representative of the 1902-14 Philippine Command Committee, is designed to overcome numerous objections to similar bills in previous Congresses. The old bills, Kyle said, undertook to write a new principle into veterans' legislation. Under their provisions, he said, pension payments would have been limited to those who could clearly establish combat service. Kyle pointed out that no such restriction or limitation is contained in the Spanish-American War Service Pension Act which House Joint Resolution 65 would extend to all who served in the Moro Province and in the Islands of Leyte and Samar after July 4, 1902, and prior to the day following the last armed engagement in the province or islands in which they served, but no pension would be payable for any service after December 31, 1913.

The insular forces of the Philippines—the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts—are specifically included in House Joint Resolution 65, but there was considerable doubt in the minds of many that they were covered in most of the bills in earlier Congresses.

MACK ISSUES STATEMENT

Congressman MACK issued a brief statement when he introduced his legislation which would grant to some 500 veterans of the Philippine Insurrection and an estimated 300 dependents the same benefits as are now available to Spanish war veterans.

"This legislation would apply to those members of the Armed Forces who served in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the islands of Leyte and Samar between July 4, 1902, and January 1, 1914," he said.

"Similar bills have been approved on four occasions by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. On two occasions the House of Representatives has passed similar legislation. During the 78th Congress, such a bill was also passed by the Senate but vetoed by President Roosevelt.

"The Philippine Insurrection, which followed the war with Spain, was officially terminated by Presidential proclamation on July 4, 1902. The actual fighting continued, however, and between that time and January 1914 some 103 engagements were fought. The intensity and extent of the fighting is indicated by the fact that the Army awarded 11 Congressional Medals of Honor to members of the armed services for service in this area during this period. The number of casualties during the same period was about equal to those of the Spanish-American War itself."

A similar bill, H. R. 5380, was unanimously reported by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the 83d Congress, but was killed in the House Rules Committee.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

House Joint Resolution 65 reads as follows:

"Whereas the Philippine Insurrection was ended by the Presidential proclamation of July 4, 1902, in all parts of the Philippine Archipelago except in the country inhabited by the Moro tribes, to which the proclamation did not apply; and

"Whereas it was necessary for the Government of the United States to employ its Armed Forces, including insular forces, against numerous inhabitants of the country inhabited by the Moro tribes who were in armed insurrection against the authority of the United States and/or political subdivisions thereof until in the year of 1913; and

"Whereas notwithstanding the aforementioned proclamation, armed hostilities did continue in the Islands of Leyte and Samar after July 4, 1902, necessitating the employment of the Armed Forces of the United

States, including insular forces, against numerous inhabitants of the said islands who were also in armed insurrection against the authority of the United States and/or political subdivisions thereof; and

"Whereas it has ever been the policy of the Congress to enact uniform and all inclusive pension legislation for the relief of former members of the Armed Forces who were employed in upholding and/or enforcing the authority of the United States and its political subdivisions in the States, Territories and insular possessions thereof; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, etc., That any person who served in the Armed Forces of the United States in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the Islands of Leyte and Samar, after July 4, 1902, and prior to the first day following the last armed engagement between the Armed Forces of the United States and inhabitants of the Philippine Islands in the province or island in which he served, and who was honorably discharged from the enlistment in which such service occurred, and the surviving unmarried widow, child, or children of such person shall be entitled to pension under the conditions and at the rates prescribed by the laws enacted by Public Law 269, 74th Congress, as now or hereafter amended: *Provided*, That no such pension shall be paid for service after December 31, 1913.

"Sec. 2. For the purpose of this act, the Armed Forces of the United States shall include the Armed Forces of the Insular Government of the Philippine Islands.

"Sec. 3. This act shall be effective on the first day of the calendar month in which it is approved."

Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I enclose an editorial appearing in the December 31, 1954 issue of the Catholic Standard, the official publication of the archdiocese of Washington. The editorial is a well considered and prepared one, expressing views worthy of deep consideration, particularly by Members of Congress:

COEXISTENCE

The dedication of the past Sunday, the feast of St. Stephen, as a special day of prayer for the persecuted, presents more than a solemn reminder to Christians of their duty to pray for those who are following the glorious example of St. Stephen. It also presents to Christians still free the problem of coexistence with this evil, communism.

Communism has proclaimed to the world its essential evil in a repetitious, ghastly pattern: the 10,000 Polish officers and priests slain like cattle at Katyn; the murder of Jews in Russia under the new crime called cosmopolitanism; the torture of American Protestant missionaries in China to extort accusations against their fellow prisoners; the shooting of manacled American prisoners of war in Korea; the clubbing of men, the snatching of babies from mothers in Vietnam, despite a solemn agreement in Geneva a few days previous, to prevent their seeking freedom in South Vietnam; the mass deportations that have terrorized and depopulated Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania; the imprisonment of the cardinal primates of two great

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See my remarks, pages A256-8
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Congressional Record

United States
of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 101

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1955

No. 9

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, January 21, 1955, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1955

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. Archbishop John Theodorovich, metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States, offered the following prayer:

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, let us pray.

Almighty God, Thou art father of all nations, the source of the mighty stream of life in which the forward flow is humanity. Thou gavest to our Nation to become a mighty wave in the stream of humanity. Grant us, our Father, to remember we are a hope for many engulfed with the waves of oppression. There are the enslavers of the nations hiding the shame of slavery in our time behind the iron curtains.

Have mercy, O Lord, on these victims of mass execution, exile, slave camps, starvation. Have mercy on Thy ministers, tortured and killed for Thy name's sake. Grant the nations crushed under the tyrant's heel the blessings of liberty, independence, and national statehood.

Give our great Nation the strength and courage to keep bright the beacon of liberty and justice. Give us the wisdom to help our brothers in Ukraine and all the other suppressed nations striving for freedom and national independence.

May the day come, O God, when all nations and peoples shall live in a true state of coexistence devoid of iron curtains and tyrants and slavery. And grant that all men may live in their own lands in liberty and independence under their own governments in Thy ways and according to Thy will.

May Thy kingdom come. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 17, 1955, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGES FROM THE SENATE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communications from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

JANUARY 20, 1955.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

Sir: Pursuant to authority granted on January 17, 1955, the Clerk received from the Secretary of the Senate on January 19, 1955, the following messages:

That the Senate has passed with amendments the bill H. R. 2091, entitled "An act making appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes"; and

That the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill H. R. 2091 and requests a conference with the House of Representatives on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appointed Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. BRIDGES, and Mr. SALTONSTALL, conferees on the part of the Senate.

Respectfully yours,
RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

JANUARY 18, 1955.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

Sir: Pursuant to authority granted on January 17, 1955, the Clerk received from the Secretary of the Senate on January 18, 1955, the following message:

That the Senate has passed without amendment the bill H. R. 2369, entitled "An act to amend section 7237 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954."

Respectfully yours,
RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 2369. An act to amend section 7237 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to the authority granted him on Monday, January 17, 1955, he did on January 18, 1955, sign the following enrolled bill of the House:

H. R. 2369. An act to amend section 7237 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

And the following enrolled joint resolution of the Senate:

S. J. Res. 4. Joint resolution to provide for the continuation in office of certain members of the Commission on Governmental Operations.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 15, section 1024, United States Code, the Chair appoints as members of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report the following members on the part of the House: Mr. PATMAN of Texas, Mr. BOLLING of Missouri, Mr. MILLS of Arkansas, Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. WOLCOTT of Michigan, Mr. TALLE of Iowa, and Mr. CURTIS of Missouri.

ECONOMIC REPORT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 31)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Joint Committee on

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the Economic Report and ordered to be printed, with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:
I am herewith presenting my economic report, as required by section 3 (a) of the Employment Act of 1946.

In preparing this report, I have had the assistance and advice of the Council of Economic Advisers. I have also had the advice of the heads of executive departments and independent agencies.

I present below, largely in the words of the report itself, what I regard as its highlights.

SOURCES OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

With production and employment now increasing on a broad front, the events of the past year have borne out the major conclusions of the Economic Report of January 1954 concerning the state of our economy and the policies needed to promote sound economic growth.

Economic well-being sustains our whole national life. A high and rising standard of living brings to more of our people the opportunity for continued intellectual and spiritual growth.

The main sources of our Nation's economic strength are its free institutions and the qualities of its people—their ambition, skill, enterprise, and willingness to make great efforts in their own behalf and in behalf of their families and communities.

The need of our times is for economic policies that, in the first place, recognize the proven sources of sustained economic growth and betterment, and in the second place, respect the need of people for a sense of security as well as opportunity in our complex, industrialized society.

A free economy has great capacity to generate jobs and incomes if a feeling of confidence in the economic future is widely shared by investors, workers, businessmen, farmers, and consumers.

Many factors favor a continuation of our vigorous economic growth. The population is increasing rapidly, educational levels are rising, work skills are improving, incomes are widely distributed, consumers are eager to better their living standards, businessmen are starting new enterprises and expanding old ones, the tools of industry are multiplying and improving, research and technology are opening up new opportunities, and our public policies generally encourage enterprise and innovation.

With wise management of the national household, our country can within a decade increase its production from the current annual level of about 360 billion dollars to 500 billion, or more, expressed in dollars of the same buying power.

In the future as in the past, increases in productivity and in useful employment opportunities will be the core of economic expansion.

The role of the Federal Government in the achievement of these goals is to create an atmosphere favorable to economic activity by encouraging private initiative, curbing monopolistic tendencies, avoiding encroachment on the private sector of the economy, and carrying out as much of its own work as is

practicable through private enterprise. It should take its full part at the side of State and local governments in providing appropriate public facilities. It should restrain tendencies toward recession or inflation. It should widen opportunities for less fortunate citizens, and help individuals to cope with the hazards of unemployment, illness, old age, and blighted neighborhoods.

Last year the Government took many steps, both legislative and administrative, to encourage economic expansion. Fiscal and monetary measures fostered an expectation of improving economic conditions and encouraged people to maintain a high rate of expenditure. The opportunities of competitive enterprise were enlarged; economic ties with other countries were improved; the floor of personal and family security was strengthened; and additions were made to our public assets.

THE ECONOMY TODAY

The year 1954 was one of transition from contraction to recovery. The contraction reflected the efforts of businessmen to reduce inventories, and was aggravated by a large reduction in military expenditures.

The contraction was relatively mild and brief, because of a variety of timely public and private actions.

The Government cut taxes, the Federal Reserve System eased credit conditions, and the Treasury arranged its financing so as not to compete with mortgages and other long-term issues. A comprehensive program for encouraging private enterprise was submitted to the Congress. Apart from this, the decline in private incomes was automatically cushioned by increased payments of unemployment insurance and other benefits and by sharp cuts in taxes due the Government on the reduced incomes.

Consumers maintained a high rate of spending, businessmen kept capital expenditures at a high rate, builders stepped up their activities, trade unions conducted their affairs with a sense of responsibility, farmers recognized the dangers of piling up ever larger surpluses, private lenders made ample supplies of credit available on liberal terms, States and localities carried out large construction programs, and export demand remained strong.

Although manufacturing production fluctuated, total output was fairly stable, and disposable personal income reached record levels. But some industries and localities suffered from serious unemployment. The fortunes of most of them turned for the better when recovery got underway in the early autumn, and they will benefit from further general economic expansion.

Instead of expanding Federal enterprises or initiating new spending programs, the basic policy of the Government in dealing with the contraction was to take actions that created confidence in the future and stimulated business firms, consumers, and States and localities to increase their expenditures.

The vigor of the recent recovery, which has already made up half of the preceding decline in industrial produc-

tion, suggests that economic expansion will probably continue during coming months. It holds out the promise that we shall achieve a high and satisfactory level of employment and production within the current year.

A further expansion of consumer spending may reasonably be expected; we are soon likely to experience some rebuilding of inventories; the decline of Federal spending next year will be less rapid than during the last 2 years; State and local expenditure will probably continue to expand; the outlook for housing and commercial construction continues to be good; there is a prospect that plant and equipment expenditures may turn upward, as the general economic advance proceeds; the outlook for export demand is brightened by the economic resurgence of an ever-widening area of the free world.

It is essential to keep a close watch on financial developments; continued economic recovery must not be jeopardized by overemphasis of speculative activity.

TOWARD SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH

The wise course for Government in 1955 is to direct its program principally toward fostering long-term economic growth rather than toward imparting an immediate upward thrust to economic activity.

Further efforts to reduce Federal expenditures, together with increasing revenues from a tax base growing as the economy expands, should make possible some additional general tax reductions next year. Progress could then also be made in further lowering tax barriers to the free flow of funds into risk-taking and job-creating investments.

Government should persist in its efforts to maintain easy entry into trade and industry, to check monopoly, and to preserve a competitive environment. Continued encouragement should be given to small and new businesses.

Scientific research and development activities in all their phases should continue to have the earnest support of the Federal Government.

Measures by ourselves and other nations to reduce existing barriers to international trade, payments, and investment will make the free world stronger and aid our own economic growth.

Measures should be considered to extend personal security against the hazard of unemployment, to strengthen minimum wage legislation, to protect savings in credit unions, and to increase the President's discretionary authority to vary the terms of insured mortgage loans in the interest of economic stability.

A great 10-year program to modernize the interstate highway system should be authorized.

Our partnership policies of water resource development should be further implemented by appropriate congressional and local action.

Action should be taken this year to help meet our nationwide needs for school construction. I shall shortly send to the Congress a special message that will deal with methods by which the Federal Government can appropriately assist in this vital field.

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H. R. 2762. A bill for the relief of Bent Petersen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2763. A bill for the relief of Aurelio Guidi, Andreina Guidi, and Giorgio Guidi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2764. A bill for the relief of Victor and Irene-Wanda Goldstein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2765. A bill for the relief of Joseph Brocha, and Jehoushija Genger; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATTERSON:
H. R. 2766. A bill for the relief of Jose Maria Lopes Ramos and his wife and minor children; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOAGE:
H. R. 2767. A bill for the relief of Edward Mixson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H. R. 2768. A bill for the relief of Charles R. Law, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2769. A bill for the relief of Tennessee C. Batts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAY:
H. R. 2770. A bill for the relief of Ely S. (Angelides) Christofilos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:
H. R. 2771. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Soledad Tejera Suarez Herreros and her son, Rafael; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2772. A bill for the relief of Jamil Masri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2773. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any claim arising out of personal property damage sustained by the Security Feed and Seed Co. of Johnson City, Tenn.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:
H. R. 2774. A bill to authorize the acceptance on behalf of the United States of the conveyance and release by the Aztec Land and Cattle Co., Ltd., of its right, title, and interest in lands within the Coconino and Sitgreaves National Forests, in the State of Arizona, and the payment to said company of the value of such lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ROBSON of Kentucky:
H. R. 2775. A bill for the relief of Chrisavge Christodouloupoulou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2776. A bill for the relief of Lillian Sorensen Howell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2777. A bill for the relief of George L. Goetz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:
H. R. 2778. A bill for the relief of Jacob Grynberg; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2779. A bill for the relief of Mikie Sato and Haruhiro Sato; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHERER:

H. R. 2780. A bill for the relief of Dr. Byung Hack Youn; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SEELY-BROWN:

H. R. 2781. A bill for the relief of Anna G. Pruczinski Wood; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 2782. A bill for the relief of Josefa Martinez Infante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHORT:

H. R. 2783. A bill for the relief of Andrew Wing-Huen Tsang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHUFORD:

H. R. 2784. A bill for the relief of Dixie Novelty Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. R. 2785. A bill for the relief of Anesti N. Balcousheff; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TRIMBLE:

H. R. 2786. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Jean Barbara Laing Vance; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UDALL:

H. R. 2787. A bill to authorize the acceptance on behalf of the United States of the conveyance and release by the Aztec Land & Cattle Co., Ltd., of its right, title, and interest in lands within the Coconino and Sitgreaves National Forests, in the State of Arizona, and the payment to said company of the value of such lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. UTT:

H. R. 2788. A bill for the relief of Miguel Sandoval-Michel (also known as Arturo Rodriguez-Gomez); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2789. A bill for the relief of Andrija Artukovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2790. A bill for the relief of Ana Maria Artukovic, Vianja M. Artukovic, Zorica D. Artukovic, and Radoslav Artukovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATTS:

H. R. 2791. A bill for the relief of Ofella Martin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WESTLAND:

H. R. 2792. A bill for the relief of Glen Miner; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2793. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment on any and all claims in law or equity, which Maquinna Jongie Claplanhoo, of Neah Bay, Wash., may have against the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WESTLAND (by request):

H. R. 2794. A bill for the relief of Bjorne Norman deBough; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WICKERSHAM:

H. R. 2795. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to present in the name of Congress a Medal of Honor to Joseph Oklahombi; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H. R. 2796. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Khatoun Malkey Samuel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

H. R. 2797. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Seyre Odichou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILSON of California:

H. R. 2798. A bill for the relief of Alfred Johann Hoinski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2799. A bill for the relief of Milan P. Vojvodic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTIN:

H. J. Res. 158. Joint resolution authorizing the appointment of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur as general of the armies of the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

56. By Mr. CANFIELD: Petition of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities opposing any proposal by Congress to tax the income of municipal and other public agency bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

57. Also, petition of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities supporting the actions of the American Municipal Association in urging Congress to provide payments to municipalities in lieu of taxes on federally owned property; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

58. By Mr. JENNINGS: Petition of the Smyth County Farmers Union urging that legislation be enacted to permit the Korean war veterans to receive the same benefits as those of World War II in regard to institutional on-farm training; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

59. By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin: Resolution of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Wisconsin, in a meeting held at Kenosha, Wis., in December 1954 "that the time has come for the United States to defend its citizens by delivering an ultimatum to Red China to set free all prisoners, both military and civilian, who are being unjustly confined; further that in the event of a refusal by Red China to comply with such request, that the United States take such positive action as is deemed necessary to accomplish the purpose of this resolution"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

60. Also, resolution of the Rock County, Wis., Bar Association unanimously adopted on December 16, 1954, in protest against the increasing complexity of Federal income tax laws; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

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Appendix

Inaugural Address of Gov. George M. Rhodes, Leader, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the inaugural address of the Honorable George M. Rhodes, the new Governor of Pennsylvania:

My fellow Pennsylvanians, inauguration as Governor of Pennsylvania is a proud, a solemn thing.

I would not be frank if I did not confess a stirring in my heart and a challenge, bold and emphatic, in my spirit. This is a post I sought; this is an opportunity I asked of my fellow Pennsylvanians. And the people of Pennsylvania gave it to me.

Today, when I take office by their vote, I owe them the performance they were promised. With God's help, I will work unremittingly in my term of office, sparing nothing of my strength, to accomplish the full scope of the program for Pennsylvania which we set forth as my pledge and the pledge of the Democratic Party.

That program, in its essence, is a simple one.

It is the assemblage of the great resources of this State, of the energetic people of this State, of the wisdom and the hope and the God-given intelligence of our leadership in every phase of community endeavor, into a common effort which will benefit us all.

Our great, our overriding concern, is the economy of Pennsylvania.

Our effort is to find in that economy the source of a rising living standard, the full employment of our people, the provision of an environment which will bring today's opportunities to every home and every child in Pennsylvania.

I ask you today—you who wish me well, you who will work with me—to lift up your sights, to think of government as something more than a dreary contest for power and privilege, to think of our obligation to our present trust and to our future hope.

Pennsylvania through the years has made great progress, no matter who was governor or what party was in control. The energy of its people assures that much; the interplay of ideas, the effect of our enterprise, will bring us forward even when official leadership may fail.

But I take office in conviction that we can do more—much more.

It is my belief that there is a great potential of leadership in this sprawling framework of State government; that the stately words "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" mean something more than a commission to an office or a party to a trial.

I intend to do all that is in me to summon up that leadership; to make it effective; to make it helpful; to make it imaginative and alert to the problems of the people of this State.

I see the State government as the coworker and friendly partner of local government

and community agencies everywhere in Pennsylvania, helping them to develop their resources and overcome their obstacles.

I see the State government as a vigorous spokesman for Pennsylvania before the Congress and the national administration, acting quickly to protect our people's interests, calling on Federal agencies to treat us fairly, alerting the Nation to Pennsylvania problems which have national implications and with which we cannot deal alone.

I see the State government as the helpful friend of business and of labor, of the city and farm, as an agency which exists to help the people do, as Abraham Lincoln said, what they cannot do for themselves acting individually.

Good government acts to prevent injustice, to prevent exploitation, to guard the humble against oppression by the strong.

But, in a sense, those things are negative. As this administration will see it, this State government will also be a positive force for accomplishment. We will not sit by, wringing our hands, while any phase of our community life deteriorates, or while whole regions slip into stagnation, chronic unemployment, and decay.

We consider that we have a positive mandate to act.

We will carry out that mandate.

We will act in the fields of social progress, the things of humane concern, such as public health, the care of retarded children, and the mentally ill, the advancement of public education, the prevention of discrimination among our people.

We will act to conserve and to develop for our wise use the natural resources of our State, to purify its streams, to increase its opportunities for outdoor recreation, to keep a sense of the forest and the field in our lives. The more complex, the more urban, our civilization becomes, the more we must preserve our right to restore ourselves by contact with the land and the water as God bequeathed them to us.

But all these good things have their source in one great fundamental—the enduring prosperity of the people of the State; the development of constantly increasing employment opportunities in our economy for today's population, and the rising population of tomorrow.

We must face the fact that growth and development are not automatic. We are in competition with other States and other regions. The relative growth pattern in this country is not necessarily favorable to us. We cannot depend upon the simple course of nature to protect us. We grew on a traditional energy source—coal. Others now share with us the newer energy sources—oil, natural gas, and the atom. We have in too many instances an aging industrial plant; newer industrial areas often gain an advantage in more efficient facilities.

To this date, we have not made a coordinated statewide effort to provide plant sites. Our effort, private and public, to attract new industry has not been emphasized enough, not been supported enough; it has been altogether too little.

But it is certainly not too late.

I pledge you today that the primary work of this administration will be to make Pennsylvania a good competitor, a winning competitor. This State must do more than hold its own. It must rescue its areas of distress; it must gain its proportional share of our national expansion.

This governor will be proud to be a salesman, an advocate, for Pennsylvania.

In that work, I am sure I will be joined by every Pennsylvanian.

In human affairs, there are times of passive resignation, of acceptance. In the stress of our daily lives, we may ignore community problems, regard them as something for others to solve or to ignore as they will.

Then of a sudden, a flame is kindled, an example set, an impulse stirred. That has happened in Pennsylvania.

Our period of passivity is ended.

Our time of flame, of concentrated endeavor, of tireless, ceaseless work has now begun.

For the 4 years of this administration, and I hope for unnumbered years to come, this will be the theme of the State government and those who staff its agencies.

The governorship confers on me the titular leadership of my party—the Democratic Party—in the State. I intend to exercise that leadership as boldly and as strongly as I can, so that our party meets its responsibilities, redeems its pledges, and is an effective instrument for Pennsylvania's progress.

I have every confidence that our party will not fail our program or the State.

Nor, while I concede cheerfully the right of the opposition to oppose, do I believe the Republican Party will adopt a policy of willful or malicious obstruction. I have too much confidence in Americans, regardless of their party, to fear their basic attitudes on grave matters of public interest. Particularly, I know my former colleagues in the Senate, men with whom I served.

I cannot conceive that they will not unite with us in the cause of Pennsylvania's future.

We may have differences. We'll try to thresh them out.

Where our views cannot be reconciled, we will have a mutual right to ask the people to judge between us.

It is known to us all that the State faces a crisis in its own structure. The outgoing governor, who shares this platform today, told the legislature a week or so ago, that his predecessor in office had not informed him of the burdens he was passing on, of the commitments made, the funds pledged, the lack of revenue to meet the State's needs.

I will plead no such surprise, because we campaigned on the statement that the succession of Republican administrations had each practiced some deception of the people and each other—that, in effect, the new administration would be a receiver in bankruptcy.

I must say today, however, that it is even worse than we thought.

As we must now forecast the deficit for this biennium, it will come to a staggering total of approximately \$86 million. That huge deficit must be financed in the budget which the legislature will adopt for the biennium that is ahead.

The budget figures for the coming biennium, compiled by the outgoing administration, including the current deficit, indicate that the State's revenues would be more than \$500 million short of covering its expenditures. Even if the general sales tax were reenacted, the revenue would still be \$400 million short.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

January 20

Two things are obvious:

The general sales tax enacted by the 1953 legislature does not produce even a scant fourth of the amount needed to cover the State's income shortage.

And secondly the people, in what amounted to a referendum in the governorship campaign, instructed us to let the general sales tax die.

And die it will. Our first task will be to revise the budget figures assembled by the outgoing administration, and to cut them wherever it is possible. We have developed plans which I will submit to our new department heads for reducing operating costs. We are planning a revitalized and more stringent administration of our revenue department to increase our tax income.

But I cannot be so optimistic as to predict that these measures will solve our basic problem.

Past legislatures have made enormous commitments which are now the pledged faith of the State, and it has not enacted a tax program that is adequate to raise the money to honor those commitments.

It is the recipe for bankruptcy. And, as might be expected, this administration inherits the full impact of a reckless fiscal policy in which each Republican governor in turn, and each Republican legislature, followed a policy of "after us, the debt."

Well, the deluge is on.

But the people did not elect us, did not change their government after 16 years, so that we could rake over the past and bemoan our bad luck.

They elected us to solve the problem, and solve it we must and will.

It is our plain duty to attack the problem of the State's services and the State's finances all along the line. We can tolerate no more postponement. We must provide an answer, and it must be an answer which the people of the State are willing to accept.

For my part, I will oppose half measures.

And I suggest to our Republican colleagues that, inasmuch as their party bears the responsibility for the State's fiscal crisis, they join with us in an honest bipartisan statesmanlike attempt to reach a meeting of the minds on a finance program which will make Pennsylvania solvent once again.

I would like to say this as to the philosophy which will imbue our administration. It will not be an administration that believes in party feuding as the prime function of government; it will have no hate; but will have no vindictiveness. It will not adopt the political technique of exhuming the past to pollute the present. It will not follow the old game of politics as usual, in every situation, under every circumstance.

I am loyal to my party and want it to succeed.

But that very loyalty joins with my conviction to tell me that party success can only result from public service; that any party deserves to win and to hold office only if it attains the objectives which it has promised and gives a competent administration of the affairs which are committed to its trust.

I may say that I detest, and will not tolerate, laziness and sloppy performance of a public duty. No one in my administration, no matter who he is, is going to draw pay from the State without rendering a fair return in work performed. This administration will be no handout for anyone; it is going to be work, hard work, and more work.

I will be impatient of failure.

It follows that I will be merciless toward corruption, and strictly judge offenses against ethics, even if they are within the letter of the law.

The administration will not suffer itself to be wrecked or sabotaged by self-seekers whose interest is not the State, not its people, and not the Democratic Party.

But again, those things are negatives.

They are the least that can be expected; they are the lowest common denominator of decent government.

It is an article of faith with me that government can do much more; that it can expand its views; widen its horizons; draft into public service and into public thought, the whole imagination and vision and skills of a great community.

It will be our cardinal principle to be always open to ideas; to seek the participation in our State's affairs of Pennsylvania citizens, regardless of their party, who have a zeal for public service; to set up new standards for the State's services; to improve; to modernize; to excel.

We will have a sober respect for experience and tradition, but we will be unafraid of experiment, willing to take risks, ready to adopt bold measures if they promise to advance the interests of the State.

It is our desire, our promise, that we will pass the State government to our successors as a stronger government, a better government, a more solvent government than that which we receive.

The next Governor of Pennsylvania, so far as we can help it, will have no cause to complain that this administration has not faced its own problems.

And, above all, it is our desire, our promise, and our pledge that we will build toward an enduring economy in this Commonwealth—fruitful and prosperous farms, a rising living standard, new and expanded industry, more and more job opportunities for Pennsylvanians.

Let those who will call it idealistic, the stuff of dreams, visionary.

But in this Bible on which I took my oath today, these familiar words, from Proverbs, chapter 29, verse 18, appear:

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

In Pennsylvania, I promise you, there will be vision.

YORK COUNTY BOASTS FIRST GOVERNOR

George M. Leader today became the first York Countyman ever inducted as Governor of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia leads all counties in the Commonwealth with seven chief executives sent to the statehouse in Harrisburg.

The next highest includes the counties of Luzerne, Allegheny, and Centre, with three each.

All but 3 of Pennsylvania's 38 governors have been native sons. The three born out of the State were Robert E. Pattison, Quantico County, Md., elected in 1882; Clifford Pinchot, Simsbury County, Conn., elected in 1922; and John K. Tener, County Tyrone, Ireland, elected in 1930.

The proximity of Governor Leader's birthday Monday and inaugural celebrations today has occurred twice before in the history of the Commonwealth.

Gov. James H. Duff was inaugurated in 1947 on the day of his 64th birthday, and Gov. William Elgler was sworn into office in 1852 just 9 days after celebrating his 38th milestone.

Federal Agency's Work Cuts Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the fine record made by the regional office of the General Services Administration under

the direction of Robert Bradford. The regional office is located in San Francisco.

The General Services Administration does all of the irksome chores of Government housekeeping. Its operations and responsibilities are many. GSA stockpiles rare and essential materials so necessary in our defense effort.

Here is the first of two articles appearing in the Los Angeles Times outlining the work of this Agency:

FEDERAL AGENCY'S WORK CUTS WASTE—GSA ALSO CHARGED WITH STOCKPILING SUPPLY OF CRITICAL MATERIALS TO PREVENT SHORTAGES

(By Ray Zeman)

(This is the first of two articles about the General Services Administration, the agency created by the Hoover Commission to cut waste in Government.—EDITHA N. NORR.)

It war comes tomorrow—or next month, or next year—factories throughout America will pour a flood of orders onto a new Federal agency, the General Services Administration.

It has stockpiled 93 different critical materials throughout the Nation to prevent crises like World War II's rubber and aluminum shortages.

Sometimes the pile is only a few pounds of some metal like platinum, whose production is controlled entirely by Russia. Sometimes the pile is literally a mountain of crude rubber or ingots of aluminum, manganese or copper.

The size and location of these piles are secret. Someone in Moscow might like to know. But their value can be told. It's between \$5,500,000,000 and \$7 billion. And it's growing.

While increasing these stocks, the General Services Administration is tackling a different job in trimming 300,000 tons of Federal Government records.

Imagine these records on a train. They would fill 11,454 freight cars.

Imagine them in stacks. They would equal 13½ Empire State Buildings.

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND CABINETS

Imagine the job of trying to get Government employees to quit adding to those stacks at the rate of 10 billion documents a year—enough to fill 500,000 filing cabinets costing \$25 million.

That's the job the GSA is tackling—all the way from Administrator Edmund F. Mansure in Washington to Robert B. Bradford, regional director in San Francisco, to Mrs. Margaret H. Bayless, Los Angeles business service center manager.

The GSA sandwiches these little chores between others like supplying a pencil, 100 trucks, 40 miles of cable, or 1 million other items for other Federal agencies. It may buy or sell a defense plant or put one in mothballs. It's talking about a new \$18,540,000 Federal office building and \$3,950,000 customhouse for Los Angeles.

TOP OF THE TABLE

And, under Hoover Commission orders, it is eliminating the notorious 5-percent "slimie" men by laying all deals on top of the table, with no opening of bids in the back room.

It's making bidding on Government supplies and projects a one-stop service at 1031 South Broadway in Los Angeles. Instead of runs all over town or to Washington.

Bradford, Mrs. Bayless, and Frank A. Chambers, regional director of GSA's business centers, yesterday told how the redtape-cutting agency was started July 1, 1949, by the Hoover Commission on Government Efficiency and Economy.

The Hoover group arranged a three-way executive split. The Bureau of the Budget handles money, the Civil Service Commission handles people, and the General Services Administration handles property. Bradford adds that the GSA also gets "everything else."

1955

NO TRADITION

"Our biggest advantage," Bradford said, "is that we haven't a lot of tradition to live down, going back to 1812."

All operations are decentralized to regional offices, with Washington handling policy only.

Bradford, 44, is a veteran of 20 years' Government service. During World War II he was with the War Production Board. Later he was a zone administrator of surplus property, disposing of war plants valued at hundreds of millions of dollars.

Nationally and locally, the GSA is putting business methods into government. It has a complete internal audit system like a corporation. Bills can be paid in the field without Washington approval. A standard 20-day discount plan is used.

FEDERAL HOUSEKEEPER

As the Government's landlord, the GSA is responsible for all public buildings, leasing, cleaning, and repairing them.

"The Government owns 17 buildings in Los Angeles and leases 195," Bradford said. "That's a crime. It's paying too much rent in this town. The only big building the Government owns is the Federal Building. It's paying about \$1,500,000 a year rent in this city." When it gets through it doesn't own anything.

"We hope to get a general government office building for Los Angeles in the near future. The customhouse might be part of it or might be separate. All work will be done by private contract."

Bradford was referring to the \$18,540,000 office building, a multiple-story structure to be erected in the area bounded by Commercial, San Pedro, Market, and Los Angeles Streets, and the \$3,950,000 customhouse.

Peter A. Strobel, United States Commissioner of Public Buildings, has suggested the customhouse be outside the civic center, perhaps somewhere in the area bounded by Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles Street, Washington Boulevard, and Figueroa Street.

LEASE-PURCHASE DEAL

Bradford praised Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL's subcommittee of the Senate Public Works Committee for getting passage—and President Eisenhower's signature—for a lease-purchase bill for acquisition of more public buildings.

"Until now, we've been limited to 5 years on leases," the GSA Director explained. "The Kuchel bill permits 10- to 25-year leases, with the option to purchase. This is just the way you buy a house on payment. The property stays on local tax rolls until the Government finishes paying for it and takes title."

California has 245,000 Federal civil service employees, more than work in Washington, D. C., or in any other State. Half of them are in the Department of Defense. Two-thirds are white-collar workers and one-third are blue-collar, without desks.

Nationally there are 2,400,000 Federal civilian employees but another 4 million are directly dependent upon the Government, such as workers in aircraft plants making planes for the Government.

CUT IN WRITING

The GSA is trying to get the Federal employees to cut down on the 1 billion business letters written by Government agencies every year at a cost of at least \$750 million.

"Every carbon copy of a letter costs 8 cents," Bradford said. "If 5 copies are made, it's 40 cents. We're trying to cut down."

"We're using what we call 'birth control' in trying to stop records before they start. Government agencies create nearly 10 billion documents a year.

"We have moved many records from downtown Los Angeles to a 54,000 cubic-foot storage annex at 2401 East Pacific Coast Highway, Wilmington.

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"We released \$176,250 worth of empty cabinets here for other use. The Federal Government has almost stopped buying file cabinets since this program started. Nationally it bought 97,000 of them in 1951, about 38,000 in 1953, and 5,000 in the first half of 1954.

"The Hoover Commission estimated you save \$27 a year for every file cabinet you empty and put the records in a storage center.

"The one at Wilmington has shelves 11 feet high. It's a low-rent warehouse, not in a congested area, and everything is stored in 6-cent cardboard boxes, under sprinklers. The Internal Revenue Bureau was checking to death with records in the Federal Building downtown. Now it—of any Federal Judge—can get records stored at Wilmington in a day or less."

Moving of files and other economies have saved \$27 a year for every file cabinet you empty and put the records in a storage center. The Hoover Commission estimated you save \$27 a year for every file cabinet you empty and put the records in a storage center. The Hoover Commission estimated you save \$27 a year for every file cabinet you empty and put the records in a storage center.

STILL TOO MANY

Bradford summarized: "Too many Government records are still made, filed and kept too long, too expensively and too inefficiently."

IS THE GSA MAKING PROGRESS?

"We report to Congress every year how much we save," Bradford said. "The figure was \$80 million year before last and \$180 million last year in provable savings. This year it will be way over \$150 million."

General of the Armies of the United States

SPEECH

OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, on January 26, 1955, a great American will celebrate his 75th birthday. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who served as supreme commander in Pacific areas during World War II and in Japan in the years following the war, will be honored at a civic dinner in Los Angeles, Calif., on that date.

It is my thought, Mr. Speaker, that a grateful nation should take additional action to commend him for his years of service. To further that purpose, I am introducing a bill today to revive the office of General of the Armies of the United States. This is the rank which was conferred upon the late General Pershing following World War I. In such a position, the Nation had the benefit of his experience and advice in the years following his active service, including the period of World War II. To date, no such promotion has been given to any of the World War II officers, although a number of them hold the rank of General of the Army, the five-star rank which was created during World War II.

I urge that the Congress and its appropriate committees take prompt action to pass this bill with the hope that General MacArthur could be appointed to such rank on his 75th birthday.

My bill contains a limitation in that the rank would be conferred upon only one officer who served on foreign soil during World War II.

It is interesting to refer to the precedents which exist. In 1866 U. S. Grant was promoted to the rank of general as a reward for his service in the Civil War. Previously, in 1799, Congress passed an act authorizing the appointment of a general of the armies of the United States which would have allowed the promotion of George Washington to such rank but his name was never sent to the Senate. It would appear that General Pershing was the only Army officer appointed to the rank of General of the Armies. In view of the precedent of honoring our military commanders, I urge enactment of my bill.

The text of the bill follows:

A bill to revive the office of general of the armies of the United States

Be it enacted, etc., That the office of general of the armies of the United States is hereby revived, and the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint to said office a general officer of the Army, who, on foreign soil and during World War II, has been especially distinguished in the higher command of military forces of the United States; and the officer appointed under the foregoing authorization shall receive pay in the sum of \$ _____ per year and such allowances as the President shall deem appropriate; and any provision of existing law that would enable any other officer of the Army to take rank and precedence over said officer shall not be effective; *Provided*, That no more than one appointment to office shall be made under the terms of this act.

Benjamin Franklin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 18, 1706, a great American was born—Benjamin Franklin. I believe it is only proper that the anniversary of his birth be commemorated by refreshing in our memory a few of the highlights of a life devoted to public service.

With that thought in mind, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial, written by my good friend, Harry H. Schlacht, which appeared in the January 15, 1955, edition of the East Side News:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

On Monday America will celebrate the 249th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

We salute his memory in humble and reverent tribute.

We pledge our renewed fidelity to our country for which he did so much to create.

Of him it may justly be said that a crown would have lost its splendor upon his brow, for it was adorned with the wreath of freedom.

In whatever light we address his character, it is replete with instruction and inspiration. From whatever position we survey him, it is an inspiring and fascinating picture.

Yes, there never was another who lived a more virile and varied and masterful life in his day.

He may properly be called the godfather of our country.

His name is a sound whose charm was borrowed from his thoughts and deeds which gave it perpetuity.

No high-raised marble marks his birth-place.

No pilgrims kneel before his dust or offer incense on his golden shrine.

His life is one of the world's treasures.

The world was his school, and necessity was his teacher.

He rose from bare beginnings.

He owed nothing to parentage or patronage.

He enjoyed no early education, but he lived to stand before kings and parliaments.

He won his place in the front ranks of the world's scientists, diplomats, statesmen, men of affairs, and men of letters.

His public life ran the full gamut of activities.

It was he who, as a delegate from Pennsylvania, submitted his Albany plan of union to the first American Colonial Congress in Albany on June 19, 1754, thus laying the foundations for the birth of a United States.

His plan, which was unanimously adopted, was followed by a general resolution, declaring that a "union of all the Colonies is absolutely necessary for their security and defense."

In 1775 he was a member of the Second Continental Congress and also served on the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence.

In 1768 he appeared before the House of Commons to explain colonial opposition to the stamp tax.

In 1776 he was sent by Congress as one of a committee to negotiate a treaty with France.

He was welcomed by the French leaders and became immensely popular during his stay from 1776 to 1785.

He also signed a treaty of commerce and a treaty of defensive alliance with France.

He was appointed in 1781 commissioner, with Jay and Adams to negotiate peace with Great Britain.

He was later a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and 3 years later he signed a memorial to Congress asking for the abolition of slavery.

He died at the age of 84.

His writings are still widely read after more than 2 centuries.

His utterances are engraved in our hearts as it is stamped on his soul.

They are known round the world and his life will be further emphasized when the Nation at large will be celebrating his 250th birthday in 1946 amidst a surrounding of patriotic color and pageantry.

We may not be able to achieve his greatness but we may strive to imitate his goodness.

What a glorious legacy to the youth of America is the history of his patriotism, of his faith and self-sacrifice in the service of his country.

Let young and old read his writings. Let us all refresh our minds with the recollections of wise sayings and of his virtuous deeds.

May his spirit shelter us from all species of oppressions.

May his spirit preserve forever our liberty and the glory of our Nation.

West Virginia Pottery Industry Reports on Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement on behalf of the United States Pottery Association presented before the United States Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information by Mr. Joseph M. Wells, secretary-treasurer of the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va.:

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. WELLS, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE HOMER LAUGHLIN CHINA CO., NEWELL, W. VA., IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES POTTERS ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION AND THE COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROcity INFORMATION, DECEMBER 1954

This is my 15th appearance before a governmental body in the past 25 years, in an effort to obtain fair and adequate tariff protection for the pottery industry of the United States. So far all my efforts, and those of my many associates, have ended in complete and dismal failure with the result that, in spite of the enormous increase in population and buying power in this country in the past 40 years, there has been no significant increase in the production of dinnerware.

The only bit of apparent success we ever attained (which promptly proved entirely futile) was the addition, in the 1930 Tariff Act, of a few cents specific duty to the existing ad valorem rates. This was granted, we feel sure, only because the British pottery industry supported our petition, in an effort to give them a little protection in the American market against competitive Japanese exports to the United States. As soon as the yen and both we and the British were in worse shape than before.

By 1935 imports of Japanese dinnerware were breaking all previous records and continued to do so until they were practically barred from our markets in 1938. This situation has been exactly duplicated since 1946, when our markets were again open to them. And remember, our imports from Japan are still subject, with exceedingly small exceptions, to the rates in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930.

We have studied the recent statement on United States tariff policy from the Committee for Economic Development. The conclusions arrived at should cause no surprise in our trade with Western Europe and Japan in the next few years, the latter two effects could be important if our tariff policy could be put on a stable basis so as to minimize uncertainty. There has been no time in the past that we have heard of, when the tariff policy of this or any other trading country has been on a stable basis. For more than a hundred years, up until the present administration, our tariff policy has regularly changed with each policy of the party in power. This also has been true, to a lesser extent perhaps, in most other countries.

However, we should recognize that a change in the value of a country's currency has a much more serious effect on its foreign trade than any normal tariff adjustment. And just when, since the First World War, has there been any certainty of the value of the currency of any one of the great powers, including the United States? We want to register our complete disagreement with the Committee for Economic De-

velopment's statement that "In general, increased imports at costs and prices below those involved in domestic production raise our standard of living."

Imports that undercut our market when it is in a surplus state will threaten the whole economic structure. They will go counter to all the special provisions made to cushion our economy against deflation, such as unemployment insurance, social security, minimum wages, obligatory collective bargaining, farm-price supports, bank-deposit insurance, etc. There are all well-imbued interferences with a free market; but the reduction of tariffs is in the opposite direction and will tend to undo the effects of these measures.

Unfair foreign competition makes more difficult the planning of production; it puts a damper on investment and on plans to expand production facilities. Therefore it undermines the conditions necessary for continuing prosperity.

Also it must be realized that there are 4 or 5 times as many workers employed in industries and agricultural pursuits that are exposed to injury from imports in varying degrees than are employed directly or indirectly in production and servicing of goods for export. This is necessarily so since the manufactured products most vulnerable to foreign competition, almost without exception, require a very heavy labor cost in their production.

There is another situation of the greatest importance to our foreign trade that has been ignored entirely by the Committee for Economic Development. That is the steadily decreasing percentage of the dollars we spend for imports that is coming back to us in the purchase of our exports.

The trade policies of other nations are now newly designed to accumulate dollar reserves for these nations. Our dollars are now considered more valuable for their own sake and what they will buy from other non-convertible currency nations, than for what they will buy from us. In spite of the steady increase in United States imports, and of the growing demand abroad for United States products, our export of goods has not grown correspondingly. Our merchandise exports (exclusive of military shipments) decreased just about one billion dollars from 1952 to 1953, and for the first 8 months of 1954 there was a shrinkage of over \$300 million dollars from the 1953 figures. Please note that during that 20-month period Western Europe, where our loss of exports was greatest, was enjoying the greatest improvement in general prosperity of probably any given period in all its past history.

It is all too clear that the mass production exporting industries and international bankers, so heavily represented on the Committee for Economic Development, are interested chiefly in increasing our exports and believe this can best be done by increasing our imports, regardless of what those imports consist and regardless of the effect of those imports on dozens of smaller American industries and millions of American workmen and farmers.

Those of us who believe the American producer should have a fair chance to meet foreign competition in the American market and who want the purchasing power of the American worker to be maintained, also desire an increase of imports—but of imports that do not directly compete with the commodities produced in our country. And we know the way to increase those imports far beyond anything in the past, and to increase the overall demand for the products of our exporting industries far in excess of any possible increase in the foreign demand, is to have full employment at our factories, farms, and mines with American rates of pay. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of full employment of our trained workers in the pottery industry under present tariff rates, and what further reductions will do to us is not hard to guess.

In all the circumstances, it is incredible that our State Department, who seem now to be in complete control of tariff policy, would be so hell-bent on building up individual industries in foreign countries, particularly Japan, at the cost of destroying similar industries in the United States. This becomes even more amazing when the record shows that the enormous grants we have made to revive foreign industries have been used largely to enrich the owners and stockholders and at the expense of the workers.

A special report prepared by the National Industrial Conference Board of the National Electrical Manufacturing Association shows wage rates in all European countries are now a smaller percentage of the American wage rates than they were in 1938. In 1938 British wage rates were 37 percent of those in the United States. In 1952 they were only 28 percent. In France the comparison was 43.3 percent in 1938 and 31 percent in 1952. In Italy it was 22.7 percent as compared to 19.5 percent. In Germany 46.6 percent as compared to 22 percent. In the Netherlands 41 percent as compared to 20.4 percent. Please note that in Germany and the Netherlands the gap between their wages and ours is more than twice what it was in 1938. Is it any wonder that communism remains a constant threat in Western Europe, when the result of the use of the money we have given away from the taxes of our citizens, for the rehabilitation and modernization of foreign industry, has resulted in the foreign worker getting a smaller and smaller share of the wealth he produces?

Now we are told we must further reduce our production and lay off additional employees so our foreign competitors will have still more dollars to use, inevitably, as they have used our gift dollars in the past. We cannot see how anyone can take the position that it is more important politically, economically, or morally for a Japanese potter to have a job than an American. It is only too evident that the health, happiness, and prosperity of the American potter is of no interest or consequence to the free traders and their amazing following in the administrative and congressional branches of the United States Government. What is not so clear is why these groups make the Japanese potter their favored pet, at the expense of the British and French potters. It is my impression the English and French were our allies in the last two wars and that it was the Japanese who despoiled Pearl Harbor and killed thousands of our young patriots.

British, French and German exporters are just as hard hit as our domestic producers by Japanese exports of china and earthenware to the United States. As a matter of fact only a short while ago representatives of English exporters petitioned our State Department to do something to reduce American imports of Japanese china.

Exporters of dinnerware from Great Britain have already indicated their approval of the establishment of fair and flexible quotas by the United States on imports of china and earthenware. Every other country except Japan would obviously benefit by the establishment of such quotas.

So long as we maintain the "most favored nation" policy, and production costs vary from nation to nation, the quota is the only possible plan that will be fair to all countries. Nothing could be more unfair to England than to apply the same rates of duty to their exports as to those of Japan—when English wage rates are three times those in Japan.

Attached to the copies of my brief you will find a sheet showing combined operating results from 1947 to 1953, inclusive, of 23 United States plants manufacturing earthenware tableware. These plants are responsible for more than 85 percent of all earthenware tableware produced in this country. You will note the headings are: sales; earnings before taxes; earnings after taxes; total dollars shipped; total wages paid production

employees; and total man-hours worked. The column of "total wages paid" does not include wages and salaries paid executives and supervisors.

Also you will find attached a copy of a report the Tariff Commission was kind enough to have prepared at our request last month. This report you will note covers United States production and imports for consumption of earthenware table and kitchen articles and chinaware household table and kitchen articles. The earthenware articles come under paragraph 211 of the Tariff Act of 1930 and the chinaware articles under paragraph 212. In each of these classifications, the report covers both dozens and dollars. This record covers the years 1935, 1937, 1939 and each of the years from 1947 to 1953, inclusive. Also the figures for the first 6 months of 1954.

On this report we question the figures that appear under the one classification "Earthenware Production in the United States." The footnote under this classification states that all figures are estimates except for the year 1947. For that year the reported United States production was 42,280,000 dozens. You will note under that year on our report we show our production as 27,293,261 dozens. Adding 15 percent to this figure to cover estimated production by companies not covered in our report, we arrive at a figure of 31,400,000 dozens. This is some 25 percent less than the Government figure; and, with all due respect, we believe our figure is more nearly correct than the one appearing on the report.

We also believe that the estimates that have been used for the later years, particularly for 1949 and 1950, are considerably wide of the mark. You will note the Government figure for both years is 45 million dozens, while our adjusted figure for 1949 would be less than 25,100,000 dozens, and for 1950, 26,600,000 dozens. We are confident the figures for these years, as reported by our companies, are correct.

In our report to which we would particularly call your attention are "Earnings after taxes," "Total dozens shipped," and "Total man-hours worked." These are much more important in reflecting the trend in our industry than "Total sales." Sales figures being affected, of course, by price increases that have been necessary because of advances in wages.

Let us consider first what has happened to earnings in the 7 years covered by the report. These 23 companies reported earnings after taxes in 1947 as \$4 million on sales of 456 million, or a profit percentage of 7 percent on sales. That figure dropped steadily, with the exception of a slight increase in 1950 over 1949, until in 1953 we show total net earnings after taxes of \$25,515, or less than one-half of 1 percent on sales of \$53 million. Of the 23 companies reporting, 12 showed actual losses for the year's operation. In 1952 the profit figure was \$942,504, or 1.6 percent of sales. These figures leave little doubt where the industry is headed financially. And remember 1952 and 1953 for industry generally were two of the most prosperous years in our history.

Now consider the figures on our report under the column "Total dozens shipped." Against 27,293,000 dozens shipped in 1947, we have shipped to 19,377,000 dozens in 1953—a loss of just about 30 percent. During that same period, our population increased more than 7 percent, and expendable income went up more than twice that percentage. Just how much faster must an industry lose its home market to qualify as being seriously injured?

Now consider what has been happening to our employees. From a total of 25,700,000 man-hours worked in 1947, we were able to supply for our employees only 16,700,000 hours of work in the generally prosperous year of 1953. A reduction of 35 percent.

As an indication of what we can expect in earnings and employment for the full year

of 1954 as compared to the very poor year of 1953, let me cite the experience of my own company, the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va., in unemployment compensation. We are the largest employer in the industry and have about 2,600 people on our payroll at present. For the first 10 months of 1953 we paid out in unemployment compensation \$12,314. For the first 10 months of 1954 the figure was \$78,293—just about 6½ times as much as in 1953. We are quite sure this is fairly representative of the industry as a whole.

It is painfully evident we are far past the threatened-with-injury stage, and for at least 3 years have been suffering actual and serious injury. It is just as evident, in comparing import and domestic-production figures, that a major portion of that injury is due to imports under present tariff rates.

By way of contrast, let us see what has been happening during those years, in imports from Japan of earthenware table and kitchen articles. We find the first postwar year in which these imports appeared in any quantity was 1948. In that year Japan shipped us 185,000 dozen. The increases since then have been spectacular, until in 1953 they amounted to 2,245,000 dozen, or more than 12 times the 1948 quantities.

What is equally impressive and particularly pertinent to the proposed tariff reductions, is the increasing percentage of imports from Japan of this type of tableware, to total imports from all countries. In 1948, imports from Japan amounted to only 11 percent of the total and in 1953 to 62 percent. Even with the American industry in its usual role of the forgotten man, it is rather difficult to understand why we should make changes in tariff rates that can only result in giving Japan a still greater advantage over all other countries in the American market.

You will note from the chart that our import of Japanese chinaware, table and kitchen articles has followed the same pattern as the earthenware. From 54 percent of our total imports of this class of ware in 1948, the Japanese share has jumped to 89 percent in 1953. These imports from Japan are just as hurtful to us in the earthenware branch of the industry as are the earthenware imports. We find that comparably decorated dinner sets from our earthenware factories are selling in the department stores at approximately the same prices as china dinner sets from Japan. And no woman in her right mind is going to choose an earthenware set when she can get one in chinaware at the same price.

The ability of the retail merchant to offer these sets at comparable prices is explained when we see that the average price per dozen for china dinnerware in Japan is \$1.30 per dozen and the average price the American manufacturer has to get for earthenware is \$2.70 per dozen. It is our understanding that, with duty, freight, insurance, etc., Japanese chinaware lands at our ports at just about twice the factory price in Japan. So that the average price of Japanese china landed in the United States is \$2.60 per dozen or 16 cents per dozen less than our average factory prices of earthenware.

Allow me to show you an example of this Japanese chinaware and American earthenware competition. Here is a plate showing a pattern made by the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va., for exclusive distribution by the Montgomery Ward Mail Order Co. Here is a Japanese china plate with a complete 100-piece dinner set in the company. For earthenware pattern, their catalog price is \$62.50. For the same set in Japanese chinaware their catalog price is \$59.95, \$2.55 less for the chinaware set. You will be no less than that our set would be dropped from the next Montgomery Ward catalog.

A man, very active in our industry, has just returned from a tour of the Orient. During his stay in Japan, he was taken on a

guided trip through the plant of the Noritake China Co. in Nagoya. This company is much the largest manufacturer of china tableware in Japan. He reports this plant and its equipment, as much more modern than the average American plant and in some respects, as well ahead of any plant in this country. Also in certain departments, with elaborate belt conveyor systems, the production per man hour is substantially greater than in our most modern factory. So that the difference in production per man-hour has practically disappeared and wage rates became directly comparable.

It is the difference in wage rates which constitutes the enormous advantage Japan enjoys in production costs. The average pay for the employees in the Noritake plant is just about \$10 per week of 48 hours, or 30 cents per hour, and we are told this is more than is paid in any other pottery in Japan. The average rate for an employee in our domestic factories is \$1.70 per hour with many men in the more skilled trades earning more than \$3 per hour. This difference in wage rates acquires such enormous importance because more than 65 percent of our total cost of production goes to labor.

Our representative was told at the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce that all potteries had been working at full capacity for some years

and several were at present considering an expansion program.

So, gentlemen, we have here now, in front of us, a situation that I dare to say has never been duplicated in all of history. An aggressor nation, which violated the rules of humanity and war in its efforts to bring us to our knees, has a prosperous and flourishing dinnerware industry. In our own country the same industry is steadily losing ground. Yet, we have what appears to be a majority of the leaders of both our political parties determined to follow a course that will further benefit the Japanese and, to even a greater extent, injure the American industry. If any individual in any other country suggested such a national policy, he would be thrown in the nut house.

In view of all the circumstances, we cannot believe there is any possibility that your Commission will arrive at a perill point below the present rates of duty in paragraphs 210, 211, and 212. We do believe careful and serious consideration of all the facts will convince you that additional protection is necessary to prevent further serious injury to, and eventual extinction of, the American pottery industry. And that the only way to supply that protection, fair to ourselves and our foreign competitors, is through the establishment of a flexible quota.

Composite report from 23 American earthenware manufacturing companies

Year	Sales—Less allowances and returns, pre-paid freight, packages, discount	Earnings before taxes	Earnings after taxes	Total dozens shipped	Total wages, production, employees, including all premium and vacation pay	Total man-hours worked, production employees
1947	56,620,850	5,888,246	4,150,350	27,253,381	32,896,817	25,081,738
1948	59,409,591	5,552,471	4,128,509	27,496,032	35,796,623	24,995,846
1949	52,785,241	1,968,548	1,428,447	21,862,812	31,594,426	21,472,919
1950	34,881,791	3,467,655	1,951,892	23,365,968	31,505,141	20,588,834
1951	38,789,381	2,275,021	1,812,410	22,791,389	34,124,469	20,938,997
1952	38,938,551	1,026,227	255,815	19,337,151	31,744,522	16,705,501

Earthenware and chinaware household table and kitchen articles: United States production and imports in specified years 1935-53

Year	United States production		Imports for consumption									
	Earthenware	Chinaware	Earthenware table and kitchen articles				Chinaware household table and kitchen articles					
			United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	All countries	United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	All countries		
			Quantity (1,000 dozen pieces)									
1935	22,200	120	795	39	3,764	4,570	30	300	4,545	6,149		
1937	22,711	140	803	41	3,934	4,992	43	317	4,379	6,147		
1939	27,000	170	794	7	1,874	2,879	73	138	3,122	5,665		
1940	45,286	728	916	7	1,874	2,879	73	138	3,122	5,665		
1941	45,286	874	1,053	9	1,874	2,879	73	138	3,122	5,665		
1942	45,000	908	1,002	8	1,874	2,879	73	138	3,122	5,665		
1943	45,000	857	1,090	29	1,874	2,879	73	138	3,122	5,665		
1944	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	1,241	2,773	534	350	3,375	4,439		
1945	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	1,241	2,773	534	350	3,375	4,439		
1946 (January-June)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	814	1,985	427	1,527	2,464	3,347		
1947	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	983	82	2,246	3,905	441	329	3,915	
1948	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	454	16	940	1,710	210	242	2,208	
										4,299		

Year	Value (\$1,000)		Foreign value (\$1,000)							
	United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	All countries	United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	All countries		
1935	22,164	750	1,099	70	1,398	2,836	220	500	1,862	2,995
1937	23,711	650	1,099	70	1,398	2,836	220	500	1,862	2,995
1939	29,382	1,200	1,231	50	1,313	2,905	407	534	2,796	4,239
1940	68,144	7,508	3,141	10	624	4,372	1,504	371	1,414	3,090
1941	75,500	10,608	3,664	31	26	2,945	398	242	1,682	2,998
1942	75,000	10,608	3,664	31	26	2,945	398	242	1,682	2,998
1943	75,000	11,878	3,310	22	179	5,904	2,459	1,862	2,964	7,184
1944	78,000	12,542	2,935	145	204	5,942	2,783	1,884	2,564	7,961
1945	84,000	12,048	3,002	66	411	4,802	3,179	1,996	3,915	9,239
1946	84,000	15,621	3,321	198	906	6,075	3,379	1,996	3,915	12,841
1947 (January-June)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	1,252	6,221	4,066	2,302	4,751	11,804
1948	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	1,399	1,489	1,249	1,848	1,148	11,600

* Includes a very small amount of hotelware.
 † Quantity estimated except for 1947, value estimated for years after 1947.
 ‡ Does not include kitchenware, or casual china; estimated from census and industry report for years before 1947.
 § Preliminary.
 ¶ Imports by countries do not include individual entries for immediate consumption valued at \$250 or less; figures for total quantities and values for January-June have been computed to include such entries.

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Veterans' Administration Regional Office, Montgomery, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harley A. Smith, who, for many years has been manager of the regional office of the Veterans' Administration at Montgomery, Ala., has done, and is doing, an outstanding job. At the beginning of January he sent a letter to the employees of the regional office of the Veterans' Administration which gives an overall picture of the work which is being done at the Veterans' Administration regional office. It points up such an outstanding job until I think it should be incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The letter follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION, REGIONAL OFFICE, Montgomery, Ala., January 13, 1955.

FELLOW EMPLOYEE: Another year has gone by. This is a time when we like to think of things ahead and make plans and resolutions for the new year.

It is also a time for reflection on what we did and how we spent our time in the days that are forever gone. On this score, we in this regional office of the Veterans' Administration can look back with pride in the amount of service we have brought to the veterans of this State.

The figures I recite below are not just figures. They are so many services that we have been privileged to bring to those who have earned it. Every single thing we did was done for the purpose of bringing a service to a veteran or his dependent.

All of us are interested in knowing, I think, that in the year just passed over 4,500 veterans, who had never done so before, filed a claim for compensation or pension. There were more than 40,000 actions taken by the rating boards and more than 14,000 other actions were taken on claims. Nearly 70,000 letters, including form letters, were written about claims for compensation or pension. At the end of the year more than 50,000 veterans in Alabama were receiving compensation or pension. Nearly 600 veterans made personal appearances before rating boards. Automobiles were awarded to 40 veterans in the State and more than 300 actions were taken by the committee on waivers.

In the year 1954 more than 7,500 veterans applied for guaranty of loans to buy homes and over 5,000 loans on homes were guaranteed. This brings the total of home loans guaranteed for veterans in Alabama to more than 44,000. During the year nearly 9,000 appraisals were authorized and over 12,000 appraisal reports were reviewed. More than 13,000 certificates of reasonable value were issued. More than 11,000 certificates of eligibility were issued. Over 700 applications for direct loans were received and nearly 500 such loans were made, making the total of direct loans in Alabama to date more than 2,000. Over 21,000 service actions on loans were made during the year and taxes and insurance were kept up on more than 3,000 properties. More than 20 homes were acquired and 175 were sold by this office of the VA. More than 1,100 homes have been acquired and nearly 900 sold since the beginning of the program and we still have nearly 300 owned by the VA. Over 500 mortgages were acquired during the year and

at the end of the year the office held nearly 3,000 mortgages.

The finance division paid directly to veterans as compensation or pension, disability allowance, or subsistence allowance nearly \$51 million. Over two million was paid to institutions for tuition, books, and supplies. About seven million was paid out for other purposes. Nearly 900,000 checks were certified for these payments. At the end of the year more than 73,000 veterans were being paid some benefit regularly. Nearly 60,000 actions were taken by the agent cashier in receiving and paying out money. Nearly 130,000 documents were processed in the accounting section. Over 90,000 vouchers were examined and more than 500 employee pay accounts were maintained.

Over 600 veterans or dependents of veterans had to be provided with a guardian or other fiduciary during the year, and at the end of the year more than 7,000 veterans or dependents were under fiduciaries. The value of the estates administered by such fiduciaries at the end of the year was more than \$8 million, of which over three million was invested in Government bonds. More than 5,000 accounts from fiduciaries were audited during the year. Nearly 2,500 field examinations were made without 300 of the opinions were written. Over 300 legal actions were taken in connection with loan-guaranty work.

A few more than 100,000 contacts were made by veterans and others, and over 45,000 telephone calls were received. Contact division made over 3,500 rating-board appearances, helped to fill out over 2,400 applications and prepared more than 26,000 pieces of correspondence.

More than 100 different items were maintained in stock at the end of the year. During the year over 20,000 items were received and more than 26,000 issued. Nearly 5,000 items were purchased at a cost of over \$100,000.

Medical service was given in the clinic to more than 10,000 veterans, and over 12,000 were given service by hometown doctors on authorization of the regional office. The clinic brought dental service to more than 1,500 and authorized service to more than 66,000 through fee-basis dentists. Over 100 medical service over 18,000 laboratory tests were made, more than 23,000 X-ray pictures were taken, and over 16,000 prescriptions were filled. The social service talked to over 6,000 veterans and members of their families. They conducted nearly 600 social surveys and made more than 1,500 other reports. Over 1,200 electrocardiograms were made in the clinic and more than 200 artificial teeth were given. Nearly 900 appliances such as limbs, eyes, etc., were made to veterans at a cost of over \$46,000; and 902 appliances were repaired at a cost of \$12,000.

In the year 1954 over 900,000 pieces of mail were received in the regional office and over 850,000 were dispatched. Over 600,000 veterans' files were pulled and refilled. A total of nearly 500,000 files on veterans (claims and R and E) were maintained. Over 16,000 new files were established, and nearly 60,000 new applications were processed.

More than 12,000 files were transferred out and nearly 10,000 were transferred in. Nearly 400,000 thousand index actions were taken. Almost 20,000 travel authorizations were prepared. Nearly 5,000 messages were sent and about 6,000 were received. More than 1½ million impressions (mimeograph, etc.) were made. Over 5,000 requests for forms were filled. More than 1,600 different forms were maintained in stock. Over 400,000 tabulating machine cards were punched and the same number verified. More than 111 million cards were run through the machines in tabulating machine section.

In the year 1954 more than 2,000 veterans were given vocational counseling; over 600

entered vocational rehabilitation programs of training; and more than 200 were rehabilitated. Training officers made more than 10,000 personal supervision contacts. A total of more than 18,000 applications for education and training was received and more than 16,000 certificates of eligibility were issued. Nearly 15,000 veterans entered for the first time a program of education and training, and 26,000 interrupted their training. Over 60,000 authorization actions in education and training cases were taken. More than 800 surveys of education and training institutions and establishments were made. At the end of the year more than 20,000 veterans were in training.

In the year 1954 more than 800 personnel actions were taken, reflecting some change in status of an employee, and more than 100 different type positions were allocated by classification action. At the end of the year there were 504 employees on duty with the regional office.

These are striking figures but they are not just figures. They represent something we did to provide a service to a veteran—making somebody's life just a little more enjoyable. I am proud of the volume of service you have rendered and still proud of its high quality. I am proud of you as a fellow employee who enjoys with me the privilege of serving. As the administrator said when he was here, "What more satisfying job could we ask?"

HARLEY A. SMITH, Manager.

Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights to promote good interracial relations in our community have been recognized and praised by many outstanding leaders both on the local and national scenes.

The Milwaukee Commission has made considerable progress in easing intergroup friction and in furthering cordial relationships between members of minority groups and the community as a whole. They have shown how much can be accomplished by sincere, voluntary efforts of citizens interested in safeguarding the rights of all individuals, without regard to race, color, or creed.

Last fall, the United States National Commission for UNESCO met in Milwaukee. On that occasion, certain members of the Milwaukee panel of the UNESCO Citizen-Consultation Group endorsed and submitted to the commission a statement prepared by Mr. Bruno V. Bitker, member of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish at this point to call to the attention of the membership of this body Mr. Bitker's statement, together with a letter of transmittal signed by Dr. Adolph Suppan, discussion chairman of the Milwaukee Citizen-Consultation Group, and by those members of his group who endorsed the statement. In addition, I wish to insert an editorial

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which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal on June 6, 1953, describing the work of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

The matters follow:

OCTOBER 13, 1954.

To the Members of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, Municipal Auditorium, Milwaukee, Wis.

(Attention: Hon. George N. Shuster, chairman.)

DEAR SIRS AND MESDAMES: Article I of UNESCO's constitution provides for promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms among the nations. The need for the United States giving its full support to the principles of the United Nations Charter with respect to human rights is of obvious importance to the position of the United States before the world.

The attached statement prepared by Mr. Bruno V. Brikker, a member of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, is being sent to you with the strong endorsement of those members of the Milwaukee panel of the UNESCO Citizen-Consultation Group, whose names appear on this letter.

We urge your consideration of this document.

Sincerely yours,

Adolph Suppan, Director of Extension, Wisconsin State College, Discussion Chairman, Milwaukee Citizen-Consultation Group; Mr. Maurice H. Terry; Rev. Everett W. MacNair; Mr. Sharon L. Hatch; Rev. Ensworth Reiser; Mrs. Margaret M. VanWagenen; Mr. Clem Kalvelage; Mrs. George P. Ettenheim; Mr. Charles Gruender; Mrs. Carl Romberg; Mr. Laurence F. Gliese; Mr. Arthur W. Elze, Jr.; Miss Virginia Huebner; Mr. George Hampel, Jr.; Mrs. Esdore Weiss.

STATEMENT OF BRUNO V. BRIKKER, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW AND MEMBER OF THE MILWAUKEE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO, MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCTOBER 14, 15, AND 16, 1954

Prior to World War II, during the ponderous growth of international law, human rights were a matter of concern solely to the individual state. They were wholly domestic matters. But the ruthless denial of basic rights and the utter disregard of human life that were part of the Nazi practice, suddenly assumed international significance. Not only was there a general revision at the inhumanity of the dictatorship, but the world speedily recognized the connection between the brutal treatment by a state of its own citizens and the savage attacks upon other nations.

Tragically, the period since the close of war has furnished no assurance that the rights of their own nationals will not again lead to aggression against the rest of the world. It is mid-20th century and long beyond the time to speak for man.

During the ages there has always been some who have attempted to establish, by force if need be, customs, rules, even laws which would deny basic rights to certain of their fellow humans. The same right against the denial of these rights has been carried on by peoples as far apart in time and place as Vedic India, classical China, the medieval Jews, the first Christians, by Greece, Islam, Jewry, Europe, right down to our time.

Through the years of history, written declarations of the rights of individuals as against each other as well as against the state, have appeared and reappeared. Long before the United Nations had formalized a statement of principles, written declarations had appeared in one form or another in early Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in the

British Magna Carta (1215), in the Habeas Corpus Act in England (1679), in the American Declaration of Independence, in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. More recent declarations appear in such documents as the Atlantic Charter (August 1941); in the Chapultepec Conference Act (March 1945); the Convention adopted by the Council of Europe at Rome (November 1950); the statement adopted at various international conferences of American states, including that adopted only a few weeks ago at Caracas.

The League of Nations may have been the first faint realization that an international political entity was more than a dream. But even the League of Nations failed to recognize that human rights were a matter not of mere local interest, but of international concern, a matter of world peace.

The failure of the League to provide international obligations for protection of human rights was thus described by Prof. Rosen Casan, the French delegate on the Human Rights Commission. He said, in part:

"I was personally present at the dramatic debates which took place at Geneva between March and October 1933. At this time, the only way in which the criminal actions of Hitler Germany toward her own nationals could be brought to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations was to resort to the indirect procedure of invoking the Polish-German treaty on the protection of minorities concluded in 1922. On the day on which the Assembly decided to refer to the general and legal principles authorizing the organized international community to protect human rights, even in a sphere not covered by some special minority treaty, Hitler took advantage of the Third Reich's absolute sovereignty over its citizens and denied the League of Nations any right of inspection; and on October 14, 1933, Germany left the League. It is well known what attacks against the national independence and what massacres sprang from the impunity with which Hitler's first great crimes were committed."

It is little wonder that Gen. George Marshall, while Secretary of State, when referring to the significance to international peace of the obligation upon all states to observe human rights, commented that "governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other governments and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field."

It was natural that this obvious connection between maintaining world peace and observing human rights should find expression in the charter of the new world organization. When the charter was drafted in San Francisco in 1945, and as subsequently ratified by the United States Senate, its reference to the recognition of human rights was so clear as to leave no doubt that human rights were within the province of the United Nations. Many of the delegates at San Francisco believed an international bill of rights should have been written into the charter itself. But the controlling number of governments then felt that such provisions could be considered separately and adopted subsequently by way of an appendix to the charter.

A few references to the charter provisions will indicate how much a part of the charter of protecting human rights was the idea as a means of promoting peace in the world, the charter preamble peace in the world, peoples of the United Nations, determined * * * to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights in the equal rights of men and women, * * * do hereby establish an international organization known as the United Nations."

To Americans this has a familiar ring. Our own Declaration of Independence says that "All men are created equal * * * that

they are endowed with certain inalienable rights * * * (and) that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men."

It is to secure these rights that governments are formed. And it is to secure these rights that the international organization, the United Nations, was formed. It is significant, too, to note that the United Nations Charter says, "We, the peoples of the United Nations," not "We, the sovereign powers," or "We, the emperors," but "We, the people." Again this is a familiar phrase to Americans. Our own Constitution opens with "We, the people."

I do not cite our Declaration of Independence nor our own Constitution merely to assert that because we used these words, they must be right. I cite them only because our use of these words and our assertion of the ideals of the equality of man has had a great effect upon the world. It has placed upon us a special obligation to further these principles within the family of nations.

Again and again the charter speaks of human rights. The purpose clause (ch. I, art. I) asserts that the United Nations is created to promote "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." The General Assembly (ch. IV, art. 13) is required to assist in the realization of these rights and freedoms and by articles 55 and 56 of chapter IX each member nation is required to promote observance of these rights and freedoms. Indeed, the Economic and Social Council (ch. X, art. 69) is directed to set up appropriate commissions "for the promotion of human rights." This appears to be the sole provision in the charter requiring the establishment of a specific commission.

Little wonder then that the President of the United States in June 1945, at the closing session at San Francisco, said:

"Under this document (the charter) we have good reason to expect the framing of an international Bill of Rights, acceptable to all the nations involved. That Bill of Rights will be as much a part of international life as our own Bill of Rights is a part of our Constitution. The charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and freedoms, and unless we can attain these objectives for all men and women everywhere, without regard to race, language, or religion, we cannot have permanent peace and security."

Now, what is the record since 1945? On the side of collective security the program has been surprisingly better than many of the early critics of the United Nations had prophesied. Nor would I minimize the numerous other functions successfully carried on by specialized agencies of the United Nations. Above all, I could not forget that in Korea we did not fail nor did we repeat the shameful performance of the League in Ethiopia. But on the vital obligation, the duty of protecting human rights, the picture is one of slow disintegration from the proclamations and ideals of 1945.

During the first few years, considerable energy and time was devoted to bringing into being something akin to an international bill of rights, such as had been envisioned at San Francisco in June of 1945. It is true that a universal declaration of human rights emerged from the General Assembly in 1948. It is true, too, that a genocide covenant was finally approved and has since been adopted by the requisite number of nations to be effective as to the signatory nations. "But even this treaty designed to prevent the systematic destruction of people on racial, religious, or cultural grounds, exists on paper only. It has yet to see the light of day in our own Senate.

Political organizations at best are not eternal. Like manmade buildings, they can crumble with the passage of time. The United Nations will disintegrate someday.

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But ideas never die, and perhaps we must settle for a mere declaration of principles instead of a series of formalized commandments. If nothing else comes out of this attempt to unite mankind, the universal declaration of human rights will stand as the record that there were men of good will in this day who recognized these inherent rights.

There is little doubt that the very adoption of the universal declaration marked a step forward. But the 5 years since that event have been years of retrogression in protecting the most elementary of human rights. This is true not only of Iron Curtain countries, but in Asia, in the Middle East, in South Africa, even in parts of Latin America. It is obvious that the efforts to achieve genuinely binding obligations toward protecting the simplest human rights have become increasingly difficult.

Perhaps the moment of greatness passed with 1945. It may be too late in this chapter of world's history to retrieve the loss. Fortunately, however, the charter has its own built-in retriever. This is the provision for a general charter revision conference in 1955. This could be our chance to move forward from the point where San Francisco left off.

It would be utopian to expect to spell out a covenant which as of now would be acceptable to all member nations. But there are some principles which should and must be recognized if the goal of universal peace is to be approached. These are the basic human rights which in some manner must become a world code of rights. They are simple and easily understood.

These fundamental rights encompass freedom of speech and of press; freedom of religion and of worship; freedom of assembly; freedom of petition; freedom from unreasonable search and seizure; freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment; and, above all, the right of every human being to have these freedoms equally with his fellow human beings without regard to race, sex, language, or religion.

These are rights which human beings throughout the world have come to understand. They constitute the common denominator among all men upon the face of the earth. They come into existence with the birth of every man. They appertain to every man without regard to his nationality or color, or to the status of his parents or social beliefs, or to his store of or lack of knowledge. These rights are the clothing of dignity to every individual. Man now senses that he need not loathe himself because of his skin, or submit to punishment, or be denied basic rights by the fact of his birth. When our Constitution was drafted in the early days of the new American Republic, it had neglected to spell out human rights. This defect was speedily cured with the almost simultaneous adoption of the first 10 amendments, which we have come to know as the Bill of Rights.

Perhaps such an addition could be made to the charter. If nothing more, the rights so generally referred to, could be made more precise, be defined, even given names. If nothing more, the individual whose rights are violated should have the right of petition. If a judicial determination on a complaint through the International Court of Justice is now too visionary, perhaps some means of mediation could be established.

The failure to provide a means of receiving and acting on individual complaints, no matter how informally, is particularly disturbing. As the Secretary General of the United Nations reported, this defect in proceeding has brought "disappointment and disillusionment to thousands of persons all over the world who, through the publicity activities (regarding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) have been led to believe that one purpose of the United Nations is the

achievement of cooperation in promoting and encouraging of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

At the session of the Commission on Human Rights held at Geneva in April 1953, our Government retreated from leadership in drafting covenants. It announced its proposal for a new action program to consist primarily of studies relating to specific aspects of human rights and for annual reports of the status of these rights in local areas, with emphasis on education.

It is unfortunate, however, that Secretary of State Dulles found it necessary to announce that the United States would not now seek ratification of the Genocide Covenant nor press for a final drafting of a human-rights covenant. Presumably he did so to appease the supporters of the Bricker amendment, which, in great measure, was aimed at the proposed treaties on human rights. But while Mr. Dulles paid the price of peace, the administration was forced nevertheless to go through a prolonged fight against the Bricker proposals.

Rules in some form must be adopted, recognized and observed. The adoption of an international bill of rights would not, for example, insure to an Iron Curtain national a fair jury trial. But then thousands of years have passed since the Ten Commandments were handed down and they are not yet universally observed. Their existence nevertheless has helped attain their objectives. Our own Bill of Rights does not guarantee that our civil rights are not at times violated. But their inclusion in our Constitution gives them legal status and our courts provide the means of attainment. So with an international bill of rights. These rights would then acquire the prestige of a worldwide code of these inherent rights of man.

The United States is in the unique historical position of having demonstrated in a practical manner the effectiveness of a bill of rights. We are under a moral obligation to lead the world toward the recognition of these inherent rights everywhere. This is a means of attaining the goal of world peace. I urge consideration to the proposals outlined herein.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of June 6, 1953]

MILWAUKEE HUMAN-RIGHTS GROUP IS CITED AS EXAMPLE TO BE EMULATED

The warmth with which Milwaukee is trying to build good intergroup relations in this community is being felt afar off. That is shown by a letter from Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., commenting on the 1952 report of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Lodge calls it as showing how much can be accomplished by earnest voluntary effort of citizens to promote the rights of all individuals, regardless of race, color, or religious affiliation. He is a United States delegate to the United Nations and is calling the Milwaukee report to attention of the U. N. Human Rights Commission. It will help that commission in formulating a new action program to promote greater recognition of human rights, worldwide.

Those familiar with the work of the mayor's commission on human rights and that of other cooperating bodies and individuals understand that it covers a good deal more than combating discrimination against members of minority groups in housing, employment, or public accommodations. It aims higher than protecting civil rights under law or constitution.

The 1952 report of the Milwaukee Commission tells of progress in easing intergroup friction and in trying to remove the chief

cause of that friction—prejudice. The commission tries actively to promote cordial relationships between members of minority groups and the community as a whole.

Hospitality to 10,000 Negro delegates to a Baptist convention here in 1952, for instance, was outstanding. Homes of whites as well as Negroes were opened gladly to these delegates in the City of Fellowship.

Milwaukee can justly take pride in its progress along these lines and the example it is setting. We can be proud of widening recognition of such achievements. All reflects credit on the community and the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights for the leading role it has taken.

Acadian Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, this is a most proud and happy year for the Acadians of Louisiana, as the State and Nation join in observing a yearlong bicentennial celebration marking the Acadian migration from Nova Scotia 200 years ago and paying tribute to the loyalty, courage, character, and accomplishments of their descendants who have had such an important part in Louisiana's history and development.

I have the special honor and privilege of representing the Third Congressional District of Louisiana where so many of these fine Acadian people reside and which is truly the center of Acadian life and traditions in this country. I have the further pleasure of making my home in St. Martinsville, the heart of Louisiana's Acadian area, where the bicentennial celebration will be climaxed with a pageant in Lonerfellow-Evansline State Park, dramatizing the migration.

Launching the celebration in a most significant manner, members of a large delegation of Canadian business, civic, and cultural leaders have visited Louisiana this month as goodwill emissaries from the Canadian counterpart of the bicentennial year in Canada. Many events have been arranged in honor of the visitors and they have received a royal welcome. The Times-Picayune New Orleans States, in that newspaper's issue of Sunday, January 16, expressed the spirit and meaning of this visit and its background, in the following editorial:

WELCOME TO CANADIAN ACADIANS

Coming to New Orleans Monday and Tuesday after visits around the State in what Louisianians have long known as the "Acadian" country, are some 135 Acadians from Canada—descendants of some of those French colonists of Nova Scotia who either fled or were expelled from their homes and families not torn from their homes and families or who succeeded in returning when the scared Governor Lawrence had relaxed his ban. Included in the group to do honor to the few families who found hospitality and lands in Louisiana after 1755 when they were exiled from Acadia (Nova Scotia), are distinguished Canadian civic, governmental, religious, and social leaders. Some

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of the visitors are Acadians from New England.

Until Governor Lawrence headed the British colony of Canada, the Acadians had been permitted to take a restricted oath of allegiance to the British crown—excepting only the requirement to bear arms against their former fellow countrymen. The British Lords of Trade and ministers had long accepted this limited oath. But Lawrence, panic-stricken by groundless fears of an uprising of French colonists during the bitter French and Indian War, decided to take action on his own.

The memory of Lawrence will be held in particular distaste during this Acadian Bicentennial Celebration for the ruthlessness with which he carried out the exportation of the Acadians. There was brutal disruption of families and complete disregard for the safety of an exiled people. Several ships foundered. The American colonies disallowed new settlements and most colonies even denied landing rights. The courage and perseverance of the Acadians in their attempts to survive and to reestablish their families is almost legendary.

Louisiana—in 1763 a Spanish colony of Frenchmen—gave generous hospitality. The first of many Acadian settlements seems to have been in St. James's parish in 1756 when the Mouton family reached there. Yet some of the refugees who were sent to Georgia and the Carolinas and then traversed the wilderness to the Mississippi and paddled down-stream, may have settled just below Baton Rouge at an earlier time. The first official mention tells of 193 families arriving in 1765 from Santo Domingo where they had found temporary refuge, and given lands in the Opelousas district. Later arrivals spread throughout the Teche country and westward. The mission of distinguished visitors from Canada this week is far different from the first arrivals. They are joining with us in paying tribute to the great courage and accomplishments of the Acadians of both countries.

The newspaper in my hometown, the Teche News, edited and published by Mr. Marcel Bienvenu, himself a member of a pioneer and greatly respected Acadian family, conveyed the following welcome in French, the language of the Acadians which is so frequently heard in southwest Louisiana:

VOUS ET LES BIENVENUES

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer, pour samedi prochain (le 15 Janvier), l'arrivée dans notre ville d'une députation de Canada français. Ces délégués, venant de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Nouveau-Brunswick, de l'île du Prince-Edouard, de l'Ontario et du Québec, nous joindront nous autres Acadiens louisianais, pour célébrer avec nous le deuxième centenaire de l'expulsion des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Ecosse en 1755.

Sais doute leur visite ne manquera pas d'évoquer en nous un souvenir bien triste, notamment "le Grand Dérangement," cette expulsion qui força nos aïeux de quitter leur chère Acadie, d'abandonner les foyers où furent nés leurs enfants, de quitter une vie tranquille et heureuse pour affronter un avenir incertain.

Mais nous sommes convaincus également que la visite de nos amis canadiens nous apportera une très vive joie, car leur séjour parmi nous—malheureusement trop court—nous permettra de connaître des personnes qui sont nos frères spirituels.

Les événements historiques et les frontières géographiques semblent nous distinguer comme Canadiens et Américains, mais ils n'ont pu rompre les liens du passé et même du présent: une langue commune (où devrait-on dire deux langues communes?), une religion commune et surtout les traits de caractère que nous ont transmis nos

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Federal Commission To Study Copyright Laws Proposed

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OF
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We are living in an age when every encouragement must be given to the free interchange of ideas. The development of methods of mass communication have provided the means of bringing creative work to millions of people simultaneously. These methods include books, periodicals, newspapers, and sheet music as well as motion pictures, radio, television, and phonograph recordings. A constantly growing part of the population of our country is being reached by these technological advances, and a constantly growing number of people are employed by the industries that have grown up in these fields.

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If the arts are among those activities which make our civilization endure and flourish, as President Eisenhower declared them to be in his recent message on the state of the Union, then it is time that a study be made by an impartial, blue-ribbon Federal commission of the exceedingly complex subject of the copyright laws.

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Can any useful purpose be served in going through the same routine again with the same principals—ASCAP on the offensive and the operators on the defensive? The result, the pro and con arguments will be wasted, same time and money will be wasted. A new approach is needed. And the way to begin is to take Congress off the hook until the log jam of conflicting and biased testimony is broken by a factfinding commission working in an atmosphere that is free of pressure, bitterness and fear.

The Billboard believes the 1955 Congress should confine itself to legislation that au-

ables the President to appoint a factfinding commission to undertake the study of all facets of the Copyright Act of 1909. The jukebox exemption is only one important phase to be studied. There are others, some of which will be considered in next week's editorial, "Inequities Versus Interdependence."

[From Billboard magazine of December 11, 1954]

INEQUITIES VERSUS INTERDEPENDENCE

(This is the second in a series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President.)

It is dangerous to attempt to modernize the Copyright Act of 1909 by piecemeal legislation. There are many areas of the act which need clarification. More important, the music industry has grown under this 1909 law to vast proportions involving investments running into billions of dollars. We are only beginning to learn how sensitive is the interdependence of all phases of the music business, one upon the other. If piecemeal legislation upsets this balance, there is no quick way of determining in advance how extensively several phases of the music industry could be damaged economically.

How easily the existing balance in the music industry could be upset can be illustrated by a review of some of the previous efforts to correct what were considered inequities in the Copyright Act. Today, after the passage of years, many would argue that it was extremely fortunate that justice moved slowly, so slowly that many of the proponents of changes in the Copyright Act changed their minds before it was too late.

What were some of these areas of dispute, areas where modernization appeared necessary at one time but later became either undesirable or of questionable necessity?

THE PERFORMING ARTIST

Is the performing artist entitled to a royalty when his disks are performed over radio stations? There is a long history to this problem, involving many top artists. Court battles were fought to force radio stations to pay artists every time artists' records were broadcast. The National Association of Performing Artists tried to establish this principle on a national and then on a state-wide level. For a time the American Federation of Musicians took an interest in the matter. Such men as Fred Waring and Paul Whiteman were principals in the tangled dispute, and attempts were made to license stations.

Compare the reasoning in those days—and it seemed mighty logical reasoning—to the attitude today. It is now common practice for the artist and publisher, and often the songwriter, to pay heavily to promote the use of their records on the air.

THE RECORD MANUFACTURER

If the performing artist was entitled to royalties for the performance of his records over the air, what about the disk manufacturer? Diskeries years ago claimed as much. Some even went so far as to prohibit the playing of their records on the air. Some threatened to license such use.

Compare the advantages they thought they would gain then to the present competitive practice of literally flooding radio stations with free records.

MECHANICAL ROYALTIES

Such royalties are limited by law to 2 cents per side manufactured, paid direct to publishers on the basis of sides sold and then divided between the publishers and songwriters. Publishers and songwriters have often argued that it is not enough. Yet every day these same parties, by mutual agreement with record manufacturers, revise

the rate downward to give the manufacturers incentive to record their songs.

THE COMPULSORY LICENSING ACT

This is one of the most controversial phases of copyright. When a publisher issues a mechanical license to one record company to record his song, he must allow all other manufacturers the privilege of recording the same tune. There are some solid arguments in favor of a revision of this law. Many publishers and writers, for instance, feel that they can never adequately regain a rightful share of the control over their copyrights without the law being amended.

So where are we?

Why do artists no longer try to stop the playing of their recorded performances on the air?

Why has not the compulsory licensing provision been changed?

Why has not the songwriter and publisher pressed to get a raise in the 2-cents-per-side mechanical rate?

Why indeed? Very often, the original proponents of such changes experienced a change of heart themselves. They decided it was best, after all, to leave things as they were. In fact, had it not been so hard to achieve changes in the Copyright Act, damage far in excess of any good might have resulted. Often, the original proponents of change were protected by the very slowness of democratic legislative procedure.

And so we are on the verge of another attempt by ASCAP to amend the Copyright Act. What of that? Many who are aware of how attitudes have sharply changed in the course of years, feel it is best that the democratic process is grinding on ever so slowly.

These men feel that proponents are so bent on winning the simple piecemeal issue at hand—the end of the jukebox exemption—that they fall to view in its entirety the complex interdependence of the entire music industry. These cautious men cannot favor removing the exemption, when in their opinion so much of the music business hangs in the balance—when it is possible that the intended beneficiaries of such legislation today may be sufferers tomorrow.

On the other hand, those in favor of removing the exemption argue that what is involved is the protection of a copyright—the right to collect a fee for performance of copyright songs for a profit. Widely held theory, among these proponents, states that a moral right to collect performance fees does exist and must therefore be exercised. Let the drive for revision lapse and they feel the entire principle of performance rights is in danger. These men hold that even should an amendment disrupt the current economic balance within the music business, the risk is worth taking in order to protect a principle so vital to performing rights and licensing societies.

Would another congressional hearing help to resolve this deadlock? Congress has heard the bitter pros and cons many times. The way must be found to gather facts and carry on research in an atmosphere free from pressure, bitterness, and fear. What is needed is a neutral factfinding commission.

Next week's editorial, Reasons for Fear, will discuss why a factfinding commission can—and should—dig deeper into all economic aspects of the music industry, if this issue is ever to be resolved.

[From Billboard magazine of December 18, 1954]

REASONS FOR FEAR

(This is the last of a planned series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President.)

Last week we discussed the dangers inherent in attempting to modernize the

Copyright Act by piecemeal legislation—the dangers involved in upsetting the peculiar balance of the music industry. We noted that piecemeal legislation could boomerang on the very segments in the industry that think they could benefit from a copyright amendment removing the jukebox exemption.

Pointing out that another congressional hearing could contribute little, we stated that a factfinding commission was needed to gather testimony and carry on research. Such a commission would operate in an atmosphere free from pressure, bitterness, and fear.

A commission will be able to go beyond the organized groups in the jukebox industry and beyond the licensing organizations in order to better understand the opinions and problems of the individual jukebox operator, songwriter, publisher, and record manufacturer.

OPERATOR'S VIEWPOINT

The point of view of the individual operator is important to explore. Very often he is a marginal operator. He honestly feels an unfair music levy would drive him out of business. Like any other businessman, he would resent being forced by an outsider to stand an expense which does not show a tangible return.

This feeling of fear and resentment is increased by reason of the intricacies of copyright law. Like other ordinary mortals, he cannot understand it all. Nine out of ten operators will either admit this, or prove by their misstatements that copyright is a mystery to them. And herein lies the strength of the Music Operators of America.

THE MOA'S STRENGTH

The MOA's strength is derived from the operator being dependent on that organization to protect him against ASCAP. If MOA gives the least evidence that it will do anything but give ASCAP 100-percent opposition, it will lose the confidence of operators and may even disintegrate.

This complete opposition is going to exist as long as licensing organizations seek to collect fees without giving the operator the assurance that such fees will be equitable, and in proportion to value received.

A factfinding commission is in the best position to study the basic issues. There is nothing a new congressional hearing will uncover about operating jukeboxes that cannot be found in the records of previous hearings. But a commission quite properly may find the jukebox operator is willing to pay more to songwriters and publishers if reasonable payments will spell the end of ASCAP's annual attempts to put the jukebox industry in the same category as radio, television, ballrooms, etc.

COMMISSIONER'S POWERS

Just as a factfinding commission can talk directly to operators, bypassing MOA, so can a commission talk directly to songwriters and publishers, bypassing the licensing organizations. Such a direct means of ascertaining the basic facts and the personal interests of individuals in all phases of the music industry would seem logical, in view of MOA's complete opposition to ASCAP, and the latter's insistence that the jukebox exemption must be removed.

A factfinding commission will be able to examine all the complicated economics of the entire music industry, including the types of music royalties and music uses which are part and parcel of this controversy.

For example, jukebox operators feel they are paying songwriters and publishers for the use of the music these men create and exploit. They believe they are doing this through the mechanical royalty, a fee fixed by law at 2 cents per side. In the minds of the operators, this royalty totals a considerable sum—for unlike radio, for the most part, or television, the operator buys his records. The jukebox, in other words, represents a

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—APPENDIX

January 20

of the visitors are Acadians from New England.

Until Governor Lawrence headed the British colony of Canada, the Acadians had been permitted to take a restricted oath of allegiance to the British crown—excepting only the requirement to bear arms against their former fellow countrymen. The British Lords of Trade and ministers had long accepted this limited oath. But Lawrence, panic-stricken by groundless fears of an uprising of French colonists during the bitter French and Indian War, decided to take action on his own.

The memory of Lawrence will be held in particular distaste during the Acadian Bicentennial Celebration for the ruthlessness with which he carried out the exportation of the Acadians. There was brutal disruption of families and complete disregard for the safety of an exiled people. Several ships founded. The American colonies disallowed new settlements and most colonies even denied landing rights. The courage and perseverance of the Acadians in their attempts to survive and to reestablish their families is almost legendary.

Louisiana—in 1753 a Spanish colony of Frenchmen—gave generous hospitality. The first of many Acadian settlements seems to have been in St. James's parish in 1756 when the Mouton family reached there. Yet some of the refugees who were sent to Georgia and the Carolinas and then traversed the wilderness to the Mississippi and paddled downstream, may have settled just below Baton Rouge at an earlier time. The first official mention tells of 193 families arriving in 1765 from Santo Domingo where they had found temporary refuge, and given lands in the Opelousas district. Later arrivals spread throughout the Teche country and westward. The mission of distinguished visitors from Canada this week is far different from the first arrivals. They are joining with us in paying tribute to the great courage and accomplishments of the Acadians of both countries.

The newspaper in my hometown, the Teche News, edited and published by Mr. Marcel Bienvenu, himself a member of a pioneer and greatly respected Acadian family, conveyed the following welcome in French, the language of the Acadians which is so frequently heard in southwest Louisiana:

VOUS ET LES BIENVENUES

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer, pour samedi prochain (le 15 janvier), l'arrivée dans notre ville d'une députation de Canada français. Ces délégués, venant de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Nouveau-Brunswick, de l'Isle du Prince-Edouard, de l'Ontario et du Québec, nous joindront nous autres Acadiens louisianais, pour célébrer avec nous le deuxième centenaire de l'expulsion des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Ecosse en 1755.

Sans doute leur visite ne manquera pas d'évoquer en nous un souvenir bien triste, notamment "le Grand Dérangement," cette expulsion qui força nos aïeux de quitter leur chère Acadie, d'abandonner les foyers où furent nés leurs enfants, de quitter une vie tranquille et heureuse pour affronter un avenir incertain.

Mais nous sommes convaincus également que la visite de nos amis canadiens nous apportera une très vive joie, car leur séjour parmi nous—malheureusement trop court—nous permettra de connaître des personnes qui sont nos frères spirituels.

Les événements historiques et les frontières géographiques semblent nous distinguer comme Canadiens et Américains, mais ils n'ont pu rompre les liens du passé et même du présent; une langue commune (ou devrait-on dire deux langues communes?), une religion commune et surtout les traits de caractère que nous ont transmis nos

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From the Washington Office
of Congressman Thompson

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84TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2677

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 20, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

Creating a Federal commission to study the copyright laws and to make recommendations for their revision.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That there is hereby established a commission to be known
- 4 as the Commission on the Copyright Laws (hereinafter re-
- 5 ferred to as the "Commission").
- 6 SEC. 2. (a) The Commission shall be composed of
- 7 thirteen members appointed as follows:
- 8 (1) Seven persons appointed by the President of the
- 9 United States;
- 10 (2) Three appointed from the Senate by the Vice
- 11 President of the United States; and

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(3) Three appointed from the House of Representatives
by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(b) Of the first class of members specified in subsection
(a), no more than four members shall be from the same
political party. Of the second and third classes of members
specified in subsection (a), no more than two members from
each class shall be from the same political party.

SEC. 3. The President shall designate the member of
the Commission who shall be the Chairman, and the mem-
ber who shall be the Vice Chairman.

SEC. 4. Seven members of the Commission (including
at least three who are Members of Congress) shall constitute
a quorum.

SEC. 5. (a) Members of Congress who are members of
the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition
to that received for their services as Members of Congress;
but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and
other necessary expenses incurred by them in the perform-
ance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(b) Members of the Commission who are in the execu-
tive branch of the Government shall each receive the com-
pensation which he would receive if he were not a member
of the Commission, but they shall be reimbursed for travel,
subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them
in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

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(c) Members of the Commission from private life shall
receive not to exceed \$25 per diem when engaged in the
performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reim-
bursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary
expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

SEC. 6. The Commission is directed to examine, study,
and make recommendations for the revision of all laws per-
taining to both domestic and foreign copyright.

SEC. 7. (a) The Commission, in carrying out its func-
tions under this Act, may appoint such personnel as it deems
advisable, without regard to the civil-service laws, and shall
fix the compensation of such personnel in accordance with
the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Commis-
sion may procure temporary and intermittent services in
accordance with section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946
(5 U. S. C., sec. 55a), but at rates not to exceed \$25 per
diem for individuals. The Commission may reimburse em-
ployees, experts, and consultants for travel, subsistence, and
other necessary expenses incurred by them in the perform-
ance of their official duties and make reasonable advances
to such persons for such purposes.

(b) Service as a member of the Commission (except
service of a member appointed by the Vice President or the
Speaker of the House or appointed by the President from the
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1 individual pursuant to the first sentence of subsection (a),
 2 and service by a person pursuant to the second sentence of
 3 subsection (a), shall not be considered as service or em-
 4 ployment bringing such person within the provisions of
 5 section 281, 283, 284, or 1914 of title 18 of the United
 6 States Code, or section 512 of the Mutual Security Act of
 7 1954, or section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U. S. C.,
 8 sec. 99).

9 SEC. 8. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated,
 10 out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated,
 11 so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of
 12 this Act.

13 SEC. 9. (a) Within thirty days after the commencement
 14 of the first regular session of Congress convened more than
 15 one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the
 16 Commission shall make a report of its findings and recom-
 17 mendations to the President and to the Congress.

18 (b) Sixty days after submission to the Congress of the
 19 report provided for in subsection (a) of this section, the
 20 Commission shall cease to exist.

21 SEC. 10. The Commission or, on the authorization of
 22 the Commission, any subcommittee or member thereof, shall
 23 have power to hold hearings and to sit and act at such times

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1 and places, within the United States or elsewhere, to take
 2 such testimony, and to make such lawful expenditures, as the
 3 Commission or such subcommittee or member may deem
 4 advisable.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

January 20

of the visitors are Acadians from New England.

Until Governor Lawrence headed the British colony of Canada, the Acadians had been permitted to take a restricted oath of allegiance to the British crown—excepting only the requirement to bear arms against their former fellow countrymen. The British Lords of Trade and ministers had long accepted this limited oath. But Lawrence, panic-stricken by groundless fears of an up rising of French colonists during the bitter French and Indian War, decided to take action on his own.

The memory of Lawrence will be held in particular distaste during this Acadian Bicentennial Celebration for the ruthlessness with which he carried out the exportation of the Acadians. There was brutal disruption of families and complete disregard for the safety of an exiled people. Several ship foundered. The American colonies disallowed new settlements and most colonies even denied landing rights. The courage and perseverance of the Acadians in the attempts to survive and to reestablish their families is almost legendary.

Louisiana—in 1755 a Spanish colony—Frenchmen—gave generous hospitality. The first of many Acadian settlements seems to have been in St. James' parish in 1755 where the Mouton family reached there. Yet sons of the refugees who were sent to Georgia and the Carolinas and then traversed the wilderness to the Mississippi and paddled down stream, may have settled just below Baton Rouge at an earlier time. The first official mention tells of 193 families arriving in 1764 from Santo Domingo where they had found temporary refuge, and given lands in the Opelousas district. Later arrivals spread throughout the Teche country and westward. The mission of distinguished visitors for Canada this week is far different from their first arrivals. They are joining with us in paying tribute to the great courage and accomplishments of the Acadians of both centuries.

The newspaper in my hometown, the Teche News, edited and published by Mr. Marcel Bienvenu, himself a member of a pioneer and greatly respected Acadian family, conveyed the following welcome in French, the language of the Acadians which is so frequently heard in southwest Louisiana:

VOUS ET LES BIENVENUES

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer, pour samedi prochain (le 15 Janvier), l'arrivée dans notre ville d'une députation de Canada français. Ces délégués, venant de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Nouveau-Brunswick, de l'île du Prince-Edouard, de l'Ontario et du Québec, nous rejoignent nous autres Acadiens louisianais, pour célébrer avec nous le deux centième anniversaire de l'expulsion des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Ecosse en 1755.

Sans doute leur visite ne manquera pas d'évoquer en nous un souvenir bien triste, notamment "le Grand Dérangement," cette expulsion qui força nos aïeux de quitter leur chère Acadie, d'abandonner les foyers où furent nés leurs enfants, de quitter une vie tranquille et heureuse pour affronter un avenir incertain.

Mais nous sommes convaincus également que la visite de nos amis canadiens nous apportera une très vive joie, car leur séjour parmi nous—malheureusement trop court—nous permettra de connaître des personnes qui sont nos frères spirituels.

Les événements historiques et les frontières géographiques semblent nous distinguer comme Canadiens et Américains, mais ils n'ont pu rompre les liens du passé et même du présent: une langue commune (ou devrait-on dire deux langues communes?), une religion commune et surtout les traits de caractère que nous ont transmis nos

ancêtres. Ce peuple, noble, dévoué, patriotique, a bravé la mort plutôt que de renoncer à sa foi, à son pays; ce peuple nous a confié une foi inébranlable, une foi qui nous a soutenus dans toute les vicissitudes de la vie.

Voici donc l'héritage commun qui nous lie, les Canadiens français et les Acadiens louisianais, ce trésor spirituel légué par nos ancêtres, les aventuriers intrépides. Il

Legislation to end the exemption granted to jukeboxes by the act of 1909 has been introduced in nearly every Congress since 1926.

There seem to be certain important respects in which the copyright laws differ from the patent law which grants a patentee the exclusive right to make, use, vend the invention or discovery

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ables the President to appoint a factfinding commission to undertake the study of all facets of the Copyright Act of 1909. The jukebox exemption is only one important phase to be studied. There are others, some of which will be considered in next week's editorial, "Inequities Versus Interdependence."

the rate downward to give the manufacturers incentive to record their songs.

THE COMPULSORY LICENSING ACT

This is one of the most controversial phases of copyright. When a publisher issues a mechanical license to one record company to record his song, he must allow all other manufacturers the privilege of recording the same tune. There are some solid arguments in favor of a revision of this law. Many

Copyright Act by piecemeal legislation—the dangers involved in upsetting the peculiar balance of the music industry. We noted that piecemeal legislation could boomerang on the very segments in the industry that think they could benefit from a copyright amendment removing the jukebox exemption. Pointing out that another congressional hearing could contribute little, we stated that a factfinding commission was needed to gather testimony and carry on research. Such a commission would operate in an atmosphere free from pressure, bias, and fear. The commission will be able to go beyond organized groups in the jukebox industry and beyond the licensing organizations in order to better understand the pros and problems of the individual jukebox operator, songwriter, publisher, and manufacturer.

OPERATOR'S VIEWPOINT

point of view of the individual operator is important to explore. Very often the marginal operator. He honestly feels that a fair music levy would drive him out of business. Like any other businessman, he does not want to be forced by an outsider to pay an expense which does not show a return.

A feeling of fear and resentment is induced by reason of the intricacies of copyright law. Like other ordinary mortals, he does not understand it all. Nine out of ten operators will either admit this, or prove by their misstatements that copyright is a mystery to them. And herein lies the strength of the Music Operators of America.

THE MOA'S STRENGTH

The MOA's strength is derived from the operator being dependent on that organization to protect him against ASCAP. If MOA were the least evidence that it will do anything but give ASCAP 100-percent opposition, it will lose the confidence of operators and may even disintegrate. MOA's complete opposition is going to exist as long as licensing organizations seek to collect fees without giving the operator the assurance that such fees will be equitable, in proportion to value received. A factfinding commission is in the best position to study the basic issues. There is nothing a new congressional hearing will uncover about operating jukeboxes that cannot be found in the records of previous hearings. If a commission quite properly may find that a jukebox operator is willing to pay more for songwriters and publishers if reasonable arrangements will spell the end of ASCAP's annual attempts to put the jukebox industry in the same category as radio, television, brooms, etc.

COMMISSION'S POWERS

Just as a factfinding commission can talk directly to operators, bypassing MOA, so can a commission talk directly to songwriters and publishers, bypassing the licensing organizations. Such a direct means of ascertaining the basic facts and the personal interests of individuals in all phases of the music industry would seem logical. In view of MOA's complete opposition to ASCAP, and the latter's insistence that the jukebox exemption must be removed, a factfinding commission will be able to amine all the complicated economics of the entire music industry, including the complex of music royalties and music uses which are part and parcel of this controversy.

For example, jukebox operators feel they are paying songwriters and publishers for the use of the music these men create and exploit. They believe they are doing this through the mechanical royalty, a fee fixed by law at 2 cents per side. In the minds of the operators, this royalty totals a considerable sum—for unlike radio, for the most part, or television, the operator buys his records. The jukebox, in other words, represents a

84TH CONGRESS
1st Session

H. R. 2677

A BILL

Creating a Federal commission to study the copyright laws and to make recommendations for their revision.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey

JANUARY 20, 1955

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

are many problems of equity and justice involved. Performing rights in musical works were first recognized in 1897. The Copyright Act of 1909 imposed limitations as to musical compositions where performances were public and for profit.

A new approach is needed. And the way to begin is to take Congress off the hook until the log jam of conflicting and biased testimony is broken by a factfinding commission working in an atmosphere that is free of pressure, bitterness and fear.

The Billboard believes the 1955 Congress should confine itself to legislation that en-

MECHANICAL ROYALTIES

Such royalties are limited by law to 2 cents per side manufactured, paid direct to publishers on the basis of sides sold and then divided between the publishers and songwriters. Publishers and songwriters have often argued that it is not enough. Yet every day these same parties, by mutual agreement with record manufacturers, revise

REASONS FOR FEAR

(This is the last of a planned series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President) Last week we discussed the dangers inherent in attempting to modernize the

real record market in addition to its value as a promotional medium for songs. And because records represent a sizable business cost to the operator, he tends to brush aside the argument that what is involved is performance right rather than a mechanical right.

ASCAP OBLIGATIONS

ASCAP, in its allocation of funds, has felt morally obliged to provide an incentive for music on a broad basis. It never forgets its financial obligations to those writers who once were but are no longer productive. For this—as well as other reasons—it can be said that ASCAP's distribution goes into the pockets of writers and publishers, but the distribution does not go directly, or totally, into the pockets of the copyright holders of a specific song.

In contrast, mechanical royalties from a song go direct to the specific songwriter and publisher of that song. These royalties are paid by the disk manufacturer to the publisher, who divides them with the writer. ASCAP does not administer these royalties.

Only a factfinding commission is in a position to determine whether writers and publishers are getting their fair share; only such a commission can place in proper perspective the different types of royalties and music uses. Only such a commission can objectively weigh all the moral and technical issues and resolve the conflicting points of view.

SUGGESTED LEGISLATION

Legislation could propose the establishment of such a commission by the President. The membership of such a body generally includes impartial citizens, and could include, ex-officio, several Congressmen. At the discretion of the President, representatives of different segments of the music industry could be named. The initial legislation would also outline the commission's purpose—exploration of the Copyright Act's effects on all facets of the music industry.

What would be the commission's authority? It would have power to assemble a competent staff, work closely with individuals as well as all groups involved in the controversy, and prepare a report, and in the case at hand 1 year has been suggested as reasonable. This would give the Congress, which created the legislation calling for the commission, the opportunity to study the report and act upon recommendation therein.

We consider such a commission the best means of correcting inequities where inequities exist. Let us not repeat the same wasteful, abortive performance we have seen in past years.

Flood Control Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, members of the House Public Works Committee are very pleased to have CLYDE DAVIS once again as chairman of the important Subcommittee on Flood Control. We who work with him know CLYDE DAVIS for his devotion to this vital legislative problem which means so much to the welfare of the entire Nation. We are glad to note that his constituents are also aware of his accomplishments in this

field, as reflected in the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

FLOOD CONTROL LEADER

The seniority of Representative CLIFFORD DAVIS rebounds to the benefit of the entire lower Mississippi Valley in that he is now chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee. It is his group which must pass on all proposed flood control projects.

Representative DAVIS is a sincere and vigorous advocate of sound water resources development, as his support of the St. Lawrence Seaway and other approved major projects clearly indicates. His study of water resources problems is continuous, and he is equipped to give the Flood Control Subcommittee intelligent leadership.

Israel: An Adventure of the Human Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include excerpts from an address by Abba Eban, the distinguished Ambassador of Israel to the United States, at the University of Notre Dame, on January 11, 1955. The guest honors his host, as the host's invitation honors the guest. The extension of this invitation and the presence on this Catholic platform of this outstanding Jewish spokesman is in the finest traditions of our great Nation.

I commend it to the reading of all my colleagues. My only regret is that the limitations of space in the Record made a condensation of this splendid address necessary.

The excerpts follow:

ISRAEL: AN ADVENTURE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Four thousand years of history have extended their span between Israel's first ascent to nationhood and her restoration to freedom at the turning point of the century. The redemption from Egyptian bondage must be regarded in any serious conception of history as one of the authentic points of climax in the progress of mankind. . . .

The flight across the Red Sea and Sinai preserved a revolutionary idea which could never have faded in the idolatrous despotism of the Pharaohs. The idea was the sovereignty of God, the Ruler of the universe, omnipotent, one and indivisible, the embodiment of righteousness, and the loving Father of all creation. . . .

The narrative of this rebellion against idolatry by men charged with the custody of an irreplaceable idea also occurs in the history of thought in a more secular aspect. This is the original and classic secular aspect, national independence. The memory of Israel's first struggle for freedom has inspired and consoled many subsequent movements of national independence. When Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were consulted on the emblem of the future American Union, they suggested that the seal of the United States should represent the children of Israel fleeing across the parted waters of the Red Sea on their way to freedom.

This portrayal was to be surmounted by an uncannily Hebraic slogan, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

THE DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

It is not presumptuous to believe that future generations will conserve the memories of Israel's modern revival with a similar reverence and tenacity. This will certainly come to pass in the particular domain of Jewish history. Nothing since the millennium redemption 4,000 years ago can compare in that history with this recent transition from martyrdom to sovereignty, this sudden ascent from the depths of agony to new peaks of opportunity and pride. . . .

I have come to this abode of Christian faith and learning to suggest that Israel's resurgence is an event to be conceived in the highest dimensions of history. It evokes from the past and may portend for the future a deep lesson concerning the potency and nature of spiritual impulses. . . .

There is nothing global, or even massive, about the State of Israel in political terms. The territory in which our independence has been fulfilled is great in history but pathetically meager in geography. It is the bridge between the three continents of the world. . . . But in the strategic calculations of this century this piece of earth is of humble measure. The bridge is fragile, the highway is narrow, and in the age of air transportation it no longer obtrudes itself inevitably athwart the paths of conquest and empire. The population directly affected falls short of 2 million. . . .

Clearly, if modern Israel is to be regarded as a historic incident of universal scope, this is because of a stature to be ascribed to it in a completely different dimension. If modern Israel is to have any elements of greatness then this quality must be vindicated in the spiritual realm.

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

To say this is not to deny that some of Israel's material achievements are impressive and sometimes deeply moving. The collective survival of the Jewish people is itself a rare event of history. Many other peoples have lost their independence under the heel of invading empires; but no people, other than this, having been so enfeebled, has shown such a capacity for recuperation as to preserve amidst martyrdom and dispersion, all the elements of its union and identity—its language and tradition, its consciousness of attachment to the land of its origin, and the undying hope of eventual restoration. . . . The banner of a free Israel now flies proudly again in the family of nations from which it had been absent for so many tragic generations. . . .

Nor are these the only achievements which may be accounted remarkable in secular terms. There is the pioneering toil and sacrifice which have transformed the wilderness to a semblance of its ancient fertility. There is the epic of mass immigration which has brought hundreds of thousands of serene newcomers to our shores. There are great efforts, and at times, serious results, in the increase of industrial and agricultural resources. There is the formation of a new culture, welding many varied immigrant traditions, tongues, and experiences into the unified tapestry of a distinctive Hebrew past. There is the struggle against the ravages of pestilence and erosion which had debased the physical aspect of the land and degraded its historic reputation as "the perfection of beauty, the joy of the entire earth." There is the adventure of establishing within a region dominated by despotism and autocracy a sanctuary for the democratic way of life and the principles of free government. There are advances in literature, the sciences and arts, which without yet reaching the peaks of the ancient revela-

tion, are yet significant and promising in space in which they have been accomplished. Nor can we omit from the particular record of Israel's achievement the turbulent struggle for physical security of a small people besieged on all its embattled frontiers by an unyielding and comprehensive hostility. To have achieved so large a volume of international recognition within so brief a time and against such heavy challenge is not the least surprising of Israel's modern victories.

THE POWER OF WILL

If despite all this, we concentrate our gaze upon the spiritual aspects of Israel's achievement and destiny, it is not because we renounce our claims to a sympathetic appraisal in political, economic, social, or even military history. . . . Rarely in history has any achievement been recorded against heavier calculations of chance. All the circumstances of time and of place argued against its success. A few decades ago the prospect that an independent Jewish state could be established in its ancient homeland appeared so fantastic, as to bring its advocates under the suspicion of insanity. Statesmen and diplomats to whom the idea was broached in the early years of the First World War were startled at hearing so eccentric an idea even submitted to their official attention. . . .

Yet within a single lifetime we had passed from a world in which the existence of an independent Israel seemed inconceivable into a world which seems inconceivable without its existence. I know of few more tangible testimonies in history to the power of the human will to assert itself against material odds. . . .

This belief in the power of the human will is a recurrent theme in Israel's history. The most distinctive attribute of Israel's character, the source of some weakness but of greater strength is this stubborn, tenacious refusal to recognize the distinction between imagination and reality. In the grammar of classical Hebrew there is none of the sharp differentiation possessed by modern languages between that which is and that which shall be.

This deliberate confusion between imagination and reality, between the will and the fact, has been illustrated at many stages of our history. In 1918 our first founding father, Dr. Weizmann went up to Mount Scopus, overlooking Jerusalem, to perform the ceremony of opening a new university. In its outward forms this resembled similar ceremonies whereby universities have been opened and dedicated in many parts of the world. There was only one incidental circumstance which made this particular solemnity in any way distinctive. It was that the university did not exist at all. It was unrepresented even by a cornerstone. . . . Yet because the establishment of a university in Jerusalem was for us a matter of intense and passionate will, the absence of the physical conditions necessary for its fulfillment was not an adequate reason to abstain from all the acts and gestures which should mark its dedication. Surely enough, within two decades the university existed, and the ceremony, even in retrospect, no longer appears quixotic. . . .

Just as the establishment of Israel proves the dominant power of the human spirit, so is this theme illustrated by many acts which have unfolded themselves within the general process. The most vivid example is to be found in our immigration movement. The dispersed Jewish communities from which this immigration came were utterly divergent in all material things. Their social, economic, political, and linguistic backgrounds had nothing in common. Unity and solidarity existed only in the plane of spiritual allegiance. . . . The spiritual unity had not merely to exist but actually to overcome a great aggregate of divisive material

forces. That it did so triumph, and that hundreds of thousands responded by immigration to the call of Israel's sovereignty proved that unity will prevail against divergence, provided that the unity is truly spiritual and the divergence only material.

THE HEBREW TRADITION

Thus far I have spoken of Israel's establishment as a general victory for spiritual forces. But we also owe attention to the particular lineage of Israel's spiritual history. . . . Ancient Israel had taught individual morality, social justice, and universal peace. That the conditions in which that florescence had been achieved should, once again be restored was a prospect that could not fail to appeal to any sensitive imagination.

THE FAMILY OF CULTURES

The community of nations is also a society of cultures and civilizations. Many of these states, whatever their formal relationship to established religion, exemplify and embody the Christian civilization in its various forms. Some 15 modern states are dominated by the heritage and outlook of Islam. Three or more sovereignties in the Far East are cast in the mould of Buddhist tradition. There are many states, as we know too well, which exemplify the various materialist heresies of our age. But there was one culture, and one alone, which had no distinctive representation in the family of nations; one civilization which nowhere on earth had the opportunity to express its ideals by response to the challenge of statehood, society, and international relations. No single state spoke as the conscious champion or exemplar of the Hebrew tradition. . . .

In our age, for the first time since the legions of Titus subjugated Jerusalem, the Hebrew tradition has become embodied in free political institutions, on a level of equality with all other nations in the human family. By this act of remedy, the family circle of the world's free cultures has become complete. The community of nations is now a comprehensive symphony of the traditions and cultures of mankind. . . .

It is, of course, true that the concepts of Hebraism continued to affect history after the destruction of the Jewish kingdoms. . . . The stream of Hebrew civilization nourished the great rivers of Christianity and Islam; but its own native waters continued to flow perennially fresh. We have escaped from the great handicap and reproach of homelessness. No longer need we poignantly recall: "They have appointed me to keep many vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept."

ISRAEL IN INTERNATIONAL EQUITY

There are many aspects of Israel's revival which belong to the domain of political history, but which cannot be denied their place in a spiritual appraisal. The homelessness and martyrdom of the Jewish people was not merely a source of international political tension; it was also a heavy burden upon the Christian conscience. The weight of this burden became heavy beyond endurance by any sensitive mind in the aftermath of the Second World War, when the curtain went up on the buried and mangled bodies of 6 million Jews including a million children. The Jewish people had fallen victim to the most fearful agony which had ever beset any family of the human race. A whole continent was saturated with its blood and haunted by its unexploited sacrifice. As the world rose from the ravages of the Second World War, it came perilously near to creating an injustice more heinous than any which had been illuminated by the tribulations of the Allied cause. It became horribly but seriously possible that every nation would be granted its freedom, amongst those which had suffered under the heel of Fascist tyranny, except the people which had

suffered the most. If the world order had been established upon this discrimination, it would surely have been conceived with an intolerable measure of original guilt.

From this spiritual peril the community of nations cleansed itself belatedly, perhaps a little too grudgingly, but nevertheless decisively, when it ordained and later recognized the establishment of Israel. . . . The establishment of Israel's sovereignty, though ostensibly a fact of political organization, was, in the deeper sense, an act of universal equity.

REGIONAL EQUITY

The same consideration arises with particular force when we examine the problem of equity in its regional aspect. No people benefited more lavishly than the Arabs from the new inheritance of independence bequeathed by the Allies' victory in two world wars and the establishment of the United Nations. In an area where not a single free Arab or Moslem had lived in conditions of political independence four decades ago, there were now to be created 7.8 or 9 separate Arab sovereignties extending over a vast subcontinent from Pakistan to the central Mediterranean, from the Taurus Mountains to the Persian Gulf. . . .

Here again the international conscience was faced with a burning problem of equity. Was it considered right for the Arab people to hold sway over a continent, and wrong for the Jewish people to establish its independence in a tiny fragment of that huge domain? Would it be the decree of history that the Arabs must be independent everywhere and the Jewish people nowhere—not even in the land which owed all its luster in history to its connection with the ancient Hebrew tradition? . . . Here again there was the peril of an award so one-sided, so monopolistic, and discriminatory in its nature as to weigh down the international conscience for generations to come. After many hesitations the world community cleansed itself of any such reproach. It rightly established and encouraged the emancipation of the Arab people on an almost imperial scale. But the benefit, nay the elementary right, which it conferred upon the Arab people in such abundant profusion, was also bestowed upon the Jewish people, albeit within meager and austere limits. . . . It would have been an indelible disgrace to the cause of international justice if a world which had bequeathed this vast liberation to the Arab people had begrudged the Jewish people its minute share of that inheritance. The morality expressed in the parable of Naboth's vineyard would have clouded the constitutional and political structure of the Middle East.

ISRAEL'S CULTURE

As we survey the origins of Israel's independence in spiritual terms, we cannot fail to let our minds linger in speculation on the question of Israel's cultural destiny. . . . As a military power, a political force, or an economic unit, Israel's horizons are restricted by deficiencies of material power. . . . But in these realms Israel will never compete with the might and influence of the continental or imperial powers. The only domain in which we are free to soar to the highest peaks available to any nation are those of scientific, cultural, and spiritual progress. However pressing are Israel's preoccupations with physical security and economic welfare, the challenge of cultural achievement cannot be set aside. Would we not be an extraordinary people if we were to devote all our efforts to those material fields in which, after all, our limitations are inescapable, and stand aside from the only areas in which, at least, the potentialities of greatness lie open before us. . . .

Three elements are available to us in the formation of Israel's new culture. First, there is the Hebrew Biblical tradition expressed in our incomparable language and

evoked by the physical associations of the country itself. . . . The sentiment of belonging, in the most intimate sense, to the great sweep of Israel's history in this immortal land has a far greater influence than is commonly realized in the formation of our national character. Our literary movement and recent discoveries in archaeology constantly remind our people of this primary element in their spiritual formation.

A second element in Israel's culture is the accumulated experience acquired by the Jewish people in its wanderings after the period of national independence. The generations of dispersion and persecution were also a period of constant interplay between the Hebrew mind and the cultures of Europe and the New World. The Rabbinical and Talmudical literature, the post-Biblical Hebrew poetry and philosophy, the traditional attachments of the Jewish people to the arts and sciences of the Western World, are all part of the reservoir from which modern Israel draws its sustenance.

The third element available for our cultural development is western civilization, with special reference to its political institutions and its scientific and technological progress. It is Israel's fortune to be the sole representative in its immediate region of political democracy and scientific progress, which are the two most distinctive achievements of European and American civilization. This western civilization is strongly expressed by the Anglo-Saxon tradition with which Israel has two links of special intimacy. First, the great bulk of the free and extant Jewish people is a part of the English-speaking world. Second, the tradition of the alien or external to Israel's life and experience. It is itself morally derived from the original Hebrew tradition of which Israel is the modern representative and embodiment.

From the effervescence of these three elements—the Hebrew Biblical tradition, the broader Jewish experience, western science and political organization—the culture of modern Israel will emerge. . . . We have at least restored to our people the conditions of a creative culture: pride of soil; the sense of continuity; deep roots in a superbly aristocratic cultural tradition; and the special exaltation which attends a people in the formative hours of its national revival. Who can be certain that these conditions will not bring a message in the spirit and quality of our original inheritance.

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE
I am certain that your invitation to me to discuss these high themes within this Catholic sanctuary reflects your conviction that the unfolding of Israel's new career as a nation is a matter of moment and concern to the Christian world. The great issue in this generation is drawn, not between Christianity and Judaism, or between Israel and the Christian nations. The frontier lies rather between those who assert and those who deny the supremacy of faith and of freedom. You and we occupy different areas of tradition, experience and outlook; but we occupy them on the same side of that fateful demarcation. Our differences are not insignificant, and we should not be disposed to obscure them. . . . But if the rise of Israel is a victory of the human spirit, a triumph of international integrity, a burden removed from the universal conscience, the addition of a new voice to the symphony of human freedom, then this is a victory for the Christian cause as well as a direct salvation for the Jewish people.

It is memorable and significant that the Christian world lent its sympathy to Israel's revival. The great Catholic countries of Europe and Latin America were amongst those who most ardently sustained Israel's struggle for independence and recognition. Our devotion to a kindred heritage, our common

respect for human values, our unremitting resistance to tyranny, are unifying forces which transcend all secondary divergences of judgment or interest. The people of Israel who first in history rebelled against the might of barbarian and pagan empires, which raised the first voice against idolatry—this people in its new life of independence will never bow the knee to dictatorship.

THE HOLY PLACES

An understanding of the spirit of the Christian world ranks very high among Israel's chief aspirations. We are fully aware that many causes and assets sacred to Christianity lie within our control, and demand our most vigilant reverence. This consideration has led us constantly in recent years to proclaim our readiness to place under international influence the Holy places in Jerusalem which are the cradle and inspiration of the Christian faith. By such a solution, reconciling the full political independence of the people of the Holy City with international interest in that which is truly universal in Jerusalem, we could achieve a double purpose. We should prevent an encroachment on the political liberties of Jerusalem's population, while at the same time acknowledging the moral authority of the world community over the sanctuaries of your faith. . . . These are the considerations which have caused the governments of the United States and of Israel to cooperate so constantly within the United Nations on behalf of solutions which respect both the sovereignty and secular independence of Jerusalem's population, and the rights of the Christian world to see its holy places kept immune from turbulence and desecration. I am satisfied that this attitude is now shared by a majority of the members of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, you will understand how devoutly we have welcomed the warm praise expressed by Mgr. Antonio Vergani, representative of the Latin Patriarch in Israel, by the Very Reverend Father Brunet and by visiting Cardinals and Prelates to the efforts of my government to ease the journeys of pilgrims to effect a road link to Mount Tabar and to repair the ravages inflicted by war on some of the buildings and properties of the Catholic Church in Israel. In paying this tribute to the Government of Israel for its substantial subventions, enabling the rehabilitation of the Hospice of Notre Dame de France in Jerusalem. Father Brunet eloquently and devoutly concludes: "May God vouchsafe to us to see this edifice risen from its ruins, and pilgrims coming once again to recite their prayers on the soil of this Holy Land, where spiritual interests should bring all hearts together in peace."

This is the goal of Israel's spiritual adventure, in the freedom of its ancient home—to live a national life consecrated to the universal vision of fraternity and peace. If we serve this ideal, within the limits of our human imperfection, the new era of Israel's freedom will be not unworthy of the inheritance of the fathers.

Court District Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS OF CALIFORNIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to appear in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the San Diego Union for January 18, 1955, in support of legisla-

tion which I have introduced to provide for a separate Federal judicial district for the southern district of California.

The editorial follows:

COURT DISTRICT NEEDED

San Diego has grown to the extent where it should have a separate Federal judicial district with two judges.

For the third year running the local bar association is making a concerted effort for such legislation. During the past 3 years appropriation has been made for a new courtroom and provision has been made for a Federal grand jury. A separate district is the next logical step.

San Diego County has grown to the extent where it should not be a stepchild of Los Angeles. A separate district would eliminate many difficulties now caused by overloading the Federal court.

Man of the Year in Financial World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. WAYNE L. HAYS OF OHIO IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure I include as part of my remarks in the RECORD an article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of December 31, 1954.

Mr. Cyrus Eaton is truly one of America's financial giants and one who has a deep and abiding interest in people. Many of my constituents have personally known of this due to Mr. Eaton's actions in helping to save the Follansbee steel mill for the Ohio River valley community, where it employs some 800 men from both Ohio and West Virginia. The people of my district wish Mr. Eaton and his associates well in this new venture as in all of his business activities.

I had the pleasure to point out at Follansbee at the banquet in the mill a few days ago that Cyrus Eaton is a builder who has confidence in the people of America and in the future of America.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer article follows:

EATON FINDS BUSINESS WITH SECOND WIND, HITTING STRIKE—C. & O. CHAIRMAN USES TAX CUTS FOR LONG-TERM ECONOMY (By John E. Bryan)

Business has its second wind, and the American economy again is hitting its stride. This was the outlook yesterday by Cleveland's famous financier and industrialist, Cyrus S. Eaton, who marks his 71st birthday this week and the winning of his own second wind this year.

The chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, Steep Rock Iron Mines, Ltd., and West Kentucky Coal Co., and president and chairman of Portsmouth Steel Corp., stated: "As the new year begins, the basic industries with which I am closely associated—railroading, coal, iron ore, and steel, are experiencing a heartening resurgence. All present signs point to a busy and prosperous 1955."

For a healthy and expanding economy over the long term, however, Eaton believes the American people must insist on fundamental and far-reaching reforms in Federal Government.

"There can be no permanent progress and prosperity under a system that taxes its citi-

zens to the point of confiscation in order to support a bureaucracy that smother's the initiative of those same citizens under mounting layers of redtape and regulation," he asserted.

RACS TO RICHES

America grew to its giant industrial stature because it was the land of unlimited economic opportunity for everyone, he pointed out. The man who was willing to work strenuously and to risk such small capital as he might be able to assemble, could literally rise from rags to riches, Eaton adds.

"Today there is relatively little incentive for the spirit of venture. Security, supervised by the state, is the most likely lot of the common man.

"To those who have set aside some substantial store of worldly goods, the temptation is ever stronger to convert their wealth into tax-exempt municipal bonds, and to abandon the energetic empire of industry and risk-taking for the cult of carefree laziness in warmer climes."

The best minds in labor and agriculture, as well as business, need to be brought to bear on the vital problem of governmental reform to restore true free enterprise in the finest American tradition, Eaton urges.

IMPORTANT MOVES

Eaton, who also is a director of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co. and the Sherwin-Williams Co., and a breeder of fine cattle in Northfield, is being called one of the "men of the year" by the financial world as it recalls his many important moves.

He acquired working control of the C. & O. last January 19 from his friend, Robert R. Young, who is hailed by many as "the man of the year," for \$9 million, enabling his predecessor as chairman of the railroad to win his fight for the New York Central.

The genial but shrewd financier, who has the vigor of a man of 35, also "came to the rescue" of the citizens of Follansbee, W. Va., when the State's Governor asked him to buy and operate the steel mill with the town's name, instead of allowing its equipment to be sold for removal by Republic Steel Corp., which Eaton founded.

In addition, Eaton has been adding to his vast holdings in Cliffs and has acquired the huge Ungava ore deposits. He is seen building another empire, perhaps greater than the one he started in the 1920s, which collapsed for him in the depression years.

More Than 1 Million Pupils in Los Angeles County Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. CLYDE DOYLE OF CALIFORNIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present to this great legislative body the text of what I believe to be a most interesting and informative communication recently received by me from Mr. C. C. Trillingham, superintendent of schools in Los Angeles County in my native State of California. I present with it the letter by which Mr. Trillingham transmitted this information to me. Since the population status of Los Angeles city and Los Angeles County is so well known

throughout our beloved Nation, and since the public school problem, and the lack of number of school buildings and, therefore, classrooms, is also well known and again this year is one of the most urgent of public matters which must be handled by this great Congress as promptly and fully as possible, I do not feel it necessary to specify the significance of these figures of Los Angeles County. I do wish to say, however, in the great 23d District of Los Angeles County, which I am representing this my fifth term in this great legislative body, there still continues a stressing shortage of adequate school facilities in many portions of this congressional district, which extends approximately from the north boundary of the city of Long Beach to within about 20 blocks of the city hall of the city of Los Angeles and easily has an estimated more than one-half million residents.

Mr. Speaker, not only should there be no place in America for the children and youth to grow up noticeably illiterate on account of lack of classroom facilities; but, Mr. Speaker, it is also crystal clear that the entire future destiny of our great Nation depends upon what the children of today are enabled by the adulthood of America to become. I firmly feel and believe that adult America will have cause for deep regret, if adult America does not forthwith and more adequately meet the manifold needs and desires of our Nation, to the essential end that no group or segment of American children shall grow into adulthood, illiterate in their letters and lacking in the common advantages of reading and writing and ability to do simple figures because American adulthood has continued to fail to perform its reasonable duty to our own young offspring.

My own present-day convictions on this subject are necessarily partially formed by my experiences as a member of the California State Board of Education prior to coming to this Congress. I am always even more shocked when, as a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I note the figures specifying the thousands of American boys who cannot qualify in the very simplest of military examinations and requirements, because of their utter lack, in a great number of cases in the very simplest of schooling benefits. This lack, Mr. Speaker, naturally also definitely enters into the weakening of our national defense and our national security.

The communication follows:

CITY OF LOS ANGELES, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, Los Angeles, Calif., January 14, 1955.

Mr. CLYDE DOYLE, Congressman, 23d District, California, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: We thought you might be interested in the enclosed information about school growth in Los Angeles County. On October 29, 1954, there were 1,053,042 pupils enrolled in the public schools of Los Angeles County. On November 1, 79,800 pupils were attending schools in part-time sessions.

Cordially yours,
C. C. TRILLINGHAM, Superintendent.

Growth trends in Los Angeles County, October 1954

1. POPULATION OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	Jan. 1, 1941	Jan. 1, 1950	Jan. 1, 1954
From regional planning commission:			
Estimates.....	2,375,150	4,626,000	4,845,000
1950 census.....		4,151,087	
Rate of increase.....		28.01	11.52

2. NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	1945	1950	1954
Number of births.....	65,888	88,888	109,874
Rate per thousand.....	19.2	21.8	23.4

3. NUMBER AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	Number	Percent
Total average daily attendance in Los Angeles city districts during 1953-54.....	393,287	47
Total average daily attendance in districts outside Los Angeles city districts.....	440,651	53
Total average daily attendance in Los Angeles city districts during 1950-51.....	833,808	100
Total average daily attendance increase in county over 1950-51.....	71,067	

This is an increase of 5,922 average daily attendance per month or nearly 1,500 per week on the average.

4. DISTRICTS EXCEEDING LEGAL MAXIMUM TAX RATES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Of the 114 school districts, 84 have voted to establish tax rates beyond the legal maximum, as follows: 58 elementary, 16 high school, and 10 unified.

4A. TOTAL AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT WARRANTS PROCESSED BY COUNTY OFFICE

	1945	1950	1954
Total amount of warrants.....	\$2,506,210.41	\$24,237,305.30	\$53,177,463.77
Number of warrants.....	815,283	906,735	

5. RESULTS OF SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY FROM 1944 TO 1954

School year	Issues carried	Amount carried	Issues failed	Amount failed
1944-45.....	28	\$17,836,000	6	\$1,750,000
1945-46.....	43	18,153,000	3	1,339,500
1946-47.....	35	12,615,000	4	730,000
1947-48.....	49	24,987,500	4	2,083,000
1948-49.....	31	30,281,500	1	950,000
1949-50.....	37	28,414,000	2	842,000
1950-51.....	58	44,124,000	7	4,707,000
1951-52.....	35	156,388,000	12	25,820,000
1952-53.....	47	61,009,000	9	28,307,000
1953-54.....	49	64,625,177	3	4,222,000
Total.....	422	453,110,177	54	60,920,500

6. NUMBER OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN PART-TIME SESSIONS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

1949-50.....	30,000
1950-51.....	81,672
1951-52.....	108,719
1952-53.....	14,213
1953-54.....	85,225

Survey for 1954-55 now under way.

7. TEACHERS NEW TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Teachers new to school districts of Los Angeles County which received coordination and supervision services from the office of county superintendent of schools in 1949:

	Total teachers	New to district	Percent new to district
1954	5,840	2,190	37.5
1953	5,194	1,827	35.2
1952	4,505	1,729	38.4
1951	4,137	2,016	48.5
1950	3,395	1,637	48.3
1949	3,167	1,853	58.5
1948	3,090	1,743	56.4
1947	2,951	1,816	61.5
1946	2,475	1,548	62.6
1945	2,114	1,389	65.7
1944	2,006	1,106	55.1
1943	1,949	1,091	56.0
1942	1,936	1,007	52.0
1941	1,892	1,023	54.1
1940	1,739	973	55.7

Does not include districts which were chartered city, unified, or elementary city districts in 1940.

8. SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY ON MAR. 31, 1954

Kindergarten	82,722
1st grade	82,210
2d grade	78,830
3d grade	64,775
4th grade	62,772
5th grade	62,097
6th grade	62,337
7th grade	58,894
8th grade	51,493
9th grade	50,883
10th grade	46,118
11th grade	37,096
12th grade	29,608
13th grade	13,218
14th grade	41,106

Includes part-time students.

It will be noted that the number of pupils enrolled in the first grade exceeded by more than 5,000 the combined enrollment in grades 8 and 13.

9. MOBILITY OF POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

In 1948-50, there were 268,000 family moves in Los Angeles County. This degree of mobility has grave implications with reference to unstable family life, lack of membership in community organizations, general uncertainty and unrest, and juvenile delinquency. Growth and mobility constitute two of the schools' most serious problems today.

been introduced in nearly every Congress since 1926.

There have been eight different hearings before congressional committees, most of them running to considerable length. The legislation reached the floor twice; it was debated on the House floor in 1930 and on the Senate floor in 1935. Since 1936, legislation on the subject has failed to emerge from committees.

Here is a rundown of the history: Sixty-ninth Congress, second session (1926-27): Hearings held, bills left on scrap heap.

Seventieth Congress (1927-29): Legislation introduced, left on scrap heap. Seventy-first Congress (1929-31): Legislation introduced, hearing held by House Rules Committee; House floor debate in 1930. A lot of the debate involved an amendment offered on the floor rewriting the section of the Copyright Act which specified an exemption for jukeboxes. The amendment was debated and tabled. The House subsequently defeated the amendment without debate. The bill went to the Senate without the amendment relating to coin-operated machines. The Senate Subcommittee on Copyrights held hearings in 1931 (3d sess. of the 71st Cong.). The Senate committee amended the bill, making it provide that the use of a machine for the reproduction of musical works was not a public performance for profit unless a fee was charged for admission to the place where the rendition occurred. After extensive debate, the amendment was agreed to by the Senate but the bill failed to pass.

Seventy-second Congress (1931-33): Hearings held by the House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1932.

Seventy-fourth Congress (1935-38): Two bills introduced in the Senate, two in the House. Hearing held before Senate Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1935; hearing held before House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1936. Seventy-fifth through Seventy-eighth Congresses (1937-44): Bills were introduced almost every year in each of these Congresses but no hearings were staged.

Seventy-ninth Congress (1945-48): Two bills introduced. Lengthy hearings were staged by House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks.

Eightieth Congress (1947-49): The battle centered on 3 bills, 2 of them to wipe out the jukebox exemption. The third bill, sponsored by Representative HUBERT SCOTT, Republican of Pennsylvania, who was also author of one of the jukebox royalty bills, proposed to permit copyrights on recorded versions of previously copyrighted material. Known as the Interpretation bill, this would have authorized copyrights on individual arrangements of recordings. This legislation got lengthy hearings before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1947.

The issue got a going-over on another front in that Congress when the House Education and Labor Committee deliberated the question of uses of royalty funds. This question rose when the committee in rewriting the National Labor Relations Act called for outlawing welfare funds, then widely employed by James C. Pettillo's American Federation of Musicians, as well as John L. CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican of Pennsylvania, chairman of a subcommittee on Pettillo's activities, seriously sought to draft a bill proposing that phonograph records be labeled separately for commercial use only and for home use only. The idea was dropped as too cumbersome to administer, though it was revived briefly at a subsequent jukebox-copyright hearing.

Eighty-second Congress (1951-52)—Representative SCOTT at the outset of this Congress hopped a bill identical to his old one calling for outright repeal of the jukebox exemption. Soon afterward, Senator ESTES KAFUVEZ, Democrat, of Tennessee, introduced a more detailed bill. Four months later, a modified version of the Kafuvez bill was hopped by the late Representative Joseph C. BRYSON, Democrat, of South Carolina. Two days later, KAFUVEZ introduced an identical counterpart to the Bryson bill. The Bryson-Kafuvez bill, which would have made the rendition of a copyrighted composition on a jukebox a public performance for profit, exempted single jukebox operators or owners. The bill provided that owners or operators of more than one jukebox must obtain a license and pay royalties. The bill would have allowed them to use records in the jukeboxes without first obtaining a license, provided that they subsequently paid 1 cent per record royalty to the composer of every copyrighted composition on each record inserted in any particular jukebox.

Lengthy hearings were held by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks, headed by Representative BRYSON.

FOR AND AGAINST

The line-up of witnesses was pretty much the same as in previous hearings, with the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers in the van of proponents, as it had always been. Other supporters: Broadcast Music, Inc., Authors' League of America, Songwriters' Protective Association, National Federation of Music Clubs, Music Publishers' Protective Association, National Music Council, American Book Publishers' Council, Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the Register of Copyrights, the State Department, and the Librarian of Congress.

Opponents of the legislation this time included the record-manufacturing industry (spokesmen for Columbia, Capitol, RCA-Victor, MGM, and Decca Records). Some three-score witnesses were on hand against the bill, including manufacturers of coin-operated phonographs, such as David Rockola, president of Rock-Ola Manufacturing Co.; distributors, operators' groups, such as the California Tavern Association.

Debate was so acrimonious that subcommittee members urged the participants to seek an industry-wide conference to see if they could resolve differences.

The Bryson subcommittee failed to reach agreement after studying some suggested compromises of their own, including revival of the old Kearns idea of establishing separate home use and commercial use labels on disks, so as to impose jukebox royalties on commercial labels. An 11th-hour attempt by Bryson to get the bill favorably discharged from his subcommittee to the full committee failed, and the coauthor had to content himself with a minority report recommending the legislation.

Eighty-third Congress (1953-54): The battle shifted to the Senate side. The late Senator PAT MCCARRAN (Democrat, Nevada) introduced a bill to extend the Copyright Act to jukeboxes but exempting operators of single jukeboxes. Senator EVERTS M. DUKES (Republican, Illinois) hopped a bill identical with the old Scott bill, but DUKES made it known that he didn't want to press his bill. Lengthy hearings on the McCarran bill were held by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks. Both bills wound up on the shelf of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents and Trade-Marks.

Meanwhile, efforts to get a jukebox royalty exemption clause in the model global Copyright Treaty failed at Geneva, but proponents managed to insert a clause authorizing creation of an international commission to study the question at any time. The model Copyright Treaty was ratified by the Senate in the 83d Congress and was signed by President Eisenhower. Legislation bringing the Copyright Act into conformity with treaty provisions was enacted.

Here in a nutshell are the major arguments, pro and con, as debated at committee hearings:

PROponents argued that the jukebox exemption is:

(1) Anachronistic, since it was inserted in the 1909 Copyright Act when the phonograph was in a "primitive state."

(2) "Unreasonable," since it bars the copyright owner from asserting that the performer on a jukebox is for profit and thus denies the copyright proprietor from "participating in the proceeds derived from the public performance."

(3) "Discriminatory" against other users for profit who pay royalties to the composer, "as provided by the Constitution and carried out by the Congress." According to this argument, a person who buys a disk for home use pays a price which includes a royalty paid by the disk manufacturers, whereas the person who buys a disk for use in a jukebox pays no more than a private retail consumer.

(4) "Inherently unfair to the composer." According to this argument, the jukebox industry "breeds on the work" of creators of the music, exploiting the composer "without his permission" and without extra recompense to him for this exploitation.

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CON ARGUMENTS

Foes of the legislation argued:

(1) The jukebox is "the greatest agency for popularizing music," contributing to widespread dissemination of works of composers and authors and therefore jukeboxes should not be charged any extra royalty for public performance for profit. This argument went on to declare that the coin-operated phonograph had already become well-known in the United States by 1909 when Congress wrote the Copyright Act exempting jukeboxes from royalties.

(2) Any hike in the cost of disks would produce an economic threat, drying up sales, from all performing rights, societies and independent composers or keep the records and make individual payment to individual copyright owners.

(3) The legislation would drive a large number of jukebox operators out of business. Their profit margin is low, the argument ran. This, in effect, would be discriminatory, especially since jukebox operators now pay for the music they use in the form of the 2-cent statutory royalties imposed upon disk manufacturers since 1909.

(4) The legislation is administratively impractical. Operators argued they would be required to file monthly reports to copyright owners. Individual operators testified they would be compelled to take blanket licenses from all performing rights societies and independent composers or keep the records and make individual payment to individual copyright owners.

People's Prize

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the

Record, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Evening News under date of January 18 entitled "People's Prize":

PEOPLE'S PRIZE

A few years ago it would have occurred to no one to award Newark a prize. Its municipal government was notoriously inefficient and extravagant, a condition that reflected discredit on the people of the city.

But these same people were to prove that they had been misjudged. They didn't like what was going on at city hall, either, and they got together to do something.

What they accomplished, through a series of bitterly fought elections, has attracted national attention. The new charter and the administrative code adopted by the city council are widely regarded as major advances in city government, and requests for copies of them come from all parts of the country. Now the National Municipal League and Look magazine, cosponsors of an annual competition, have named Newark an all-American city. The basis of the award is energetic, purposeful, and intelligent citizen action.

Newark was one of 10 municipalities so honored. The award states its purpose is to pay tribute to the people of Newark for ridding their city of a wasteful government and for making their community "a better place in which to live."

C. William Heckel, chairman of the citizens committee, the instrument of change, who pleaded Newark's case before the jury, says, "Newark is now a city that has found itself, and what was once a spirit of defeat has become a spirit of confidence and trust in the city's future."

It would be dangerous to assume that the fight for a good local government has been won. It has only begun, but it has made a good beginning. The people have shown they want good government and are willing to go to a lot of trouble to get it. They'll have to keep at it.

Set Net Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under Federal law, regulations governing the Alaska fishery are made and enforced by the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior. By custom and, it must be assumed, because conservation would best be served thereby, set nets, a form of gear for the taking of salmon, have been spaced at different distances in different sections of Alaska. Last summer a Federal judge of the district court for Alaska held that set nets are fixed gear within the meaning of the organic act concerning the Alaska fishery. The Fish and Wildlife Service immediately announced that as a consequence of this ruling 1955 regulations would require these nets to be not less than 1,800 feet distant one from another or a much greater distance than has been the case in most areas of Alaska.

It is generally agreed that this would create chaos, no less. Therefore bills have been introduced in the Congress seeking legislative cure. It is my under-

standing that in principle they are endorsed by the Fish and Wildlife Service, by the fishing industry, and by the fishermen who, to date, have made their views known. Thus we have what might properly be described an unparalleled situation in which all elements are in harmony as to what should be done, in what had the possibility of being a highly controversial Alaska fishery issue.

Senator WARREN G. MACDONALD, of Washington, and I have introduced identical bills on this subject. The requirement now is for speedy action so that the law may be changed before the 1955 fishing regulations become applicable.

Only this morning I received from Clarks Point on Bristol Bay in Alaska a radiogram signed by a good many residents of Clarks Point and Ekok whose livelihood is directly concerned with the operation of set nets. The body of the message reads:

We, the undersigned, urge that the House of Representatives and Senate approve legislation now before you to reduce distances between set nets from 1,800 feet to those distances that were in effect during the 1954 fishing season.

The message is signed by Joe Bermanon, Clara Clark, Joseph Clark, Nancy Wilson, Mary E. Shade, M. E. George, Aurora George, Rose Garcia, Matrona Javier, Verner Wilson, John W. Anderson, Annie Anderson, Ingvar D. Johanson, Peter Hamilton, Jr., Alek Evon, Annie Evon, John Gardiner, Louise Gardiner, Annie Ramondos, Charles E. Wolfe, John R. Andersen, Peggy Andersen, Emil E. Endel, Messa Eysand, Andrew Roberts, Martha Hamilton, Steven Wassily, Mark M. Hiratsuka, Mary Hiratsuka, Dick Lopez, Victor Tumutak, Andres Javier, Matrona Debano, Peter Traust, Harry Barnes, Daisy Barnes, Domingo Sloretra, Mary Floresta, Mrs. Anita Lopez, Pete Debenno, Jack D. Howard, Lilla M. Howard, Henry A. Shade, Nick Nankon, Mary E. Schuck, Jacinto A. Blancaslor, Peter Heyano, Rosa Heyano, Gene F. Pillian, Charlotte Pillian, Jack Savo, Tikano Savo, Sakalie Talogan, Nick Hansen, Annie Hansen, Tarrey Nolly, Sophie Nolly, Susie Muneayasu, James Muneayasu, and Henry E. Shade.

Peter Campbell Brown: A Gallant Fighter in the American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY A. FINE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FINE. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the resignation of Peter Campbell Brown as chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, I was pleased to add my tribute to the many others paid him by both sides of the aisle for his qualities as a man, his sagacity as a lawyer, and his fidelity to the public service. I expressed confidence that his rulings during the entire course of the lengthy hearing over which

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—APPENDIX

January 20

1955

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—APPENDIX

A265

he so ably presided would be affirmed by the appellate courts.

A few short weeks ago the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld the order of the Board of which Mr. Brown was the author. I was happy to join in the deserved tribute to him then as I am pleased to congratulate him now for a difficult job so well done which, despite the continued harassment to which he was subjected by the Communist Party, was accomplished in the American tradition of eminent fairness and without even a minute abridgement of any of the constitutional guarantees.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a column entitled "Only Human," by Sidney Fields, which appeared in the New York Sunday Mirror of January 2, 1955, which provides a further insight to this devoted public servant who, to the pride of all New Yorkers, now serves as the city's commissioner of investigation in the administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner;

PETER CAMPBELL BROWN: HUNT WITHOUT HEADLINES

In the loyalty check now going on among nearly 200,000 city employees 6 have so far resigned and 5 have been dismissed from their jobs. The check is being conducted without hysteria or headlines by the city's chief security officer and commissioner of investigation, Peter Campbell Brown, a gentle, burly man, who moves with measured slowness and brilliant sureness. But 11 resignations and dismissals after a year of checking are hardly overpowering results.

"The fact is the vast majority of city employees are devoted and loyal Americans," Brown says, and then cautions: "But don't be swayed by numbers. One or two Communists can cause much damage. Remember the Rosenbergs and Klaus Fuchs."

Brown once served as chairman of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board. Ten days ago the United States courts of appeals upheld the Government order to the Communist Party to register as a subversive organization dominated and directed by Soviet Russia. Nowhere in the endless accounts was Brown's name mentioned as the author of the opinion on which the court based its decision. He prefers it that way. And there is no better index to his character.

"Anyone doing a job against subversion doesn't make headlines," he says. "He doesn't have the time."

In his present job he must, among other things, make surveys and studies, at the mayor's orders, of the city government, or its departments, and he is required to investigate any complaint filed against the departments or their employees.

"It's been our experience that 9 out of 10 complaints are motivated by envy or jealousy," says Brown. "Besides complaints, our work ranges wide: Subversion; a thorough study of how the city can earn revenue from waste collection; or getting rid of such nonsense as those 13 hydrant inspectors. At least 2 of them made up to \$10,000 a year."

THE WAR YEARS

Brown is 41, a devout Catholic, and was born in Brooklyn. His father, now retired, worked in the city controller's office, but with his modest salary made a teacher out of his daughter and a lawyer out of his son. Brown went to Fordham College and Fordham Law School, practiced for 3 years, and then enlisted as a private in the Air Force shortly after Pearl Harbor. He emerged a major decorated major 4 years later. Before he left for combat in Europe he married a pretty model. They now have three sons and a daughter.

"I didn't see my first born until he was a year and a half old," Brown says. "The same thing happened to Bob Wagner. We were in the same outfit together."

On his discharge Brown was appointed an Assistant United States Attorney General, and 13 months later started a 7-year stint in Washington: Chief of Internal Security in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, First Assistant of the Criminal Division, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, then a member and finally chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

As chairman he conducted the 2 years of hearings that pinpointed the Communist Party as a tool of Russia. During the long and harrowing hearings they tried every ruse and trick to break his patience and provoke him into an injudicious error that could later be used to reverse his findings. They failed. Later he summed up the experience with magnificent simplicity:

"We must always champion the freedom, which our Constitution guarantees. But we must make certain that the Constitution itself is not destroyed by those whose rights we seek to defend. * * * Liberty does not mean license. There is no such doctrine as absolute freedom of the individual. Where individuals by their teaching and conduct threaten our very existence as free people they should be restrained. * * * We shall conquer this godless doctrine of communism when we adopt the Judaic-Christian principles of equality, brotherhood, and freedom in accordance with the laws of the Almighty."

CELEBRATED SUCCESSORS

There was already one vacancy on the Control Board when he resigned. The two spots were filled by Thomas J. Herbert, an ex-Governor of Ohio, and Harry P. Cain, ex-Senator of Washington.

"In my wisest dreams," says Brown, "I never imagined a Brooklyn boy would be succeeded by a former governor and Senator." He returned to New York and private practice, but remained at it only briefly because his friend, Bob Wagner, was running for mayor. It is the custom of the mayor to appoint a close and trusted friend as city commissioner of investigation, and after the election Wagner asked Brown to fill the \$15,000 a year job. He brought to it one basic lesson he learned in Washington: "I never want to be guilty of abridging or tampering with the rights of anyone."

His predecessor had started the loyalty check of city employees with a questionnaire. Brown discarded the questionnaire after much soul-searching, and decided to rely on face-to-face interviews.

The questionnaire was "rough" and "even insulting," he would not get at the hard core of Communists he was after. Face to face interrogation would. Interviews take place continuously.

"The manner and method of our loyalty program is the most important contribution I can make," Brown says. "But this is our most important task and we won't let up until it is finished."

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when we heard the President's budget message somewhat of a political stir arose over its contents. The Democrats seem to

think the President made some misleading statements in the message. I examined it carefully, as I do all of his messages, and I failed to see where it was misleading. I think the President stated the matter as plainly as possible with what information he had. When the matter is considered by the Appropriations Committee defects will be detected, and, no doubt, many of the items will be reduced. JOHN TAMES, on the Republican side, took about this position: That every request would be carefully scrutinized when the committee gets the message before it.

Probably some of the conclusions reached by the President were subject to debate. For example, on page 1, he stated:

"Thus, we continue to progress toward a balanced budget."

On page 15 he made this statement: "Therefore, I have no alternative but to ask Congress for an increase in the public debt."

Of course, it is difficult to harmonize these two statements. Personally, I do not think it will be necessary to raise the debt limit. The old debt limit was \$275 billion, and last session we increased it to \$285 billion. On December 31 the debt was \$278 billion, thus leaving a leeway of \$7 billion, and this in the face of a big tax reduction. Unless we appropriate, and have to borrow, too much money for foreign aid, I do not see where we shall have to worry about raising the debt limit. I do not dispute the President's statement that the limit will have to be raised, but on the surface it would seem not to be necessary.

Sixty-five percent of the budget estimate of \$62,400,000,000 will go for national security, and in this I have no complaint. We should spend all that is necessary for our own defense. This amount may have to be increased, because our security depends upon how well we ourselves are prepared to defend this country. In my judgment, we have neglected ourselves too much, because we are just waking up to the fact that in the final analysis we shall have to do our own defending. In his message the President did not take up the subject of cutting down the size of the Army. I am sure objection will be raised to this when the time comes.

We are not on a peacetime economy, even though there is no war. We are still supplying billions to factories to to turn out war material. In other words, war or the fear of war, is still present, and we have no definite way of determining what our national condition would be if we were actually on a peacetime economy.

I will do as I have always done—strenuously object to handing over billions to foreign countries—but will support every move to prepare a full and adequate defense for ourselves.

Under present conditions I think the President said about all that could be said, and, as time passes, any mistakes in recommendations can be ironed out. These corrections are made to every budget, and have been ever since I have been a Member. What a department asks for is not necessarily what they will get.

The Tariff Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article written by George Sokolsky in a recent issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald regarding the economic effects of the proposal in Congress to liberalize and extend the present Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

Mr. Sokolsky's article, under the caption "Tariff Again," follows:

There are two ways of looking at President Eisenhower's tariff proposals which emanate from the Randall commission:

One is that as we are going to give away some of our wealth to foreign countries, anyhow, we might as well do it on an economic rather than on an eleemosynary basis.

The other is that if all of the President's proposals go through, certain American industries, such as coal, electrical equipment, watches, wallboard, bicycles, ceramics, etc., may have to be abandoned because they will be forced to compete in the American market with commodities that are made with cheaper labor that can employ American capital which has a 14-percentage-point benefit so far as income taxes are concerned, and that will come in at a reduced tariff.

The history of the tariff in the United States has in the past been principally the story of a conflict between manufactured goods and farm products, between the industrial East and the agricultural South and West. In 1955 that is not the conflict. The differences of view are between the great units of production—big business, as it is called—and the small manufacturer.

Big business is world-conscious. It not only hopes to sell universally, but its manufactures in many countries; its capital is not only locally invested; it is invested in many countries.

That is not true of the small manufacturer. He makes goods for a local market, whether that market is the United States or some region of the United States. He may or may not produce a superior product to one made elsewhere on the face of the earth, but he employs American labor, pays taxes not only to the Federal Government but locally, and his price is geared to the American standard of living. If our smaller manufacturers are driven out of existence by faulty economic policies, the social damage could be enormous.

Those who are doctrinaire about the free market do make the point that if such American manufacturers cannot compete with foreign goods, they ought to go out of business, as an admission of their inefficiency. This position would undoubtedly have much virtue but when the Government subsidizes the export of American capital to manufacture competitive goods by a 14 percentage point differential, the advantage to the American manufacturing abroad with cheaper labor and cheaper costs all around is so great as to be noncompetitive. A free market is only possible if there are no subsidies, no rebates, no economic tricks.

In this struggle, big business will no doubt win the immediate battle. It has utilized great persuasive forces to convince the American people that we ought to have a lower

tariff, easier customs procedures, and now a rebate on taxes for investments abroad, a tax differential that benefits them tremendously. But this does not solve the social problem of unemployment in the United States and that will have to be solved because the unemployed vote in elections as well as the employed do, and their votes count for as much. In such a State as West Virginia, where residual oil is knocking down the coal industry, unemployment can develop into a major political issue as it already is a social problem.

The present tariff proposals are the most radical in our history. Neither President Roosevelt nor President Truman—both low-tariff men—dared politically to grant a subsidy for the export of capital. That has now been done and is before Congress for decision.

"Chamber of Smears"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the Washington Evening Star. Much has been said recently with regard to the smearing of political parties and candidates for office. This subject was highlighted recently by the "chamber of smears" promoted by the Democrat National Chairman Paul Butler. It is somewhat difficult to understand how any remarks could carry greater stings than those inflicted by former President Harry Truman and Mr. Adlai Stevenson in comments they have made during their speeches. The article which appeared in the Washington Star on this subject is rather thought-provoking and it is repeated here for the information of those who may not have seen it:

"CHAMBER OF SMEARS"

The Democrats, with an impressive show of righteous indignation, have put together what National Chairman Paul Butler calls a Chamber of Smears. The purpose is to prove that Vice President Nixon, despite his disclaimers, really did smear the Democrats during the recent campaign, and that the President, by praising Mr. Nixon's efforts, has become a party to these smear tactics.

One might just as well concede at the outset that some of Mr. Nixon's comments, as reported by the Democrats, have many of the distinguishing characteristics of the political smear. Only a truly rugged Republican individualist like Mr. Nixon would contend to the contrary. It is not enough, however, to be able to recognize a political smear when it emanates from Mr. Nixon. It is also desirable to be able to recognize political comments which do not come within the definition of a smear. And perhaps a good way to do this is to list a few of them.

Thus, it was not a smear when Harry Truman charged in the 1952 campaign that Mr. Nixon had paid with his votes in Congress for the \$18,000 expense account he accepted from California supporters.

It was not a smear when, on the eve of the 1952 election, the Democrat, official organ of the party, falsely and by innuendo at-

tacked the integrity of Mr. Nixon's mother, father, and brother. And since this was not a smear, no responsible Democratic leader can be linked to the attack merely because no one of them saw fit to repudiate it. It was not a smear when Mr. Butler's predecessor, Stephen Mitchell, accused President Eisenhower in March of 1954 of having made "an unholy political alliance with Senator McCARTHY for the purpose of the next election."

And of course it was not a smear when Mr. Mitchell, in one of his blasts at the Dixon-Yates contract, implied that the President was trying to steer some easy money toward his golfing friend, Bobby Jones.

Why do not these observations and others like them come within the definition of a political smear? The answer is obvious: A political remark becomes a political smear only when expressed by a prominent member of the opposing political party; never when expressed by a prominent member of one's own political party.

Perhaps there are those who will not be satisfied with this explanation. If so, one can only suggest that they should receive Mr. Butler's current lamentations with the proverbial grain of salt.

Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Fourth District of New Jersey is indeed fortunate in having acquired as its Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, of Trenton. Mr. THOMPSON has long been a leader in the State of New Jersey and served in the capacity of minority leader of the State assembly. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to the high caliber of his work by inserting an editorial which appeared in the Trentonian on January 5. I would also like to point out the well-deserved tribute which is paid in this editorial to Mr. THOMPSON's predecessor, ex-Congressman Howell:

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, OF NEW JERSEY

Congressman-elect FRANK THOMPSON becomes Congressman THOMPSON down in Washington today, with many of his friends and supporters on hand to give him a send-off on his new career. We'd like him to know that he has our best wishes on this momentous occasion.

We believe that the new Representative from the Fourth District, comprising Mercer and Burlington Counties, is most suitably qualified for the high post for which he has been chosen by the voters, and we have every confidence in his ability to carry out the new duties he now undertakes.

At the risk, however, of belaboring non-essential facts, we must observe that it is obvious that the new Congressman taken office at a time when the district he represents is climbing near the top of the heap in industrial importance.

Mercer's rise in that category is well known. Burlington is right up there too, as a series of articles in the Trentonian has revealed. To THOMPSON, then, will fall the task of seeing that this increasingly important segment of the Nation is not overlooked in Washington. Particularly in legislation affecting the

deepening of the Delaware River will we have to depend on him to see that all questions are resolved fairly.

We hope, too, that he will continue the interest shown by his predecessor, Charles R. Howell, in the development of the Delaware Valley. Federal aid for schools, culture and many other matters of equal import.

While writing of Thompson and Howell, it comes to mind that we owe the latter a vote of thanks for his weekly report which the Trentonian has been pleased to publish. It was singularly well put together and highly informative. We are happy to know that Thompson intends to carry it on with a weekly report of his own, and again we shall be happy to present it.

We don't, of course, mean to imply that we expect his reports to start rolling in next week. It will take him a while to get his feet on the ground, and whenever he finds time to start writing his column, we'll be glad to get it.

In this matter, as in all others, we are confident that Congressman Thompson will acquit himself nobly.

Newspaper Flays Commonwealth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, not long since the Alaska Weekly under the editorship of Wilbur Irving gave editorial space to suggestions made to the newspaper that in the poll it has been taking seeking to determine Alaskans' preference as to political status that commonwealth be added to the ballot. The newspaper replied to this vigorously and emphatically in true frontier and true American spirit in these words:

We have been urged, at some length if not by a great number, to accord the question of an Alaskan commonwealth space in our ballot on the statehood issue.

We are not going to do any such thing. In fact, we hope that this will be the last space we must devote to serious discussion of such a ridiculous proposition.

It is beyond the power of the Congress to diminish by one whit or tittle the legal status of an integral part of the United States of America. Any measure which would deny the people of Alaska representation in Congress—even the voteless representation they now enjoy—would do violent injury to the Constitution.

Such a measure could not be sustained in the courts, as two of the best lawyers in the United States Senate not long ago pointed out. Senator CORDON, a Republican, and Senator CLAYTON AMERSON, a Democrat, both raised the issue of constitutionality when the commonwealth was proposed.

Alaska is an incorporated Territory of the United States. Some have hopes that Alaska could join the sisterhood of States. Others fervently hope Alaska will remain a Territory. Whatever happens, Alaska will remain a part of America, owned by Americans and peopled by Americans.

There is nothing better than to be an American. There could be nothing worse than to be an ex-American, paying no taxes to America, sending no representative to the Congress, denied any voice in the affairs of America.

We say to those who dream—fantastic as the dream may be—of taking Alaska out of

America, we say this: your nightmare is not for us. Go, go to Russia, go to the land where a constitution is nothing but a scrap of paper. Or go to Argentina or Poland or any of the other poor, raped lands where men who have no respect for law and order duly constituted by the people have found it possible to bring their nightmares to a brief reality.

The years are long since the first Red October, but they will seem as fleeting in the eyes of history as the years since Munich must have seemed to a swine named "Hitler," trapped, dying, and on his way to hell. Some day, and the long years are shortening with every passing day, we shall witness the destruction of communism and the liberation of the enslaved millions beneath the Red banners. There can be no such thing as a peaceful coexistence with the evil forces of oppression, any more than there can be a degradation of an American by his relegation to commonwealth citizenship.

America is in the fore in the battle for freedom, as she ever has been, wherever the cry of liberty was raised. Every American wants to do his part in that battle.

No thinking American wants to sink off, relieved of the privilege of sharing the burden, denied the right to representation, forbidden to speak his piece.

No, Alaskans are Americans and Alaska is America. They are one and the same, now and forever, and the only good thing that can be said of the ridiculous commonwealth suggestion is that its very utterance proves that freedom of speech is still one of the rights of any American, no matter how lacking in common sense.

Preaching Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

PREACHING COMPETITION

A few days before President Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize lower tariffs through the reciprocal trading method an unusually fine presentation of the virtues of competition appeared in the New York Times.

It was an advertisement in which more than half the page was used to picture an automobile of 1905 vintage, with brass-brill lamp, straps to the windshield corners and a buggy top. The big type said, "How do you like the '05 model?"

In smaller type we read, "That's probably what today's cars would look like if it weren't for competition."

"Competition makes things better, newer, cost less. Competition for your patronage gives you a wider choice, gives you more for your money."

"But competition is more than a way of doing business. It's a way of life."

"Preemen compete with each other, using ideas and points of view. The best one wins, for the benefit of all."

The reader is then told how Swiss watchmakers compete among themselves and sell in the United States. Since the end of the war the Swiss have sold \$245 million worth of watches and watchworks here, and the Swiss have bought here \$1,300,000,000 worth

of our automobiles, movies, medicines, chemicals, machines, and other products.

It is the advertisement of the watchmakers of Switzerland, but it is silent on the most pointed point of recent relations between the United States and Switzerland. The United States raised the import duty on Swiss watches by 50 percent last July.

President Eisenhower has an otherwise good record of resisting pressures for protective tariffs. But this one action has done severe damage abroad to our preaching of competition as the best way of life.

Benefits to a Massachusetts watchmaker and to the reelection campaign of a Senator from Massachusetts are trivial compared to protests of businessmen, including the bustiness of putting cases on Swiss watchworks in the United States.

The President is being asked to reverse his action. His voice would be stronger on behalf of low tariff principles if he removes Swiss watches from the controversy.

But whatever the President does about it, or Congress does about reciprocal trade, we are indebted to the Swiss watchmakers for a clear picture of the competition in which we take so much pride.

Dillydallying on School Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to include an article written by Columnist Doris Fleeson, in the Evening Star, January 13, 1955. This article contains undisputed facts concerning the desperate situation confronting our school system today which is depriving the children of this country of free public education.

The article follows:
DILLYDALLYING ON SCHOOL NEEDS—MRS. ROBBY PLANS LONG STUDY OF CLASSROOM SHORTAGE WHEN ONE TELEPHONE CALL WOULD GET THE FACTS

(By Doris Fleeson)

When Oveta Culp Hobby took office as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare 2 years ago, a survey of United States educational needs which Congress had ordered made was on her desk. It showed that an appalling shortage of classrooms and teachers existed and would continue to exist unless immediate steps were taken.

Today the survey has been brought up to date. It shows that despite real effort by most States, the shortage of classrooms is even bigger than it was. In the face of this, more than a million children entered school for the first time last year, and the census figures show that this enormous influx will continue for at least 6 more years.

Secretary Hobby's solution so far consists of plans to call a White House conference in 1955 to discuss the problem. The facts which will be put before it could be obtained with one telephone call. They are so well known to educational authorities.

The cause of the swollen school enrollment, of course, is the increased birthrate which came with the war and cold war. American children who are being deprived of their birthright of free public education are the children of the men and women that President Eisenhower and Mrs. Hobby herself, as head of the Women's Army Corps, commanded in World War II.

In his state of the Union message, the President indicated that his heart and conscience had been touched by the situation. He said that the unprecedented shortage of schools required positive affirmative action now and promised to submit a program February 15.

This is a change of mood at least on his part. But the various commissions and committees so far appointed to make recommendations appear on their records to be opposed to anything resembling a cash program with Federal funds.

Because this is so, 30 Senators have sponsored a bill to appropriate \$500 million annually for the next 2 years for school construction. In its expenditure the States would be fiscally liable to the Federal Government but States and localities would remain in full control of all aspects directly affecting the education of the children.

The group is anxiously awaiting the Eisenhower program. They hope he sees fully as great an emergency in the schools as in the highways for which he is soon to recommend a 10 year, \$100 billion program.

Whether he does or not, they will fight for their bill. They propose to bring home to the American people the fact that American educational standards are going steadily down just at the time when the demands of society are the greatest they have ever been.

Senator LUTRA HILL of Alabama is chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee which will conduct hearings on the bill. Joining with him in sponsoring it are most of the northern Democrats, the Democratic whip, Senator CANNON, and seven other southern Democrats. North Dakota has furnished both Republican sponsors, Senators LANZOS and YOUNG.

It is believed that many other Republicans are only waiting for the White House nod to get behind an immediate school program.

Interested Senators have frankly given up expecting help in health, education, and welfare from Mrs. Hobby. They find her bright and charming personality, but a States rights budget balancer politically.

They are nonplused on two counts. They had planned with masculine fortitude to restrain her womanly emotions as a defender of the rights of women and children, the sick and the aged. They had expected to suggest to her the limits of her Cabinet authority as they have to so many male members of President's Cabinets. This has not proved necessary.

The 72d Anniversary of the Civil Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 72d anniversary of the Civil Service Act. After a long, hard struggle, advocates of a merit system finally saw their efforts crowned with success upon the signing of the Civil Service Act on January 16, 1883, by President Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. Speaker, the longtime, career employee, newly appointed employees from competitive civil service lists, personnel trained, educated and skilled in their particular tasks form the backbone of

an efficient, economical government. It has often been said that devoted, faithful government employees—men and women who have earned their positions through civil service examinations—are the Nation's bulwark against internal deterioration of the management end of democracy.

We should maintain constant vigilance to insure that the civil service system is protected against abuses. It is the duty of the Congress to strive to improve the system.

There is an obligation upon the department and agency heads to see to it that civil service employees are treated in accordance with the intent of the law and the intent of the Congress. Sometimes, I fear, there is a tendency on the part of some Government officials to attempt to circumvent the law. Particularly is this true in the matter of the shifting and transferring of long-time career personnel. Partisanship should not play a part in personnel policies. Consideration for the good of the service and the Government itself should be the only motivating forces in effecting transfers and reductions in force.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include these remarks, an editorial from the Springfield (Mass.) Union entitled "Civil Service Week" and an editorial from the Washington Evening Star entitled "Civil Service Anniversary," and an article by David L. Perlman, Federal Merit System Had Humble Start:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of January 19, 1955]

CIVIL SERVICE WEEK

On January 16, 1883, President Chester A. Arthur signed the Civil Service Act, which had enlisted the support of both political parties. This has been designated as National Civil Service Week, sponsored by the American Federation of Government Employees.

Commenting on the passage of the bill 72 years ago, the association's news service says: "It is interesting to note . . . that newspapers of the time credited the pressure of public opinion rather than reform sentiment among politicians for the passage of the bill. Public sentiment had been outraged by the slaying of President Garfield by a demented job seeker."

Whatever the main root of its origin, the civil service has become a valuable part of our national governing system. While popular opinion sometimes holds the service as a concentration of Uncle Sam's help in the city of Washington, Government employees are distributed widely throughout the country, with only about 10 percent of our Federal workers in the Washington area. Civil service workers are part and parcel of all major communities in the land, and of a good many minor ones.

While the civil service is not perfect—both from the outsider's point of view and that of the civil service worker—it is difficult to imagine the chaos that would result with every change in administration if we had no large backlog of trained men and women who enjoy a reasonable tenure of their jobs and who perform them without regard to the political complexion of any administration.

The civil service has proved a stabilizing influence in Government employment and, to a great extent, has eliminated the evils of the old spoils system. The fact that it is vigorous and flourishing after 72 years is proof of its persisting importance as a merit system in our Government.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 19, 1955]

CIVIL SERVICE ANNIVERSARY

It was 72 years ago this week that the Federal Government launched an uncertain experiment, the substitution of merit for politics as a standard for personnel selection. Even the advocates of the reform were none too optimistic that the undertaking would be successful. David L. Perlman, editor of the Government Standard, organ of the American Federation of Government Employees, quotes in an article elsewhere on this page an editorial comment of the Star that was indicative of the restrained hopes of those who were fighting the spoils system. The editorial, referring to passage of the original civil-service law on January 9, 1883, said: "What the bill may accomplish depends largely upon the President. He is really invested with power enough to make it a fair success or a total failure."

Fortunately, President after President has supported the merit system and Congress after Congress has strengthened it, as weaknesses became apparent or developed under the stress of a growing Federal establishment. The program has stood up under the open or covert efforts of patronage interests to make inroads in the career field, the most recent of which have occurred under the present administration. But, when the showdown came, the President usually has stepped forward in defense of the integrity of the merit plan. President Eisenhower is no exception. Although some of his aids seem to have been slow in getting the word, he has made it plain that he will tolerate no tampering with the civil-service principles established back in 1883. It is no exaggeration to say that the system launched so uncertainly so many years ago is more than the fair success which the Star hoped for.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 19, 1955]

FEDERAL MERIT SYSTEM HAD HUMBLE START

(By David L. Perlman)

(EDITOR'S NOTE—The author is editor of the official publication of the American Federation of Government Employees and has written this article in connection with the 72d anniversary of the signing of the Civil Service Act.)

On January 16, 1883, the friends of civil-service reform were beginning to wonder if they had, perhaps, been premature in celebrating the end of the spoils system in the Federal Government.

Just a week before, the House of Representatives had rushed through passage of the civil-service bill—a bill that bore the name of Senator George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, but had actually been drafted by Dorman B. Eaton, leading spokesman for the reform movement.

The civil-service bill had passed the Senate by a resounding 33-to-5 vote, although the number of absentees were disappointingly large. When it reached the House, there were a few halfhearted efforts to recommit or amend the bill, but its supporters kept after a steady chant of "Vote! Vote!" until, after a mere 1-hour debate, the Pendleton bill passed without a change.

Since President Arthur himself had called for passage of a civil-service law, the reformers considered that they had every right to celebrate. But then came the disconcerting news that several top administration officials had challenged the constitutionality of the measure and were urging the President to veto it on the ground that it infringed upon his constitutional power of appointment. This issue was to be the chief topic for discussion at the Cabinet meeting on January 16.

As it turned out, the fears of the reformers proved to be groundless. The Evening Star of that date tells us that, at the Cabinet meeting, "The tenor of the discussion was favorable to the signing of the bill in its present shape."

Later that day, President Arthur affixed his signature. The merit-system was to get its first trial in this country.

For more than a score of years, distinguished but isolated voices had been raised from pulpit and lecture platform against the corruptness of the spoils system. The "practical" politicians brushed aside this criticism with a mocking reference to "snivel service reformers."

But when President James A. Garfield was shot down by an assassin's bullet in July 1881, in the old Pennsylvania Railroad depot—where the National Gallery of Art now stands—people were no longer amused by jokes about the "snivel service" movement. The demented killer, Charles J. Guiteau, had been one of the thousands of jobseekers who had poured into Washington for the inauguration with claims of political service to be paid for by public office. To the man on the street, Garfield was a victim of the spoils system.

The congressional elections of 1882, which saw the defeat of several of the most outspoken opponents of civil-service reform, were the handwriting on the wall so far as Congress was concerned. Civil-service reform now became top-priority legislation.

The less starry-eyed of the reformers, however, were more restrained in their elation at the passage of the Pendleton bill.

That the battle for civil-service reform was not over—that it had, in fact, just begun—was made very clear in an Evening Star editorial following the passage of the Pendleton bill.

Since both the Democrats and the Republicans have, at various times, claimed credit for the enactment of the first civil-service legislation, it is interesting to read these comments from the editorial, dated January 10, 1883:

"The truth is that there was a good deal of insincerity in the support and passage of the bill, and it pervaded both parties about alike. The Democrats sincerely wanted the bill passed. Since the November elections their hopes of success in 1884 have risen to the highest degree, and Democratic leaders knew that their followers look forward to the office with an eagerness and a hunger born of over 20 years' expulsion from the public crib. But there was a public sentiment in favor of a reform in the civil service which Democratic Congressmen feared to defy."

"With the Republicans, there was just as much insincerity. They regarded the measure as one of policy rather than of principle. In the event of Democratic success in 1884, the law could serve to keep Republicans in office."

Not too hopefully, the Star editorial concluded: "What the bill may accomplish depends largely upon the President. He is really invested with power enough to make it a fair success or a total failure."

The new law was to take effect on January 16, 1883, 6 months after it had been signed by the President.

Only a comparatively few positions were specifically placed in the competitive service under the initial act. But the President had wide freedom to add other groups of jobs by Executive order.

The spoils system did not die overnight. Three months after the passage of the act, the classified columns of the newspapers still carried listing such as these:

Wanted: A position in one of the departments; will give \$25 down and \$5 monthly. Address S. T., Star Office.

Wanted: A gentleman of experience will pay \$100 to anyone who will secure him a

position in one of the departments. Address in confidence, Integrity, Star Office.

Meanwhile, the first Civil Service Commission, headed by Dorman B. Eaton, the most prominent of the reform leaders, moved into its first temporary offices. Even by the standards of those days, it was a modest beginning for a new agency. The first quarters were the front and back parlors of a private residence at 612 14th Street NW. The rent, including maintenance, heating and light, was \$3 a day. When, some weeks later, more suitable offices became available at the Department of Agriculture annex, the Commission's first two employees, John T. Doyle and Matthew F. Halloran, moved the Commission's belongings in a pushcart.

The first civil service examination was given in July 1883, for clerkships paying \$1,000 a year. During the next 6 months 468 appointments were made from competitive registers.

From these humble beginnings, the merit system spread slowly but steadily throughout the Government. Sometimes gains would be made when an outgoing President placed groups of employees under civil service to try and protect them from dismissal in the new administration. But as turnover brought about the need for replacements, the replacements would come from civil service registers.

Even more important was the growing realization that the merit system meant good government.

By 1893, Theodore Roosevelt, in one of the last letters he wrote as a Civil Service Commissioner, could say:

"As a matter of practical experience, every Cabinet officer whom I have seen in Washington has, before the end of his term, come to the conclusion that if there was any man in which he needed special efficiency, he had to put it under the civil-service law."

Science and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 31, last, Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution and one of our preeminent scientist-statesmen, delivered an address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Berkeley, Calif. Although it is lengthy I am placing this address in our Record, as I feel it ranks as one of the significant public utterances of recent years. With keen insight and great wisdom, Dr. Bush examines the basic problems of our time as a scientist and citizen who is deeply imbued with our finest traditions. His comments deserve the widest readership, and leaders in and out of Government might well give heed to his counsel.

The address follows:

Every man is entitled at one time in his career to declare himself regarding the idea of progress. It is an idea that in some of its aspects has been earnestly discussed by many men for over three centuries. And as usual, in the case of debated subjects, the dispute turns largely on the matter of definitions. What is progress? How can it be measured? Is it a historical fact? If we have progressed, are we bound to continue progressing in the future?

When we speak of progress, we may have in mind several different conceptions of the word. Bury, in his classic *Idea of Progress*, traces the changes in its content and emphasis through the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The idea is not an old one as ideas go. It had no place in the thinking of antiquity. Some ancient Greek and Roman writers held with Hesiod that the course of history was one of slow but steady decline from a long-past golden age. The Hebrew tradition of the fall reflects a similar point of view. Others among the Greeks and Romans believed that human history and the future of mankind followed a cyclical pattern, making no significant progress in any constant direction. Cities and empires were known to have risen and declined. Science and philosophy had flourished and faded, and flourished and faded again.

Through most of the Middle Ages the conditions of life were depressing, and men turned for their hope away from the disappointments and uncertainties of earthly existence to dwell on a roselike dream of life after death. Material improvements were sought and achieved, but their achievement was slow and unimpressive. Knowledge was looked upon as something revealed to men of great faith, to be learned by the study of accepted texts—the scriptures, the church fathers, Aristotle, the schoolmen. It was a revolutionary suggestion of Roger Bacon, and one that had no great influence in his time, that the phenomena of nature should be studied by first-hand observation rather than through received authority.

The Renaissance brought a spirit of renewed earthly joy and enthusiasm, which at first drew its inspiration from the great men of antiquity but gradually turned its eye to the present and the future and became, in the Age of Enlightenment, a spirit of hopeful expectancy. Francis Bacon, noting the dramatic achievements of a few centuries—gunpowder, the printing press, the mariner's compass—regarded science and intellectual effort as a utility, justified only as it contributed to "the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches." He saw no limit to the possibilities of science and fully expected these possibilities to be realized. But he did not regard their fulfillment as inevitable or assured by the laws of nature.

Eighteenth-century philosophers commonly accepted progress as the normal course of history without making a particular point of the idea until the Marquis de Condorcet, in the midst of the French Revolution, wrote his *Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind*, explicitly setting forth the idea that human progress is continuous and achieved. This became the common attitude of thoughtful people in the early years of the 19th century. It runs through the thinking of most of the Romantic and early Victorian poets, the scientists, and the philologists. It drew strength from the rationalists, deists, unitarians, and universalists, who reacted with confidence in the perfection of man against the dark fatalism of the Calvinistic teaching that man is essentially corrupt and beyond redemption except through the unpredictable, seemingly capricious, grace of God.

As the 19th century advanced, the idea was elaborated and bolstered with new evidence and arguments. The innumerable advances of science and invention, the overthrow of despots and growth of constitutional liberty throughout western Europe and America, could be pointed to as visible evidence that progress was a fact. And the principle of biological evolution (both Lamarckian and Darwinian) provided an argument of analogy that made progress seem very much like something founded in the nature of things.

Darwin voiced the idea temperately in the following words:

"As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental environments will tend to progress toward perfection."

Even before the publication of the *Origin of Species*, Herbert Spencer had used the evolutionary analogy in his *Social Statics*, and in the course of the next three decades he carried the argument much further than his scientific contemporaries were willing to do. He held that "Nature in its infinite complexity is ever growing to a new development" and further that "The ultimate development of the ideal man is logically certain, as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance, that all men will die." The human progress that he envisioned was in all phases: in the minds and bodies of men; who, according to Spencer, would continue their biological change ever toward higher forms; in knowledge; in material facilities and conveniences; and in political and social structures. He regarded it not as conditional upon the deliberate efforts of men, but rather as an inevitable law of nature. Men's conscious actions might contribute to it, but those conscious actions would be only a secondary result of man's own progressive improvement.

The assumption of Darwin and Spencer that all evolution must be progress was of course only an assumption. But it was generally accepted by most of their contemporaries despite the criticism of Huxley in his later years. In the generally hopeful temper of the late 19th century the whole Spencerian dogma was eagerly taken up, with or without its claims of reason, by all classes of people in England and the United States. The prevailing mood of our society before the First World War was one of complacent expectation that all things would improve perpetually. Retrospection, at least, was unthinkable.

But the First World War shook our optimism, the depression shook it further, and the second war nearly destroyed it. Now, though we may still hope that our race will go forward in progress, we are confronted with facts that take all the former exuberance out of our hope, reducing it almost to a wish of despair. This is especially so with regard to moral and political affairs. For who can have confidence in humanity's future when he looks at events of the past 20 years? Heisen and Buchenwald were poor exhibits of humanitarian progress by any standards recognized in the 19th century. And it is difficult to see much to choose between the erratic tyranny of the Czars and the systematic tyranny of the present Russian Government, with its purges and beatings. Our wonted spirit of optimism has given way largely to a spirit of gloom, and some among us seem to be gradually moving toward a definite philosophy of pessimism.

In these circumstances it is perhaps well that we should look more closely at the idea of progress, take stock of the realities, and formulate a reasoned position as free as possible from both despair and wishful thinking.

Let me begin by distinguishing some of the elements of progress that we are considering. How can the fact of progress be judged or recognized? What does the word mean in bare use? It is expanded into Bury's "idea of progress"? As it is used in this phrase and as I am using it, the word car-

ries a connotation not only of movement or even of movement in a constant direction, but of movement in a direction that is intrinsically good or desirable. Its meaning cannot be derived from experience or reason; for it is based solely on an ethical assumption as to what constitutes the good or desirable, toward which all actions and all change ought to be directed.

Attempts have been made to define the word in such way as to escape the elements of dogma and give it a semblance of universality. But all such attempts have inevitably failed. Many writers have already pointed out that the measures of progress popularly applied to biological evolution are essentially arbitrary. Man may, indeed, have evolved from the primordial ooze, and this may be accepted as good if we assume that it is good to have complex life on earth, but this again is an arbitrary assumption. How many other species have evolved to a certain level of adaptation in relation to a given environment, only to fall of adaptation to a superseding environment? Why cannot the same fate be in store for human kind? We may grant that the evolution of man has been a local triumph in the universe, and yet doubt whether his further evolution is bound to lead to further triumph. We may say that evolution follows a pattern that tends always toward betterment, and therefore to define progress in relation to it is meaningless.

I shall be dogmatic at this point and state some of the standards of value that I have accepted for judging progress. I have nothing new to add, I can merely reiterate what has been said many times and, having done so, add my comments on its meaning for the great problems we now face. I believe that it is good for mankind to gain knowledge and understanding without regard for their utility in relation to their environment. I also believe that it is good that our knowledge, for whatever reason acquired, should be used to improve man's health and increase his comfort and happiness. And from these primary standards I derive certain secondary values. It is good to preserve the individual freedom of all men for free men alone can think freely or freely acquire knowledge, and freedom is a part of the comfort and happiness toward which we legitimately aspire. It is good also to have peace, provided it is not bought at the price of greater values, for peace in ideal circumstances contributes to our comfort and happiness and in some degree to our freedom. But on the secondary level of values we must often make difficult choices. We must sometimes forego a measure of our earned comfort and happiness in order to avoid losing all of it. We must make sacrifices to sustain and defend the freedom of our institutions, the right to continue our experiment in democratic government and refine its underlying principles. We must sometimes even be willing to go to war for these reasons.

There is a risk in the pursuit of knowledge that must not be blinked at. In our partial knowledge and limited wisdom we can encompass our own destruction without meaning to do so. Fear of such self-destruction underlies all our thoughts and acts today, and with reason. But this fear often becomes distorted, being centered almost wholly on A-bombs and H-bombs because of their spectacular nature. There are other weapons that could prove just as deadly. Had there been no A-bombs or H-bombs, the danger would not be notably less. For if the nations could see the earth continue to devote a large part of their productive efforts to the building of weapons, and to marshal for the purpose all the potentialities of science, engineering, and industry, they can create the

means, whether of one sort or of another, which when fully exploited will be capable of erasing whole populations. Without the A-bomb, chemical warfare, as it was developed, though held in reserve, during the last world war, could have a terrible effect. Biological warfare could be far more terrible. New diseases created for the purpose and introduced among an unprotected population by an attacker who had acquired immunity to them could bring back the horror of the great plagues that once swept over the earth. But the deliberate blighting of crops and herds could produce unprecedented famine. And as we now advance in finding chemotherapeutic means for the treatment of mental disorders and drugs that exert control over human emotions, these very means, in the hands of ruthless dictators, may constitute one of the greatest threats of all.

Some people in their unbalanced fear accuse the physicists of having brought the world to its present plight through the development of A-bombs and H-bombs. It is believed by some that physicists have a conviction of guilt, and some physicists by their own utterances have given grounds for this belief. But the guilt, if it is to be so regarded, must be shared by many who were not directly involved in developing the bombs. Every step in the advance of our knowledge that preceded the discovery of ways to release atomic energy contributed to the final result. If the result was a crime, then Newton must be counted as one of the arch criminals and Einstein as an accomplice. Nor should the scientists of the free world be held peculiarly responsible, for the general course of science has rendered the result inevitable; our scientists merely hastened the time a little and made it possible for us to determine the place and circumstances of the first release of atomic energy. We are fortunate that they were the first to succeed. For their success gave a temporary advantage to the free self-governing peoples of the world. Had Hitler's scientists solved the problem of exploding an atomic bomb early in the war, we might now all be under the Nazi's heel, with extermination camps ready to dispose of any group or nation that rebelled. Had the Russians found the solution at the end of the war, while we were still unarmed with atomic weapons, the sweep of their armies would not have stopped in the Balkans, the Baltic, and Czechoslovakia; and we should now face a huge totalitarian state bent on world conquest with all the industrial power of Europe at its command.

We sometimes hear that the natural sciences in general have outrun the social sciences and that the balance must be restored if we are to cope with our great new danger. It is too late in the day for any such remedy. We should, indeed, give every practicable support to social science and hope that some day it will produce answers to many of our human dilemmas. But the test is upon us now and will not wait. We must grapple with it, using the systems of social relations that we have and such wisdom as we can muster. Whether we come through the ordeal will depend upon whether we are sufficiently mature to map out a wise path and adhere to it. Looking for easy ways, mysterious formulas, or scapegoats will not help.

The dogmas that I have stated are not presumptuous ones. They are dogmas of humility. If they do not pretend that we know all the answers. On the contrary, they recognize that we are still comparatively ignorant and very much confused. In our scientific endeavors we have correlated some of our simpler experiences, and this has led us into contradiction and confusion. We have hardly begun to correlate those experiences that involve the emotions. We see but through a glass darkly. Yet the race is young. In a thousand years we may un-

demand more and be able to substitute dogmas that are more satisfying to our souls than the simple ones I have been propounding. Perhaps, indeed, in a thousand years men will abandon hope entirely. But let us not now, in blind anticipation of what they may then think, abandon hope for them.

We know vastly more than our ancestors did of what nature's forces can do, but we can hardly claim to have achieved any true or profound understanding as yet. Our theoretical explanations of observed phenomena have changed completely in the past 3,000 years. How can we say whether they have advanced or not, since they are not measurable by any ultimate standards? They can be judged only according to the degree to which they seem to be consistent with our accumulated experience and the range of experience which they encompass. We place increasing emphasis upon the pragmatic test of whether our theories work, and are little concerned with whether they express an absolute truth, or whether there is such a thing as truth to be expressed. The corpuscular theory of light proved for a time until new observations seemed to require its abandonment in favor of the concept of waves passing through ether. Now we have revived the corpuscle under the new name of quantum, and find it useful as a means of rationalizing certain phenomena that could not be rationalized under the wave theory. We use both theories without attempting to reconcile them with each other. When we deal with the nucleus of the atom we work with a bizarre formula and care little whether it has a model to go with it.

Professor Dingle aptly states the case regarding theory in his essay *Some Reflections on the History of Science*:

"Amid all the changes of theories and pictures and conceptions, the relations remain and steadily accumulate. As we find that lightning was a manifestation of the electric ether revealed in laboratory experiments. The electric ether has disappeared, and other theories of electricity have in turn succeeded it and disappeared also, but the relation between lightning and laboratory sparks remains. Maxwell established a relation between light and electromagnetic oscillations. His ether also has gone, but the relation stays. All permanent advances in science are discoveries of relations between phenomena, and the factor in science that shows a steady uninterrupted growth is the extent of the field of related observations. World pictures are indispensable for progress but even the most satisfying has no hope of immortality."

We have progressed in our scientific knowledge and have the power to progress further. But I see no law of nature that makes such further progress inevitable. For the present we are limited only by our will to go ahead and our ability to preserve a world environment in which the search is possible. There probably are inherent limitations to our human mental capacities and to our conceptions of science that will eventually impede our further conceptual progress. We save some systematic question whether there can be any scientific progress.

There never was, indeed, any true basis for certainty; but when we were in a more optimistic mood we sometimes allowed ourselves to suppose that there was. The present tendency of scientists to emphasize uncertainty is symptomatic of the times; it is perhaps their subconscious reaction as their former rosette vision of endless progress is dimmed by the lurking aspect of the present state of world affairs. The great generalizations of Heisenberg and Gödel have but since the fact more explicitly and completely than it had been stated before, and led us to see more clearly some of its implications. The inductive method of science, from which have emerged its great triumphs, can yield only a strong probability of truth

in a restricted area. No matter how many confirmatory experiments may be made, or how closely they are in accord with a hypothesis, there is no guaranty that the next similar experiment will not contradict it, and no basis for its extrapolation into regions where test is impossible. Man may find order among his experiences and in so doing gain control over nature for his own ends, but he cannot in this way acquire certainty. Even the deductive method is severely limited, as Gödel has shown. No system, logically based on a set of premises, can be demonstrated to be free from contradiction without stepping outside of that system.

As we, then, accumulate generalizations to bind together the facts of experience into useful formulations, as we establish hypotheses and test them by experience, are we indeed coming closer to reality? We cannot know. We can gain mastery over the course of events and thus control our subsequent experience with a high probability of success. But we cannot say that we have arrived at truth with any more assurance than when we specify truth by dogma without all the paraphernalia of experiment, logic, and mathematics. Thus science is, in these days, becoming more humble in its assertions.

We may feel that the ordering of our observations could be better. What, having added Einstein's refinements, we are still closer to reality. But this is a feeling only, a faith if you will; and what constitutes the truth is not demonstrable by logic of any sort.

Yet there is more than mere utility in the endeavor to systematize the evidence of our senses, and this we may forget when the limitations of science are emphasized. The extension of our observations into space, the application of our bindings into cosmological hypotheses, is pursued with intensity and satisfaction; and the motivation is not to learn a bit more about the nucleus of the atom just to make more powerful bombs or even to provide a new source of energy so that civilization may continue after it has exhausted its oil and coal. The musings and speculations of one who thinks in terms of receding galaxies or of primordial explosions are far different in content, though perhaps not in nature, from the ponderings of the peasant who sees the stars glided to a celestial sphere rotating over his head. Are they better or of a higher order? Have they a possibility of coming nearer to grasping eternal truths? This, too, we cannot know.

We have only the evidence of a powerful, inner drive that pursues the path of inquiry, to learn more in the sense of extending and systematizing our observations and experiments over a wider field, to grasp more in the sense of greater generalizations—not so that we may be more prosperous, but so that our spirits may have a freer rein in those aspirations which transcend the mere mechanisms of existence.

The limitations upon our understanding have not yet, at any rate, begun to cramp our thoughts. Who can say that they are not themselves merely the expression of the limited view that we have thus far attained? We have not reached the boundaries of our finite capabilities, we have only proved for a time that the assumption of our fathers that they are soundless is probably false.

We must go on until we know no further, abandon the quest for knowledge merely because we are told that we shall never know all that can conceivably be known or know anything with certainty. Must every adventurer be assured success before he will take a step forward? We are all born to die, and yet we spend every waking hour of our

lives in striving as if we were to live forever. We may observe historically that man's progress has been intermittent and has alternated with retrogression; but observing this we do not sink back from effort in despair; it is not in our nature to do so. And the search for knowledge and truth has its daily rewards unrelated to any ultimate achievements.

Without any presupposition, then, of the inevitability of progress, we may reasonably expect each day to learn more and accomplish something in a material way that will add to the comfort or convenience of our living. These same material accomplishments will bring us new and more terrible instruments of death. But this fact will not deter us from further scientific inquiry. Our simple survival is not worth so much that it is to be purchased at the cost of intellectual stultification. Nor would the oppression of dangerous inquiry save us. Although the achievements of science may, indeed, throw us back into barbarism, the abandonment of our search for knowledge and material betterment would only make vegetables of us.

There is no certainty in either science or progress. The science and technology that have carried us so far toward physical comfort and prosperity may blow us back with an atom blast to barbarism, to wars and pestilence; to a world in which the pressure of population on primitive resources is controlled only by recurrent war and famine; to a world that offers only a tinsel glory for a few built on a pyramid of misery for the many. The application of science to warfare may put an end to the surge of scientific progress that began with Galileo. We may, indeed, throw ourselves into a war of extermination. Or, in an excess of caution, we may throw away our dearest freedoms in false and narrowly conceived measures of defense. Either way we lose utterly. The way to peace and continued progress is not clear. But neither confusion nor pessimism will justify inaction while there is so much that can and ought to be done. We can strive to work our way out of the confusion and not be panicked by it into rigid immobility. We need not be dismayed by the uncertainty of the outcome. We can gamble cheerfully on the course suggested by our best judgment today, and play the next turn according to our better—or perhaps only different—judgment of tomorrow. And there is a chance that we may continue our achievements in the realm of physical well-being and escape the worst dangers that we now so vividly see. We may reach the end of the wars that have been a scourge to man ever since he began to make tools.

In world affairs, as nearly as I can judge, we are headed for the moment toward a stalemate; and this is probably the best situation that can now be hoped for. The world will remain for a time evenly divided, its halves poised for mutual annihilation. Secondary wars will continue with restricted means, as in Korea and Indochina. The great bombing fleets will be held in leash. Always present will be the danger of their being unleashed and some mad action or by simple accident. Our nerves will become increasingly taut, and we shall be tempted to seek the delusive relief offered by totalitarian government, authoritarianism, obscurantism, thought control. We shall be ever threatened by the panic of fear. It is not a pleasant outlook. But I see no better one in the near offing.

We can at least strive to avoid mad actions and pray to be delivered from blind accidents. We can, in fact, do more than praying. We can all of us, whatever our special calling, keep informed about the course of public affairs, recognize that they are of personal concern to us, study public problems, and through the constant pressure of an enlightened public opinion prevent those who govern us from lapsing into carelessness. We

can by our indirect influence as well as by voting at the polls see to it that firebrands do not come into power. But let us not try to conjure away our fears by propitiatory witch hunts or by fatuous acceptance of the promises of political messiahs or the dazzling spectacle of the man on a white horse. We need alert yet sober leaders who can and will think their way through the problems that confront us, who can judge wisely and act decisively. We can have such leaders if we refuse to settle for less. Remember the adage of Plato's Republic that the punishment of wise men who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of unwise men.

The stalemate that I envision, however, will not be a true one if it is allowed to rest only on the equal striking power of the opposing forces. We must, of course, have striking power equal or superior to that of our enemy. But equal striking power does not constitute an equilibrium of forces when one side is limited in its use of such power entirely to retaliation. And our side is so limited and must remain so. For the one thing above all others that distinguishes us from the enemy and makes him an enemy is the fact that we do not have a totalitarian form of government capable of making a surprise attack. Our enemy has such a government and will not be deterred from making a surprise attack by our mere threat to retaliate, if he has a reasonable hope of destroying at one stroke most of the forces that we must rely on for sustained retaliation. Had the Japanese been as nearly matched to us in military strength as the Soviet alliance probably has been, they have won the war in the Pacific. The only true stalemate for us is one in which we have striking power superior to the enemy's and defenses that are strong enough to balance the inherent advantage our enemies must always have of striking first. At the very least we must protect our essential retaliation means from destruction before they can be used. We have not thus far, in planning for defense, taken all the necessary possible measures to prevent such destruction. And, unless the military corrects its thinking soon, there is real danger that the stalemate upon which we depend for relative peace will prove to be altogether illusory.

This is not the first crisis in human affairs, although it is by all odds the most intense we have yet gone through and the fastest paced one. Yet a generation may suffice to resolve it. And the outcome will depend on how we react under almost intolerable strain. Society does not wish to commit suicide, nor does any part of it wish to do so. The question is whether it will commit suicide in spite of itself. If we can but weather this storm I believe that we may fairly hope to build a world in which there will be no more wars of any kind. The problems that cause wars—population problems, problems of access to resources—all such problems could conceivably be settled to everyone's advantage by other means than war, and science can contribute in an important way to their solution. The world's resources can be more effectively utilized and made more accessible to people by improved means of transport. The wild growth of populations can be curbed. Available materials that are not now made use of can be brought into profitable use just as has been done in the past with petroleum, natural gas, bauxite, and the magnesium in sea water. New sources of food may be found in organisms specifically developed to increase the total amount of the world's food supply.

Our future progress depends on how well free peoples have learned to govern themselves. The test is not one of how fast peoples who have been under a foreign yoke recently will now establish democracy or succumb to the wiles of demagogues or

the tyranny of dictators. The test comes primarily in the great democracies, with experience in parliamentary processes and the operation of courts, under a new type of threat and a growing fear. The test in this country is whether we can truly maintain our freedoms and guard our way of life against threats from without, against subversion within, and against our own errors and aberrations. Our recent performance in this regard is not encouraging.

The great asset of free countries in the present struggle is their freedom. The great disability of dictatorships is that they are always permeated with suspicion and distrust, conspiracy, personal spite, the dedication of justice for sinister ends, timidity in the expression of honest opinions. In a free world men may disagree and maintain their mutual respect; they may urge unpopular courses of action and be heard; it is assumed that they are loyal and seeking the best for their country and their fellows unless they are proved to be traitors by due process in independent and impartial tribunals. In a police state men express the current party line, and, if they misjudge it, they disappear. Here is an enormous advantage for the United States if it is kept unimpaired. It insures that the whole course of Government, our relations with other countries, our military policy, will undergo the full scrutiny of uncoerced public opinion. The advantage extends even into minor matters. When a new weapon is being secretly planned about a table, when the relative priority of alternative technical or strategic programs is being considered, our system assumes that the Soviet participants who have honest thoughts to contribute may express them without fear of retaliation from powerful men who think otherwise, or who have opposing vested interests. This great advantage of freedom to dissent makes the country genuinely strong in many ways. It must not be lost.

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. His first objective is to steal our secrets. Among the thousands or even millions who have access to secret information there have been a few, a very few, traitors. We must guard against such traitors with all our skill and determination. But the importance of their acts has been exaggerated out of all reasonable proportion. Without their help we tell the world, voluntarily, nearly all we know; and our enemy has only to read and listen. In technical articles, in advertisements, in budget presentations, in the release of testimony, in open court hearings, we disclose to the enemy our technical plans and programs, the essential characteristics of new airplanes and weapons, the location and equipment of our military bases, and our accounts of producing military items. We freely print critical dissections of the technical controversies that arise over the explicit development of our major weapons. Skilled analysts assemble scattered information and synthesize it into speculative accounts of what is happening in areas of military development. There is very little left for an enemy espionage system to find out, and it can concentrate on that little with the full background handed to it on a platter. If we can honestly determined to keep the enemy ignorant of our plans and designs, we must, indeed, be careful to keep both the traitor and the spy out of our councils, laboratories, and factories. But, we need much more to draw a clear line between the information which the electorate must have for its reasoned judgment, and the technical and military information which is not necessary for that purpose; and having drawn the line we need to be strictly to it. Until we can draw a clear line between the information which the electorate must have for its operations, only a small part of the information that should

be protected. But this first objective of our enemy's actions is today less important to him than his other objectives.

His second objective is to penetrate our organizations and influence our decisions. There is not the slightest doubt that this effort was done successfully in the days when we were more glib than we now are. It is difficult to recapture the atmosphere of the immediate postwar period, when we were a pushover for attempts of this kind. Russia had been our ally, a difficult one to be sure, but often a loyal ally under stress. Remember that when we landed in Normandy, we would have been highly vulnerable if Russia had concluded a separate armistice, or even relaxed its pressure, so that the full weight of German arms could be brought to bear on us. It might perhaps have been in Russia's interest thus to prolong the struggle and stand aside until the nations of the West had become exhausted.

After the war there was a strong hope that we could live in peace and understanding with our former ally. After all, Russia had plenty of land and resources and needed a generation in which to build industries and raise its standard of living. There was reality in our purpose to ease tensions and further good relations. It was some time before the free world realized that it had demolished one threat only to be faced with another, far more sinister and far more skillful in its operations. In the interim there was penetration into many organizations by men who took their orders from the Kremlin. Much harm was done by these men, with their own strange ideas of the future; their efforts still persist, but they are much less successful and are concentrated on auxiliary organizations rather than on the center of government. To combat their threat we must be relentlessly vigilant. But the honest attitude that has occurred in the last decade, the clear realization among loyal members of our various organizations, from Government bodies to labor unions, has rendered the efforts of those who would penetrate and influence our decisions and acts in favor of the enemy ineffective except in minor ways.

The third objective of the enemy is the most important one. It is to spread confusion and distrust among us. In this purpose he has been most successful and is more successful today than ever before. In fact, he has been so successful that he need hardly try further; we are carrying on the process now without his prompting, and the process grows by what it feeds on. We have a system for the clearance of persons to do secret work, which seems almost calculated to destroy their reputations by innuendo and charges based on spite. We have adopted a principle, abolition and distrust as a principle. We have useful men denied the opportunity to contribute to our scientific efforts because of their youthful indiscretions. Worst of all, we have the evil practice of ruthless, ambitious men, who use our loyalty procedures for political purposes. Suspicion and distrust are rampant in the land. We are on the verge of abandoning some of our most treasured freedoms; we have nearly lost our greatest advantage over the enemy in the current struggle—our mutual regard and trust as a people.

The enemy's actions in the cold war have been uncommonly successful. Their impact has been most severe on the scientific com-

munity, and there are several reasons for this. Scientists occupy a key position in regard to those secrets which should be most strictly kept. They have always been more involved in international relations than most men, for science is by its very nature international in character. Scientists are highly individualistic; otherwise they would not be scientists. Concentrating in one field, they are sometimes exceedingly naive in others. When we dreamed of a world of understanding to put an end to recurrent wars, there was a greater portion of glibble men among them than among most other groups. And there were traitors among them, though exceedingly few, who were capable of doing and did great damage to us. It was inevitable, therefore, that much of the hysterical witch hunt should have been concentrated on the scientific profession. Yet there is no place where it could be more disastrous to our national interest. In Russia today the scientist is respected and honored, too much so no doubt. In this country the scientist is under attack, viewed with suspicion; and young men hesitate to enter the profession or, once in, to participate in military programs because of the hazards to their reputations and careers. We had better reverse this trend if we wish to compete on even terms with the enemy.

Just as soon as this is laid there are always several rejoinders. One of these is that the scientists seek special privileges. They do not. To seek a restoration of the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the procedures of government is not to seek special privilege in this country. To urge a revision of our present security system to remove its defects, which are applicable to scientists, lawyers, diplomats, and all others alike, is not to seek special privilege. There should be an end, for all who labor in the interests of the country's safety, of trial on the basis of unsupported charges, of actions by officials of Government which destroy reputations, of the assumption of guilt before trial. There should be a complete and final end of the use of the security system to discredit those who disagree. There should be a complete removal of the system from politics. To assert these things is to seek privilege, but only the privilege of all to live in a country which continues to be free.

A second rejoinder is that scientists will refuse to serve unless the system is changed to suit their wishes. It is true that many individual men shrink from entering Government duty under present conditions. A father who got caught in a Communist gathering when he was 20 and foolishly shield his sons from the ordeal of seeing him pilloried. Retiring persons to whom strife and any sort of emotionally impossible will avoid the hazard. Men in vulnerable positions, where a whispering campaign, or even a series of strange inquiries among their friends and associates would place their careers in jeopardy, may pull their punches and go along with proposals which they disapprove rather than stand up and be counted. All this is happening and is doing great harm to our national effort. But scientists in general, in Government, in industrial laboratories, in universities, working on military programs, are hard at work as usual, and are devoting their most conscientious efforts to the good of their country, sometimes at considerable risk to themselves. There will be no scientific strike. The scientists of the country, like all other professional groups, place the good of their country above their personal comfort or their personal fate. Among scientific groups today there is sadness and discouragement. They work assiduously, but they do not have the enthusiasm and confidence that they once had. They are making great technical progress in many fields, and they will continue to do so. But they yearn for a leadership in this country which would restore the old atmosphere in which there was a

close-knit bond of mutual confidence and respect between them and the military, in which they could do their part toward the country's preservation, anonymously and without thought of personal gain, but without threat to their reputations as loyal workers.

The great question, as we try to envisage the future, is whether this madness of ours is a passing phase, or whether it will grow until the free world transforms itself into a replica of the captive world it opposes. If the latter is the outcome, the struggle will be over, for it will then not matter which tyranny prevails. The idea of progress then will no longer have any meaning. The question for us is whether we can conquer our fears, not abandoning them but rendering them sane and realistic, or whether our fears will feed upon themselves until we throw away our freedom in a wild attempt to preserve it.

There is a great threat from overseas. But the threat here at home is, for the moment, the greater one. There has been, through similar phases before, not as intense or dangerous, but bad enough. After the First World War we had an interval in which the guarantees of the Bill of Rights were safeguarded by those in power, we had witch hunts, and we saw spooks in every shadow. From this we recovered without must permanent damage. The situation today is much more threatening. If all people knew the wide extent of the threat—which goes far beyond the few spectacular cases that make the headlines—if they understood better how closely it fits into our enemy's designs, and how successful those designs are proving, then there would be a return to reason in a hurry. One thing we need to learn is that the enemy alone stands to gain from the spread of suspicion and distrust among us, and it is in our interest to create mutual confidence. One thing we need especially to learn is that a vigorous system for throwing out the Communists in our midst must be paralleled by vigorous executive action to detect those actions which are inspired by spite or attempts at thought control, to see that they are suppressed before they do real damage, and see that they backfire promptly on those who instigate them. Finally, we need to learn that the use of star-chamber proceedings for political purposes is dangerous in the last degree to the very foundation of a democracy.

I have spoken thus far of three elements of progress—the progress of biological evolution, the progress of knowledge and understanding, the progress of technology with its attendant dangers of self-destruction. There is one other form of progress that is often questioned but upon which I base my own strongest hopes. I refer to progress in the ethical conceptions and conduct of men.

How are we to judge of progress in this field? With respect to knowledge and understanding, I have already dogmatically stated my standard of values. It is good for man to know. I refer to progress in the understanding and to use his knowledge for the promotion of human welfare. I shall state dogmatically my acceptance of another standard of value by which I am willing to judge the very dogmas of the past. It is good for men to love. I respect their feelings and deal not only justly but kindly with one another.

By this dogmatic standard, as I have previously suggested, we may see little evidence of a steady ethical progress in the last 150 years. But we can most certainly see much progress if we look back over the whole span of recorded history. We still lie, cheat, and steal as they did in the age of which Homer sang; but we do not write epics glorifying the wiles and tricks of unscrupulous national heroes. Dishonesty and unscrupulous behavior on the part of our leaders and statesmen may still play a temporary local dividend, but they lead at

last to censure and in some cases to more substantial punishment and permanent disgrace.

The ethical codes subscribed to if not followed by all liberal and thoughtful men today, regardless of their religious faiths, are more humane than they were 5,000 years ago. Contrast the stern code of Draco with our present mild laws—mild, in the opinion of some, to the point of softness. Contrast the primitive ideal of conduct in the Song of Deborah, glorifying Jael, who snatched the fleeing Sisera into her tent and there drove a tent pin into his head, with the Sermon on the Mount. The ideal expressed in the Golden Rule, which we all yearn to follow, is from the point of view of peaceable human relations superior to the older rule of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

We are sometimes depressed by the fact that men, however fine their ideals, are now and have always been governed in large measure by evil, selfish impulses. Yet, if we stop to consider, we have made some small progress even in our behavior. Most of us have moved perceptibly away from the primitive xenophobia that hates all outsiders and strangers. We are not so callous to human suffering even as our European and colonial forebears of the 16th and 17th centuries. Mutilation and the pillory have passed out of our lexicon of punishments. No one would say with Defoe that a bankrupt who falsifies his declaration ought in justice to be hanged as a felon, or would regard the theft of a sheep or a shilling as a capital offense. We are not yet gentle in our relations with one another. But neither are we so savage as once we were. If we are at times discouraged, we must consider that the whole era of civilization has been but a moment in the largely unwritten history of mankind. On the whole, I believe, men feel more secure in their relations with one another than they did in the very early days when every man carried a club, or later when they substituted swords and daggers. Perhaps this is just an evidence of improved police protection. But it is progress of a sort. We are not, indeed, visionaries when we strive for harmonious relations among all nations of the world. Our children may live to see its advent.

In speaking of progress I have avoided the question of ultimate goals; the goals with which I have concerned myself are only those of men for their own and a few future generations. Can we suppose that for the ultimate goal of the cosmic drama man and man's works will have any significance? The species may long have been extinct before the ultimate, if we can in fact conceive of an ultimate, is reached.

I am thinking of a much smaller drama in which man is the hero. If we may hope that men will within the next generation and a reasonable number of succeeding generations become better and happier than they are, according to our present standards of judging what is better and happier, this hope is good in itself and is in no way diminished by the thought that men may never become perfect by those standards or that their standards of judging will change. We cannot wish for what we cannot imagine.

Indeed it is a grim world, and the future for the moment looks dark. We reconcile ourselves now to the loss of that sense of certainty which we too often falsely enjoy, and we have lost the exuberance with which we once bailed a vision of never-ending progress. We struggle in confusion to maintain the privileges that were won by our fathers and that have been ours. But do we need to be glum about it all? The birds still sing in the trees; music still has the power to move us and to bring back happy memories. It is no new thing for man to confront perils in his upward struggle. Life has always been hazardous; civilization has always been threatened, our in-

dividual deaths have always been an inevitable certainty. But men have faced uncertain futures before with courage and even a light heart. Life, whatever else it may be, is not dull. We are privileged to share together in a great adventure, the very hazards of which should draw us closer together. With determination and wisdom our sorry life in, where wars are no more, and where the spirit of brotherhood dominates all we think and do.

The Commentator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following editorial entitled "The Commentator," by W. K. Kelsey, which appeared in the Detroit News on January 13, 1955:

THE COMMENTATOR

(By W. K. Kelsey)

POSTAL METAPHYSICS

Argument about postal rates, at least in the United States, seems destined always to enter the metaphysical realm. When President Eisenhower says that "the services performed by the Post Office Department are of measurable value to their recipients," and bases on that theory a design for higher postal rates which he then admits to be subject to correction, he throws reason out the window.

Like the deity of Achaia, Gallo, the Average citizen cares for none of these things that bother the President and Postmaster General Summerfield. They are called to his attention often enough, but they will not worry him until he finds the first-class postage rate boosted to 4 cents an ounce.

Then he will ask why a one-third increase is levied on the letterwriter, when he is already more than paying the expense of handling the first-class mail, and when the entire deficit of the Department in fiscal 1954 was only 15 percent. If the services performed are of measurable value to their recipients, how has that value been increased to justify an upping of the rates in the one classification which already makes a profit?

The answer is that it is imperative to subsidize newspapers and magazines, chiefly the latter. Second-class mail is far from paying its way. If it were compelled to do so, periodicals would raise their prices, shifting the extra cost to recipients. That would surely prove unpopular. The real question then is whether the general revenues of the Government, or by the senders of first-class mail, who are already paying more than the service they receive costs.

FIRST-CLASS POSTAGE

Having made this argument against what seems to be a wholly illogical position taken by the President and the Postmaster General, the Commentator will now weaken it and destroy it.

There was a time when most first-class mail consisted of private letters, on which postage was paid not by the sender but by the recipient. This was a boon to the ad-

dresser; he was generally glad to pay for a letter he could identify as being from a relative or a friend, and he could refuse one that looked like an invoice.

With the invention of the adhesive postage stamp, prepayment became the custom, and business began to use the postal facilities with increasing frequency. Today it is probable that business communications far exceed private letters. The cost of sending these business matters becomes a cost of trade, compensated either through the price of goods sold or not at all. So when you receive by first-class mail a bill from your favorite store, you are probably paying a part, though a small one, of the postage.

When one considers how the costs of mail service, except to the private and personal letterwriter, are capable of being passed on to the recipients "are of value to the national community as a whole; but it is doubtful if they are of measurable value even so, because whatever their cost they have become utterly essential.

Therefore the logical question seems to be not what shares of cost should be paid by four different classifications and a number of other services, to keep each approximately solvent, but how the whole bill can best be met.

THE DEFICIT PROBLEM

When the proposition is put that way, the answer becomes easier. The postal service can be made to pay by increasing by one-third the rate of its only highly profitable activity, the first-class mail, and by raising other rates as much as the traffic will bear. The alternative is to continue running on an annual deficit, and having it paid by the taxpayer to the present tune of about two-thirds of 1 percent of the budget.

To a businessman like Mr. Summerfield, acceptance of the principle of continuing postal deficits is bad. It may lead to a carelessness disregard of costs, not during his administration, but when some dirty Democrat takes over. On the other hand, a too rigid economy in an effort to balance the postal budget can reduce services, lower efficiency, and make the administration unpopular. Therefore the Department should break even, and the way to make it break even is to increase the first-class rate, letting the cost to the people fall on whom it may.

Either you side with the administration theory, or you don't and to the Commentator it's six of one and half a dozen of the other. A 4-cent rate might boost his annual postage bill \$5 directly, and a small amount indirectly; but eventually it might take a few cents off his income tax, or it might improve the service given him, though not to the extent of 33 1/3 percent. He is quite satisfied with "his privacy, security, and the swift dispatch of letter mail," etc., as they think Mr. Summerfield is performing miracles.

Case of the Gas Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in view of another anticipated legislative

drive by the gas interests my colleagues from gas-consuming States will find interesting the argument of Hon. Joseph F. Grossman before the Federal Power Commission—docket No. R-142—in consideration of principles and methods to be applied in fixing rates to be charged by independent producers for natural gas sold in interstate commerce for resale.

Mr. Grossman, as one of the outstanding authorities of the Nation on municipal law, is the special assistant corporation counsel of the city of Chicago in public utilities matters. Following is his argument of today, January 13, 1955, before the Federal Power Commission:

Before concluding the arguments yesterday, Mr. Harry Begley, assistant attorney general of the State of Illinois, appeared in behalf of the Illinois Commerce Commission and urged regulation of rates by this commission applicable to independent producers of gas on the basis of the value of the gas in place. Before proceeding with my statement, I want this Commission to know that Mr. Begley does not represent the views of the consumers of gas in the city of Chicago. Mr. Begley represents the Illinois legal concept of rate regulation based upon its statutory law, which requires a fair value rate base in fixing just and reasonable rates for the utilities in Illinois. That is not the criterion established by this Commission under the Natural Gas Act as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The city of Chicago is served by the People's Gas System which was represented here by Mr. Clarence Ross. There are approximately 1 million customers in Chicago, who consume about 400 million cubic feet of natural gas per day.

The position of the city of Chicago is stated in our brief paragraphs filed in this proceeding, which I ask the indulgence of your honorable body to read:

"City of Chicago respectfully submits that when any commodity or service is dedicated to public use and subject to legislative control and regulation the rates and charges for such commodity or service, if determined by competitive bids and offers, violate the fundamental principles of public-utility regulation.

"The very reason and purpose of rate regulation by authority of law is to substitute reason and justice for power incident to virtual monopoly of resources or privileges impressed with the public interest. Hence, the price of gas demanded by producers having a virtual monopoly of the source of supply in a given field upon which existing pipelines depend for public service in interstate commerce is not a lawful standard for rates and charges subject to regulation by the Commission.

"The field price for gas adopted by the Commission in the Panhandle Eastern Pipeline case before the United States Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case is nullified by the Commission's assumption of jurisdiction to regulate independent producers as defined in rule 17A. The Commission's assumption resort to the 'rate-base approach' in determining a fair and reasonable return for independent natural gas producers as well as for other natural gas companies subject to the Commission's jurisdiction."

We did not specify the kind of rate base which should be applied by this Commission because historically, regulation under the Natural Gas Act has been on a net investment rate base.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—APPENDIX

January 20

In the majority opinion, in *Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Wisconsin*, it was said:

"Regulation of the sales in interstate commerce for resale made by a so-called independent natural gas producer is not essentially different from regulation of such sales when made by an affiliate of an interstate pipeline company."

We know of no case wherein a separate or different rate regulation approach was applied to producers of gas affiliated with interstate pipeline companies.

From the beginning of the discussion in this proceeding, we have heard from producers of gas, from bankers who have a stake in financing gas producers and from pipeline companies who purchase gas for resale in interstate commerce. Their cry is that the only practical means available to this Commission in fixing just and reasonable rates for gas sold by producers is to accept the price and conditions of sale governed by competition in the field of operation.

Some of those advocates have even asserted that the Commission should not enter upon an investigation of the propriety of the price agreed to by the producer and purchaser, both of whom are natural gas companies under the rule in the *Phillips Petroleum* case, but that such investigation should be instituted only upon complaint of a party affected, and that the burden of establishing that the price and conditions of the contract are unjust and unreasonable should be on the complaining party.

Indeed, the principle of competition in the purchase and sale of gas produced in a given field has been so stressed that the producers who claim the inviolability of their contracts of sale from the continuing power of regulation by the commission should have the right to increase their price for gas by renegotiation of old contracts to the current prices prevailing in the field offered by pipelines who seek a source of supply to satisfy their customer demands. In other words, the competitive factor which would govern the price would be the potential demand of ultimate consumers, or the maximum price which the traffic in natural gas can bear.

These are shocking concepts of regulation of business affected by the public interest and violate the fundamental principles and practices of rate regulation by public service commissions. The basic reason assigned for the departure from the long-established methods of price regulation by legislative authority in an administrative commission, requiring a reasonable return on the investment devoted to the public service, is that independent producers of gas are not the beneficiaries of a Government grant or franchise, protecting them from competition, and therefore are not subject to regulation as to service rates. That is an argument which may properly be addressed to the legislative branch of the Government and not to the commission, which is governed by the act of Congress, as construed by the Supreme Court in the *Phillips* case.

The so-called independent producers of gas who sell it in interstate commerce are natural gas companies subject to the same legal obligations and regulations by the same commission, for the same purpose, under the rules and practices applicable to all other natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act.

Integrated natural gas companies who produce, transport, and sell gas in interstate commerce are subject to the burdens of regulation, which are no different than the burdens of natural gas companies who are called independent producers of gas for sale in interstate commerce, and no different

than the burdens of interstate pipelines who purchase their gas from independent producers. Each producer who sells to such pipeline, and each pipeline who buys from such producer, must secure a certificate of convenience and necessity from the commission to assure a certain quantity of gas supply from a source described, to a pipeline named for sale in interstate commerce to local distributors, in the quantities allocated by the commission for consumption in the territories served by the distributors.

By the process of certificates of convenience applied for by independent producers and interstate pipelines, the producers and pipelines are integrated just as effectively as natural gas companies, who own or control through a corporate affiliate both gas resources and pipelines. As to the gas committed by certificate of convenience, the producer has relinquished his independence and is subject to the same principles and methods of rate regulation as integrated natural gas companies. They are entitled to a reasonable return on their investment in the integrated facilities devoted to the service. It is the function of the commission to fix the reasonable investment which constitutes the rate base and the total cost of each service, including a reasonable rate of return. These elemental factors cannot be determined in a vacuum, as in a proceeding in which we are now engaged. They must be based upon the facts in each case when the question of the rates of each is properly before the commission.

It would serve no useful purpose for anyone to speculate on the details of establishing the cost of service properly apportioned to the production and transmission of gas sold in interstate commerce whether they are integrated by corporate control or by certificate control. It is sufficient at this time to say that the consequence of the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Phillips* case is that a rate base must of necessity be established to determine a reasonable return on the investment in producing and gathering properties used and useful in furnishing gas for sale in interstate commerce.

That is obvious from an unchallenged statement in the dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas in the *Phillips* case.

"If *Phillips*' sales can be regulated then the commission can set a rate base for *Phillips*. A rate base for *Phillips* must of necessity include all of *Phillips*' producing and gathering properties; and supervision over its operating expenses necessarily includes supervision over its producing and gathering expenses. We held in *Colorado Interstate Gas Company v. Federal Power Commission* (324 U. S. 581), that the Commission's control extended that far in the case of an interstate pipeline company which owned producing and gathering properties and so it had to be, if regulation of pipelines that owned their own gas supplies was to be effective."

It will be noted that the statement of Justice Douglas is in argumentative form supporting his dissent from the majority opinion in support of the power of the commission to regulate sales in interstate commerce made by so-called independent natural gas producers. Since the final judgment of the court was that *Phillips*' sales should be regulated by the Commission, the first sentence of the above quotation must be reconstituted to conform with the judgment of the court as follows:

"In regulating *Phillips*' sales the Commission should set a rate base for *Phillips*."

It has been argued that the rate base approach is not adaptable to a commodity

as if it were properly devoted to public service such as a railroad, a telephone system, an electric utility, or a manufacturing gas plant; that the cost of natural gas at the source must be determined by supply and demand and competition for the available supply. A supply of natural gas at the source is no different than a supply available for distribution to consumers. Should the competitive principle be applied to a retail distributor of natural gas where there are 100,000 or more applicants for space heating gas, as in Chicago, with a limited supply available?

The interest of the distributing companies, it appears, conflicts with the interest of the pipeline companies and the interest of the pipelines conflicts with that of the producers only to the extent that their respective profits may be affected. The retail distributing utility is also concerned with its own regulation by State commissions. Their own problem is to secure a value rate base, and therefore they advocate value consideration for their suppliers to be consistent with their own interest, provided that all costs based on value of the service can be passed on to their consumers. This commission, however, must consider the interest of the ultimate consumers, as well as the investors, at any stage of supply by natural-gas companies. We who represent the consumer interest have a problem in common with this commission and believe that the only fair rate-base approach is the net investment of each of the companies in the chain of supply to the consumer.

Aside from conflicting opinions at the State level as to the economic justice of the fair-value rule in rate regulation of services and commodities affected by the public interest, the universal experience is that a cost standard for such regulation is factually less difficult to ascertain, more reliable, and more stable for both investors and consumers than a fair-value standard which depends upon fluctuating supply and demand, competitive factors, appraisals, and controversial opinion evidence.

Some Industries Do Need Tariff Protection Against Competing Products of Low Wage Foreign Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, we want to increase the flow of international trade to promote international economic strength and well-being of all nations including our own. Tariff reductions in some cases may contribute to that end. In some industries, such as the automotive, where products are made largely by machines, American industry can out-produce at lower costs any foreign competitor despite the low wages that prevail in many foreign nations.

All industries, however, are not in this fortunate and favorable economic position. Where American goods are the

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product largely of man-hours of labor and not of machines, American goods cannot compete with the low wages paid labor in foreign nations.

The Committee for Economic Development reports that the annual wages and social benefits paid by British industry to each employee in 1951 averaged only about 32 percent of what American industry paid. The Belgium figure was 37 percent; in West Germany and France, 29 percent; in Italy, 17 percent; in Japan, 10 percent.

The oyster, the crab, and the edible nut industries are examples of domestic industries which cannot compete with foreign low wages. The harvesting and processing of canned oysters and crab is done mostly by hand labor and machine processes play but a minor part in the production of the finished product. The canned crab and oysters come mostly from Japan. Thus, in selling price it is largely a case of oriental labor versus American labor and with oriental labor paid only 10 percent what American labor receives, it is obvious that the American crabbing and oyster industries cannot survive without tariffs or quota limitations to protect them.

The same is largely true of the edible nut industry, where 6 to 7 years of cultivation and care are required before a nut tree begins to bear and where the harvesting of the nuts eventually must be done not with machines but by hand labor.

Another danger in encouraging increased crab imports is that Russia now, due to the Yalta treaty, owns and controls some of the best crabbing waters. Russia cannot ship her crab into the United States directly. She should get it into the United States via Japan by the process of selling fresh crab to the Japanese and letting them can it or by selling Japan crab-fishing rights in Russian waters.

On the danger of Russia getting her crab into the American market, if tariffs on crab are reduced, the *Seattle Times*, one of the largest metropolitan dailies in Washington State, recently said:

IT MIGHT HELP RUSSIA

Among issues due to be discussed next month in Washington, D. C., in proposed revisions of United States customs duties on imports from various countries, is a slashing of the tariff rate on imports of canned crabmeat from Japan. The Pacific Coast crab-canning industry is particularly concerned over one aspect of this proposal.

The Japanese now are sending this country virtually all of their crab pack. As a result of the war, Japan lost much of its former crab-fishing area to Russia. Imports of crabmeat from Russia in the United States are barred. But a reduction of the present duty, in the opinion of men in the trade, could have the effect of starting a backdoor deal, under which Russian crabmeat, denied direct entry, would reach this country by way of Japanese canneries.

Members of the Washington congressional delegation, Republicans and Democrats alike, appear to be well informed as to this issue, and have presented their views to the Tariff Commission. If there is indeed a serious likelihood that Russia would be the real beneficiary, this factor assuredly should be considered by our negotiators.

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CANNERY UNION PROTESTS

Cannery workers of whom thousands are employed in the American crabbing industry of the Pacific, the Atlantic, and Gulf States and Alaska are fearful of losing their livelihood if tariffs on canned crab are reduced at the coming Geneva Trade Conference.

Mrs. Esther C. Cooper, president of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, Local 553, of the seacoast communities of Grays Harbor, Wash., under date of January 15 wrote me as follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MACK: Our jobs as workers in the crab industry are most certainly threatened by this latest plan to remove the tariff on Japanese canned crab which enters our United States markets.

The canneries of the Grays and Willapa Harbor areas, as well as Puget Sound, and for that matter the entire State of Washington have not been working at peak production levels for some time. We who earn our living in this industry will definitely be injured if we are permitted less working hours through a further tightening of market conditions, and a really disastrous condition if the tariff is reduced or removed.

Our field analysis reveals that the American crab industry now gives direct employment to an estimated 34,000 people not including brokers, salesmen, and employees in industries supplying cans, cartons, equipment, and materials of all kinds. When you consider that each worker represents 2.5 persons in the family unit the impact affects a great many persons. Most of us who work in this industry are directly employed in small coastal towns where fisheries are the only means of livelihood. With conditions such as they are at the present moment and danger of a further letdown in the market for American processed crabmeat we see a close-down for not less than three major packing companies in our own immediate district.

May we urge that you assist us in every way possible with the Secretary of State and the President in protecting our jobs and families. This matter is due to be considered at the foreign trade-agreement negotiations to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, and immediate action will be needed before the representatives leave for that meeting. We are depending upon you to speak for us since we, ourselves, cannot be present. We trust you will give us your best efforts as you always do.

Yours very truly,

ESTHER C. COOPER,
President, United Packinghouse
Workers of America, CIO, Local
553.

God Help the Poor Majority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the editor of Southern Advertising and Publishing has forwarded to me a copy of an editorial carried by that magazine in its June 1954 issue.

This article is entitled "God Help the Poor Majority."

Editor Porter is one of the millions of people outraged by the political and sociological opinion of the Supreme Court in the school cases, and recognizes, as so many others recognize, that the Supreme Court is endeavoring to usurp legislative functions which it in fact does not possess.

Under unanimous consent, I insert herewith a copy of the editorial mentioned:

GOD HELP THE POOR MAJORITY

Let's turn for a moment or two from the working and eating business of advertising and check into the social situation. It was on the social hinge that the Supreme Court appeared to swing the decision that separates schools for Negroes and whites were had for the egos of the Negroes. No point was raised that the egos of the whites suffered, therefore no need for alarm is cited there. The whites are not developing inferiority complex. Not yet.

Reading the opinion as handed down by Mr. Chief Justice Warren leaves us with the feeling that the real issues were either skirted or unweighed. Everyone knows that recently issues have been fanned by the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, and aimed at the South. The Supreme Court is a learned body and our last resort on matters of law. But when it hedges its findings about with such words as "feeling of inferiority," it appears to the lay mind to have gone into some other field than the law. For the sake of clarity, let's call it sociology.

This opinion is, we would estimate, about 50 years too late. Educational facilities are now being provided for the Negro. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being poured into his educational program. This money is now available and being spent in the South. And let it be remembered that 50 years ago we were poor folks in this Southland, whites and blacks. We had no money for schools—but now we have money and nowhere under the sun are finer schools being built for Negroes. Any Negro that has a bruised ego because he has to get his education in these schools has a tender ego indeed. The average Negro today knows this, many so express themselves.

No ruling of any court can ever equalize all factors bearing on mankind. There is no point of protection at issue, but that word pops out of the decision at every weak spot. There was a great racket created a short time back about the lynch laws. It also came too late—there has been no lynch problem in the South for a generation. Why is it that the Supreme Court has overlooked the fundamental law that the States have rights to tax, build schools, supervise education? What part of the Constitution gives the power of education to any other source?

No enlightened white person in the South, or elsewhere, denies to the Negro protection. But no decision of any court can equalize social status. Why not make it a crime or misdemeanor to send out a wedding invitation list that does not name some Negro who would like to attend, but who feels that he is snubbed because of his color? Do not say such is farfetched or not relevant. He can claim that it gives him a feeling of inferiority to be overlooked, left out, snubbed.

The opinion cited great records set up by Negroes as proof of their right to education. That right has not been questioned for many years, and the point is not well taken. Those records were made from the existing facilities and in the conditions that the court decreed.

We think this question more fundamental. We think this question that work against all men,

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black and white, seeking great success. Many things have to be overcome. Those who look for inequalities can see inequalities, those who look for opportunity, see it.

There is no new law involved. The judiciary was conceived to rule on the law with its right hand on the Constitution. Such experienced jurists as Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes, Louis D. Brandeis weighed the issues—and then the educational facilities of the Negro were much worse. But they saw that solutions were in sight, and they evidently saw that much strife and turmoil might be avoided by allowing the historical stream to flow rather than to blast in the channel.

It might be about time to organize a society for the advancement of the white folks.

Ambassador Jefferson Caffery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of January 9, in reference to Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, who is retiring after an outstanding career in the diplomatic service of over 44 years.

RETIRING CAFFERY HONORED BY EGYPT—UNITED STATES ENVOY WINS RECOGNITION FOR MAJOR ROLE IN ENDING CAIRO-LONDON DISPUTES

CAIRO, January 9.—Jefferson Caffery, retiring United States Ambassador, received official recognition tonight for the major role he has played in improving relations among Egypt, the United States, and its allies.

The 68-year-old Ambassador, senior career diplomat in the United States Foreign Service, has been instrumental since 1949 in promoting settlement of disputes over the future of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Suez Canal Zone that had embittered relations between Egypt and Britain and hence with most of the Atlantic alliance powers.

On the eve of his departure, the Ambassador and his wife were honored at a dinner given by Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser, attended by most members of the Cabinet and ruling Revolutionary Command Council.

Mrs. Caffery was awarded the Order of Perfection, the highest Egyptian decoration granted to women. The Ambassador, unable to accept a foreign decoration while still a United States official, received from the Premier a bronze statuette of the Egyptian sun god Ra, dating from the 26th dynasty, about the 7th century B. C., found at the village of Mehiya in lower Egypt.

Mr. Caffery, an enthusiastic amateur archaeologist, spent much of his last day in Egypt's capital taking a last look at recent major discoveries. In the afternoon he drove to Gizeh to inspect the newly revealed stern of the funerary bark of the Pharaoh Cheops.

Mr. Caffery, a native of Louisiana, entered diplomatic service in 1910, served in 14 capitals in the Far East, Europe, and Latin America, and has been chief of mission for 29 years, probably longer than any other United States diplomat. He was Ambassador to France from the end of World War II until he was named to his present post.

Ambassador and Mrs. Caffery will go to Alexandria tomorrow for further official receptions, then will board ship Tuesday for Italy.

Our Federal Officials Should Have Better Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial from the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post:

OUR FEDERAL OFFICIALS SHOULD HAVE BETTER PAY

How much are leaders worth, in terms of dollars? How much should the richest nation in the world pay for statesmanship? The 84th Congress has to decide, for almost the first item in its order of business is the long deferred proposal to raise the salaries of Federal judges, and of Congressmen themselves.

The Hoover Commission recommended this increase; a Democratic and now a Republican President have urged it; editorials endorsing the salary raise have appeared in more than a thousand newspapers throughout the country. Leading columnists, radio commentators, labor-union groups, agricultural organizations, bar and professional associations, all have favored it. No substantial public opinion has been heard against it.

But Congressmen, by our constitutional system, are in the peculiar position of having to fix their own salaries, and time and again they have shied away from voting themselves increases, for fear of a cry of looting the Treasury. And because of a long custom, dating from the first days of the Republic, by which Federal district judges are paid the same salary as Congressmen, the whole judicial establishment of the United States is suffering from the same serious, almost critical underpayment that Congressmen endure.

The last Congress, anxious for public support, provided for the appointment of a non-partisan Commission of leading citizens, drawn equally from labor, business, agriculture, and the professions. Under the chairmanship of Bernard G. Segal, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association, this Commission made a full exploration of the standards by which a government should set salaries. What kind of people do we want for judges and Congressmen? the Segal Commission asked. And then it inquired, how much salary or income are such qualified people commanding in private life?

The Chief Justice of the United States, they discovered, receives only what a moderately successful lawyer in a middle-sized city might make. Private industry, for tasks less important to the Nation than Congressmen must discharge, often pays salaries 2 and 3 times greater. Union officials, successful professional men, junior executives in business, men from among whom we should find our public leaders of today and tomorrow, cannot become Congressmen except at an impossible financial sacrifice. Lawyers, however qualified, cannot ascend the bench unless they are willing to lower drastically their standard of living.

The Segal Commission heard a young Federal district judge in California say that he will have to quit the bench because he cannot support his wife, two children, and a third child soon to come, on a judge's salary. If he should die, his widow would receive no survivor's benefits, and his income permits only the smallest insurance program.

They heard the able and respected John C. Knox, chief judge of the Federal district court for the southern district of New York, probably the busiest Federal court in the land, tell of his financial struggles since he went on the bench in 1918. In all his 37 years, he has never had enough money to live on, has had to teach and write when he could to keep up his insurance and educate his daughter. New York State judges, even New York city judges and municipal judges in our larger cities, receive higher salaries than he does. And though he has refused appointment to State benches because of his lifelong experience in Federal jurisprudence, now, in his later years, he is unable to afford a nurse to care for his invalid wife, and must do nursing duty himself after his day's work in court is over.

The commission discerned that the day is long past when a Congressman could earn a living in a private business or profession while serving his constituents. Congress nowadays is a full-time job, 7 days a week, every week in the year. Congressmen must maintain 2 homes, usually 2 offices, pay most of their travel expenses, bear many costs which a corporate employer would pay for his executives. Their expenses have increased with the enlargement of their work, but their salaries have remained the same through the whole period of recent inflation, and have grimly decreased in buying power.

In its elaborate, searching report, the Segal commission recommended a scale of increases necessary to bring the salaries of judges and Congressmen into line with the practice of the Nation in all fields. The total cost of these recommended increases would be \$7,500,000. But the 83d Congress, facing an election, failed to act.

Now the election is over. The public is aware of the need; what the lawyers call the "last clear chance" is here. The 84th Congress, in its 2 years' existence, will spend more money for more purposes than any other body of men on earth. Commonsense and public interest alike require that they should devote a tiny fraction of their appropriations to making the major jobs of statecraft in a free nation financially possible for the men best fitted to hold them.

Crime: A National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I have long been aware of the fact that organized crime is a cancerous growth upon our society and our way of life. In recent years, since the end of World War II, this situation is assuming alarming proportions in all parts of the country. The most deplorable manifestation of this problem is the growth of juvenile delinquency, the rise in the number of youthful criminals, and the serious offenses committed by them, which makes it a problem of grave national concern.

For many years I have studied the question of juvenile delinquency and the great menace it means for our youth. Coupled with that, I have given a good deal of thought to the means of effective crime prevention. In fact, back in 1936 I founded a crime prevention institution in New York, which is still in existence and is doing a noble job in my home city.

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We all know that crime is not confined to any particular race, or nationality, or religious group. It is a social disease which results from many causes, such as poverty, slum housing, poor environment, neglect by parents, lack of family discipline, breakup of the family unit, and emotional disturbances. Juvenile delinquency, youthful criminals, teenage drug addicts, and the like are the outward manifestations of this social disease.

We should seek to know the social conditions which breed and encourage this situation to grow. I have felt for a long time that society is to blame for the large crime rate, and I am also of the opinion that our Government has been derelict in dealing with this problem from a preventative standpoint. What is wrong with our educational system that it is helpless in eradicating this evil when our children are still in an impressionable age? What is wrong with the neighborhoods and the communities in which we live that our young people are influenced by evil forces? What is wrong with our home life, our discipline, our associations? Where have we fallen down on the job of raising the young generation to be law-abiding, responsible, and dignified citizens?

These and many other questions are perturbing our serious-minded citizenry. There are many among us who raise this question: We are spending many hundreds of millions of dollars to fight crime and criminals by means of large prosecuting staffs, huge police forces, the courts and penal institutions, but what are we doing to prevent crime and to curb juvenile delinquency? True, we have had some investigations, but the crime rate has not fallen off. The problem goes far deeper than that.

Police protection is not enough. Arrests and court warnings are not enough. Even jail sentences are not enough to curb this evil. This is a long-range problem which must be dealt with from a long-range point of view, if we seriously aim to protect our youth and to eradicate the evil of crime from our midst. It must be given nationwide attention through all media of information, the press, radio, television, the movies, also through our churches, schools, organizations, unions, and various public and private agencies and institutions. The American public must be aroused to this menace which is threatening our youth and is affecting us all.

I believe that Congress should give leadership and guidance to our people in dealing with the problem of crime. An aroused congressional interest in an anti-crime campaign would be a valuable resource for all agencies and groups, for parents and teachers, for church leaders and Government officials, who are interested in checking the growth of crime and reducing it to a minimum. Congress has a responsibility to the people to do all within its power to seek a solution of this problem.

Mr. Speaker, in order to get to the roots of this problem, I am introducing two pieces of legislation. The first is a

resolution calling for the creation of a fact-finding committee of five members of the House of Representatives to conduct, without regard to politics, a full and complete investigation and study of the causes of crimes committed in violation of the laws of the United States and of other crimes affecting the national health, welfare, and morals, and the methods of preventing such crimes. This investigation should include examinations of criminal records, a study of Federal and State penal institutions for the purpose of recommending new legislation to the Congress, an analysis of the relationship of local neighborhoods and schools with the causes of juvenile delinquency, and other factors which the committee may deem appropriate.

The other piece of legislation is a bill which is designed as supplementary to the resolution. The bill calls for the creation of a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Department of Justice as a permanent agency to conduct a continuous study and investigation to seek methods for the prevention of crime and curbing juvenile delinquency. It requires the Bureau to establish an office in each State and to cooperate with State and Federal agencies in initiating crime-prevention programs.

I am convinced that the future of our country depends on how well we raise our youth and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship. We live in a time of great stress and tension at home and abroad. It is imperative that we imbue our youth with an appreciation of our way of life, our communities, our institutions, and everything that is positive and constructive. We must make it crystal clear to them that crimes committed against society will affect their own future lives and undermine all their opportunities to become useful members of society. We must make them understand that they themselves will be the greatest victims of their criminal acts and that they stand to lose most.

The dollars we spend today for seeking ways to prevent crimes may be paid back a hundredfold not only in saving money which goes into fighting crime, but even more so in helping our youth become better citizens tomorrow. I urge the Congress to approve these measures as soon as possible so that immediate action can be started to deal with this problem.

Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., December 12, 1954, which I am confident is worthy of the consideration of the House and the American people:

THE WOOL OVER OUR EYES

On display for the Christmas season in stores in this region is a toy Santa Claus made of paper and clay and standing some 6 inches tall. It is a reasonable facsimile of the American conception of the appearance of Kris Kringle.

This toy is manufactured in Japan. It is shipped across the Pacific Ocean, then across the United States. The worker who made it had his wages cut off. The manufacturer made a profit. The shipping charges and tariff fees were paid on it. The American importer made a profit on it, and the stores in which it is sold in this country must make a profit on it.

Yet, this toy Santa Claus can be purchased over the retail counter here for 4 cents. How abysmally low must be the standard of living of the Japanese worker to permit such a transaction? On the face of that, what could be closer to slavery?

But let us not stop at the toy Santa Claus. Let us get into the subject of woolen blankets, the material for which is one of the principal items of production of our shrinking New England textile industry.

Perhaps justifiably so in the light of world conditions, the United States is going overboard in its effort to assist in the rehabilitation of Japan. We need friends in the Orient. So it is now proposed to slash tariffs on a long list of items made in Japan so that they may be imported into this country for sale to Americans who are fabulously wealthy in the eyes of our Asiatic neighbors.

Included on this list is woolen blankets, and negotiations will start in February to open the gates to a floodtide of woolen blankets made in Japan to compete with the American product in the open market.

We do not know how much a made-in-Japan woolen blanket would cost in the United States. On the basis of the aforementioned toy Santa Claus, we can pretty well guess—and the guessing isn't difficult in contemplation of the fact that Japanese textile workers are paid 14 cents per hour.

The people of the United States spend the woolen industry in New England, and our situation is duplicated in all other textile-manufacturing areas of the country. Now a plan is afoot to strip us of even that measure of business which comes from the manufacture of blanket material.

American business depends for its survival upon the wages earned by our workers. When a foreign-made item undercuts a domestic item in our market, it affects the income—the very jobs—of thousands of American breadwinning taxpayers.

Playing both ends against the middle is an old political practice. It pays off for a while, but it is never conclusively successful. Our American workers are in the middle in this scheme of international trade, which obviously was born in that impenetrable sanctum of diplomacy from which came the deal that brought the Korean war to a stalemate—and left our Army in the middle.

The people of the United States spend millions of dollars each year just to sustain the American practice of opening the polling places so that our citizens can vote for those they think can best run the country.

When the elections are over, the schemers, the carpetbaggers, the string pullers move in and take hold of the slotted officials, with the result that major decisions are reached in so-called smoke-filled rooms far from the hue and cry of the people, and beyond the reach of the ballot box.

If selling American industry, American labor, the American family, and the American standard of living short is good, sound diplomacy, then either we, the people, or they, the string pullers, must be mentally unbalanced.

It is time—or has the opportunity passed beyond recall—that we built a fire under our

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elected governmental officials in Washington and at least have them make an earnest effort to save the jobs of thousands of American woolen industry workers which are now threatened by this incredible proposed tariff deal.

A Bill Designed To Encourage Private Insurance Organizations To Experiment in Providing Broader Voluntary Health Insurance to More People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a health bill, H. R. 2533, entitled "A bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services." This bill is substantially identical to H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill was reported favorably on July 9, 1954, by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—House Report No. 2106.

H. R. 400, which I introduced on January 5 and which has the same title as this bill, is substantially identical with H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, as originally introduced by me in the form in which that bill was recommended by President Eisenhower.

The present bill, H. R. 2533, provides for the establishment of a health reinsurance program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It creates a reinsurance fund and authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed \$25 million to provide advances of working capital for the fund. The fund would be built up over a period of time from reinsurance premiums and from earnings of the fund. Reinsurance would be available on a voluntary basis and upon payment of a reinsurance premium, to private insurance companies, voluntary nonprofit health associations, such as Blue Cross and other organizations offering prepayment health insurance plans. The proposal is designed to encourage private insurance organizations to experiment in providing broader voluntary health insurance to more people.

The bill also provides for technical and advisory information services to health service prepayment plans.

The bill H. R. 2533 differs from H. R. 400 in that H. R. 2533 incorporates certain provisions, which were adopted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in reporting favorably H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, to meet questions raised by various witnesses in the course of the committee hearings held during the 83d Congress. The most important of such questions was based on the fear that the bill could be interpreted to permit some degree of Federal regulation of the health-insurance industry. The bill, H. R. 2533, seeks to remove any and all fear in that respect.

The central philosophy of the bill is one of building on our existing system of voluntary insurance and of providing supporting services and a financial backstop for private effort toward the expansion of prepayment protection. The bill, if enacted, would not of itself directly provide insurance coverage for individuals. Its goal is the removal of obstacles to the extension of coverage for broader ranges of benefits and to additional groups of people.

The Whittier News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Whittier News is celebrating its first year under new ownership. On January 15, 1955, in an editorial, this newspaper outlined some of its policies which I wish to commend to the Members of this body for consideration. I am happy to join the citizens of Whittier in extending greeting to the Whittier News on this anniversary.

The editorial follows:

A year ago today President Eisenhower was asking Congress for coverage of an additional 10,000,000 persons under social security. The Whittier College-Community Symphony Orchestra was preparing for the second concert of its season. The Western Powers had broken off their talks with the Russians on a site for a Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting. A spectacular auto crash on the Santa Ana Freeway in Rivers left a driver critically injured. A change in the ownership of the Whittier News was announced.

The foregoing paragraph is designed among other things to note that among many anniversaries taking place now, one involves Whittier's daily newspaper.

The owners who assumed operation of the News a year ago are deeply grateful that they have had the opportunity to move into this community. Their welcome has been warm and cordial. Their sojourn has been pleasant and their experience rewarding in many ways.

A natural consequence of any change in ownership of a newspaper is that other changes follow in its wake. The News, during the past year, has tried to improve its looks and to make itself more readable. It has tried to expand its news coverage and better its service to advertisers and readers alike. Its circulation has been rising steadily; a sound test of community acceptance.

Many folks have told the News that they like most, if not all, of the changes that have been made. Others have been frank to say they did not like them. Some have liked the News editorial policy; some have not. Some have said the News doesn't carry enough news; others have said we should have left out some that we have carried.

The News staff feels that as long as the newspaper draws criticism (or praise) from both sides it is performing with a sense of responsibility. It will never please everyone.

A year ago, today, this column included these words:

"The News will not always be right but it will always strive to be.

"It will not always please everyone but it will never stop trying to do so.

"Its stand on some questions may not be popular but it knows that its readers will grant it the right to differ; a right, too, of theirs which it will jealously safeguard."

During the past year the News has operated to the best of its ability under the guidance of those principles. It will keep on doing so in the future.

A year ago this column also pledged: "The News, under its new ownership, will try at all times to be a fair newspaper, a decent newspaper, and a dignified part of the community.

"The News considers it vital to present all sides of any controversy within the limitations of its news space and to reserve for the editorial page those opinions it may have on the events and personalities of the day."

The News has undergone several tests of that policy and, itself, has been embroiled in controversy because it abided by that policy. It is still sound and sensible.

And as the year 1955 unfolds for this growing area the News is glad to note this anniversary, glad to look forward to another year of work in, and for, Whittier, and glad to be a part of Whittier.

Attacks on Nixon False and Reckless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George Rothwell Brown, from the Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union of January 12, 1955:

ATTACKS ON NIXON FALSE AND RECKLESS
(By George Rothwell Brown)

WASHINGTON.—The false and reckless left-wing and New Deal attacks on Vice President NIXON have assumed the appearance of organized intimidation, to impair his availability as the running mate of President Eisenhower in 1956, and to weaken his leadership in the precariously controlled Senate.

The grudge against him is twofold. The Democratic Party is smarting from the vigorous thrusts at them in the congressional campaign of 1954 when he was by all odds the most effective speaker on the Republican side.

Nixon was largely responsible for stopping what the Democrats had boasted would be a victory of landslide proportions, and keeping it down to an edge so thin that but for the political apostasy of WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, the GOP would have controlled the Senate in the 84th Congress by the tie-breaking vote of the Vice President.

OLD FEUD

But the feud goes back farther than that, to the presidential election of 1952, when Nixon was a tower of strength to the Eisenhower ticket. The Democrats are out to frighten the Republican Party into dropping Nixon in 1956, compelling it to nominate a vice presidential nominee without Nixon's national following.

Some Democrats, taking note of Washington rumors that in the event Ike should choose not to run for reelection the nod would go to Nixon, are understandably anxious to knock down so formidable a Republican Presidential possibility.

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 101

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1955

No. 12

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Wednesday, January 26, 1955, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1955

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

God of all grace and goodness, of all wisdom and power, Thou art our refuge in the stillness of the night and our strength in the struggles of each new day. We humbly and penitently implore Thee that we may be blessed with insight and inspiration, with indomitable courage and confidence to meet aright the serious and critical decision which now confronts us.

Grant that our President, our Speaker, the Members of Congress, and all the citizens of our Republic may be endowed with calmness of spirit, clarity of judgment, and a glorious faith in the invincibility of Thy divine strength and love which is ever round about us.

May we face the future with a larger and more daring faith, a faith that puts iron into our blood and hope into our hearts, a faith that fears man so little because it fears God so much, a faith that always avails itself of the inexhaustible resources of divine love, a faith that daily prays and labors for peace on earth and good will among men.

Hear us in the name of the Prince of Peace. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT TO EMPLOY ARMED FORCES OF UNITED STATES TO DEFEND FORMOSA, ETC.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 104, Rept. No. 5), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 159, authorizing the President to employ the Armed Forces of the United States for protecting the security of Formosa, the Pescadores, and related positions and territories of that area. After general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolution and shall continue not to exceed 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the joint resolution shall be considered as having been read for amendment. No amendment shall be in order to said joint resolution except amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but said amendments shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the joint resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommend.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 104 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN]; and at this time I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution provides for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 159, with which, I take it, the Members are all familiar, and which authorizes the President to take such measures as may be necessary for the defense of Formosa.

I do not think any of us should minimize the significance and importance of this joint resolution. It is probably one of the most far-reaching steps in foreign policy that will be taken by this Congress. I think this joint resolution should

be understood as notice to the world, and should be so regarded, as a definite and definitive policy with respect to the defense of Formosa.

There has been much discussion about what has happened in China. The time has passed to quarrel with any past policies or to quarrel over the question of whether any of the steps taken in the past were proper. The time has come now for us to join together as a united America behind our Commander in Chief, in whom I am sure the whole Congress and the country have complete confidence. This joint resolution merely gives firm and positive notice to the world of the policy that this country has adopted and upon which we stand united.

I do not care to discuss the resolution or the wording of it. You will understand from the reading of this rule that this is a closed rule. The administration has not insisted upon a closed rule and neither has the leadership on either side insisted on it. They thought it wise, and the committee agreed with that policy.

Here is the proposition. All that is before this Congress is that you are going to support the President's policy, or you are not going to do it. We did not think it ought to be cluttered up with proposed amendments that might reach far beyond the purposes of this resolution, in which it is the desire of all parties to make simple and clear to the whole world just what this country proposes to do and where we stand and where we propose to stand from now on out. That is what this resolution proposes to do. For that reason the committee thought it wise that there should be no amendments offered to it and that we vote it either up or down. I may say that it is the earnest hope of the Democratic leadership that when this resolution comes to a vote at least on the Democratic side there shall not be a dissenting voice heard.

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Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, while the general feeling is that the President has the power inherent in the authority of the Commander in Chief to issue the necessary orders to take such action as may follow the passage of the pending joint resolution, it is evidently the opinion of the President, as stated in his message, that—

It would make clear the unified and serious intentions of our Government, our Congress, and our people.

I agree with this statement. To me, this is the most effective argument for congressional action at this time in a field within the authority of the President as Commander in Chief. I assume from the message of the President that if there is delay on the part of the Congress, and action is immediately necessary on our part to carry out the policy, the President will exercise his authority as Commander in Chief and act.

In June of 1950 the situation was so acute in Korea that President Truman acted. Time then was of the essence.

It is fair to assume that President Eisenhower feels that while the present situation is acute, it is not so immediate in terms of hours—if not a few days—but what he can seek action on the part of the Congress to show the unity of our Government and of our people in the present crisis. However, I assume from his message that the President is prepared to act, if necessary, before congressional action is obtained—and I emphasize the words "if necessary." If it is necessary, the President should exercise his authority as Commander in Chief when he feels the security of the United States is involved.

I hope the pending resolution will be overwhelmingly, if not unanimously, adopted. It should be. Such action will convey to the world and particularly to the Communist leaders, whether in the Kremlin or Red China or elsewhere, the unity of our Government and of our people. It will show them that in politics we may be Democrats or Republicans or Independents, but where the national interest and security of our country is involved, we are Americans. It will convey to them with firmness and strength that a Republican administration with a Democratic Congress does not mean a divided Nation, but rather it means unity of thought, unity of spirit and determination, and, if necessary, unity of action.

This is not the time, Mr. Speaker, to draw thin or technical lines of demarcation or of differentiation. This is not the time to equivocate or to try to place the blame, if any, for the present situation. To those who may want to do that, there is another day—but not today—in the face of the immediate aggression and danger which exists. Today is the time for unity of thought and unity of action.

We may have to face other trying questions in the years that lie ahead, but we must decide in our own national interest the question which confronts us today. This is our immediate problem.

There is no question but that there are calculated risks involved in the proposed action, but on the other hand, in my opinion, there are greater calculated risks involved if we fail to take action. As I see it, the calculated risks of action are much less than the calculated risks involved in inaction. For action on our part may deter further aggression. Inaction may mean capitulation, further appeasement and further aggression on the part of the Communists in the near future, and at a time when our position may be much less favorable than it is today. Projecting our minds ahead as we have to do, looking into the future and relying on our judgment and our conscience, having in mind the national interest of our country, the passage of the pending resolution is the best course we can take. As a simple human being charged with a responsibility, as I am, I think under the circumstances the course of action proposed is the only one that we can take and that I can take, and accordingly I am supporting the resolution.

It represents affirmative action. It represents firmness and strength. The President says that our purpose is peace. In saying that he speaks for all of us. Our purpose is peace, and we hope and trust that the President will exercise his powers soberly, and use force no further than is absolutely necessary to do so.

To those of us who have sat in this Chamber for years, we have undergone many trying experiences. I can remember the days before World War II when in this Chamber there were many dramatic fights, battles in the legislative field, the outcome of which one way or the other might be of inestimable value or harm to our country. Over and above every consideration in your minds, as well as my mind, in days of crisis or emergency, is the national interest of the United States, of our beloved country. You and I are elected by our constituents to this body, the greatest legislative body in the world. As those of us before Pearl Harbor had to meet trying questions in those days, I know my colleagues of today will meet this particular trying problem. Let us do so with clear vision, with objectivity and with courage.

I hope that this resolution will receive a unanimous vote, but in any event, an overwhelming vote, that will convey not only to the Communist leaders but to the peoples of the still free countries of the world the fact that America, acting through the Members of its Congress, are united, not acting as members of a political party, but acting as Americans.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution which the rule makes in order has been favorably reported unanimously by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, provides the Members of this Congress an opportunity for the exercise of bipartisanship in a matter which concerns the entire American people. The pursuit of peace is a cause that is bound up with the hopes and aspirations of every citizen of this Nation, whether he be a Wis-

consin dairy farmer, a steelworker, a New England textile worker, or an industrialist. This resolution concerns the peace and security of the one remaining area of the world where active hostilities are now in progress, an area which has been determined to be important to the defense and security of the United States itself.

Our bipartisan support for this resolution is not being sought for any purpose or in any manner inconsistent with the assurance of peace through action by the United Nations or other peaceful means. Neither will it require the initiation of any new policy. On June 27, 1950, the then President of the United States declared that—

The occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

He stated that he had ordered the 7th Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa, and to see that the Government of the Republic of China ceased its attacks on the mainland. In an address to a joint session of Congress on February 2, 1953, President Eisenhower reaffirmed the order that the 7th Fleet defend Formosa against attack. However, in view of the Chinese Communist armed intervention in the Korean conflict, he canceled that part of the order directing the 7th Fleet to see that attacks on the mainland were stopped.

By our united and strong support for this resolution, we will hope to demonstrate to the world and on behalf of a united American people the firmness of our conviction in maintaining what two successive administrations have affirmed, "That the defense of Formosa is vital to the security of the Pacific area and to our own safety. We will be stating in the most unmistakable terms that if action is called for to defend Formosa and the Pescadores, it will be taken with all the strength and determination of a united nation. Such a demonstration and such a statement are, unfortunately, necessary. The Chinese Communists have repeatedly stated in the most violent of language the determination of their regime to seize Formosa and the Pescadores. In recent months they have launched savage attacks of ever-increasing intensity against the coastal islands held by forces of the Government of the Republic of China, and they have openly declared that these attacks herald an eventual assault on Formosa. We must take account of the appalling possibility that the Communist Chinese dictatorship has fallen prey to the weakness which has proved fatal to other dictatorships in the past. They may have miscalculated the strength and the determination of the democratic nations. It is for us, through our united support for this resolution, to eliminate the danger—to us and to the Chinese Communists themselves—of any such miscalculation.

The mutual defense treaty with the Republic of China, now before the Senate, will, upon ratification, go far to remove any doubt from the minds of the Communists as to our determination to defend Formosa and the Pescadores.

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

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman from Massachusetts explain the resolution?

Mr. McCORMACK. The purpose of the concurrent resolution is to provide a parking space for Members of the Senate and their staffs.

Mr. Speaker, the present parking space, as I understand it, is on the site of the new Senate Office Building, which is about to be constructed. Ground is being broken there tomorrow. Arrangements have been made for a new parking space on land bounded by First and Second Streets and Massachusetts Avenue NE., opposite Union Station. This is senatorial action, and unless we pass this concurrent resolution today they will have no place to park.

Mr. MARTIN. I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to know whether there will be any change in the regulations with respect to parking in the Senate garage for this session. Can the gentleman inform me on that?

Mr. McCORMACK. I am unable to answer the gentleman. Of course this has nothing to do with the resolution before us. The gentleman is asking me something that frankly is foreign, so far as my knowledge is concerned, to this resolution. This has nothing to do with the resolution, I assure the gentleman.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that there have been some changes in the practices which have existed heretofore with respect to parking in the Senate garage by Members of the House. I feel an explanation should be made of that at this time, because this is a general parking problem for all Members of the House. If I cannot have that information at this time, Mr. Speaker, I will have to object.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I say to the gentleman that this is a matter which concerns the Senate. If we had a matter concerning the House and it was in the other body and some Member objected to consideration of it, having in mind that today is the deadline, I would feel considerably disturbed, and I know the gentleman has such profound respect for comity between the two branches that he will make his inquiry on the other matter independently, and permit this resolution to be passed. If the gentleman will send me a letter and make specific inquiry on the matter that he has in mind, I will be very glad to personally look into the matter.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I do not ask that the gentleman be especially kind to me, but this is a matter that affects the parking facilities of the Members of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. I agree to that.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I am bringing the matter up now.

Mr. McCORMACK. But it is separate and distinct from this.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, I think this matter of parking should be a matter of concern to Members of this House as well as to Members of the Senate.

Mr. McCORMACK. This particular matter does not in any way concern Members of the House. I ask the gentleman to let this resolution pass.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. McCORMACK. No, Mr. Speaker, not at this time.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. The House is not in order. I would like to know who has the floor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] has the floor. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] has reserved the right to object, which gives him half of it.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am certain that every Member of the House is concerned with this new practice that has evidently developed since the 5th of January of this year, but in deference to his request, and because of my admiration for the majority leader, I will be glad to withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the Architect of the Capitol should permit the parking, under the control of the Sergeant at Arms of the United States Senate, of passenger motor vehicles on that part of the United States Capitol Grounds described as square 723, for such time as the said Architect determines that such square is needed for parking purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the Senate concurrent resolution.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs may have until midnight tonight to file a report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? There was no objection.

AMENDING REORGANIZATION ACT

Mr. BOLLING, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 109, Rept. No. 7) which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2576) to further amend the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, so that such act

will apply to reorganization plans transmitted to the Congress at any time before April 1, 1958. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Government Operations, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommitt.

PROGRAM FOR BALANCE OF WEEK

(Mr. MARTIN asked and was given permission to proceed for 1 minute.)

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to ask the majority leader what will be the program for the balance of the week?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules this afternoon reported out a rule on the bill (H. R. 2576) to extend the reorganization powers of the President in connection with the executive branch of the Government. The rule provides for 1 hour of debate. It will be called up tomorrow.

The Committee on Rules will sit tomorrow to consider whether they will vote out a rule on the bill H. R. 5876, permitting men in the service as of January 31 to complete their entitlement to educational benefits, and so forth. The bill is out of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. If the Committee on Rules reports a rule on it tomorrow it is the intention of the leadership to bring that bill up on Thursday.

These are the only two bills for the rest of the week. Anything else will be by unanimous consent.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there to be a joint meeting of the Congress on Thursday?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes. It is the intention to bring that bill up after the joint meeting.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order I have for today may be transferred to Monday next.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 15 minutes tomorrow, following the legislative business of the day and any special orders heretofore entered, and to address the House for 30 minutes on Thursday, following the legislative business of the day and any special orders heretofore entered.

RUSSIA'S IRON GRASP SUBJUGATES THE UKRAINE

(Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

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Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, 37 years ago Saturday the people of the Ukraine seized the opportunity to proclaim their independence once again from their Russian captors, but their independence was short lived. And so, since 1921, the Ukraine has been under a tyranny as severe as any people have ever known, and the rich resources of this area have been exploited by the Soviet Union to bolster communism's drive for world conquest.

It is therefore fitting, I believe, that we in what is today the oldest continuous Republic in the world, with the oldest written Constitution, should mark the anniversary of Ukrainian independence and keep the memory of that date alive until the Ukrainian people themselves are free and independent and at liberty to reestablish their own national way of life.

Therefore, on behalf of the good American citizens of Ukrainian descent in Westmoreland County of Pennsylvania and elsewhere throughout the country, and on behalf of freedom-loving people everywhere who believe in keeping alive the flames of hoped-for freedom which rage behind the Iron Curtain, I want to take advantage of this opportunity in the Congress of the United States to mark the anniversary and join in the hope that the Ukraine may soon see freedom and decency prevail.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed a leave of absence for 4 days, from January 31 to and including February 4, to attend to official duty in my district.

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

There was no objection.

THE NATIONAL SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA OF WASHINGTON

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

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, this is an important week for the city of Washington. This is campaign week for the National Symphony Orchestra.

This great orchestra is the only cultural institution in Washington that must go to the public for funds. The museums, art galleries, parks, and monuments are maintained through private endowment or Federal funds. The National Symphony Orchestra is the core of the cultural life of the city. It brings great music to the people of Washington, young and old.

This year the orchestra needs \$300,000 from the people of this city. In return, the orchestra will continue next season with its more than 100 concerts: 20 Wednesday nights in Constitution Hall, 4 Thursday afternoons in Lisner Auditorium, 4 Thursday nights at the University of Maryland, 6 young peoples subscription concerts in Constitution Hall and district schools; 9 suburban young people's concerts, 4 tiny-tots concerts in

the District and nearby counties, 4 Saturday night pops concerts, and 7 special concerts in the District.

More than 85,000 schoolchildren each year hear the music of the great composers through the National Symphony Orchestra. The National Symphony is an important part of life in Washington and must be maintained at all cost. All the people of Washington should, and I am sure will, do their part.

VETERANS' BENEFITS

(Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day I introduced a bill which would provide that so long as the draft is in effect the men in the services may receive the full benefits they now receive. In view of the resolution passed today giving the President war powers, in effect, in view of the seriousness of the situation and the fact that for quite a number of months our men have been killed and injured in other countries by enemies, I feel very anxious to have this bill passed.

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs this morning extended the time for Korean veterans to receive educational benefits under the GI Training Act. I believe that all benefits should be continued. I have requested a hearing on my bill. The chairman will hold hearings on bills of that type, I understand, in the near future.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 5 minutes today, at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered.

THE COMMON ENEMY

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include an editorial.)

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, some apparently "thin-skinned" individuals seem not only indignant but outraged because they assume that the political party to which they owe allegiance has been unjustly accused of being sympathetic toward communism.

So far as I have been able to learn, no responsible individual has ever accused the Democratic Party or any of its spokesmen of having ever knowingly furthered the purpose of the Communist Party.

It would not only be untrue, but an absurdity for anyone to charge that the Democratic Party or its members were less patriotic, less opposed to communism, than the Republican Party or its members.

It is equally absurd for anyone to charge that either the Vice President of the United States, RICHARD M. NIXON, or the gentleman from Wisconsin, against whom the Communists have directed their attacks, ever accused the Democratic Party or its members of being, as a party or as individuals, supporters of communism or the communistic doctrine.

Leaving out of consideration for the moment the Democratic Party and its spokesmen, and not making reference to them, permit me to add that, evidently thinking they have the gentleman from Wisconsin out of the picture, some individuals are now attempting to establish the thought in the minds of the voters that the Vice President, who has long been an active and effective foe of communism when he was a Member of the House, during the last campaign carried on a smear campaign. The record does not bear out that charge.

It is in the record that during the Roosevelt administration communism not being then the issue which it subsequently became and now is, that administration did—undoubtedly without knowledge of what was happening—by its actions, to a certain degree, protect Communists, some of whom held positions in the Federal Government.

It has been pointed out that the Truman administration likewise did not fully realize the progress which the Communists had made in this country in promoting their theory of government.

As the years go by and as we gather additional knowledge of what has happened, of what is happening, undoubtedly the attitude of the people toward various political philosophies change.

What was acceptable in the 1930's and the 1940's is now unacceptable. While in the Roosevelt administrations, Communists were entertained at the White House, a change in world conditions and in our own thinking makes their acceptance there today as guests, absolutely impossible.

Beyond question, the Communists will continue their efforts to overthrow this Government either by force or by causing us to accept their way of life, and the time has long passed when opposition to them should cease to be a party issue.

It is indeed fortunate and encouraging that as of today no political party dares openly to support communism.

We have today been forced into a position, through our own negligence, through our adoption and continued acceptance of what to me has been an unsound foreign policy, where another world war is just over the horizon.

Before I vote for a declaration of war, I must know the ultimate objective. We should know whether it is our purpose, when the next war is over, to continue to entangle ourselves in the affairs of other nations, to continue to tell them what they shall believe, think, and how they shall live—whether we intend to continue to maintain what some term defensive positions throughout the world, the cost of which, in dollars and perhaps in lives, will ultimately render us unable to defend ourselves from foreign aggression.

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and loved ones. We must not forget we are dealing with individual human beings, loyal and devoted citizens whose service to our country has put them in a terrible position.

I cannot conceive of trifling with their feelings and the possibility, remote though it may be, of improving their situation before we win their ultimate release. That alone would be enough to merit swift action in their behalf.

But beyond there is something more important. This is an obvious propaganda device, cleverly pitched at us by Chou En Lai. The world is watching our reaction. And if the United States is to turn the offer down, let it be done in the considered terms of great policy and not in any sense through niggling quibbles over details.

It is my hope that we will take this offer calmly in our stride, demonstrating that we are absolutely sure of ourselves and sure of our ground all the way through. If, as is conceivable, the Chinese Reds are really indulging a cruel and heartless bit of trickery at the expense of the feelings of these unfortunate people, let the consequences rest squarely on their heads—and not on ours because we held back in apprehension. Least of all, can we afford further talk, such as has been reported in the press, that the wives and mothers who are suddenly faced with this surprising suggestion must turn it aside because they have not funds to make the trip. What could be more damning and a more entirely wrong picture of our good, rich, and warmhearted Nation?

U. N. Seen Helpless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article by Constantine Brown, published in the Washington Evening Star Friday, January 21. In this article Mr. Brown very frankly discusses the complete failure of the United Nations to deal successfully with Communist China's lawless acts, and the failure of that organization to deal successfully with any of the other major problems which it has undertaken to solve.

The article follows:

U. N. SEEN HELPLESS—EISENHOWER SEEN BACKING DOWN AFTER FIRM STAND ON REDS
(By Constantine Brown)

President Eisenhower's suggestion at his televised news conference that the United Nations take a hand in the war between Communist and Nationalist China has found only a few supporters in Congress.

Congressional leaders have no desire to ignore the U. N. It may be that at some distant date, after the lawless nations such as the U. S. S. R. and Communist China have changed their form of dictatorship, the U. N. can become influential in world affairs. But so long as Moscow and Peiping continue on

a rampage, taking advantage of the unbelievable timidity of the free world, it is hard to imagine that the U. N. will be able to do anything constructive in the latest blood-letting. Its intervention to liberate the Americans jailed by Peiping shows the U. N.'s impotence.

On November 26 last year the country was stunned by the announcement that 11 Americans in uniform held by the Chinese Communists in violation of the Korean armistice had been sentenced to long jail terms. There was an uproar with demands that measures be taken to liberate the men at once. The administration had means to force the Reds to do so by threatening a blockade of the China coast.

According to expert advice given the National Security Council a blockade could have wrecked the Peiping government. Only a very limited amount of commercial and military supplies reach China by the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The Red Chinese must have open sea lanes to live. A few weeks of blockade would have forced her to shout "uncle" and get back on the track of respect for signed agreements.

Mr. Eisenhower stated that such a drastic measure as a blockade was an act of war. It is true. But we are still at war with Communist China over the Korean affair. Until the armistice has been changed into a peace treaty, the state of war between the participants in the Korean war continues to exist.

Instead of acting with determination to which we are entitled by all international regulations, the administration preferred to place the matter in the weak hands of the U. N. And now 8 weeks after the Reds told us that they had placed our men in stinking Chinese jails we are still where we were at the beginning.

Dag Hammarskjöld has returned from Peiping empty handed insofar as the Americans are concerned. He announced proudly that he had begun negotiations. But he has never revealed publicly—for very good reasons—what the Chinese demanded as ransom for our boys. The good reasons are, according to what has leaked out, that the American people would not accept the Chinese Communist price.

President Roosevelt proclaimed America as the arsenal for democracy when the Nazis started their war for world domination in 1939. Since the beginning of the cold war America has not only remained the arsenal but also the world's fire hydrant. The hose has been placed, however, in the hands of her many allies, most with a similar ideological outlook but with entirely different economic and political interests.

The fact that the executive branch would welcome placing the China war in the hands of the U. N.—which so far has been utterly unsuccessful in solving any major problems—has caused concern not only among our Chinese allies in Formosa, but also in congressional quarters in Washington. A collective military intervention would have to be approved by the U. N. Security Council in which the Russians have a veto. They were absent when the council decided to intervene in Korea in 1950. Nobody has been able to explain logically the reason why the Soviet representative stayed away. But we can be sure that as soon as a resolution for U. N. intervention in the China war is put forward, the 87th Soviet veto will be forthcoming.

Regardless of how longingly and wishfully our policymakers may be looking toward the U. N., the consensus of the realists in the Government is that the battle for Formosa which began this week is our own.

The Peiping dictatorship, directly supported by the U. S. S. R. and favored by the U. N. members which have recognized it, is determined to do away with the remnant of the legitimate Government of China now

holding out on Formosa. Until Chiang Kalshek and his army have been destroyed, the Chinese Communists are not sure of their domination of the mainland.

Our own security in the Pacific depends on the support we are giving to the Nationalist forces. The short-range policy is to prevent the conquest of Formosa. The long-range policy is to help the Nationalists return to the mainland.

The hesitant policies of the administration in the last few days have caused serious concern that the intimate advisers of the Chief Executive may be urging him to reconsider the only strong stand this country has taken toward Red aggression recently.

How Many More?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the editorial which follows reflects the deep concern which many of my constituents feel in regard to the plight of the small farmers. A delegation from the neighborhood where this editorial was first published will be in Washington during the next 3 days to tell the story of their distress to the Committee on Agriculture and to Government officials.

It should be remembered as we approach the overall economic problems of our country that the depression of the late twenties was prefaced by a very high stock market, great industrial prosperity, and at the same time acute distress in agriculture.

The editorial follows:

[From the Hallettsville (Tex.) Tribune of January 7, 1955]

HOW MANY MORE?

Our small farmers are victims of policies which are one-sided and unwise because unjust, to say the least. There is also no doubt as to their effect.

The high tariff is forcing our farmers to plant less and less cotton, while other countries produce more and more, as the result of our tariff policy. Mexico just had a record crop, also not without the help of our own capital.

The parity is paid in the price with a full knowledge that it will act as a serious handicap to our cotton in the world market.

Our allotment policy cut those at the bottom the same as those at the top—contrary to our income tax policy. If this tax would be levied the same way, it would make it impossible for the small people to make a living—just as this allotment policy does to the small farmers.

Under this policy, the cotton acreage is taken from our old cotton counties and given to the new ones. While our small farmers must plant less, the large producers can plant more in the new cotton counties.

The cotton allotment is in acreage, the same for those producing two bales or more per acre as for the others averaging a half bale or less.

Can anything else be expected than the farm families by the thousands being driven into the cities?

For instance, this congressional district lost some 8,000 farm families—about 25 per-

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cent—as did the State and the rest of the South.

Certainly never before were so many family farmers wiped out as since 1940—with all it means to the country. There is already a talk of a farm depression spreading also into the cities.

Senator OLIN JOHNSTON sees the farm depression already on—yet almost utterly ignored, much less understood.

Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY believes the answer is in a higher farm income—of little help to small farmers unless they can produce and sell more cotton.

From independent farmers are being made people dependent only on jobs.

Instead of helping more people to settle on the farms, we are losing them wholesale.

And instead of dividing the large estates into small farms to make more independent people, we are wiping out the small ones and making bigger farms the same as the Communists do. The same results, only a different method. Nothing else can be expected—but are those policies inevitable?

Must our small farmers be sacrificed to our tariff policy?

Must our parity be used as a price handicap?

And must those at the bottom be cut the same as those at the top?

And should not the allotment be in lint instead of acreage, in justice to all?

Also, must the cotton acreage be taken from the old and given to the new counties? And must we force our farmers to plant less while we encourage other countries to produce more cotton?

That the mechanized farming is responsible for this trend, is only a sinister fallacy—which has nothing to do at all with the above policies.

So much has happened to our farmers, yet so little is known, much less understood.

How much more must happen?

How many more farmers must be sacrificed?

How much more must our very foundation be weakened by those blind and stupid policies?

Only Congress now in session can give this answer.

**Oppose Tariff Reductions on Textile—
Advocate Increases in Duties on Velveteens**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Boston Sunday Herald Annual Textile Review, January 23, 1955, by William F. Sullivan, president, Northern Textile Association.

This is not only a very interesting article, but one that is most truthful and forceful. Imports of Japanese textiles will cripple further a domestic industry that is already struggling for existence in the world market:

FOREIGN IMPORT RATE MAY SPELL TEXTILE DOOM

(By William F. Sullivan, president, Northern Textile Association)

New England textile people oppose tariff reductions on textile goods and advocate increases in the duties on velveteens. The

rate at which recent imports of certain types of cotton goods have been entering the United States indicates that it may be necessary to recommend an increase in the duties on these fabrics, as well as on velveteens.

JAPANESE PRODUCERS

Importations of velveteens under present rates are such that the Japanese producers have captured the entire American market for low-grade plain-back velveteens and are underselling American producers of twill-back velveteens by at least 25 percent.

It is certain that any reduction on present tariffs on other textile goods would result in an invasion of the American market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles.

The competitive interrelationship among various fabrics and fibers coupled with the complexity of the textile industry means that imports which take the domestic market away from any one fabric harm the entire industry.

The reasons for this are:

1. The textile industry which employs over one million persons is an important part of our national economy and an essential part of our New England economy. Destruction of this industry would have a chain reaction throughout our economy, and would seriously damage our national and regional economic structure.

HEAVY EMPLOYMENT

2. The textile industry is composed of thousands of highly competitive small businesses with heavy employment concentrations in certain regional and local areas. This latter characteristic magnifies the severity of losses to this industry.

3. The textile industry has been in a depressed condition for well over a year, and is particularly susceptible to competition from low-wage foreign countries. Present imports at prices lower than American manufacturing costs tend to keep the domestic market depressed and prevent a recovery by this industry.

4. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower paying jobs. Experience has proven that the so-called "growth" industries do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers, recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University, shows that less than one-half of the workers were reemployed, and of this number, two-thirds were earning less pay. The study concluded that "workers displaced . . . are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

FOREIGN COMPETITION

5. Competition from foreign countries, particularly Japan, is based on the extremely low wages paid in those countries. Wages and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. It is estimated that labor constitutes 43 percent of the cost and raw material represents 40 percent of total cost. With only slight variations from country to country in the cost of raw material, the tremendous wage differential between the American industry and foreign countries is of special significance. Average wages of \$1.41 per hour in the northern cotton and synthetic-textile industry exceed Japanese wages of 11.9 cents per hour by over 1,000 percent. Even though there may be superior productivity in American mills, it is not sufficient to offset the enormous wage differentials.

COOPERATIVE COSTS

According to experienced textile engineers, the costs in northern United States mills exceeds Japanese costs on 6 specific cotton fabrics by 62 to 69.5 percent. If the Japanese mills had the same productivity which

exists in American mills, the decrease in Japanese costs would be very slight, ranging from nine-tenths to 1.95 per yard, indicating that the current advantage of American mills in higher productivity is of but meager importance in relation to the very low wages paid by the Japanese industry.

6. The significance of the vast wage differential between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. The major portion of the industry has shifted from New England to the Southeast, because the wage and compensation level in New England varies from 20 to 30 percent higher than that of the Southeast. This compares with differentials between the United States and foreign countries of from 200 to 1,200 percent. A flow of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid and intensive liquidation of the American cotton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

7. The attempt to aid Japan's domestic economy by aiding her to expand textile exports to the United States at the expense of the domestic producers is an unwise method. This approach to the problem of helping Japan's economy would succeed in destroying the American textile industry. The problem of combating communism in Japan by strengthening her economy is one which must be shared by all American industry and all the American people. Destruction of the American textile industry would be a severe blow to our economy which might trigger further unemployment in related and dependent industries.

The Meaning of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, for Ukrainians one of the most compelling and cohesive forces of unity is the desire for national independence. This desire is a force that brings together all Ukrainians into a common understanding and endows them with a common ideal. Achievement of this ideal is indeed fundamental for any people; for to be free from foreign domination, to establish a way of life in accordance with one's own unique political, economic, cultural, and religious concepts, and to be independent and self-reliant are basic human impulses.

Thirty-seven years ago the Ukrainians had realized, after centuries of subjection to foreign powers, their long-sought aim of national independence. Disintegration of the Russian Empire and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire made it possible, for at least a short time, to gather the formerly subject peoples of the western and eastern Ukraine into one homogeneous national republic. The Ukrainian dream had at last come true.

But the Ukraine was caught in the struggle between the Red Russians and White Russians for control over the former Russian Empire. Both forces were inimical to the national interest of

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uty Attorney General of the United States. It is supported by some of the highest-minded men on the Federal bench—among them Chief Judges Harold M. Stephens and John Biggs, Jr., to whom none can attribute an easy attitude toward relaxing the principles of the Constitution or deny their full understanding of these. They find the Federal courts in what they describe as a desperate plight by the neglect of Congress, with a growing backlog of unfinished litigation (78,531 of 171,512 cases left pending July 1, 1954) and greatly undermanned. They are convinced by their own experience with congressional committees that the situation calls for a desperate remedy. So they have concluded that only the personal intervention of the Chief Justice in the dramatic setting of a joint session can rouse Congress from its indifference.

They and other judicial supporters of the Keating plan offer, among others, these rebuttals to the objections:

Congress has provided by law for a Judicial Conference of the United States, presided over by the Chief Justice, which shall recommend the creation of new judgeships and other increases in personnel. The law requires that conference estimates of costs shall be included without revision in the President's budget as submitted to Congress. Representatives of the conference often appear personally before committees in behalf of this budget. There could be no conceivable objection if the Chief Justice at times were to be one such representative. What, then, is the difference in principle between his personal appearance before a committee, as a suppliant for legislation and money, and his personal appearance before the entire Congress from which the committees derive their function?

The current system has been marked by fatal delays before Congress gets around to approving recommended increases in the courts. And Congress is disposed disastrously to cut the conference budget. Moreover, these conference spokesmen "are not able to make their representations . . . even to the full Committees on the Judiciary and Appropriations of the House and Senate. . . . They appear only before the subcommittees." And, even if they could appear before the full committees, the record shows that this would not be sufficiently effective; hence the needs of the judiciary should be made known to the whole Congress.

"Delay in the disposition of civil cases in the United States courts," wrote Chief Judge Stephens in a memorandum supporting the Keating resolution, "has become such that in the urban centers . . . there is in effect a denial of justice to litigants. [This] impairs the confidence of litigants and the public in the judiciary branch."

The congressional delays and cuts coexist with overconservatism in the conference toward new recommendations. Only by the Chief Justice in a joint session can Congress and the people be alerted to what many think a national disaster.

Income Tax on Dividends Coming From Foreign Investments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday my good friend, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY], in the course of some very interesting remarks on the pending extension of the recip-

cal trade agreements authority, made a statement which I believe needs clarification.

He stated, and I quote:

Only in the last session of the 83d Congress, we approved a tax bill which reduced the income tax on dividends coming from foreign investments. By that act alone, you set up a 14 percentage point advantage for American capital to go abroad and establish factories to exploit cheap labor abroad in order to make these products to be brought to America under our trade treaty to take the jobs away from your American workers.

Mr. Speaker, there was a provision in the tax bill as it passed the House similar to that which the gentleman referred. However, it was not in the bill as finally enacted and is, therefore, not a part of our present tax law. I might also point out that the House provision denied the 14-point tax reduction where more than 25 percent of the gross income from the foreign branch or subsidiary would be derived from the manufacture of goods intended for sale or use in the United States.

The President's Message—Formosa and the Pescadores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Arthur Krock, appearing in this morning's New York Times, entitled "The Purpose of the Message and Its Form":

THE PURPOSE OF THE MESSAGE AND ITS FORM
WASHINGTON, January 24.—The President had two principal reasons for asking Congress, but not in person, for authority he already has as Commander in Chief to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. Since the notice it gives a deterrent to the proclaimed intention of Peiping to take the area by force, the President wanted the notice to have the full official and public support of the branch of Government which finances the military undertakings and has the sole constitutional power to declare war. Since peace was the design of the message, the President sought to restrain the contrary impression, which the Peiping Government is trying to stimulate, by not delivering it in person.

When Presidents in this country have gone to the Capitol in times of military threat to the security of the United States it has been in the atmosphere of impending or actual war, and war itself has quickly followed. Woodrow Wilson knew of the German Foreign Minister's offer to Mexico to join Germany in war against the United States, in consideration of help to regain Texas and other Southwestern States, when, February 26, 1917, he asked Congress for approval of his plan to arm American merchant ships. And Germany had already declared total submarine hostilities. On April 2, 1917, and December 8, 1941 Presidents Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt respectively went in person to the Capitol to ask Congress for formal declarations of war.

This historical association was deliberately avoided by President Eisenhower today.

It was good statesmanship to do so, and it was good strategy in the interest of maintaining his request as a deterrent, and not as a stimulus, of war, or as an implication of belief that war is inevitable. In the highest sense of the word, it was good politics, too. Politics has been well defined as the art of government, and for the President to seek a common front of the executive and Congress in the circumstances, and a common front of the two major political parties also, were excellent practices of the art of government.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL PLEDGE

From the standpoint of political integrity the President's resort to Congress was also of national benefit. He was carrying out a pledge he has often made publicly as well as his own concept. But in addition he was redeeming an implied pledge in the platform on which he was nominated.

It was:

"We charge that they [the Truman administration] have plunged us into war with Korea without the consent of our citizens through their authorized representatives in Congress and have carried on that war without will to victory."

In view of the President's decision that the governmental province and responsibilities of Congress entitled it to know in advance what he proposed to do around Formosa, and his request for it to become his partner where the Constitution authorized him to act alone, a comment attributed to Speaker RAYBURN seems strange. According to the United Press, the presiding officer of the popular legislative body, himself second in the presidential line of succession, remarked that General Eisenhower had the unilateral power to do what he proposed, "but he wanted it done this way, so it will be done this way." The reasonable expectation was that the Speaker of the House of Representatives would have applauded this presidential recognition of Congress, quite aside from the obvious and important fact that by his action the President sought to present to the world a unified Government of the United States in so grave a business.

The contrast to President Truman's procedure with respect to the Communist invasion of South Korea implied, of course, a criticism of this procedure that was not relished politically by Democratic leaders who, if perchance they shared this criticism, anyhow did not voice it and defended what Truman did. Senator Taft contended that the President usurped his powers and breached section 6 of the bill to implement the United Nations Charter by ordering Armed Forces to Korea without consulting Congress or asking for its sanction. Other Republicans attacked him for not even asking for the approval of Congress immediately after the fact, or ever. And now a Republican President has gone to Congress for its approval before the fact, though by common consent he did not require it.

Some Democrats have been saying privately that what the administration really wanted was for the Democratic-controlled Congress to volunteer advance approval of what the President as Commander in Chief might deem it necessary to do to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. They read this purpose into visits made to committees by administration officials before it became known that the President would initiate the matter by sending a formal request. They suspect that these officials hoped to join the Democratic Party more firmly to eventualities in the Formosa Strait through the sponsorship of an advance resolution of approval by committees under Democratic control.

But either this lacks substantial proof or the proof is not procurable. At any rate, the President initiated the move, after his agents tested the political ground and found it firm in both parties.

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Address by Democratic National Commit-
teeman Carmine G. De Sapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith the address of the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio on the occasion of the victory dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee on Friday, January 14, 1955.

Mr. De Sapio is the Democratic national committeeman, and the secretary of state of the State of New York. He is one of our outstanding Democratic leaders; and as the national elections of 1956 approach, he will be heard from more and more often.

His remarks follow:

Good evening, my friends and fellow Democrats, this is a happy occasion, this victory celebration, an historic event which largely was made possible by your loyal support. You have earned the gratitude of your party and the gratification of knowing that you have helped elect what will undoubtedly be a very great State administration. For myself, I congratulate you and I thank you. I pledge to you my continued efforts to serve you, our party, and the people as best I can for as long as I may.

You have every right to take pride, this evening, in the results of your political activities. But just as you may well be proud, so too must we all be aware of the profound responsibility with which we as a party have been entrusted. The people look to us to support our Governor and his administration so that we may bring to realization the Democratic Party platform and the Democratic tradition of a sound government possessed of purpose, of vision, and of action.

In order that we may achieve that for which we strive, and that we may keep our bargain with the 15 million people of our State, it is imperative that each of us do all that we can to secure the support of the people for our program. It is vital, too, that we attract to our administration the best minds that we can find so that more men and women of the type our Governor has thus far appointed can make their genius and their talents available for public service.

Soon you will meet many of the members of Governor Harriman's administration—people who represent the highest dedication to public service and the finest qualifications and backgrounds for the positions which they hold.

But as the Governor—and Mayor Wagner—can tell you, it isn't easy, these days, to enlist sufficient of the great wealth of intellect, of experience, and of leadership with which we as a State are endowed. It isn't easy because in recent years too many outstanding people who, at great personal and financial sacrifice went into Government service, frequently found themselves the victims of brutal vilification.

In the shallow interests of political expediency on the one hand, and stimulating readership circulation on the other, decent people have been maligned and outraged; insultingly and degradingly characterized as "politicians."

It is axiomatic, my friends, that the people will get only the kind of government and

the kind of public officials they want. So long as a placid public permits the fear of unwarranted attacks to discourage available citizens from making their abilities available for the benefit of all, so long will it be difficult to find men and women of sufficient courage and armor to perform necessary jobs. And if we continue to allow politicians and public servants to be held up to ridicule, we will continue to deny ourselves the manpower and brainpower which good government requires and demands.

We who are in politics—we politicians—have no cause for apology. To the contrary, we directly make possible our system of government, and we work in the causes of civics and citizenship.

Every man and woman in this great banquet hall tonight is a politician. Whether you be labor leaders, teachers, industrialists, bankers, farmers, workers, housewives, or students, the fact of your interest in politics, and your support of a political party, makes you a politician. And I submit that that is an honorable designation and one which evidences acceptance of your responsibility as American citizens, and your recognition of the truth that politics is everybody's business.

It is at once naive and shortsighted to try to separate politics from government, and government from any part of human life. Let us be proud to be known as politicians, and let us be even more proud of those people who devote themselves to public service. It is not easy to hold high office. Certainly it is incumbent upon all of us to lighten the task of those who accept the challenge and to heighten the dignity and the prestige of their work.

It is for us, also, to see to it that politics and government are practiced on the same standard of conscience and morality which we apply to our homes and families—in the spirit of faith and goodwill, and in keeping with the teachings of the golden rule—doing unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Again may I extend to you my personal thanks as well as the thanks of our party for all that you have done. With men and women such as you in our ranks, we cannot help but achieve ever greater success for our philosophy, for our program, and, most of all, for the people whom we are mandated to represent and whose welfare we are pledged to protect.

Thank you very much.

The Port: United States Stepchild

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of January 19, 1955:

THE PORT: UNITED STATES STEPCHILD

The port of Philadelphia is cast in the role of underprivileged stepchild in the new Federal budget.

What the port asked was a good start on the \$91 million needed to cut a 40-foot channel up-river to Trenton. What it got was a grudging, tentative \$6 million tied in with a demand for "adequate cost sharing."

The President no doubt following the advice of his budget aids is thus demanding

that the United States Steel Co. or some other individual or group of local interests pay at least two-thirds of the channel cost.

Why the Federal Government should take this attitude is not at all easy to understand.

Is there a desire for general economy in harbor work? It doesn't seem that way: the total amount for the Nation is increased \$66 million in the President's message. And to rub a little salt into Greater Philadelphia's wound, there's \$21 million for the St. Lawrence Seaway. Many regard that as the greatest threat to the Port of Philadelphia since DeWitt Clinton's Big Ditch.

Is it a new way of doing business, with private corporations asked to buy in on the public domain of navigable waterways? Perhaps. But why start with Greater Philadelphia? Why does the budget call for the United States to pay the way from Puget Sound to the Florida Keys, excepting along the Delaware?

It is pertinent that the \$91 million, sizable as it is, is less than the Federal customs take from the port for 2 years. There are figures that show that every dollar spent by the United States on the Delaware in 50 years has yielded more than \$14 in customs. Where is the economy in halting that kind of return on an investment?

Congress often makes up its own mind on the President's budget recommendations.

The citizens of greater Philadelphia—with the growth and prosperity of the whole area involved—have reason to hope that the region's Congressmen can forcibly upset this damaging budget recommendation.

The Administration Discovers Culture
2 Years LateEXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower is trying to get Congress interested in the fine arts. This is a field, he thinks, where Russia is outdistancing the United States, and he proposes that something be done about it. As a beginning, he proposes that Congress set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Fine Arts.

This story is told in the January 28, 1955, issue of U. S. News & World Report. The story fails to mention the bills sponsored by 10 Members of the House and 6 Senators in the 83d Congress on which hearings were held by the House Education and Labor Committee.

In the majority report on those bills the Republican members of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee said:

In view of our analysis of the proposed legislation, and our study of this hearing record, we recommend that none of the bills referred to in this report be passed.

It may be that, as in the case of other legislation developed by Democratic Members of the Congress which was at first rejected by the Republican Members and then presented later as administration proposals without any reference being made to those who had labored hard in its development, it largely depends upon who is presenting the legislation.

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For the record then, the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; the gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, GEORGE M. RHODES; and the gentleman from Minnesota, ROY W. WIER, have joined with me in introducing bills "creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center."

A second bill "to establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects, and for other purposes," has been introduced by the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; and myself.

These bills have been endorsed in principle by many national organizations and by outstanding leaders in our country in all walks of life—see hearing record and the report on the fine arts bills considered by the 83d Congress.

The total cost to each 1 of the 53 million taxpayers of our country for the program which these bills would establish would be, on the average, just about 11 cents per year. It may be noted, for purposes of comparison, that Americans spent \$5,310 million for tobacco in 1953. This is an average expenditure per taxpayer of \$100.07. They also spent \$8,865 million for alcoholic beverages that same year, for an average expenditure of \$167.05 per taxpayer.

In view of these facts, it seems reasonable to assume it unlikely that the legislation which was rejected by the Republicans in the 83d Congress, and which has been introduced again this year with some minor revisions, would contribute to the impoverishment of the richest nation in the world, as feared by the Republican majority of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee in the 83d Congress.

A third measure in the cultural field which I have introduced in the 84th Congress would create a Federal Commission to study the copyright laws and make recommendations for their revision—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 20, 1955, pages A256-A258, and A262-A263. A fourth measure would establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education in order to help us cope with the Russians in this cold-war period—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 13, 1955, pages A131-A132.

The article from U. S. News & World Report follows:

IKE LIKES THE ARTS, SO UNITED STATES MAY EXPORT CULTURE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The arts, all of a sudden, are getting official attention. White House is concerned, thinks United States needs to show the world its finer side, as Russia does. Many in Congress agree. Idea is to promote music, painting, sculpture, dramatics, the dance, other artistic pursuits. For now, the President asks only a study. Out of that could come a system of subsidies.)

President Eisenhower is trying to get Congress interested in the arts.

This is a field, he thinks, where Russia is getting ahead of the United States, and he wants to do something about it.

As a start, he proposes that Congress set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Fine Arts. Its chief job will be to size up the art situation and recommend a program.

The President has not yet laid down a plan for subsidies or other heavy spending. That might develop later.

Reports from United States officials overseas have stirred the President, as well as many Congressmen. The Russians are sending singers, dancers, musicians, actors, and art exhibitions to places all over Europe and Latin America. The Soviet Government foots the bill.

The Russian artists are reported to be making a deep impression. And American prestige, the reports add, suffers in proportion. The Russians picture Americans as gum-chewing barbarians. They spread the idea that the United States might excel in science and industry, but it has no art worth showing.

PROBLEM FOR EISENHOWER

The truth is that the United States does very little to show foreign countries its artistic work. The President has been pondering this, close associates recall, since he was president of Columbia University. He is a painter himself, and that other noted amateur, Sir Winston Churchill, has talked to him about it as well.

Nelson Rockefeller, a new special assistant at the White House, is credited with getting the President actually to launch an art program. Mr. Eisenhower is reported also to have been impressed recently by an eloquent radio talk on the subject by the actress, Lillian Gish.

The President made a small start on an overseas art project last summer. At that time, he got Congress to appropriate about \$2.5 million to be spent by the United States Information Agency on cultural programs. With that fund, USIA subsidized some of the overseas performances of Porgy and Bess, which has been a smash hit in places that hardly ever saw an American production before.

UNITED STATES AS ART PATRON

Porgy and Bess played to full houses everywhere, but lost money in such countries as Yugoslavia, where the average admission price was 35 cents. USIA is underwriting the show's appearances in such places as Israel, Egypt, Greece, Spain, and North Africa.

José Limón and his modern American dance group made a tour of Latin America, with expenses underwritten by USIA. Icelanders heard Isaac Stern, American violinist, with similar help from the USIA funds.

American paintings are seldom seen outside the United States. Only 8 or 10 exhibitions have been sent abroad by USIA since 1953. Between 1947 and 1953, no traveling shows went over. That was because some Congressmen in 1947 denounced exhibitions then on tour. Too much abstract art, they said, and too many "reds" and "pinks" among the artists whose works were displayed.

WHAT'S WANTED FOR THE ARTS

The President is seeking to install a top-flight commission of leaders in the art world, which will help him make a start on a more ambitious Government art program. The only task he has announced for it, specifically, is arranging for Government awards of merit. In his state of the Union message he proposed that awards go to Americans "who make great contributions to the advancement of our civilization." Apparently, scientists, engineers, and others will be honored, along with artists.

Here are some ideas a commission will be expected to consider:

Subsidies for art schools, orchestras, operas, theaters, art galleries—all such subsidies to be administered by the States.

Scholarship: for artists, writers, and liberal-arts students.

An art center in Washington, to be a show place for the Nation and visible evidence to foreign visitors of America's interest in the arts. It would comprise an opera house or theater, a presidential inaugural auditorium, an art gallery and studios for the study and teaching of art.

Projects of this type are being discussed widely in art circles. Bills to put them into effect have been introduced in Congress. If Congress does not approve the President's proposal for a commission, it still can grab the ball from Mr. Eisenhower and start some of these projects on its own.

Art lovers for a century and a half have tried without success to have a high-level fine-arts agency created in the Government. Bills to create some kind of fine-arts unit within the Government have been introduced in nearly every session of Congress since 1877. The existing Commission of Fine Arts merely advises the Government on the acquisition of art works for Federal parks and buildings.

FINE-ARTS PRICE TAG

No big spending has yet been suggested. The subsidy proposal before Congress would involve about \$5 million—called "leverage money," to start private funds flowing. A scholarship program, however—now being drawn up within the United States Office of Education—could cost from \$20 to \$25 million a year.

No public works-of-art project, such as the New Deal ran in the 1930's, is talked of. Artists themselves oppose any such venture at this time. Some art organizations oppose even subsidies, fearing Government domination.

Art activities in the United States receive almost no Federal aid and little help from cities or States. Artists in most foreign countries depend heavily on subsidies.

Berlin spends \$1 million a year, and Milan, Italy, spends \$3 million, mostly on opera. The Italian Government spends \$3 million. Great Britain spends \$1.4 million a year. Denmark spends \$800,000 for the Royal Theater in Copenhagen, with its dramatic school. France, Germany, the Netherlands, and many Latin American countries provide sizable subsidies.

Subsidies, nevertheless, are to be only one of the problems of the new commission, if it is created. Its primary job will be to tell the President what can be done to capture the imagination of the people of the older, art-loving nations of the world.

My Recent Visit to North Africa—Status of Jews in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, during my recent trip to North Africa, I conferred with French Government officials, native chieftans, leaders of Jewish communities, Moorish Berbers, Moorish Jews, with Europeans and American military, naval, and Air Force personnel. I give, herewith, my impressions of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, with particular reference to the conditions of the Jews in those countries.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

January 25

French Morocco has a population of 8,500,000. Of this number, roughly 214,000 are Jews. There are two divisions of Moroccan Jews: The Berbers, who live in the southern part of Morocco in the neighborhood of the Atlas Mountains, have been there for centuries—even before the Jews were banished from Spain. It is thought that they are the descendants of the Israelites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The others are the Sephardic Jews—descendants of those who fled from Torquemada, who live in northern French Morocco.

The Berber Jews are nomadic and live chiefly in Saharan mountain villages. They are conspicuous by their black cloaks, black skull caps and round black hats. They hold steadfastly to the customs and faith of their ancestors.

In addition to these Jews, there are some tribal Jews—a fanatical sect who live deep in the Sahara Desert and in the Atlas Mountains. They are warlike and are a fierce looking people, and are known as the fighting warrior Jews of Morocco. They are said to be able to trek for hours and hours across the Atlas Mountain ranges with their children strapped across the backs of their women.

There are also some albino Jews residing in the mountain fastnesses along the coast. They are blind and have yellowish hair, pinkish eyes, and a reddish complexion.

The Sephardic Jews, to a great extent, live in the mellahs or ghettos. A mellah is found in every Moroccan city—Casablanca, Rabat, Marakeesh. In the mellah thousands of Jews have lived and suffered, persecuted for centuries. In the old days they never ventured forth. To remain within the mellah was their best protection from the onslaughts of the Moors. The Jews have suffered and still suffer injury, misery, and humiliation. They are not even second-class citizens in Morocco. The very word "mellah" means salt. The Moor Caid in the old days were wont to decapitate the infidel or unfaithful or non-Moor and place the head upon a pike to be exhibited in the public square. The head, however, was first salted and pickled in vinegar. This was done by the Jewish butcher, and the word "mellah"—salt—was finally applied not only to the place or abode of the Jewish butcher but to the ghetto where the Jews lived as well.

The only protection for the Jews of Morocco is the French Government. If the French should now leave and independence is achieved, the life of no Jewish person would be worth a sou.

The independence party is called the Istiqlal Party. It is supported by the Moors of the north, but opposed by the Moorish Berbers of the south. The Berber Moors are controlled by an old feudal chieftain called El Gloui. El Gloui and the Berbers are opposed to independence and support the French. The French deposed the former Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Yussuf, who was a huge landowner and opposed French reforms. It was essential for the French to get rid of him. The French set up a new Sultan, Sidi Mulai Ben Araffa.

This change of Sultans infuriated the Istiqlal Party, but was acceptable to El Gloui. The latter is friendly to the Jews, hates the Arab League, and is an admirer of the strides made by Israel. Incidentally, the private secretary is a Jew, Albert Berdugo.

The Jews take no part in the independence movement. They dare not. Silently, however, they are generally with the French. This is a natural point of view, since their survival and the safety of their families depend upon the French. However, they know they are sitting on a keg of dynamite. Recently some 6,000 have been screened by the Jewish agency for emigration to Israel. Most of the Jews in the mellah wish to go to Israel. The rich and middle-class Jews outside the mellah have not made up their minds. They do not want to lose their possessions in Morocco, yet they realize the danger that lurks around the corner.

I wish to emphasize that there is no disposition on the part of the Jewish agency, or any agency representing Israel, to encourage emigration from Morocco. There are enough voluntary applications for entrance to Israel to overtax the abilities of the Israeli representatives already. In other words, there is no need for encouragement.

Statements made that a "panic migration" has been stimulated are contrary to fact. There is no pressure from any source save the pressure of inner fear that possesses most Moroccan Jews. They realize that their safety lies with the French and that if the French go and independence descends upon Morocco with Istiqlal in power, then their doom is sealed. Then the pogrom at Petit Jean would become the genocide of Morocco. Almost 30,000 will be taken into Israel during the coming year. That is not "panic migration." More are clamoring to go if conditions do not become better. Israel may in the future be compelled to siphon off more than 30,000 a year. The numbers that covet entry into Israel will depend upon the degree of banditry of the Istiqlal and the terrorists.

I honestly believe that Jews would be content to remain if they were given a fair degree of equality with their Moorish neighbors, were assured of their personal security, and that of their dear ones. But one would be insane to deny the menace to all Jewry if an uninhibited nationalist Morocco and a frenzied Moslem Brotherhood would control.

Presently the great roadblock to Moroccan Jewry's road to human dignity is the question of nationality. Citizenship in Morocco cannot be acquired. A Jew is merely the feudal subject of the Sultan. The Sultan and his Caid are the ruling cult. There is no political equality, no social integration. The Jew is a Moroccan but with no rights of a Moroccan. Such condition of servitude was bearable so long as Jewry lived within the small confines of the Mellah. But enlightenment could not be kept from the Jews even in the dark dismal mellah. Their aspirations have been raised. Their alien status has become obnoxious and intolerable.

Now superimposed upon their misery is the danger of extermination. No wonder they really and truly pray: "Next year in Jerusalem."

There are many wealthy and cultivated Jews in Morocco. They have a long tradition of cultivation reaching back into medieval Spain, but the great mass of Jews in Morocco live in mellahs. There in squalor, despair, degradation they live more like animals. Their position is beyond description. This is especially so in the Casablanca mellah.

Organizations like the Joint Distribution Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the ORT, The Jewish National Fund, and so forth, are doing heroic work amongst the Jews. The French Government does its best with its limited resources. The French are increasing their subventions to help ameliorate the condition of the Jews. They have set up some housing to relieve mellah congestion. The government granted to the Alliance Israelite considerable sums for schools. But vast sums of money are needed to deal with the perplexing problems of housing, education, cultural development, and political emancipation. The entire Jewish world must give these questions most anxious consideration. I particularly stress the good work of the Alliance Israelite which brings education into the remotest and darkest parts of the Jewish dispersion in Morocco. I have seen some of the magnificent schools built by this worthy organization.

The Istiqlal Party is encouraged by the Spanish radio beamed into Morocco from Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco—encouraged also by Nasser's radio in Egypt and by the Communist radio in Budapest, Hungary. The opposition to the French make strange bedfellows out of the Communists, Egypt, and Spain. The Istiqlal Party draws some of its funds by way of extortion. Letters are frequently received by Jewish merchants demanding sums of money to be deposited in a given place at a given time. If the demands are not complied with, their places of business or residence is threatened with fire, or they are threatened with kidnaping. The defenseless smaller Jewish merchant complies with the demand of extortion. The rich Jew, who knows how to protect himself refuses to comply. A few months ago, eight Jews were killed in cold blood in Petit-Jean, a village not far from Casablanca. Their bodies were soaked in oil and burned in public. They were victims of the riotous Istiqlal.

As recently as January 6, a bomb was thrown into a Jewish shoeshop in Casablanca. Fifteen persons were wounded by the blast and the anti-French terrorists, the Istiqlal Party, are believed responsible for this barbarous deed. It is just such acts of violence that drive Jews to Israel.

The United States has expressed neutrality in the feud between the French and the Moroccans. United States has 5 bases, necessary for the defense of the free world, spread over Morocco—4 airbases and 1 naval base. We cannot long remain neutral for the good and sufficient reason that if the French

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Appendix

Displaced Textile Workers in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of William H. Miernyk, associate professor of economics and director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, December 6, 1954:

I have been asked by the New England Textile Committee to appear before this committee to summarize the results of a research project, recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at Northeastern University, dealing with the employment experience of displaced textile workers in New England.

It has often been assumed that textile workers displaced from their jobs by the liquidation of New England mills have been absorbed by establishments in other industries which have been expanding in this region. For many years competition from lower-wage southern mills has had an adverse effect upon textile employment in New England. Although there has been some expansion of employment in other industries, much of this has occurred in nontextile areas and there has been considerable chronic unemployment in New England textile centers since 1947. Our study was made to test the hypothesis that displaced textile workers are finding employment in other industries or in nonmanufacturing occupations. The results are summarized in the tables appended to this statement. All of the tables are taken from chapter 2 of *Inter Industry Labor Mobility*, a report of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, copyrighted by Northeastern University.

In all, six case studies were made in the areas listed in table 1. The mills involved had been liquidated over a period ranging from 6 months to 2½ years prior to our survey, which was conducted between September 1953 and March 1954. They were selected to obtain a good sample of representative mills, both geographically and over time.

We found that about 43 percent of the displaced workers were unemployed at the time of our survey. Another 12 percent had withdrawn from the labor force, although not all of the latter were voluntary withdrawals. About 30 percent of the total group had been unemployed continuously since their layoff. Men were more successful than women in finding jobs, but 93 percent of the men were unemployed when interviewed, and 21 percent had been continuously unemployed since their layoff (table 2).

The sample workers were relatively old compared to the civilian labor force of Mas-

sachusetts (table 3). On the whole, younger workers were better able to find jobs than those past the age of 45, although nearly 30 percent of the unemployed were also under 45.

Textile mills provided the chief source of employment despite the fact that textile employment in New England was declining during the period covered by our survey, while employment in other industries was increasing. Nearly 36 percent of the displaced workers who found new jobs were once again working in a textile mill. The next largest single group found service jobs, mostly in relatively low-paying, unskilled occupations. The expanding industries employed a small proportion of the displaced workers (table 5).

Sixty-four percent of the sample workers reported that they were earning less than they had prior to their displacement (table 6). Forty-seven percent felt their new jobs were generally worse than their mill jobs had been, and 54 percent of those who found nontextile jobs indicated a preference for textile employment (table 8).

Short-run labor mobility and immobility are matters of degree, and our survey revealed some of both. But in view of the employment trends in New England during the period covered by our survey we found a surprisingly small proportion of displaced textile workers employed in the expanding industries. This is not due to their unwillingness to accept other jobs, but to a lack of job opportunity.

This survey suggests that if large numbers of manufacturing workers are displaced from their jobs through the liberalization of our foreign trade policy we should not assume that they will be automatically absorbed by other manufacturing industries, or that they will readily find employment in nonmanufacturing jobs. The displacement of textile workers in New England has been largely due to interregional competition. The employment effects of international competition should not differ significantly from those of interregional competition.

It is unrealistic to assume that declining employment in some industries will always be offset by an expansion of job opportunities in other industries in the same labor market areas, or that displaced workers are able to move without difficulty to other labor market areas where job openings might exist.

We found that workers often have only the most fragmentary information about labor market conditions, and this has been supported by earlier studies of labor mobility. All of the unemployed workers in our sample were actively seeking jobs. They were unable to find employment in their own communities, and many were unable to move because they owned their homes, they felt that they were too old to make a new start in another community, or they were unaware of job opportunities elsewhere.

Our survey reveals some of the imperfections in the operation of the labor market which are not obvious to those who base their conclusions upon highly aggregated statistical data. If there is to be a further displacement of manufacturing workers in this country, however, these problems cannot be ignored.

APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE 1.—Workers included in survey by labor market area

	Interviews		Mail returns		Total	
	Number	Percent of total in each case	Number	Percent of total in each case	Number	Percent of grand total
Lowell.....	205	88.4	38	15.6	243	14.3
Fall River.....	302	88.3	40	11.7	342	20.1
Lawrence.....	366	81.1	84	18.9	450	26.0
Nontextile areas.....	291	82.2	63	17.8	354	20.8
Providence.....	103	78.0	29	22.0	132	7.7
New Bedford.....	163	85.8	27	14.2	190	11.1
Total.....	1,424		281		1,705	100.0

TABLE 2.—Subsequent experience of former mill workers

Employment experience	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Presently employed: 1 job since layoff.....	301	38.2	214	23.3	515	30.2
Presently employed: several jobs since layoff.....	153	19.4	110	12.0	263	15.4
Unemployed now, had job at 1 time.....	101	12.8	113	12.3	214	12.6
Unemployed since layoff.....	166	21.1	345	37.6	511	30.0
Unemployed, and withdrawn from labor force.....	66	8.4	136	14.8	202	11.8
Total.....	787	100.0	918	100.0	1,705	100.0

TABLE 3.—Age and sex distribution of sample workers by employment status

Age group	EMPLOYED					
	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
24 and under.....	26	4.4	11	3.4	37	4.0
25 to 35.....	117	25.8	74	22.8	191	24.6
36 to 45.....	114	25.1	104	32.1	218	28.0
46 to 55.....	115	25.3	100	30.9	215	27.6
56 to 65.....	80	17.6	34	10.5	114	14.7
66 and over.....	5	1.1	1	1.0	6	.8
Unknown.....	3	.7			3	.4
Total.....	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0
UNEMPLOYED						
24 and under.....	8	2.4	4	0.7	12	1.3
25 to 35.....	29	8.7	89	15.9	118	12.7
36 to 45.....	83	15.9	91	15.3	174	15.5
46 to 55.....	62	18.6	185	31.1	247	26.6
56 to 65.....	115	34.5	181	30.5	296	31.9
66 and over.....	66	19.8	38	6.4	104	11.2
Unknown.....			6	1.0	6	.6
Total.....	333	100.0	594	110.0	927	100.0

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TABLE 4.—Duration of unemployment

Number of weeks	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 to 5.....	233	51.3	73	22.5	306	30.3
6 to 10.....	54	11.9	46	14.2	100	12.9
11 to 15.....	33	7.3	20	6.2	53	6.8
16 to 20.....	16	3.5	18	5.6	34	4.4
21 to 25.....	26	5.7	34	10.5	60	7.7
26 to 30.....	27	5.9	30	9.3	57	7.3
31 and over.....	32	7.0	79	24.4	111	14.3
No answer.....	33	7.3	24	7.4	57	7.3
Total.....	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 5.—Distribution of employed workers by industry

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Manufacturing:						
Ordnance.....	3	0.7	—	—	3	0.4
Food.....	12	2.7	—	—	12	2.2
Textiles.....	167	36.5	110	34.0	277	35.6
Apparel.....	4	.9	43	13.3	47	6.0
Rubber and products.....	12	2.6	8	2.5	20	2.6
Chemicals.....	11	2.4	4	1.2	15	2.1
Paper, etc.....	13	2.9	9	2.8	22	2.8
Fabricated metals.....	12	2.6	2	.6	14	1.8
Nonelectrical machinery.....	16	3.5	—	—	16	2.1
Primary metals.....	1	.2	—	—	1	.1
Electrical machinery.....	24	5.3	30	9.3	54	6.9
Leather and shoe.....	16	3.5	26	8.0	42	5.4
Printing and publishing.....	8	1.8	3	.9	11	1.4
Furnishing and fixtures.....	8	1.8	1	.3	9	1.2
Transportation equipment.....	11	2.4	1	.3	12	1.5
Instruments (watches).....	1	.2	1	.3	2	.3
Jewelry.....	5	1.1	6	1.9	11	1.4
Toys.....	2	.4	2	.6	4	.5
Lumber.....	1	.2	—	—	1	.1
Photographic equipment.....	1	.2	—	—	1	.1
Miscellaneous.....	1	.2	4	1.2	5	.6
Nonmanufacturing:						
Construction.....	21	4.6	—	—	21	2.7
Service.....	65	14.3	53	16.4	118	15.2
Government.....	6	1.3	—	—	6	.8
Armed Forces.....	3	.7	—	—	3	.4
Retail trade.....	19	4.2	13	4.0	32	4.1
Warehousing.....	2	.4	—	—	2	.3
Miscellaneous.....	9	2.0	1	.3	10	1.3
Unknown.....	—	—	1	.3	1	.1
Total.....	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 6.—Comparison of earnings on old and new jobs

Earnings of employed workers	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No change in earnings.....	60	15.2	22	6.8	82	10.5
Higher earnings on new job:						
\$1 to \$5 per week.....	37	8.1	6	1.9	43	5.5
\$6 to \$10.....	29	6.4	8	2.5	37	4.7
\$11 to \$15.....	22	4.8	4	1.2	26	3.3
\$16 to \$20.....	18	4.0	—	—	18	2.3
\$21 or more.....	18	4.0	1	.3	19	2.4
Higher but amount unknown.....	14	3.1	7	2.2	21	2.7
Higher earnings, total.....	138	30.4	26	8.0	164	21.1

TABLE 6.—Comparison of earnings on old and new jobs—Continued

Earnings of employed workers	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lower earnings on new job:						
\$1 to \$5.....	51	11.9	32	9.9	83	11.1
\$6 to \$10.....	50	13.0	40	12.3	90	12.7
\$11 to \$15.....	40	8.8	53	16.4	93	12.0
\$16 to \$20.....	31	6.8	44	13.6	75	9.6
\$21 or more.....	21	4.6	63	19.4	84	10.8
Lower but amount unknown.....	28	6.2	33	10.2	61	7.8
Lower earnings, total.....	233	51.3	265	81.8	498	64.0
Unknown.....	14	3.1	11	3.4	25	3.2
Total.....	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 7.—Skill required on new job¹

Amount of skill	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
More.....	111	27.7	59	20.1	170	24.5
Less.....	140	34.9	115	39.1	255	36.7
Same.....	110	27.4	89	30.3	199	28.6
No answer.....	40	10.0	31	10.5	71	10.2
Total.....	401	100.0	294	100.0	695	100.0

¹ Answer to question: "Do you feel your present job requires more, less, or the same amount of skill as your job at the mill?"

² This question was not asked in Lowell.

TABLE 8.—Job evaluation of employed workers

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Attitude toward present job:						
New job better.....	163	35.9	74	22.8	237	30.5
New job worse.....	190	41.9	176	54.3	366	47.0
About the same.....	82	18.1	65	20.1	147	18.9
No answer.....	19	4.2	9	2.8	28	3.6
Total.....	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0
Preference for textile employment: ¹						
Yes.....	106	49.3	88	60.3	194	53.7
No.....	88	40.9	45	30.8	133	36.8
No answer.....	21	9.8	13	8.9	34	9.4
Total.....	215	100.0	146	100.0	361	100.0
Still looking for a better job?						
Yes.....	237	52.2	167	51.5	404	51.9
No.....	185	40.7	135	41.7	320	41.1
No answer.....	32	7.0	22	6.8	54	6.9
Total.....	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

¹ Answer to question (asked of workers in nontextile jobs): "Would you prefer a job in a textile mill to your present employment?"

² This question was not asked in Lawrence.

TABLE 9.—Willingness to move from the area¹

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes.....	197	36.7	119	19.1	316	27.3
No.....	258	48.3	417	66.9	675	58.3
No answer.....	79	14.8	87	14.0	166	14.3
Total.....	534	100.0	623	100.0	1,157	100.0

¹ Answer to question: "Would you leave the area if you knew of a job elsewhere?"

NOTE.—This question was not asked of the employed workers in Lowell; it was not asked of any workers in Lawrence. The "no answer" category includes those who had retired, and members of the Armed Forces. The question was not answered by many of the mail respondents.

Payment of Traveling Costs to Visit Prisoners of War

SPEECH

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to authorize payment of the travel costs incurred by relatives of the men who are prisoners of the Chinese Communists, if it really works out that the Communists are serious and that visits will be permitted. To my surprise, this proposal has been misunderstood and even the subject of some controversy. A brief clarifying statement seems to be in order.

In the first place, it would be entirely inappropriate for any of us here in Congress to urge these unfortunate men and women to decide one way or the other, whether they go or stay. That was not my intention.

In the second place, it would be highly inappropriate for us to interfere with whatever negotiations or policy determinations the executive branch may ultimately undertake. I had no thought of forcing the hand of the President or his advisers.

But, Mr. Speaker, this small matter of defraying the expense, if and when such travel is undertaken, does fall squarely within our province as the appropriating authority for our Government. I felt—and I still feel with all my heart—that we should hasten to remove any question of expense from the other and broader considerations that confront us.

One of these men, unjustly imprisoned in a hostile foreign land as a result of strategy and policy that he had no hand in formulating, would simply be unable to understand even a suggestion that his Government might deprive him of an opportunity—if it turns out to be that—to receive a visit from his family

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 102

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1956

No. 123

Senate

(Legislative day of Monday, July 16, 1956)

The Senate met at 9:30 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, in whose Almighty hand the future lies, give us understanding minds, patient hearts, and determined wills that through us Thou mayest be able to create among the nations and peoples of the earth Thy charter for freedom and justice. Our lot is cast in times when malignant forces instead of helping to lift mankind to the gates of the New Jerusalem are dragging down to the law of the jungle. Our hearts cry out for a meaning that is larger than the things we see. Lest our feet slip in perilous times, we must be upheld by something that has an eternal faith behind it. Make us worthy, having put on the whole armor of God, to fight against the rulers of the darkness of this world as we lift our living Nation a single sword to Thee. In the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, July 18, 1956, was dispensed with.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore announced that on today, July 19, 1956, he signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 2280. An act to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, as amended, to provide increased benefits in case of disabling injuries, and for other purposes;

S. 2895. An act to amend the acts of February 28, 1903, and March 3, 1927, relating to the payment of the cost and expense of constructing railway-highway grade elimination structures in the District of Columbia;

S. 3246. An act to increase the amount authorized for the erection and equipment of suitable and adequate buildings and facilities for the use of the National Institute of Dental Research;

H. R. 5568. An act to terminate the existence of the Indian Claims Commission, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 7380. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1953 to correct certain inequities.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on July 18, 1956, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 47. An act for the relief of Giuseppe Agosta, Shakeeb Dakour, and Gertrud Charlotte Samuelis; and

S. 1178. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sylvia Simonson.

REPORT ON UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 455)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(For President's message, see House proceedings for today.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, its reading clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3903) to amend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, so as to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated for purposes of title I of the act, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 9506. An act to provide for the conveyance of La Puntilla Military Reservation, San Juan, Puerto Rico, to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; and

H. J. Res. 668. Joint resolution to urge the creation of an International Juridical Commission within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in order to document the crimes against humanity committed by the international Communist conspiracy and to reduce the dangers of world war III.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 265) expressing the sense of Congress against admission of the Communist regime in China as the representative of China in the United Nations, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The following bill and joint resolution were each read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 9506. An act to provide for the conveyance of La Puntilla Military Reservation, San Juan, Puerto Rico, to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. J. Res. 668. Joint resolution to urge the creation of an International Juridical Commission within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in order to document the crimes against humanity committed by the international Communist conspiracy and to reduce the dangers of world war III; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 265) expressing the sense of Congress against admission of the Communist regime in China as the representative of China in the United Nations, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That it is the sense of the Congress that its previous expressions should be and are hereby reemphasized that the Communist regime in China should not be admitted to membership in the United Nations or any of its specialized agencies as the representatives of China; and

That the Congress hereby expresses its conviction that such admission would gravely injure the United Nations and impair its

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effective functioning in accordance with the aims, principles, and provisions of the United Nations Charter.

ORDER FOR TRANSACTION OF
ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be the usual morning hour for the presentation of petitions and memorials, the introduction of bills, and the transaction of other routine business, subject to the usual 2-minute limitation on statements.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING
SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Armed Services, the Subcommittee on the Air Force of the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on the District of Columbia were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs be authorized to meet this morning during the session of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, would the Senator withhold his request until I am able to check it? Some members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs spoke to me about it yesterday afternoon, and I should like to check it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Very well; I withhold my request.

Mr. O'MAHONEY subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs may meet during the session of the Senate today. Of course, the Hells Canyon bill is the business which is before the Senate, but, nevertheless, I ask that consent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in view of the nature of the debate coming on in the Senate, I think all Members should be present. I object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is heard.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, yesterday I reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations an original resolution, S. Res. 316. That resolution expresses the sense of the Senate that the President should explore the possibility of establishing an international food and raw materials reserve.

The committee reported this resolution without recommendation. I have noted that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this morning, however, on page 12034 states that the resolution was reported

"favorably." This is an error and steps have been taken to correct this error in the permanent RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The correction will be made.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore: The petition of J. A. Ely, of Deerfield Beach, Fla., relating the opening of all court sessions with prayer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The petition of Mildred DeShields, of Philadelphia, Pa., relating to the school construction bill and desegregation; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A letter, in the nature of a memorial, from the Cincinnati Chapter, American Institute of Architects, Cincinnati, Ohio, remonstrating against any changes in the design of the Capitol Building, in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Public Works.

A resolution adopted by the officers and councilors of the American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Chapel Hill, N. C., relating to the expenses incident to organizing and holding the Eleventh World Health Assembly in the United States; ordered to lie on the table.

PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR ADVERTISING IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE—PETITION

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference, and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a petition sent to me by the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs. Veral Gardner, corresponding secretary.

The petition, bearing some 700 signatures reads:

To the Senators and Representatives in Congress:

We, the undersigned, respectfully petition you to support and vote for the Langer bill, S. 923, and Siler bill, H. R. 2967, or any similar bill prohibiting liquor advertising.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL—DISSENTING VIEWS

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, yesterday I asked unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD certain resolutions adopted by the National Association of Attorneys General. At that time I did not know that there were dissenting views on Resolution 14, dealing with subversive activities.

I now ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the RECORD the dissenting views signed by the Attorneys General of 8 States, together with the letter of transmittal.

There being no objection, the minority views and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Harrisburg, July 13, 1956.

HON. WILLIAM LANGER,
Member, Senate Judiciary Committee,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: The Attorneys General of California, Delaware, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, and Rhode Island have authorized me to transmit the enclosed statements to you as an expression of our dissent to the actions of the National Association of Attorneys General at its 50th annual meeting (1956).

Very truly yours,

HERBERT B. COHEN,
Attorney General.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES—STATEMENT OF POSITION ON RESOLUTION 14 OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL, 50TH ANNUAL MEETING, 1956

The undersigned members of the National Association of Attorneys General, believing that the security of the nation and of each of the States will best be served by uniform Federal investigation, control and prosecution of subversive activities and having dissented from the action of the Association at its 50th Annual Meeting (1956) endorsing Federal legislation to permit enforcement of State penal statutes in this field, adopt this statement as their formal expression of dissent from such action of the Association and desire that this formal expression of dissent be made known to the presiding officers and appropriate committee members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

Edmund G. Brown, Attorney General of California; Joseph D. Craven, Attorney General of Delaware; Thomas M. Kavanagh, Attorney General of Michigan; Miles Lord, Attorney General of Minnesota; Grover C. Richman, Jr., Attorney General of New Jersey; Harvey Dickerson, Attorney General of Nevada; Herbert B. Cohen, Attorney General of Pennsylvania; William E. Powers, Attorney General of Rhode Island.

RESOLUTION 14—SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Be it resolved by the 50th annual meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General, That this association endorses the enactment of Federal legislation authorizing the enforcement of State statutes prescribing criminal penalties for subversive activities involving State or National Governments or either of them; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretariat is requested to forward copies of this resolution to the presiding officers and the appropriate committee chairmen of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

RULES OF CONSTRUCTION TO GUIDE THE SUPREME COURT—STATEMENT OF POSITION ON RESOLUTION 15 OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL, 50TH ANNUAL MEETING, 1956

The undersigned members of the National Association of Attorneys General, believing that the delineation of the proper spheres of activities of the Federal and State governments is properly a function of the Supreme Court of the United States and not one to be circumscribed by legislative enactment and having dissented from the action of the association at its 50th annual meeting (1956) approving enactment by the Congress of legislation attempting so to circumscribe this judicial function, adopt this as a formal ex-

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tal cost of Federal taxpayers well up in the billions of dollars.

Public housing projects make token in lieu of taxes payments to the local community, but they do not even come close to the amount that would be paid on the project if it were privately owned. Estimates of amounts lost to local governments because of this nontaxability of public housing range up to half the Federal subsidy, or in excess of \$40 million annually; a sum which must be made up by residents of the community not privileged to enjoy the Federal bounty.

Many communities, as a matter of fact, have affirmatively turned down proposed public housing projects when they learn what the projects will cost in the form of lost taxes and direct outlays. Disregarding impassioned pleas of lefties, plebsites of voters have resulted in their rejection in community after community.

Despite the lack of congressional enthusiasm, the liberals are expanding their public housing demands rather than backing down. The middle-income program is a development of recent years; of even more recent vintage is a growing demand for a special housing program to care for persons over 60 years of age, known facetiously as the Townsend housing plan. Thus, the housing bill pending in Congress makes special provision for liberalization of Federal Housing Administration credit terms for elderly persons, for their acceptance in public housing projects, and for construction of 10,000 public housing units a year especially designed for them. A vote-buying bonanza for the demagogues; after this, will come the extravaganza of vote-luring promises of the better free life for the aged. As always, no mention of the slight items of answering Mr. Rich's question.

Probably the most effective, and undoubtedly the most outspoken opponent of public housing is the National Association of Real Estate Boards. Liberals rant that the NAREB typifies the mossback reactionary hatred for all social progress.

But is socialized housing progress? It it progress to tax all, even prudent and thrifty low income earners, for the benefit of the few, including the improvident and the spendthrift? Is it progress to abandon the free enterprise American way of life which many believe has served this country well throughout its history?

The liberals pooh-pooh, and brush aside as irrelevant, the fact that the NAREB has its own plan for eliminating slums and generally improving the presently-substandard housing available to lower income groups. Operated in conjunction with other groups such as the National Association of Home Builders, the plan is carried out by private enterprise in cooperation with local authorities and already has proven highly successful in many cities.

It is patterned after amazingly effective clean-up campaigns which were conducted in Baltimore, Md., and Charlotte, N. C. It is simple, but requires the hearty support of local civic organizations possessing a sincere desire to accomplish the job.

The ingredients are first, an intense campaign to compel compliance with local health and building codes (preceded by adoption of effective and adequate codes, if they are not already included in local ordinances); and secondly, a campaign to make slum and substandard dwelling owners realize that they will be aiding not only their tenants but themselves as well, if they will rehabilitate and modernize their properties. It has been effective in many cities; it can be made effective in others.

Widely known as the Baltimore plan after its first successful operation in a major city, this is private enterprise's answer to the public housing lobby. It is an effective answer; it can, and must, be made to work.

The alternative may well be expansion of the doctrine of taxing all for the benefit of the few.

Fancy Footwork on the Washington Post and Times Herald—No. 2. Republican Senators and Lack of Leadership by the President Responsible for Destroying Cultural Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 19, 1956

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in the report, No. 2580, filed by the Appropriations Committee of the Senate to accompany the supplemental appropriation bill, 1957, H. R. 12138, this language occurs:

With respect to the sum recommended for expenditure by the State Department the committee disapproves the use of funds for jazz bands, ballet and dance groups and similar activities, and strongly urges that greater emphasis be placed in sponsoring choral groups and miscellaneous sports projects. The effectiveness of some of the musical groups heretofore sponsored appears questionable.

In addition to this limiting, nay, strangling, action the Senate Appropriations Committee cut the appropriation requested for the President's Emergency Fund from \$2.5 million to \$1.5 million. The Washington Post and Times Herald makes this comment editorially this morning, Thursday, July 19:

ART FOR EXPORT

The Senate Appropriations Committee has added insult to injury in dealing with the State Department's overseas cultural program. The injury took the form of cutting the program's appropriation from the \$2.5 million requested to \$1.5 million. The insult was contained in a paragraph of the committee's report which declared: "The committee disapproves the use of funds for jazz bands, ballet and dance groups, and similar activities, and strongly urges that greater emphasis be placed in sponsoring choral groups and miscellaneous sports projects."

Leaving entirely out of account the impropriety of this sort of legislative assumption of administrative responsibility, the committee's view seems to us a sadly mistaken one on esthetic and pragmatic grounds. Dizzy Gillespie's band may seem to produce nothing but pure noise to Senator ELLENDE, who led the attack on jazz in the committee; but the fact of the matter is that all over Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East crowds flocked to hear the Gillespie group. Similarly, Louis Armstrong, playing a type of music which might not be appealing to Senator ELLENDE, was hailed as genius by audiences all over the European continent.

Jazz music is a peculiarly American art form. As such, it has special interest for Europeans and constitutes a distinctive American contribution. It has won the flattery of extensive imitation abroad; but few if any of its alien imitators has ever matched the Gillespies and Armstrongs—or a host of other American band leaders—in quality or in popularity. Whether Senator ELLENDE appreciates it or not, American jazz orchestras have made friends abroad who could not have been won by any form of propaganda.

The United States has given hospitality to some of the great ballet corps exiled from totalitarian lands; as a result ballet under American sponsorship has a special signifi-

cance to Europeans. To cut this art form out of a cultural program would be to deprive this country of one of its real assets. Choral groups are all very well, and it is nice to know that Senator ELLENDE likes them; but people abroad seem to have plenty of choral groups of their own. As for miscellaneous sports projects, it is hard to see how they contribute to a cultural program designed to demonstrate that the United States is a free society where the arts are fostered and flourish.

Now, Senator McNAMARA, in an important speech on the floor of the Senate on Wednesday, July 18, which was reported by the Washington Star yesterday, had some things to say about the Washington Post and Times Herald and the way it reports, or, I should say, fails to report all the news that is fit to print.

I am disappointed—

Said Senator McNAMARA—

that another great newspaper perhaps has not been so forthright as either John Knight of the Detroit Free Press or Mr. Reston of the New York Times. I refer to the Washington Post and Times Herald.

It is my painful duty today to call to the attention of my colleagues the way the Washington Post and Times Herald reported the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee. For the sake of the record I include the article from the news section of the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning:

JAZZ MISSING BEAT ABROAD, SENATE SQUARES SAY, BUT NOBODY WAS LOOKING AT THE WASHINGTON MACHINE

(By Paul Hume)

American jazz will suffer some real licks if the Senate Appropriations Committee has its way on what this country sends abroad.

A report of this committee reads: "The committee disapproves the use of funds for jazz bands, ballet and dance groups, and similar activities, and strongly urges that greater emphasis be placed in sponsoring choral groups and miscellaneous sports projects."

This report accompanies the supplemental appropriations bill which was approved by the Senate last Tuesday. Opposition to sending jazz musicians overseas was voiced by Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDE, Democrat, of Louisiana, who said, after hearing Dizzy Gillespie's band, "I never heard so much pure noise in my life."

Last spring the Government spent \$92,500 to help make possible a tour in which Gillespie and his band played in eight Middle Eastern and Balkan countries. According to a report of July 14 in the Saturday Review, Gillespie's tour was a complete and unqualified triumph for jazz, for American jazzmen, and for democratic ideas by this band during its travels.

Theodore C. Streibert, director of the United States Information Agency and coordinator of the international program, said he heard only one criticism of the Gillespie tour: People had difficulty getting in to hear the band because the response to its playing was so tremendous.

As the appropriation now stands, the State Department's share of funds for overseas music is a million dollars less than last year, while the Commerce Department has been granted an increase of \$3 million in order to carry out an extensive program of trade shows. Regarding these shows, Representative JOHN J. ROONEY, Democrat of New York, said that he visited a trade fair in Europe where American machinery was on display.

"Nobody was looking at the washing machines," he said. "They were all standing

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around a juke box made in Chicago listening to dance bands."

The Senators from Louisiana, one of the great sources of jazz, the brand known as Dixieland, do not share similar views on the subject. A recent radio program called Guest Conductor, which featured the favorite music of the junior Senator from Louisiana, RUSSELL B. LONG, closed with two of LONG's favorite samples of New Orleans jazz: When the Saints Go Marching In and Tallgate Ramble.

American musicians, returning from both brief and extended tours abroad, universally report that the greatest interest overseas is in our jazz. A prominent Washington musician, just back from a year's study in Belgium on a Fulbright grant, said, concerning American choral groups touring Europe, "The people over there are just not interested in choral music."

The bill, of which the controversial supplemental report is a part, is H. R. 12133. It is now due to go into conference where jazz has one final chance of getting back into the act. House Members who, it is suggested, are perhaps younger and livelier than their Senate colleagues, are hoping to get the big beat back into the bill.

This report, and the editorial as well, completely overlooks the fact that there are 11 Republican members of the Senate Appropriations Committee. What were they doing when the appropriation for the President's Emergency Fund was under consideration?

Senator KARL F. MUNDT is on the committee. He is one of the authors of the Smith-Mundt Act which, with the Fulbright Act, is basic legislation in the field of cultural exchange.

Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, a member of the Appropriations Committee, is spokesman for the administration in the Senate. Everyone is familiar with President Eisenhower's numerous statements in support of cultural exchange programs in general and this Emergency Fund in particular. Certainly Senator KNOWLAND, who is so close to President Eisenhower, knows how he feels about this matter of sending performing artists overseas. He must know that the President initiated this Emergency Fund in July 1954 and that the Congress appropriated \$5 million for it in 1954 and in 1955. The fact that the Senate on March 26, 1956, adopted S. 3116, a measure to make the President's Emergency Fund permanent, could not have escaped the attention of Senator KNOWLAND or any of the other Republican members of the Senate Appropriations Committee. They also must have been aware that the top officials of the Eisenhower administration have supported this very small \$5 million fund before the various committees of the Congress.

I might add that my own interest in this matter is based on legislation which I cosponsored with Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota.

Now the point I want to make here is that the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning completely fails to mention the Republican Senators who are members of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Did they sit stolidly by when the President's fund was under

consideration? Did they defend the program? How did they vote? Or were they absent? These things the Washington Post article does not go into.

Senator ELLENDER is mentioned both in the editorial and in the news article as the man who, it is said, led the attack on jazz in the committee. It seems to me that Senator ELLENDER or anyone else can like or not like jazz. Personally, I think it is a great art form, perhaps our very greatest art form, native to this country, completely democratic, telling our story as no amount of symphony orchestras can tell it by playing the music of the classical composers of Europe.

Senator ELLENDER has every right to oppose the appropriation of funds to send jazz bands abroad where they have been hailed as our finest export. He has the right to be wrong, and he is terribly wrong in this instance, I feel. Surely, too, the other Senators on the Appropriations Committee can vote their convictions. But I must point out that the Senate without a single dissenting vote, and without any discussion, adopted S. 3116, a bill to make this program permanent in its present form and without the modifying and limiting language of the Senate Appropriations Committee. It seems to me extremely unlikely that anything has happened since March 26, 1956, to have caused the Senate to accept the recommendation of the Senate Appropriations Committee on this important program without question. Nor do I yield to the suggestion that has been made that the other Chamber has grown unsteady, or unstable.

Surely, however, the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee and of the Senate itself on this matter raises some very interesting questions, in view of its action in adopting S. 3116 a few short weeks ago.

And one of these questions, certainly, is: Where were the Republican members of the Senate Appropriations Committee when this program was under consideration? Why did not they, or at least some of them, defend the program? They could certainly have outvoted Senator ELLENDER who is, after all, only 1 Senator and has only 1 vote in the committee.

Another thing. Why did not the Washington Post and Times Herald, in reporting this story, tell us what the Republican Senators were doing at the time? Could it be that this newspaper was printing only that part of the news that fits its special prejudices as has happened before? Was the Washington Post and Times Herald playing partisan politics?

What about the vaunted leadership of the President? Why was it not in evidence in support of his own program? If it was in evidence, did the Republican Senators on the committee and in the Senate vote against the program despite the President?

The Washington Post and Times Herald should try again and this time it should give us all of the story.

Agricultural Research To Increase Income of Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 16, 1956

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, a statement was presented to the House Agriculture Committee in explanation of certain bills that I introduced in behalf of the farmers and agriculture in general.

Under unanimous consent, this statement is included in the Appendix of the RECORD:

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH TO INCREASE INCOME OF FARMERS

(By JOHN V. BEAMER, Member of Congress)

I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your committee in behalf of H. R. 10148, a bill to provide for a scientific study and research program for the purpose of developing increased and additional industrial uses of agricultural products so as to reduce surpluses of such products and to increase the income of farmers, and for other purposes.

My interest in agriculture stems from many sources. First of all, I was born and raised on a farm and agriculture continues to be my personal main source of revenue and income. I also have the privilege to represent the Fifth Indiana Congressional District which boasts of some of the best farmlands in the United States. Real estate is at an alltime high in this area and farmers and all business dependent upon agriculture continue to express a keen interest in the welfare of agriculture.

It has been possible for me to meet with many farmers and small-business men and by means of these visits, questionnaires, and exchange of letters, I feel confident that all the people in our part of the State are keenly interested in this type of legislation.

Early this year I introduced H. R. 8586, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to relieve farmers from the excise tax on gasoline and lubricating oils used exclusively in farm tractors or farm machinery and for other agricultural purposes. The principles involved in this bill are incorporated in Public Law 466.

I also introduced H. R. 10742, a bill to provide for the protection and conservation of national soil, water, and forest resources and to provide an adequate, balanced, and orderly flow of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes. A similar bill, H. R. 10875, which authorizes \$1.2 billion for a voluntary soil-bank program to reduce production acreage of crops in surplus supply, fixes feed grain supports at 76 percent, and encourages disposal of surpluses at home and abroad, was passed by the Congress and now is Public Law 540.

All of these measures and numerous other worthwhile attempts on the part of the 83d and 84th Congresses to be of assistance to the farmer are appreciated and are recognized as necessary for reasonably immediate benefits.

However, it is felt that the future of agriculture must be a long-range program. The rapid rate of growth of our population, the changing tempo of the times, the remarkable discoveries and uses of new products, marketing conditions, and similar subjects, pre-

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R. Thompson

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

September 30, 1955

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Alfred:

Please accept my tardy but warm thanks for your full letter about possible Norton professors. We shall take it up at an early meeting of the Norton Committee and I know that it will be most helpful.

For some reason it always seems particularly difficult to find a good candidate in the plastic arts and I bothered you only out of a sense of desperation, as I hope you understand. Edwin Muir is with us for this year but next year we are particularly anxious to have a painter or architect in view of the resurgent interest in the teaching of art within these ivy-mantled walls. Your letter will be most helpful to us and I send you not only my hearty thanks but those of all the Committee.

I hope that you and Marga and Tory all had a beautiful summer. All the Thompsons were abroad, too, except Robin who is still with the paratroopers. I worked for six weeks in Gstaad, where I completed an a-cappella Mass, which I hope one day you will hear. In August Margaret and I went to Germany including Berlin. Incidentally, in Frankfort we bought five paintings by a so-called Sunday painter which we found altogether fascinating. We hope to get them when his one-man show in Frankfort is over and at the same time discover his name!

Won't either or both of you please come to see us? If Tory is still at Milton that would seem sufficient excuse-if one is needed.

Our affectionate greetings to you all and a bushel of thanks from

Yours ever,



Randall Thompson

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Time

Time

RT

c/ Yale University Art Gallery,
New Haven, Connecticut,
October 5th,

Dear Sir,

As you will see from the enclosed letter, I am a visitor to this country, under a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA
MELBOURNE CI
AUSTRALIA.

DIRECTOR
DARYL LINDSAY

I should be most grateful if I could discuss briefly with you some aspects of the work of the Museum of Modern Art.

4th. July, 1955.

My dear Barr,

I will be in New York tomorrow, and shall like to see if an appointment can be made.

The bearer of this, Mr. Gordon Thomson, Curator of the Art Museum travelling in the United States on a Rockefeller Research Grant.

GORDON THOMSON

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

particularly interested in national activities and in your Museum.

I am very grateful for any information regarding the working conditions or matters that would be of interest to me.

Gordon Thomson.

With kind remembrances,

Mr. Thomson saw the Circulating people and has a pass to the Museum.

He will call you to make an appointment the week of Oct. 16th.

Marie

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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Thomson

NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA
MELBOURNE CI
AUSTRALIA.

DIRECTOR
DARYL LINDSAY

4th. July, 1955.

My dear Barr,

The bearer of this, Mr. Gordon Thomson, is Assistant and Curator of the Art Museum here and is at present travelling in the United States of America on a Rockefeller Research Grant.

He is particularly interested in general display and educational activities and is looking forward to seeing your Museum.

I would be very grateful for any courtesy you can show him regarding the working of your Museum or any other matters that would be of interest to him.

With kind remembrances.

Yours sincerely,

Daryl Lindsay

Daryl Lindsay.
Director.

Alfred H. Barr, Esq.,
Museum of Modern Art,
NEW YORK.

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Time

Time

RT

c/ Yale University Art Gallery,
New Haven, Connecticut,
October 5th,

Dear Sir,

As you will see from the enclosed letter, I am a visitor to this country, under the program of the Rockefeller Foundation.

I should be most grateful if I could discuss briefly with you, some aspects of the work of the Museum of Modern Art.

I will be in New York tomorrow, and shall ring to see if an appointment at a time convenient to you in the next few days could be arranged, but if this is impossible at this short notice, I could perhaps arrange to come to New York again in the next few weeks.

[Today]
[Thurs]

Would you kindly leave a message for me?

Yours sincerely,

Gordon Thomson
Gordon Thomson.

Alfred H. Barr, Esq.,
Museum of Modern Art,
11 West 53rd St.,
New York (19),
N.Y.

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TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

PUBLISHER'S OFFICE

Time

Time

ART

December 27, 1957

Dear Mr. Barr:

During 1957 TIME's editorial staff was fortunate in being able to call upon many whose particular insights and interests helped TIME give insight and interest to the news.

For your help, we all are grateful. I want to express my personal thanks to you and add my warmest wishes for the holiday season!

Cordially yours,

James Linen
James A. Linen
Publisher

Mr. Alfred Barr
Director of Collections
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, New York

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THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

TIME
THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

cc: Alfred H. Barr
Elizabeth Shaw

Date July 19, 1957

To: Monroe Wheeler
From: Dorothy C. Miller

Re: Alexander Eliot's
AMERICAN PAINTING

March 9, 1957

Dear Monroe:

You asked whether I think we should promote Time Magazine's book American Painting by Alexander Eliot by sending out a mailing to our members announcing it.

I certainly do not think there is any reason why we should set a precedent which would cancel out our policy against promoting art books other than our own and leave us open to all sorts of demands from other publishers. Besides I can hardly believe that we will be ready to stand behind Eliot's point of view about American art or the quality of the color reproductions in the book.

New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Barr:

Just a note to thank you for your help in the preparation of our Picasso story. I'm sending along a copy under separate cover, and as I mentioned yesterday, I'd be very interested, personally, in hearing your reactions to it.

I must say I've found the several recent TIME-Museum of Modern Art collaborations interesting and enjoyable, and look forward, bloody but unbowed, to the next one. Putting Picasso together in my mind was a real jigsaw puzzle, and I'm still wondering whether I've left out any of the important pieces!

Sincerely,

Dorothy Miller

Dorothy Miller

Art Researcher

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Time

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
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March 5, 1957

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TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

May 19, 1957

Mr. Alfred Barr, Jr.
Director of Museum Collections
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Barr:

Just a note to thank you for your help in the preparation of our Picasso story. I'm sending along a copy under separate cover, and as I mentioned yesterday, I'd be very interested, personally, in hearing your reactions to it.

I must say I've found the several recent TIME-Museum of Modern Art collaborations interesting and enjoyable, and look forward, bloody but unbowed, to the next one. Putting Picasso together in my mind was a real jigsaw puzzle, and I'm still wondering whether I've left out any of the important pieces!

Sincerely,

Patty Welch

Patty Welch

Art Researcher

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Time

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20
EDITORIAL OFFICES

March 5, 1957

Dear Mr. Barr:

We very much appreciate your painstaking perusal of TIME's February 11 report on the Hermitage treasures, but we regret that you were not completely satisfied with our quote from Miss Welch's interview with you, and our statement regarding the closing of the Museum of Modern Western Art. To date, no TIME reader has written to raise the questions which you anticipated, but if this should happen, we will be glad to elucidate as you suggest.

Cordially yours,

Veronica Barry
Veronica Barry
For the Editors

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Director of Collections
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, New York

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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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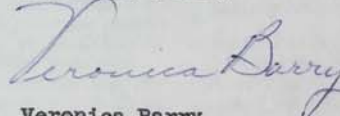
February 5, 1957

Dear Mr. Barr:

TIME Researcher Patty Welch of our Art staff has asked me to extend to you her warmest thanks for your very generous assistance during the preparation of our current report, "The Hermitage Treasures: II." We are extremely grateful for your kindness in sparing time to provide information which proved essential to the story. You were certainly an invaluable news source, and we want you to know that we sincerely appreciate your gracious cooperation.

Enclosed with TIME's compliments is a copy of the February 11 issue in which you will find "The Hermitage Treasures: II" beginning on page 76.

Cordially yours,



Veronica Barry
For the Editors

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Director of Museum Collections
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, New York

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THE PRESS

Dilemma in Dixie

Throughout the South virtually every front page last week told the news of 26-year-old Autherine Lucy's fight to become the first Negro to enter the University of Alabama (see EDUCATION). Yet, like other desegregation news that has crowded its way increasingly into the Southern press since the Supreme Court decision, it got there almost against the will of most editors. Southern newspapers—with scattered exceptions—are doing a patchy, pussyfooting job of covering the region's biggest running story since the end of slavery.

The Other Side. The measure of the Southern press was taken last week by Jere Moore, editor of Georgia's Milledgeville weekly *Union Recorder*, who once



THOMAS R. WARING
Gentle abroad, harsh at home.

routed the Ku Klux Klan in a local battle. Said Moore: "The newspapers of the South have failed to take the leadership demanded of them in this issue. They have been weak-kneed when they should have been strong. We have not tackled the issue."

Privately, many Southern journalists are far more enlightened than their fellow citizens on the segregation issue, but professionally they are hamstrung by front-office pressure and fear of community wrath. Others are too tied up in their own emotional knots to do justice to the problem. They have struck an uneasy balance between their jobs as newsmen and what they feel is their duty as Southerners.

Most Southern news executives have adopted a buck-passing rule of thumb: When in doubt about a racial story, use the press-association copy. For example, in the Autherine Lucy riots, papers in nearby Birmingham were the only out-of-

town dailies in the South to send their own staffers to Tuscaloosa to cover the story. Sometimes papers lean on the wire services for racial news even in their own areas. When one major daily recently got tips of forthcoming antisegregation statements by religious leaders, it passed the word along quietly to a wire service instead of going after the story itself.

The press associations do an even-handed job of straight reporting, but in the rush to meet deadlines with fast-breaking news, they give only bits and pieces of the whole story. Inevitably, they put the accent on spot news of conflict. Without any further effort to see the integration problem whole, so do most Southern papers. Says Editor Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution*, which does one of the South's best jobs: "Most newspapers seem to have forgotten that there is another side to the story, that Texas is going ahead with integration, that Arkansas is quiet, that North Carolina is quiet, that Tennessee is quiet, that southern Missouri, which is very Southern in attitude, is going with integration."

The Diehards. At its worst, notably in Mississippi, the Southern press is full of slanting, suppression and rabble-rousing against integration. The most violent is the Jackson, Miss. *Daily News* (circ. 38,813), whose ripsnorting old (78) Editor Fred Sullens incites readers against "mongrelization" under such front-page scare-lines as "YOU ARE FOR US OR AGAINST US." The best that Editor Sullens could say of the Negro was in a sentimental story on the funeral of an 83-year-old onetime janitor at the University of Mississippi; the paper started a scholarship fund in his name, and sang his praises as "a good Negro who knew his place."

Such papers as Sullens' *Daily News* now run more Negro crime news under bigger headlines than ever before—even when it means going as far afield as Chicago. They spike occasional wire stories that show integration working, e.g., a recent A.P. dispatch about the acceptance of three Negroes at the University of North Carolina. They print and reprint testimonials by Negroes who say that they prefer segregation and ignore Negro leaders on the other side, except to quote them out of context to make them sound like wild radicals.

Against this strident tone a new Jackson daily, the *State Times* (TIME, March 7), tried to sound a more moderate note on racial issues. When the paper started about a year ago, Editor Norman Bradley, an alumnus of the liberal Chattanooga *Times*, played desegregation news calmly, sometimes chided the state for abuses and injustices committed in the name of segregation. But the paper's directors opposed his policy, and he quit in December to return to the Chattanooga *Times* as its executive editor. Since he left, the *State Times* has been tugging almost as hard as Sullens to hold back the hands of the clock.

The Southern Case. More dignified than the extremists is another group of stalwart pro-segregation papers typified by the Charleston, S.C. *News & Courier* (circ. 53,286). It occasionally offends rabid racists by printing constructive news of the Negro community, and its editor, Thomas R. Waring, appeared in *Harper's Magazine* gently pleading "The Southern Case Against Desegregation."

But Editor Waring makes the case for his own readers with harsher strokes. He plays up news of muggings in Harlem and race riots in Chicago to support a recurrent editorial theme: look what happens where you have integration. In his editorial last week calling the Lucy uproar the result of "appeasement of colored people," his strongest word for the rioters was "impolite."

But the Southern press, up against tough and delicate problems, also has its shining examples of courage and fairness



RALPH MCGILL
Some quiet on the Southern front.

in handling its No. 1 story. In Tuscaloosa, from offices less than two miles from the University of Alabama, Editor Buford Boone of the *News* (circ. 15,681) topped off thorough coverage of the Lucy story with a hard-hitting editorial: "The university administration and trustees have knuckled under to the pressures and desires of a mob . . . We have a breakdown of law and order and abject surrender to what is expedient . . ." The Montgomery, Ala. *Advertiser* (circ. 60,144), which sees no integration possible in the Deep South in the foreseeable future, nonetheless has given full coverage to the Negro boycott of Montgomery buses (TIME, Jan. 16). It has devoted columns to interviews with leaders of the boycott, also ran a story showing that the first-come, first-seated policy demanded by the Negroes was already working in many Southern cities, including some in Alabama.

In Texas the only major dailies to take a

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like watching a snowstorm through a windowpane and remembering Thomas Nash's line: "Brightness falls from the air." Jackson Pollock's *Scent* is a heady specimen of what one worshiper calls his "personalized skywriting." More the product of brushwork than of Pollock's famed drip technique, it nevertheless aims to remind the observer of nothing except previous Pollocks, and quite succeeds in that modest design. All it says, in effect, is that Jack the Dripper, 44, still stands on his work.

Robert Motherwell's *Western Air* is cubism smashed flat and with a couple of sky-holes poked through it. It demonstrates how abstract expressionism can make violent use of yesterday's art furniture. Arshile Gorky's *Garden in Sochi* uses Miro-like amoeba shapes to express an infant memory.

Tricks & Skids. Willem de Kooning's *Gotham News* uses just about every trick in painting, except illusion, to create excitement. It is juicy à la Rubens, gaudy à la Delacroix, emphatic à la Vlaminck—and utterly ambiguous. Being too agitated for the purposes of either decoration or contemplation, De Kooning's canvas reaffirms the abstract-expressionist credo that the very effort of painting is what paintings should be about. The observer's glance is led to skid here and there in the calculated mess-like brush strokes; looking at the picture is supposed to re-create the painting process.

With Guston's *Summer, 1954*, abstract expressionism becomes its own opposite: abstract impressionism. Guston, who once had a high reputation for academic art, does not think of his later paintings as pictures at all. Says he, "They are myself." In order to put himself into his canvases, Guston makes them close to his own size. For such self-consciously personal work, the results look strangely like blowups of Claude Monet's waterlily impressions.

William Baziot's *Pompeii* is also a sophisticated vision rather than an outpouring of feeling; he saw something like it in his mind's eye. Rumpled, testy Mark Rothko produces pictures as smooth and calm as a cup of cambric tea. His *Orange Over Yellow* might make a handsome background for something, but this is not what he intended, any more than the makers of the medieval tapestries meant merely to adorn palaces. It seems highly doubtful that such art as Rothko's will some day seem as meaningful as the tapestries, yet it is possible. Such paintings may be as little as mere decoration or they may be as much as glimpses of a spiritual world awaiting an observer's ability to see them as such. It depends greatly on the sympathy of the observer.

Sympathy, in fact, is something the new advance guard demands. Far from wishing to needle the bourgeoisie, as did the School-of-Paris moderns half a century ago, the young pioneers of American painting crave appreciation. When it is not forthcoming, some of them sulk and some shrug. But none of them seems to laugh. "To refashion the fashioned, lest



POLLOCK



DE KOONING



GORKY



BAZIOTES



GOTTLIEB



MOTHERWELL



GUSTON



ROTHKO

it stiffen into iron, means an endless vital activity," they argue with Goethe. They solemnly reiterate that since impressionism, cubism and abstractionism have proved meaningful over the years, abstract expressionism will, too. And curiously enough, this wishful argument-by-analogy does cow some critics and win over others.

Academy of the Left. Among those who have kept their sense of balance and humor in criticizing the advance guard is Worcester Art Museum Director Francis Henry Taylor. In his role of judge, the critic must, like any judge, rely very largely upon precedent, as Taylor does when he complains that the advance guard has ceased to communicate with ordinary men. "Not until the second quarter of the 20th century," he points out, "was the essential communicability of art ever denied . . . The one and only quality denied to a work of art throughout the ages is privacy. Unless participation is allowed the spectator, it becomes a hopeless riddle and ceases to be any work of art at all . . . What the new Academy of the Left has yet to realize is that in their fanatic zeal they have not achieved freedom of movement for the modern artist. They have merely substituted the rubber girdle for the whalebone corset."

But the advance guard has some equally distinguished champions, notably Guggenheim Museum Director James Johnson Sweeney. Instead of passing judgment, Sweeney holds, the critic should try to "draw the attention of the public to something he has found worthy of attention and enjoyable—and to tempt the public also to enjoy it. He has to be humble in his approach if he is to get the most from his observation of art's constantly changing face."

The Urge to Resist. Sweeney's viewpoint is a healthy reminder that man's natural resistance to new art forms tends to get in the way of appreciation. Sweeney's own enthusiasm for advance-guard painting leads him to argue that it is, in the best sense, conservative. Recognizable objects, he says, are only the surface of painting, mere vocabulary. Abstract composition is the basis of all painting—the syntax. Therefore, the young American pioneers are blazing a trail back to fundamentals. Since grammar is not poetry, that would seem to leave Taylor's basic question of communication up in the air. But Sweeney maintains that the prime function of art is simply "the communication of a sense of ordered parts within an all-embracing unity."

Despite their differences, Sweeney and Taylor agree in looking for both form and content in a work of art. Yet they point up the Form v. Content debate that has split contemporary painting down the middle. The Academy of the Left stands for form alone; the Academy of the Right stands for content alone. The layman can best refresh his eyes by turning to the great masters, who stood for both at once, and hope that art may once again grow meaningful and whole.

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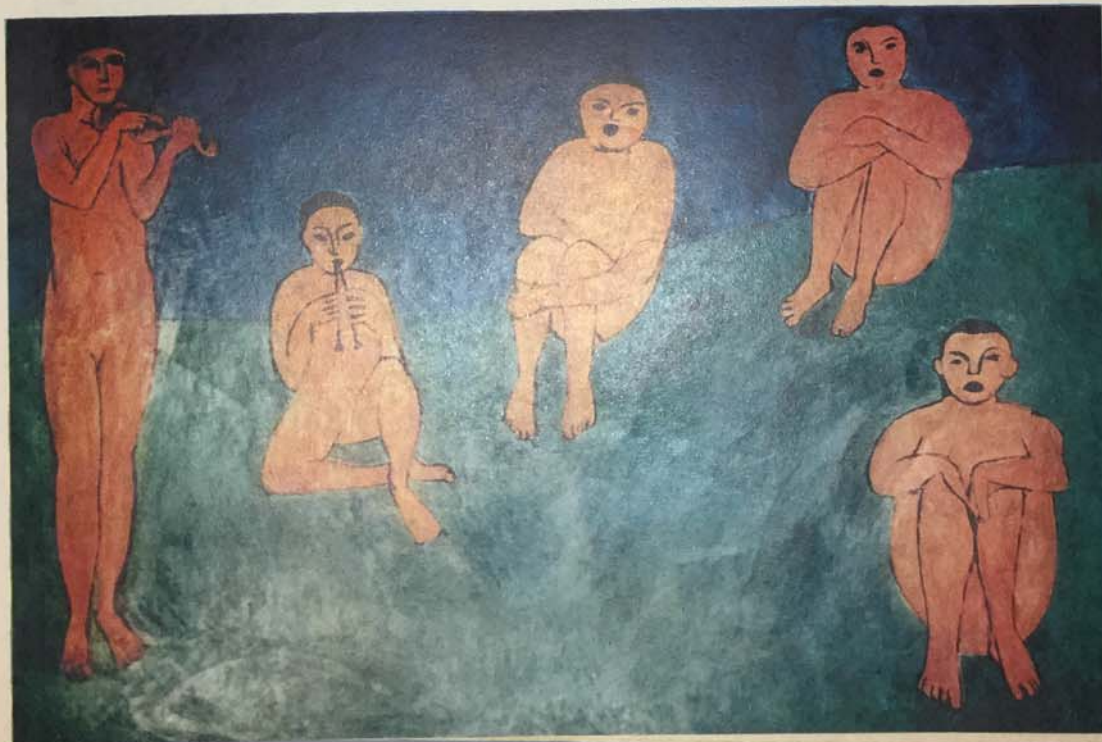


DEGAS

Dancers in Blue, pastel done around 1890, is backstage view of ballet dancers busily primping at last moment before curtain rises.

MATISSE

Music, panel more than 12-ft. long painted by Matisse in 1910, has sexless nudes requested by Russian Art Patron Sergei Shchukin.



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GAUGUIN

Aha oe fëü (What! You are jealous?) shows beach scene of Tahitian women conversing. Title may also be Gauguin's taunt to Paris friends.

ROUSSEAU

Tropical Forest shows tiger attacking buffalo in jungle setting. Similar painting by Paris primitive now hangs in Cleveland Art Museum.



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MATISSE'S SHCHUKIN (1912)

Dancers in Blue, Matisse's *Music*, Gauguin's *What? You are jealous?* and Rousseau's *Tropical Forest* (see color pages).

The Soviets in 1928 wasted little time expropriating the treasures of Shchukin and other wealthy collectors, pooled them to form Moscow's famed Museum of Modern Western Art. Used as tourist bait for years, the museum was closed during World War II by Stalin, who liked his artists regimented and realist. Only in the post-Stalin years have the paintings begun to reappear in Leningrad's Hermitage and Moscow's Pushkin Museums.

Treating audiences abroad more freely, Soviet commissars of art shipped out for loan exhibitions paintings still considered explosive at home until, in 1954, the ghost of Shchukin rose to haunt them. During a huge Picasso retrospective in Paris, Shchukin's daughter, Irène, demanded back 37 Picassos formerly in her father's collection. In a panic, the Russian embassy dispatched a small black truck to the exhibit, whisked the Picassos off the wall and to safety inside their embassy. Said Comrade Picasso: "After all, what would happen if the Count of Paris claimed the chateau of Versailles?"

The Soviets have been gradually rehabilitating the impressionists, despite the Communist dictum that men like Renoir "reflect modern bourgeois realities." Last spring, in its show of French moderns, the Hermitage moved further, hung 20 Matisse's, 17 Gauguin's, 19 Cézanne's, 21 Monets and 24 pre-Cubist Picassos. But it will probably be years before the full glory of Soviet modern-art acquisitions is considered safe enough to be seen. Modern art is still suspect. Says cautious Hermitage Director Mikhail Artamonov: "Modern Western art is not uniform. Some new paintings are quite unacceptable for us, though doubtlessly there are some outstanding achievements of modern art."

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BOSTON'S "REVEREND JOHANNES ELISON" AND "MARIA BOCKENOLLE ELISON"

ART

Rembrandt for \$500,000

With high excitement two U.S. museums this week are celebrating the acquisition of works by a painter who has always been a sound investment—the 17th century master of northern European painting, Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn. In both cases the prices were even higher than the excitement.

In Detroit the Institute of Arts has on display its newest (and sixth) Rembrandt, the small (8½ by 6½ in.) *A Woman Weeping*, donated by Henry Ford II, president of the Ford Motor Co., and his wife. Last year Mrs. Ford spotted the small Rembrandt in Manhattan's Rosenberg & Stiebel Inc., felt that it was "one of the most beautiful pictures I have ever seen." The Fords decided to buy it, paid an estimated \$50,000, and made it their first gift to the Detroit museum.

As Rembrandts go, *Woman Weeping* is relatively unknown. It first came to public view in 1914 at a London auction, where it was bought by Berlin Banker Oskar Huldshinsky for £1,470 (\$7,158.90 at the time), top Rembrandt price of the year. What makes the painting choice is that it dates from Rembrandt's early 50s, when he had risen by force of character above the shallows of his personal life to enter his last and greatest period. In *Woman Weeping*, his mistress and favorite model, Hendrickje Stoffels (who was censured repeatedly by the church elders for her life with Rembrandt), appears in a masterful psychological portrait depicting a woman caught during the fleeting moment when she has just managed to stifle her sobs. It may well be a study for a late Rembrandt version of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*.

In Boston the Museum of Fine Arts

announced its new double acquisition, matching portraits of the Rev. Johannes Elison and his wife, Maria Bockenolle, of Norwich, England, painted in 1634 during Rembrandt's early years as a successful portrait painter in Amsterdam. Boston Museum trustees used up the whole of their five-year-old William K. Richardson fund to pay for the pair of life-sized portraits, largest single purchase in the museum's 80-year-old history. The price: just under \$500,000.

Boston Museum Director Perry Rathbone feels the money was well spent. Not only are the two paintings the only full-length portraits by Rembrandt now in the U.S., but, says Rathbone, "they seem particularly appropriate for Boston. The Rev. Johannes Elison and his wife were the same kind of Puritans that first came to Massachusetts, very Elder Brewsterish."



DETROIT'S "A WOMAN WEeping"

THE HERMITAGE TREASURES: II

HOW great is Soviet Russia's storehouse of modern art, still largely hidden away in the storerooms of Leningrad's Hermitage Museum? Answer last week from a man with firsthand knowledge: "The Hermitage has the greatest collection of Picassos before 1914, and the greatest collection of Matisse's anywhere. Its Gauguin collection is by far the greatest in the world. In Cézannes, it is second among institutional collections only to the Barnes collection in Merion, Pa. And it has three first-rate Rousseaus. The Van Goghs are excellent. From the period of say 1885 to 1914, its pictures are magnificent. In the later period of art in France, it is unsurpassed."

This considered opinion came from no Soviet pressagent, but from Alfred Barr Jr., director of collections of Manhattan's Museum of Modern Art, who took advantage of last spring's cultural thaw to go to Leningrad for the Hermitage's first big display of French painting. Beyond the show, Barr was permitted to see an astonishing cache of modern art stored away out of sight.

Picasso for \$40. The Communist collection of modern masterworks, all bought before World War I, is the result of simon-pure capitalist acquisitiveness. At the turn of the century, fabulously rich Russian merchants, financiers and landowners took the train for Paris, returned with packing cases loaded not only with impressionist masters but a cross section of the most revolutionary modern art of their day.

Greatest of all the Russian capitalist collectors was Moscow Tea Merchant Sergei Ivanovich Shchukin, a neat little man with a big head and striking features, who had an uncanny eye for art. One of his earliest modern art enthusiasms was for Henri Matisse, whom he first met in 1906 when Matisse was 37. By 1914 Shchukin had loaded up with 36 Matisse paintings. Collector Shchukin's second stroke of luck happened when Matisse passed him along to Picasso, and the Russian merchant became one of the young Spanish painter's first important patrons. Shchukin had the good sense not to haggle over prices; after all, he was picking up Picasso "blue period" works for as little as \$40*.

Collector's Ghost. "Whenever I had some particularly fine pictures for sale," recalls Paris Art Dealer Henry Kahnweiler, "I would send Shchukin a telegram. He generally arrived in Paris within a fortnight." Shchukin's rococo 18th century palace in Moscow was packed with art, including eight Cézannes, three Renoirs, 16 top Derains, 50 Picassos, Degas'

* Another great Russian capitalist collector was Ivan Abramovich Morosov, who competed fiercely with Shchukin for the paintings of Matisse and Picasso, fell behind because he could not accept cubism.

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cc: D. Miller
Mrs. Shaw

6 February 1957

Dear Miss Barry:

Thank you for your letter and the advance copy of Time with the article on the Hermitage Treasures, Part II.

made over the phone

Just in case you receive some letters of correction, let me remark that the last sentence in the first paragraph does not clearly express my meaning. It should have read "in the latter part of that period of art" instead of "in the later period of art." This quote from me is made up of a number of observations/rather than something written or dictated by me. I assume that Miss Welch did read this last sentence to me on the phone, but since I had explained clearly to her that the "unsurpassed" referred to the period 1900 to 1914 I am afraid I overlooked that this was not made clear in the final version. As it now stands, the ordinary reader would suppose that it was the period after 1914 that is "unsurpassed" whereas there is almost nothing in the collections of any importance of that period since the two great collectors were interrupted by the first World War.

The sentence about closing the Museum of Modern Western Art is rather misleading too in that it was the German invasion that caused the closing, although it was Stalin's prejudices that blocked the reopening after the war was over. The paintings themselves were taken out of Moscow for fear of air raids or possible capture by the Germans during the war.

Perhaps you will think these remarks pedantic but you should be forearmed in case of questions.

Let me say again, it was a pleasure to help you and I found Miss Welch knowledgeable and highly intelligent.

Sincerely,

Miss Veronica Barry
Editorial Offices
Time Magazine
Life and Time Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	AHB	I.A.322

cc: D. Miller
Mrs. Shaw

Time

THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART
FOUNDED BY EDWARD DRUMMOND LIBBEY

MARK MOSE GREEN DIRECTOR JOHN WITTMANN LANGE DEPUTY DIRECTOR
MUSEUM STREET AT BENTWOOD AVENUE

6 February 1957

TOLEDO 2, OHIO

AUGUST 13, 1946

Dear Miss Barry:

Thank you for your letter and the advance copy of Time with the article on the Hermitage Treasures, Part II.

Just in case you receive some letters of correction, let me remark that the last sentence in the first paragraph does not clearly express my meaning. It should have read "in the latter part of that period of art" instead of "in the later period of art." This quote from me is made up of a number of observations, rather than something written or dictated by me. I assume that Miss Welch did read this last sentence to me on the phone, but since I had explained clearly to her that the "unsurpassed" referred to the period 1900 to 1914, I am afraid I overlooked that this was not made clear in the final version. As it now stands, the ordinary reader would suppose that it was the period after 1914 that is "unsurpassed" whereas there is almost nothing in the collections of any importance of that period since the two great collectors were interrupted by the first World War.

made over
the photo

This has involved reproducing many thousands of plates. The sentence about closing the Museum of Modern Western Art is rather misleading too in that it was the German invasion that caused the closing, although it was Stalin's prejudices that blocked the reopening after the war was over. The paintings themselves were taken out of Moscow for fear of air raids or possible capture by the Germans during the war.

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Sincerely,

Miss Veronica Barry
Editorial Offices
Time Magazine
Life and Time Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

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Toledo
Photo sent

THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

FOUNDED BY EDWARD DRUMMOND LIBBEY

BLAKE-MORE GODWIN, DIRECTOR OTTO WITTMANN, JR., ASSOC. DIRECTOR

MONROE STREET AT SCOTTWOOD AVENUE

TOLEDO 2, OHIO

August 15, 1956

~~The Museum's exhibitions and publications~~

Visual presentation is a primary activity of the Museum and graphic design and layout one of the few modern arts which we not only exhibit but also practice.

We have published more than 200 books, pamphlets and bulletins. This has involved reproducing many thousands of plates. As we manufacture our publications ourselves the layout is done by our own staff or by an outside specialist we hire for the job and who works under our supervision.

Furthermore the influence of modern painting on graphic design and layout is probably more widespread and generally accepted than in any other related art of our time.

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Toledo
Photo sent

THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART
FOUNDED BY EDWARD DRUMMOND LIBBEY

BLAKE-MORE GODWIN, DIRECTOR OTTO WITTMANN, JR., ASSOC. DIRECTOR

MONROE STREET AT SCOTTWOOD AVENUE

TOLEDO 2, OHIO

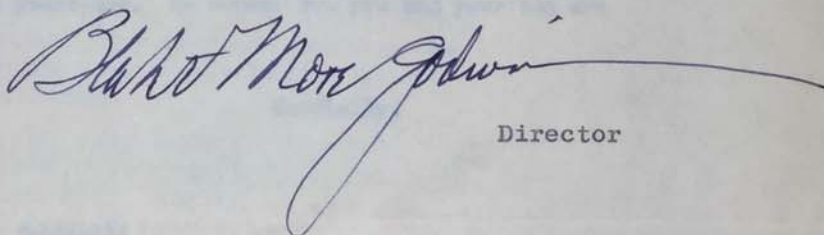
August 15, 1956

The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Professor Seitz tells me that your recently acquired Monet of his garden at Giverny bears a signature which is precisely like that on a Monet owned by a friend of ours and which, at first sight, gave me some concern. Would you be good enough to send me a photograph of your painting and, if you have one, a detail of the signature also. Unfortunately, I can not reciprocate with a photograph of our friend's painting as the only one I have, I have sent to Professor Seitz and the picture is not in Toledo. Therefore, bill us for the cost of the photograph.

Yours sincerely,



BMG:lk1

Director

S-14,234 - signature visible upper left

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Toninelli

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date March 1, 1956

24 June 1957

Re: Toninelli letter attached

Dear Memo:

ROMEO TONINELLI MILANO CORSO VENEZIA 16 TEL. 70000

I have been through a long and heavy siege,
 thanks to our Picasso exhibition which opened recently.
 Otherwise I would have acknowledged the letter from you
 left at our Museum by Orfeo Tamburi.
 Even though I have not written you about it, I
 did indeed go to see his exhibition and encouraged one of
 my friends who was considering a purchase.

one of Marga joins me in sending you our warmest
 Orfeo Tamburi, who lives in Paris
 regards. We remember with pleasure our dinner together in
 in New York during his first exhibit
 Milan two years ago. We wonder how you and your son are
 to recommend him to your courtesy be-
 faring. he is very sympathetic and a
 real gentleman.

Cordially,

I thank you very much in advance,
 Dear Alfred, for everything you may
 do for him and, hoping to see you
 soon, I remain your friend

Mr. Romeo Toninelli
 Corso Venezia 16
 Milan, Italy

Romeo Toninelli

AHB:ma

*Caro Margaret, a mio
 s'annio Orfeo de vent
 p la prim volta negli
 Stati Uniti. Ingegnere
 mezzano*

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Toninelli

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

ROMEO TONINELLI MILANO CORSO VENEZIA 16 TEL. 700972
(PALAZZO SERBELLOTTI)

To:
From:

Mr. Alfred H. Barr
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Alfred,

one of my best friends, the painter Orfeo Tamburi, who lives in Paris and works very successfully, will be in New York during his first exhibition in the East. I take the liberty to recommend him to your courtesy because he is very sympathetic and a real gentleman.

I thank you very much in advance, Dear Alfred, for everything you may do for him and, hoping to see you soon, I remain your friend

Romeo Toninelli

*Caro Margaret, le invio
l'elenco Orfeo de viene
p la prima volta negli
Stati Uniti. grazie*

meur

have received a four-line note from you, but through no error of my own I was unable to see
large file of letters acknowledging the letters but without my having read them. Since
in any case he objects to the space allotted him I shall write him directly about that
conclusion. I enclose a copy of my letter.

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series/Folder:
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Toninelli

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date ~~March 1, 1956~~ January 11, 1955

To: Greta Daniel
From: Alfred Barr

Re: ~~Toninelli letter attached~~



TAMBURI

RECENT PAINTINGS
OF PARIS

SAGITTARIUS GALLERY
46 East 57th Street
NEW YORK CITY

FOR STUDY PURPOSES ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION.

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

Collection:

AHB

Series/Folder:

I.A.322

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date March 1, 1956

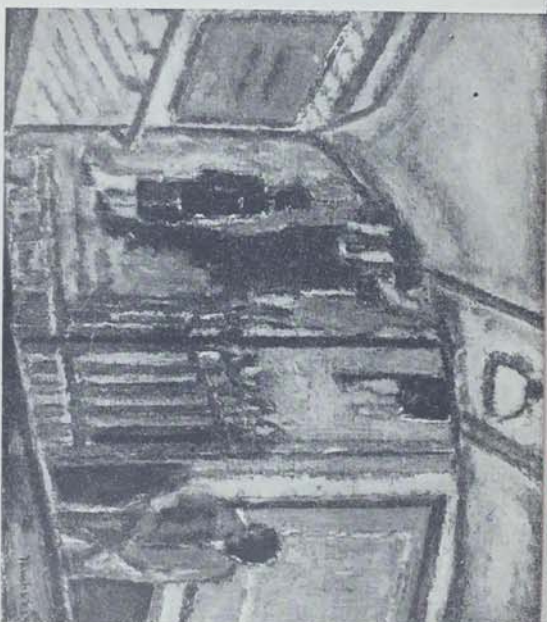
To: Grete Danel

Re: Fortunato Bellonzi letter attached

Tourette II

ORFEO TAMBURI

A rare coherence of style can be found in the works of Orfeo Tamburi, in his urban scenes of Paris and Rome, so well drawn and painted with a perfect responsiveness of lines and tones equally definite and essential. Streets and squares, bridges and river banks or simple facades of houses with many open windows on surfaces gray and white as the color of old bones, small trees, poles and lights, roofs of humble houses, plumbous streaks of asphalt, skies dark and dusty (and therefore more persuasive on human dwellings), garden and benches shown as unexpected restful places for the man of the city, narrate, all together, the story of a painter attentive to capture the emotional charge of places known and unknown, ready to light the imagination with the fire of the same, and sometimes even monotonous, daily happenings: the tone of a sign, the accentuated red of a gate, the slate tone of a roof, the worked texture of a naked wall, the black line of a boat on the river, the thick verticalness of buildings facing the bridges, the occasional architectures of dormer windows to which are responding, down below, the stretched curtains of the shops. If the word picturesque can be used for these paintings of Tamburi it is in the less pretentious meaning in respect to what a painter of the eighteenth century would be searching for. It could be said that, here, there is no house



Person in the "Miro" - Paris 1956

which cannot receive its poetical interpretation and it is of no importance who lived in it, be the poet Guillaume Apollinaire or common people: the value, the human significance of the urban scenes are carried by Tamburi within himself and it seems to me that only a few were able to address so well their own artistic interests toward the aspect of the city which one loves for having lived in it, for having strolled in its streets with his thoughts and for feeling it familiar as

if it were a big room, his only dwelling, in each corner of which lies impressed something of himself, even a quick glance.

And, comforted by these works, I am the more convinced that the relation between man and nature cannot be broken without falling into the poverty of the alusive sign, in the childish game of geometrical ornaments, in the stammering of sounds which have not yet become words. Unless we want to bring everything down to an exchange, among us, of interjections, of yells and of hints, we cannot abdicate the richness of a language well articulated and wisely arranged which adds life to life and reality to reality and which is an open message from us to ourselves and to all men; a language which, to have real strength of communication, cannot ignore the things which are around us (be they men or trees or buildings or skies) which are not at all consumed by the fact that we have for so many centuries contemplated and interpreted them, the novelty consisting not in the pretentious research of abstract inventions, but in the intensity of the feeling which these things, so old but always capable to become new, are susceptible to inspire us.

FORTUNATO BELLONZI

Secretary General of the Quadrilatero of Rome

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Toninelli

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date March 1, 1956

January 1, 1956

ORFEO TAMBURI

A rare coherence of style can be found in the works of Orfeo Tamburi, in his urban scenes of Paris and Rome, so well drawn and painted with a perfect responsiveness of lines and tones equally definite and essential. Streets and squares, bridges and river banks or simple façades of houses with many open windows on surfaces gray and white as the color of old bones, small trees, poles and lights, roofs of humble houses, plumbous streaks of asphalt, skies dark and dusty (and therefore more persuasive on human dwellings), garden and benches shown as unexpected restful places for the man of the city, narrate, all together, the story of a painter attentive to capture the emotional charge of places known and unknown, ready to light the imagination with the fire of the same, and sometimes even monotonous, daily happenings: the tone of a sign, the accentuated red of a gate, the slate tone of a roof, the worked texture of a naked wall, the black line of a boat on the river, the thick verticalness of buildings facing the bridges, the occasional architectures of dormer windows to which are responding, down below, the stretched curtains of the shops. If the word picturesque can be used for these paintings of Tamburi it is in the less pretentious meaning in respect to what a painter of the eighteenth century would be searching for. It could be said that, here, there is no house

CATALOG

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 - « Embarcadère » | 17 - The huts of Rue d'Amsterdam |
| 2 - A garden | 18 - Rue Montmartre |
| 3 - View of Neuilly | 19 - The posters |
| 4 - Houses in Fontainebleau | 20 - 14 juillet |
| 5 - The small house | 21 - View of Métro |
| 6 - Métro « 4 Septembre » | 22 - Persons in the Métro |
| 7 - Bridge on the Seine | 23 - A street of Paris |
| 8 - The barracks | 24 - Elevated railway |
| 9 - Farm in Tuscany (Italy) | 25 - View of Paris (Mr. Paglia's collec. Mexico City) |
| 10 - Cabins at the Isle of Elba (Italy) | 26 - The house of poet Apollinaire |
| 11 - Italian landscape | 27 - Métro Pantin |
| 12 - Urban landscape (« Tabac ») | 28 - The houses |
| 13 - Kiosk | 29 - The windows |
| 14 - Street lamp | 30 - The walls |
| 15 - Métro Chaussée d'Antin | |
| 16 - Boulevard Haussmann | |

On the cover: EMBARCADÈRE, 1953 (Mr. Isle's collection, New York)

LANFRANCO RASPONI and JOHN PETALE AMATO

request the pleasure of your company to meet

ORFEO TAMBURI

on Monday, February 11, 1957

from 2.30 to 7.30

at the opening of his first New York exhibit.

The exhibit will last through March 2nd.

ARTIST

P. S. When I said that Tom had not written as directly, I was mistaken. I had just received a four-line note from him, but then as an error it was passed on to the large file of letters administered by the various staff members by having read it. Given in his note he refers to the notes which I shall write him directly about my exhibition. I enclosed a copy of my letters.

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Toninelli

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date ~~March 1, 1956~~

January 1, 1956

To:

Greta D.

Re: ~~Toninelli letter attached~~

From:

Alfr

Biographic note

ORFEO TAMBURI was born in Jesi (Ancona) in 1910. He studied and lived in Rome up to 1951. He lives now in Paris where he exhibits and collaborates in various magazines, with drawings and articles, and where he enjoys the friendship of Vlaminck, Blaise Cendrars, Roger Nimier and of other artists.

EXHIBITS

1934: «Bragaglia fuori commercio», Rome — 1935/1939: 1st and 2nd Quadriennale of Rome — 1940: 22nd International Biennale of Venice; Galleria di Roma, Rome; Galleria Mediterranea, Palermo — 1941: Galleria Barbaroux, Milan — 1942: Centro d'Azione per le Arti, Turin — 1943: 4th Quadriennale of Rome; Il Babbuino Rome; Galleria dell'Annunziata, Milan — 1944: La Margherita, Rome; La Campana, Rome — 1945: «Présence», Rome — 1946: Gallery of «Cronache», Bologna; L'Oblò, Capri — 1948: Galerie Rive Gauche, Paris; Musée de l'Art du Livre, Brussels — 1949: Wolfensberg Gallery, Zurich; Galerie l'Athénée, Geneva; l'Obelisco, Rome — 1950: Galleria Barbaroux, Milan; Nuova Galleria, Genoa; L'Atelier, Parma; 25th International Biennale of Venice — 1951: Il Grattacielo, Legnano; Alla Saletta, Modena; 6th Quadriennale of Rome; 2nd National Art Exhibition, Milan — 1952: Il Delfino, Rovereto; 26th International Biennale of Venice — 1953: Il Grattacielo, Legnano; Galerie Pétridès, Paris — 1954: L'ami des Lettres, Bordeaux; Musée des Beaux Arts, Nantes; 27th International Biennale of Venice; Mostra d'Arte Marchigiana, Rome; Il Camino, Rome; Galleria del Sole, Milan — 1955: Sala delle Stagioni, Pisa; Accademia del Ceppo, Pistoia; Galleria Alibert, Rome; 7th Quadriennale of Rome; 3rd National Exhibition of Italian Artists, Milan — 1956: Galleria Alibert, Rome; Galleria del Ponte, Naples.

THEATRE

He designed scenes and costumes for the ballets of Alfredo Casella, 1940; of Ildebrando Pizzetti, 1941; of Manuel de Falla, 1942 (Teatro delle Arti, Rome); the scene for «Sexophon» by Curzio Malaparte, 1955 (Teatro Nuovo, Milan); the scene for «La Bugiarda» by Diego Fabbri, 1956 (Teatro Manzoni, Milan).

BOOKS

Gino Severini: ORFEO TAMBURI, Rome, Edizioni Documento, 1941.
 Marcel Sauvage: ORFEO TAMBURI, Paris, Denoel, 1949.
 Raffaele Carrieri: ORFEO TAMBURI, Le Città, Milan, «Il Pesce d'oro», 1955 and Paris, Joseph FORET, 1956.
 A. T. Prete: ORFEO TAMBURI, Rome, Edizioni ERS, 1956 (being prepared).
 L. Sinigalli and A. Mezio: ORFEO TAMBURI, Rome, Monografie minime, 1956.

PRIZES

1954: 1st prize of Bari; 1st prize of Sassoferrato.
 1955: Premio Chieti; Premio Parlamento; Premio Marzotto.
 1956: Premio Lazio, 7th Quadriennale of Rome.

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Toninelli

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date ~~March 1, 1956~~

January 1, 1955

To: Greta Daniel

Re: ~~Toninelli letter attached~~

From: Alfred Barr

I should not trouble you further about Mene's letter but I am so fond of him and so grateful to him for all the trouble he did on our behalf that I should like to answer in some detail his complaint to you about my not seeing him in Milan when I passed through a year ago.

Mr. Toninelli, the silk designer from Milan, would like to know what are our criteria in selecting textiles for the Museum Collection. He would like to have all the necessary information in order to do the same thing in Italy at the Centro Culturale del Costume, situated in Venice, of which he is an advisor.

He would greatly appreciate having the information as soon as possible. Will you draft a letter for me to sign?

Arriving Sunday morning, I spent the afternoon and expected to spend the entire next day there, but found Monday coming that the exhibition was closed the entire day. I therefore called on Dr. Wittgen to ask her to arrange to let me in the exhibition when I worked until midnight and left the following morning for Genoa.

It is not true that I had previously announced my visit to Fernando Wittgen nor did she meet me at the airport. The truth is that I wouldn't have got in touch with her had it not been essential for me to see the Picasso show.

If, of course, I had had four days instead of an interrupted two days, I should have tried to see our friends, at least Toninelli, Herbol, Vitali, and Carriani, in spite of my language difficulties.

I suppose that Mene cannot excuse my conduct, but I had hoped that he would at least understand it and forgive it.

Please feel at liberty to send this letter on to Mene.

Sincerely,

Mr. James T. Spiv
Brushy Ridge Road
New Canaan, Connecticut

AHB:mb

P. S. When I said that Mene had not written me directly, I was mistaken. I had indeed have received a four-line note from him, but through no error it was placed in the large file of letters acknowledging the Mene's letter without my having read it. When in his note he requests to his name omitted Mene's I should write him directly about that condition. I enclosed a copy of my letter.

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TONINELLI

January 11, 1955

PARIS - 3, RUE DE GRAMONT
ZÜRICH - LÖWENSTRASSE 1

B. VIA S. ANDREA

MILANO

Dear Jim:

Perhaps I should not trouble you further about Memo's letter but I am so fond of him and so grateful to him for all the work he did on our Italian show that I should like to answer in some detail his complaint to you about my not seeing him in Milan when I passed through a year ago.

I have already written Memo, while I was still in Taormina in January, to explain to him that because of bad weather my plane from America was delayed a half day in Ireland, a full day in Brussels, and then passed over Milan to Rome, so that I had to take a train back. Consequently, I was two days late for a visit which had been tightly scheduled to four days. Therefore -- and because I was exhausted -- I decided not to announce myself to our friends in Milan, but instead to spend all my time and energy in the Picasso exhibition which was the sole reason the Museum had sent me to Europe. (As you know, the Picasso show was essential to my preparation for the next edition of the Picasso book.)

Arriving Sunday morning, I spent the afternoon and expected to spend the entire next day there, but found Monday morning that the exhibition was closed the entire day. I therefore called on Dr. Wittgens to ask her to arrange to let me in the exhibition where I worked until midnight and left the following morning for Rome.

It is not true that I had previously announced my visit to Fernanda Wittgens nor did she meet me at the airport. The truth is that I wouldn't have got in touch with her had it not been essential for me to see the Picasso show.

If, of course, I had had four days instead of an interrupted two days, I should have tried to see our friends, at least Toninelli, Marini, Vitali, and Carrieri, in spite of my language difficulties.

I suppose that Memo cannot approve my conduct, but I had hoped that he would at least understand it and forgive it.

Please feel at liberty to send this letter on to Memo.

Sincerely,

Mr. James T. Soby
Brushy Ridge Road
New Canaan, Connecticut

AHB:ma

P. S. When I said that Memo had not written me directly, I was mistaken. I find that we have received a four-line note from him, but through an error it was passed on to the large file of letters acknowledging the Masters book without my having read it. Since in his note he objects to the space allotted Marini I shall write him directly about that complaint. I enclose a copy of my letter.

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TONINELLI

*Greta Daniel
replied
Toninelli*

PARIS - 3, RUE DE GRAMONT
ZÜRICH - LÖWENSTRASSE, 1

8, VIA S. ANDREA

MILANO

TELEF. 79.23.69 - 70.05.54 - 70.92.72
TELEGRAMMI: TONITALIA MILANO

Egregio Signore
ALFRED H. BARR
New York

Milano, 24 Febbraio 1956

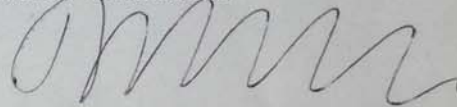
Caro Alfred,

vorrei pregarLa di farmi sapere quale criterio avete seguito nel costituire la collezione di tessuti che si trova nel Vs. museo.

Mi interessa di conoscere tutte le notizie necessarie per poter fare la stessa cosa in Italia presso il Centro Culturale del Costume che si trova a Venezia e del quale sono consigliere.

Le sarò molto grato se vorrà darmi qualche notizia il più presto possibile e frattanto con i miei ringraziamenti anticipati molto cordiali saluti a Marga e a Lei dal Suo amico

Romeo Toninelli



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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ROMEO TONINELLI
VIA S. ANDREA, 8 - TEL. 709.272
MILANO

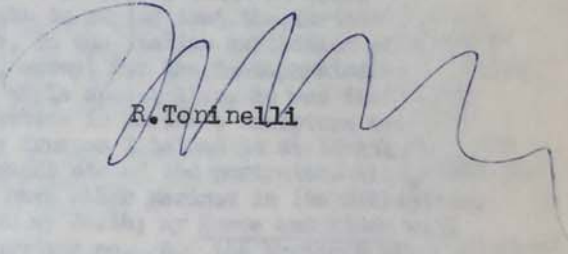
Milano , 8 febbraio 55

Caro Alfred ,

la ringrazio molto per le sue due lettere da me ricevute nelle scorse settimane . Non ho potuto risponderle subito essendo rientrato da Parigi da pochi giorni . Ho consegnato a Marino la lettera relativa al libro "Master of Modern Art" .- Le nostre critiche dimostrano , se non altro , il grande interesse che circonda in Italia il suo lavoro di scrittore e la considerazione in cui é tenuto.

Cordialmente La saluto.

R. Toninelli



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Brinelli

JAMES THRALL SOBY

Brushy Ridge Road

New Canaan, Conn.

January 14, 1955

Jan. 14, 1955

My dear Memo:

Many thanks for your letter and the photographs of the plates in The Early Chirico on which de Chirico has written "this picture is false." I just don't believe him. Some of these pictures I can trace back to a time long before forgeries were being made, the prices of de Chirico's early works being very low.

Thanks too for the clipping about the New York Graphic Society's troubles with de Chirico. This seems to be the old story of de Chirico's having authenticated pictures and then afterwards, in a fit of unreasonable rage, denied them. I don't know much about the New York Graphic Society. But their offices are in Greenwich, Conn., a town very near here, and I am to see the president of the Society Monday and get their version of the story.

I am enclosing Alfred Barr's letter to me, which he said I might send on to you. I think it should clear up the misunderstanding about Mme. Wittgens. And I hope you will show the letter to Marino; I think it would make him feel better. Alfred is perfectly right in saying that the Marini room was the climax, in terms of central space, in the Italian exhibition of 1949; it was he who installed the entire show, except for the "metaphysical" room, and it was his idea to give Marino such ample space. Also, he was the one who interested several of the Museum's Trustees in Marino's sculpture and persuaded them to buy or commission; the only Trustee I talked to at length about Marino was the late Sam Lewisohn, who bought one of the portraits. Also, as Alfred points out, the Museum will one day have other Marinos in its collection. My own Dancer goes to the Museum immediately on my death; my Horse and Rider will go to the Museum on Melissa's death, if she survives me. And the greatest of all the horsemen series (to my mind) will probably be turned over to the Museum by Mrs. Rockefeller in a few years.

Both Alfred and I are distressed about the misunderstanding with Marino. As you know, I esteem him very highly as a sculptor and cherish my friendship with him and with Marina. I hope very much that these various letters will straighten things out.

Very best to you, repeated thanks,

Museum officials have gone over Marino's collection and have been carefully checked so that it will include the wonderful Big Horse and Rider of 1927 which is now owned by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, III and Mr. Soby's fine figure piece called Harbor. These two works, which I believe to be among Marino's finest, are, through Mrs. Rockefeller's and Jim Soby's generosity, definitely bequeathed to the Museum and the Horse and Rider is likely to come to the Museum in the next couple of years.

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Mr. Mendell

- 2 -

January 11, 1955

January 11, 1955

gift. Meanwhile, it's actually on exhibition in the Museum's greenhouse. (Unless Rockefeller's large recent horse may also come to us.)

I do hope that you will understand that I had far less space in the book than I really needed and that I certainly intended no slight to Marini or his work.

Dear Memo:
Truly, since, as you report, Marini seems to feel that I have been unfair or negligent, won't you please show him this letter or tell him its contents when you next see him?

Forgive me for not answering your note about our publication, Masters of Modern Art before this. To tell the truth, I had not realized that you had written, since your note found its way into a large file of acknowledgements without my having read it. When Jim showed me your letter to him I asked my secretary who found your letter.

Of course I am distressed by your reaction to the place given Marini in our book and even more to your report that Marini himself is upset.

Mr. Home
You must know that I admire Marini's sculpture very much and have proven my admiration by interesting several collectors in this country in commissioning or buying his sculpture, and even more, by my installation of his sculpture in our Italian show in 1949 in which his work appeared to be the climax of the show.

However, Masters of Modern Art is a book about our Collections and not a general survey of the subject of modern art. We have in our collection only one of the smaller horsemen and the portrait of Vitali. Under these circumstances it seems to me that the space given Marini's work in this particular book is fair enough.

As a matter of fact, Marini is just as well represented in the book as are several sculptors of even greater reputation, including Barlach, Despiau, Epstein and Henri Laurens. Picasso's sculpture is not reproduced at all.

I agree that Marini is the greatest living Italian sculptor, but the greatest living German sculptor, Gerhard Marcks, is not represented at all, nor is there any reference to the other two sculptors who are often spoken of as Marini's rivals, namely, Martini and Manzù.

You see that our Collection is very far from complete and Masters of Modern Art an extremely abbreviated account of what we do have. Ideally, of course, the Museum should have more works by Marini. But possibly you and Marini himself do not realize that the figure of the Museum Collection has been carefully planned so that it will include the wonderful big Horse and Rider of 1947 which is now owned by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, III and Mr. Soby's fine figure piece called Dancer. These major works, which I believe to be among Marini's finest, are, through Mrs. Rockefeller's and Jim Soby's generosity, definitely bequeathed to the Museum and the Horse and Rider is likely to come to the Museum in the next couple of years as a

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cc: Miss Daniel (Revised slightly; please throw away first version)

Mr. Toninelli

- 2 @

January 11, 1955

gift. Meanwhile, it's actually on exhibition in the Museum's guesthouse. (Nelson Rockefeller's large recent horse may also come to us.)

I do hope that you will understand that I had far less space in the book than I really needed and that I certainly intended no slight to Marini or his work. Incidentally, since, as you report, Marini seems to feel that I have been unfair or negligent, won't you please show him this letter or tell him its contents when you next see him?

431 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Sincerely,

Gentlemen:

Thank you for sending me a postcard about the
replacement of your electric watch.

Mr. Romeo Toninelli
Palazzo Serbelloni
Milan, Italy

AHB:ma

I hope you will forgive me if I say that I
am shocked both by the vulgarity of the card's color
and design and especially by the atrocious design of the
watch itself. How in the world could you have accepted
a spherical triangle as a reasonable design for a watch
and in addition have cluttered up the face with a sig-
net and surrounded it by "modernistic" ornament at its
worst. Of course I assume that the watch works very well.

Sincerely,

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

William D. Mackay

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cc: Miss Daniel (Revised slightly; please throw away first version) Tourneau

49 East 96 Street
New York, New York
10012
August 16, 1957
Plainfield, N.J.
April 12, 1958

Alfred H. Tourneau Watches
The Museum 431 Madison Avenue
New York, New York, New York

Dear Mr. Barr:

Gentlemen:

I have received your letter and a copy of "What is Modern Painting?" Thank you for sending me a postcard advertisement of your electric watch. I have made the corrections and suggestions, almost all of which have been included in the finished article. I hope you will forgive me if I say that I

am shocked both by the vulgarity of the card's color and design and secondly by the atrocious design of the watch itself. How in the world could you have accepted a spherical triangle as a reasonable design for a watch and in addition have cluttered up the face with a zig-zag and surrounded it by "modernistic" ornament at its worst. Of course I assume that the watch works very well.

One or two of the photographs that Sam Tanshore took of you have come out well. The article appears in the Baltimore Sun within a month or two and I will send you a copy and will also send one to the Publicity Department at the Museum, where people were helpful to me.

Sincerely,
Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

William H. Bradley

William H. Bradley

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Trombly

9 Meadowbrook Village,
1001 E. Front St.,
Plainfield, N.J.,
April 12, 1954

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.,
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barr:

I have received your letter and a copy of "What is Modern Painting?" Thanks for both. I appreciate your taking the time to read over my piece and I appreciate the corrections and suggestions, almost all of which have been included in the finished article.

I removed the reference to "politicking and silent maneuvering" and, in the sentence setting down the Museum's services, stressed the books and not the postal and greeting cards. In most cases journalistic superlatives probably need to be spoiled.

One or two of the photographs that Sam Tamashiro took of you have come out well. The article should appear in the Baltimore Sun within a month or two and I will send you a copy and will also send one to the Publicity Department at the Museum, where people were helpful to me.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

William H. Trombly

William H. Trombly

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234 E. 96th St.,
New York, 28, NY,
March 15, 1954

Dear Mr. Barr:

Thank you for your reply to my questions.

Enclosed is my article for the Baltimore Sun. I hope it contains no factual errors. One or two pieces of information have been **left** for the Sun to fill in.

Would you return the article to me at the address listed above? Thanks again for spending some time with me and Sam Tamashiro.

Sincerely,

William Trombley
William Trombley

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cc. Mrs. Shaw

234 E. 96th St.,
New York, 28, NY,
March 30, 1954

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.,
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York, 19, NY

Dear Mr. Barr:

Thanks very much for sending along a copy of "What is Modern Painting".

I imagine you are busy but wondered if you have as yet had an opportunity to look over that story I sent you about two weeks ago. I would like to get it off to the Baltimore Sun during the week of April 5th at the latest.

I will be moving in a day or so and would appreciate it if you could send the story to me at Meadowbrook Village, East Front St., Plainfield, New Jersey.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William H. Trombley

William H. Trombley

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cc. Mrs. Shaw

Trombley

Mr. Trombley

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April 5, 1954

April 5, 1954

of promotion occurred when I was no longer in the saddle.

In several cases I am afraid I have spoiled your superlatives. I have gone down the overemphasis on personal achievement in favor of the facts of institutional cooperation. I think your

I have finished the book we were talking about last Friday and I read your piece over the weekend. It seems to me very lively and generally accurate as far as facts are concerned, although, just as was true of Macdonald in the New Yorker, you tend to confuse the work of an individual with the work of an institution. I have tried to point out this confusion when it was really serious on the typescript itself.

page 3: I wish I could give you the exact date of the unveiling of the tablet to my father. He died in 1935 and I think I went down to Baltimore two or three years later at the invitation of Dr. Mason Knox.

Alfred N. Sarr, Jr.

page 4: Perhaps too minor to correct, but it was the Gilman boys in their little gray and blue beanies that sang "Oh, You Beautiful Team" -- a rhapsody that seemed ironic as we scored two or three touchdowns a quarter.

page 7: In general the trustees were not in principle against the new-fangled departments which I wanted to see in the Museum, but the Museum opened a couple of weeks before the Wall Street crash and the trustees had enough on their hands keeping it going during the deep depression years without taking on the responsibilities of new departments. Actually the Architecture Department was started in 1932 and the Film Library in '35.

As to "politicizing and silent maneuvering": I never had this reputation until an article by Emily Genauer in Harpers in 1944 in which to my astonishment I appeared as both a Svengali and Machiavelli. The lady, with a good deal of malice, disapproved of much that the Museum had done, partly because her tastes were different from ours. Consequently, she assumed that I must have put over what were obviously deplorable policies and actions thanks to my diplomatic ability. Actually, I believe I had the reputation and still have for tactless, stubborn insistence rather than for expert maneuvering. ^{to her}

I don't much like the emphasis on postcards and greeting cards considering the fact that we are, I think, the largest publishers of art books in the country -- books which are seriously intended and sometimes of considerable scholarly quality. ^{Museum}

Frankly it is not I who had induced half a million people a year to pay sixty cents to get into the Museum. In fact the Museum's big years

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Mr. Trombley

- 2 -

April 5, 1954

of promotion occurred when I was no longer in the saddle.

In several cases I am afraid I have spoiled your superlatives. I do hope you can tone down the overemphasis on personal achievement in the interests of the facts of institutional cooperation. I think your readers would be more convinced.

Anyway, it was a pleasure to talk with you and Mr. Tamashiro. I hope you got copies of What is Modern Painting?.

Sincerely,

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

Mr. William H. Trombley
234 East 96th Street
New York 28, New York

AHB:ma

Hand out the cards that will be given, given, but books in card out of hand

*Mr. Barr, a picture of the assistant editor Mr. Barr is
interested in, and his assistant editors, are to be ordered from
the Associated Press for \$7.50, marked down from the regular price of \$10.
The clipping is in the issue of Peckler, November 15, page 5.
Please let us know if you would like a picture ordered in the future.
A duplicate clipping will be kept on file in the publicity office.*

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

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THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date ~~December 2, 1957~~

To: Marie Alexander

Re: ~~Mr. Truman and Bust~~

From: H. Bronstein

As I told you on the phone, a print of the attached photo Mr. Barr is interested in, Mr. Truman and his sculptured likeness, may be ordered from the Associated Press for \$ 7.50, marked down from the regular price of \$ 10.

The clipping is from the Times of Friday, November 15, page 5.

Please let us know if you would like a print ordered in the future.

A duplicate clipping will be kept on file in the Publicity office.

Marie said she would check with Mr. Barr, but doubted he would want a print at this time.

Order from Bob Mitchell, PL 7-1111

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THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

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The clipping is from the Times of Friday, November 15, page 5.

Please let us know if you would like a print ordered in the future.

A duplicate clipping will be kept on file in the Publicity office.

Elizabeth,

Alfred asks if it might be possible to get a print of this photograph used in the Times?

without too much trouble to you.

He's fascinated by its Social Realism!

Marie

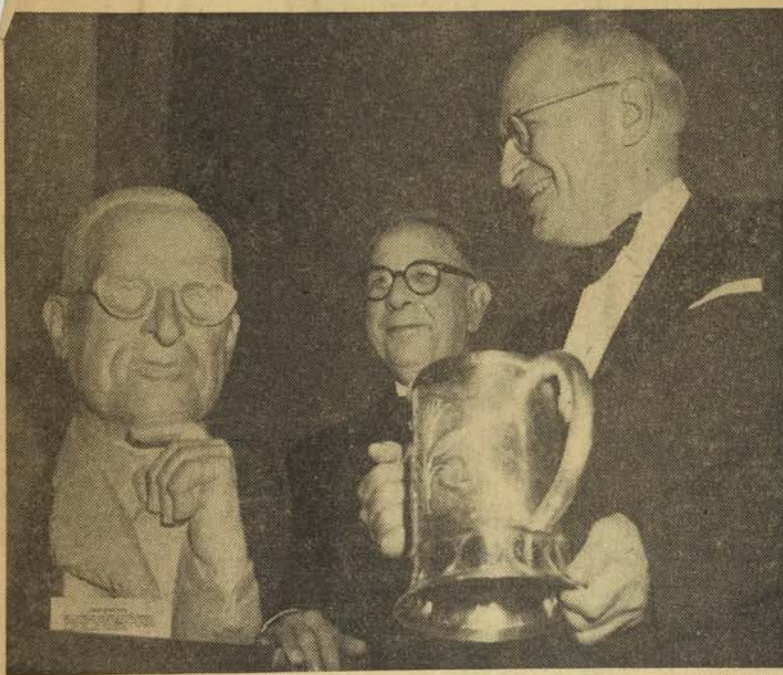
John P. ...
(AP)

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1957.



Associated Press

HONORED AT DINNER: Former President Truman holds traditional loving cup of the Lotos Club as he looks at bust of himself made by a member. In rear is John Gilland Brunini, club's executive secretary. It is the club's custom to fill the large cup with champagne and pass it around the head table so that guests may partake before dinner.