

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

IGOR I. SIKORSKY AND HIS GREEN GIANTS: TRIBUTES TO THE MAN AND HIS MACHINES

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest pioneers of the age of flight, Igor I. Sikorsky, recently celebrated his 80th birthday. I rise to pay tribute to the man and his work.

Mr. Sikorsky, still active as consulting engineer with Sikorsky Aircraft in Stratford, Conn., led the way in the development of the world's first four-engine airplane, the development of the famous "Flying Clippers," and, most important, in the development of the first practical helicopter, a machine that is valuable today but is made for tomorrow. I can think of no better living testimonial to his accomplishments than "his machine," the helicopter.

In New York City last month, many of the most famous names in aviation history gathered to honor this man. I would like to include at this point in the RECORD an article in the May issue of Sikorsky News, the company newspaper, which describes this event and those who attended it. The article follows:

IGOR I. SIKORSKY, 80, HONORED AT PARTY

"Presented to: Igor I. Sikorsky, pioneer—gentleman—friend, by his many admirers in recognition of his 80th birthday May 25, 1969. (Presented May 20, 1969, at the Wings Club, New York City.)"

This is the inscription engraved on the silver tray, which, with eight silver wine goblets, was presented to Mr. Sikorsky at a testimonial luncheon May 20 at the Wings Club in the Biltmore Hotel, in celebration of his approaching birthday anniversary.

Approximately 100 leaders in the aviation world attended the affair honoring the aeronautical pioneer and founder of Sikorsky Aircraft.

H. M. Horner, chairman emeritus of United Aircraft Corporation, served as master of ceremonies, and introduced Col. Roscoe Turner, pioneer aviator and racing pilot, who presented Mr. Sikorsky with the gift.

Lauren D. (Deac) Lyman, retired vice president of United Aircraft Corporation, former aviation editor of The New York Times and Pulitzer Prize winner, was guest speaker. He traced Mr. Sikorsky's early days in aviation, both in Russia and in the United States.

Mr. Lyman recalled in detail the first and last flights of the VS-300, Mr. Sikorsky's first successful helicopter. In speaking of the first flight, in 1939, when this helicopter was flown tethered to the ground, Mr. Lyman emphasized not only that it was the first flight of a true helicopter in this country, but also that Mr. Sikorsky, the designer and test pilot, was making his first flight in a helicopter. The last flight of the VS-300, also with Mr. Sikorsky at the controls, took place in 1943 before Henry Ford, when Mr. Sikorsky presented the helicopter to Ford's Edison Museum in Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. Lyman quoted examples of Mr. Sikorsky's wisdom, which, he said, the aeronautical pioneer often expressed in the most casual manner. Among these examples were:

"A great many airplanes were designed which, to the great good fortune of their

designers, never flew," and (when asked why his first helicopter did not fly), "Insufficient knowledge, insufficient horsepower."

Among those seated at the head table with Mr. Sikorsky were Mrs. Sikorsky, Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker, Brig. Gen. H. Franklin Gregory, USAF (ret.), pioneer military helicopter pilot; Comdr. Frank Erickson, USCG (ret.), pioneer helicopter pilot and pilot of the first helicopter mercy mission; Admiral Arthur W. Radford, USN (ret.), former head of the joint chiefs of staff and a helicopter pilot late in his career; Arthur Godfrey, former helicopter pilot; Capt. Boris Sergievsky, test pilot of Sikorsky's flying boats; C. L. (Les) Morris, pioneer helicopter test pilot; Clarence Chamberlin and Bernt Balchen, pioneer ocean pilots; Najeeb E. Halaby, president of Pan American World Airways, which used Sikorsky's "Flying Clippers" to pioneer transoceanic air routes; William P. Gwinn, chairman of United Aircraft Corporation; Wesley A. Kuhrt, Sikorsky Aircraft president, and B. L. Whelan, former general manager of Sikorsky Aircraft.

Mr. Sikorsky, now engineering consultant for Sikorsky Aircraft, was born on May 25 1889 in Kiev, Russia. A pioneer in three phases of aviation, with the world's first four-engine airplane, the Grand; the "Flying Clippers," and the first practical helicopter, he has received more than 100 honors from the aviation world, including the Wright Brothers Memorial Award in 1967.

I would also like to include the text of an article in the May 21, 1969, New York Times which describes the same event.

ONE HUNDRED HONOR SIKORSKY, NOW NEAR 80

More than 100 aviation leaders paid tribute yesterday to Igor I. Sikorsky, aeronautical pioneer and founder of Sikorsky Aircraft, at a testimonial luncheon held by the Wings Club in the Biltmore Hotel. The occasion celebrated Mr. Sikorsky's 60 years' of service to aviation as well as his 80th birthday next Sunday.

Roscoe Turner, pioneer aviator and racing pilot, presented a sterling silver tray and wine goblets to Mr. Sikorsky. H. M. Horner, chairman emeritus of the United Aircraft Corporation, was master of ceremonies.

Sikorsky Aircraft is a division of United Aircraft in Stratford, Conn. Lauren D. (Deac) Lyman, retired vice president of the corporation and a former Pulitzer Prize-winning aviation editor of The New York Times, recalled the highlights of his more than 40 years association with Mr. Sikorsky.

Mr. Lyman traced Mr. Sikorsky's interest in aviation from his youth in Kiev in the Soviet Ukraine, when he switched his goal of becoming an electrical engineer and "decided that aviation, aeronautical engineering, was to be his way of life." The decision was influenced by an article that Mr. Sikorsky had read about Wilbur Wright's early exploits.

Perhaps the most moving tribute to this man's monumental accomplishments, however, is a short song written by Mrs. Helen Glasgow, of Bridgeport, Conn., a perceptive, patriotic woman whose work has appeared in the RECORD before. This song, dedicated to the Sikorsky HH-3E helicopter or "Green Giant," might well have been written by a wounded soldier in Vietnam waiting to be airlifted to safety or a downed pilot tossing on the waves waiting for the help which may never come. I would like to include the text of her song in the RECORD at this point:

SALUTE TO THE "GREEN GIANTS"

(By Mrs. Helen Glasgow, Bridgeport, Conn., dedicated to the Sikorsky HH-3E helicopters on their first transatlantic flight, May 31, 1967)

We salute you, Green Giants
On your great achievement:
You've made it, you've made it,
You made it again!

With perpetual motion
You flew over the Ocean
To bring to mankind
God's perpetual love.

The fires are burning, the waters are churning,
All hope for salvation is gone.

Then—hark! From the distance
As if coming from Heaven,
Those green helicopters,
The familiar drone!

Oh! Jolly Green Giants, God keep you and
bless you.

Oh! save us, oh! save us, save us from our
plight!

The guns are a-roaring, the wounded are
groaning,

All hope for salvation is gone!

Then—hark! From the distance
As if coming from Heaven,

Of those green helicopters the familiar drone.
Oh! Jolly Green Giants, God keep you and
bless you;

Our guardian angels—the Angels in Green!

STUDENTS TO HELP DETERMINE U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES? PICK THEM BY "POINT SYSTEM"

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, a story in the New York Times on June 1, 1969, reported that the U.S. Office of Education is getting ready to give students a larger voice in shaping Federal educational policies that affect campus affairs. According to reports, this is being done to meet some recent student demands—everything is a demand nowadays—for student involvement in all facets of decisionmaking, planning, implementation, and evaluation of the agency's multi-billion-dollar educational program.

Dr. James E. Allen, the new U.S. Commissioner of Education, was quoted as saying:

I am very definitely supporting this general move to involve young people here.

The demands being made were prepared at a recent 2-day meeting to which the agency had invited 15 student leaders, some of them veterans of campus activism. The students attending the meeting had said they had considered a sit-in at the Commissioner's office, but agreed to give the Federal Government a "second chance." I find this very generous and tolerant of them.

All this dates back to the last administration. The former Commissioner, Harold Howe II, issued a memo last Oc-

tober endorsing calling a conference and establishing a youth advisory panel and student participation on advisory boards and review panels. After the students met the second week in May, in Washington, they charged Howe's proposals had not been implemented and did not go far enough.

According to the students—

By definition, student involvement requires no less than the relinquishing of a significant portion of the power now held almost exclusively by Office of Education personnel and their professional consultants.

The story notes that there was skepticism and even hostility by some of the professional staff. Some of the latter pointed out that students seemed unaware of the need to follow congressional guidelines. This failing, I might add, is not necessarily restricted to students, as every Member of Congress well knows.

But, to quote again from the story:

The students themselves admitted in their position paper the difficulty of selecting representative student spokesmen. They even conceded the limitations of their own group on that score. They had been selected by the agency from lists of student leaders and activists, including black student spokesmen.

I find much to quarrel with in the Office of Education's acquiescence in this matter. Much so-called "student activism" has been marked conspicuously by a total lack of responsibility and foresight, and if some of these activists now seek, and seem to be getting, voices in decisions involving millions of taxpayers' dollars, then there is reason for concern.

Arbitrary creation by the Office of Education of additional positions which will have some authority in administration of higher education facilities and projects is something I do not think Congress ever had in mind, either, especially when such posts are to be filled by individuals whose experience in the field cannot exactly be called wide ranging and complete.

But, if it is to be done, then I have some suggestions for the Office of Education in selecting the students who will serve. What I recommend is picking them by a point system, with points to be allotted on the basis of the individual student's involvement in the really important and bedrock affairs of his or her community, State, and country. A great deal more than a talent for drafting demands and organizing demonstrations is needed, and my proposed "point system" will help insure representation of those whose concern and responsibility is shown by more than words.

The system might be set up something as follows:

For honorable service in any of the Nation's Armed Forces, for a period of 2 years or more, any service, any branch, any rank, 10 points; an additional two points if the individual entered the Active Reserve or National Guard after discharge from active duty.

For having paid Federal income taxes in any previous year, 10 points;

For membership in or involvement with Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, boys' clubs, church groups or any communitywide, charitable, or character-building activity, five points;

If working their way through college with a part-time job, five points;

If still actively involved in community-wide projects while in college, five points.

These are only suggestions for a beginning. I am sure there are other areas which can and should be counted in. I might add, any student who had been subject to academic or civil discipline for campus disturbances would be automatically disqualified from any position.

I know there are many who could easily meet these simple requirements, and they are the true representatives of American college youth.

The aim is this: Those who shape the policies by which this country is guided should be those who in one way or another contribute to it, through their work, their involvement with the community in which they live, or by any form of service to their locality or country or their fellow Americans. This includes paying taxes; no one has the right to dispose of his fellow-citizen's tax money unless he or she has helped contribute to it at one time or another.

My proposal has been transmitted to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for his consideration. I cannot see any logical objection to such a system. Among the students themselves, it should be welcomed; it would assist in erasing the rapidly growing image that our country's college students are composed primarily of spoiled and irresponsible rabblers, who think of nothing but how much noise they can make.

The Office of Education would be sure, under this plan, of getting advice from those who should be expected to know what they are talking about. And the American citizen would be reassured that Federal policymaking and recommendations in the all-important field of higher education would rest with those who, like the citizen himself, had a real and genuine involvement with the problems of life, and concern for his or her fellow Americans.

In brief, it is asking for proof of deeds and performance before granting the right and privilege to become involved in the action. I don't see how or why anyone would or could find fault with this, unless, of course, it comes from student elements who, for some reason or another, simply have not done anything to earn any points.

And, in such a case, no one will have lost anything by their being excluded from any sort of participation.

OLD SOLDIERS NEVER DIE

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, this past Memorial Day, it was my great pleasure to speak at ceremonies honoring our Nation's war dead at the national cemetery in Springfield, Mo.

The program was planned and spon-

sored jointly by all the veterans and patriotic organizations of Springfield.

The master of ceremonies was C. H. "Pat" Patterson, an active Legionnaire, writer, poet, and the current president of the Greene County Memorial Association.

During the program, Mr. Patterson presented a moving eulogy to our beloved former President, Dwight D. Eisenhower. The eulogy is worthy of repetition and I place it in the RECORD so that it might be shared with others:

"OLD SOLDIERS NEVER DIE"—STATESMEN LIVE FOREVER

General Ike's deeds of valor and President Eisenhower's statesmanship will live forever in the hearts and minds of men.

As General, he turned the world from chaos and destruction.

As President, he led the way toward world peace.

Ike was a General honored by his entire command.

A President respected by the whole world, an humble man loved by all.

He will forever march by the flag he loved so well though his footsteps will make no sound.

"So long Ike" We will rendezvous at the great bivouac when that final battle is won.

C. H. PATTERSON.

CLAY TALKS OF JOBS, PROBLEMS

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, Congressman BILL CLAY, Democrat of Missouri, has been in Congress only 6 months—but in that time he has made his presence felt—particularly on the Education and Labor Committee to which he was assigned and where I am privileged to serve with him. He has evidenced the interest, the energy, and the courage to speak forth on the issues—qualities which brought about his election this past November.

Congressman CLAY has made significant contributions to the hearings on poverty as a member of the ad hoc task force on poverty. In this capacity, he rendered great service by relating his firsthand knowledge of poverty as it affects black people in urban areas. He is a man who grasps the meaning of unrest and who pursues constructive courses of action to relieve it.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following news story depicting the first 100 days of BILL CLAY's service in the Congress. His insight into the plight of poor people and their needs is refreshing—and it is vividly reported by Ethel L. Payne who deserves due recognition for her fine effort.

The article follows:

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Sentinel, June 7, 1969]

FIRST 100 DAYS "HECTIC" FOR FRESHMAN—CLAY TALKS OF JOBS, PROBLEMS
(By Ethel L. Payne)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. William (Bill) Clay earned his bachelor of Science degree from St. Louis U. in history and political science;

but he has a unique theory on economics in the ghettos that would have interested the learned British economist, John Maynard Keynes who died in 1946 or the very much alive Dr. Andrew Brimmer of the U.S.A. who is a governor of the Federal Reserve Board.

Clay is all for law and order, but he thinks that if the rackets and the other subterranean activities that go on in the crowded slums of the inner cities were suddenly removed, the whole system of economy in the urban areas would collapse like duck pins in a bowling alley.

Sitting in his Capitol Hill office, Clay who was elected last November from the First District in St. Louis, expounded on his theory!

The structure of society being what it is, blacks are at the bottom of the economic and social scale. In the ghettos, survival depends upon wit. Employment is irregular and the pay is low, so the wise dude makes his by his "smarts,"—he may be a pimp or a numbers writer or a numbers banker, a purveyor of hot goods or a narcotics pusher. A hip cat can make up to \$300 a day or more. To him, the square who's working for \$1.50 an hour, getting up at 5:30 a.m. to travel half way across town to put in eight hours just doesn't make sense, that work stuff is for the birds!

HUSTLER IS LAZY

This doesn't mean that the hustler is lazy. He can't be if he's going to make his bread; it's just that the system isn't "economically feasible." It is possible for a guy with \$100.00 initial capital to live on his stake for months just by the fast turnover in so-called "hot stuff," which in many cases isn't really hot at all, but legitimate. It sells better and faster under the label, "hot!"

The alternative to this fluid financial modus operandi says Congressman Clay is to pump business and industry on a large scale into the ghettos, with a guaranteed income for every family, plus crash vocational education programs and on-the-job training. The latter score is one of the reasons why the boyish-looking freshman congressman who is 38 years old is so exercised about the threat to the job corps in St. Louis, and elsewhere.

In a speech at Texas Southern U. on the commemoration of Law Day, May 2, Clay charged the Nixon Administration with using shock tactics to silence the supporters of the Job Corps. He had just read an Associated Press report of plans by administration officials to release files on gang rapes, homosexuality, extortion and drug use at U.S. Job Corps sites, if necessary, in order to justify the decision to close down certain centers.

"It does not disturb me that these sorts of things would happen when you bring groups of 600 or more youth together. I am more disturbed that President Nixon would resort to blackmail instead of reconsidering his hasty decision to axe the program. I wish he had spent as much time reading reports on the treatment these kids are subjected to before we pick them up off the street and give them a chance at the Job Corps," Clay contended.

CHALLENGES NIXON

He challenged the Nixon administration to reveal the files and to compare the figures with incidents of drug uses, rape, homosexuality and extortion on the campuses of American high schools and colleges. He said that when scandals occur concerning high class neighborhoods and private schools, nobody suggests closing down the schools that have these problems. If wholesale closings took place, there would not be much of an educational system left, said Clay.

On May 7, Congressman Clay attacked the announcement by the Labor Department that it was transferring the disbursement responsibilities for the Neighborhood Youth Corps funds to the State Employment Security Services. He said there was no concrete basis for the transfer. In addition, it would cost

between \$15 and \$20 million at the same time the corps was being reduced by 16,000 slots. The \$20 million could be better used to add a few more job opportunities, Clay said.

In the St. Louis area, the Congressman said the cost to write a check for the Neighborhood Youth Corps is now \$.45, but under the new plan this could jump to \$.7 a check.

Congressman Clay described his first 100 days in office as "hectic." There was the job of moving his family from St. Louis to a house in Silver Spring, Md., a suburb of Washington and of getting the three children, Vicky, Lacy and Michele who range in age from 10-14 settled in school. They have adjusted well except that Vicky was so homesick at first that she ran up a \$100 telephone bill in long distance calls which she hid from her parents.

Clay has been back to the home district about nine times since January. He has two offices there, one in the Federal building and one in the district. He has traveled about 30,000 miles, including the trips to Texas and to EEOC hearings on equal employment in Los Angeles and most recently on a congressional mission to London to study coal mine safety regulations in England.

In Washington, Clay's day begins at 9:15 a.m. when he arrives at his Capitol Hill office. He rarely leaves before 7:30 or 8 p.m. He is currently in the process of compiling a mailing list. His predecessor destroyed all the previous records from 22 years of service.

Clay is an active member of the caucus of black members of Congress who have come together to use their influence on Democratic party affairs. After two weeks of delay, the Democratic National Committee accepted their recommendation to hire John Dean, a former staff member of the Urban Coalition as the new deputy chairman for minorities. Clay and the others are also pressing for reforms in the party structure that include more black representation in policy and a more equitable method of selecting delegates to the national convention.

RICKOVER VERSUS THE PENTAGON

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, in the endless battle of wits between Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover and the Pentagon, Rickover is leading six-love, six-love.

Now, in a display of utter carelessness, the Pentagon has lobbed the ball back into Rickover's half of the court, this time in terms of an experimental "peer rating system" for in-house DOD laboratories, designed to reflect the image or reputation of these laboratories as seen both in and out of Government.

Fortunately, the venerable admiral did find some humor in this effort, and slammed the ball back in his usual cryptic fashion. His reply, which fortunately an observer from the stands relayed to me, and which obviously will give Rickover the game, is the following:

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., May 9, 1969.

Mr. E. M. GLASS,
Assistant Director (Laboratory Management), Office of the Director, Defense Research and Engineering, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. GLASS: This is in reply to your form letter, unsigned, of 27 March 1969.

This letter states that you are in the process of conducting an experiment in "peer rating" in-house Department of Defense laboratories and would like to understand the relationship of the characteristics of the "peer rating" system with the data you presently have on each laboratory; this is to be done in accordance with a technique developed by Dr. Maurice Apstein. From the results of this study you would be able to show me the "image or reputation" of my laboratories as reflected by my peers "both in and out of Government."

Unfortunately, since my training is in engineering, not in social science, I am unable to comprehend your letter; nor do I understand what "peer rating" is. I would imagine it is related to the behavior pattern of pigeons, chickens, and the like, in which, so I have read, a "pecking order" is established.

I am aware that eminent social scientists have advocated the training of humans by the methods derived from training pigeons—rewarding them with a grain of corn each time they fulfilled their norm. I have even considered replacing some humans with pigeons. On reflection I concluded this would not work; a number of those I had planned to replace with pigeons threatened to eat their replacements.

Since the "image" of my laboratories and of the men and women working in them is judged by their superiors and by Congress (which grants the money) on the basis of the job they do, I have not found it necessary to delve into their psyches or ids, or to devote their time and Government funds on social science experiments. If laboratory personnel are unable to do their jobs properly, they, along with their psyches and ids, are replaced.

For the above reasons and because my laboratories do not operate under the Department of Defense, but under the Atomic Energy Commission—which does not have money to indulge in such experiments—I am returning herewith the IBM cards you sent to me; you will surely find use for them elsewhere.

I might add, parenthetically, that there are some activities, possibly laboratories, which do more good by doing little or nothing than if they energetically pursued their objectives.

I wish you all the success your project merits.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. RICKOVER.

A BRITISH NIGHTMARE

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the Daily Oklahoman, largest daily newspaper in my State, is issuing a series of editorials suggesting that a reappraisal of our naval armament is urgently needed. The article that follows, which appeared May 25, is especially thought provoking, and I enter its text in full herewith:

A BRITISH NIGHTMARE

A London newspaper reports that British Naval Intelligence is greatly frightened by the discovery that Russia has now equipped two classes of its destroyers with atomic headed missiles having a range of 100 miles. It further discloses that Russia is preparing to equip destroyers or other ships with atomic missiles with a range of 300 miles.

To make matters worse, they have discovered that Russia is putting up satellites and using spy planes to locate ships at considerable distances. The exact location of the ship, whether British or American, can be

related to Russian destroyers which could come within 30 or 40 miles and remain hidden by the curvature of the earth and at the same time pour missiles into an aircraft carrier, destroyer, a submarine or any other ship.

British or American destroyers have small caliber guns, limited to a range of a few miles, and would be helpless if attacked by Russian destroyers with long range missiles.

In a recent editorial, we pointed out that Russia has 25 surface to surface missile ships and the United States has none. It is unlikely that Britain has any missile-equipped surface ships.

It would appear that American or British naval ships could be destroyed by missile-carrying Russian ships without ever coming within range of the guns of American or British warships.

There no longer is any doubt that Russia is rapidly building up its war power to destroy the only capitalistic country capable of opposing Soviet military might.

The United States is threatened with the greatest disaster that could happen to any country, namely, its capture by an overwhelming enemy force and the establishment of a Communist government under Russian dictatorship.

Congress is complacently discussing civil rights, welfare payments, campus riots, withdrawal of troops in Vietnam and reduction in the military budget.

Last Thursday, the Washington Post published a story that the Pentagon is secretly proposing to scuttle 10 of our 41 Polaris missile submarines to save money.

If you, as a citizen, are concerned about this, you can do something about it. Write a letter to any congressman or senator whose name you know, no matter what state he represents. Write to Melvin R. Laird, Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon in Washington or even write to President Nixon.

The first and most important duty of any government is to protect the lives, the safety and the freedom of its citizens.

WHEN DOES THE EXODUS END?

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, every day we read in the national press about the plight of our Nation's cities and, to be sure, our large metropolitan centers do have very severe problems that demand priority attention. However, I should like to point out that our citizens who live in and enjoy the relaxed atmosphere of small town and rural America also have problems. While it seems as if virtually everyone has traded in his farm work clothes for a coat and tie these days, I think it is important that we at least take a commonsense look at the plight of the man whose job it is to feed America.

Mr. Speaker, two well-known newspaper publishers in Smith Center, Kans., Harold Beason and W. E. "Bill" Lee, are well acquainted with this problem, especially how the migration of citizens from our rural areas has affected their community of Smith Center. Just this past week Bill Lee wrote an editorial which I am sure sums up the situation throughout rural America. In effect, here is a country editor telling his people they

must continue to build and improve, not just to keep up, but in order to survive.

I feel this article demonstrates that the concerned citizens of rural and small town America are not only aware of their current problems, but are actively starting to find workable answers. I submit Mr. Lee's editorial in the Smith County Pioneer for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHEN DOES THE EXODUS END?

Rural people keep moving to cities and as a result rural communities are showing lower population figures every year.

This isn't anything new. The reverse in growing population in this county started about 1908 and the population has declined almost every year since then from over 16,000 people to just over 7,000.

Here are the census figures for Smith county since 1870: 1870, 66; 1880, 13,883; 1890, 15,613; 1900, 16,384; 1910, 15,365; 1920, 14,985; 1930, 13,545; 1940, 10,582; 1950, 8,846; 1960, 7,776, and now 7,240.

The trend is going to continue in many rural communities and in cities such as we have in this county unless the people do something about it. It isn't just a matter of going out and hustling for industry; it's also a matter of keeping up and building schools, hospitals, disposal plants, churches, housing, places of recreation, etc. You don't get personnel for industry, teachers, doctors, etc. to want to move into your community unless you have the proper facilities because, today, those professional people can be pretty choosy and I'm sure most of the rest of us would too, if we were in their shoes.

Some men were talking about the difference of two small cities, once of about the same size. "What caused the difference that exists today?" one asked.

Another replied, "In —, they started voting against things."

Today one has higher taxes than the other but there is much difference between the cities and their facilities.

Cities and communities have to continue to build and improve just to hold their own. If they're lucky, someone may come along who likes the town and locate there. If they're ambitious and progressive they may help someone locate there.

But we think this exodus is going to end. For one thing there are people who moved to large cities for jobs. Now with riots, race troubles and law enforcement problems, in many cases they are asking if there isn't something they can do in the rural community where they were reared.

The government is beginning to put pressure behind efforts to keep people away from the large cities—there are too many people there now, too many slums, too much crime, too much smog, too much pollution.

But to get people to move to your community you're going to have to put out something. You have to keep your community up to date. The Dead Sea is a good example of a place that puts out nothing and takes everything that comes its way.

TRIBUTE TO EDITOR EDWARD M. POOLEY

HON. RICHARD WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, the people of my home city, El Paso, Tex., and the surrounding area, have had occasion in the past few days to reflect on the city's tremendous growth and progress in the

past quarter century, and to recall the influence of a powerful editorial voice which concerned itself with all the problems that inevitably accompany such growth and progress.

Mr. Edward M. Pooley, editor of the El Paso Herald-Post for 26 eventful years, died in his El Paso home on June 4, at the age of 71. Mr. Pooley had first become acquainted with our border city as a young flier with the Army Air Corps, patrolling the Mexican border in the Pancho Villa era.

After beginning a newspaper career in Houston, he came to El Paso to edit the El Paso Herald-Post in February 1937 and continued in that position until ill health brought about his retirement in February 1963. During those 26 years, he made the El Paso Herald-Post the voice of the people. If asked what people he was speaking for, Ed Pooley would have been likely to answer "Juan Smith." It was a name he loved to use to represent the bilingual citizenry of our community.

A vigorous and able writer, he crusaded for the causes in which he believed, and just as vigorously against those persons and organizations he deemed to be opposing the public good. There were those who said his mission was, to use an old newspaper phrase, "to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable." Indeed, there were many comfortable people who felt the sting of his words, and many afflicted people who felt the comforting influence of his support.

Editor Ed Pooley will be remembered for his vigorous condemnation of those he believed to be in wrong, but he will be remembered too, and with great affection, for his crusades for the benefit of the unfortunate. His was a voice for better housing, better living conditions, better wages and a higher standard of living, for better relations among the people of the two nations that share our border.

Under the editorship of his successor, Mr. Robert W. Lee, the El Paso Herald-Post preserves the motto which he originated, "The newspaper that serves its readers." It will carry forward a rich heritage from Editor Ed Pooley for many years to come.

BUFFALO CREEK RAILROAD TO OBSERVE 100TH YEAR

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, is it possible there is a railroad that even many of the residents of its hometown know little about?

Yes, that is possible—even though the Buffalo Creek Railroad will mark its centennial next week. Mayor Frank A. Sedita has called for a weeklong civic observance.

The Buffalo Creek Railroad carries no passengers. That really is not very unique today because more and more railroads are trying to get out of the

passenger business. But the Buffalo Creek never has carried passengers.

It is a terminal switching road, incorporated in 1869, and operates entirely within the city limits of my home city of Buffalo, N.Y.

It runs over a distance of only 5.66 miles, with its track totaling 34.2 miles, counting certain double track and branch lines.

As a terminal railroad, Buffalo Creek handles railroad cars from all railroads entering Buffalo and shuttles them back and forth to our major industries. As an example of the volume of traffic involved, the railroad's seven diesel engines shuttled 385,000 railroad cars in its yards during 1968.

Nearly 85 percent of all flour leaving Buffalo via rail or water travels first over the Buffalo Creek.

It is a pleasure to join Buffalo businessmen in honoring the Buffalo Creek Railroad, its management and staff, on its 100th anniversary. There are some 140 employees.

The pioneering feature of the Buffalo Creek is reflected in the following excerpt from an article appearing in the December 15, 1907 edition of the now-defunct Buffalo, N.Y., Times:

This was the first terminal railroad ever built in this country, and, it is believed, the first in any country. It was organized in 1868 by some of Buffalo's leading men, and although organized under the general railroad laws of the state, it was built and incorporated under a special grant by the Common Council of the city. It is, therefore, not only a monument to the foresight and ingenuity of citizens of Buffalo, but in a large measure a creation of the city itself.

The grant referred to requires the road to extend equal facilities and rates to all shippers. This requirement has been made the basic principle of the road's operation, not only as a matter of good faith in observing the conditions of the grant, but as representing the only correct policy for the road itself.

Under its application shippers are given absolute equality of treatment so that the shipper of an occasional car receives attention in his turn and is given the same facilities as to service and rates as are given the largest concerns, some of which ship a hundred or more cars per day.

In brief, there has been maintained on the Buffalo Creek Railroad for years the ideal conditions as to equality of rates and service for all shippers which the public has demanded from the common carriers in general and which Congress and the State Legislature have long been trying to enforce.

Mr. Speaker, a financial writer on the Buffalo, N.Y. Courier-Express recently recounted the interesting story of the Buffalo Creek, as follows:

"LITTLE GIANT" NOTING 100TH ANNIVERSARY
(By Francis J. O'Connell)

The Buffalo Creek Railroad, commonly referred to as the "little giant" of the Queen City's rail center, this year is observing its 100th anniversary of service as a terminal switching road.

Organized in 1868 and incorporated in 1869, the Buffalo Creek, a vital link in the progress of Buffalo's waterfront, plans no unusual ceremony to mark its golden anniversary, according to Supt. Cyril M. Johnke.

Johnke, who has directed operations on the railroad since 1961, said that sometime in July, a time will be set aside in which employees will be given mementoes to commemorate the occasion.

"We're very proud of our association with Buffalo's waterfront and we plan to continue to render the same type service as in the past and still be on the lookout for any improvement that might develop," said Johnke.

Latest statistics prepared by Johnke show that the Buffalo Creek, wholly within the city limits, is only 5.66 miles long. Its total trackage stretches out to 34.23 miles and little of it ever stands idle during operations that carry on 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Freight from all over the country must pass over the tiny railroad to reach industrial plants such as General Mills, Pillsbury Co., Agway Inc., Allied Chemical Co., Mobil Oil, and the Niagara Frontier Port Authority complex on Fuhrmann Blvd., among others.

Last year, for example, the railroad's loaded revenue cars totaled 136,500. Over its strategically-located trackage service, a total of 385,000 cars were handled. There is no letup in service from the seven diesel electric switching engines because of the huge output of the plants it serves and limited yard facilities.

Cars must be moved quickly in and out of the railroad system as the Buffalo Creek connects with all major railroads serving the city and has indirect connections with the Chesapeake & Ohio and Canadian National.

The Buffalo Creek, owned jointly by the Lehigh Valley and Erie-Lackawanna, starts at the Howard St. connection with the New York Central and swings in a horseshoe to the General Mills plant at Ganson St. and S. Michigan Ave. Other trackage to serve Mobil and Allied Chemical is located in an abandoned section of Prenatt St.

The railroad has been fully dieselized since 1948 when its nine steam engines were retired. Rail crews work three shifts daily, with the busiest hours from 4 p.m. to midnight when mills curtail production and the products must be moved to one of the connections so new cars can be brought in.

The Buffalo Creek has no freight houses because it delivers directly to the plants. It has no car shops or passenger stations. Diesel repairs, when necessary, are carried out at Hornell.

It still has in service a good percentage of the boxcars purchased in the years from 1952 to 1956. Its heavily-traveled roadbed is maintained to handle the weight of long strings of cars.

There were times in the late 1950s when the railroad with employment now of 140 and an annual payroll in excess of \$1 million, encountered difficult times. One came when the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway caused Buffalo's grain trade to shrink to a third of its once normal pace.

This was overcome when the Port Authority leased a large portion of its complex to the A&P Co. The business generated from these shipments returned the railroad's operations to near normal.

Records show the road was completed as a single track line and opened for traffic in 1871. It has since kept pace, in its provision of track facilities, with traffic demands, and is now double-tracked for its whole length, except the Prenatt St. branch in South Buffalo.

Ever on the alert for new business, the railroad built, in 1882-1885, an extension of the Blackwell Canal, now the City Ship Canal, through its property to the border of the Lehigh Valley's Tift Farm property. The Lehigh then extended the property and the combined efforts amounted to 9,000 feet of waterway, adding largely to the early lake and rail facilities of the port and to the volume of its lake and rail traffic.

The design of the road's projectors, and a fundamental condition of its construction and operation, were that the road should furnish equal facilities and impartial service, at uniform rates, for all shippers on its line to and from railroads entering Buffalo.

Further, the records compiled by Johnke show, the road should extend such facilities, service and rates "to all companies and individuals desiring the same." Belief is that the plan was entirely novel at the time and the Buffalo Creek is listed as the first terminal switching road of its kind built in this country.

Johnke said this condition has always been faithfully observed. The result is that shippers located on the road have been in precisely the same position with respect to choice of routes for their shipments as though they had private track connections with each railroad entering Buffalo.

"The locations on our railroad," Johnke said, "have been highly preferred over the years, especially by those desiring both lake and rail facilities.

"Over the years, there has been extensive development of waterfront property along our line. A significant factor in this respect is that the greater part of those sections of the harbor devoted to general lake and rail commerce, is mostly dependent upon the Buffalo Creek Railroad for ingress and egress by rail."

The two-man executive committee controlling the Buffalo Creek is made up of two former Buffalonians.

They are John F. Nash, president and general manager of the Lehigh Valley at Bethlehem, Pa., and Gregory W. Maxwell, president of the Erie-Lackawanna Railroad at Cleveland. Nash years ago was a trainmaster for the old New York Central and Maxwell was the Central division superintendent. Both started their rise up the ladder in Buffalo.

WRIGHT PATMAN, CHAIRMAN,
HOUSE BANKING AND CURRENCY
COMMITTEE, ANNOUNCES HEARINGS
ON RECENT RISE OF BANK
PRIME RATE TO ALL-TIME HIGH

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the commercial banks in the United States have increased the prime borrowing rate to an all-time high of 8½ percent. Interest rates in general are at the highest level this country has ever known. The prosperity this economy has known for at least the last decade cannot continue under the high interest rate structure such as we have today.

Mr. Speaker, as chairman of your Committee on Banking and Currency, I have announced hearings on this subject of the recent prime rate increase. A copy of my release on this matter follows:

PRESS RELEASE OF CONGRESSMAN
WRIGHT PATMAN

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 11.—Chairman Wright Patman announced today that the Banking and Currency Committee will open an investigation into the prime rate increase on Thursday afternoon, June 19.

Mr. Patman said that major Administration officials as well as some of the nation's leading banks will be called to testify in the hearing. The hearing will begin at 2 p.m. Thursday, or as soon as the House adjourns on that date.

Secretary of the Treasury David Kennedy will be the first witness. Other Administration witnesses will include Attorney General John Mitchell and Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin.

Mr. Patman said that officials of Bankers Trust of New York, which initiated the prime rate increase on Monday morning, will be

requested to appear in the investigation. Other large banks which followed Bankers Trust with identical announcements of interest rate increases will also be called, he said.

"The prime rate increase to 8½% has outraged and alarmed the American people and has sent a shock wave throughout the economy," the Banking and Currency Committee Chairman said. "It is the responsibility of the Congress to get to the bottom of the reasons behind this latest increase and to determine what can be done to prevent further increases and to roll back the high level of interest rates. The investigation should also determine whether any new laws are needed to control this situation."

Mr. Patman said his office has received a large number of telegrams, letters, and telephone calls from people all over the country, including a number of businessmen concerned about the impact of the prime rate increase.

"It is obvious that the American people expect their elected representatives to take action immediately on this most serious economic problem," he said. "This concern is shared by both Democrats and Republicans."

Mr. Patman said the investigation will continue on Friday and Saturday, June 20 and 21, and on Monday, June 23, if necessary.

STATE FINANCES IN MISSISSIPPI

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY
OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, since many States and the Federal Government appear to be having trouble with their finances, I think the following article on how my home State of Mississippi solved her problem in this area would be of interest to my colleagues. The article is taken from the June 7 issue of the Commercial Appeal, which is published in Memphis, Tenn. The article in its entirety reads as follows:

CHEERY MISSISSIPPI PAYS ITSELF BACK

JACKSON, Miss., June 6.—The state repaid 11 million dollars to its special funds Friday to wipe out the debt incurred last fall, when money was transferred into the general fund to meet current expenses.

The state's fiscal picture has "turned around" since the uncertainty of six months ago, according to fiscal leaders, with prospects now for a 15 to 16 million dollars surplus "as a minimum" at the end of this month, which marks the end of the current fiscal year.

Last fall the state "borrowed" 16.5 million dollars from several reserved funds for general fund use. Part of the money—5.5 million dollars—was repaid last month, and the state bond commission announced Friday the remaining 11 million dollars had been replaced.

The commission includes Gov. John Bell Williams, Atty. Gen. A. F. Sumner and Miss Evelyn Gandy, state treasurer.

Miss Gandy said the commission approved repayment of five million dollars each to the state aid road construction fund and the state Highway Department, and one million dollars to the public school building fund, in its Friday meeting.

"We're thankful the funds are such now that this money can be fully repaid," Miss Gandy said. "And we can be thankful for the state law which permits these funds to be transferred without interest when we need it. Otherwise we'd be adding about six

months' interest to this 16.5 million dollars we have now repaid."

Representative Edgar Stephens of New Albany, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and a member of the state budget commission, said state tax collections are running 6.1 per cent higher at present than estimates had been last year.

The increased collections, chiefly from the state sales tax, indicate a surplus at the end of the fiscal year June 30 of "between 15 and 16 million dollars, at the minimum," he said.

State Auditor W. Hamp King said Friday "estimates of future revenue is a little more hazardous than has often been the case in recent years. But it seems reasonably certain that the end of this fiscal year will find an unencumbered balance in the general fund large enough to operate that portion out of the state's business financed through the general fund for at least one month.

"Compared to the reserves of several other states, this isn't a very plump cushion to begin the year with, but it's a good bit better than our beginning balances in 1964 and 1965," he said.

The prospects of a surplus enhanced chances of two moderately costly items facing a special session of the state legislature next month, but not all debate on the two is expected to be financial.

An estimated five million dollars will be asked when the legislature reconvenes July 22 to fund the state's entry into Medicaid, the expanded federal Social Security program.

The funds represent the state's share of a 40-million-dollar-plus expansion of Social Security for more than 200,000 persons in the state.

At least three million dollars—and possibly as much as 4.2 millions—will be asked to finance the state's educational television system, which was left unfunded at the end of last year's regular session.

The ETV authority has been kept intact through emergency reserves, grants and loans, however, and is virtually ready to begin broadcasting when funds are appropriated for its operation.

The legislature will also be asked to approve 1.6 million dollars already spent by the state Building Commission for the Robert E. Lee Hotel and other properties in Jackson.

The state auditor's report Friday showed general fund receipts through the end of May were nearly 80 million dollars higher than the 207 millions collected in the same period last fiscal year.

The income tax has produced nearly 50 million dollars by the end of May, almost twice the amount received last year. Sales tax collections were up by 40 million dollars to more than 123 millions.

Both the state income tax and the sales tax were increased last year to help finance increased spending for public schools, chiefly in salary increases for teachers of \$1,000 per year or more.

A REPORT ON THE OPERATIONS OF THE POWER AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, earlier I entered in the RECORD a preliminary analysis of the proposal by the Power Authority of New York State to enter into a highly unusual arrangement with New York State's second largest private utility, Niagara Mohawk. I have recently completed a more detailed analysis

which I now submit. A third report will soon be forthcoming:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE ON THE OPERATIONS OF THE POWER AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PART II: THE JAMES A. FITZPATRICK PLANT,

MAY 29, 1969

Introduction

The Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY)—the pioneer agency in the development of public power in this country, has entered into a strange and highly unusual agreement with the private power interests in New York. There is substantial evidence that the effect—and perhaps the purpose—of this arrangement will be to strengthen the private power monopoly in the growing nuclear power market in New York and undermine efforts to develop a low-cost public power resource to fight rising consumer electric bills.

The agreement, first exposed this past January as a result of the investigative reporting of Alan Emory in the Watertown, New York, Daily Times, calls for PASNY to join with the State's second largest private utility, Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation in the construction and operation of a 885-megawatt nuclear power plant on Lake Ontario near Oswego, New York.

Such an arrangement between a public agency and a private utility is entirely without precedent in the important and growing nuclear power field. But this is by no means the most remarkable aspect of the arrangement. Its most striking feature is its terms. Under the present proposal, the entire cost of the project—an investment of \$222 million—will be borne by PASNY. Niagara Mohawk's only contribution will be to operate the facility.

Even better from Niagara Mohawk's point of view, the plant is to be located in the heart of Niagara's Mohawk's service area, 3,002 feet from a soon-to-be-completed Niagara Mohawk plant on a 702-acre plot PASNY has acquired from Niagara Mohawk. The only way that power from the plant can be transmitted is through two 345 KV lines owned by Niagara Mohawk.

As a tasty side dish to this strange arrangement, PASNY has elected not to seek out the very best in modern technological development by acquiring the plant through open competitive bidding. Instead, the public power agency has quietly taken over a 2-year-old nuclear "white elephant" which Niagara Mohawk had contracted for Easton, New York, on the Hudson River. When engineering problems forced Niagara Mohawk to abandon the Easton project, the company was left with about \$40 million in commitments with General Electric Company for nuclear components and other equipment, which PASNY has now obligingly assumed.

As new details regarding the joint venture are exposed, it becomes increasingly clear that PASNY's involvement with the private utility interests have become so deep and so clouded as to jeopardize the very concept of public power itself.

The broader implications of this arrangement between a public power agency and a private power utility are quite serious and the public interest demands not only that this particular agreement be fully aired but that the basic questions of the purpose of public power and the responsibility of a public power agency be thoroughly reviewed and clarified.

The plant

In December, 1968, PASNY acquired the site for its proposed plant from Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation. For \$805,000—an amount variously described as a "transfer,"¹ "actually somewhat less than its cost

Footnotes at end of article.

to Niagara Mohawk" and "the cost of the parcel to Niagara Mohawk"—PASNY acquired 702 acres or slightly less than one-half of the Niagara Mohawk holdings at Nine Mile Point along Lake Ontario approximately seven miles northeast of Oswego, New York. On the parcel Niagara Mohawk is retaining, the Company is now completing a 745 Megawatt nuclear power facility referred to as Nine Mile Point No. 1. It will be only about six-tenths of a mile east of the proposed plant.

There are three basic issues involved in the purchase of this site: its location, its role in Niagara Mohawk's planning, and its size (and therefore its cost).

Location: The proposed plant will be in every sense a "captive" of the Niagara Mohawk system. PASNY asserts that "ownership of the Authority's nuclear plant, its administration, its sale of power . . . and dispatching of power to customers through its separate switchyards will be exclusively the business of the Authority." But the fact is that the plant is being built in the heart of Niagara Mohawk's territory, 3,002 feet from Niagara Mohawk's 745 Megawatt nuclear plant, which is now nearing completion, and about 150 miles away from the nearest PASNY generating facilities. It will be over 25 miles from PASNY's main transmission lines and its power will be transmitted by two 345,000 volt transmission lines both of which "will be constructed and owned by Niagara Mohawk."⁵

One Niagara Mohawk line will take power directly from the proposed plant to Niagara Mohawk's DeWitt substation near Syracuse for switching and transmission. The other will pick up power from the proposed plant at the switchyard of the Niagara Mohawk Nine Mile Plant. The power will be transmitted to the Nine Mile Point No. 1 "by means of a tie" between the switchyards.⁶ So much for the "separate switchyard"!

PASNY also plans to construct some 90 miles of transmission lines apparently to carry power only to the new high-load factor industries that are to be constructed nearby to use power from the proposed facility.

No matter what "controls" PASNY claims over the power, the transmission is under the control of Niagara Mohawk.⁷ Whether or not this represents a "good deal" for PASNY's customers and the people of the State of New York depends entirely on the contractual arrangement governing power allocation and transmission that PASNY is able to work out with Niagara Mohawk. Theoretically it is possible for PASNY to work out a good deal, but realistically the Authority has no bargaining power as things stand now. The only way PASNY can get its product to market is over Niagara Mohawk lines. If it doesn't like the deal it gets, PASNY's alternatives are to build its own transmission lines or not to take the power to market at all, both highly unrealistic and uneconomic solutions.

Perhaps most significant, PASNY has so far refused to divulge the details of its contractual arrangements with Niagara Mohawk. It is difficult to believe that the Authority has gotten as deeply involved as it has in this expensive project without working out such arrangements. In fact, if PASNY has done this, it has given up the one weak bargaining tool it had: the option of not building the facility at all if the terms of the arrangement with Niagara Mohawk were not acceptable.

Public scrutiny of this project has already apparently resulted in some modifications in the public interest; full public disclosure of the terms of the arrangements with Niagara Mohawk for transmission allocation, and sale of the power from the proposed plant is essential.

It simply is not enough to answer, as PASNY Chairman James A. FitzPatrick has

done, that "the Authority will own the land, build the plant, market the power and dispatch it to Authority customers."⁸ These are extraneous issues.

The really important questions are what the plant contributes to the system in terms of such factors as reserve to meet forced outages and what benefits it derives from the system in return. What customers will get the power and what will be the contractual terms for transmission and sale?

Nor can much comfort be drawn from the assurance that "All power contracts will be subject to public hearing and approval of the Governor."⁹ In the first place the issues are so complex that only the power experts will be able to understand them much less comment intelligently on contract features and the power experts in this area, as PASNY has noted, all work for the private utilities. In the second place, the ultimate authority, the Governor, is the same Governor who only two years ago attempted to persuade the legislature to pass legislation barring PASNY from getting into the nuclear field at all. Instead, the Governor wanted the State Atomic and Space Development Authority to join in an \$8 million program to help private utilities develop a monopoly in this growing market.

Actually determining whether the contract terms are a better deal for PASNY's customers or for Niagara Mohawk calls for expert analysis of a number of complex factors. PASNY has been requested to supply this information, but so far has refused to do so.¹⁰

In order to determine what the benefits are to be from this proposed plant and who derives them, it will be necessary to have specific answers to the following questions:

1. What is the megawatt capacity rating assigned to the facility and the total capacity of the PASNY system with and without the addition of this facility. The description of how capacity is rated should provide answers to the following questions:

a. What reserve requirement for force outages is associated with its rating and how was the reserve computed? If a percentage, show how the percentage was derived based on the risk level for a system, e.g., loss of load once in 20 years; loss of capacity once in five years, for thermal facilities in some defined planning area. Define the area.

b. The load curve against which it is rated. i.e., PASNY's own loads—adjacent utility loads.

c. The other projects owned by PASNY with which it is or can be integrated.

d. Other major surrounding systems with which it can be or is to be coordinated.

e. Is the capacity rated at the value of the project as isolated or as considered as integrated with PASNY's existing and proposed hydroelectric facilities? i.e., PASNY Niagara and St. Lawrence and the proposed Blenheim-Gilboa Project.

f. Does the rating above differ from a rating based on coordinating the facility with surrounding investor-owned facilities?

g. Is the construction of this facility in accordance with the planning of some existing coordinating group, e.g. Empire State Utilities Resources Associates (ESUPRA), or the New York State Power Pool. Who are the members of the group? What are the criteria for entry? Is agreeing to a defined market area a condition of entry? If the construction is in accordance with a planned expansion program what period does the program cover? What other facilities are to be installed in accordance with the program?

Role in Niagara Mohawk's planning: From the very beginning of its involvement at the Nine Mile Point site, Niagara Mohawk planned to build not one but several nuclear plants on the site.¹¹

The company's intentions were formally spelled out in its Final Safety Analysis Report to the AEC on its Nine Mile Point Nuclear Station. "(The site) is within the

Niagara Mohawk service area and was evaluated and purchased on the basis of eventually accommodating several large nuclear or conventional power units." (Emphasis supplied.)¹²

In summer of 1968, then, Niagara Mohawk found itself in a very fortunate position. Although it had been forced to abandon its proposed nuclear plant at Easton, New York, along the Hudson River, the company had another site where the plant could be constructed. To make this even more attractive there was need for the power and the company had already done the basic environmental work required by the AEC. Since Niagara Mohawk had been planning all along to build a second facility there, transfer of the Easton plant to Nine Mile Point wouldn't even have involved radical changes in long range planning.

Instead of this Niagara Mohawk quite suddenly entered into an understanding with PASNY under which the Authority would purchase the Nine Mile Point site, acquire Niagara Mohawk's commitments for the Easton plant and build the facility next to the Company's Nine Mile Point plant which is now nearing completion.¹³

Why?

If the deal is such a good one for PASNY why wouldn't it have been just as good for Niagara Mohawk?

If PASNY can save money and speed up its entry into the nuclear market by acquiring the Niagara Mohawk commitments for the nuclear components, why should Niagara Mohawk take the loss that is implied in giving up these valuable interests?

Why would Niagara Mohawk suddenly abandon both its long range program for Nine Mile Point and its substantial investment in engineering and environmental planning?

Why would Niagara Mohawk give up what must be a very promising power market? Certainly, if there's a market for PASNY power, there's a market for Niagara Mohawk power. In fact since the legislature prohibited PASNY from selling nuclear power to new residential, commercial and normal load industries¹⁴ the market potential for Niagara Mohawk should be bigger than for PASNY.

Finally, why did Niagara Mohawk give up the potential profits that could be derived from building the plant itself? Utility rates are computed on capital investment, so that Niagara Mohawk has much to gain by building and owning this new facility. In theory, on the other hand, the company can only charge the "true costs" of transmitting PASNY power.

This strange generosity of Niagara Mohawk can be explained by several hypotheses.

It could be that the abandoned Easton plant—far from being a "plum"—is actually a "nuclear white elephant" that Niagara Mohawk was delighted to have taken off its hands.

There is some support for this theory. During the same period of time that Niagara Mohawk ran into trouble with the Easton plant and entered into its deal with PASNY, Long Island Lighting Company was desperately trying to acquire a more economical 800 megawatt nuclear facility to replace its abandoned 500 megawatt Shoreham plant. If the Easton package is so good, why didn't LILCO take it up?

The fact that it would get a two-year head-start by doing so would have been important to the LILCO, than to PASNY. LILCO had urgent and pressing customer demands to meet, while PASNY was just dipping its toes in a new market.

At the same time, Consolidated Edison was also in the "panic" market for nuclear commitments. Nonetheless, they did not pick up this "valuable" lead time.

In fact, Niagara Mohawk itself was in something of a panic market and finally joined

Footnotes at end of article.

with Con Ed and Central Hudson in a joint venture at Roseton.

If the Easton plant represented a good deal why did none of these companies take it up? Why did it go to PASNY, instead, which, as a public agency theoretically shouldn't pay a premium for the engineering headstart and the lead time since it was not meeting a specific demand?

More support of this "white elephant" theory can be found in a footnote in a report prepared by S. M. Stoller, Inc., a Manhattan consulting firm that worked on the plant for Niagara Mohawk and was retained by PASNY to evaluate whether it would be a good deal for the authority. The report stated: "The AEC staff in this initial review of the Easton plant PSAR (Preliminary Safety Analysis Report) indicated some areas lacking information in sufficient depth to permit an adequate evaluation in accordance with the above criteria. The nature of their questions suggests that they have some reservations in the area of plant design features, design methods, and quality assurance, with the resolution of some items probably not until the design state. Satisfying AEC requirements will likely require additional engineering evaluations and/or extended equipment capability or additional safeguard systems."²³

This "white elephant" hypothesis goes a long way toward explaining some of the puzzling aspects of the arrangement.

On the other side of the coin, why would PASNY commit itself to such a major plant investment in a location where it will clearly be a "captive" of a private utility, and more particularly a private utility which has a long record of opposition to development and expansion of low-cost public power?

In authorizing PASNY to get into the nuclear market, the Legislature set as one of its aims firming up the generating capacity of its Niagara Falls and its St. Lawrence hydroelectric projects. Yet the proposed plant is located well over 150 miles from both projects.

Another of the Legislature's three aims was "to supply the future needs of the Authorities existing municipal electric and rural electric cooperative customers." This goal the proposed plant is perfectly located not to achieve. Only two of PASNY's 42 municipal and rural electric customers are within a radius of 50 miles of the plant and less than half within 100 miles. The only access to any of these customers is through Niagara Mohawk's transmission lines. (On the plus side, from Niagara Mohawk's point of view, is the fact that PASNY is forbidden to supply new customers. This means that the proposed plant will not compete with the Niagara Mohawk system and the company is not in danger of losing any of its markets to PASNY).

The final aim was to supply power to high load factor industry. Several new high load factor industries are to be constructed in the area to purchase power from the proposed plant, but there is no indication that there is any existing demand.

Clearly there must be reasons for PASNY's choice of this location that have not been made apparent.

Size: By any standard, the 702 acres that PASNY acquired for its plant is over-generous.

The largest site ever approved by the AEC is the 1,500 acre site for the Duke Power Company nuclear complex on Lake Oconee in South Carolina where there are three nuclear generating plants with a total capacity of 2,445 megawatts. For comparison purposes, this works out to 1.63 megawatts per acre. It should be noted that the AEC in no way required such a large site. This was merely the size of the company's holdings around the Lake.

PASNY has acquired 702 acres for a single generating plant with a normal operating capacity of 845 megawatts (as against its stretch capacity of 885 megawatts). This works out to 1.20 megawatts per acre, or more than one-third more generous than the Duke site.

By contrast, three nuclear generating plants of the Consolidated Edison Company of New York located in the densely populated suburban Westchester area will offer 2103 megawatts on 235 acres, approximately 8.9 megawatts per acre or seven times more economical than PASNY.

Actually, a megawatts-per-acre figure is useful only to highlight the disparity in size of the site and is not used by the AEC. The real significance of the size of a site is safety and two key factors in the AEC determination of how big a site should be are the density of population in the surrounding area and the size of the nuclear components. The denser the population and the larger the nuclear load, the larger the "area of exclusivity," or site, should be.

By this standard the generosity of PASNY's purchase is even more remarkable. The Con Edison site is about one-third as large as the PASNY site and its nuclear capacity is almost two and one-half times greater. Yet the population density around the Con Edison plants is dramatically greater. Within one mile of the proposed PASNY facility there are no people. Within one mile of the Con Edison plant there are 1080 people. Within five miles, the PASNY figure grows to 1,977 as against 53,400 for Con Edison. At ten miles, the respective figures are 32,272 for PASNY and 155,510 for Con Edison.

Another criteria used by the AEC is the distance of the facility from a population center (a community where the population exceeds 25,000). The proposed PASNY facility will be 7 miles from a population center. Con Edison's much larger nuclear capacity is .63 mile from the nearest population center.

A third AEC criteria is the extent of the "exclusion distance," that is, the distance from the plant to the boundary of the site. For PASNY the exclusion distance ranges from one mile on the west to a mile and one half to the south. (It is only 3,000 feet on the east where the property abuts the site of Niagara Mohawk's Nine Mile Point plant, but of course the exclusion area for that plant adds more than a mile of protection.) Con Edison's exclusion distance is only .22 mile!

In an effort to "clarify the matter of the land area," S. M. Stoller asserts:

The criteria used by the AEC to evaluate nuclear power plant sites does not specify explicitly the amount of land required to be owned by the utility. There is a relationship in these criteria between the exclusion area available and the design as regards engineered safeguards, and other features. Clearly, a large exclusion area is a good thing in the eyes of the AEC, and it may bring cost advantages to the project; therefore, the utility usually tries to purchase as much land as is reasonably available.²⁴

Since the AEC's actual standards for approved facilities are obviously exceeded many times at the PASNY site, it would be informative to find out specifically what "cost advantages" the size may bring to the project and what design features they cover.

Clearly, unless the AEC is playing nuclear Russian Roulette with the people of Westchester, PASNY has bought many times more land than it needs."

Benefits and savings

Personnel: One of PASNY's major justifications for its highly unusual agreement with Niagara Mohawk has been the advantages it claims will result from the use of Niagara Mohawk personnel for operation and maintenance.

These are the serious questions of propriety raised by having a public power facility—and a "captive" one at that—operated by employees of a private utility. PASNY officials have repeatedly tried to justify this situation by claiming that use of Niagara Mohawk's "highly skilled and AEC approved personnel"²⁵ "offers the best opportunity for operating the Authority's plant in the safest, most efficient and economical manner." PASNY asserts that "trained nuclear experts are in very short supply"²⁶ and claims that building up a PASNY staff would be costly, time-consuming and difficult. It is asserted that this type of operation is made possible by the fact that the plants are so close together, separated by only 3,002 feet.

Obviously these claims are only valid if it is, in fact, possible to operate both the proposed plant and Niagara Mohawk's facility with the same personnel.

AEC licensing standards for the operation of a large nuclear plant call for five personnel to be on duty at all times. Of these, three must be AEC approved. Regardless of how close the plants are together, the AEC would require that both have this full complement of personnel—unless they share a common or "dual" control facility.

There is no mention in any of PASNY's statements of plans to have such a dual control facility.²⁷ In fact, the Authority has stressed the independent operation in defending against charges that the plant is a captive of the Niagara Mohawk system.

Furthermore, PASNY's argument would not be valid even if there were dual control facilities for both plants.

As of now there are no AEC licensed nuclear plants with dual control rooms but the concept has been under consideration by several utilities and the AEC has prepared licensing standards. Under these standards, the AEC would require a total of eight and, perhaps, nine operators to be on duty in the control room at all times. Five of these must be AEC approved.²⁸

For a normal three shift operation, therefore, it would be necessary for Niagara Mohawk to hire a total of 12 additional employees, six of whom must be licensed by the AEC. Why is it easier for Niagara Mohawk to find the additional operating personnel than it is for PASNY?

PASNY claims that the use of Niagara Mohawk personnel will result in savings of "at least \$300,000 yearly."²⁹ It would be enlightening to know where these savings occur. The personnel will have to be doubled for separate control rooms and very nearly doubled for dual control rooms and PASNY claims that "it has been agreed that Niagara Mohawk will be paid for the use of its personnel on a reimbursement of cost basis."³⁰

Either Niagara Mohawk already has the excess personnel—a fact which should be of some concern to their stockholders and ratepayers—or the private utility is going to have to assume the training burden to supply additional personnel needed for the dual operation of the PASNY plant—a fact that should be of at least equal concern to Niagara Mohawk's stockholders and ratepayers.

One further point deserves comment. PASNY has switched signals in its Annual Report and indicated a desire to keep its options open for the future so that it can take over operations at "such time as it is in the Authority's best interest to assume those functions with its own personnel."³¹ This poses an interesting problem. If the plant is constructed now to be operated with "a dual control room," substantial redesign will be necessary to separate the functions in the future. If this is the aim it would be interesting to know what plans have been made in this regard and what the cost of shifting back to single control rooms would be.

Cost: PASNY has claimed a number of remarkable benefits to be derived from its unusual arrangement with Niagara Mohawk,

Footnotes at end of article.

but none is as remarkable, or as difficult to pin down as the purported savings.

In the joint application filed by PASNY and Niagara Mohawk for the AEC license for the facility, the total cost of the plant is set forth as follows:

[AEC Docket No. 50-333]	
Total nuclear production plant costs	\$188,000,000
Transmission, distribution, and general plant costs	7,000,000
Nuclear fuel inventory costs first core (to be acquired through purchase)	27,000,000
Total estimated costs	222,000,000

According to Chairman FitzPatrick, this \$222 million figure represents "savings on construction costs alone" of "at least \$15 million,"²⁴ because of the two year head-start the Authority will get by picking up Niagara Mohawk's commitments with General Electric.

What he is saying is that if PASNY acquired this entire package as a new order for completion in 1975, instead of 1973, as now scheduled, inflation would have increased the price by 3.5 per cent per year for each of the two additional years. But to arrive at his \$15 million savings, he figures that all of the expenditure takes place after 1973 and furthermore that the Authority pays it all at once in 1975. He has multiplied the total cost, \$222 million, times the annual per cent of inflationary increase 3.5 per cent, and then multiplied the total times two for the additional two years. ($\$222 \text{ million} \times 3.5\% = \$7.7 \text{ million} \times 2 \text{ years} = \15.4 million).

Clearly this would take a masterpiece of misplanning.

In fact, by 1973, four years of construction work will have been completed. The inflationary 3.5 per cent can only be applied to that portion of the work that is completed after 1973. Obviously the portion would be substantially less than the entire \$222 million!

The most serious defect in PASNY's savings claims for the proposed plant is the total lack of any comparative standard for judging and evaluating them.

Not only were the components of the plant acquired without competitive bidding—a very dubious practice—but in estimating costs and savings PASNY compares a guess at the cost of these components acquired in 1973 with a guess at what the cost of identical equipment would be if it were acquired in 1975.

This assumes a lot of things without providing any criteria for evaluating them.

It assumes that the Easton plant was just what the PASNY needed. In fact, the record shows that it was not. Even in the early stages, major changes were required. The Easton plant was rated at 600 megawatts; in the proposed facility, this has been increased by more than one-third to 845 megawatts—a very substantial change. Apparently associated with this change is "the addition of 12 new fuel assemblies to increase the plant rating from the original 2,381 to 2,436 Mwrth" at a cost of \$434,000.²⁵

The turbine generators have been radically redesigned at a cost of "\$90,000 'cancellation charges'" and "about \$4,000,000 additional" for design changes.²⁶

(This item is particularly puzzling since, as the Stoller report notes, the turbines are purchased at the "price in effect" at the time of delivery and have already escalated by about \$3,600,000. Stoller concedes that the Niagara Mohawk commitments for the turbines "have no real economic meaning."²⁷ Thus it would appear that PASNY is paying a total of \$7,690,000 more for the turbines than Niagara Mohawk itself had com-

mitted to pay. Since neither Stoller nor FitzPatrick give the actual cost, it is impossible to estimate what the economic significance of this increase is, but the question still remains. Since the price is going to go up anyway, why go to the trouble of redesigning the turbines? Why not just go out and order what you need under competitive bidding.)

What is significant is not the individual costs but the clear proof from these and other items that the Easton plant is not ideally suited to PASNY's needs and the new location. It has had to be modified substantially. Still unanswered is how much have these modifications added to the project cost and how much has PASNY tailored its needs to fit the available equipment, rather than designing a plant to fit their needs.

PASNY officials have shown considerable sensitivity on this issue, reacting with considerable heat to questions about individual parts of the package acquired from Niagara Mohawk.

For example, questioned about a \$3,516,000 item in the Stoller report described as "Extras Ordered by Niagara Mohawk" and consisting of "a variety of equipment" (isolated phase bus, miscellaneous transformers, main power transformer, switchgear, miscellaneous motors totaling 22,000 h.p., etc.) not normally included by GE in the bid package," FitzPatrick replied that the equipment is:

"Not necessary for the Easton plant but is necessary for the Authority's plant (at the new location). The Authority has neither purchased or (sic) agreed to purchase, or (sic) paid for, or (sic) agreed to pay for, anything designed or purchased for the Easton plant which will not be used for or in connection with Authority's plant (at the new location)."

A surprisingly strong response, which completely begs the question.

The equipment described deals mostly with switching and transmission. It was purchased and apparently designed for a substantially smaller plant located on a site that can be fairly described as unsophisticated. Although the Easton site is surrounded by a number of hydroelectric projects, there is no plant within several miles of the site. At Nine Mile Point, however, there is already a major nuclear facility which will be only 3,200 feet from the PASNY plant. The power will be transmitted over Niagara Mohawk transmission lines, switched at Niagara Mohawk stations. One of the two major transmission lines will actually run from the Niagara Mohawk plant itself.

Perhaps PASNY will indeed use this \$3.5 million worth of equipment but does it *have* to use it? Would other equipment have served better? Will Niagara Mohawk rely on PASNY-owned switching and transmission gear that it would normally have installed at Nine Mile Point itself? These are extremely relevant questions that deserve specific answers.

FOOTNOTES

¹ James A. FitzPatrick, *speech*, January 28, 1968.

² FitzPatrick, *statement*, March 17, 1969.

³ PASNY Annual Report, 1968, page 7.

⁴ *op. cit.*, 1968, page 11.

⁵ *op. cit.*, page 21.

⁶ *op. cit.*, page 20.

⁷ *See; Personnel*, page 11.

⁸ FitzPatrick, *statement*, March 17, 1969, page 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Richard L. Ottinger, *letter*, February 19, 1969.

¹¹ In a 1963 speech in Buffalo, Niagara Mohawk engineer, G. K. Rhode said "Anticipating that we may eventually construct several units at this site and taking into account current nuclear plant siting criteria,

acquired about 1,500 acres of land along almost two miles of shoreline." Niagara Mohawk's Speakers Bureau kit released in 1964 pointed out proudly that "the site has all the necessary features for a multiple unit station of substantial size . . ." and noted that it is ". . . large enough to permit installation of additional units."

¹² U.S. Atomic Energy Commission Docket 50-220, Exhibit D-2.

¹³ That this was a very sudden decision was indicated by the fact that the understanding was formalized in August, 1968 barely two months after the New York Legislature authorized PASNY to build nuclear facilities. Furthermore PASNY has repeatedly denied any advance knowledge of Niagara Mohawk's plans to abandon the Easton Plant.

¹⁴ New York State Public Authorities Law, section 1005.

¹⁵ Report of S. M. Stoller, July 25th 1968, page 12. In his statement of March 17 (page 8). PASNY's Chairman James FitzPatrick denies that the Stoller Report contains any such warning. He asserts that there is only one warning in the report: that the Authority should hold GE to its commitment and should be aware of the fact that further review by the AEC was to come.

This is a simple issue of fact subject to verification. The disputed statement can be found on page 12 of the Stoller Report.

There are actually two warnings in the report. Mr. FitzPatrick, while acknowledging the second, either misunderstood or misrepresented it.

He claims that the report "warned that the Authority should hold GE to its commitment (i.e. to bear the cost of AEC-imposed changes through 1971) . . ."

What the Stoller report actually says is that "GE will maintain this commitment only through the original contract completion date, namely 9/30/71." It urges that PASNY require GE to extend its responsibility for any changes that the AEC requires "until late 1972 or early 1973." This very sound recommendation is all the more important in view of the AEC's clearly expressed reservations. The AEC won't be in a position to evaluate the plant until the later date and should PASNY fail to get GE to extend its commitment, PASNY will be stuck with the costs of improvements and modifications required by the AEC.

¹⁶ Stoller letter to FitzPatrick, March 14, 1968, page 5.

¹⁷ PASNY Annual Report, 1968, page 11.

¹⁸ FitzPatrick, *speech*, January 28, 1969, page 7.

¹⁹ PASNY Annual Report, 1968, page 12.

PASNY's annual report stresses "all of the main power producing systems of the Authority's plant are independent of the existing Nine Mile Plant of Niagara Mohawk but provisions have been made to contract for use of special facilities such as the main radioactive laboratory, the radioactive laundry and the over-all site radioactivity monitoring facilities."

²⁰ AEC letter to Richard L. Ottinger, April 22, 1969.

²¹ Wm. S. Chapin memorandum, March 13, 1968, pages 11 and 12.

²² FitzPatrick letter to Richard L. Ottinger, February 21, 1969, page 5.

²³ PASNY Annual Report, 1968, page 11.

²⁴ FitzPatrick, *speech*, January 28, 1969.

²⁵ FitzPatrick, *statement*, March 17, 1969: "I explained to the audience that this overall savings could be estimated on the sole basis of costs escalating at the rate of 3½% per year on \$220 million rounded out over the two years that would be gained by reason of the contracts."

²⁶ Stoller Report, page 8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

**TROOP WITHDRAWAL—HOPEFULLY
THE BEGINNING OF THE END**

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, to those of us in the Congress who have introduced legislation calling for the orderly withdrawal of American military forces in Vietnam and to all Americans who have long been advocating such withdrawal, the President's very recent announcement on this subject has brought a modest and moderate sense of gratification.

Most of us well realize the tremendous complexities involved in this vitally important matter, and none of us expect an overnight miracle accomplishment. However, we do very strongly hold to the conviction from experience that without a beginning, there is no ending. We commend the President's first step action and appreciating the immense burdens of his office, we pray that the Almighty will extend His wisdom and guidance to the President in speeding a peaceful settlement of this agonizing Vietnam war.

At this point, I am pleased to include a very timely and thoughtful editorial on the subject of troop withdrawal that appeared in the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram newspaper issue of last June 9. The article follows:

[From the Worcester Telegram, June 9, 1969]

WITHDRAWING 25,000 TROOPS

President Nixon's dramatic announcement with President Thieu of South Vietnam at Midway Island that 25,000 U.S. troops will be withdrawn from the Vietnam war by the end of August came as the Gallup Poll in yesterday's Sunday Telegram showed that the American people are overwhelmingly in favor of such a move.

There had been no doubt, anyway, that the American people are weary of the war, and a major reason for Nixon's election was his promise to move toward peace. The President's promise in mid-Pacific was a down payment on that pledge.

True enough, the troops are being withdrawn with the assent of President Thieu, who says that he told Nixon that there has been rapid progress in the training of South Vietnamese troops to take over more of the actual fighting. And, true enough, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, head of the forces in Vietnam, agreed. Secretary of State Rogers had strongly indicated that the troop withdrawal would come when he said last week that the Saigon forces were "moving toward more of the combat burden."

But the withdrawal, however welcome to all Americans, is obviously a token one that seems to represent a compromise with Thieu and with the realities of the war situation. Many had expected that 50,000 would be withdrawn. It seems obvious that Thieu recognized that he had to go along with Nixon's withdrawal plan after Secretary Rogers emphasized that the United States was not "wedded" to any particular regime in Saigon. Nixon, for his part, faced the bitter reality of having Vietnam called "Nixon's war" if he did not do something quickly toward easing it.

Yet it is much too soon to throw one's hat in the air and dance a victory jig. As the President emphasized, the withdrawal of these troops must be predicated on a basis of not threatening the lives of other U.S. troops left in Vietnam, the continued train-

ing of South Vietnamese, progress in the Paris talks, and the level of enemy activity. In a sense, Ho Chi Minh still holds the cards. If Ho interprets the U.S. troops' exit as a sign of weakness, and of American weariness with the war, the war could go on and on. The American people have been told before that the South Vietnamese could assume a larger burden of the fighting—only to be disillusioned later.

President Nixon stressed that "no action will be taken which endangers the attainment of our objective, the right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam." The troop withdrawal is welcome news; it should add immeasurably to the Nixon popularity. But the war goes on. Will Ho now promise to withdraw 25,000 of his troops from South Vietnam? That may be the key question.

**TOYS THAT CAN CRIPPLE AND
EVEN KILL**

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Parade magazine this past weekend under the title, "Toys That Can Cripple and Even Kill." The article documents quite well the case which I and other Members have been trying to make in behalf of legislation we have sponsored to amend the 1966 Federal Hazardous Substances Act so that the Secretary of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will have the authority to preclude dangerously designed toys and other articles intended for use by children from the marketplace.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to insert the article in the RECORD together with the testimony which I gave to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance, on the hazardous toy bill:

TOYS THAT CAN CRIPPLE—AND EVEN KILL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The nation's toy counters gristle with menacing playthings, which may be every bit as lethal as they look. Children can arm themselves from a chilling arsenal of make-believe weapons to act out the violence they watch on TV. To add to the realism, cap pistols have exploded in the eyes of kindergarten Matt Dillons; swift, rubber-tipped arrows have impaled moppet-warriors, the covering has worn off rubber swords, exposing razor-sharp metal edges underneath.

One company produces do-it-yourself bomb kits, complete with casings, chemicals, fuses and instructions on how youngsters can make their own gunpowder. Even the most innocent-appearing toys may contain built-in booby traps. A Disney-faced riding giraffe kneels over and sends toddlers sprawling on their little faces. A cuddly teddy bear has eye prongs that a baby can pluck out and convert into miniature bayonets. Stuffed rabbits and baby rattles can be pulled apart, unsheathing ugly stickpins.

Complaints from parents moved Congress in 1966 to pass the Child Protection Act, which was supposed to outlaw hazardous toys. Under the new law, federal authorities have barred from the toy stores such dangerous delights as dolls stuffed with flammable gun cotton, bright beads made of poisonous jequirity beans, revolvers that fire

abrasive gas, and play tunnels covered with flammable fabric.

Yet the law is loosely worded, and the enforcement has been spotty. Toymakers are still turning out trinkets and trifles that slash, puncture, burn, shock, choke, maim and even kill thousands of children each year. The casualty rate from toys can only be surmised from the accident statistics. A staggering 17 million children are injured and another 15,000 die from accidents each year in America. No doubt a high percentage of these accidents are caused by faulty play equipment. It is known, for example, that a million children are injured annually in bicycle accidents alone. Another 500,000 are hurt on swings, 200,000 on slides, 100,000 on tricycles and 50,000 on seesaws.

BITTER IRONY

America's toy industry does a whopping \$3 billion business a year. The bitter irony is that products intended to bring pleasure to the short-pants and pigtail set so often bring pain instead. Not all dangerous toys, of course, are made in the U.S.A. Many are imported from Japan and Germany. Some of the worst are shipped to this country from Hong Kong.

Ultimately, however, these toys make their way to downtown department stores and neighborhood shopping centers across the country. A PARADE survey found toy counters stacked with merchandise that has been branded unsafe by government witnesses. These range from a baby crib so badly designed that it has cost several infant lives to a toy oven that heats 200 degrees higher than the average home oven. At one department store, a dangerous crib was far outselling a safe crib. Explained the manager with a shrug: "The safe crib is more expensive and can't compete."

One crib-playpen, called Kiddie Koop, has a heavy top to prevent the child from escaping. The lid is held down by plastic straps which stretch in warm weather. This sometimes permits the child to squeeze his head between the lid and the railing. A pastor in Wellsville, Ohio, and a policeman in Miami complained that their babies were strangled in this manner. The Miami coroner reported to the National Commission on Product Safety that he had seen 11 such cases. When the president of the company was asked to testify he refused to appear.

Still on the market, too, is the Little Lady oven, which Sen. Frank Moss (D., Utah) complains "reaches higher temperatures than does my wife's stove." The commission claims it not only heats to the lethal temperature of 660 degrees but it is capable of electrocuting a child.

The Suzy Homemaker oven, advertised as "super-safe" on three sides of its carton, is heated by an electric light bulb. To keep the price down, the manufacturer lets the purchaser furnish his own bulb, which must be screwed into a socket that has severely shocked a number of children. Government investigators charge that one child was killed by sticking his finger in the socket.

ELECTRICAL HAZARDS

A number of electrical toys—plug-in irons, toy toasters, monster-making machines—have turned out to be electrical hazards. For instance, a toy corn popper, which must be washed or sponged after using, instantly becomes a hazard upon wetting.

Another popular toy, known as Etch-a-Sketch, provides what appears to be a plastic surface for children to draw upon. Actually, this is a highly breakable glass panel, which has caused some bad cuts. The Minneapolis law firm of Leonard, Street and Deinard alone have 14 cases pending against the manufacturer. A silvery substance, used in the Etch-a-Sketch toy, has also branded some children with instant tattoos. Wrote Dr. Henry S. Patton of Oakland, Calif., to the manufacturer: "We would like to know

what substance of the silvery nature is used in this toy. Is it mercury, silver, or is it a carbon of some type? The family is very unhappy as the child has a pigmented tattoo . . . Please let me know what substance is used so I can tell the family what to expect."

In Philadelphia, 11 children had to have one-inch darts removed from their lungs when they inhaled instead of blowing out the darts through a plastic, toy jungle weapon called the Zulu blowgun. An estimated 6 million have been sold.

PIERCED SCALP

A woman wrote from Lake View Terrace, Calif., to Sen. Allan Cranston (D., Calif.) that her 6-year-old daughter's scalp was pierced by a bow and arrow set. The bow delivered the arrow with such force that the wooden stem rammed through the rubber suction cup into the little girl's head.

A Shelbourne Falls, Mass., man complained that his 9-year-old boy was blinded in one eye by an exploding cap device, constructed of a weighted feather with a metal covering. Another complaint charged that an 8-year-old New York boy almost lost an eye playing with the Milton Bradley time bomb game.

Playground sets have precipitated a host of complaints. Typical is this letter from an alarmed mother: "We recently purchased a gym set—swings, sliding board. The caged top had room to trap a child's head. As a result, two of our children nearly hung themselves."

There is an appalling collection of complaints from parents of children who have been injured by dolls pierced with hidden spikes, animals stuffed with flammable material, balloon toys that easily burst, and other playthings that backfire.

To remove these unsafe toys from the market, Senator Moss has introduced legislation that would tighten the 1966 law.

In New York, the Toy Manufacturers of America, Inc., said: "Through our safety standards committee, we have pioneered the establishment of toy safety standards for many years. Thus, instead of opposing toy safety legislation, the association recently sent a delegation to Washington for the express purpose of presenting specific toy safety standards for inclusion in proposed safety laws."

American parents wait hopefully.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JOSHUA EIL-BELG, OF PENNSYLVANIA, ON H.R. 7509, H.R. 7621, AND H.R. 8377, TO AMEND THE FEDERAL HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES ACT, BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCE AND FINANCE, MAY 20, 1969

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Subcommittee, it is with distinct pleasure and a strong sense of duty to the children of this nation that I appear before you today to testify in behalf of the legislation you are now considering to amend the Federal Hazardous Substances Act so that the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will have the authority to preclude dangerously designed toys or other articles intended for children's use from the marketplace. This legislation would amend the section of the Hazardous Substances Act relating to "banned hazardous substances" to permit the Secretary by regulation to eliminate from interstate commerce any toys or products to be used by children which have electrical, mechanical or thermal hazards. This legislation was drafted by the National Commission on Product Safety and I commend them for their effort.

I have submitted an earlier statement on legislation which the Subcommittee is considering to extend the life of the Commission so that it might complete its assigned tasks so I will not elaborate on this point here. I

only reiterate what I said in that testimony on the excellent work which the Commission is doing for all of us consumers and the absolute necessity that this work be continued.

Under present law, the categories of toy hazards which children are protected against are only two: pressurized and flammable. I think that our children deserve much more protection than that. By adding the additional categories included in the legislation now under consideration we can get at many more additional hazards including but not limited to sharp or protruding edges, fragmentation, explosion, strangulation, suffocation, asphyxiation, electrical shock and electrocution, heated surfaces, and unextinguishable flames.

Hearings which the Commission on Product Safety held on the subject of hazardous toys spotlighted the inadequacies in the existing hazardous substances statute. These hearings revealed the seriousness of the problem. An alarming number of seemingly harmless toys were found to gravely endanger the health and safety of unsuspecting children.

From the point of view of product safety, toys are different from any other products on the market in several ways: first, they are generally bought for the user, not by the user; second, the user either can't or isn't likely to read the instructions or cautions. In this respect the problem is similar to that faced by a non-English speaking user, a serious problem in our country and one which receives not nearly enough attention. The education of the consumer on the toy, and of the child, in its safe use is no easy matter. It is hard enough to educate the purchaser if it is a parent. But, if it is a doting grandparent who has long forgotten, if he ever knew, the many ways that a child can interact with a toy, it is doubly difficult. Third, the user is frequently inexperienced in the ways of things and their properties so he does not allow for anti-human contrariness. Fourth, toys are not necessities of life but embellishments of it. I do not mean by this to talk down the contribution that toys make to a child's growth and enjoyment of life. But the argument that can be made for trading off some safety risk for some vital human need cannot be made for toys as it has been for some other consumer products.

Therefore, in designing a toy I believe the manufacturer has a responsibility to choose materials and methods of construction that require a minimum of education for the user to make it safe. Ideally, it should be child-proof, that is, no imaginable abuse by a child should make it unsafe. Anyone who has children will appreciate what a task this is.

In F. Reed Dickerson's *Product Safety in Household Goods* the section on toys, referring to a 1961 study on toy safety in Florida states: "The survey concluded that, with respect to commercial toys, injuries generally result from misuse". But, "misuse is the order of the day with a toy." If the manufacturer believes that his toy is only safe when used as directed he should say so very clearly. But, as the study states so simply, "The manufacturer naturally does not want to overemphasize the significant hazards because it tends to discourage a purchase." This is a classic situation for either voluntary or mandatory regulation.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission I would now like to illustrate the types of hazards found in toys with a few case histories from the files of the National Commission on Product Safety.

Dart blow gun (Philadelphia, Pa.): Eleven children had to have small one inch plastic darts removed from their lungs when they inhaled them instead of blowing them out of a small plastic blowgun. In 10 of the 11 instances, although the front of the dart carries a plastic suction cup, the rear section was a needle-sharp point.

Fireworks (Cleveland, Ohio): A 14 year old boy lost both hands and wrists while his brother, age 13, lost three fingers from the right hand and sustained permanent facial

scars after mixing a formula for fireworks with mail-order chemicals.

Tricycle (Strafford, Pa.): A 2½ year old boy lost an eye when he fell against the unprotected metal handgrip of the toddler's tricycle on which he was riding.

Toy telephone (Flushing, Michigan): Luckily, a young couple heard the choking and crying of their six month old son in time to rescue him when he managed to twist the long cord of his toy telephone around his neck. This telephone was advertised as a crib toy.

Doll bow (Downey, California): A mother discovered, while attempting to replace loosened ornaments, that the bow on her child's doll was secured to the head by an inch long spike with a handle which made it easily removable.

Train game (Morton, Pa.): While playing with a plastic train engine which blows up balloons via the smoke stack, whereupon scoring is achieved by breaking the balloons, a young child's eye was injured when a fragment of the balloon struck it.

Hand grenades (Mt. Vernon, New York): Three 14 year old boys were gathered to make explosive devices out of match-heads as per the instructions in a mail order booklet when one of the grenades blew up, severing two fingers and the top joint of the left thumb on one of the trio.

Scoter board (West Hartford, Conn.): During his first day using this toy—which can be ridden either as a traditional scoter or with a child lying down on it—a nine year old boy broke his permanent front tooth off when the vehicle stopped short. Soon after, a five year old friend met with a similar accident. The small wheels do not permit the scoter to pass over even small objects in its path and sharp stops are a frequent mishap, plunging the child's unprotected face towards the pavement.

Rattle (Philadelphia, Pa.): A mother was horrified to discover that after a few minutes play with a musical rattle, her baby had removed the plastic and cardboard top from the handle and uncovered seven 1½ to 3 inch spikes.

Rockets (Ohio): A 7th grade science enthusiast who learned from another boy how to use match-heads to power toy rockets was killed before his younger sister's eyes when the missile blew up prematurely and launched itself through his throat.

In addition to these toys, Mr. Morris Kaplan of the Consumer's Union listed several other toys which CU found to be hazardous in its tests. One of these I think deserves mention here to illustrate some of the real "child maiming" monstrosities which CU found on local toy retail merchants' shelves. The Empire Little Lady Oven heated up on both its sides to 200 degrees, its top reached 300 degrees and higher and the inside baking shelf reached 660 degrees, which as you all know is hotter than a home oven. No warning was contained on the toy package about the heat it generated so that the purchaser could make a decision as to whether his child was old enough to treat the toy with the respect that it deserves or if the parent was prepared to supervise the child each time she used it. This toy was approved by the Underwriter's Laboratory because UL permits such temperatures in a toy oven.

I could go on indefinitely listing toys which are unsafe and which the legislation now being considered by the Committee would help take off the market. However, I believe the brief run down I have given here dramatizes the size of the problem and the necessity that we in the Congress do whatever we can to eliminate it.

Most recently, members of the staff of the National Commission on Product Safety were of invaluable assistance to me in demonstrating to the people of the Philadelphia area the various types of hazardous toys on the market. I had the opportunity to appear

on television in Philadelphia and discuss the subject and, with the assistance of the Commission, I had not only the hazardous toys to demonstrate but also the tremendous expertise of a Commission staff member to assist me in bringing home the message to our viewers. I need not tell you what the people of Philadelphia, who might otherwise have purchased these toys and had their children injured by them, think of the work being done by the Commission and the legislation which is now being considered.

The major reason why the Child Protection Act of 1969 is needed is very simply because the industry has not adequately regulated itself. I would like to present here, for the Subcommittee's information some compressed commentary on the question of the adequacy and proper role of industry self-regulation through voluntary standards institutions. There are at least five major lines of inquiry which I believe are essential to treat if the semantic curtains and the corporate obfuscations are to be cleared away.

First, are the procedures of the voluntary standards groups, particularly the deceptively named United States of America Standards Institute and its member organizations, seriously deficient? I believe they are. Various clique-generating deficiencies characterize most of these groups. Members of standards committees are on company missions, company time and company expenses—they are not there as independent professional participants. Minutes of the meetings of these groups are sketchy, self-serving, suppressive of any reporting of dissenting views and not public—in some instances not even available to non-committee members of the alleged technical society. Standards are issued by these groups in completed form without any opportunity for non-committee members to see and comment on the draft proposals. Standards also are issued without any technical explanation and references to reveal the basis for stringency levels chosen. The consensus principle operates to permit a single powerful company in an industry, for example, to block proposals or serves to insure the issuance of the lowest common denominators. Standards are not graded to encourage ever higher achievement goals and stimulate competition. Standards are often filled with advisory or exhortatory provisions that cloud their meaning and deceive the public. Procedures to ascertain compliance through inspection and reporting of failures are non-existent. There is virtually no provision for independent review of products manufactured under industry codes. Finally, these standards groups do not possess research and testing facilities and rely entirely on industry equipment and personnel.

Second, what are the central purposes filled by these standards groups for their respective industries and member companies? Singly or in various combinations they provide an authoritative professional facade for industrial standards so as to persuade legislative and administrative regulatory bodies to adopt them verbatim as criteria for public policy and adjudicative decisions—literally hundreds of these codes have been lobbied into law or regulation. They serve to limit corporate liability in products liability and other litigation; squeeze out competition or limit the range of competition between companies agreeing not to disagree before the open force of the market place; control the rate of innovation and its usage; generate business as exemplified by the Underwriter's Laboratories; serve to develop an anticipatory usurpation of governmental functions by concentrating all these standards groups under one overall umbrella called The United States of America Standards Institute which, with unparalleled presumption, assumes one of its purposes to be "representative of the United States of America to international standardization organizations concerned with civilian safety, trade and commerce, except as otherwise provided by treaty." It also com-

promises governmental agencies by inviting their membership and holding them to secrecy of minutes and all the rest just like the strictures placed on commercial companies.

Third, how effective are voluntary standards groups and what determines the areas they cover? There really is no specific way in which the areas covered by these groups are determined. As to their effectiveness, I can cite an example of a manufacturer who produced a vaporizer that was certified as safe by Underwriters Laboratories, the Good Housekeeping Institute and Parents Magazine. Yet the product could be easily tipped over despite the ads and the material in the instruction booklet which said that the device was "tip-proof," "practically foolproof," and "safe." Obviously these so called standards groups were not effective in preventing the serious burns that several children received from this device.

Fourth, what are the major disincentives which militate against the setting of industry safety codes having a high public interest content? We all know that stylishness and advertising commonly ring up more sales than safety. Industry goes for the highest premium on the lowest costs and many of these cost reductions or minimizations are more related to desired profit rates of return and quite remote from the more touted competitive pressures. Also, commitment to existing plant technology, existing service procedures and habits of doing business militate against tooling up for conversion to the production of a safe product.

Fifth and last, how can the public interest be served in standards for safety process? However they are written, safety codes place a certain general value on human life and limb by making a judgment on the level and coverage of the technology or technique to be employed. From the testimony I have presented today, I feel it should be abundantly clear that the toy manufacturers of this nation, as a general rule, have not placed a very high value on the lives and limbs of our children.

What types of institutions in a democratic society are best equipped to collect the multiple values of commerce and the safety of citizen consumers and resolve them under due process and with justice? Is it the corporation masking as a technical standards group? Is it The United States of America Standards Institute, the Underwriters Laboratories, the Good Housekeeping Institute or the Parents Magazine? To ask the question, I believe is to answer it. The record of voluntary compliance and voluntary setting of standards codes has been woefully deficient to the present date. It is clear that there must be changes in the system. Hearings which the Commission On Product Safety has held on toys for example have made it all too clear that the development of comprehensive safety standards is the key to the problem of product safety and that the system of voluntary controls has been put on trial.

We all now should be aware that protection against hazards is not adequately provided by the old doctrines and comforting presumptions. Caveat emptor did not protect the children who were injured by the toys I have discussed here today. They were not protected by the Underwriters Laboratory seal, the approval of the Good Housekeeping Institute or Parents Magazine. Lawsuits by the consumer certainly are not the answer since these suits can only compensate an individual victim. The cost of such suits is so high that an attorney must expect to get at least a \$10,000 judgment or settlement to make the case worthwhile.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I am not under the illusion that we can protect the consumer merely through the enactment of legislation. We must do two things additionally. We must prod the enforcement agencies who are charged with

implementation of this legislation into realizing that they must enforce the law; they must not be timid about asking for additional authority; and they must not pay homage to or be taken in by the deceptiveness of groups such as the United States of America Standards Institute. Also, we must make sure that agencies such as the National Commission on Product Safety are continued so that industry will be encouraged to clean its own house. No matter how it is achieved, be it through effective industry self-regulation in cooperation with the government rather than vice versa, or through governmental authority alone, something must be done to protect the consumer. And, Mr. Chairman, I believe that the time for invective against industry for its failures in this respect is fast drawing to a close. Something has to be done and it has to be done soon.

The legislation you are considering today should be acted upon favorably. If all the Secretary of HEW needs is the authority to proceed against manufacturers who manufacture dangerous toys or other articles intended for children's use for the marketplace, then we must give it to him and then see that he uses it.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today and testify in behalf of the Child Protection Act of 1969. If I have seemed a little vehement in my testimony, it is because I am alarmed at the magnitude of the hazardous toys problem. If we do not act to correct this situation, we will have far fewer beneficiaries of all the other legislation considered by the Congress.

REV. WILLIAM J. LINDER

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, on May 22, 1969, the Reverend William J. Linder, of Queen of Angels Church in Newark, N.J., appeared before the Independent Offices-Housing and Urban Development Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations. Father Linder, who is a member of the board of directors of the New Community Corp. of Newark, has long been active in efforts to secure better living conditions for the poor of his city.

In his thoughtful presentation, Father Linder stressed the need for adequate funding of two Federal housing programs which he believes can be of great value in rebuilding our Nation's urban centers: rent supplements and below market interest rates for mortgage money. The administration has requested that the former be funded at nearly its full authorization for fiscal 1970. However, I regret that despite the automatic availability of \$500 million in fiscal 1970 for below market interest rates for mortgage money, the administration has advised Congress it favors abolition of this program.

I commend Father Linder's excellent testimony to both my colleagues in the Congress and to the appropriate officials in the executive branch:

STATEMENT WITH REGARD TO HOUSING APPROPRIATIONS, REV. WILLIAM J. LINDER, NEW COMMUNITY CORP., NEWARK, N. J.

The New Community Corporation is an organization of residents of Newark incorporated under the laws of the state of New

Jersey as a non-profit organization for the purpose of providing good housing for the people of Newark's central ward.

The area chosen consists of some of Newark's worst slums covering fourteen blocks. Within these fourteen blocks are over seventy abandoned buildings with several blocks without even a single standard building. Most of the buildings are fire traps and many are without a central heating system which only increases the danger of fire. Most of the buildings contain numerous housing violations. It is in this same area that I witnessed as a priest, the death of a six week old infant from pneumonia in an unheated apartment during a cold December day. One such experience is all a person needs to convince him of the need for decent housing.

On the north boundary are the fifty-seven acres of land being prepared for the new Medical School, a stark contrast between the tired old buildings which imprison our people and the six million dollars spent in temporary quarters for a medical school. A sharp contrast which demonstrates our values.

The answer here as anywhere is for the Federal government to make possible the means by which a community can solve its own problems. There are many ways; two of these are below market interest rate for mortgage money and the rent supplement program. Without these tools we can not perform the task ahead of us.

Recently I had the opportunity of spending two weeks in Holland and Germany to study the programs they used to solve their housing needs. Both programs are employed throughout Europe. In fact, the rent supplement program is far advanced to the program we have here in the United States. Their experience is valuable to us for they have found that rent supplement gives those of limited income the flexibility to find suitable shelter. It also encourages non-profit groups to form to solve the housing needs of people of every financial means. In fact, I found it interesting that while we in the United States spend endless time debating whether every person is entitled to decent housing, some of the nations of Europe accept the principle that every person has a right to decent shelter and spend their time in seeking the method or the means of achieving this goal. Evidently we have not matured to this point.

Together, we will be able to solve the problem. But together means that there are funds available in our federal programs sufficient to do the job. We cannot begin to build for people of limited income without the assistance of these two federal programs. If there are no funds available for programs of such humane value, it is certain that there will never be many "New Communities" in place of the inhuman conditions of housing now present.

Finally, support for decent housing does not lie only in the urban centers. Our experience is that most regardless of their political convictions believe in decent shelter for all. I represent the New Community Corporation, a group from center city Newark. However, the State of New Jersey Jaycees have formed the New Community Foundation, also a non-profit organization but of white suburbanites who support the New Community concept. The Foundation in less than two months has rallied over 2,000 suburbanites in our fifteen communities to financially and politically support a program of housing for the central part of Newark. This federation of people interested in housing in the city is growing faster than any other group in the state and indicates the feelings of the majority of the people.

The New Community Corporation will build sound housing for the people of Newark because our people in the city will work for it, the suburbanites will support us and our representatives reflecting the gravity of

a real moral issue will provide the necessary programs with sufficient public money as to make these programs meaningful.

Constantly we read in the newspapers the appeal from our representatives in Washington, the President included, calling for people of good will to join together in meeting the problems of our country. We have done this, now we await your response.

HARRY J. ROMANOFF HEADS LIST OF DISTINGUISHED CHICAGO TODAY RETIREES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, within the past few days nine outstanding employees of Chicago Today have started their very well-deserved retirement.

Their leaving the active field of Chicago journalism creates a void which will take many years to fill.

Heading this list is the very illustrious, highly respected, and superbly talented Harry J. Romanoff, who has been night city editor of the Chicago's American and now its successor, Chicago Today, for more years than anyone can remember.

Romanoff is legendary.

There has never been anyone like him in American journalism and I think it is safe to predict that there will never again be anyone like him.

As night city editor, Romanoff has never hesitated to call anyone anywhere in the world if he thought he could develop a fresh lead or a new development in a story for the morning's edition.

I do not believe there is a public official of stature in this country who has not experienced a nocturnal call from Romanoff in the middle hours of the night asking about some details regarding a story that "Romie" was developing.

Romanoff is the very essence of the high spirit of competition which has made American journalism the safeguard in our society that no constitution in itself can provide.

It would be foolish to think that in his retirement Romanoff will give up his journalistic interests and I am sure that for many years to come we will see the skillful hand of Romanoff exert its influence on the American scene.

Along with Mr. Romanoff, those who are retiring after 50 years of service were Leo Fischer, sports editor; Charles H. Keller, assistant chief photographer; Luther W. "Mike" Meredith, reporter and rewrite man.

Those who have passed the 42-year mark included Warren Brown, sports columnist and Basil "Gus" Talbott, rewrite man.

Milton R. Hart, day telegraph editor, has been on the job 35 years; Mrs. Dorothy Thompson, food editor, 30 years; and Miss Martha McGinn, secretary to the publisher, 15 years.

Last week more than 600 friends and colleagues of this team of youthful retirees honored them with a retirement party in Chicago.

I am taking the liberty today to include in my remarks the story of this spectacular party, which appeared in Chicago Today last Wednesday.

Each one of these excellent journalists has written his own chapter in American history.

Mike Meredith is one of the best rewrite men this country ever produced and I know I speak for all the employees at Chicago Today when I say how thoroughly he will be missed.

The Chicago Today article follows:

GREAT NEWS YEARS FOR NINE RETIREES

(By George Murray)

Some of the great news stories of the century were recalled by nine retiring employees of Chicago Today when they were honored last night by their colleagues and friends at a party in Ferrara Manor, 5609 North av. Six hundred persons attended the affair.

Those on the job 50 years or more were Harry J. Romanoff, night city editor; Leo Fischer, sports editor; Charles H. Keller, assistant chief photographer; Luther W. [Mike] Meredith, reporter and rewrite man.

Warren Brown, sports columnist, and Basil [Gus] Talbott, rewrite man, have both passed the 42-year mark.

Milton R. Hart, day telegraph editor, has been on the job 35 years; Mrs. Dorothy Thompson, food editor, 30 years, and Miss Martha McGinn, secretary to the publisher, 15 years.

Romanoff, whose countless news beats rank him with the great newspaper men of all time, recalled as one of his greatest stories the murder of eight student nurses in a south side dormitory in the early hours of July 14, 1966.

The City News bureau bulletin came a few minutes before deadline on the first edition. Romanoff phoned the nurses' dormitory at 2319 E. 100th st., and talked to the first detective on the scene.

In minutes, Romanoff had every detail of the night of horror as recalled by the lone survivor, a Filipino nurse, Miss Corazon Amurao. He learned how eight young girls had been stabbed or strangled by an intruder.

Those details, hurriedly written for the first edition, proved correct in the subsequent trial and conviction for the murders of Richard F. Speck, now in prison awaiting outcome of his appeal.

Fischer recalled the football game between Notre Dame and Ohio State at Columbus, O., Nov. 2, 1935. When the 3d quarter ended, Ohio was leading 13 to 0, but the Irish scored in the 4th quarter and won, 18 to 13, with 32 seconds left to play.

That story would have been big enough, but Fischer topped it next day.

Coming back to Chicago from South Bend, he found himself with four or five Notre Dame players. They did not know him as a newspaper man. They talked about intimate details of the behind-the-scenes play.

By discreet questions, Fischer learned what Coach Elmer Layden had told his players between halves. He learned who conceived the winning play, who called it, and who handled the ball.

Fischer wrote the story that night and next day his editor played it for a full page under the headline, "The Inside Story of Notre Dame's Greatest Victory." Fischer said:

"I'll never forget it. The editor gave me a week's pay as bonus."

Charlie Keller, whose waxed mustache has graced every society affair in Chicago for more than a generation, recalled "a wedding that never came off."

Miss Mary Landon Baker, one of the most courted debutantes of her season, was scheduled to wed Alistair McCormick in the

Fourth Presbyterian church on Jan. 2, 1922. The bride never showed up.

The photographers were set up with their cameras in the January winds, still waiting, when the guests and attendants began to leave.

Mrs. Baker took her daughter to England. Mrs. Baker died in Sussex in 1955, leaving an estate of \$770,000 divided equally between a daughter in California and the spinster daughter who never wed.

Miss Mary Landon Baker, who had 66 suitors and never did marry, died at 61.

Mike Meredith remembered the spring floods of 1913 on the Wabash and Ohio rivers. To reach the flood he took a train to St. Louis, a government boat down the Mississippi, and then up the Ohio to Shawneetown.

Meredith traveled with a reporter for the Chicago Tribune, the late Ted Phillips.

At Shawneetown, Meredith and Phillips found officials of the city and the Red Cross who gave them details of the tragedy. They each rented an outboard motorboat and began a race for the nearest telegraph station at Washington, Ind. Meredith won. He said: "I got the only telegraph operator in town and told him to send the railroad timetable and I wrote my story. I scooped Phillips on his own trick."

Talbott recalled the time when bears became such a problem to Wisconsin farmers that the state declared an open season on the animals for hunters. The editor sent Talbott to northern Wisconsin to hunt bear. "When I got there, I learned a hunting license would cost \$50. I phoned the editor and he told me he would not pay any such fee. I suppose I was supposed to bite the bear to death," Talbott recalled.

But the intrepid huntsman hired a guide who had both a gun and a hunting license. For 3 days they tramped the woods, seeing nothing larger than a squirrel. Then the editor changed his mind and Talbott returned home empty handed.

Milton Hart remembered most vividly "the nightmare" of Friday, Nov. 22, 1963: the day President Kennedy was assassinated. Every detail of those bulletins, one following the other, stands out in Hart's mind.

Mrs. Thompson said she has found, over her years as director of the newspaper's food department, that readers are most interested in three recipes: pound cake, carrot cake, and gelatine mold salads and desserts.

Miss McGinn said she was most impressed to find among newspaper workers "a genuine sympathy for people stricken by tragedy." She remembered the 1958 fire at Our Lady of Angels school, the Speck murder of eight nurses, and the assassinations of the Kennedy brothers.

HAPPY ANNIVERSARY, DEAR SARAH

HON. RICHARD WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I know there are a good many Members of this body who would like to join me today in saying "Happy anniversary, dear Sarah." And, I need not go further for many of you, for you will know I am referring to Sarah McClendon, who is celebrating this week her 35th anniversary as a reporter on Capitol Hill.

Sarah, who represents the El Paso Times, one of the great newspapers of the Southwest, has seen a great deal of history made in those 35 years, and has reported it with diligence, skill, and per-

sistence in the highest traditions of vigorous journalism. Today, I want to express to her my thanks for having gone the extra mile, on many an occasion, to assure proper coverage of issues in Congress with which I have been concerned.

But let us not dwell longer on her great achievements of the past. Although she has recently become a proud grandmother, Sarah will be with us for a long time to come and I know many of my colleagues will join me in best wishes for the continued satisfaction of a job well done.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COUNCIL

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's decision to establish a Cabinet-level Environmental Quality Council comes as welcome news to those who have been directly involved in the fight against pollution and other forms of ecological mismanagement. Those who have served in the front lines of this battle realize that public apathy and bureaucratic inertia have been our greatest enemies.

The President demonstrated both his understanding of this problem and his commitment to its solution in setting up this council. As he pointed out during last year's presidential campaign:

We need a high standard of living, but we also need a high quality of life . . . We need a strategy of quality for the seventies to match the strategy of quantity of the past.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the wheels of Government are moving at last to put our ecological house in order. The work of the Environmental Quality Council deserves the enthusiastic support of all Americans.

With this in mind, I would like to share two editorials praising the Council with my fellow Members which support the President's decision. They are from the Washington Post of June 3, and the Christian Science Monitor of June 4:

[From the Washington Post, June 3, 1969]

NATIONAL POLICY OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

The chief question raised by President Nixon's creation of a cabinet-level Environmental Quality Council is whether it will be equal to the major tasks which the country faces in this sphere. The destruction of natural resources and the pollution of water and air have assumed proportions which make drastic action imperative. Many observers fear that even a Council headed by the President and including all the Cabinet heads directly concerned may not be able to reverse the trends which now threaten us.

It is not merely a matter of cleaning up the Nation's rivers and attacking the problem of smog, vital as these objectives may be. The country must wake up to the fact that the quality of our living space is seriously deteriorating on a broad scale. Open space is gobbled up for superhighways, airports, factories and suburban developments without much thought of what the consequences will be for both present and future generations. Reckless use of the land strips it of fertility and at the same time fouls once

beautiful and useful streams. The proliferation of pesticides threatens to upset the balance of nature and to leave poison residues that may afflict man as well as wildlife. And the spread of urban sprawl, messy industrial areas, junkyards, billboards and power lines gravely detracts from the amenities of life.

No doubt the public will have a chance to air many views through the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality which is to be headed by Laurance S. Rockefeller. Nevertheless, the larger problem seems to be to infuse all governmental programs with a policy of protecting the environment. Fortunately there is agreement between the White House and leaders on Capitol Hill on the need for legislation that will leave no doubt of the national intention to stop fouling our living space.

Senator Jackson, chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, has amended his bill to establish a national environmental policy so as to supplement the step the President has already taken. The bill would declare a national policy of preventing and eliminating damage to the environment. It would seek to "assure for all Americans safe, healthful, productive and aesthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings"; to attain the widest beneficial use of resources compatible with conservation and protection of the environment, and the preservation of historic, cultural and natural values.

Probably the most significant aspect of the bill is that it would recognize for each person a "fundamental and inalienable right to a healthful environment" and impose on each a "responsibility to contribute to the preservation and enhancement of the environment." Every governmental agency would be required to carry out its functions in the light of the new congressional policy that the bill would set up. In the past protection of the environment has been nobody's business. Under this proposed legislation it would become the responsibility of every agency whose activities have any bearing on the environment.

Only experience will point to the precise kind of organization that is necessary. But the enactment of a sound legislative policy, the authorization of research and the provision of adequate trained personnel are certainly essential first steps. Congress should lose no time in supplementing the President's efforts.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 4, 1969]

SAVING OUR ENVIRONMENT

Every step taken now to protect mankind's physical environment—to restore and safeguard earth's atmosphere, water, and natural resources—is a move made in an area of urgency. For it is unfortunately true that industrial development, the population explosion, and humanity's very mastery of the world's resources are threatening, in the long run, to make this planet uninhabitable.

So President Nixon's appointment of a Cabinet-level advisory group to battle the "deterioration of the environment" is tremendously welcome news. Congress should come along with parallel efforts, as by Senator Muskie's proposed select committee to study environmental problems.

President Nixon's committee will include himself, the Vice-President, six Cabinet secretaries and Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, White House scientific adviser, as executive secretary. A 15-member Citizens Advisory Committee, also appointed, will bring nongovernmental expertise into the effort.

What is needed is a thorough awareness everywhere of how severely men have polluted their surroundings, and what grave consequences can ensue unless the drift is reversed. We are told, for instance, that in 10 years sewage and waterborne wastes will be sufficient to consume all the oxygen in America's main river systems. Through use

of the internal combustion engine mankind is wafting skyward enough carbon dioxide to overwhelm eventually the balance of oxygen in the atmosphere. Enough DDT has been loosed so that it is discoverable even in Antarctic penguins. California is bulldozing away its richest arable land to build housing.

In effect, man's very progress threatens to overwhelm him. Fortunately a wide awakening is evident. But it is still not sufficiently realized that, from now on, every industrial development, every massive timber felling, every major real estate project, every surface-stripping mining operation will need to include—in its price-tag and prospectus—the additional cost of maintaining the environment safe from despoliation. Sometimes that cost is going to be very high if, for instance, rivers are no longer to be sewage cesspools.

Thorough studies may propose drastic remedies. Dr. DuBridge mentions the possibility that electric autos may have to replace internal-combustion cars if smog is to be defeated. (Perhaps even the campus militants could engage themselves in this environment-preserving crusade.) The saving effort can go forward vigorously, and it should. As President Nixon remarks: "Together we have damaged the environment and together we can improve it."

TO HONOR THE U.S. FLAG

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following copy of a letter from a constituent and his enclosure:

YAZOO CITY, MISS.,
June 9, 1969.

Mr. JAMES D. HESSMAN,
Managing Editor, Armed Forces Journal,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: 14 June is Flag Day. On 12 June the House of Representatives will be conducting appropriate ceremonies to honor the 192nd anniversary of the Resolution of the Continental Congress which authorized the first Stars and Stripes of thirteen stars and thirteen stripes.

This week is a good time to think also of the fact that our Nation has had only two Statutes on the design of our National Flag and Ensign: The Flag Law of 8 January 1794, effective 1 May 1795 and Our Permanent Flag Law of 4 April 1818, effective 4 July 1818.

The Journal has been the Spokesman for the Services since 1863. During this span of 106 years (when you reach your next birthday in August of 1969) our U.S. Flag has had, pursuant to and in accordance with the U.S. Statute of 4 April 1818, effective 4 July 1818, 15 Stars added to the union of blue on our Flag for the 15 States which have been admitted to the Union since your first issue of publication.

The three laws on the design of our Flag are brief, interesting and informative. In the fond hope you will lay them before your readers I am pleased to send you herewith my "Our Flag Laws—A Chronology".

A well-informed public is America's greatest security.

Public relations is an all-hands job.

ROBERT W. COLLINS,
Commander, U.S. Naval Reserve, retired, and former history major from the Old "Ole Miss."

OUR FLAG LAWS—A CHRONOLOGY

(By Comdr. Robert W. Collins, U.S. Naval Reserve, Retired)

THE STARS AND STRIPES

Continental Congress June 14, 1777:

Resolved, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, MAY 1, 1795

U.S. Flag Law, January 8, 1794:

Be it enacted, That from and after the 1st day of May, A.D. 1795, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white. That the Union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field.

Our permanent flag law, April 1, 1818:

Be it enacted, That from and after the 4th day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the union have twenty stars, white in a blue field. That on the admission of every new State into the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the 4th of July next succeeding such admission.

SOME SOUND ADVICE FOR SENATOR MCGOVERN

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last weekend Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN was in Chicago with his commission on studying the structure of the Democratic Party, and while his basic mission is to discuss ways to make the Democratic Party more democratic and more responsive to the needs of the voters, obviously the Senator could not resist a temptation to inject himself into the pending legal proceedings against those who created so much violence last August in Chicago.

Senator MCGOVERN drifted far afield of his basic assignment and in a manner that clearly indicates his impatience with the judicial process in our Republic. Senator MCGOVERN suggested that Mayor Daley use his influence to drop the charges against the rioters.

This is an astonishing suggestion by a supposedly responsible Member of the other body. It is tantamount to almost publicly urging the mayor of Chicago to "fix" the trial of those indicted for inciting to riot.

To his everlasting credit and good judgment, Mayor Daley in effect told Senator MCGOVERN to go and jump into Lake Michigan with this naive suggestion. The mayor quite properly told the good Senator that the indictments have been properly obtained and those under indictment will have due process under the law. If they are innocent they will obviously be freed, and if they are guilty they should suffer the penalty of the law.

Mayor Daley's earthy, good, common-sense apparently is too far advanced for some of our ultrasophisticates who get their ideas from their marble temples in Washington.

These same sophisticates, like the good Senator from South Dakota, go around

this country maligning Chicago and its sense of justice when, in fact, maybe we ought to look at the concepts of justice in South Dakota because maybe in South Dakota they can fix grand jury indictments. But obviously, this is not the case in Chicago.

I am astounded to think that one who goes around this country preaching a new concept of morality should himself suggest these devious means to promote what he calls better harmony in the Democratic Party.

Senator MCGOVERN, through this very foolish and tactless suggestion, proves once again how little patience some of the self-styled saviours of America, such as Senator MCGOVERN, have with the constitutional institutions of this great Republic.

There is not an iota of proof or any suggestion that those currently under indictment will in any way be denied a fair trial under due process of the law.

It is revealing that men like Senator MCGOVERN obviously have a double standard, one for themselves and one for the other fellow.

Senator MCGOVERN totally ignores the fact that this entire proceeding is the result of a very extensive investigation by the Federal grand jury. These indictments were reported after a great deal of testimony and evidence was presented to the jury.

Those indicated are now out on bond and will have their day in court in a Federal judicial proceeding.

For the Senator to suggest that somehow Mayor Daley ought to use his influence to drop these indictments is to make a complete mockery of the judicial process in this country. This sophomoric suggestion is pretty much par for the course on other views and other proposals emanating from the office of the good Senator.

I strongly suggest he seriously consider getting a new set of speech writers because obviously this line of logic which he expounded in Chicago shows his basic disbelief in the fundamental, constitutional processes of this Republic.

I was very pleased to note that the very highly respected Chicago Sun Times took editorial comment of the Senator's proposal and in very direct and meaningful terms, told him to keep politics out of our courts.

I hope the Senator will read carefully the Sun Times editorial and then proceed with the basic mission of his Commission, which is to come up with meaningful ways of strengthening the democratic process and not dumping it to political expediency.

The Chicago Sun Times editorial follows:

KEEP POLITICS OUT OF COURTS

After the street violence that attended the Democratic National Convention last August, we said on this page that there should be no legal sweeping under the rug of lawbreaking on both sides of the police lines.

This, in effect, is what Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) proposed in Chicago last weekend to promote Democratic Party harmony.

Specifically, McGovern proposed that Mayor Daley encourage officials to dismiss all

indictments growing out of the disorders so as to "end the anguish and heal the wounds."

McGovern, a professor of history and government, should recognize that his proposal was unacceptable morally or legally. Political pressure on the courts should not be tolerated. A court system free of politics is a goal this newspaper, McGovern and everyone interested in good government has been striving for.

With the indictment of demonstrators and policemen the judgment on the August disorders moved into the courts. And there they must be disposed of according to law. It may be that the specific federal law applied against demonstrators should be tested for its constitutionality. But all these questions should be hammered out in the courts.

Even if he wanted to, Mayor Daley does not have the right to grand amnesty to persons still under indictment. If the court action still pending is, as McGovern argued, keeping Democratic Party wounds still open, the best prescription is swift justice, not political interference with justice.

The meeting in Chicago was called to discuss ways to make the Democratic Party more democratic and more responsive to the needs of the voters. We applaud those aims and hope the McGovern commission can concentrate on them without getting mired in old issues now being handled in the courts.

CONCERN FOR OLDER CITIZENS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, recently, Mr. James J. Barry, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community and Field Services of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, delivered a speech before the New England area conference of the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association in Manchester, N.H.

In his speech, Secretary Barry pointed out that there are 20 million persons age 65 and over living in the United States today. This group represents approximately 16 percent of our total population. Within the next 20 years, it is expected that this segment of our population will number some 25 to 30 million persons.

When we realize that 50 percent of all couples age 65 and over have incomes under \$3,000 per year, and that 50 percent of all single persons 65 and over have incomes under \$1,300 per year, it becomes clear that the economic hardship imposed on our older citizens has reached scandalous proportions.

Many of us are concerned with the plight of those persons living on fixed incomes during a period in which the cost of living is rising at an unprecedented rate. In the past, much has been done for most Americans age 65 or over, but, as I know, that most will agree that much remains to be done.

I think it is significant that Congress has exhibited concern for older Americans by the many bills introduced in this session, designed to alleviate the economic problems of old age. I think also it is significant that the present admin-

istration's concern with the problems of older Americans is demonstrated.

Secretary Barry's speech is both interesting and relevant to this continuing important domestic concern, and I include it as follows:

CONSUMER SERVICES FOR OLDER AMERICANS
(By James J. Barry, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community and Field Services, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to thank you for the invitation to participate in your important Regional Conference which provides me an opportunity to discuss one of the salient activities in government today, consumer service. There are no issues that have a more profound effect, or have a greater relevance to the elderly than the day-to-day bread and butter items that are the basic consumer activities facing the nation today.

May I commend you for your conference location, the City of Manchester, the place of my birth, the Queen City of the great State of New Hampshire, which has received national acclaim for its meetings in the past which have dealt not only with national but with international problems as well. There is no more appropriate setting to discuss one of HEW's foremost programs and one of the nation's greatest concerns than one's own bailiwick. Consumer issues cover a wide range and are of an infinite variety, and this reminds me of an incident which I encountered recently.

A man in the market for a new car saw an advertisement in the paper, offering a 1966 Cadillac for sale for \$50. The first day he passed it up as a joke, but when the ad appeared for the third time he went to look at the car. The address given turned out to be in a beautiful residential section of the city. The owner, an attractive elderly lady, showed him the car and let him drive it. The car was in perfect and immaculate condition, and so he promptly and eagerly clinched the deal. After the bill of sale was in his hands, he couldn't suppress his curiosity any longer.

"Would you mind," he asked the lady, "telling me why you're selling such a beautiful car for only \$50, when it is obvious you could have gotten at least \$3,500?"

"Not at all," she replied. "In my husband's will he left instructions to deliver the proceeds from the sale of his Cadillac to his secretary, who had been so kind to him."

The American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association have been a positive force in the forefront of organizations that have championed the rights of the elderly citizen and as a consumer. We are all proud of the support you are giving in helping to shape progress in the area of consumer legislation, and your assistance has definitely improved the social service programs for the senior citizen.

I consider it an honor also to speak to you at a time when President Nixon has again proclaimed the month of May as Senior Citizens Month. In making his proclamation, the President said, among other things, "I especially invite the elder citizens of this Nation to use this month as a time for re-examining the social role which they are playing and the conditions under which they live, and I ask them to share their conclusions and recommendations with their countryman."

I believe this is a fitting tribute to the senior citizen. It is also significant on this conference occasion to re-emphasize the request of the President to share with those of us in government your thoughtful and timely conclusions on matters relating to the elderly. The Bureau of the Census reveals that today there are approximately 20,000,000 Americans that are over 65. They comprise 16% of the adult population, but it is significant to look

back and find that in 1900, the 65-year-old group constituted only 4% of our population.

When we consider that there are some 30,000,000 that are currently 55 years of age and over, and that every day an additional 800 persons reach the age of 65 for a total of 300,000 citizens a year, it is a matter of major significance. Projections that have been made on population trends reveal that within the next 20 years the older population will increase to approximately 25,000,000.

The consumer problems of the elderly then become clearly crystallized when we realize that 50% of couples over 65 have incomes under \$3,000 or that 50% of all single persons over 65 have incomes under \$1,300 per year. Under these distressing financial conditions, the need to shop prudently for bargains and to cut corners whenever possible has become a way of life for the elderly. During the decade ahead it should be the objective of each of you, together with your organizations, not simply to be concerned with longer life and the enjoyment of material comforts, but to look forward to being useful and productive members of our society, each according to his own capability.

The consumer problems of the elderly are a special concern to this administration. We have been analyzing in detail the reports that have been emanating from the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging, and we note with concern that they have listed inadequate income as one of the foremost problems facing most older Americans. The committee reported that one-third of our senior citizens live in poverty and this is a serious problem which cannot and will not be ignored by your government.

The Administration is in the process of preparing its recommendations to Congress for increasing the social security benefits which, when approved by Congress, will help alleviate the pressures caused by increases in the cost of living since the last social security adjustments.

With poverty come many companion problems, many of which relate to health. It is disturbing to note that medical costs related to the Medicare and Medicaid programs have been running excessively high. Congress has indicated its concern over the exploited practices in the health field that is hampering an effective and orderly administration of these vital programs for the aged. Within the elderly population there are additional factors which make the elderly easy targets to fraud and deception. Some of these have been cited by Doctor Thomas Rich, a psychologist from the University of South Florida. At a special consumer hearing conducted by the Committee on Aging in Tampa, in 1967, Dr. Rich, among other things, had this to say:

"1. An increasing proportion of the elderly population consists of widows. While many widows have limited income, many have taken over the management of estates of all sizes and must make decisions about things such as household repairs, automobile insurance, and a whole realm of things not within their previous experience. They have been placed in a position where they sometimes make questionable judgments about purchases which may be open to fraudulent claims.

"2. Many elderly make purchases of drugs and nostrums in realization of their doubtful value but in the hope of alleviating pains, irritations and the cessation of the signs of aging. Among the characteristics of the older population that affects the consumer picture is the serious incidence of chronic illness. According to Public Health Surveys, about 4 out of 5 people 65 and over report one or more chronic conditions."

Because of these facts, the elderly person is often a special target for the medical quack and his "sure cures." The aged, especially the poor, tend to place a great deal of faith in advertising. They have the tendency to seek

self-medication rather than professional help. False and misleading advertising is twisting the art of healing into the art of stealing. False and deceptive advertising contains illegally promoted therapeutic and pseudo-therapeutic devices, food supplements and so-called health foods. In its most blatant form, this involves deliberately falsified scientific studies and false promotional claims for potent drugs.

In a recent action which received national publicity, Secretary Finch of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare eliminated a well known and popularly used drug by calling it off the market. It was deemed to misrepresent its efficacy and its ability to cure.

Drugs have changed even more than foods during the past 20 years. While more of our elderly citizens are taking advantage of the new medical care programs, many are still unaware of the need for their intelligent choice of medicines and medical services.

The rapid technological advances that have been made in the food industry, the automotive industry and the appliance industry, specifically in radio, television and automatic home appliances in the development of their product lines have brought about a sophistication of many of these consumer items. In fact, there are very few Americans that have the expertise or the tools or the time to repair an automatic washing machine or a television set. Some of these products have come into being since the senior citizen was already in retirement. He has only the faintest notion of how it is to be repaired and often only an elementary knowledge of how it should be maintained. Coupled with this vast array of new products, our senior citizens must learn to live with sales contracts, warranty agreements and maintenance agreements that are often part of the sales and service programs of such products. More often than not the senior citizen must rely on the neighborhood serviceman to handle his maintenance problems. To many it has become a complex and bewildering as well as expensive world even for the more affluent. As a result of all this, several state legislatures, including New York and Illinois, and some others I cannot specifically recall have recognized the problems of the consumer and are seeking to attack them through a massive program of consumer education in the local school systems.

Many of these projects are financed under programs administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. These programs, together with those of voluntary organizations such as yours, are seeking to address themselves to such basic consumer problems as:

SOUND NUTRITION

Getting the most for one's food dollar is no easy task. Those on limited or fixed incomes cannot afford to waste their resources on foods where packaging costs are more than the commodity. For many, this shopping skill must be taught. There are several food schemes that prey on those with limited incomes. One is the food freezer plan that abounds in most cities. In the long run the consumer ends up paying market prices for the food and very expensively for the freezer. He would be better off to borrow the money for the freezer if he actually needed it. Dietary food fads have also attracted many of our elderly through the pseudo-health advisers. The American Medical Association had this to say about the problem: "Unless your doctor recommends tonics, supplements, vitamins or minerals in concentrated form, you need take them if he follows a fairly well balanced daily diet." Yet pseudo-health advisers and salesmen may suggest that standard foods are inadequate because of "over-processing," "worn out soil," "poisonous combinations" and other such nutritional nonsense. They pretend that their exotic products made from sea kelp, yogurt, yeast,

iodine, blackstrap molasses and herbs have an infinite variety of cures, will fortify your diet, steady your nerves, strengthen your bones, and enliven your blood.

ECONOMY OF FOOD PURCHASING

For most Americans, there are supermarkets that provide competitive prices on foods. This is not completely accurate in the lower class areas of our major cities. For many reasons, the large food chains have moved out and serve the more affluent areas leaving the inner city to be served by small, independent and often inefficient food store operators. It has been found through surveys that food is often lower in quality and higher in price in the lower class, rundown neighborhood. The tragedy is that people in these residential districts who are oftentimes literally living on social security and on fixed incomes, must pay higher prices. They are often locked in these areas because of lack of adequate transportation and the inconvenience of shopping at a distant store.

The price of food, however, is everyone's concern because it is the basic cost of living item. There are no easy answers to the problem of inflation, except through greater efficiency, increased productivity and through honest and healthy competition in the market place.

Use of credit

Ours has become a credit-oriented society. Credit can be a blessing, helping to bring into every home the wonders of the American production, rich and poor alike. But credit can also become a millstone around the neck of the unwary consumer who has not learned to use it prudently and wisely. The elderly find that credit is useful and they need the facility. New concepts are required to meet the credit needs of the low income and the elderly. Financial counseling services are provided for those who overextend themselves with credit and whose job may be threatened with wage garnishments.

Avoidance of quackery and fraudulent products and practices

It is hard to believe from the best available estimates that American consumers in many of the older citizens are relieved of over \$500,000,000 annually by dishonest contractors in the building, roofing, siding and related trades. A favorite approach utilized by those types of contractors is the scare approach. "Lady, your oil burner is in bad shape. It might blow up on you any day." One unethical specialist finished the job in 25 minutes and charged \$105. The same day the burner broke down again and had to be replaced at an increased expenditure.

It has been estimated that over 800 different fraud and quackery and deception schemes are operating in the market place. No one in any strata of our society is immune regardless of his station in life, level of education or environment. American consumers, especially the elderly, are susceptible to being fleeced by unscrupulous operators who employ a wide assortment of tricks, devices, schemes and campaigns.

Health quackery alone is responsible for the staggering figure of \$1 billion yearly swindle. These activities are conducted under the guise of nutritional science. Doesn't almost everyone feel tired, peppy, or tense at one time or another? One of the most fertile fields of operation for the sharp dealer with a rich larceny in his blood is that of health aids.

WARRANTIES AND GUARANTIES

Another of the major problems on household appliances, motor vehicles, etc. has been the matter of warranties and guaranties. A Federal Task Force composed of personnel from the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Federal Trade Commission, in cooperation with members of industry undertook to study warranties and guaranties. The study concluded that many of the consumer com-

plaints could be avoided if manufacturers of major appliances would:

(1) Express their warranties in clear and simple language which is easy to understand and which makes the nature and extent of the obligations and benefits described therein unmistakable.

(2) Recognize that the purchaser of their products is entitled to receive a product which is reasonably suitable for the purposes for which it is intended and which will conform to any representations by the maker with respect to its fitness for particular purposes. This requires that the implied warranties of merchantability and fitness not be disclaimed.

(3) Not include in their warranties unnecessary exclusions and disclaimers.

(4) Not include in their warranties provisions which purport to obligate third parties to perform any of the obligations stated therein.

(5) Not attempt to pass on to the consumer or to the retailer a part or all of the financial burden of replacing defective parts or of correcting defects in design or manufacture.

(6) If retailers or servicing agencies are responsible for performing any obligations stated in the guarantee, insure that such parties are provided with sufficient incentive and resources to encourage them to fulfill those obligations promptly and conscientiously, and if they fail to do so take effective remedial action.

(7) Avoid any temptation to use a warranty as a sales gimmick by making it appear to be unusually attractive, while at the same time incorporating disclaimers, exceptions, and exclusions which eliminate these purported benefits.

(8) Make greater efforts to inform consumers concerning the provisions of their warranties by:

(a) Including explanatory material in advertising and operating manuals, and

(b) Providing retailers with appropriate point of sale material.

(9) Establish effective procedures for handling consumer complaints of inability to obtain warranty service, and provide adequate follow-up to insure that action is taken on those complaints.

FALSE ADVERTISING

Another area that is of considerable concern to those of us at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has been false and deceptive advertising and claims, not only in drugs and medicines, but also in foods and house and automobile accessories. The most common trick that is used and that has been used by reputable business firms is the technique of "bait." The first-line product may be advertised at a low price. When the prospective consumer travels half the distance across the city to purchase the commodity, he finds upon reaching the store that they only had a limited supply and the article was all sold out. The salesman then puts the pressure on to sell other quality products at slightly higher prices.

The advertisements that claim that a drug or medication will cure a specific ailment, but in reality has no therapeutic effect is deception of the highest magnitude. While this is a complex problem, we are approaching an era when we must have accuracy and truthfulness in advertising as well as proven efficacy in drugs and medicinal products before they are placed on the market. Older people are easy prey for health hacksters. Many senior citizens suffer from chronic diseases and are swindled by those who offer quack treatment. Recent studies show that over \$200 million a year is spent on worthless remedies for arthritis alone. The American Medical Association has issued warnings to the general public and has suggested that those of you who are interested write to the national organization to secure their criteria

for ascertaining that you are in the hands of proper and competent medical authorities.

SAFETY AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION

The most important consumer mission on the part of the Federal government is in the field of consumer safety and accident prevention. In 1968 Congress established the National Commission on Product Safety which is undertaking a study on hazardous household products and ways to implement programs to overcome the dangers they present to the consumer.

Aside from the problem of who is legally responsible when a consumer is injured when using an appliance or tool—there are many items of equipment that are not properly designed nor provide the necessary safeguards to reduce avoidable accidents. There are many kinds of product hazards. There are several that are of particular importance to our senior citizens. The power mower is one. This convenient household gadget can be a killer. The rotary blade on a power mower may travel at the rate of 21,000 feet per minute at its outermost tip or 240 miles per hour and exert a pressure of 10,000 pounds per minute. Children and pets have been killed instantly while following the older folks while cutting a lawn.

GLASS DOOR PANELS

Manufacturers of these panels have recently established safety standards for glass door panels and room dividers. Children as well as adults have been especially vulnerable to accidents by running into them. In this connection, I should like to point out that most of these accidents occur at home.

GAS-FIRED HEATERS AND APPLIANCES

In 1968, a major manufacturer called back several thousand gas fired furnaces because of defective workmanship and because of several fatalities.

ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES AND TELEVISION

All of you have heard of a certain well known company calling back its color television sets because of the emission of radiation to its watchers. It should be noted that the effects of such radiation take place in the front, the back and the sides of the set. While only one company has had the responsibility to recall its equipment, it is generally known that this condition pretty much exists in all color TV appliances.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare plays a significant role in the whole area of safety and consumer services as they affect the senior citizens and the health of this nation. In addition, the Medicare and Medicaid programs and Social Security programs are administered by the Food and Drug Administration, which is constantly on the vigil to improve the efficacy and safety of our foods and drugs.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has been in the process of making its consumer programs more effective in several ways:

(1) It is seeking to strengthen the Office of Consumer Services, which plays an innovative role in stimulating consumer activities in various agencies of the department. We are seeking to have each agency of the department improve not only the quality of its services but the information programs that relate to it.

(2) HEW has undertaken a newsletter called HEW Consumer Newsletter, which is being published by the Office of Consumer Services. The first issue was released in April. It is a monthly publication and will include current information on a variety of consumer educational items that should have a wide range of interest to organizations such as yours.

(3) The Food and Drug Administration is accelerating its program to evaluate the many drugs and medicines that are now on the market as to their efficacy.

CONSUMER PROTECTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH SERVICE (CEPHS)

CEPHS is accelerating its program relating to environmental health. The HEW Office of Consumer Services is also seeking to have all of the Model Cities programs that are being established in the inner cities of our urban areas to include consumer components as part of the activities.

I need not remind those of you who have worked so hard for consumer programs for the elderly that the job is not an easy one, nor that it is to be expected that the Federal government can do this job alone. It requires the full cooperation and partnership of all the 50 States and local governments. More importantly, it needs the help of the private sector and the courageous leadership of voluntary organizations such as yours.

The companion organizations that you represent have accepted the challenge that is involved in making this a better environment and a better life, not only for the elderly, but for all the consumers. I have seen and appreciate the excellent publications and consumer materials that are published by your associations such as *Modern Maturity*.

It is my hope that this month and this year will continue to be a memorable dedication to our senior citizens. May this be a year when each citizen in each community will seek to provide the benefits and opportunities in the community programs which will add satisfaction, dignity and security to the lives of aging Americans. It is my hope that the federal, state and local governments, in partnership with private and voluntary organizations, will join hands in bringing a better day for all older Americans.

GILBERT BILL TO INCREASE MINIMUM WAGE

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have reintroduced a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage to \$2 an hour.

Over the years, the minimum-wage law has proven one of the bulwarks of stability in our society. Since its beginnings, it has risen step by step and Congress made improvements in 1961 and again in 1966. I supported those increases, but we still are lagging behind. Those workers who were brought under coverage in the 1961 amendments are now receiving \$1.60 an hour. Those laborers covered for the first time under the 1966 amendments are now receiving \$1.30 an hour, and will be increased to \$1.45 in February 1970, and to \$1.60 in February 1971.

Mr. Speaker, long ago we Americans came to recognize that our prosperity depends not only on the thriving of our businesses, but on the buying power of our workers.

When the minimum wage was enacted, and each time it was increased, shortsighted spokesmen of business bitterly complained that it would drive them to ruin. Of course, that was nonsense. The minimum wage is an essential element to their salvation, because we know that the greatest market for our products is right here at home. The

minimum wage helps to keep that market active and healthy.

But more than that, it provides dignity and security to the American worker. We know that a man who receives too little to provide for himself and his family cannot be a good worker or a good citizen. He will be hungry, embittered and ashamed. The minimum wage has brought an element of equilibrium to American life.

We have heard the complaint, also, that a minimum wage violates basic economic doctrine, because it interferes with the play of supply and demand. But, in reality, what it does is raise the entire level of the economy—for poverty serves no one's end.

Mr. Speaker, it is time now for a new increase in the minimum wage. It is essential to meet the pressures of inflation. It is the next step in the general improvement of life for Americans.

You know that substandard wages hit the disadvantaged hardest. The chief victims are Negroes, as well as Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans. This bill will not only set \$2 as the new minimum hourly wage, but will abolish the painful exemptions that left so many people unprotected by the law. But the union worker making substantially more than the minimum wage has no cause for concern, for experience shows that when minimum wage goes up, so do the wages of skilled and unionized workers.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation should have been approved last year, perhaps even earlier. It is right, economically sound, and necessary. I hope the Congress will delay action on this measure no longer.

RELATIONS WITH GREECE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the problem of U.S. relations with the military junta government of Greece continues after more than 2 years of broken promises from that junta. Almost every day we read of more arrests in that troubled country and of more acts of oppression.

It is clear that the present dictatorial government of Greece does not have popular support and that its days are numbered. But it is also clear that the people of Greece, and of the nations of Europe, believe that the United States is supporting that government and its excesses. Whether the U.S. Department of State and the Department of Defense truly support the military junta is open to question. However, the public impression remains.

Decisions yet to be made by the United States are vital to whether the people of Greece regain their liberties. Military aid to the junta has been renewed on a limited basis; economic aid is being requested. The new administration is reviewing the entire Greek situation.

Under unanimous consent I submit the text of the most recent statement of the

Committee for Democracy in Greece for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF U.S. COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE, JUNE 9, 1969

It is now more than two years since a small clique of officers seized power in Greece. Their pledges to restore democratic government on a "purified and perfected" basis have been regularly repeated and as regularly broken. Instead, a constitution making only the most minimal concessions to popular government and human rights has been foisted on the country by that shopworn tool of dictatorships, a rigged plebiscite. And even the meager provisions which distinguish the constitution's "new order" from unchecked tyranny remain suspended.

Instead of the promised restoration of liberty, each day brings news of further mass arrests, lengthy prison sentences, and savage tortures. The civil service and the educational system have been gutted; ignoramuses and hacks, qualified only by their family or other connections with the ruling clique, have been installed in key posts throughout the government.

In the armed forces the ablest, best trained, and most experienced officers have been dismissed and often imprisoned or exiled, to be replaced by men whose only expertise is in conspiracy. Yet the United States has restored full military aid to the regime, which has thus demonstrated its unfitness to receive or to use it—except against its own people. Indeed, Greece is one of four countries which account for the bulk of all our military aid.

Soon we may expect to be asked for economic aid as well. For the incompetence of the junta, as well as the horror excited abroad by its severe repression of its opponents, have brought about a steady deterioration in the country's financial and economic position. Its balance of payments has been increasingly adverse, its reserves of foreign exchange and gold have been dissipated, and its short-term debts have skyrocketed. At the same time the rate of economic growth has fallen sharply. A significant flight of capital is already taking place; its pace may be expected to accelerate in the coming months.

We urge our government to intensify its pressures for a return to democratic norms, and to give its moral support to the country's legitimate political leaders in their consistent refusal to compromise with tyranny. And above all, we believe it is essential that the United States not only refuse any pleas for economic aid, but make it clear that no more weapons will be supplied to the junta. And we further urge that the United States fully associate itself with the international condemnation visited on Greece by such bodies as the Council of Europe, and take effective action in the United Nations and other international bodies to bring pressure for the enforcement of those commitments to human rights which the present Greek regime has so scandalously violated.

PUCINSKI VOICE RECORDER
SCORES AGAIN

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the National Transportation Safety Board announced Sunday that a jet airliner which crashed at Los Angeles last January 18, killing all 38 persons aboard, lost

all electrical power 2 minutes before its plunge.

The National Transportation Safety Board came to this conclusion, according to an Associated Press article which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times on the basis of information recovered from the cockpit voice recorder which survived the crash.

The voice recorder showed that it stopped recording during the most crucial moments of the flight before the crash. This interruption occurred because of a power failure in the aircraft, but fortunately, pretakeoff conversations in the cockpit and recorded on the voice recorder show that the crew was aware of a generator being inoperative in engine No. 3. The tape recorder showed that discussion centered around reducing the electrical load, prior to takeoff, in the event another generator was lost after takeoff.

The tape recorder also recorded the engine fire warning horn when it went on in the cockpit shortly after takeoff and recorded the crew instituting fire shutdown procedures.

No further cockpit sounds were recorded after the electrical power to the recorder was lost, but a short time later when power was again restored for a few seconds, the voice recorder did record cockpit conversations during 9 seconds which showed urgent conversation concerned with maintaining control of the aircraft.

These invaluable messages recorded by the crew seconds before the disaster clearly demonstrate to investigating teams that a power failure caused the crash.

Perhaps even more important is the undeniable evidence on that tape recorder that the aircraft took off even though one of its generators was inoperative.

Federal Aviation Administration regulations permit takeoff under such conditions and in my judgment these regulations ought to be now reconsidered for the unexpected fire and the engine propelling the remaining generator created a situation which led to the tragedy.

We probably would not know these facts if the Pucinski voice recorder had not been operating in that cockpit.

I remember well the intensive struggle I have watched in this Congress for almost 7 years to get voice recorders into the cockpits of commercial aircraft. I remember well how all the special interests fought me on this issue and placed roadblock after roadblock to thwart this project.

Mr. Speaker, nothing will bring back the 38 victims of this crash but it is my hope that this telltale recording will bring about urgently needed reforms in operational procedures.

There are those who would like to blame the pilots who flew this aircraft, or the mechanics who maintained it. This would be an injustice to their memory.

The blame lies squarely with those who permit an aircraft to depart with the crew and the maintenance personnel and the tower are fully apprised that there is a breakdown in one of the component parts—one of the generators.

It is quite obvious that expediency and

meeting connecting schedules are more important to the airlines than the delay which would be necessary to replace the faulty generator.

I believe the fault for this tragedy does not lie with the pilots or the maintenance personnel. The Pucinski voice recorder clearly fixes the fault, and that is with those who approve regulations permitting departure under the conditions which I have cited above.

We are now beginning to build a substantial catalog of evidence on what causes air disasters, thanks to the efficiency of the Pucinski voice recorder, and I say, Mr. Speaker, that if I never did anything else as a Member of Congress, the wealth of satisfaction I receive in knowing that we are finally able to take much of the agonizing speculation out of the causes of air disasters with the use of these Pucinski voice recorders, makes my service in Congress a source of great satisfaction to me.

Our experience with these voice recorders shows the need for continued determination. It would have been easy to be deterred by all the special interests who tried to tell us during the long battle to get voice recorders installed that they would not work, but time is now proving otherwise.

The AP story follows:

ELECTRIC POWER LOST IN JET CRASH KILLING 38

WASHINGTON.—A jet airliner that crashed at Los Angeles last Jan. 18, killing all 38 persons aboard, lost all electrical power two minutes before its plunge, the National Transportation Safety Board announced Sunday.

Since an airliner requires electricity for operation of its flight controls, hydraulic system, instrument panels and cockpit lighting, a complete power loss at night would have left the crew in utter darkness, unable to observe instruments, unable to check the horizon, unable to exert the required controls.

INOPERATIVE 3 DAYS

The United Air Lines Boeing 727 had been inoperative for three days before the accident. During that inoperative period, the plane had been flown 41 hours with only two functioning generators, the NTSB said.

Two minutes after an apparently normal 6:21 p.m. takeoff from Los Angeles International airport on a planned flight to Denver and Milwaukee, the crew reported to the airport departure control station:

"We've had a fire warning on No. 1 engine. We shut down. We'd like to come back."

That was the last radio contact with the flight. Shortly after it, the plane's secondary radar target disappeared from the ground traffic controller's scope. That meant that the transponder, or radar identification beacon, on the plane had stopped operating.

A minute later the primary radar target—reflections of radio energy from the aircraft's surfaces—disappeared just after the plane was observed starting a left turn. It later was determined that the plane crashed into the Pacific Ocean in water 1,000 feet deep, 11 miles west of the airport, four minutes after takeoff.

With the left engine shut down because of the fire warning, and the generator for the right engine inoperative, the plane would have had to rely on the middle engine.

As required on airliners, the plane carried two tape-record devices, one to record operational data such as speed, direction and altitude, and the other providing a constant voice record of cockpit comment by the crew.

Both were recovered from the wreckage in fair condition. But because of the power

loss they were not recording during the most crucial moments of the flight.

KNEW ABOUT GENERATOR

"Pre-takeoff conversation indicates that the crew was aware of the No. 3 generator's being inoperative," the board said. "The discussion centered around reducing the electrical load, prior to takeoff, in the event another generator was lost after takeoff.

"Normal cockpit conversation was evident on the tape from takeoff until . . . the No. 1 engine fire warning sounded. At that time, the fire shutdown procedures were initiated.

"No further cockpit sounds were recorded after . . . the electrical power to the recorder was lost, until later when power was again available to the voice recorder for about nine seconds. The cockpit conversation during that latter period was urgent in nature and concerned maintaining control of the aircraft.

"No radio transmissions or crash sounds were recorded during this period," the NTSB said.

The three engines and 60 to 70 per cent of the aircraft wreckage were recovered from Santa Monica Bay. The safety board said there was no evidence of an overheated condition on either the interior or exterior of the No. 1 engine.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COUNCIL

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, last week President Nixon focused public attention upon the need for coordinated consideration of environmental problems by creating the Environmental Quality Council. The urgent need for this focus had been agreed upon in formal policy statements by both legislative and executive leaders. Several bills proposing coordinated action to conserve and improve the quality of our environment presently are pending in the Congress.

One of the most significant contributions toward clarifying public policy in this area was a joint Senate-House colloquium, convened last summer by Senator HENRY JACKSON, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and my California colleague, Representative GEORGE P. MILLER, chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics. The agreed-upon statement of "A National Policy for the Environment" was announced to the Congress by our colleague from Connecticut, Representative EMILIO DADDARIO, chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development. As reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 20, at page 13148, this statement of policy was endorsed by the Committee on Environmental Quality of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, predecessor of the newly announced Environmental Quality Council.

Agreement on this general statement policy is important, for it represents a major step toward improving and expanding our traditional resources planning programs.

There still remains, however, the all-important problem of how best to implement this policy, and on that score there still is considerable diversity of opinion. The size and composition of the responsible agency, the tenure of its membership, its location within the Government, the scope of its activities and responsibilities—all these are vitally important to the successful implementation of an announced national policy.

President Nixon's appointment of the Environmental Quality Council testifies to his awareness of the problem; but an interdepartmental advisory council is not a substitute for an agency with statutory authority and responsibility for reporting regularly to the Congress and to the public an overview of environmental conditions and needs.

The Congress, in hearings on a number of bills, is giving its careful attention to finding the most effective methods of authorizing such an agency and of protecting the environment which all men share.

A very valuable analysis of this entire subject was given recently by Mr. Michael McCloskey, now chief of staff of the Sierra Club, in testimony before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on S. 1075, introduced by Senators JACKSON and STEVENS.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. McCloskey's statement in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, and I call special attention to his very cogent suggestions for the actual organization, responsibility, and operation of what he calls an institutional focus for drawing together environmental information.

I think that Mr. McCloskey's statement will be most helpful as we prepare to legislate in this vitally important area.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL MCCLOSKEY FOR THE SIERRA CLUB, APRIL 16, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I am Michael McCloskey. I serve as Conservation Director of the Sierra Club and am speaking for it here today. We are pleased to offer our strong support for S. 1075 which would establish a Council of Environmental Advisors and provide for ecological surveys.

The Sierra Club, which is a national conservation organization of 75,000 members, traditionally has been preoccupied with saving especially unique and scenic wildlands. We still are working at this task. However, this work is being outflanked by the general deterioration in man's habitat and the outright destruction of the habitat for so much other life on this planet. Recently we expressed our alarm over these facts in a full page advertisement that we ran in a national newspaper. We thought the time had come to communicate our anguish to a broad audience, and did so in these words:

"I, THE MOON, MARS, SATURN . . . NICE PLACES TO VISIT, BUT YOU WOULDN'T WANT TO LIVE THERE

"Any moment now, Man will find himself hurtling around in an Outer Space so enormous that descriptions of its size only boggle the mind. (One attempt has put it this way: The size of the Earth is to the size of the known Universe as a germ is to our entire solar system.)

"Yet, we already hear excited talk of locating, out there, a planet that duplicates the natural environment on Earth, i.e., trees, flowers, water, air, people; you get our meaning.

"The fact is that if we do find such a

duplicate Earth out there, it may be some thousands of years from today. Until then, the only place in the Universe that will feel like home in Earth, unless your idea of home life could include setting up house on space platforms, or the Moon, or taking your evening walk with oxygen helmet and space suit.

"We haven't got used to thinking about it this way yet, but, as Astronaut Borman pointed out—for us people, Earth is a kind of inhabitable oasis in an unimaginably vast desert.

"Also, Earth is a strange sort of oasis, in that quite apart from providing us what we need to live—water, air, sustenance, companionship—this oasis actually grew us and every other life form. We are all related.

"Darwin, during his famous Galapagos journey, found all life on Earth—from plankton to people—to be part of an incredibly complex interwoven and interdependent blanket spread around the globe. There is no loosening one thread in the blanket without changing the stresses on every other thread, or worse, unraveling it.

"So then, if it is life on Earth that most of us are stuck with for the next little while, we had better consider the consequences of what has recently been going on here.

"II. TOWARD A MORE MOON-LIKE EARTH

"There was not always enough oxygen to support the existence of Man. It wasn't until green plants and certain ocean plankton had evolved that the natural process was begun by which oxygen is maintained in the atmosphere: photosynthesis.

"Man, one would think, has a stake in assuring that this process continues. Consider them, these bits of news:

"In the U.S. alone, oxygen-producing greenery is being paved over at a rate of one million acres per year and the rate is increasing. Also, paving is contagious. Other countries are following suit.

"The oceans have become the dumping ground for as many as a half million substances, few of which are tested to see if the plankton we need can survive them.

"New factories, autos, homes, and jet airplanes have incredibly increased the rate at which combustion takes place—i.e., at which oxygen is used and replaced in our atmosphere by carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide.

"The result is a kind of Russian roulette with the oxygen supply. Dr. Lamont C. Cole, ecologist, Cornell University, New York, has said this:

"When and if we reach the point where the rate of combustion exceeds the rate of photosynthesis, the oxygen content of the atmosphere will decrease. Indeed there is evidence that it may already have begun to decline around our largest cities."

"There is a bright side: If we should continue what we're doing, overpopulation will cease to be a problem.

"Sterile

"In only 25 years, traces of DDT have found their way into the average American to the extent of eleven parts per million. They are also found in animals, birds, fish and recently, in notable quantity, in the fatty tissues of Antarctic penguins. (If you wonder about the consequences, similar pesticides have already made sterile a species of hawk and owl in England. Here is the way it works: Insects eat sprayed plants, small birds eat them, and then big birds eat them. By that time, the insecticide has been concentrated many-fold and the big birds are in big trouble. Now, if we humans were in the habit of eating owls and hawks . . .)

"Aside from the toxic effects on Man and other animals, pesticides like DDT and newer more voguish chemicals eliminate whole populations of certain bacteria and pest organisms.

"However, and here is the shocker, no one in the world knows, when we aim at a particular pest, which other organisms may be eliminated by ricochet. Someone had better find out.

"If some pesticide, herbicide, or defoliant should by inadvertence kill too many of the 'nitrogen-fixing' organisms—those organisms that enable living things to make use of the nitrogen in the atmosphere—then life on Earth could end.

"It is that dependent and fragile.

"Rampant technology

"The Aswan High Dam was dreamed up to prevent the Nile from overflowing its banks as it had yearly throughout history. (It was thought such a great idea that countries vied for the honor of helping build it; the U.S. foremost among them.) The goals were electricity and year-round irrigation, thus greater productivity. No one, including the U.S., thought much about certain side effects, which may ultimately prove the most important:

"Since the natural floods have been halted, life-giving nutrients that were formerly delivered to the land and the Mediterranean sea are now piling up in a reservoir above the dam, unusable.

"As a result the Eastern Mediterranean sardine fishery is already doomed.

"As for the land, the lack of nutrients, plus the water-logging caused by old irrigation, plus salinization, may actually decrease productivity. Newly irrigated lands have the same fate in store.

"A particular snail has begun to thrive in the warm irrigation canals. The snail hosts a worm which causes schistosomiasis, a debilitating, often fatal disease. In one region around the dam, the incidence of this disease used to be 2%. It has now risen to 75%.

"At Aswan, we may also see repeated the awful developments at Kariba Dam, East Africa. At Kariba, rafts of hyacinths and reeds have spread over much of the reservoir's surface. It has been estimated that if this growth should cover just 10% of the reservoir at Aswan, the plants could actually transpire into the desert air enough water to stop all flow into the lower Nile.

"Looking at the bright side again: In a few centuries, the dam will fill up with silt, and end its useful life. Then, the river will flow right over it, creating a huge, perhaps lovely, waterfall. Tourists will enjoy the view.

"More improvements

"Engineers are improving things everywhere:

"In Alaska, a \$2 billion dam is proposed—to bring power to non-existent industry—which would flood a wilderness and nesting region the size of Lake Erie.

"In Brazil, engineers propose an Amazon dam that would flood a green area as big as Italy.

"In Southeast Asia, a series of proposed Mekong River dams may do for Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam what Aswan is doing for Egypt. Every country should be spared such improvements.

"III. A WILDLIFE PRESERVE WHERE WE ARE THE WILDLIFE

"The speed with which our world is being altered is so rapid that there is no cataloguing it; it is everywhere . . . forests are gone, hillsides eroded and bulldozed, waters filled, and air and water polluted. The implicit assumption is that Man is the Master of Nature, and that losing a wild place or species or plant is of no great importance to us, and never mind the esthetics. But as we have shown, tinkering with the natural order of things can be a dangerous business, for there is a need to think of the organic wholeness of nature, not man apart from that. Man's vanity notwithstanding, he is ir-

retrievably intertwined with everything on his planet and therefore must proceed with a degree of caution, until, at last, he has the option of actually leaving Earth.

"If, before then, we should so alter our environment that we rid it of ingredients we need for life, then we will merely pass the way of other life forms that have become extinct for one reason or another. And, as humbling a thought as it may be, Nature might scarcely miss the people. Things might eventually get back into their own pattern, the natural order reviving. Plankton might evolve; oxygen might re-form in the atmosphere; grass might grow through the pavement and among tumbled columns as it has before.

"With all this in mind, you may see that we, the 70,000-member Sierra Club, the groups we work, and the critical publishing project you see outlined at right, are not so much proselytizing on behalf of Nature. In due course, Nature will take care of itself.

"Our motives are more selfish, in fact. They are on behalf of our very own lives and the lives of our children who, we feel, have not only the right to live but also the right to live in a world that maintains the natural order enough to continue to feel like home."

As the ad makes clear, Man is manipulating his habitat with unprecedented speed and force, and in the process is creating a multitude of unintended results which degrade the shared environment on which all living things depend. Advancing technology, the mobilization of growing capital resources, and the increasing size and skill of units organized to manipulate the environment are all creating an environmental crisis. The crisis comes in many forms:

(1) continuation of old patterns which are no longer producing desirable results but nightmarish predictions, such as the unchecked growth of worldwide population;

(2) emergence of new functional problems we are not organized to handle, such as solid waste disposal, and other basic problems of concentrated urbanization: transportation, blight, and decay;

(3) insensitive pursuit of missions with heedless disregard for side effects which we can anticipate but do not avoid. Traditional programs thus produce a continuing loss of prime farm land to urbanization, destruction of wildlife habitat and the extinction of species, disappearance of scientifically valuable natural areas, filling and dredging of productive estuaries, drainage of wetlands, obliteration of the land through strip-mining, deforestation and soil erosion, water and air pollution, ground water depletion, saturation of irrigated land with salt, flooding of valuable river bottoms, surrender of more and more landscape to freeways, and defacement of the landscape by billboards, power lines, junkyards, open pits, and the clutter produced by excessive laissez-faire. New programs are emerging, too, with detrimental side effects that can be anticipated: thermal pollution from large nuclear and steam power plants, radioactive releases from tests, nuclear plants, and disposal of nuclear wastes, and noise and stress problems stemming from the supersonic transport.

(4) Finally a variety of activities produce harmful side effects that were not anticipated: stress caused by crowding, smog produced by automobile emissions, spills and leakage from offshore oil wells, detergents which degrade too slowly or not at all, long-lived and pervasive pesticides which concentrate in certain species, disruptive introduction of exotic species, the accelerating spread of carcinogens, accumulation of lead in the atmosphere, the prospect of an oxygen deficit with consumption growing and production impaired, the unpredictable impact of weather modification, and the contrary possibilities of rising world temperatures as a

result of carbon dioxide build-up or falling temperatures as a result of smog and jet contrails.

The emergence of these problems clearly shows that our existing institutions and programs are not adequate. Admittedly, our market economy has been remarkably successful in producing goods and services to meet man's most immediate needs. Where necessary, government has intervened to provide basic buttressing for many of these market activities, as through irrigation and highway programs. To a limited extent, government has intervened also to mitigate adverse effects where they could be anticipated, as with soil erosion and forestry programs, and more recently with air and water pollution abatement programs. However, where man's less immediate needs are adversely affected, and the effects are widely disseminated and hard to anticipate, little is being done.

It is now necessary, therefore, to supplement the contributions of the market economy and the programs of many narrow mission-oriented agencies with a third effort which will concern itself with the quality of widely shared extra-market values distributed throughout the entire biophysical environment. As a first step toward organizing such an effort, it is necessary that the state of existing knowledge be improved. There should be an institutional focus for drawing together environmental information about the consequences of projecting traditional patterns, the emergence of new crises, the cost of perpetuating traditional programs with unwanted side effects, and ways of detecting unforeseen side effects that stem from technical innovations.

A Council of Environmental Advisors would provide such a focal point. The Council should be equipped to monitor and survey the environment so that it can discover significant relationships and trends. Through such discoveries and improved understanding and foresight, the Council should be in a position to recommend remedial and preventive action.

In performing its function of surveillance, there are certain problem patterns that it should especially look for: incompatibilities between programs; abrupt changes in trends or the pace of change; irreversible tendencies in trends; large accumulations of small incremental changes; stockpiling of trace elements; persistence of fugitive substances; random interaction of substances and forces in a reinforcing, or synergistic, fashion; and the loss of unique and irreplaceable places and things.

In analyzing the data thus derived, the Council should attempt to relate the information it obtains in a comprehensive framework, developing models of systems wherever possible. In this manner, it should discover gaps in our knowledge and data which should be filled. The Council should encourage performance of pre-construction and post-construction audits to determine the environmental impact of large construction programs. In analyzing impacts, the Council should determine who bears the costs of unintended side effects. It should determine how much margin of error we have in environmental impacts, and try to judge whether the risks are warranted by the benefits. Through early detection, the Council should give us the maximum lead time to ward off undesirable side effects. And finally, the Council's analyses should tell us whether the answer lies in improving the efficiency of existing programs or in curtailing and re-directing them. In some cases, lack of coordination may be the problem; in other cases ignorance or simple lack of concern may be the problem.

It is important to recognize that the needs of environmental quality cannot be met simply through expanding traditional resource

planning programs or by improving economic or administrative efficiency. We are not involved here in meeting target goals for the production of commodities; we are not involved in inventorying natural resources and predicting consumption requirements; we are not involved in working the "bugs" out of new programs; we are not involved in reducing proliferation and duplication among agencies; we are not involved in saving the taxpayers money. These aims may incidentally be met as a result of the oversight function of a Council of Environmental Advisors. But that function must be defined by the inherent needs of a healthy environment. Coordination and simplification may or may not be the answer. In some cases, we probably need to change our goals and to curtail present programs. Before we can know, we must first get the facts.

This is what a Council of Environmental Advisors, in our estimation, should do, and it should do this in the most comprehensive and unbiased way possible. For the Council to have the most comprehensive view possible, it is important that it be lodged in a place that affords the most commanding view and that it have access to data compiled by all other agencies. This consideration suggests that the Executive Office of the President is the proper place for the Council. This suggestion is reinforced by the need to keep the Council as unbiased as possible. If the Council is housed in any operating agency or institution, it cannot escape being influenced by its outlook and defending its programs.

The need to keep the Council free of justifying programs and decisions also suggests that it should not be vested with any authority to make decisions. Obviously its warnings and recommendations should receive careful consideration, and hopefully many of them will be adopted. But the proper instrument for responding to its recommendations may vary immensely with the nature of the problem. In some cases, the President may have authority to act, and he may sometimes choose to do this through inter-departmental coordinating committees. In other cases, the decision will have to be made by Congress, and in still other cases the decision may be up to state and local government or private parties. We firmly believe that better mechanisms for responding to environmental crises must be evolved, but it will probably help ensure a sounder basis for action if the functions of oversight and analysis are kept separate from the functions of authority and political responsibility.

The need for independence might suggest that the Council should not even be housed in the Executive Office of the President, but should be an independent commission. While this possibility has some appeal, it is offset by the difficulty such a commission might have in gaining cooperation from agencies in the Executive branch and by the fact that such a commission would have difficulty in attracting the attention of the President. While the President may not always have sufficient authority to implement the recommendations of the Council, his support will always be important and it probably will be appropriate for him to act in more instances than any other body.

The need to strike a balance between independence and influence with the President raises the question of whether the members of the Council should serve at the pleasure of the President or should serve for staggered terms. By serving at the pleasure of the President, the members presumably will command his confidence, but they may also be unduly circumspect in criticizing programs of the administration. Moreover, the Council would lack continuity through changes in administration. If the members of the Council, on the other hand, serve for short terms on a staggered schedule there would be continuity through changes in the

Presidency and its members might be more emboldened to take issue with administration programs they feel are unsound. In any event, a President would be able to achieve a majority of his own appointees sometime past the mid-point of this first term. On balance, we feel it is probably preferable, therefore, to have the members serve for short, staggered terms and would suggest that S. 1075 be so amended.

We note that there is a difference of opinion over the desirable size of the Council, and that some have proposed advisory committees for the Council also. If the Council were to have decision-making power, we think there would be considerable merit to proposals for enlarging the Council and providing it with an advisory committee. These steps would serve as "checks and balances" to make sure that valid points of view were not overlooked, and would serve to impede hasty action. However, we believe the Council can be most effective if it is merely a study and oversight body. It should not be impeded in its studies by complicated internal "checks and balances". Necessary "checks and balances" should be external to the Council, and will be provided by the normal political mechanisms.

We believe that the three man council that S. 1075 provides is the most efficient size. Increasing its size to five, as some have suggested, will greatly increase the complexity of the pattern of communication and interaction among the members. While some have suggested that a larger membership is needed to assure representation of enough disciplines, we cannot possibly see how even a membership of five would represent an adequate mix of disciplines. The only solution which seems practical to us is to build a sufficient support staff containing a proper distribution of disciplines, and to look for Council members who are valued as generalists with particularly useful insights and experience that they can offer. In this regard, we would not suggest any more specific standards of qualification than S. 1075 provides. In the new and changing field of environmental quality the President should have great leeway in picking men of broad professional experience.

As S. 1075 is presently drafted, a degree of ambiguity pervades the description of the Council's specific functions. It is not clear what the balance is to be between its analytical functions and its responsibility for making recommendations. A companion bill by Senator Nelson, S. 1085, would make program formulation the Council's principal duty, while S. 1075 specifies analysis as its primary function. Senator Nelson's bill calls for the Council to submit recommendations for a national program in four years. Similarly, an ambiguity surrounds the character of the reports the Council is to make periodically to Congress (and, incidentally, it is not clear whether these are to be annual or biennial reports; cf. Sec. 202(c) of S. 1075 with Sec. 203). The bill is exceedingly vague in setting forth the frame of reference to be used in evaluating the status of environmental systems and the trends affecting them.

We understand that thought is now being given to including a general statement of policy in the legislation. We think inclusion of this additional element would be most helpful. Inclusion of a policy statement would make it less necessary for the Council itself to produce a general policy statement to recommend to the President by some fixed date in the future. A broad policy statement from Congress would give the Council direction from the outset, and would provide a general goal for all federal programs.

Moreover, a policy statement would provide a yardstick by which to measure the data gathered in the status and trend reports. By having a policy framework for its analytical work, the Council would be encouraged to surmount the danger of limiting itself to the

unproductive task of merely forwarding the Congress compilations of undigested statistics. In tying status and trend reports to a policy goal, the Congress should make it clear that it wants interpretation and evaluation in these reports and stress upon significant indicators. Only if this is done will the Council's work prove to be useful to the President, the Congress, and the public.

We believe the description of the environmental crisis that we provided in the beginning portion of this statement provides material which could be readily adapted to provide a basis for a general statement of policy. Accordingly, we urge that this policy statement focus the definition of environmental quality on "the need to protect extra-market values associated with life support systems from unintentional degradation." Undoubtedly, the concept of environmental quality also embraces market valued functions and intentional effects, but there are other organized ways of dealing with these aspects of the problem. The need is to focus attention on the more subtle aspects of the problem which thus far have been almost nobody's business. It is time to make them paramount business of the nation. If we do not, we shall all suffer the consequences in ways that will be increasingly less subtle.

In conclusion, let us stress, too, the importance of Title I of S. 1075. We have expressed our strong support in the past before this Committee for stepped-up ecological studies and an expanded system of natural areas. Only through such studies, and ample research in a widely diversified system of natural areas, can we develop the basic knowledge to understand what we are doing to the environment.

The ecological research that Title I would encourage can provide an increasingly sure footing for the broad analyses of the Council on Environmental Quality. We would suggest, however, that clear authority be provided for maintenance of a coordinated federal system of natural areas and that there be clear direction to the Secretary of the Interior to foster development of systems of natural areas in the hands of non-federal entities (see subsections (8) and (9) of Sec. 201 of S. 1085).

PAKISTAN CONSORTIUM

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, let me call attention to the important fact that the consortium of governments and institutions interested in development assistance to Pakistan met in Paris on May 19 and 20, 1969, under the chairmanship of the World Bank. A summary of the meeting was issued on May 20 and it provides interesting and useful information on the economic progress of Pakistan, on future plans of the Government of Pakistan, and on the needs for external aid in the years immediately ahead. The security and the progress of Pakistan are important to the American people, and I am glad to insert the interesting account of the consortium in the RECORD:

PAKISTAN CONSORTIUM

The following announcement was issued today at the World Bank's European Office in Paris:

"The consortium of governments and institutions interested in development assistance to Pakistan met in Paris on May 19 and

20, 1969 under the chairmanship of the World Bank. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Governments of Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. Sweden's attendance for the first time as a member of the consortium was welcomed. The International Monetary Fund sent observers.

"The purpose of the meeting was to review the progress of economic development in Pakistan and to consider Pakistan's aid requirements for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1969 and the terms on which aid should be made available.

"A delegation representing the Government of Pakistan, led by Mr. M. M. Ahmad, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, was present to describe economic progress and aid requirements.

"Consortium members commended Pakistan's performance in the face of difficult problems of economic management. Despite the recent disturbances, economic gains in the current year had been substantial—total output had increased by nearly 6%; agricultural production increased by about 5% with a new record for the wheat crop in West Pakistan; industry had grown by more than 8%; and exports by nearly 10%.

"The members heard with interest some of the measures and policy changes which the Government of Pakistan intends to adopt in preparing the annual plan for 1969-70 and the Fourth Five Year Plan. The members particularly welcomed the Government's intentions to improve education and other social services; to give continued high priority to programs of family planning; to sustain and enlarge the success already achieved in agriculture; to promote the fuller utilization of existing industrial capacity; and to mobilize additional domestic resources for development.

"The members accepted that in the coming year Pakistan could effectively use external aid on suitable terms from consortium members totaling \$500 million. It was also agreed that it would be desirable that about half of this amount should be provided in the form of non-project assistance. Some members were already in a position to indicate their contribution toward the aid required, others undertook to do so as soon as possible. It was agreed that the terms on which aid is provided should take more fully into account than in the past Pakistan's ability to service external debt. Some members indicated a move in this direction and it was decided that this question should be studied further by the consortium."

THE ORIGIN OF FLAG DAY

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, we will very shortly be celebrating Flag Day by appropriate ceremonies in the Congress and throughout the country. I am, therefore, pleased to include at this point a very timely and instructive article on the origin of Flag Day that appeared in the June 12, 1969, issue of the *Machinist*, an outstanding periodical published by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

The article follows:

FLAG DAY

June 14 is Flag Day, the anniversary of a resolution passed by Congress on June 14, 1777, establishing a red, white and blue flag.

The Resolution establishing the Stars and Stripes has an interesting history. After the Declaration of Independence, colonial vessels were putting to sea to hamper enemy communications and prey on British commerce. Many of them flew flags of the Colonies to which they belonged. It was necessary to provide an authorized national flag under which they could sail, for England considered armed vessels without such a flag as pirate ships and hanged their crews when they captured them. So the Marine Committee of the Second Continental Congress presented the Resolution.

DOUGLAS—MOSCOW AXIS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, from the International Communist Summit Conference in Moscow comes a summons for progressive forces the world over to aid the Red comrades in Vietnam by obstructing American shipment of troops and supplies.

Strangely enough, the Moscow report but reaffirms many of the unusual and unorthodox stays and temporary restraining orders—affecting the draft and troop movements—which have already been issued by Justice William O. Douglas on his own initiative.

I again call to the attention of our colleagues that should the U.S. Supreme Court adjourn for the summer without Douglas' resignation, he will be at liberty until October to abuse the power of the Supreme Court to continue to do exactly as Moscow has ordered.

If he does not resign—he must be removed.

I include a Moscow UPI clipping:

[From the Evening Star, June 10, 1969]

REDS URGE OBSTRUCTION OF U.S. TROOPS, SUPPLIES

MOSCOW.—The world Communist Summit Conference today unanimously condemned what it called United States "aggression" in Vietnam and urged Communists, workers and other "progressive forces" to obstruct American shipment of troops and supplies.

The condemnation and appeal came in a resolution passed by the representatives of 75 participating parties which also endorsed the 10-point program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the political wing of the Viet Cong.

The congress also proclaimed June 20 as "international day of solidarity with Vietnam." The date was selected to commemorate the 1955 Geneva Accords on Indochina.

More speakers today blasted the Chinese Communist party, which has boycotted the congress.

Diplomatic sources said the Soviet Union had been able to turn the conference into a platform for attacks on Mao Tse-tung.

They noted that all major Communist leaders—with the exception of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu—bitterly criticized the Mao regime and branded it "anti-Socialist."

The criticism did not amount to a formal excommunication of China from the ranks of world communism. But the attacks still were far harsher than most observers had expected could be allowed without the appearance of a major rift in the conference.

Ceausescu restated his opposition to continued criticism of China, but his calm,

broadly-worded speech yesterday carefully avoided mention of Czechoslovakia and was not as strong as his earlier speeches opposing attacks on China.

Ceausescu was ignored by most speakers, including Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, Poland's party chief Wladyslaw Gomułka and East German President Walter Ulbricht.

Conference sources said, however, the embarrassing problem of Czechoslovakia may be raised by several delegations which have not yet spoken, including the Italians and Belgians.

The Australian Communist party has publicly condemned the Soviet-led invasion, claiming it will have serious and long lasting effects on the international Communist movement.

Lorrie Aarons, the Australian party secretary, also criticized the continued presence in Czechoslovakia of Russian troops and declared that in his view proletarian internationalism "cannot be identified with state interests of any Socialist country."

Aarons' remarks were ignored by Czechoslovakia's Party Secretary Gustav Husak, but political observers said if a major Western party, such as the Italians, raise the question to block all discussion by announcing that it is a matter already settled by the Czechoslovak party and the five fraternal parties that took part in the invasion.

SPIRITUAL HEAD OF THE ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH MAKING A 3-MONTH TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to be one of the Members of Congress invited by Vice President AGNEW to a reception held this noon for His Holiness Khoren I, Catholicos of the Armenian Holy See of Cilicia, Lebanon, spiritual head of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

His Holiness, whose ecclesiastic rank is equivalent to that of Pope in the Roman Catholic Church, is making a 3-month tour of the United States to strengthen ties among members of the church's North American Diocese and to help raise funds for establishment of a National Prelacy Headquarters here. Catholicos Khoren's trip to the United States is a genuinely historic event—the first ever made to this country by a Cilician Catholicos. Spiritual leader of more than 125,000 Americans, His Holiness will have visited 32 Armenian Apostolic parishes throughout the Nation by the time he completes his mission here. One of the parishes he has already visited is St. Gregory's Armenian Apostolic Church in Indian Orchard, Mass., a community in my congressional district. His Holiness arrived at the church June 3 to bless bread and salt, a traditional gesture in the Armenian Church symbolizing welcome, hospitality, and friendship. After ceremonies at St. Gregory's—a strikingly handsome building, newly rebuilt after a fire left it in ruins 3 years ago—Catholicos Khoren was honored at an afternoon reception, and, later that day, at a dinner. His stop

in Indian Orchard was arranged by Mrs. Andon Meregian, Mrs. Allis Meyer, Mrs. Harry Soukiasian, Carnis Piligian, Arthur Aykanian and Popken Kachigian—all parishioners in the 120-member church.

Speaking briefly and eloquently at today's reception in the Capitol, Catholicos Khoren spoke of the struggle for freedom around the world:

Although I am from the distant Middle East, I am well aware of the greatness of the United States and the advantages it holds out to the oppressed who migrate here for safety and dignity. I have always expressed myself as a friend of freedom and I am dedicated to the proposition that all men are born equal. We Armenians have given our share of martyrs in the struggle for freedom and we see that our nation is continuing its struggle for liberty. We are convinced that the powerful nations of the world shall do everything possible to re-effect the freedom of smaller nations. I thank the United States for its championship of self-determination and I bless this great nation.

Vice President AGNEW, host for today's reception, described His Holiness as "a distinguished champion of the free way of life, a great church leader who has always expressed his admiration for the United States."

Among those taking part in the reception were Archbishop H. Kachadourian, Prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church in North America; Archbishop S. Ayyazian, Prelate of the Greek Church; George Mardikian, honorary chairman of the reception committee; Tatul Papazian, chairman of the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation; Dr. H. Abrahamian, Washington, D.C., representative of the Armenian National Committee; Attorney Milton Gelenian, chairman of the board of trustees of Holy Cross Armenian Apostolic Church here in Washington; J. Haratunian, chairman of the Washington reception committee; M. Haratunian, chairman of the National Steering Committee for Catholicos Khoren's tour, Attorney Robert Kaloosdian, representative of the Armenian Youth Federation; James Keshishian, chairman of local arrangements for His Holiness' visit; Dr. John Manuelian, personal physician to His Holiness; Y. Melikian, member of the Prelacy Council; L. Palian, the Catholicos' official interpreter; J. Tashjian, Secretary of the Armenian National Committee, and J. Dur Hovanesian, member of the Armenian National Committee.

Members of Congress invited to the reception—all of whom represent significant numbers of Armenian Apostolic Church members—were Senators EVERETT DIRKSEN, JOHN PASTORE, HUGH SCOTT, CLAIBORNE PELL, JOSEPH TYDINGS, ROBERT GRIFFIN, CHARLES MATHIAS, and RICHARD SCHWEIKER; Congressmen PHILIP PHILBIN, THOMAS MORGAN, HAROLD DONOHUE, PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, THOMAS O'NEILL, WILLIAM MAILLIARD, B. F. SISK, MARTHA GRIFFITHS, WILLIAM BROOMFIELD, EDWARD DERWINSKI, CORNELIUS GALLAGHER, OTIS PIKE, JAMES GROVER, ROBERT McCLORY, JOHN WYDLER, LESTER WOLFF, WILLIAM GREEN, JEROME WALDIE, JOSHUA EILBERG, MARVIN ESCH,

GILBERT GUDE, ROBERT MATHIAS, CHARLES WIGGINS, ROBERT TIERNAN and myself.

Under unanimous consent I submit a copy of the letter inviting me to take part in the reception held for Catholicos Khoren by St. Gregory's Church in Indian Orchard, a copy of my responding telegram, and a copy of a Springfield, Mass., Union article describing His Holiness' trip to Springfield for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

ST. GREGORY ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH,

Indian Orchard, Mass., May 14, 1969.

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On April 10th His Holiness Khoren I Catholicos of the Armenian Holy See of Cilicia Lebanon arrived in America with a dual mission of strengthening the ties with the Armenians throughout the North American diocese and spearheading a fund raising program for the establishment of a national prelacy headquarters in this country.

The visit is the first made to this country by a Cilician Catholicos, and his busy schedule will take him to every major Armenian community. Included in the three month tour of member churches will be a visit to St. Gregory's Armenian Apostolic Church.

On Tuesday, June 3rd, His Holiness will be the guest of honor at a reception to be held at the Holiday Inn between 5:30 and 7:00 p.m., followed by a banquet at the Oxford Country Club, Chicopee.

We cordially invite you to join with other dignitaries to meet His Holiness and share this memorable occasion with us.

We would appreciate your letting us know if your schedule will permit you to attend the reception and banquet.

We look forward to seeing you on June 3rd.

Sincerely yours,

CARNIG PILIGIAN,
Chairman.

Mr. CARNIG PILIGIAN,
Chairman, St. Gregory Armenian Apostolic Church, Indian Orchard, Mass.:

Deeply regret congressional business keeps me in Washington. Permit me by way of this wire to join with the people of St. Gregory's church in honoring his Holiness Khoren I Catholicos of the Armenian See on his visit to our community.

His presence in the United States will indeed strengthen the tie among Armenians throughout this country. I congratulate St. Gregory's parishioners for their reception to his Holiness.

I have been invited and have accepted an invitation by Vice President Agnew to meet with his Holiness on June 11th.

EDWARD P. BOLAND,
Member of Congress.

[From the Springfield, (Mass.) Union,
June 4, 1969]

ARMENIAN PRELATE VISITS I.O. CHURCH

Draped in long black and purple robes, Catholicos Khoren I of the Armenian Holy See of Cilicia in Lebanon came to Springfield Tuesday as part of a three-month tour of America.

His rank is the equivalent of Pope in the Roman Catholic Church. Catholicos Khoren I is the spiritual leader of 125,000 Americans, including 120 members of St. Gregory's Armenian Apostolic Church on Goodwin Street, Indian Orchard.

STOPPED AT CHURCH

His holiness stopped at the church at 4 p.m. Tuesday to bless bread and salt, a traditional gesture in the Armenian church since biblical times. It symbolized welcome

and hospitality, a wish for longevity and unbreakable friendship.

The 54-year-old Catholicos was bearded and wore a peaked mantle. He carried a long scepter with a gold handle and wore three gold and silver medallions around his neck.

He was flanked by Archbishop Hrant Khatchadourian, prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America, which has headquarters in New York City, and by Archbishop Sahag Ayyazian, prelate of the Armenian Church of Greece.

St. Gregory pastor Rev. Sahag Andekian joined the trio for a brief service inside the newly rebuilt church during which the Catholicos praised the congregation for building the \$250,000 church. Speaking in Armenian, congregation members said later that the Catholicos was particularly impressed because the St. Gregory congregation is one of the smallest of the 32 parishes he will visit in America.

St. Gregory's had been destroyed by fire in 1966 but was rebuilt as a replica of the first Armenian Christian churches and reconsecrated last year.

The holy father also said the United States is the only country able to lead the world to peace, parishioners said.

Following ceremonies at the church, the holy father greeted Mayor Freedman and other dignitaries at the Holiday Inn.

He was honored at a banquet at Oxford Country Club, Chicopee Tuesday night.

His stop in Springfield was arranged by Mrs. Andon Meregian, Mrs. Allis Meyer and Mrs. Harry Soukiasian. Others involved were Carnig Piligian, Arthur Aykanian and Popken Hachigian.

MILITARY WIFE OF THE YEAR

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House and the American people a most worthwhile activity which has made significant contributions toward the improvement of people-to-people relations between the military and civilian communities in the Nation and in many foreign lands.

This is the Military Wife of the Year program, sponsored by Mr. Wilson Harrell, chairman of the board and president of Harrell's International of Westport, Conn., in cooperation with Art Linkletter, as a tribute to the wives of our dedicated men in the Armed Forces.

This year's program resulted in the selection of the third Military Wife of the Year and as in past years since the nomination of the first military wife in 1967, the winner was awarded a special plaque at a formal dinner held in Washington and will appear during the year on Art Linkletter shows in the United States and at overseas bases.

This year's Military Wife of the Year, selected by a distinguished panel of wives of our ranking military commanders, is Mrs. Edrel A. Coleman, the wife of Maj. Victor S. Coleman, Chaplain Corps, and one of five finalists among nominees from all parts of the world.

The selection panel included Mrs. Bruce Palmer, Jr., wife of the Army Vice Chief of Staff, representing Mrs. Wil-

Ilan C. Westmoreland, wife of the Army Chief of Staff; Mrs. Thomas H. Moorer, wife of the Chief of Naval Operations; Mrs. John P. McConnell, wife of the Air Force Chief of Staff; Mrs. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., wife of the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and Mrs. Willard J. Smith, wife of the Commandant of the Coast Guard.

Other finalists were Mrs. Lois Smee, wife of Lt. Col. James C. Smee, USA; Mrs. Carol White, wife of Comdr. Rodrick White, USCG; Mrs. Madeline Leolar Berkenpas, wife of Lt. Col. Nephil Berkenpas, USAF; and Mrs. Alta Sawyer, wife of S. Sgt. Edward A. Sawyer, USA.

The Military Wife of the Year program has as objective the focusing of public attention on the role of the military community in building friendships throughout the world through the selection of a representative service wife from one of the major U.S. commands or districts. Candidates from the designated theater are nominated by their own military community clubs, usually, but not limited to, the officers' or NCO wives' clubs at installations throughout the theater.

The nominees are evaluated on the basis of their active interest in local community and civic affairs and their singular contributions toward improving people-to-people relations between the military and civilian communities.

The Military Wife of the Year for 1969, Mrs. Edrel A. Coleman, illustrates the highly selective criteria and I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD background material which outlines her many contributions in behalf of humanity, democracy, and freedom.

I commend and salute this year's finalists and congratulate Mrs. Coleman and her lovely family upon this well deserved award, and extend them best wishes for continued success, happiness, and well-being for many years to come.

The material follows:

EDREL A. COLEMAN, 1969 MILITARY WIFE OF THE YEAR

In an age of non-involvement, when so many people protest, demonstrate, and rail against everything not meeting their approval rather than helping find a workable solution, it is a rare privilege to know Edrel Annette Coleman, who has indeed helped rather than hindered the American community, civilian and military, in this country and abroad, in concrete ways.

Born the second child in a family of eight children during the depression, Edrel grew up knowing what "working for what you get" means.

Edrel married a young minister after one year of college. Being interested in education and having a desire to help others, she gained her other three years of college by attending night school and summer school, graduating from Kansas State University in Elementary Education.

Edrel has taught school 16 years, in six different states and two countries. Over 1,100 children have been in her classes. Today she is still in touch with many of her former pupils, many of whom are doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers, and successful businessmen.

She began teaching Sunday School at the age of 16. She served as president of the Methodist Youth Fellowship in her local church and as president of the district, and has served as president, secretary, treasurer, and has been chairman of different com-

mittees in the women's organizations in the civilian and the military churches.

Edrel served as advisor at Youth Conferences for three years in Germany, attending six Retreat Conferences, either as a delegate or advisor, at Bertchegaden, Germany. Her interest in the "older people and the young people" balance each other. She has been instrumental in organizing entertainment and programs as well as for food and clothing for both the orphanages and Old Peoples' Homes, and has been responsible in finding Christian homes for orphans.

Edrel served as Chairman of Welfare in the Officers' Wives Club, working directly with the Schweinfurt's Welfare Director. She was Hostess Chairman in the German-American Club, and further helped create good relations between Americans and Germans by studying their language, by belonging to their Women's Clubs and by visiting in their homes and entertaining them in hers.

During this time, Edrel also organized and directed a ten week summer program for military dependent Junior and Senior High School girls. Classes included sewing, cooking, charm, and swimming.

At Fort Benning, Georgia, Edrel, again showing her concern for youth, served as Red Cross counselor for Junior High girls.

Edrel has been active in Little Theater, and while at Maxwell Air Force Base Elementary School, she organized and directed the Drama Club at that Base, writing most of the scripts.

Since arriving at Fort Wainwright, where she is a full time teacher in addition to being a homemaker, Edrel still finds time to do much civic work in the Fairbanks community as well as on post. She has organized prayer groups; a Religious Book Review Guild; and is a staff member of the Officers' Wives Club monthly publication, "The Wainwright," writing a monthly column entitled "Patterns for Living".

She has adopted and supports a Korean son through the Children's Christian Fund, and contributes regularly to the educational tuition of a girl in India.

Edrel is the Assistant Director of the Miss Greater Fairbanks Scholarship Pageant and has served as Hostess Chairman.

She is an active member of the Alaska State Board of Directors of the American Cancer Society, serving on the Education Committee. Edrel also is an active member of the Executive Board of Directors for the Fairbanks unit of the American Cancer Society, serving as secretary.

Edrel has always been active in working with the youth. Today's children are no exception. She has a grave concern for "today's children in tomorrow's world". Because of her concern she has organized a club called HELP DAN (Help Educate Little People about the abuse of Drugs-Alcohol-Narcotics). Her fervent hope of HELP DAN becoming a national organization is beginning to come to life. It has gained some national publicity already by being featured in the Scientific Temperance Journal. HELP DAN members have received letters of commendation from such personalities as Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Dr. Phillip Blalberg of Capetown, Africa, who is the world's longest living heart transplant patient. At present, the National Education Association is studying material on HELP DAN with a view of publishing this material in their magazine. Edrel has appeared on the local TV and before local groups telling them about HELP DAN. A reading "An Alcoholic's Forgotten Son", written by Edrel was featured on TV by one of her pupils.

This past Christmas Edrel's 6th grade pupils gave gifts to 26 needy children in the Fairbanks community instead of exchanging names with each other. Names were secured from the Heart to Heart Program. The 26 pupils had the most blessed Christmas they had ever had. They learned the real mean-

ing of Christmas—by giving. The monetary value was \$150.00. KFAR-TV station featured the class having the Christmas Party for the needy children on their program, "Big 30".

Edrel's concern reaches out to all youth. Being aware of Alaska's growing needs, she wrote fifteen letters to the Legislature, in the spring of 1968, urging them to adopt certain bills dealing with youth and education in Alaska.

In view of Edrel's concern and positive action on behalf of the youth of today, it will come as no surprise to anyone that she was named Mother of the Year, 1969, for the State of Alaska.

PRESS GAZETTE OF GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN, ENDORSES IDEA OF MASSIVE WATER POLLUTION CONTROL EFFORT BY CORPS OF ENGINEERS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, in a May 27, 1969, editorial, the Press Gazette of Green Bay, Wis., points out the bind that communities in Wisconsin and all across the Nation find themselves in because the Federal Government has defaulted on its share of water pollution control funds, and goes on to say that a massive sewerage treatment program by the Corps of Engineers would be helpful in closing the gap between what is needed and what is actually being done to control pollution. The text of the editorial follows:

PORK BARREL MONEY TO FIGHT POLLUTION

Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Milwaukee has introduced a bill which could provide for a massive assault on the water pollution problems plaguing the nation and, at the same time, help the Army Corps of Engineers get rid of the black-hatted bad guy image bestowed on the corps with increasing regularity of late by conservation interests throughout the country.

The Reuss bill would authorize the Army engineers to build systems, with 100 per cent federal financing, to solve the combined storm and sanitary sewer problems in large cities which cause large quantities of untreated wastes to be flushed into waterways during periods of heavy rain. The corps also would be authorized to do research, development and construction in new methods of sewage disposal.

Reuss, chairman of the Conservation and Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, points out that the underfunded Federal Water Pollution Control Program can offer a mere \$214 million in actual budget requests out of the \$1 billion originally authorized for fiscal 1970 to aid local sewage disposal projects. He feels the massive resources of the Army engineers could help close this gap.

"Instead of putting all its resources and skilled manpower into increasingly marginal navigation, flood control and power projects, let us turn the corps loose on building the sewerage systems and waste disposal plants which the nation so desperately needs if we are ever to enjoy clean water again," Reuss argues.

No one has to remind Wisconsin that the promise of massive federal aid for water pollution control simply has not been materializing. The voters of the state pledged themselves to an all-out battle to save our waters when they overwhelmingly approved the pol-

lution control portion of the ORAP-200 bonding program in April. A massive sewerage treatment program by the Corps of Engineers would prove helpful in Wisconsin and it could prove even more vital in states where the public has yet to take the initiative in the pollution control field.

For years, the Corps of Engineers work program has been almost synonymous with the pork barrel as any attempts at budget trimming run afoul of pet local projects such as canals and, especially, dams. The wisdom and necessity of some of these projects is open to question, especially by conservationists who struggle to preserve the nation's dwindling system of wild rivers and accuse the engineers of building dams for dams' sake only, plus the political monuments which are also created.

If Corps of Engineers money must be spent on projects back home, the construction of sewerage treatment facilities to stem the growth of pollution would seem more practical than many existing projects.

Rep. Reuss probably has overshot the mark by suggesting that there could be 100 per cent federal financing of the anti-pollution projects he is talking about, but he has made an important contribution to the growing discussion for the nation to define its priorities according to need and fiscal ability. The Reuss bill deserves some careful consideration.

SIXTY THOUSAND FANS ROAR FAREWELL TO MICKEY MANTLE

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 8, 1969, at Yankee Stadium, 61,157 hearts throbbed for Mickey Mantle as No. 7 joined Nos. 3, 4, and 5 in retirement. The fans poured out their hearts while flags flew and old Yankee heroes marched to center stage to see Mickey Mantle immortalized after 18 gifted and thrilling years in Yankee pinstripes. The retirement of No. 7, along with the already enshrined numbers of Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, and Joe DiMaggio, was more than just a tribute to a superstar. Mickey Mantle was indeed a superb athlete and a great ballplayer. But he was, and is, more. He rose from the heartlands of this Nation, overcoming crippling injuries, to win the hearts of sport fans everywhere. Two brilliant New York sportswriters, George Vecsey of the New York Times and Dick Young of the New York Daily News, have glowingly recorded the touching farewell to Mickey Mantle. Another tribute, to another great centerfielder who will always remain close to the hearts of New York fans—Willie Mays—was also proposed by Mr. Young in his column. I second the motion. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include their reports:

AS 61,157 HEARTS HERE THROB FOR MANTLE
NO. 7 JOINS 3, 4, AND 5 IN RETIREMENT
(By George Vecsey)

Mickey Mantle said, "I wish this could happen to every man in America." But that would not be possible. Only a Mickey Mantle could ever know the feeling of standing in the middle of Yankee Stadium and hearing 61,157 persons cheer him for eight minutes.

It happened yesterday, when a ball park full of people throbbed with love for one man, when Mantle's uniform No. 7 was officially retired by the New York Yankees, when former team-mates and bosses came to honor the man who retired last March 1 after 18 seasons.

They stood and cheered when Mel Allen—a voice from the past—called Mantle out of the Yankee dugout. They cheered so long that Michael Burke, the new-look president of the Yankees, tried to get them to stop. And they cheered even louder when Mantle raised his hands to quiet them. They had bought their tickets to pour out their love and they did not want to stop.

SPEECH STIRS YANKEE MEMORIES

But finally the crowd gave in, politely, and Joe DiMaggio presented a plaque to Mantle and Whitey Ford presented a uniform to Mantle. Then it was time for Mantle to speak, after another long cheer.

"When I walked into the Stadium 18 years ago," Mantle began, "I guess I felt the same way I feel now. I can't describe it. I just want to say that playing 18 years in Yankee Stadium for you folks is the best thing that could ever happen to a ballplayer. Now having my number join 3, 4, and 5 kind of tops everything.

"I never knew how a man who was going to die [Lou Gehrig] could say he was the luckiest man in the world. But now I can understand.

"This is a great day for my wife, my four boys and my family. I just wish my father could have been here. I'll never forget this. Thank you all. God bless you and thank you very much."

The fans understood Mantle's reference to the earlier retirements of the numbers of Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig and Joe DiMaggio. They remembered that Gehrig had once stood in the center of Yankee Stadium—dying of paralysis—and had said he was the luckiest man in the world. And the fans remembered that Mutt Mantle had died soon after Mickey's rookie season in 1951.

But the mood of the day was not gloomy. Mantle—often withdrawn in the face of adulation—was equal to this moment. As he toured the ball park in a golf cart, he waved to fans in every section and every deck. A few men and one pretty girl even jumped on the field.

Then it ended and the contemporary Yankees took over. But down in the press room Mantle shucked his jacket and the commandeered a cool can of beer and described his feelings.

"That last ride around the park," he said. "That gave me goose pimples. But I didn't cry. I felt like it. Maybe tonight, when I go to bed, I'll think about it.

"I wish that could happen to every man in America. I think the fans know how much I think about them—all over the country. It was the most nervous I've ever been—but the biggest thrill.

"The thing I miss the most is being around the clubhouse," he said. "Not the way I played the last four years—that wasn't fun. I've got some guys on this team that are almost like brothers to me—Pepl, Tresh, Stottlemire. I'm probably their biggest fan. First thing I do every morning is pick up the paper and see how they did.

"But I'm busy. For a retired man, I get around. I travel to openings of my restaurants and my clothing stores. I play golf and—say, did they tell you I'll be working with the Yankees every spring?"

They had, Mantle will help out every spring at training camp, wearing No. 7. But in Yankee Stadium, that number will be seen only in the display case and once a year at Old-Timers Day.

GUESTS FROM MANTLE ERA

Mel Allen was joined by other men from Yankee history. George Weiss, the former general manager . . . Harry Craft and George

Selkirk, Mickey's minor-league managers . . . Yogi Berra (who flew in from San Diego) and Ralph Houk, two of Mantle's managers . . . Tom Greenwade, who signed Mantle . . . plus 12 team-mates from the pennant years: Ed Lopat (1951) Gene Woodling ('52), Joe Collins ('53), Phil Rizzuto ('55), Jerry Coleman ('56), Gil McDougald ('57), Whitey Ford ('58), Bobby Richardson ('60), Elston Howard ('61), Tom Tresh ('62), Joe Pepitone ('63) and Mel Stottlemire ('64) . . . Mantle also presented DiMaggio with a plaque, to hang alongside Mantle's in center field. "Maybe a little higher than mine," Mantle suggested.

SIXTY THOUSAND FANS ROAR FAREWELL TO MICKEY MANTLE AT YANKEE STADIUM

(By Dick Young)

The No. 7 pin-stripe uniform, never to be worn again, had been folded and handed to Mickey Mantle in the middle of the infield. The speeches were done, the cheers had died, and in the press room the newsmen and TV interviewers took their turns at pumping Mickey Mantle. What do you ask Mickey Mantle that hasn't been asked before?

"Who was better? Mantle or Mays?" said Sal Marchiano of CBS.

I had heard that question a million times; in bars, in offices, in the mall that comes each day, asking you to settle a bet. But nobody had ever asked it of Mickey Mantle, not that I know of.

THE ANSWER CAME QUICKLY, WITH SINCERITY

"Willie Mays is better," said Mickey Mantle. The answer came quickly, with a smile, with sincerity, and with explanation. "He's playing longer," said Mickey Mantle. "He has a great record."

Again the bright smile, and Mickey Mantle said: "I don't mind being second to Willie. If I'm second to Willie, I'm pretty good."

That should settle a few thousand arguments, or does it? It is interesting to hear Mantle say it, yet if you were to put the same question to Willie Mays, you'd probably hear him say, Mickey is better.

One thing both men seem agreed on: the greatest ballplayer they ever saw was Joe DiMaggio. Mickey Mantle said it Sunday, said it to the 60,000 people as he exchanged plaques and mutual admiration with DiMag. "He has always been my idol," said Mick. "I didn't see Ruth or Gehrig. The best all-round player I ever saw was Joe Dee."

I can remember Willie Mays saying the same thing. It was five years or so ago. Willie Mays was rushing up on 35, and that's the time they start asking you questions about when you're going to quit.

"I'm a better player now than I ever was," said Willie Mays, and when you asked him how he figured that, he told a story:

"When I was a kid, I'd watch Joe DiMaggio play, and I'd say to myself, if I can ever do things as easy as he does them, I'll know I'm a good ballplayer. All my life, all those catches I've been making and everything, they were hard for me. Now, I'm starting to do things easy, the way Joe did them. That's how I know. He was the greatest because he could do everything so easy."

BLUSTERY FIGURE BURSTS INTO PRESSROOM

While Mickey Mantle was talking to newsmen, a blustery figure burst into the press room. "Tell them," said Toots Shor, "what you did to Philadelphia Jack O'Brien."

Mickey Mantle grinned and shook his hand. "Why didn't you jump out of the stands and kiss me?" said Mantle.

Most of the 60,000 felt like doing something of that sort when, as a final, perfect touch, Mickey Mantle was driven the perimeter of the field in a motor cart, replete with a nicely-contrived MM 7 license plate. Mickey waved his way around Yankee Stadium to the pulsating roar of the throng. Everybody waved back, and one girl in the leftfield corner jumped out and grabbed his

hand for a moment, and she probably won't wash until they make her.

And now the tumult and the shouting and the adulation is done.

"I'm a better player now than I ever was," said Willie Mays. "I'm learning to be a businessman," said Mickey Mantle as he spoke with newsmen of his plans. "I'm involved with two franchise operations." One is Mickey Mantle's Country Cookin', a string of family-style restaurants; the other is Mickey Mantle's Men's Shops, featuring suits and sportswear.

As Mantle explained these things, he pointed to Til Ferdenzi, who covered the Yankees until a few years ago, and who has since entered the advertising field.

"That's one of our suits," said Mickey Mantle. It was a trim olive garment, conservative yet stylish. Mantle smiled. "We have the same thing in your size, Toots, if you're interested," he said.

WHEN MAYS QUITS THERE MUST BE A N.Y. PARTY

Some day, not too long from now, the people of San Francisco will fill Candlestick Park to wave good-bye to No. 24. Regardless of what the Giants do in San Francisco when Willie Mays' time comes to retire, there must be a party here. The Polo Grounds is gone, but Shea Stadium is available, and after all, it's a piece of New York, his New York, and Mrs. Payson, like a lot of people, rooted for Willie Mays long before anybody dreamed of the Mets.

HUE SLAUGHTER IS A REMINDER OF KATYN

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Edith Kermit Roosevelt recently wrote a column which was distributed by her syndicate across the country showing the dramatic similarity between the mass murders by the Communists against South Vietnamese discovered near the village of Hue, and similar mass atrocities committed by the Communists against Polish Army officers in World War II at Katyn.

Miss Roosevelt has performed a notable public service to the cause of freedom and human dignity in this excellent recitation and the indisputable fact that nothing has really changed in the method of atrocities committed by the Communists.

It shows further the indisputable role that the Soviet Union is playing in the aggression by North Vietnam against the people of South Vietnam.

The identical techniques used by Soviet soldiers in destroying 15,000 Polish Army officers in Katyn are now being used again by Communist soldiers in South Vietnam.

It would be my hope that Miss Roosevelt's penetrating column would get the widest distribution. I hope those who have been calling for wide concessions to the Communists in Vietnam would study this column to see the futility in trying to deal with the Communists.

Miss Roosevelt's column follows:

[From the Tallahassee (Fla.) Democrat, Apr. 25, 1969]

HUE SLAUGHTER IS A REMINDER OF KATYN
(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—The recent discovery of mass graves showing Communist atrocities against South Vietnamese citizens near Hue,

South Vietnam is a grim reminder that the same form of mass murder was committed by the Communists against our Polish allies in the Katyn Forest in the Soviet Union at the start of World War II.

Sen. Roman C. Pucinski (D-Ill.), who was chief investigator of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression which in 1952 investigated the Katyn Forest Massacre, said in a House speech that he is struck by "the tragic similarity between the methods used by the Communists in the Katyn Forest in 1940, and the methods and techniques used by the Communists against the South Vietnamese in Hue."

A reading of the Committee's testimony showed that the victims at Katyn, as in Hue, were killed with a single shot in the back of their heads while their hands were tied behind their backs. They were pushed into mass graves, in some cases while they were still alive. Young American soldiers too were murdered in this way in North Korea during the Korean war.

In referring to the mass executions at Hue, what he called "the whole business of Katynism," Rep. Pucinski predicted ominously that these systematic massacres will be the order of the day in South Vietnam if the Communists should emerge victorious.

The bizarre discovery of the mass graves near Hue was made by two South Vietnamese Army noncoms, who were captured by the Vietcong during the 1968 Tet offensive. The two noncoms, Sergeant Chau and Corporal Doi, managed to escape and thus were able to lead South Vietnamese authorities to the graves. Diggings are now underway and to date as many as 350 victims, men and women, have been dug up for identification and proper burial. Cpl. Doi said there are additional mass graves along the seashore. Local authorities are proceeding to investigate them.

The 15,000 Army Reserve officers who were massacred in the Katyn Forest were Polish lawyers, educators, doctors, ministers and businessmen. These were, for the most part, the intelligentsia, the people, who would have led the resistance to Communist aggression. The Communist troops methodically picked Poland's intellectual leaders and imprisoned them when the USSR invaded Poland on Sept. 17, 1939, so they would not be around when the Reds overwhelmed Poland and destroyed her free institutions.

In South Vietnam too, leaders of the resistance are being singled out for murder. The discovery of the mass graves at Hue is dramatic evidence that the Communists have on their drawing boards the blueprint for another Communist cordon sanitaire of captive nations in Southeast Asia, identical to the cordon sanitaire of captive nations that now remain in Soviet bondage in East Central Europe.

Yet the past has failed to warn us. Government spokesmen have treated the Hue discoveries with meager attention. The New York intellectual community which plays such a dominant role in forming public opinion is curiously silent. We have the right to ask where are the voices of the great defenders of human dignity in denouncing these brutal mass atrocities?

The same conspiracy of silence took place in 1940, when the Polish government in exile tried to sound the alarm about Katyn. The Washington Administration and the collaborators outside government allowed the Soviets to win propaganda victories from their false charge that the Nazis were responsible for the horrible crime.

In 1945 an American officer, Col. John H. Van Vliet, Jr., who had visited the scene of the graves, submitted a documented report on the Katyn massacres to the head of Army Intelligence (G-2), Gen. Clayton Bissell. Concerning the fate of that report, the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression stated, "The Van Vliet report was either removed or purposely destroyed in Army Intelligence (G-2)."

The Office of War Information and the Federal Communications Commission even went so far as to silence foreign language broadcasters after these commentators reported facts that pointed to Communist guilt in the Katyn massacre. Stations broadcasting in Russian, Polish, Czech, Croat and other languages had to defer to the gag because of the FCC's control over renewal of radio licenses.

Had the American people known in time the full facts about the Katyn Forest massacre, the course of U.S. diplomacy in the post war period might have been different. Today, the President has the opportunity to look at these mass graves in Hue, and marshal the forces of indignation against this form of genocide.

The Hue massacre makes it clear that any settlement of the Vietnamese war should ensure that the South Vietnamese be unequivocally the masters of their own destiny as a free people.

FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON TAX JUSTICE HEADED BY SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I take note of the formation today of the National Committee on Tax Justice headed by former Senator Paul Douglas joined by a bipartisan group of distinguished Americans.

The National Committee on Tax Justice has as its worthwhile goal elimination of major sources of tax injustices in America through a significant program of tax reform.

As I have indicated for many years in this House, a quality of a civilization can be determined by the justice of its system of taxation. The work being pursued by the Congress to reform our system of taxation this year can make this session of Congress among the most important in the history of our Nation.

The important work this new National Committee on Tax Justice can do is to keep the American public informed on this great task of tax reform to assure that the job is well done.

I extend my congratulations and good wishes to each of the members of this National Committee on Tax Justice and pledge my time and effort toward achieving the goals which we commonly seek to attain. I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD information on the National Committee on Tax Justice and the list of the founding members of the committee. It is my understanding that additional committee members will be announced at a later date.

The release and membership list are as follows:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON TAX JUSTICE FORMS—
FIVE POINT PROGRAM OF REFORMS INCLUDES
CLOSING OF LOOPHOLES, HELP FOR POOR AND
MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES

The National Committee on Tax Justice, a new organization dedicated to prompt and meaningful Federal income tax reform, today called for a five-point tax reform package. These reforms would provide equity to taxpayers, relieve the tax burden on low and

middle income families, and provide new funds for the Federal government.

At its organizational meeting here today, the Committee named former Illinois Senator Paul H. Douglas as its chairman and called for swift enactment by the Congress of the following program:

1. Eliminate preferential treatment of all capital gains.

"This one step would also eliminate the single greatest source of both inequity and complexity in the existing tax system," the committee said.

2. Eliminate special deductions for depletion of oil and other minerals beyond the cost of the mineral property and for the expensing of exploration and development costs.

"Even if a mineral exploration subsidy is needed, the existing tax provisions are highly inefficient," the committee said. "It is nonsense to continue tendering a multi-billion dollar oil exploration subsidy while we are artificially restricting domestic well production to less than half of capacity and restricting oil imports."

3. Provide federal assistance to state and local bond issues instead of allowing a tax exemption on their interest.

The committee said this provides an "enormous tax boon" to wealthy persons and huge financial institutions while costing the federal government more than it benefits other political entities.

4. Withhold taxes on interest and dividends at the source.

"Treasury experts believe that . . . nearly \$4 billion of dividend and interest income annually is not reported on tax returns, with a resulting annual revenue loss of \$1 billion," the committee stated.

5. Provide tax relief for low and middle income families by providing a minimum standard deduction of \$1,100 for all families.

A family of four with income of \$3,500 a year or less would pay no taxes under this provision. This family now typically pays over \$100.

The committee noted that this also would provide tax relief to most families with incomes of \$11,000 or less.

The committee estimated that its program would provide \$7 to \$10 billion more in federal revenues while relieving low and middle income families of \$2.5 billion in tax liabilities.

In addition to these five points, the committee also asked the Congress to give attention to the ending of "other unwarranted tax favors." Among these, the committee listed: accelerated depreciation on buildings, multiple surtax exemptions on corporations, and tax law provisions that encourage the formation of "conglomerates."

"The American people know that essential public programs must be paid for; they only ask that their share of that payment be just; that every individual be taxed according to his ability to bear the burden of taxation; and that no one be asked to bear more than his fair share of that burden because of special tax favors accorded others," the committee said. "It is to that end that this Committee on Tax Justice has been formed."

The membership of the committee includes prominent Americans from all over the country who have joined together to urge that current congressional consideration of federal tax laws stress fairness and equity. It pointed out that present tax laws not only unjustly penalize the poor and middle-income segments of our population, but drain off funds that could be used to reach national social goals.

"There are many organizations lobbying for special tax treatment. This is the only organization, as far as we know, that is dedicated solely to advancing the interest of all taxpayers," Senator Douglas said in accepting the chairmanship.

The committee offices are at Suite 410, the

Shoreham Building, 806 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. A committee of distinguished economists serves as the committee's technical subcommittee.

FOUNDING MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON TAX JUSTICE

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Mayor of the City of Atlanta, City Hall, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Peter Bommarito, President, United Rubber, Cork, Linoieum and Plastic Workers of America, 87 South High Street, Akron, Ohio 44308.

Mr. Harvey Brazier, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

The Honorable Edward Breathitt, Former Governor of Kentucky, Hopkinsville, Ky.

Mr. Jack Conway, President, Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Miss Betty Furness, Former Assistant to President Johnson on Consumer Affairs, 14 Old Farm Lane, Hartsdale, N.Y. 10530.

Dr. Walter Heller, Department of Economics, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 55455.

Mr. Clark Kerr, Past President of University of California at Berkeley, 6300 Buckingham Drive, El Cerrito, Calif. 94530.

Mr. Philip Klutznick, Retired Ambassador to ECOSOC, 401 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

The Honorable Bronson LaFollette, Former Attorney General of Wisconsin, LaFollette, Sinykin, Anderson, Davis, and Abrahamson, 110 East Main Street, Madison, Wis. 53703.

Mr. Robert J. Lampman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Mrs. John G. Lee, Past President, League of Women Voters, Member of President's Consumer Advisory Council, Post Office Box 367, Farmington, Conn. 06032.

The Honorable Theodore McKeldin, Former Mayor of Baltimore, Maryland National Bank Building, Baltimore, Md.

The Honorable Arthur Naftalin, Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. Joseph A. Pechman, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President, United Automobile Workers, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich. 48214.

Mr. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, President, Stanley H. Ruttenberg & Associates, 1211 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

The Honorable Terry Sanford, Former Governor of North Carolina, Branch Bank Building, Raleigh, N.C.

Mr. J. S. Seidman, New York Board of Trade, 80 Broad Street, New York, N.Y. 10004.

Mr. John Siegenthaler, The Nashville Tennessee, Nashville, Tenn.

The Honorable Paul Simon, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois, Statehouse, Springfield, Ill.

Mr. Sheldon Cohen, Former Commissioner, IRS, Suite 400, 1730 "M" Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Mr. Philip Stern, 888 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

The Honorable Charles P. Taft, Member of Cincinnati City Council, Former Mayor of Cincinnati, First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Honorable Adlai Stevenson III, Treasurer, State of Illinois, Statehouse, Springfield, Ill.

Mr. Tony Dechant, President, Farmers Union, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Honorable Paul H. Douglas, Former United States Senator, State of Illinois, Suite 410, Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C. 20005.

The Honorable Carl Stokes, Mayor of the City of Cleveland, City Hall, Cleveland, Ohio.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION COULD CREATE PROBLEMS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Dean Manion in his publication Manion Forum recently discussed the possibility of a national constitutional convention and many of the ramifications of this question.

Mr. Manion pointed out that only one additional State must pass a resolution to assure the holding of such a convention which Mr. Manion feels could create problems involving possible tampering with basic sections of the Constitution.

Mr. Manion suggests alternatives, and in this connection I place in the RECORD herewith Mr. Manion's publication because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter.

The forum follows:

CONGRESS CAN FORESTALL THE CALLING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—MERE CHANGE OF JUSTICES WILL NOT CORRECT PAST MISTAKES OF WARREN COURT

(By Dean Clarence E. Manion)

American political fortunes continue to be fickle and unpredictable. Less than a year ago Abe Fortas was all but confirmed as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Those who opposed his confirmation were being berated as prejudiced fools, fanatics and reactionary bigots hypocritically venting their opposition to the progressive record of the Warren Court by resisting the promotion of its most brilliant and scholarly justice.

Today Abe Fortas has departed from the Court in disgrace, the first Supreme Court justice in history to resign under fire. Furthermore, through the door left open as he departed, the American public is looking at the present Supreme Court in a new, revealing and very unbecoming light. If editorial opinion is an accurate reflection of their attitude, the American people do not like what they are now seeing on their Supreme Court bench.

The little handful of men who have been smugly ruling our country by decree for more than a decade, and frequently over the blistering dissent of their colleagues, are all targets of official investigation for the same kind of indiscretions to which Abe Fortas, by his resignation, has confessed.

In their personal as well as in their official judgments these justices have evidenced a woeful lack of that "consummate self-restraint" which the awesome fact of life tenure and absolute political independence has continuously impressed upon all of their distinguished predecessors on the bench of the most important court in the world. Self-restraint is a quality that none of the Warren Court's ruling justices has ever appeared to understand. Consistently in their joint official judgments they have exhibited such restraint in reverse.

Since Earl Warren took charge of the Court fifteen years ago, he and his concurring coterie of justices have used every opportunity to grab areas of governmental power that, by express constitutional definition are reserved for legislative, executive or popular political action; areas of power that all of their predecessors have carefully and scrupulously avoided.

In its place in the Constitution, as well as in the natural order of its available utility, judicial power and jurisdiction is the last

on the list of the three separated areas of American Government. In constitutional procedure the legislature and its authorized field of legislation is encountered first. (Article I) The resulting laws are then delegated for enforcement to the Executive branch. (Article II) Finally, (Article III), the courts are created, first to sit in judgment on accused lawbreakers, next to test the consistency of Executive Acts with the laws that authorized them and last, but certainly not least, to test the conformity of the enacted laws with the Supreme Law, namely, the Constitution.

Now, unless he is soaked through and through with the restrained detachment that is called "proper judicial temperament," a politically practiced and trained Supreme Court Justice is certain to get very impatient as he watches, first the naturally slow development of popular political action, next the inevitably delayed processes of legislative enactment and finally the Executive Administration and enforcement of the statutes.

In the long course of this observation such a justice will undoubtedly itch for an opportunity to get into the action himself. The temptation to get involved will be particularly strong if the justice has previously been an aggressive governor of a state, a crusading United States Senator, a spectacular prosecuting attorney or a college professor who has been privileged to pontificate and prognosticate irresponsibly about everybody and everything.

The cumbersome mills of constitutional government will grind much too slowly to suit such a justice, particularly if he is a political liberal with a conditioned addiction to the accelerator and a built in aversion for constitutional brakes, checks and balances.

Chief Justice Warren and his liberal associates on the Supreme Bench made no obvious attempt to resist this temptation. First of all, they were impatient to end official racial segregation, which for many years had been on its slow way to obliteration through the processes of popular education, legislation and eventual court determinations. So, at the very first opportunity the Warren Court took a bold new stance on this sensitive subject.

It began by deliberately repudiating long standing Supreme Court decisions and categorically outlawing racial segregation in public schools, but they went much further than that. They retained the segregation cases on the Court's docket and through this strategem they captured and kept the administration and supervision of each state's compliance with the new "no-segregation" decrees.

Since then, the Supreme Court has, to all intents and purposes, been telling Congress, the state legislatures and law-enforcement officials what they must do about the subject of civil rights. The Warren Court then began to throw the Bill of Rights around in all directions. These first eight Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were designed and, before Warren, were consistently held to be restrictions *only* upon operations of the Federal Government. But the Warren justices have changed all that.

ATTRIBUTES CRIME INCREASE TO COURT

After blasting a big hole through the 14th Amendment they proceeded to plough through it with the entire intricate network of these first eight Amendments, which they threw over all state court trials for state crimes. In this process the Warren justices have released scores of hardened, convicted and confessed criminals to take another ride upon the mounting and menacing crime wave.

Chief Justice John C. Bell, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, has attributed a large measure of the alarming increase of lawlessness in this country to "a dozen or

more recent decisions by a majority of the Supreme Court which overrule their prior decisions, and unduly favor murderers, rapists, Communists, hold-up men and other dangerous criminals." (*Chicago Tribune*, May 21, 1969)

All of the cases that Justice Bell talks about had been carefully tried and then fully appealed through the established court system of each involved state. Each defendant in each case had the full benefit of established constitutional due process of law in these state courts. "Consummate judicial self-restraint" would have impelled a traditional U.S. Supreme Court to refuse to review these criminal convictions.

But the Warren Court is *not* a traditional U.S. Supreme Court. It was obviously looking for further supervisory power over state governments, and so when these criminal appeals reached Washington the Warren justices accepted every one of them. The field of state criminal law enforcement is only one of the countless areas of state government that the Warren Court has chosen to invade by going through the convenient hole it had made for itself in the 14th Amendment.

It went back and forth through this opening to drive prayer out of the public schools and to make it impossible for state governments to protect their populations against the publication and exhibition of obscenity and hard-core pornography. Because of the Warren Court's sociological construction of the pornographer's right to free speech and a free press, the country is now flooded with commercialized filth on the stage, screen and the newsstands.

With the same specious justification, and for the particular convenience of admitted Communists, the Warren justices have invented a brand new constitutional right, namely, "the right of association," which guarantees to these admitted Communists the right to teach in the public schools and to work in our defense plants, state and Federal laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

The categorical list of the Warren Court's power grabs at the expense of the states and of Congress goes on and on, but without doubt the most gratuitous, important and immediately critical example of such appropriations is the Court's assumption of the right continuously to control the popular composition of legislative and Congressional districts within each State of the Union, upon the Court's own contrived "one man-one vote" formula.

Now, and bluntly, the Warren justices are telling the several states how to muster and master the Houses of their own legislatures. By the same bold assumption the Court swept from Congress its vested constitutional right to supervise Congressional districting in the several states (Article I, Section 4), the standards for which the Court itself now changes arbitrarily from case to case. He is a fortunate Congressman today who can definitely draw the boundaries of his own Congressional bailiwick.

When the Court first rushed into this contentious area with its "one man-one vote" mandate in 1962, it drew a bitter tongue-lashing from Justice Felix Frankfurter whose long and vigorous dissent served as a valedictory to his extended term of service on the Supreme Court bench.

"Today," Frankfurter said, "this court reverses a uniform course of decision established by a dozen cases, including one by which the very claim now sustained was unanimously rejected only five years ago. Such a massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past in asserting destructively novel judicial power . . . may well impair the Court's position as the ultimate organ of the supreme law of the land." (*Baker vs. Carr*, 7 law Ed 2nd, 714)

CONVENTION CALL HINGES ON ONE STATE

Frankfurter's words are proving to be prophetic. Congress has quietly submitted to this bold judicial robbery, but the state legislatures have and are generating consequences that could result in the wreckage of our constitutional system.

Our Constitution now provides that Congress must call a National Constitutional Convention whenever the legislatures of two-thirds of the states shall call upon it to do so. Such a convention may propose Amendments to the Constitution and these proposals will become a part of the Constitution as each of them is ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states. (Article V)

As soon as the Supreme Court took over the job of reapportioning state legislatures a few years ago, the state legislatures themselves began passing and directing resolutions to Congress calling for a Constitutional Convention which would propose amendments to protect the states against this particular invasion of their power by the Court. Thirty-three states have now adopted these resolutions. Only one more Resolution is needed to force Congress to call a convention which will be empowered to propose not just one specific amendment but any number of amendments on any subject.

Such a convention might end up, as did the Constitutional Convention of 1787, by writing an entirely new Constitution for the United States. That is a chilling prospect to contemplate in these turbulent, disorderly times. Nevertheless, one more state is virtually certain to act—unless Congress does something in the meantime to forestall it.

What can Congress do? It can end the prospect for such another state resolution by ending the enforcement of the Warren Court's "one man-one vote" contrivance. Congress can do this by a simple majority vote of the House and Senate, removing from the Supreme Court and from all Federal courts, the right to hear cases involving the composition of Congressional districts or the apportionment of state legislatures.

This would end the enforcement (and the effectiveness as precedents) of all or any decisions already made by the Supreme Court on this subject and prevent the Court's acceptance of any future cases dealing with the size and population of voting districts. The exclusive rights of Congress and of the several states in this critical area would thus immediately be revived and the reason for the pending call for a Constitutional Convention would disappear.

Fortas is gone and Warren is on his way out. Hopes are high that the wisdom of President Nixon's choice of new justices will eventually insure us against the kind of unconstitutional Supreme Court power grabs that I have described in this broadcast. But, as in the case of legislative apportionment, the important areas already unlawfully appropriated by the Warren Court must be restored by Congress to their proper constitutional authorities, and *at once*. The constitutional power and duty of Congress to do this is clear and unquestioned. (Article III, Section 2)

We need not live forever under the "amendments" forced upon the Constitution by the specious interpretations of the Warren Court. But the impending change of justices cannot correct these past mistakes. To restore the Constitution, an act of Congress is needed which will concisely and specifically shrink the presently swollen jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and fence it firmly back into its original constitutional territory.

To prevent the impending Constitutional Convention from exposing our cherished form of government to emasculation by the Black Panthers, the SDS and their revolu-

tionary associates, Congress had better start this restoration process immediately. Pass the word.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING AND THE COMMUNICATIONS GAP

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the very good speech on "The Communications Gap" delivered at this year's Ithaca College commencement by John W. Macy, Jr., former Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission and now president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting:

COMMUNICATING WITH THE FUTURE

(By John W. Macy, Jr.)

President Dillingham, faculty, students, alumni, friends, and, most important of all, the class of 1969 of Ithaca College.

This is a time and place where the future is very much with us. But so shall it be in all other times and places in our contemporary society. The forces of change, social and technical, carry our thoughts and our talents toward a future which must be met and shaped and guided by those we honor today.

With the instruments of our sciences we can forecast certain characteristics of that future. We can plot the curve of population growth. We can foretell the continued urbanization of that population. We can predict the number of jobs necessary to sustain that population. We can describe the further collapse of space and time through science and technology. From these forecasts, the futurologist can paint a picture of overwhelming human problems that defy human capacity and human spirit. Or they can present to the men and women who will live in that future the means for solving the accumulating problems, for converting potential disaster into enhanced opportunity, and for enriching man's short span on this planet. I elect to join this latter group, to seek with today's graduating classes the capacity to recast our institutions not just to survive in that future, but to direct them toward the betterment of all mankind.

When this fine institution celebrated its diamond anniversary in 1967, one of the wise men of our times, C. P. Snow, shed his brilliance on what he described as "the very delicate and difficult problem of special talents." He delivered in modern and American form his philosophy on the two cultures. He emphasized the necessity of joining the two cultures, science and the humanities, to assure the unity of forces to meet the future. I reassert that proposition as today's imperative. We must extend our efforts to apply the fruits of our sciences in the resolution of our problems. We must employ the marvels of technology to give all men greater opportunity for choice and independence and individual dignity. We must direct the creative forces of our technology away from more efficient systems of destruction, from mass production of the ugly, from the pollution of our environment toward an improved state of health, knowledge and growth for every man and woman.

All too frequently, I hear our contemporary problems attributed to a basic cause: inadequate communications. The generation gap is caused by inadequate communications. Racial conflict is sparked by inadequate communications. Community friction is generated by inadequate communications. Political

institutions are unresponsive because of inadequate communications. Efforts are directed toward overcoming these inadequacies. But, so much more effort can be applied.

The blend of technological capability and social purpose, the improvement in human communication can be advanced through the development of a system of public broadcasting. Television and radio can become constructive instruments for social change, for preparation for a better future and for the elevation of the American spirit. These media can deliver a fruitful variety of messages to individuals, groups and communities in our society. They can serve the public interest. To those ends, an increasing number of people of varying talents are entering the field of public broadcasting.

With the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting by the Congress in 1967, it became national policy to strengthen and develop a system of public television and radio stations to serve the American community. In that action, a commitment was written to secure for viewers and listeners communication media dedicated to the public interest. Here was to be a future goal of diversity and excellence in programming and a freedom from mass audience appeal or commercial pressures to meet the public's need. Here was an opportunity to use the media to educate as well as entertain, to inspire as well as sell, to offer choice rather than repetition.

In pursuing diversity and excellence, the leaders in public broadcasting must measure public needs and public interests. From the wide spectrum of programming choices, they must design a composite program responsive to those needs and interests.

Education itself can be enhanced through use of these media. The great teachers can be shared by countless students in classrooms across the land. Already the daytime schedules of public broadcasting stations are packed with classroom offerings in science, mathematics, foreign languages, social studies and history. Increasingly, the substance of this instructional broadcasting has become more interesting and flexible with imaginative use of the camera to secure an added dimension to teaching. The range of possibility for improvement is almost limitless but there must be a desired willingness on the part of those who instruct to use these electronic devices to extend their teaching capacity.

Television can open new routes of participation to the citizen in the processes of government. The evidence of democracy—elections, legislative meetings, public caucuses, executive actions—can be made alive through the camera with visual evidence of the opportunities open to the citizen to participate in the processes of government. Likewise, new forms of citizen-government communication can be pioneered through electronic feedback to government officials from their constituents.

The issues of public affairs can be reported in depth, analyzed with expertise, and interpreted with balance through the public media. The issues relating to public policy can be sharpened through open debate and recorded opinion.

And education need not be confined to the classroom. The black box with the picture can bring learning to the home. This learning can be beamed to specific age groups, such as the pre-schooler or the senior citizen, or it can be specialized continuing education for the worker, the manager, the professional, in an ever evolving inventory of knowledge, or it can be a learning experience for the entire family in the phenomena of science, the teachings of history or the analysis of current trends.

The media can be employed in reaching segments of the community which have been hidden from view and barred from the understanding of the mainstream of our so-

ciety. Special service and assistance can be transmitted to the residents of the inner city or the rural isolation. Special communication can be designed for reaching the minority groups in our midst. The groups which believe so much of current communication to be irrelevant and unobtainable. The media can provide the theater, the concert hall, or the opera house for the new and creative in the performing arts. It can offer a showcase for new and fresh talent and for innovative composition and design. It can give a new and versatile art form for the exceptionally talented who find only limited access to the studio audience through commercial broadcasting.

This catalog of broadcasting opportunities is merely a sample from the broad range available to the future programmer with a commitment to excellence in the public interest. Yet the media today will seem limited and narrow in comparison with the technology of the future. The availability of a domestic satellite for transmission of programs will permit a clearer and more reliable image to more and more viewers. It will offer the means for live transmission of images directly from the satellite to home receivers. The developments in cable television will open up a substantial volume of additional channels extending out to audiences previously beyond the signal. This will mean the availability of additional lines of delivery for additional communications of public service. The future availability of the electronic video recording will give every home a library of video programs to supplement the long playing recordings intended for listening pleasure and edification.

The potential uses of closed circuit television provide yet another variable in these efforts to close the communication gap to the benefit of all.

In the very near future—the next few months—the global satellite system will be in orbiting position and for the first time man will have the capacity to communicate visually to other men throughout the world on a live and simultaneous basis. What potential power, for good or ill, is invested in this capacity. American technology has developed and financed this global capability to communicate with the world's billions, but does it have a developed message to deliver over that system? Will we, like Samuel Morse, form the connection and find the message no more meaningful than "what God has wrought" to transmit. This is an immediate challenge to everyone concerned with the design and presentation of television programs.

Yes, this is a part of the challenge that public broadcasting holds for those of the rising generation who leave the universities today. Broadcasting with this public service emphasis must seek and develop those men and women possessed of skill and learning, values and ideals to raise this enterprise to fulfill its potential. Broadcasting has an insatiable appetite for talent. It needs not only performers, but writers and composers, directors and producers, engineers and managers. It needs those who possess a fervor for change, a thirst for innovation, a desire to communicate.

Here at Ithaca where your curriculum has provided a rich liberal arts base and an incomparable opportunity for individual development in the performing and communicating arts, you have been ideally prepared to contribute to the advancement toward these goals. In this field you can find an affirmative outlet for the personal qualities you have nurtured here. Many of you have gained experience of high quality in the broadcasting programs so effectively taught and so perfectly equipped on this campus. Your preparation has placed you at a point of professional development where you can move into the exciting areas of broadcasting activity. And beyond these specific skills, you

have gained a sense of values which are essential in the sensitive public service of public broadcasting. You can appreciate the integrity and balance necessary in interpreting the issues of your time for better public understanding. As you cherish the freedom to write or to film or to direct as you see fit, you can recognize the obligation to exercise that freedom with taste and responsibility. As you ardently support the need for institutional change, you can recognize the necessity to gain support for that change through public understanding.

The existence of a public broadcasting system at least partially supported by the taxpayers' dollars imposes special burdens of responsibility. On the one hand, the interest of any leader or party in government must not be allowed to influence or dominate the choice or content of program. On the other hand, the potential of the media can be effectively applied in communicating to the citizen the services provided by government. Such a balance of values must be preserved in the judgments of those responsible for this powerful social instrument. Your assistance is sought in guiding public broadcasting toward programming which will have meaning for your generation. The audience gap in television centers on your age group. The public and the commercial broadcasters either fail to tell it as it is or fail to meet your value expectations. This does not mean special programs should be designed in the idiom or the style of each college generation, but it does mean that broadcasters should be more alert to the learning and, yes, the entertainment interests of your audience. May you join us in finding the answer to this question.

In conclusion, I salute all members of the graduating class. May your experience at Ithaca give you a sense of individual and community responsibility for the future of our society. May you join forces with other determined Americans to seek the social and humane changes required to match the progress of technology. May you become communicators in the broadest sense and communicate with the future marked by equality and justice, education and health, progress and peace.

THE LAW VERSUS PERSONAL WILL

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, an orderly society requires that we be governed by the rule of law. If each of us were free to choose which laws to obey and which laws to ignore, safety and freedom would disappear in America.

The Dallas Times-Herald recently published a timely editorial on growing anarchistic trends and the timidity of public officials to respond adequately to unreasonable demands of irrational groups. As a part of my remarks I include the editorial:

THE LAW VERSUS PERSONAL WILL

The United States has reached the unbelievable position where a minority of black militants and white anarchists are tearing the guts out of a beautiful, but hesitantly stupid, nation.

It is a very simple confrontation the laws vs. arrogant personal will.

Everybody in town talks about it. Few

offer constructive action—only impetuous, rash comment. If you get on the side of solution with prescribed law, the dissident identifies you as some sort of mossy freak.

Your old track record of giving honest time and effort to the disadvantaged—because you sort of started there yourself gets lost in a vituperative hail of unfathomable criticism.

The reasoning Negro who seeks honest advance for his race, the lawful way, is quickly labeled Uncle Tom or intimidated by the militant.

On May 1 an annual observance was drowned in the shout of turmoil. The nation sought to observe Law Day. It needs to observe it every day, in the truest sense.

Eleven years ago last week, the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave the essence of it in his 1958 message to the nation on Law Day:

"In a very real sense, the world no longer has a choice between force and law. If civilization is to survive, it must choose the rule of law. . . . We honor not only the principle of the rule of law, but also those judges, legislators, lawyers and law-abiding citizens who work actively to preserve our liberties under law."

It was the Ike who led the armies of free men to triumph over Nazi powers—powers whose leaders insisted that force must be the final arbiter in the world's affairs.

Today, Ike's words, his deeds are desecrated internationally and internally by those powers and individuals who would displace law with their personal will.

The Augusta Chronicle comments that "the tragedy for mankind, and the peril for our country, is that many people—even good people whose ideals exceed their clarity of perception and their capacity for wise judgment—have been persuaded that disregard for law can be a noble thing."

It is not noble to promote anarchy. The inevitable alternative of law is disorder and crime. The law is our defense, or security, even in these times our very life.

In these days we have seen an appalling flouting of the law—and the rules of decency.

A black militant named James Forman has organized the "National Black Economic Development Board" and hoisted himself above the law. Sunday, a week ago, he and his hoods brushed aside ushers in the midst of services at New York's Riverside Church, seized the pulpit and read "demands" to a numbered congregation.

He demanded reparations from American churches in the sum of \$500 million to "compensate blacks for years of injustice by white people and their religious institutions."

No one has yet touched this man who stands above the law. Mayor John Lindsay of New York was shocked and told churches that law enforcement agencies were available to those who feared Forman's presence.

The black militant callously warned Mayor Lindsay that any effort to interfere with his church raiding would be met by "appropriate force. . . . We will kill those who kill us."

Out of the misty shroud from which they now arise came another of today's newly formed "groups"—the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizations—to endorse Forman's lunacy. These spokesmen for 14 predominantly white Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations endorsed the manifesto "in principle and in its grammatical aspects."

No one knows what Forman would do with the money. The supporting clergymen did not question the tactics of breaking up worship services with force and threats.

Why in the name of God, do we sit by and accept the dismemberment of this land?

From the constable to the President of the United States (if each one just enforced the laws in a spirit of justice and fairness) this threat must be recognized. And overwhelmed.

MILITARY-HOLLYWOOD COMPLEX

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice to those who are questioning the propriety of the extensive and costly U.S. Navy assistance provided to the commercial producers of a motion picture, "Tora! Tora! Tora!" I personally did not have the opportunity of viewing the most recent revelation of a rather dubious practice by our Armed Forces as it was publicized by the "60 Minutes" television show.

However, one of my constituents who watched this presentation wrote to me asking for further facts and expressing his disgust and indignation over the affair as a taxpayer and former serviceman. Accordingly, I queried the Navy and received a reply which inter alia stated that "such assistance is a long-standing procedure within the military services."

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this procedure is unnecessary and that the practice of providing aircraft carriers and support vessels for Hollywood use be stopped. I do not object, as some of my colleagues have done, to the fact that the motion picture in question depicts the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The more fundamental issue brought out by this particular instance is that at a time when we are engaged in a bloody war with our swollen military budget devouring a huge share of our Nation's resources, such utilization of our military personnel and expensive equipment is both wasteful and senseless. Within the Military Establishment there is sufficient in-house capacity for the production of films and other forms of propaganda glorifying war and illustrating the particular virtues of our Armed Forces without helping in the creation of a "military-Hollywood" complex. There are sufficient opportunities for our military personnel nowadays to get combat experience without adding the hazards of Hollywood special effects—as in the instant case, where six seamen on the carrier *Yorktown* were burned and two civilian pilots killed in filming the latest "magnificent epic with a cast of thousands"—and probably at a cost of thousands to the Navy.

Mr. Speaker, after hearing the annual pleas and arguments of the Defense Department for more attack carriers, it would appear that the ones the Navy already has are being underutilized if the *Yorktown* had spare capacity to transport 30 Twentieth Century-Fox aircraft and an unknown number of the movie company's personnel and equipment from San Diego to Pearl Harbor. Likewise, if other naval equipment and both seagoing and shore-based Navy personnel could so conveniently be made available as "extras" for the production, I wonder whether the Navy does not have a surplus of men and equipment. I also wonder whether so many servicemen would be granted leave at the same time

to participate in discussion groups about our involvement in the Vietnam war and other current problems, as were so graciously permitted to play war in Japanese uniforms for the benefit of Twentieth Century-Fox.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the foregoing questions, there are more finite points to consider which were not adequately explained in the Navy's reply to my original inquiry. These include the amount of compensation, if any, to the Navy for the loss of services of the injured sailors and for their care; equipment reportedly damaged aboard the carrier; for the room and board costs of the cast; the cost of maneuvering the ships to conform with the script; and any other costs incurred by our Government in this venture. Because this information has not been made available and because of my concern for the proper allocation of Federal funds, I intend to ask the General Accounting Office to investigate this matter thoroughly so that the Congress might better determine whether it should prohibit such use of public funds.

Mr. Speaker, our Navy, and the Nation have already paid the terrible price of Pearl Harbor and I see no reason why we should still be paying the bill more than a quarter of a century later.

I suggest that the Congress, by its action, make this film the "Last Tora!"

I include a copy of the letter dated June 9 which I received from the Department of the Navy on the subject in the RECORD:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
OFFICE OF INFORMATION,
Washington, D.C., June 9, 1969.

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KASTENMEIER: This is in reply to your letter of May 21, 1969 concerning Department of the Navy cooperation with Twentieth-Century Fox in filming the feature motion picture *Tora! Tora! Tora!*

Approximately two years ago, Twentieth-Century Fox requested assistance in the production of the film *Tora! Tora! Tora!*. The Department of Defense carefully reviewed the services which were required. Prior to approval, it was determined that all cooperation was in accordance with the established Department of Defense guidelines.

As a result of CBS's program *Sixty Minutes*, the use of U.S. Navy ships, U.S.S. *Yorktown*, U.S.S. *Savage*, and U.S.S. *Hitchiti*, the transport of aircraft by the U.S.S. *Yorktown* and the use of military personnel and equipment in the film *Tora! Tora! Tora!* has come under question.

Twentieth-Century Fox requested the services of a straight-deck carrier. After a careful check of operational commitments it was determined that no straight-deck carrier was available. The U.S.S. *Yorktown* was in a standby status, awaiting deployment to the Pacific where she would be the prime recovery ship for Apollo 8. This was her sole mission.

The U.S.S. *Yorktown* was not programmed for Viet Nam duty. After her mission as prime recovery ship was completed, she was transferred to the Atlantic Fleet. The use of the U.S.S. *Yorktown* for *Tora! Tora! Tora!* did not in any way conflict with her mission and no assigned duties were changed or altered to accommodate Twentieth-Century Fox.

Prior to the U.S. *Yorktown* being made available for use by Twentieth-Century Fox, arrangements were made whereby the Navy would be reimbursed for any additional ex-

pense to the Government. During the program, the statement was made that it costs approximately \$40,000 per day to operate this carrier. This is reasonably accurate. However, U.S.S. *Yorktown* during the period of filming was operating on regularly scheduled independent ship exercises. Ship operating expenses would have occurred whether or not the U.S.S. *Yorktown* was involved with the production of *Tora! Tora! Tora!* This includes such items as daily maintenance, electrical power, the crew's salaries and so on.

In the case of the tug U.S.S. *Hitchiti* and the destroyer U.S.S. *Savage*, the same financial considerations that apply to the operational cost of using the U.S.S. *Yorktown* explain the apparent disparity between the figures stated on the program and those given by the Navy.

The U.S.S. *Yorktown* was able to undertake the transport of 30 Twentieth-Century Fox aircraft from San Diego to Pearl Harbor because her normal complement of aircraft was not aboard. No commercial shipping services were available within the given time frame for the transportation of the aircraft. Prior to the shipment of the aircraft, Twentieth-Century Fox agreed to reimburse the Government for costs at a rate to be determined in accordance with the Military Sea Transportation Service.

Military equipment and personnel were provided only when the operational military commander agreed that such cooperation did not interfere with normal commitments. Military personnel who participated in the filming of *Tora! Tora! Tora!* for other than routine training exercises did so on a voluntary basis while in an off duty or on leave status, and were compensated for their time and efforts by the production company.

A hold harmless agreement was executed between Twentieth-Century Fox and the U.S. Navy whereby Twentieth-Century Fox Film Corporation agreed to indemnify and hold harmless the United States, its agencies and instrumentalities, against all suits, actions, claims, costs of demands resulting from death, personal injury and property damage, to which the United States, its agencies and instrumentalities may be subject by reason of damage or injury (including death) to the property or person of anyone, whosever and wherever he might be.

Two aviators were killed while under contract to Twentieth-Century Fox. The pilots were civilians. Six enlisted men suffered first and second degree burns when a shift of wind forced a tongue of flame at them during one of the film sequences. These men were on leave serving as "extras" in the motion picture.

It has been implied that the U.S.S. *Yorktown* operated under the Japanese National Ensign. This is not true. At no time did the U.S.S. *Yorktown* operate under any colors but the U.S. National Ensign (American flag). During World War II, the Japanese National Ensign was flown on a shorter staff aft of the island on the flight deck of Japanese carriers. It was from such a mast, constructed by Twentieth-Century Fox, that the Japanese flag was flown during filming aboard the U.S.S. *Yorktown* while the American Ensign flew from its appropriate mast.

Twentieth-Century Fox personnel who portrayed the Japanese sailors aboard the U.S.S. *Yorktown* during the filming of the Japanese sequence were, with the exception of about three people, all off duty Marine personnel from El Toro Marine Air Station. They were hired because they knew how to handle aircraft on a carrier. Because of safety requirements, the Landing Signal Officer and Flight Deck Officer, members of the U.S.S. *Yorktown* crew, were asked to be on deck during launching of the Twentieth-Century Fox aircraft. They were dressed in Japanese uniforms, as was one additional Japanese-American sailor employed as an extra.

Assistance to the motion picture producers

is one of the various means the Department of Defense employs to ensure that the public is informed about military mission and activities, and that their portrayal is authentic, realistic and responsible, within the bounds of dramatic license. Such assistance is a long-standing procedure within the military services.

I hope this information will assist you in answering the query from your constituent, Mr. D. R. Simon. If I can be of further assistance, please call me.

Sincerely yours,

L. R. GEIS,
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy Chief of Information.

WELFARE

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the *Christian Science Monitor* has been featuring an informative series of articles on children in trouble and today I would like to place in the RECORD an article in that series written by Howard James entitled, "The Welfare System: How Fair to a Child?" In this particular article, Mr. James examines the flaws in the present welfare system and suggests that the time has come for new approaches.

For some time now I have been advocating a thorough review and reevaluation of our welfare system, feeling that the present system has to a very large degree perpetuated poverty instead of ending it. It is the child born in poverty who is cheated because he does not receive adequate food, education, and proper motivation to take a place in American society. I urgently request my colleagues to read the article which follows:

[From the *Christian Science Monitor*,
June 7-9, 1969]

THE WELFARE SYSTEM—HOW FAIR TO A CHILD?
(By Howard James)

(NOTE.—The child from a home receiving welfare money often ends up behind bars. A statistic in the welfare population, he is allocated dollars, but no real help with the personal or environmental problems that may send him to prison. Many experts feel the whole welfare concept needs an overhaul. The following article examines the flaws in the present system and suggests new approaches.)

Marilyn, 14, was deeply depressed.

It had been mid-August when she and her 16-year-old brother were picked up by the police. Both had been living in a mobile home where their father, a retired Army sergeant, had abandoned them. The police had hauled the youngsters off to the Phoenix detention center—a crowded, shabby jail for children.

The court found Marilyn to be dependent and turned her over to the welfare department. Two months later she was still in detention. In those two months a caseworker had visited Marilyn only once. Now that caseworker was on vacation and could not be reached.

Eventually the police found her mother, an alcoholic, in a saloon. She was in no condition to care for her children. Nor did she have a right to take them, for the judge had given them to their father during a divorce some months before.

"Dad was never home," Marilyn says. "And when he did come home he was drunk. About

two weeks before he left he caught me with a boy. He beat me and threw my boy friend and my brother's girl friend out.

"Then one day me and my brother were sittin' in the living room and Dad said 'I'm gonna take off—if I don't I'll go crazy.' He got his clothes and gave each of us \$5 and left. Somebody called the police. I been here ever since."

While Marilyn was locked up, Mrs. Hazel Bell, a concerned probation officer, kept calling the welfare department.

GIRL'S RANCH SUGGESTED

"I know it's hard to find a foster home for a teen-age girl like Marilyn," Mrs. Bell says, "I suggested that they place her at a girl's ranch. Just before [the welfare worker] went on vacation she said she would try."

At least Marilyn was getting dental care—paid for by welfare. A very plain girl with a poor complexion, Marilyn was especially ashamed of her teeth.

Alan Margolin, state director of the Arizona Division of Child Welfare, at first denied that children were being locked up by his department for two months or more. Later he called it a "communications breakdown," explaining that he had ordered dependent and neglected children removed from detention.

He also complained that the Arizona Welfare Department has neither enough money, proper facilities, nor staff to care for children in trouble—especially those who have had contact with police. Many, he said, were being found delinquent in court just to have a place to put them.

"We had a four-year-old boy who was committed to the state as a delinquent," he says. "He needed help, and it was the only way we could get services."

This four-year-old was the youngest "delinquent" child found in this newspaper's study. But thousands of other youngsters have been locked up across the nation because welfare departments have nowhere to send them.

Welfare departments have dual roles: One set of social workers hands out money, then plays "policeman" checking on people who are given doles. (This is slowly changing.) Other social workers are assigned to protect and assist children through child-care services. Too often the money hand doesn't know what the child-care hand is doing.

WIDESPREAD LACK OF FUNDS

Child care has long been the province of private agencies—usually church sponsored. But these agencies lack funds, staff, and other means to deal with problems of the magnitude found in our nation today.

Sponsoring churches are having their own struggles. Beyond this, it is often pointed out that Protestants have never provided services to children on the scale offered by Roman Catholics and Jews. Especially neglected are Negro children.

Nor have public child-care agencies been able to do the job. While almost all of the case workers assigned are compassionate, concerned, dedicated, they lack the means to help children. Facing an extremely critical shortage of foster homes and with almost no way to upgrade existing homes, they tend to function as placement people—searching for openings in the overpacked private child-care facilities.

The money hand of welfare—the division that gives out money—tends to perpetuate poverty instead of ending it. At best a welfare dole offers little more than survival—enough money to keep you from starving; a little clothing to protect you from the weather; grim shelter so that you do not have to sleep in doorways.

Public welfare is a promise that has not been kept. People flounder in squalor generation after generation. Many, interviews show, see themselves as worthless, unwanted, defeated. This feeling is quickly absorbed by the

children of poverty. And these are the children who too often end up in jail, reform school, or prison.

WHAT ABOUT TAXPAYERS?

Many American taxpayers seem not to understand this. They are too busy being angry at welfare mothers to give much thought to children in trouble.

Too few people seem to realize that large numbers of women on welfare were themselves deprived and damaged as children; that they have been abandoned by the men who fathered their youngsters; and that little girls growing up in welfare homes may soon draw welfare checks of their own because large numbers have babies in their early teens.

Little attention is paid to the boys who sire these children—young men from the middle class as well as welfare families—"sowing wild oats." Few of these boys are old enough, or well educated enough, to support their offspring—even if someone held them responsible.

This writer found welfare children are fed, half-clothed, more or less housed, but too seldom helped. And frustrated welfare workers are first to acknowledge this as they fight their way through governmental paperwork and red tape.

These children in trouble live in the shadow of the myths believed by taxpayers who do not understand—citizens who seem unaware that billions of tax dollars go for war spending; soaring educational costs; highway building; a wide variety of projects and "needs," created by public demand; pork-barreling by politicians who know spending tax dollars will get them reelected; and the ballooning federal bureaucracy.

In one year the United States spends \$28.8 billion on the Vietnam war—enough to support AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) for 11 years.

MYTHS HARD TO PIN DOWN

It is difficult to pin down the myths that have sprung up; harder to convince those who believe them that they are mistaken. Myths that scheming women produce illegitimate children so they can make enough profit to buy luxuries like color television. Or that able-bodied men sit home waiting for the mailman to bring them welfare checks.

One who visits welfare homes finds little evidence to back up these myths—perhaps two or three examples out of a thousand cases studied.

Some officials trace the stories back to memories of programs run during the depression days of the 1930's. Others say there is confusion over welfare and payments for unemployment compensation, social security, medicare, and medicaid.

A spokesman for the Massachusetts Public Welfare Department explains that in some instances people with "some means" have received assistance with medical bills since medicaid went into effect in June of 1967. He tells of a man who received a kidney transplant costing \$15,000. The man was able to "pay about half the bill, while medicaid paid the rest."

There are few able-bodied men on welfare. Men who get doles are usually blind, disabled, or aged.

Edmund McCarthy, a Massachusetts welfare official, tells of how, when he was a welfare supervisor in Lynn, Mass., he was asked by city officials to comb the general-assistance roles for men to help clean streets in the spring.

There were 200 men and women on general assistance in that community of more than 90,000 people. Checking each case he found only three men who could work—one a part-time college student who should have received assistance from some other agency and two men who "were just about capable of following instructions to sweep streets."

All of the other men either had physical problems or were in work or training programs, including a group of alcoholics.

Nor is welfare a program solely for Negroes. The majority on welfare are white.

A federal study shows that there are roughly 9 million white children classified as "poor" in the United States. This compared with 6 million young poverty-stricken Negroes, Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and members of other minority groups.

Of these 15,000,000 poor children, a total of 4,646,000 receive AFDC grants. Another 1,569,000 on AFDC are adults—the vast majority mothers. A few are unemployed fathers.

Can welfare mothers afford color television?

In California a typical welfare mother has two or three children. Her AFDC grant is roughly \$176 a month. Yet a United States Department of Labor study indicates that a family of that size in Los Angeles needs roughly \$350 to \$400 a month to live at what is best described as a very low but decent standard of living.

STATE ALLOWANCES VARY

The typical AFDC mother in New York gets about \$249 a month; in Illinois, \$213; in Michigan \$191; in Texas \$87; and in Alabama \$64. Each state is different—with different standards very loosely tied to some basic federal guidelines.

And yet the Labor Department suggests that in New York City, Detroit, or Chicago a family probably needs between \$300 and \$400 to live at a low level; in Texas and other parts of the South the minimum amount is perhaps closer to \$300 for those living in cities.

What of the larger family?

A mother in Massachusetts gets about \$6.75 a week extra for each child under the age of seven—less than \$1 a day. For those 7 to 12, she gets less than \$10 a week; and for those between the ages of 13 and 20 she gets roughly \$12 a week. That is to cover all expenses—food, shelter, furniture, clothing, school money (medical costs are not included).

Some states provide slightly more but most pay less, with Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas providing only a few cents a day.

Most citizen complaints come from people who "know someone" who saw a welfare mother cashing a check in a supermarket. To the woman running a cash register for \$60 or \$70 a week, a check from a woman with a large family can seem huge. A woman with a dozen children in the states in the higher range may receive a monthly dole of \$500 and more. Yet based on subsistence standards, most welfare mothers receive less than they need.

COMPLAINTS—AND DEMANDS

Those who complain about welfare doles also demand that welfare mothers be as good or even better money managers than typical housewives. This, of course, is not realistic.

Further, I found prices in slum stores higher than in middle-class neighborhoods. And women on welfare must too often deal with "easy-credit" shysters for major purchases. Many pay double or triple fair-market value for shoddy furniture that will fall apart before the last payment is made. (These stores are often the first targets in a riot.)

Many welfare mothers behave in a manner unacceptable to middle-class society—which expects them not only to be exceptional money managers, but to be extremely virtuous. Some welfare mothers drink heavily. Others have casual affairs with men. These women live in ways not too different from that depicted on the afternoon television soap operas—except that welfare mothers live at the poverty level, rather than in middle-class homes.

One cannot condone this behavior in the poor any more than it should be approved of in the middle class. But listening to welfare mothers talk at least helps one understand why they behave as they do. For they are a product of their environment.

"It's common to have a man to help supplement the income," says Sherron Cleveland, a welfare mother and president of the Citizens Advisory Board for a welfare office on the west side of Chicago. "Maybe for months you eat nothin' but beans, and you decide you want a little bottle of perfume or some toothpaste. Along comes some man who says, 'I like you, how about my coming to see you.' So you let him because he'll bring you something nice.

"He may come over just once, or you may see him a few times a week for a year or two. I could name 20 welfare mothers I know, and 17 are having sex with one man, or more than one. They're searching for love, companionship—the things any woman wants.

"And if your children are going hungry—and a lot of children are here—well, I guess if you're a real mother you'll do almost anything to put food in their mouths."

Outside her window it was bedlam—children without a proper place to play—screaming, fighting, throwing stones.

"I want to go to work," she says. "When I'm home I'm irritable—I can't seem to help my children. But I'm forced to stay home because there's nobody to take care of my children. If I could get out and work, when I came home at night I'd feel like helping my kids. I can't stand this," she said gesturing at the neighborhood, the noise, the confusion, the squalor.

YOU GOT TO GET AWAY

A neighbor who has dropped in gives her views.

"You don't have cleanser to do house-cleaning right. We know how to clean houses—we been doin' it for you people [whites] long enough. But I reach for cleanser in a store and I know I'm takin' food out of my baby's mouth, and I got to decide which child won't get fed.

"A mother's got to get away from her broken-down apartment with the rats and roaches. A welfare mother gets so little she can't give her kids the things the kids next door get. You get tired of giving them hand-me-down shoes. You have all you can take of rats and roaches and kids, and you go find a man who'll buy you something to drink.

"What goes on here affects everything you do. It affects your mind. You can't think straight when you live like this, and if you don't want to go crazy you gotta get outa here, so you find some man. What we really need is good jobs and day-care centers."

Mrs. Cleveland is excited now.

"Even if you didn't want to work, maybe you need an hour without all the crying and yelling—an hour just to sit in a bathtub and feel like a woman.

"But if we had a proper center it would have to be a place where you don't just leave the kids. It should be a place where they learn something."

These are the things welfare mothers want for their children: day-care centers with education for preschoolers; good schools; job opportunities; a decent place to live; a place for youngsters to go other than on street corners. The same things any mother wants.

David L. Daniel, who heads the Cook County Department of Public Aid, says a few days ago his office asked women on AFDC if they were willing to work. Of 4,400 replies, some 2,500 mothers said they could solve their child-care problems themselves and that they wanted to go to work.

NEED FOR JOBS DISCUSSED

Mr. Daniel's office invited in Chicago businessmen to discuss the need for jobs for welfare mothers. The 34 firms that came to the meeting pledged 500 jobs—often including job training. When welfare officials sent in 300 job orders these firms hired 200 women.

He suggests that finding work for welfare mothers may be one answer to breaking the cycle of poverty. Yet proper facilities for children while the mother works are essential, he adds. Many who say they have places for their children to go would leave the youngsters "with a neighbor, an old grandma, or an immature baby sitter." And a major reason for welfare mothers to quit work is the failure of child care to work out," he adds.

While mothers working may solve some problems, new ones are created. As has been pointed out in this series, many children in trouble gave gotten in trouble in their own homes when the mother is out. And youngsters wandering the streets are the most delinquency prone.

Rural problems are not too different from those of the city—except that there is more fresh air and play space for children.

Mrs. Evelyn Smith is a welfare worker in Rock Springs, Wyo. She finds white women the hardest to reach because they are "functioning just enough to stay out of the mental hospital."

"I've worked in three counties," she says. "The few Negroes we have still have desires and wants and are willing to fight for them. The Spanish Americans know they will make it. But the whites are really at the bottom. Many live on the fringes of towns, and they are almost completely invisible. Some whites don't react at all when you go into their homes—they don't even get angry. They are completely flat."

I discovered the poor behave in very similar ways regardless of race. Mrs. Smith finds the same things in Wyoming that I observed in every state I visited.

Families on welfare—especially whites—have an "overwhelming feeling of insecurity—a feeling of inadequacy of their own personality," she says. "They find it difficult to relate to other people meaningfully."

HOMES MISERABLE

Most of the homes are "miserable," she adds. The women usually "act out sexually—sometimes sleeping with whatever man is interested." And they "pass their problems on to their daughters."

It is clear that money really isn't the whole answer to families in trouble. This is why the guaranteed annual wage—presently being considered by the Nixon administration—will not alone solve the welfare problem.

Most welfare officials agree with this. But they add that with a guaranteed annual wage they would have more time to resolve their clients' deep-rooted problems instead of being accountants and detectives.

Playing this unpleasant role is a major reason why so many young college graduates leave the welfare departments.

Mrs. Wilda Mooney, who heads the Garfield District office on the west side of Chicago—which covers an eight-square-block area housing between 9,000 and 10,000 people, roughly a third of them on welfare—is budgeted for 40 caseworkers. She has 29.

"Many of our people are very idealistic when they come to us," she says. "But then they find out they have discouragingly large caseloads; the pressures are high; the paperwork almost overwhelming; and they have very little time to work with people as individuals."

Pay is a problem. In Chicago a young college graduate starts at \$550 a month. Other agencies—schools, probation, mental health—are competing for the same workers. The family court starts probation officers at \$700 a month.

Many social workers aren't really social workers—they have degrees in music, liberal arts, or some other subject. Most come from middle-class homes and have little idea what it is like to be hungry or to live in teeming squalor. While many are both dedicated and idealistic, others—especially some of the men—are misfits trying to find themselves.

Emotionally they may have as many problems as their clients, sometimes more.

And while the best may see a welfare mother once or twice a month—even more often—few have time to work with children. Nor can they do much to solve the problems of the families.

TOO LITTLE TIME FOR CASUALTIES

"We go from one emergency to another," says Eugene McKenna, assistant director of child welfare in Greeley, Colo. "There is a strong correlation between ADC families and delinquency. We get the families when their problems begin, but all we do is work with symptoms. There are things we would like to try, but we need smaller caseloads."

In New York City, Commissioner Jack R. Goldberg says essentially the same thing.

"We are really treating only the symptoms," he says. "We have not put enough time into casualties."

"We call the welfare system a 'helping' system, but primarily we dispense money. And that is not really rehabilitative. Money in and of itself isn't enough. And yet we need more money to do the things that really need to be done.

"What we see of institutionalization of kids tells us this isn't the answer. The choice is either to maintain the child and his family or provide a substitute family. We have too long tended to rely on institutions. They cost a great deal and give very little.

"We've got to strengthen what family there is for these youngsters. The answer is to be selective—to discover which children can be helped at home and which ones should go into foster homes.

DEPARTMENT CHALLENGED

"That brings up another point. We've got to juice up the pay for foster parents. We've got to get more foster homes. And better foster homes. Some are as ugly as sin."

Mr. Goldberg sees welfare working more closely with schools to prevent delinquency and end the poverty cycle.

"How do you help the poor family get into the mainstream of American life? We've got to do a better job of preparing the kids for the work world. He turns 11 or so, and he begins to see everybody older dropping out of school. Somebody has to pick him up at this point, because this is where these kids start to fall through the crack. Either the school has to pick him up or they have to bring us in."

While foster care is almost always better than cold, overcrowded, brutal institutions, more and more people are challenging the welfare department on their neglect of children placed in these homes. Some girls become unpaid servants; others are mistreated, rejected, and ignored.

Just as youngsters in detention homes and jails are forgotten by caseworkers, so this paper found that those in foster homes may not be seen for months, unless the child runs away or the foster parent complains about the youngster's behavior.

In New York City the welfare department contracts foster-care services with a large number of private agencies—a number of them seriously understaffed. Many of these agencies neglect casework, according to a lengthy memo circulated at a high level in the welfare department but not released to the public.

The memo also points out that the welfare department itself has long neglected "providing casework services to children living with parents or relatives in their own homes."

Then it raises other questions that can be asked nationally:

1. Why is one child in foster care when his brothers and sisters are being cared for by their own parents?

2. If removal of one child involved questions of neglect, are there similar problems with respect to the children remaining at home? Has an evaluation been made cur-

rently of the care being received by the children at home?

3. Conversely, if the parents are providing adequate care for children at home, why do one or more children remain in foster care? Is it possible, through giving parents help with financial or other problems, to return the child in care to his own family?

Far more work must be done with the parents when a child is removed from his natural home. The goal is to upgrade the child's home so that he can be returned.

AID NEEDED FOR PARENTS

Standards for child-care service developed by the Child Welfare League of America note that "it is essential to recognize the conflicting feelings aroused by [the parent's] inability to fulfill the parental role, by the necessity for placing their child away from his own home, and by the child's and their own relationship with the foster family. Appropriate services should be made available to help parents with health, economic, marital, personality, and other problems so that they can resume their parental responsibilities. . . ."

Many, many more good foster homes are needed if children in trouble are to be helped. In New York City, where most children are placed through private agencies, many dependent and neglected children are ignored until their behavior is serious enough to send them to reform school. The memo mentioned earlier reports a shortage of homes for:

"Negro and Puerto Rican infants who are available for adoption or who do not have functioning families.

"Children aged 12 and over who need foster care for the first time. Many remain in shelter or in situations of neglect at home. Older teen-agers may be lodged in furnished rooms without adult care or supervision.

"Children of large family groups. Foster homes are hard to find; several institutions have age limitations or serve boys only or girls only, thus separating brothers and sisters.

"Physically handicapped children. Those who are blind, deaf, have cerebral palsy, or use crutches are not generally accepted, even though otherwise free of problems.

"Children with medical problems, such as diabetes or heart disease, who require special supervision or care.

"Children with serious emotional or psychiatric disorders, especially if diagnosed psychotic, or with history of state-hospital care, or of setting fires.

"Retarded children who are not defective enough for state school but who need special educational planning and help in learning daily tasks.

"Children with a combination of the above characteristics or 'problems.' [The memo might have added all youngsters who have been picked up by police—even for minor charges. This is a problem in nearly every city.]

REORGANIZATION URGED

As already noted, a guaranteed annual wage could provide one step toward improving the operation of welfare departments. This should be set high enough, experts say, so that families can live at more than a subsistence level, yet with incentives to encourage them to help themselves.

But beyond the guaranteed wage, welfare leaders see a need to reorganize the entire public-welfare system. They would like to see all helping services under one umbrella: education; mental health; physical health; counseling; family planning; perhaps even probation and parole.

The juvenile court should be used only as a last resort—if at all. As this series has pointed out, few juvenile judges are prepared to resolve complex family problems and too often solve them in hurting, simplistic ways.

Since all children go to school, the reorga-

nized welfare services should be attached to the school. Each service, including education, should be made available to all parents and children alike. It should be made mandatory (through the court) in extreme cases.

Beyond this, existing services should be expanded: Head Start for preschool children; day care for mothers who must work; and homemaker services for the home that is not functioning as it should.

HOMEMAKER SERVICE USED

Mr. Goldberg, of New York, like so many others, stresses the value of homemaker services as an alternative to taking children from parents.

"It must be broadened and expanded," he says. "Emergency intervention in this way is a significant part of the answer."

In several sections of the country, homemaker services are being used when there is a physical crisis in the home and the mother is ill and cannot clean, cook, and otherwise care for her family.

A booklet issued by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare points out that "losing a parent and being placed in strange surroundings is an unhappy experience for any child. He may become extremely upset or seem apathetic and in a state of shock. Homemaker services allow the child to keep his familiar surroundings rather than experience the hurt of placement during a stressful period in his life."

Not only are these services used when the mother is ill or out of the home, but "in many other situations which upset families: when a new baby arrives; when the mother is absorbed in the care of a member of the family who is seriously ill or handicapped; or when a mother's poor housekeeping skills result in neglect of the children and conflict in her marriage.

"The homemaker is usually a middle-aged, motherly woman, selected for her ability to get along well with others and for her love of children as well as for her housekeeping skills. The agency employing the homemaker gives her some special training, and the child-welfare worker counsels and advises her during the time she is caring for the family. The worker also continues to help the family during the homemaker's stay in the family.

"The length of time a homemaker remains in a family varies with the family's need for her services and agency policies. All variations are found: short-time, long-time, and indefinite arrangements.

CONTINUITY SOUGHT

"The homemaker does not supplant the mother but tries, when possible, to carry on the plan of living that the mother has established. Behind the homemaker service is the idea that the family is important in our society.

"The use of a homemaker can often swing the balance in favor of holding the family together during times of crisis."

Some welfare officials suggest that the homemaker service could be the first step in a career ladder for women who are on welfare and want to work. While being trained to help other families, their care of their own families would improve; and when they begin bringing home a paycheck they become productive members of society, rather than a burden to taxpayers.

The cost of housing one youngster in even a mediocre reform school is, in 1969, roughly \$8,000 a year. One homemaker paid \$5,000 or \$6,000 a year can not only care for several children in one family but may be able to serve two or more families in a year.

And in addition to the institutional cost, other figures in the traditional system must be considered: police, probation, court staff, detention, parole—not to mention the damage a child can do that leads him into the court process, or the damage the court and correctional process does to the child.

Thus an effective homemaker could become

one of the most economical ways to help children in trouble—especially before serious trouble begins. This service is just one suggestion being made.

ADOPTIVE PARENTS AIDED

Michio Suzuki, chief of the social-service division of the California Department of Social Welfare, points out that many children who are in foster care have no homes to return to. He notes the value of giving aid to adoptive parents—people who are good, loving foster parents but are financially unable to adopt and care for a child without outside help.

This reporter found hundreds of children without homes locked up in reform schools longing to call someone "Mom and Dad."

John Ballard, executive director of the private Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, sees traditional welfare falling because society has had a "negative, repressive attitude" toward families in trouble.

"What we spend is too little, and it is pouring money down a rathole," he says, "because of the absence of any caring for that child."

Beyond putting helping services under one roof, he would set goals—not unlike the goal of putting a man on the moon established by the Kennedy administration a few years ago:

Instead of scattered shots—the current antipoverity program's approach—careful, thoughtful planning would follow the goal setting. Then the appropriate steps would be taken—methodically doing what is needed to eliminate hunger, to strengthen the family, to eliminate slum housing, to check crime.

SOLUTION SIGHTED

In this newspaper's year-long study of children in trouble it has become convincingly clear that this—along with greater citizen involvement—may be the solution, the panacea so many people are seeking. And the cost would not be prohibitively high.

There is far too much waste in existing programs—uncorrelated projects full of cracks that children slip through, as Mr. Goldberg points out.

Existing programs are top-heavy administratively, bogged down in producing paper, inefficient.

But the framework for change is available: the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. One solution to much of the paperwork is being considered: the guaranteed annual wage. And effective programs are known: schools like those in Hughson, Calif.; day care and homemaker services; halfway houses, foster homes, and small, specialized institutions like forest camps; and local volunteer, community involvement.

The Nixon administration has already touched on some of these points. But much more is needed.

The Kennedy administration will be remembered for setting a space goal: men on the moon by 1970. That goal is about to be reached. The present administration has an opportunity to be remembered for setting an even more important goal: doing something meaningful about the problems of children in trouble.

TWO MARYLANDERS KILLED IN WAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. Otto P. Barnhart and Pfc. Danny L. Hopkins, two fine young men from Maryland, were recently killed in Vietnam. I would like to commend their

courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

TWO MARYLANDERS KILLED IN WAR—MARINE FROM ANNAPOLIS AND ARMY SPECIALIST LISTED

A 19-year-old Annapolis marine, the youngest of nine children, was killed in action Sunday in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

The Pentagon also announced yesterday that an Army helicopter crew chief from Hancock, Md., was killed in April when the aircraft was downed by ground fire. He had originally been listed as missing.

The dead were:

Army Spec. 4 Otto P. Barnhart, 21, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Barnhart, Jr., of Orchard Ridge road, Hancock.

Marine Pfc. Danny L. Hopkins, 19, the son of James Hopkins, of Edgewater, Md., and Mrs. Margaret Hopkins, of Annapolis.

Private Hopkins, a 1968 graduate of Wiley Bates High School in Annapolis, joined the Marine Corps last August and was assigned to Vietnam four months ago.

LANDMINE EXPLOSION

The Defense Department said he was hit by fragments of an exploding landmine while on patrol eight miles north of Cam Lo in Quang Tri province Sunday.

In addition to his parents, Private Hopkins is survived by five brothers, Charles E., James H., Thomas L., and John McC., all of Annapolis, and Sgt. Robert Hopkins, with the army in Korea, and by three sisters, Mrs. Sarah Evans and Mrs. Helen A. Johnson, of Annapolis, and Mrs. Dorothy Davis, of Edgewater.

Specialist Barnhart had been in Vietnam only a month when he was killed as his helicopter was hit by heavy ground fire while on patrol from Bal Phu, on the morning of April 23, near Da Nang, the Army said.

The Hancock soldier was originally listed as missing in action until his body was recovered last week.

PROUD OF HIS PROMOTION

Specialist Barnhart, a member of the 101st Airborne Division, joined the Army in January, 1968, and was transferred to Vietnam in late March this year.

He had written his parents proudly of his promotion to crew chief of his helicopter. "He didn't mind the Army a bit," his mother said yesterday. "And he was always happy when he could work with motors and engines and mechanical things."

Specialist Barnhart attended Hancock High School before going to work almost five years ago for a garage there. "He wanted to eventually have his own garage," his mother said.

In addition to his parents, Specialist Barnhart is survived by two brothers, Leroy and Edward, both of Orchard Ridge outside of Hancock, and a sister, Mrs. Janice Fink, also of Hancock.

DESPAIR HANDMAIDEN OF NIHILISM AT TRINITY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, how to go from bad to worse is recounted in the following dismal tale of retreat to nihilism at Trinity College. If the reported facts of the Lockwood-Fuller administration are accurate those having any stakes in this once proud educational institution ought to give these men the heave-ho without delay.

Then, perhaps, it would be in order to close the college long enough to arrange to reopen it under a new college administration in which there was an articulated, intelligent and responsible definition of college policy and provision for agreement between the college and all incoming students on standards of conduct and conditions for expulsion with forfeiture of tuition.

Then despair might be ended at Trinity.

The article referred to follows:

THE BLEAK DESPAIR OF TRINITY COLLEGE

(By Ward Just)

HARTFORD, CONN.—In April of 1968, 160 students of Trinity College seized the administration building and held it for four hours; it was the first such seizure on an American campus, but overshadowed by the events at Columbia, which followed two days later. It was the more notable at Trinity because the 27 trustees of the College were meeting in the building at the time, and the students refused to let them leave. At issue was increased scholarship aid for black students.

The presidency of the College was held then by Albert C. Jacobs, a close-mouthed, secretive official, then 68 and ailing, who had had the job since 1954. Jacobs fought the conservative trustees, who wanted to summarily fire all 160 rebels. By the opening term of the 1968-1969 school year all was quiet. Jacobs was succeeded by Theodore Lockwood, 42, the former dean of faculty at Union College, who brought with him a very young and energetic assistant, Robert Fuller. What Lockwood and Fuller found was a demoralized faculty and an apathetic student body, an underweight financial structure, and a general crisis of confidence in the future of the school. Reluctantly backed by the trustees, Lockwood instituted a dazzling variety of changes meant to transform the genteel campus known as the "University of Virginia of the North." Among other things, Trinity is now a college without formal structure.

Next year, there will be no academic requirements of any kind; a student will be free to choose his course of study—or, as the catalogue puts it, be "ultimately responsible for the determination of his academic program." An exchange program with Vassar this year has opened the college to women, with the practical result of an abandonment of parietals; next year, the college goes fully co-ed. Though rules regarding liquor exist, they are unenforced. The "drug scene," as they say, flourishes—though it is probably no greater than at any other Connecticut college. In one of his first acts as president, Lockwood established the Trinity College Council, a body composed of four students, four faculty, and four administrators, to advise him on matters affecting the community. Last month, as if to prove its radical bona fides, the TCC voted to abolish ROTC on the campus. More important, the principle for which the students agitated last year has been acknowledged: there are five blacks in next year's senior class, eight in the junior class, ten in the sophomore class—and 26, nearly 10 percent of the total freshman enrollment, entering next year.

The 30 or so black students attending the college now are, by all accounts, sullen and unhappy. They are not entirely united, and this year have pressed few demands on the college. They lead separate lives, with a black social club along Fraternity Row on Vernon Street and an exclusive existence in Hartford itself. Next year, with the addition of 26 more blacks, there is certain to be something approximating an explosion. Trinity, despite its SDS nucleus, is still too white, too middle class, too complacent, too traditional in its teaching style to readily accom-

modate the black experience. What will happen, according to radical students and faculty, is that the blacks will coalesce and demonstrate for keeps. Once committing itself to blacks, the College can do no less than attempt to seriously relate to them. But it will not be able to afford to meet their demands.

The last is said literally. Trinity College has an endowment of \$13 million, and faculty salaries are among the lowest of the top-ranked private colleges in the country; they are low enough so that the College is obliged to dip into the increased tuition revenues next year to increase them. A full professor makes \$18,000, and associate professors are at \$14,000 or \$12,000. By contrast, Amherst has a \$56 million endowment (plus another \$26 million for its library alone), and Trinity's ancient rival, Wesleyan, has more than \$100 million. "It won't make any difference what the blacks demonstrate for, whether it is justified or not," one of the most liberal faculty members said the other day. "They won't get it, for the simple reason that if it costs money the College can't afford it."

A mordant comment, that. Introspective faculty and students agree that the College has deliberately set a time bomb in its midst with the commitment to the blacks. Nearly everyone here who thinks about it at all hails the decent instincts which brought the college to its decision, but so depressed are some at its likely outcome that already it is predicted that Trinity in the not-too-distant future must either (1) affiliate with the University of Connecticut or (2) frankly make its commitment to the rich, and hike tuition costs accordingly. Costs increase at 7 per cent a year; much of the plant is run down; faculty salaries *must* be increased; student accommodations on campus are grossly overcrowded.

A kind of bleak despair has settled over some of the brightest faculty, for they see no exit. Many of the brightest students await what one of them calls "the apocalypse" with something almost approaching glee—"this place is so desperately second-rate," one of them said. Rushing pell-mell into an uncertain future, President Lockwood has instituted some reforms before the students even asked for them. Rules are abolished, with nothing erected to take their place. Questioned about it, both Lockwood and Fuller declare that the student today is different from the student of ten or twenty years ago. "These students are ready to assume responsibility," Fuller said.

WE MUST LOWER THE VOTING AGE TO 18

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, rarely in our history has it been so imperative that we recognize a new political constituency in the United States.

The constituency of which I speak may very well hold the key to America's future chances for survival; it certainly does hold the key to America's future chances for success.

It is a constituency composed of men and women who for too long have been denied an effective means of participation in the political process. Yet none can deny that this group has been loud and clear in asking for the right to that meaningful participation.

Members of this constituency now fight on the battlefields of Vietnam, stand watch over our liberties on foreign shores, prepare their minds for future leadership roles in all areas of the national life, and actively pursue vocations in all fields of human endeavor.

Mr. Speaker, the group to which I refer is the youth of our Nation. The American of age 18 must be "politically recognized" and given the right to vote.

The young American today is better prepared, better equipped, and better able to bear the responsibility of the franchise than any generation before. We have provided the finest educational facilities in the world for these young people and, consequently, we have produced a highly motivated, talented, and imaginative group of citizens. Shall we not, then, take advantage of the fruits of our own labors rather than ignoring a benefit which we have sacrificed so much to create?

There is nothing magic in the number "21." In fact, our allegiance to this age level as the mark of political maturity springs from the common law English custom of bestowing knighthood on young men only after they reached 21 years of age. What may have been good for "merry old England" is not necessarily wise for a new and troubled America.

Mr. Speaker, voices raised in opposition to a lower voting age point to campus disturbances in justification; young Americans, these voices proclaim, are irresponsible dissidents who would rather toss stones at deans than put ballots in a box. This is, at best, ad hominem logic. The vast majority of our young citizens have no taste or agreement for those who would tear apart the fabric of American society under the guise of revolutionary rhetoric. The vast majority of young America is constructive in its desire to rebuild, revitalize, and reform our national life. I do not look to those few who would destroy our society for my guidance on this point; rather, I look to the countless numbers of young who would create to prove my argument. I look to the thousands of Americans in the Peace Corps, in VISTA, in social projects throughout this country and the world—it is this sight which should inspire us all.

If we do not provide the channels for effective political participation, then we only give credence to the words of irresponsible elements who attempt to influence the young by contending that there is no opportunity to work for reform within the system; these elements point to the lack of the franchise as their prime example. Unless we are willing to further amplify the horns of these latter-day pied pipers, then our course is clear; the voting age must be lowered, and lowered now.

Mr. Speaker, the movement of American political history has always been towards broadening the base of our national democracy. At various intervals in our history, the Nation has recognized the need to extend the franchise to previously disenfranchised groups. As I stated earlier, rarely has the need been so obvious and so real as with the case of young America today.

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I believe in the youth of our country, and because of this belief I am confident of America's future. I believe that our youth ought to have a voice in shaping their destiny and moving our Nation. Accordingly, I have been introducing legislation which would lower the national voting age to 18. I am hopeful that this legislation will become law during this session of the Congress. I intend to make every effort to see that it does.

Many of our States have taken the initiative in submitting the question of a lower voting age to the people. I am proud to point out that my own State of New Jersey recently adopted a resolution calling for a lower voting age and has put the question on the ballot in referendum. It is time the Federal Government put this question to the people across our country.

Mr. Speaker, let us not be blind to the opportunities which lie ahead. Let us have the intelligence and insight to see the other side of the so-called "campus revolt." Let us now extend the franchise to the young American that he might take his rightful place as a full citizen. As America serves its youth, so will its youth serve America.

A SERVICEMAN VIEWS THE RADICALS

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, a young man from my district, who is serving aboard the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga* in the waters off South Vietnam, has movingly expressed what the war in Vietnam is all about. In a letter to the editor of the *Johnstown Tribune Democrat*, he also informs us about what most servicemen must feel when they read and hear about the campus cowards, who are trying to destroy the educational institutions that our servicemen are protecting with their lives.

Seaman Jardina's letter is timely and instructive. Although it is directed to his friends and neighbors in Johnstown, Pa., its message is clear and pertinent to all citizens.

The letter follows:

A VIEW OF HOME FROM VIETNAM

An article from a Detroit newspaper caused much concern among my shipmates and myself aboard the aircraft carrier, USS *Ticonderoga*. The "Tico", as we've been nicknamed, is operating off the coast of Vietnam providing around-the-clock air support for your sons and my younger brother fighting in the jungles of Vietnam.

We're out at sea for months at a time; therefore, a newspaper from someone's hometown or a letter from home means a great deal to the morale of a sailor. Naturally, when we read across the pages and notice an article such as one where even the parents and the local board of education have consented to the flying of a militant flag with our Stars and Stripes, my shipmates and I can't help wondering if our own neighborhoods are acting as blindly, foolishly and with apathy as the parents, and supposedly other responsible groups, have acted. Is this

despotism spreading? If so, who will stop it?

I am a resident of the Oakhurst district of Johnstown and my absence from the Friendly City has actually made me wonder if this viscous insertion of radicals and campus militants will spread to my hometown or to the college that I plan to attend upon completion of my military service obligation, or should I say privilege, because, indeed, my shipmates and I are working as a team to stop this spread of the same disease on this side of the world before it reaches you back home; and we're proud that we're here!

How about you back home? You, as a member of the PTA, or you, a member of the board of education, and what about you, the men and women active in our city government—are you working for the people? And especially you, the parent. Please take an interest in your teenager's activities! Then perhaps your son over here in the Tonkin Gulf or the jungles of Vietnam will be able to return home from this far and very lonely battlefield to his own community of responsible and devoted Americans . . . God willing.

MICHAEL A. JARDINA,
SN, USN.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY—A VOICE FOR OUR TIMES

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, June 6, 1969, marked the first anniversary of the tragic murder of Robert F. Kennedy. In the midst of a hard-fought campaign in which he sought to bind up the wounds that trouble us, he was struck down by an assassin's bullet.

In the year that has followed, these wounds have become worse—they have not healed. Our campuses have been wracked with violence and turmoil. Disorder has plagued our cities and towns. The most ominous sign has been the growing use of firearms and physical violence. The clashes between the dissenters and those who are trying to find solutions to the tough problems that lead to dissent are marked by violence—not reason.

I believe that Robert Kennedy would have deplored this violence. More than others he recognized the sources of the discontent that moves our young and our poor. More than others he urged that we act—not talk—but act to redress these wrongs. But he did not believe that violence by any individual or group, those wronged or those wronging or those attempting to maintain stability, served a useful purpose.

Robert Kennedy spoke of violence with an eloquence that will be hard to match in a speech in Cleveland. This speech followed the assassination of Martin Luther King. As words of advice to a troubled country and in memory of Robert Kennedy, I am placing the text of his remarks in the *Record* at this point:

SPEECH BY ROBERT KENNEDY AT THE CITY CLUB IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL 5, 1968

This is a time of shame and sorrow. It is not a day for politics. I have saved this one

opportunity to speak briefly to you about this mindless menace of violence in America which again stains our land and every one of our lives.

It is not the concern of any one race. The victims of the violence are black and white, rich and poor, young and old, famous and unknown. They are, most important of all, human beings whom other human beings loved and needed. No one—can be certain who will suffer from some senseless act of bloodshed. And yet it goes on and on.

Why? What has violence ever accomplished?

What has it ever created? No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet. No wrongs have ever been righted by riots and civil disorders. A sniper is only a coward, not a hero, and an uncontrolled, uncontrollable mob is only the voice of madness, not the voice of the people.

Whenever any American's life is taken by another American unnecessarily—whether it is done in the name of the law or in the defiance of law, by one man or a gang, in cold blood or in passion, in an attack of violence or in response to violence—whenever we tear at the fabric of life which another man has painfully and clumsily woven for himself and his children, the whole nation is degraded.

"Among free men," said Abraham Lincoln, "there can be no successful appeal from the ballots to the bullet; and those who take gun appeal are sure to lose their cause and pay the costs." Yet we seemingly tolerate a rising level of violence that ignores our common humanity and our claims to civilization alike. We calmly accept newspaper reports of civilian slaughter in far-off lands. We glorify killing on movie and television screens and call it entertainment. We make it easy for men of all shades of sanity to acquire whatever weapons and ammunition they desire.

Too often we honor swagger and bluster and the wielders of force, too often we excuse those who are willing to build their own lives on the shattered dreams of others. Some Americans who preach nonviolence abroad fall to practice it here at home. Some who accuse others of inciting riots have by their own conduct invited them. Some look for scape-goats, others look for conspiracies, but this much is clear; violence breeds violence, repression brings retaliation, and only a cleaning of our whole society can remove this sickness from our soul.

For there is another kind of violence, slower but just as deadly, destructive as the shot or the bomb in the night. This is the violence of institutions; indifference and inaction and slow decay. This is the violence that affects the poor, that poisons relations between men because their skin has different colors. This is a slow destruction of a child by hunger, and schools without books and homes without heat in the winter.

There is the breaking of a man's spirit by denying him the chance to stand as a father and as a man among other men. And this too afflicts us all. I have not come here to propose a set of specific remedies nor is there a single set. From a broad and adequate outline we know what must be done. When you teach a man to hate and fear his brother, when you teach that he is a lesser man because of his color or his beliefs or the policies he pursues, when you teach that those who differ from you threaten your freedom or your job or your family, then you also learn to confront others not as fellow citizens but as enemies—to be met not with cooperation but with conquest, to be subjugated and mastered.

We learn, at the last, to look at our brothers as aliens, men with whom we share a city, but not a community, men bound to us in common dwelling, but not in common effort. We learn to share only a common fear—only a common desire to retreat from each other—only a common impulse to meet dis-

agreement with force. For all this there are no final answers. Yet we know what we must do. It is to achieve true justice among our fellow citizens. The question is whether we can find in our own midst and in our own hearts that leadership of human purpose that will recognize the terrible truths of our existence.

We must admit the vanity of our false distinctions among men and learn to find our own advancement in the search for the advancement of all. We must admit in ourselves that our own children's future cannot be built on the misfortunes of others. We must recognize that this short life can neither be ennobled or enriched by hatred or revenge. Our lives on this planet are too short and the work to be done too great to let this spirit flourish any longer in our land.

Of course, we cannot vanquish it with a program, nor with a resolution. But we can perhaps remember even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short movement of life, that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can. Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men and surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

THE WABASH CANNONBALL HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Barbara Stanton, a sensitive writer for the Detroit Free Press, bids farewell to a great train, the Wabash Cannonball, Detroit to St. Louis. It is a beautiful piece of writing, and for those of you who have ridden a train, it is an interesting piece of writing. I commend it to your attention:

[From the Detroit Free Press, June 8, 1969]
THE LAST OF THE JINGLE, THE RUMBLE, THE ROAR: WATCH AS A LEGEND DIES. THE WABASH CANNONBALL, DETROIT TO ST. LOUIS, MAY SOON BE ONLY A SONG. THEY CALL IT PROGRESS.

(By Barbara Stanton)

Once there was a freight train called the Wabash Cannonball. It went so fast that when it stopped it was still going 65 miles an hour, and it stretched so long that the first steer aboard was a steak in Chicago while they were still loading the last car at Kansas City.

It ran from 1884 to 1897 between Chicago and Kansas City and for a while between St. Louis and Omaha, and now it goes from Detroit to St. Louis. It never really rushed from the great Atlantic Ocean to the wide Pacific Shore, nor from the sweet old flowy mountain to the southbelt by the moor, but folksong said it did, and song means more to the soul than where the rails ran.

In 1950, the Wabash Railway relived the name for the Detroit-St. Louis passenger run. Now the Norfolk and Western Railway, which merged with the Wabash in 1964, will discontinue the Cannonball on the Fourth of July, unless the Interstate Commerce Commission intervenes. People don't ride the train anymore, says the N&W: The Cannonball lost \$1.1 million in 1967-68.

"I ride the train between Detroit and St.

Louis five times a year," Wayne Kohlwe, a government executive, testified at an ICC hearing.

"Are you what is commonly described as a railroad buff?" asked the N&W attorney.

"Yes," said Kohlwe.

"That's all," said the attorney.

The Cannonball starts the 10-hour, 488-mile run to St. Louis in the damp and steamy smell of Union Station on Fort Street, slipping out of Detroit an hour after dawn while the city is still and the river is a flat grey ribbon left of the tracks: three worn cars and a diesel engine bearing a legendary name into oblivion.

"I think it's a terrible shame," says Viola Stefanich, a friendly redhaired woman bound for Dallas. "I don't like it at all. I signed a petition to keep it on. What will the old folks do when they take it off. I'm too old to join the jet set and the bus is so inconvenient—oh, look! Isn't this beautiful?"

It's the Rouge River, slate green with sludge and chemicals, but in the morning light a magic mirror for the slag heaps and sheds along its banks.

When you are 10 years old, there is only one way to travel: Up in the vestibule between the cars, leaning out an open window when the brakeman isn't looking, tearing over the earth at a furious speed with the trainwhistle howling in your ears and the crows racing the car toward Adrian.

"Oh look, wowie, another fire, you can see it, you can smell it," shouted Ray Eldridge as the Cannonball roared past a spreading brush fire. "I know why we're going so fast," he said. "Why?" "Because we lost five minutes at the station back there and we have to make up the time." Pensive. "Why are they going to tear this train down?" "Because they say not enough people ride it." "If they told people about it and let them know where it's going they'd get a lot more people."

Once it was a fine thing to be a railroad man, leaning out into the wind at a thousand small towns, swinging easy off the train with the sunlight flashing off your vestbuttons and your watch chain lying heavy and important on your chest. You were a traveling man who rode the world on silver rails, and along hundreds of rushing miles the small boys watched you with awe and envy and the hot breath of the engine left a score of grass-fires licking in your wake.

"I could have retired two years ago," said Chester Banks, the 67-year-old conductor. "But I thought now that I'm finally here I'd like to see what the passenger run is like for a while. I was on the freights for so many years, you see. That's first on, first off, and you never know when you go to work where you're going to be that night. You got to wait your turn for the passenger train, the oldest man in service gets it. The last man before me on the Cannonball, he was 72 when he retired two years ago."

"It was a good job when I started. I don't have any training now, you see, for another job. And when you get a family, you've got to keep them, so you keep on the job. I think they should keep it on, the Cannonball, for the public. It makes no difference to me, I'm going to retire soon. But I think they owe it to the public to keep the trains on."

"Did you meet Mrs. Chapman?" asked Viola Stefanich, who has met everyone. Outside, the redwinged blackbirds are wheeling over the stubble, showing their scarlet shoulders to the train. Every wheatfield is by Thomas Hart Benton, every lonely upright farmhouse by Edward Hopper, and 30 yards away an Amish boy in a black hat and suspenders swings on a farmgate and waves wildly at the train. "Mrs. Chapman got on the train in Montpelier," said Mrs. Stefanich. "She's 72 and she takes this train once a week to shop in Fort Wayne. She's been riding it 40 years. What's she going to do now?"

At Huntington, Indiana, the Cannonball picks up the Wabash River, a muddy spill of brown water brimming with the spring runoff. From here to the Illinois line, the Wabash and the train that bears its name will never be very far apart, crossing each other's paths as they roll southwest through the countryside.

The willows on the Wabash are yellow with new life, but off in the fields leafless trees still march in bony windbreaks across the young April landscape. It is spring in Indiana; a pink sow trots away in terror as the Cannonball comes hooting through the fields, a young foal romps, the black-faced baby lambs tangle in the new clover and the clouds flash by in the ditches.

"There's no imagination, no drive in the railroads anymore," said Earl Berwick, a Franklin businessman on the way to Edwardsville, Ill. "They know they can make a few dollars carrying freight and they're content with that. You know, if you're at the top of a long, slow hill you can coast for a long, long time and that's what the railroads are doing."

"I'm not an expert on railroads. But I'm a businessman. Look around the yards, the railroads, you don't see anything but older men. Young people don't see any future in this business. They're all going into the airlines. They ought to get some of these bright young men, give them stock options, percentages, let them shake things up."

"The biggest boom in this country is in the leisure industries but the railroads don't see it. Why rush to get to a place and just sit? Why not sit while you're going there? Watch the countryside, have a drink and a good meal in a classy club car—they used to have a better one than this—but the railroads don't see it."

Once Berwick had a plant in Fort Wayne and rode the Cannonball a dozen times a year to get there. His wife's family is in Illinois, just off the Wabash line. "We're taking this trip out of sentiment because we heard the train was being taken off. We're sentimental, we're nostalgic, but we're not stupid. If we'd take the ride, so would a lot of other people. Why don't the railroads capitalize on that? They're not interested."

The Cannonball rolls through the easy landscape of south Michigan, sails around the limestone scarps of northern Indiana and plunges southwest through a dozen towns until suddenly, just out of Danville, the country opens up and—oh glory—this is America; vast endless, majestic, stretching like a great flat sea to the edge of the world, limitless, with loneliness howling at the edge of the plain.

When Americans stopped riding trains they lost contact with their country. From the air the land is antiseptic, distant, laid out in Mondrian blocks to the horizon. From the car it is narrow, distracting, artificial, overlaid with traffic signs and cloverleaves, with Lodging Next Exit, and rock on the radio. The city Americans have lost their sense of how big this country is, how vast its spaces and how far its reaches, and of what those long, lonely dimensions meant to its founders and philosophers.

It was always a dream; the land was never so free, the people never so noble as we imagined. But we built a nation on the dream and our poets immortalized it. "Oh beautiful, for spacious skies," we sang, even as our cities were blotting out the skies. "And crown thy good, with brotherhood," chanted a million schoolchildren, even as they were growing up into a generation of college dissenters who saw neither good nor brotherhood in this nation, nor trusted the efforts of their elders to reach it.

And now, having failed to find the reality, we are in danger of losing the dream as well, partly because we have lost the feel of the land it is based on, the sense of possession of a mighty earth that once made Americans believe all things were possible, all men could be free.

My son will never see the land below Danville, not in this special way, not with the second sight that comes with a speeding train and a sense of space and a feel for something that is going out of America.

The train conductor as a romantic figure all buttoned up with brass and pride is already a figure out of fiction, out of history, a stereotype that blinks by in the literature of the thirties and the movies of the wild, wild west. But I have met him, and he is real. He sent me a brass button emblazoned "Wabash," an old man's useless button from an extinct line, with a note that read: "Enclosed is Wabash Button as promised by me cond. on Cannon Ball 301. C. H. Banks."

We were not wrong, growing up. There is pride and strength in the land, and there are things to be handed down from generation to generation, permanent and shining like brass buttons. We live by selected fictions, Balhazar said, and these are mine. That is what trains are all about.

Two minutes out of Tolona, the south-bound Cannonball shunts off to a siding and stands motionless on the seamless prairie. The air is soundless; then from somewhere down the rails there comes a rushing sound as of a great wind approaching, the staccato blast of a train-whistle, and porter James Henderson waves furiously as the north-bound Cannonball flies speeding past, up from St. Louis in a whirlwind of gravel and roaring air.

"I remember once when we took the trip to Litchfield with our little girl Pat and our dog and he had to ride in the baggage car, and of course we were miserable because he was just like one of the family," said Mary Fredenberger. "And after we'd ridden for a while the conductor came back and said to Pat, 'I've got a little black dog in the baggage car. Would you like to see him?'"

"And we spent the whole trip in the baggage car, sitting on a coffin—he pushed the flowers back for us—and everytime we got to a station he'd say, 'Come on, come on, quick, get off,' and we'd get down and run the dog around real fast and he'd give us the high sign and we'd climb back aboard. We had some wonderful times on this train."

At 4:30 p.m. Detroit time the Cannonball rolls into Granite City, Illinois, and begins the long, slow glide through the riches of the country, past barrels, boxcars, warehouses, railyards, grain elevators, paint factories, pipe companies, an endless, greedy corridor of wealth and waste. Within the hour, through a forest of smokestacks and high tension poles, St. Louis' 630-foot Gateway Arch rises up, an immense stainless steel parabola drawing closer and disappearing in the midafternoon haze, and the Cannonball clatters out onto a trestle, humming and swaying high above the muddy Mississippi. "She's going up a foot a day," says a brakeman in the open baggage car door, hanging out over the emptiness and the slapping water 90 feet below. "She'll be 12 feet higher yet before she's through."

The train curves west around St. Louis, past the dogwood blooming in the hillside parks, past the gabled towers of Grand Street, into the heart of a throbbing, smoky, living city and pulls in one shuddering, steamy hiss to a stop in the vast maw of the Union shed. It is ten minutes early.

It is the end of the line for the Cannonball, but it is just the threshold of America. The plains have just begun, the Rockies are yet to rise, the sun still to sparkle on the Pacific. But in a few months the countryside through which we have come may no longer be visible to passengers from the Cannonball windows. The land will be forever closed to them, except for banal strips along its monotonous concrete ribbons, or in distant glimpses from the sky. "She was a freight train to begin with," says Henderson, "and she'll be a freight train again."

We flew back from St. Louis in the early evening. It took three hours with delays and stopovers. The country, when you could

see it, was sprinkled with lights like star-dust. It was very, very far away.

CAMPUS RIOTS AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

HON. MARTIN B. MCKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. MCKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, Max Ascoli, the former editor and publisher of the Reporter magazine which contributed so much to the intellectual life of our country, has written for the Wall Street Journal an excellent commentary on the campus riots. It should be read by every Member of the Congress and is as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 27, 1969]

CAMPUS RIOTS AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

(By Max Ascoli)

Why could it happen, and why did it happen here? A number of eminent people, the President, first of all, have asked. The key word is *it*: A succession of conflagrations and racial disruptions centered or converging on the campuses of the nation that only too recently had found itself playing the role of example to the world. There is little sense in comparing our turbulent four and a half years from Berkeley on to the uprising at the Sorbonne.

Among the whys it could happen here, one is this nation's inexperience with revolution. The revolution to which the United States owes its birth is something else again, for it secured the centuries-old freedoms of the Mother Country that the Founding Fathers codified according to the needs of the newborn nation. France and England have repeatedly gone through chaos, and then emerged from it. In the Old World—Russia, Italy or Spain—they have had their troubles with anarchic uprisings. America had to deal with individual anarchists either of the bucolic Thoreau type or with showy mimics of overseas nihilism.

MAINTAINING AN IMMUNITY

The principle became ingrained here that vastity and complexity had immunized our country from the sweep of ideological revolution or totalitarian dictatorship. In the universities the social sciences and allied disciplines did their best to maintain this immunity by neglecting ideologies and practicing birth control of ideas. Only facts counted, as if they had all been born free and equal, and the dusty leftovers of happenings called facts were assiduously piled up by scholars.

No wonder many college students were bored, and enterprising professors who had obtained tenure went after remunerative government or foundation assignments. No wonder also that in a large number of academic institutions there was a lack of contact between students and teachers. By and large, there was a superabundance of students and only infrequently could the leavening influence of teachers be effective. The substance of culture prepared for mass consumption in the multiversities and universities turned thinner and thinner, and ideas, or even their ersatz, were carefully pasteurized.

In 1964, on the largest campus of the largest multiversity, a substitute for ideas was accidentally discovered: *loquor ergo sum* (I talk, therefore I exist). It is strange that it had not happened before or on some other campuses. At Berkeley, there was a group of students who during the summer had trained themselves to take chances by going South. The new chance they took proved immensely rewarding. They practiced participatory de-

mocracy before rediscovering the old notion. The *loquor ergo sum* principle took the name of Free Speech Movement. The meaning was that the more one talks, the more of a man he is; the more people yell in unison without letting anyone utter a single antagonistic word, the more power they get. The Berkeley rebels celebrated in their own way their freedom from thinking, and gained notoriety in intellectual communities all over the world. Thinking is not easy, while anybody can talk and yell. From those 1964 days on, the exaltation of dissent started. Dissent from what? From anything you want, my boy, but dissent you must. It's no longer a right, it's a duty.

Mario Savio, leader of the Berkeley movement, delivered at Sproul Hall an address that later was used in an article entitled "An End to History." He did not appear to find much satisfaction in his success. "This free speech fight points up a fascinating aspect of contemporary campus life. Students are permitted to talk all they want so long as their speech has no consequences." This statement is echoed by Professor Herbert Marcuse, of the University of California at San Diego. In his Political Preface, 1966, to *Eros and Civilization*, he wrote: "In and against the deadly efficient organization of the affluent society, not only radical protest, but even the attempt to formulate, to articulate, to give word to protest, assume a child-like, ridiculous immaturity. Thus it is ridiculous and perhaps 'logical' that the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley terminated in the row caused by the appearance of a sign with the four-letter word."

Unbridled, massive loquacity having been authoritatively hailed as identical to freedom of speech, it could be turned against other targets. And so it was: In 1965, the teach-ins started. There on the campuses, antiwar students were joined and supported by many a youngster emeritus from the faculties. Even those who held qualified opinions against the Vietnam war had an exceedingly hard time trying to argue against the mobs who wanted the war stopped—right now. This unreflective quality is characteristic of the movements at Berkeley. Just as "free speech" came to mean four-letter speech, so the peace advocated at the teach-ins was not related to our times and to our opponent: It meant just peace at any price—now. Yet it is remarkable how many people, worthy of their high repute, for quite some time have not been able to mention the war in Vietnam without calling it immoral or criminal—a war that, for our own good, should end in our defeat.

A DISCONCERTING PHENOMENON

The exaltation of youth for its own sake, the disdain for anybody over 30, is disconcerting for a man like this writer who had to leave his native country at the time of "Giovinezza, Giovinezza." The Negroes, too, follow the same self-seeking trend: Superior education or at least a diploma must be provided for all the young black just because they are black. The place in society black power wants must be granted, and this demand is not negotiable. All these extreme aims have one thing in common: Each is to be reached for the hell of it.

In the universities the drives for student power, youth power, black power, meet and, as far as one can see, do not collide. Rather they pretend to have separate but equal status, and only occasionally do they give a hand to each other—as, for instance, the SDS and the Negroes in favor of negritude.

American culture, like America itself, is part of the western world and, until now, a fantastically successful outgrowth of it. One of the characteristics of western culture has been the ease with which it has given cultural citizenship to men from every part of the world, while becoming enriched in the process. The universities in this country cannot become centers of cultural fragmentation on a racial basis without becoming

responsible for the ultimate fragmentation of the country. They do not belong to the trustees or to the faculties or to the students. They belong to history—a history that this country has in largest part inherited—and are entrusted in various degrees to different groups of pro tem curators and beneficiaries. Each fragment of this historical heritage can be irretrievably wasted away.

The answer, it has been said, is academic self-government. Within limits this is true, provided we are clear that academic self-government does not mean sovereignty or, as Attorney General Mitchell once put it, extra-territoriality. The inner strength of a university and the position it establishes for itself in the cultural community are a large-scale reproduction of man's destiny: A balance between inner and outer world reflecting the role man plays in the various collective entities he comes to belong to. Man's freedom does not exempt him from spiritual or economic bankruptcy. And of course not from death. The same is true for the universities. President Nixon said it: "... violence or the threat of violence may never be permitted to influence the actions or judgements of the university community. Once it does the community, almost by definition, ceases to be a university."

Our government cannot force the universities to be free, but from the universities has started the eradication of freedom in our country. Academic self-government can sustain the inner and outer life of an academic community: In a microcosmic way each entity moves according to its own laws as part of a finite system that is exposed to extinction. The system and each of its components have a margin of freedom but, as has happened in a number of academic communities, when freedom is extinguished then the resulting condition is one of national emergency.

"The Federal Government," the President said "cannot, should not—must not—enforce" the principle of intellectual freedom, which, he had already stated, "is in danger in America . . . Violence—physical violence, physical intimidation—is seemingly on its way to becoming an accepted, or at all events a normal and not to be avoided element in the clash of opinion within university confines. . . . Anyone with the least understanding of the history of freedom will know that this has invariably meant not only political disaster to those nations that have submitted to such forces of obfuscation and repression, but cultural calamity as well. It is not too strong a statement to declare that this is the way civilizations begin to die." But the Federal Government, according to the President, can do nothing. Yet he knows that he is not the Federal Government but only its Chief Executive.

Congress is not patient and is constantly exposed to the dangers of hasty or wrong legislation. For the right conduct of government, the President cannot disassociate himself from Congress. Indeed, one should hope that he is exerting a wise, harmonizing influence on the several Senate or House committees engaged in preparing legislation on campus or racial disorders.

He or his office can also urge the local or state authorities to act. We all remember the picture of James A. Perkins, president of Cornell, beaming with the leaders of the SDS and the Afro-American Society, after the faculty voted to support black students' demands, as if all were saying, "cheese, cheese." The Harvard students who threw the nine deans out of University Hall have not been suspended or expelled. Can Cornell and Harvard be called free institutions? Of the faculties the least said the better for the time being. When a community ceases to be a university, then the Attorney General should be able to find a way to put it into receivership. Let's not forget that, whether Governor Faubus liked it or not, Dwight Eisenhower sent detachments

of the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock.

MR. TRUMAN'S MOTTO

Harry Truman kept a motto on his desk: The Buck Stops Here. Even the buck of a university headed by a weak man may end on that desk in the Oval Room.

The New York Times, the most authoritative organ of woolly thinking in our country, has adopted the position that to appease the students and the other riotous groups we need to settle the war in Vietnam.

Yet the President can be sure that the domestic Viet Cong will never make peace, even after Ho Chi Minh enters Saigon, and every single GI is back from Vietnam. President Nixon should keep the example of Abraham Lincoln constantly in mind. No one of Mr. Nixon's predecessors ever took such liberties with the laws of the land as did Abe Lincoln, but he saved the Union. President Nixon faces an even harder task, for he must save the Union not from a civil but a guerrilla war.

TITLE IX: A NEW DIMENSION IN FOREIGN AID?—I

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Prof. John Schott at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy has presented a stimulating paper on revitalizing foreign aid.

He deals especially with title IX of the Foreign Aid Act. This title encourages broader participation by people in each developing nation in foreign aid projects.

During the past few years, Mr. Schott was responsible for implementing title IX within the Agency for International Development. His experience and background make his analysis especially valuable.

For insertion in the RECORD, I have separated his paper into six parts, which I have titled: "I—History of Title IX," "II—Interpretation of Title IX," "III—Obstacles Within the Agency," "IV—Obstacles Outside the Agency," "V—How To Put Title IX in Effect," and "VI—Outlook Is Dismal."

Each part will appear in a separate issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Following is Mr. Schott's paper:

TITLE IX: A NEW DIMENSION IN U.S. FOREIGN AID?

(By John R. Schott)

Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act may constitute one of the significant water-sheds in the history of American foreign aid. Like the Marshall Plan, Point Four, and the macro-economic emphases of the sixties, Title IX responds to urgent development problems now more clearly perceived than ever before, and synthesizes a number of strands of criticism which have been levelled at the U.S. foreign aid program with growing harshness and efficacy. Yet despite its possible importance, the legislation is itself ambiguous, its objective liable to diverse interpretations, and its effectiveness thus far in changing the programming priorities of A.I.D.¹ has been virtually nil.

To what can one attribute this failure to respond to a mandate that some would represent as a major, Congressionally-authorized break-through in the foreign aid posture of the U.S. Government? What is the source and what are the prospects for this new

Footnotes at end of article.

priority item in the Foreign Assistance Act? Is it to be taken as an ethnocentrically irresponsible and programmatically impossible demand upon the U.S. foreign policy establishment, or as a constructive effort to reshape and give further impetus to an obsolete and tottering foreign aid program?

HISTORY OF TITLE IX

Calling upon A.I.D. to assure "maximum participation in the task of economic development through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions," Title IX is the first explicit legislative injunction to a U.S. foreign aid agency to concern itself directly with the political—not just the economic development of the lesser developed countries (LDCs).¹ Far from being an initiative of the Executive Branch, Title IX is almost a classic example of a Congressional initiative thrust upon an unprepared and resistant Executive.² When amended to A.I.D.'s legislation in 1966, the reaction on the part of A.I.D. officials was neither informed nor enthusiastic. Either the Agency had been "doing it all along" or Title IX heralded a most pernicious interference in the internal politics of aid-recipient countries. For some, of course, it was a salutary development—though usually for the wrong reasons: it would prove a panacea to the public relation woes of the Agency by enlisting the messianic fervor of the American public behind foreign aid, or it provided further encouragement for special interest groups within the Agency to obtain additional funding for public safety programs or community development operations, to name but two.

To the somewhat more sophisticated in A.I.D., Title IX was the culmination of a particular brand of criticism endured by the foreign aid program since Point Four days—that its programs were overemphasizing activities which tended to strengthen central government institutions at the expense of local, "grass-roots" democracy; that, in the absence of effective mediating mechanisms, they tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer; that they reinforced the social and political forces of the *status quo* through its macro-economic policies, capital assistance projects and loan agreements. Too few people in these countries were directly benefiting from U.S. assistance, and too few were being directly involved in the development of their own country.³

Besides attacking these consequences of foreign aid programs, Title IX also appeared to attack two underlying—and increasingly discredited—assumptions of post-Eisenhower foreign aid programs. The first of these is the myth that the provision of aid could be "neutral." This myth did not seek to belie the obvious fact that some aid is nothing more than politically-motivated bribery. Nor did it contend that aid did not have significant social and political ramifications in host countries or that A.I.D. did not seek to use its "leverage" to obtain, as a condition for certain forms of aid, host-government concessions or expressions of "self-help" in order to remove manifest social and political obstacles to the intelligent use of aid. What it did allege is that economic aid could be and was a "technical" operation, performed in accordance with prescriptive and evaluative criteria that were so generally recognized as valid as not to be debatable. Political biases and consequences were at times acknowledged, but were considered by senior A.I.D. officials as "not our concern": reforms demanded of host government as a *quid pro quo* for aid were camouflaged as "self-help" and were considered "technically" necessary to realize economic program objectives, not as eminently desirable non-economic development objectives in themselves. A.I.D. served the purposes of economic development, therefore it imposed no alien or inappropriate or unwanted values on aid-recipient peoples,

as would be the case if it invaded the realm of social or political change.

A second and closely related myth is that economic development was a necessary precondition for—or inexorably led to—the growth of democratic institutions. This notion was even embodied in the preamble to the Foreign Assistance Act: a purpose of foreign aid was to demonstrate that economic growth and political democracy can go "hand in hand."⁴ This unfortunate bastardization of Aristotle has gained considerable public acceptance, however much it has been discredited by social science research, and has provided many an A.I.D. economist or technician with a comfortable answer to the criticism that foreign aid was shoring up regressive regimes or failing to contribute to the "democratization" of aid-recipient countries: A.I.D. could stick to its economic knitting—*increase a country's GNP, reduce balance of payments disequilibria, produce a rise in per capita income—and democracy, like Topsy, would "just grow."*

Governed in part by these two myths, A.I.D. scrupulously avoided activities which might be construed as motivated by political development objectives as opposed to those more easily rationalized as "economic." Unsophisticated lip-service would be paid to the presumed causal relationship between economic and political development. Short-term political and diplomatic considerations would, too, play a role in determining the allocation of resources both as between countries and within individual countries; but these considerations were clearly separable from any intention to implement long-term political development objectives.

Although there are those who would consider the Alliance for Progress as the first break with these myths,⁵ it was not until Title IX was enacted that this break became explicit and achieved a serious Congressional constituency. Yet, however more explicit Title IX may be, interpretation of the provision is a complicated and often unrewarding exercise.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The Agency for International Development.

² See the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966, Part I, Sec. 281: Title IX—Utilization of Democratic Institutions in Development, and this same section as amended by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967.

³ Although two or three middle-level A.I.D. employees had had some informal contact with the eventual sponsors of the legislation, no official positive interest in the provision was ever displayed by A.I.D. prior to its enactment. In large part this may be attributable to the fact that the provision's implications were as yet unclear to the A.I.D. hierarchy, as—indeed—they remain with many to date.

⁴ For a clear expression of this criticism, see the statement of twenty-five Republican Congressmen as printed in *The Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 112, No. 45 (March 15, 1966). This statement constitutes an explicit precursor of Title IX, in language as well as intent. F. Bradford Morse (R., Mass.) was the forceful prime mover behind this statement, which stated, *inter alia*, that "The U.S. foreign aid program should place new emphasis on the need for the growth of popular participation in the development programs of the developing countries and the increased capacity of recipient governments to perform effectively in the broad spectrum of development tasks."

⁵ See the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Part I, Sec. 102—Statement of Policy.

⁶ This understanding of the Alliance also constitutes somewhat of a myth. It is true that the flamboyant rhetoric of President Kennedy before the Diplomatic Corps of the Latin American Republics on March 13, 1961, did indicate a desire on the part of the U.S.

government to seek to transform the political structures of the Latin American Republics in a more direct fashion than had been previously suggested. Welcoming "the spread of the American revolution to other lands," he closed his address with the ringing declaration: "Let us once again transform the American continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts . . . an example to all the world that liberty and progress walk hand in hand." Such stirring intentions also found their way into the Preamble of the Charter of Punta Del Este, which established the Alliance: "We, the American Republics, hereby proclaim our decision to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and political liberty." Yet, whereas the Charter pays lip-service to democratic principles, and suggests the need for such "non-economic" reforms as income redistribution, low-cost housing and agrarian reform, the closest it gets to a significant, broad-based Title IX-type recommendation is in suggesting that "special emphasis" should be given the implementation of new projects designed "to meet the most pressing needs and benefit directly the greatest number of people." (See Chapter III.2.b. of the Charter.)

A TOUGH NEW NAVY

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, recently my good colleague from Tennessee, Congressman WILLIAM R. ANDERSON, spoke at my alma mater, the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. The speech, concerning the peaceful and powerful uses of the world's oceans, was given before the political science seniors' banquet on May 6. Congressman ANDERSON has seen the power struggle for freedom of the seas firsthand. He formerly commanded the U.S.S. *Nautilus*. As a former Navy man, I am most interested in what he had to say, and believe his remarks are worthy of consideration. The text of his speech follows:

POWER, LAW AND ENTERPRISE IN THE NEW OCEANS

(Address of Representative WILLIAM R. ANDERSON before political science seniors banquet, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 6, 1969)

As political scientists your basic study is that of political power in all its diverse forms and uses. You are concerned with the nature and composition of power, how it is acquired, legitimized, exercised, expressed and measured; how it is divided, and when divided, how it interacts. You are concerned with the relationship of power to wealth, to military and police and insurgent force, to geography, population and social organization, and to individual personality.

As a practitioner in the field of politics I deeply appreciate the diversity of your discipline and the consequent practical necessity to specialize within it. I am nonetheless prepared to throw you a curve tonight. I propose to draw your politically scientific attention to a vast power vacuum, access to which is swiftly opening to competitive international enterprise of the most brilliant and dangerous potential.

It is a crucial and unfamiliar political environment that I would like to sketch out for

you, and I hope you will forgive the somewhat immodest scale of the conceptual formulations. We shall have mounting national business of great importance in the oceans of the earth in the interim between now and the millennium new year. And we shall have to write an original book of American oceanic politics.

You see, all that man has wrought in his 10,000 technological years is chiefly the result of his works in utilizing the physical assets of three-tenths of the planet's surface. Now with deceptive swiftness, the other seven-tenths is falling open to the acquisitive rivalry of men and nations. The results of this marine competition and the way that we manage it will fundamentally shift the distribution of the world's wealth and power, and affect the nature of warfare for as many future decades as we can contemplate.

It is no simple matter even to put conceptual handles on this new political ocean. For policy purposes there are perhaps five basic features I would stress; three of these are new, two are not.

First: The uses and strategic significance of the oceans are rapidly and radically changing. A truly momentous new magnitude of human oceanic enterprises and relationships is developing with all the inevitability we associate with population growth, scientific advance and industrial expansions. Submarine technological capabilities now possessed and predictably attainable open for developmental economic exploitation vast areas of the continental shelves and slopes; by 1990 an unprospected sea floor amounting to 128 million square miles will be within reach. There is no reason to doubt that the submarine mineral wealth of these reaches is inferior, mile for mile, to that of the continental deposits. Above and in constant, complex liquid motion is an astonishing 324 million cubic miles of hydra-space which, is among other things, biologically the most densely populated environment on earth and potentially its greatest food source, the greatest resource of energy, a principal arbiter of climate, and a weapons arena of mind-boggling scale and complexity. These newly and prospectively usable properties of the oceans constitute values and threats over which nations seek to exercise control. Important modifications of the world's political geography have, in effect, already taken place with the national claim staking upon the continental shelves begun by the United States in 1948, and recognized by the Geneva Convention of 1958. It would be naive to suppose that the inclination for oceanic annexation will not intensify.

In a strategic sense a very great shift occurs in this context. Up till now wars have been fought for the continental causes and lands across and around the oceans; seapower was often decisively employed to support, project and supply the campaigns of one contender while denying a similar advantage to the other. This function of seapower will not change, but a whole new dimension of naval responsibility appears if oceanic territories, installations and activities are perceived as sources of wealth and bases of military power in themselves. Ocean sectors contested about look very different to the strategist than waters fought across and around.

The second major feature of the new oceans to be reckoned with is the absence of any legal regime of the undersea. There is no agreed concept of order in oceanic development beyond the continental shelf areas lying below 200 meters. Over the slopes and deep plains, and ocean mountain ranges there exists little other than the wilderness prospectors law of "find, claim and keep if you can." Indeed there is nothing in international law to prohibit the United States from, say, claiming sovereign jurisdiction over the sea bed and hydra-space within the Aleutian, Hawaiian, Seattle, San Diego rectangle.

As for the law governing the exploitation of the continental shelves, the Geneva Convention of 1958 gave maritime states the rights to all resources found in the contiguous sea bed out of a depth of 600 feet and to such deeper-lying resources in adjacent slopes as the technology makes exploitable. This leaves a situation in which Malaysia can stake a mining claim to most of the South China-Seabed—a claim unlikely of acceptance, to say the least, by Indonesia, Singapore, and the Philippines, who can all enter vast competitive claims. A dozen American and Japanese companies are now drilling for oil in this South China sea bed.

It also raises the problem of small island remnants of the colonial empires which dispose of vast shelf areas often conflicting with the claims of coastal nations. Unsolved as well is the legal standing of artificial islands constructed upon mid-ocean seamounts. Finally, there is some serious discussion in the international community of moving toward a different claim criteria for the resources of the continental shelves. Depending upon a given nation's relative advantages, spokesmen occasionally favor a flat 50 mile line of sole jurisdiction, or a pure national exploitation capability test.

Others would move the national shelf definition out from the present 200 meter depth to the 600 meter curve. Such is the state of applicable international law on the eve of an unparalleled era of oceanic exploitation.

Third: The world ocean is today in large part surrounded by new sovereignties, roughly 70 variously unstable, fiercely nationalistic and territorially conscious developing nations. Terribly poor, militarily, economically and technologically weak, they are political societies desperately needing the gains of oceanic development but largely incapable, without assistance, of exploiting or defending, or indeed, even identifying the marine wealth of their adjacent waters and continental shelves.

Fourth: The traditional industries of the sea, shipping and fishing continue to grow in economic importance, but U.S. strength in both areas is declining rapidly. Though the world's fish and sea food consumption has increased about 6% yearly since the end of World War II, the U.S. share of the catch has dropped steadily. Ten percent of the world's animal protein consumption is taken from the waters yearly. For most nations of Africa and Asia this component is the vital protein element without which presently deficient diets would become disastrous. As a nation we consume twelve percent of the world's fish, and catch only four percent. A greater catch is taken from traditional American grounds by others than is taken by U.S. trawlers. We possess in aggregate a fishing fleet of 76,000 vessels, the second largest in the world, 60% of these craft are over 16 years old, and one in four has been working twenty five years or more. The U.S. fishing fleet is largely obsolete, it is uneconomically organized; and it is stifled by a maze of outdated laws.

World merchant shipping increases steadily in tonnage and value; it becomes an increasingly vital network of world economic relationships. The United States is the world's greatest international trader by a wide margin and 98% of that trade is shipborne. American vessels carry just 5% of our own trade. While we rank an overwhelming first as a world naval power, we rank fifth as a merchant marine power, and the trend is down. Four out of five of our freighters and tankers are World War II vintage, and bloc obsolescence is upon us. Last year we built 48 merchant ships while the Soviet Union built 448. These figures portray a strange, costly and disturbing failure for a nation of manifest vitality. It is simply incredible that the world's leading nation in aircraft manufac-

ture, in advanced warship design, in oceanographic research and undersea electronic and sensor development, in automation, systems analysis and nuclear propulsion should be incapable of building and sailing cargo vessels sufficient to carry half of its trade, and of catching its own fish in a financially profitable manner.

The fifth major feature of the world political ocean is a military one of pervasive effects:

Most Americans have never heard the term, but in the jargon of the international strategist, of whatever persuasion, it is American Oceanic Supremacy. It is a condition that has not been challenged for a quarter of a century, and some remarkable consequences have grown around it.

We have founded our foreign and defense policies on the assumption of continued American oceanic hegemony. So in fact, has western Europe, Japan, Australia and most of the rimland nations of Eurasia. In the sense of circumvention and necessary accommodation, so too have the Communist nations.

In so far as there exists a global military equilibrium, unstable though it may be, it consists in a three sector confrontation in which U.S. ocean based forces are basic elements. In the first sector of this confrontation, three extremely different military systems stand in opposition on the globe-spanning Eurasian continent. Here a predominance of Soviet and Communist Chinese conventional land power confronts a far-flung maritime alliance system of rimlands and islands with its equalizing power emanating from the North American continent. There simply could be no effective non-Communist alliance here without assured support and supply across the seas.

The second sector of strategic confrontation is the head-to-head mutual deterrence in the weapons of total destruction. Here the United States has deployed her most secure and advanced deterrent in the seas surrounding the Eurasian continent.

The third sector is the volatile, unstable and indecisive competition in the undeveloped societies of Africa, Latin America and pieces of the Near, South and Southeast Asian rimland. The latter are, in strategic effect, new founts of substantial economic and military strength presently in formative development of the political and economic persuasions which will determine the ends to which the new strength will be committed.

The U.S. tools in general are trade, aid, diplomacy and a degree of assured military support for those who will undertake non-totalitarian routes to development. But where access to the sea is lacking, as in Tibet and Laos, our supporting efforts are modest indeed.

The fact is that the United States cannot bring conventional military force to bear abroad on even a moderate scale except by sea, and it is the use of sea power that has made her effectively the only global power.

The point of most crucial importance here is that if the present balance of world power is to be maintained, the forces opposing communist expansion clearly must retain the oceanic supremacy upon which their alliances were originally built. A balance of sea power with the Soviets would assure an extreme imbalance of world power.

It is in this context that we find the economic, political and military nature of the oceans changing, and thus the functions and relative significance of sea power changing also.

Now, what about this oceanic thrust in human affairs? What does it look like here and now?

It is, perhaps, worth noting that the National Oceanography Association, now three years old, has over 650 corporate members. Within the past decade more than 300 of the

largest U.S. corporations have entered the marine research and development field. There are this year half a hundred international bodies concerned with one or another aspect of oceanography. The first university degree in oceanography was granted just over 35 years ago; today 77 American universities offer curricula in the field. Two and a half years ago the Government initiated a well-funded Sea-Grant College program. Within the decade we have gone from three deep-sea exploration submersibles to the use and construction of twenty. It is instructive to note who is building these deep diving submarine work vehicles: North American, Lockheed, Westinghouse, General Dynamics, General Motors, Grumman and Reynolds Aluminum.

There is a tremendous drive for working capabilities at ever greater depths. The goal now before our designers is a self propelled, manned submersible providing search and study capabilities to 20,000 feet. With such an instrument 98% of the ocean floor can be reached. The present limit for maneuverable submersibles is 8,300 feet. Gas breathing divers have worked successfully at 1,000 feet and a 2,000 feet capability seems probable with improvement of present techniques. Scientists will soon work routinely for weeks from a habitat at 600 feet.

Exotic as it sounds, serious thought is now turning toward techniques and devices for liquid breathing divers capable of full activity at 10,000 feet.

Sub sea floor habitats are under study by the Navy. Project Rockpile calls for tunnel drilling into the sea bed, and mating a submersible to the tunnel mouth. Here is a basis for independent sea floor installations, whether for mining, research or military uses.

Consider the statement of project goals set this year by the very sober National Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources.

"Within ten years the United States should possess the capability to occupy the U.S. territorial sea, utilize the U.S. continental shelf and slope to depths of 2,000 feet, and explore the depths to 20,000 feet."

(Roughly 98% of the ocean floor lies above the 20,000 foot level.)

The Commission continues: "Within 30 years the United States should be prepared to manage the shelf and slope to 2,000 foot depths, and utilize the sea bed to 20,000 feet."

About 16% of all of the oil pumped from the earth last year came from underwater sites. The major oil companies are engaged in the prospecting of literally hundreds of thousands of square miles of the undersea from the Grand Banks to Borneo. Last year oil drilling was performed 480 feet into the sea bed under 11,750 feet of water.

In the last six years the area of ocean floor mapped has increased three fold.

The natural gas pool in the Dutch North Sea concession alone amounts to roughly one third of the latest estimates of all the gas reserves in the United States. Diamond dredging is a common practice now off the African coast. Japan is mining iron-bearing sand. Sulphur, magnesium, iodine, fluorine, tin and salt are daily extracted from the undersea on a commercial basis. And the technical and economic momentum is rising strongly.

Our most recent studies indicate that the ocean bed reserves of such vital commodities as oil, manganese, aluminum, copper, nickel, cobalt, and molybdenum exceed by many hundreds of times the known terrestrial reserves. This finding becomes more significant in consideration of the fact that world demand for metals between now and the year 2000 will exceed all metals consumed in history prior to 1965. Oil demand over the next twenty years will exceed three times the total produced in the non-Communist world in the last 100 years. At the point where the rising cost of exploiting the de-

clining continental reserves meets the declining cost of working oceanic reserves—the race for the sea floor will become a very serious matter indeed.

Much depends upon the continuing interplay of nuclear and oceanic technology. If we propose vast exploratory and exploitative works, the need is obviously for great energy sources. Conventional fuels present serious handling problems in the undersea environment and they all require great stores of oxygen. Nuclear power is ideal for virtually all our deep sea ventures, and necessary for most of the truly ambitious projections. On a smaller scale, isotope generators already power hundreds of sound beacons, radios, sensors, meters, and other instruments bobbing in and under the sea.

Today serious study proceeds on the use of ocean tides, currents and thermal changes to generate abundant supplies of electrical power.

Japanese scientists are convinced that aquaculture and fish herding can be enormously profitable and are working on it. They point out that with the use of some fencing device, perhaps consisting of a flow of air bubbles, fish harvests can be controlled, scheduled, increased and through selective breeding qualitatively improved.

The fast developing technology of surface drilling platforms now brings the prospects of great floating harbors, processing plants, and air bases in mid ocean.

The view toward 1990 is of a strangely inhabited sea indeed. A place of sensor fields reporting to space satellites, of sea floor farms and fish herds protected by bubble fences; of oceanic mines and aquatels; of sea sector power plants and floating factories and probably of sea bed junk yards; of support systems and policing vehicles undertaking to cover the three dimensional water zones.

The military and political facets of the prospectus are a bit more alarming than exotic. The submarine grows more dangerous and somewhat more vulnerable. The most threatening naval vessel will remain the missile-carrying submarine. Technological advances will permit the dispersal of such fleets over all the oceans, and their missiles will be able to reach any point on the globe. Such dispersal combined with the greater operating depth and silence will increase almost beyond measure the security and therefore the value of the system as a deterrent. However, the commander of a submarine will no longer have the environment to himself. In peacetime he will have to share the oceans not only with well-instrumented fishing fleets, sensor fields and commercial vessels but also with undersea installations of all kinds—some of which will undoubtedly be pure "cover" for military posts.

The submarines great opponents will be the killer submarine and high speed surface effect vessels along the lines of our hydrofoils and hovercraft, probably the only sizable vessels able to outrun the submarines. Working with specialized aircraft and sensor fields these swift vessels may prove a fair challenge to the submariner.

High speed, long range, escorted, strike aircraft carriers will be with us, able to reach 600 to 800 miles inland.

Amphibious operations are likely to be purely helicopter and air cushion melees, but they too may be able to jump the beaches and land troops and tanks far inland.

In the broad conceptual sense navies will be striving for three dimensional zone coverage—from the deep sea floor to the space over the oceans. It is quite probable that much of the strategic missile confrontation will move out to sea, with both offensive and defensive systems mobile, elusive and far from the teeming population centers.

I will leave you to make your own evaluations and speculations on this new oceanic

era, and what it holds for us. I would suggest however that now would be the least appropriate time imaginable to allow our sea power to atrophy in obsolescence. Whatever the weaknesses of Soviet leadership, they have never included an inability to grasp the major factors of a changing world power structure. Within the past few years the U.S.S.R. has turned to the task of building a truly competitive instrument of world sea power with vigor and imagination. There is a brand new fleet, a swift and technologically excellent force, though it does not yet match the pervasive strength of the U.S. Navy. The Soviet efforts in oceanography, fishing and merchant shipping are uniformly fresh, massive and of good quality.

Sixty percent of the active American fleet is over twenty years old, and its average age is 17½ years. The average ages of U.S. cruisers and destroyers are 21 and 22, respectively. It is a fleet in constant need of repair and refurbishment. Continuation on these lines of naval decay would constitute foolishness on a majestic scale.

Finally, the time is upon us to perceive the broad direction of oceanic development and formulate the role we wish to play in it. As matters presently stand we are the only nation in the world with the combination of sea power, technological ability, and economic interest to enforce any system of oceanic order—this in the sense that we, and the British before us, long enforced with dominant sea power a regime of general freedom of ocean transit for all nations in the past. Do we want the job? What are the alternatives? Do we wish to join in a free-for-all ocean grab? We would doubtless to do well in such a competition, but would we not all lose in a system of guarded mid-ocean borders? If it can be negotiated, would not the best answer lie in an independent international oceanic development agency with the unique right to license, lease and permit given deep sea projects upon formal application, and mediate disputes?

In any event we shall soon be turning to the task of creating coastal state and regional oceanic development authorities to manage our own body of law, still to be completed, governing competitive practices, safety, insurance, jurisdiction, contractual agreement, real estate and so forth for undersea operations beyond the territorial boundaries.

We will be creating that book of American Oceanic Politics, Domestic and International. In our peculiar way it is likely to be formulated incrementally and remedially, partly in think-tanks, in governors offices, in Congress, in the White House basement, in judicial chambers, and in the crucible of international negotiations. Perhaps in limited wars at sea. The basic directions, criteria and institutions will be largely decided within the next thirty years—partly into the era of your generation's stewardship of the nation's affairs.

I wish you courage, wisdom, and a tough new Navy.

JAYCEE CLUBS PRAISE APOLLO 8
ASTRONAUTS

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Jaycee Clubs of Palm Springs, Fla., and West Palm Beach, Fla., have adopted resolutions praising the feats of Apollo 8 Astronauts Borman, Lovell, and Anders, and placing particular emphasis on their readings from the Bible while orbiting the moon and in their belief in God.

I commend these civic clubs for their initiative in support of the expressions made by the Apollo 8 astronauts and I share their feelings.

At this point in the RECORD, I wish to insert these resolutions for the benefit of my colleagues:

WEST PALM BEACH JAYCEES,

West Palm Beach, Fla., June 3, 1969.
The Honorable PAUL G. ROGERS.

The West Palm Beach Jaycees has adopted the following resolution, and request that you read this on the floor of the House of Representatives.

RESOLUTION OF THE WEST PALM BEACH JAYCEES

Whereas, three United States' Astronauts orbited the moon on Christmas eve, 1968; and

Whereas, these three representatives of the United States of America expressed publicly from space their belief in God by reading certain scriptural passages of the Book of Genesis from the Bible; and

Whereas, the publicized atheist, Madelyn Murray, has initiated a campaign to press for public censor of these Astronauts for the use of the Bible's scriptures in their Christmas eve broadcast to the world; and

Whereas, these three Astronauts chose to express their feelings and emotions while in space orbiting the moon as they saw fit; and

Whereas, their accomplishments before and after that Christmas eve were such that the entire world was apparently united in praise for their achievements; and

Whereas, the 85 members of the West Palm Beach Jaycees from all denominations and walks of life have endorsed the propriety of the reading of the Scriptures, and wish to recognize the caliber and accomplishments of these three Astronauts.

Now therefore be it resolved, That the West Palm Beach Jaycees and its 85 members congratulate our three Astronauts and praise their historic accomplishments surrounding Christmas eve of 1968, and endorse and approve the choice which they made to convey to the world their emotions and feelings, by reciting from the Bible,

Be it further resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to these three Astronauts, and their families, and NASA, c/o Family Radio, San Francisco, California, in order that all might know of the high regard in which these men are held by the members of the West Palm Beach Jaycees, State of Florida.

Duly adopted, this 3rd day of June, 1969.

GEORGE F. IRVIN, JR.,
President.
EDWARD B. ADAMS,
Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF THE PALM SPRINGS JAYCEES

Whereas, three United States' Astronauts orbited the moon on Christmas eve, 1968; and

Whereas, these three representatives of the United States of America expressed publicly from space their belief in GOD by reading certain scriptural passages of the Book of Genesis from the Bible; and

Whereas, the publicized atheist, Madelyn Murray, has initiated a campaign to press for public censor of these Astronauts for the use of the Bible's scriptures in their Christmas eve broadcast to the world; and

Whereas, these three Astronauts chose to express their feelings and emotions while in space orbiting our moon as they saw fit; and

Whereas, their accomplishments before and after that Christmas eve were such that the entire world was apparently united in praise for their achievements; and

Whereas, the 135 members of the Palm Springs Jaycees from all denominations and walks of life have endorsed the propriety of the reading of the Scriptures, and wish to

recognize the caliber and accomplishments of those three Astronauts;

Now, therefore be it resolved, That the Palm Springs Jaycees and its 135 members congratulate our three Astronauts and praise their historic accomplishments surrounding Christmas eve of 1968, and endorse and approve the choice which they made to convey to the World their emotions and feelings, by reciting from the Bible,

Be it further resolved, That a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to these three Astronauts, and their families, and NASA, c/o Family Radio, San Francisco, Calif., in order that all might know of the high regard in which these men are held by the members of the Palm Springs Jaycees of Palm Springs, State of Florida.

Duly adopted, this 26th day of May, 1969.

PALM SPRINGS JAYCEES,
ROBERT BUSSART,
President.
PAUL HOCKMAN,
Secretary.

VIETNAM IN A NUTSHELL

HON. EARL B. RUTH

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. RUTH. Mr. Speaker, the American soldier in Vietnam lives a life totally strange to that of his loved ones back in the States. An open letter written by a soldier from Rockingham, N.C., attempts to share the emotion felt by our fighting men as they serve their country and protect our lives.

The Richmond County Daily Journal, of Rockingham, has given us this soldier's view of the war by reprinting in full the letter of Sgt. Fred C. Blake, Jr.:

[From the Richmond County Daily Journal, Apr. 2, 1969]

LETTER TO EDITOR

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—An open letter from a Rockingham soldier is captioned "Vietnam in a Nutshell" and tells something of the life there in the conflict that has become the third largest war in the history of the United States from standpoint of loss of lives. The serviceman is the son of Mrs. Fred Blake of Rockingham.)

I am an infantry squad leader in the 9th Infantry Division located southwest of Saigon in the Mekong Delta. I have been in Vietnam for three months.

I just want to tell the people in the States what it's like to be on the so-called front lines. A typical day consists of writing letters to family and girl friends. I receive two hot meals a day and we have a small tent where we can buy coke and beer if you like.

About 3 o'clock every afternoon the men of my squad starts preparing for their night operations. We clean our weapons and get all the necessary equipment needed for our night ambush patrol.

My men also have to get mentally prepared for what lies ahead of them on the night patrol. As soon as I coordinate with my commander on the map and find the area in which we are to conduct our night ambush, I inform my men of the type of night we have cut out for us.

The people back in the world don't realize how the men of the infantry act and feel. I am right here in the middle of everything. The morale of the hero is very high. I have many problems that I have to cope with. I am in charge of 14 men plus myself.

Each time we go out on patrol I ask God to protect my men and myself. Each individual soldier is scared, but they still have that

drive that keeps them going. The men here are of a unique caliber. Before they came in the Army they were protected by family and by law. They always had someone they could turn to for help.

But then they came into the Army and they had basic training and then their advanced individual training. Then they were brought to Vietnam not knowing what they would see or what to expect. The first day is a great shock seeing how the people live here. But the GI learns to adjust to these conditions.

He has to learn to fight and overcome fear in order to save his life and the lives of his buddies. My squad is the greatest bunch of men in the world. We are like one big happy family—white and Negro alike. We eat, sleep and play games together. If we didn't we would probably go absolutely crazy from being unhappy and homesick.

Everyone fights because they know the life they have back in the world. They know that someday they will be able to walk around without a weapon and have no fear of the enemy. Day after day they walk through the rice paddies with mud and water up to their knees. But I can truthfully say that the men of the "Leg Outfit" are proud to fight for their country, even though they think that sometimes it's a hopeless cause.

They still continue on day after day doing the same thing. But like I said before, I'm not a combat clerk who sits behind a desk and tells war stories. I see men lose their lives fighting for their country. I see them pass out from heat exhaustion, and get all types of diseases, even though they take pills and try to keep themselves as clean as possible. Even though this happens, it doesn't hamper them, the "war must go on."

This is just a few things that happens to the average combat infantryman in Vietnam. This is why I think the people of America should stand behind their men all the way to the very end. They are fighting to protect you, the people of America.

Sgt. FRED C. BLAKE, JR.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA JUSTICE II—REPARATIONS BY JURY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on April 30 of this year, I called to the attention of the House the caricature of administration of justice faced by citizens of the District of Columbia. On that occasion a criminal jury having been turned down in its request for martinis to aid its deliberations, returned a verdict of not guilty in the case of a man twice previously convicted of murdering his wife.

There is no justification whatsoever for permitting individuals totally incompetent to properly perform their duties to sit on our juries. Yesterday's Washington Star has the story of a gross miscarriage of justice, brought about in our comic opera courts, which I include as part of my remarks. Calhoun is back again, somewhere.

The article referred to follows:

PRESSURED BY NEGRO JURORS, TWO WHITES SAY OF VERDICT

(By Fred Barnes)

Two white jury members at the D.C. Court of General Sessions have complained that they were pressured by Negro jurors into approving a \$31,000 verdict in favor of a Negro

couple. The verdict was later thrown out as being "excessive."

One of the three white members on the jury told Judge James A. Belson that he was "indirectly threatened" by Negro jurors who became angered when he balked at awarding the money to the couple.

Should he have kept up his opposition, the man said, "I felt that even if they didn't attack me there in the jury room, I probably would get it on the outside somewhere."

However, the jury foreman, a Negro woman, told the judge that she knew of no threats or intimidating remarks made during the jury's deliberations.

But she described the deliberations as boisterous and said that the race issue arose when the jury originally split along Negro-white lines, with the nine Negroes favoring the large money judgment and the three whites opposing it.

VERDICT THROWN OUT

Belson tossed out the jury's ruling on May 28 and ordered a new trial in the case. He based his decision solely on his view that the verdict was "grossly excessive" and not "based upon reason and justice."

At General Sessions, an individual cannot be awarded more than \$10,000 in a civil suit. Thus, the legal limit on a judgment for the couple was \$20,000.

While the complaints of threats were not a factor in his nullifying the verdict, Belson held two hearings to look into the reported intimidation. He passed the transcripts of both on to the U.S. attorney's office.

First filed in 1966, the case came before Belson in mid-May. The Negro couple, Quentin and Berlene Newhouse of the 6100 block of 14th Street NW, were seeking a total of \$18,000 from white co-defendants for injuries they sustained during a 1963 auto accident.

Shortly after the jury announced its decision, a court stenographer noticed one of the jurors, a white woman, crying in a General Sessions hallway.

When the woman explained that she was upset because of the verdict, the stenographer notified the judge. Belson quickly convened a hearing, at which the woman told of being called "stupid" because she demurred at granting \$31,000 to the couple.

The woman quoted one Negro juror as telling her: "You three white ones (jurors) are going to always find for the white party." Actually, she felt both parties were at fault, she told Belson.

Asked if she thought her decision to acquiesce on the verdict was made under pressure, the woman responded: "Yes, I think it was."

A week later, Belson held a hearing at which one of the two white men on the jury revealed his feeling that implied threats had been made. "They started harassing me," he said of several Negro jurors, "and names were called and everything else." One called him a honkey," he said.

"We'll remember you and take care of you later," he quoted a Negro juror as telling him when he persisted in his opposition. After he agreed to go along, this same juror called him a "pretty good guy after all," the man said.

He quoted the other white man on the jury as giving in with these words: "There's no use to fight it. I'll go along."

NIXON CRITICS BOLSTER HANOI HOPE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is the earnest hope of Americans that a

permanent end to the conflict in Vietnam can be negotiated. It is obvious that in the negotiation process we must work from a position of strength.

It is therefore appropriate that columnist David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star, Monday, June 9, directs his attention to the type of criticism within the United States that is actually encouraging Communist aggression.

The article follows:

NIXON CRITICS BOLSTER HANOI HOPE
(By David Lawrence)

Never before in American history has a President of the United States been so palpably interfered with in his attempts to negotiate a peace agreement that would end a war. Members of the Senate are asserting that they have a right to dictate to the President how he shall conduct negotiations.

Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana, Democratic leader, urged a moratorium on criticism at least during the period of the talks at Midway between President Nixon and President Thieu of South Vietnam. But this has had no effect on his Democratic colleagues. Sen. Albert Gore, D-Tenn., for instance, declares that he doesn't think it is "wise for the President of the United States to journey thousands of miles to a point in the Pacific Ocean to meet a president of South Vietnam in order to determine policy or to coordinate strategy for either war or peace." Mr. Gore says that such a meeting tends to "equate the two presidents."

Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the all-important Senate Foreign Relations Committee, accuses Mr. Nixon of planning to control South Vietnam "by proxy" and tells the world that the crucial point in the Paris negotiations is whether the United States will insist on keeping the regime of President Thieu in power.

So in the middle of the parleys, while the President of the United States is trying to work out a peace plan with our ally, the head of the Senate Foreign Relations committee says openly that he favors the "liquidation" of the South Vietnam government. The Arkansas senator pointedly adds:

"I don't think we can get much help from the present government of Vietnam to liquidate itself."

The Communists interpret such comments as meaning that the President does not have the support of a majority in Congress and that North Vietnam can insist on even stiffer terms because Mr. Nixon will not be able to maintain American forces in Vietnam much longer. In fact, the Communists are expecting a "phased withdrawal" in the next few months, and they regard this as a sign of victory.

Meantime, Secretary of State William P. Rogers told a news conference the United States is not planning to set up any particular regime in Saigon. He said that America merely wants to insure that candidates of all parties are given a fair deal in the balloting, and that the presence of some Communists in a new government would be acceptable. He declared that the United States firmly supports the South Vietnamese president in the latter's opposition to Communist proposals for a "coalition" government to be set up prior to elections.

President Nixon, in his speech at the Air Force Academy last week, reflected the paradox which exists today. He said:

"On the fighting front, you are asked to be ready to make unlimited sacrifice to fight a limited war. On the home front, you are under attack from those who question the need for a strong national defense and indeed see a danger in the power of the defenders.

"You are entering the military service of your country when the nation's potential adversaries abroad were never stronger and

your critics at home were never more numerous."

The Paris negotiations are, of course, affected by the speeches being made in the United States.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has announced that there is no "rigid formula" for the withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam, but that the United States is interested in "results."

Coincidentally, the Communists have stepped up their assaults, and more American lives are being lost day after day. The cry in Congress for the equivalent of a "peace at any price" plan encourages the enemy.

Truth is that North Vietnam is relying on the aid and comfort which is being given them by members of the United States Senate and other critics who are virtually demanding—although they deny it—a unilateral withdrawal by the United States.

It's an unprecedented situation and is due largely to the fact that the American people are unaware of the risks and dangers involved in yielding to the Communists in Southeast Asia.

CLEAN AIR AND WATER

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, clean air and water are of major concern to all Americans. Government and private industry have initiated an ambitious program which hopefully will result in improving our health, economic growth, and recreational facilities.

The State of Mississippi, working with industry and individual citizens, is moving toward achieving these desirable goals. In a recent address by Robert S. Wright, executive secretary of Mississippi's Air and Water Pollution Control Commission, emphasis was placed on the role of industrial development groups in abating pollution. I am pleased to call Mr. Wright's comments to the attention of the House:

ADDRESS BY ROBERT S. WRIGHT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, MISSISSIPPI AIR AND WATER POLLUTION CONTROL COMMISSION

Gentlemen, I deeply appreciate the invitation to speak to the Mississippi Industrial Development Council today.

As one of the State's newest agencies, we welcome every opportunity to inform the public—and that, of course, includes industry—of our activities, duties and responsibilities, at the same time, we seek support as we carry out our assigned tasks as a regulatory agency of State government.

Air and water pollution affects every citizen in Mississippi. It has a bearing on his health. It is a medical fact that both air and water pollution are linked with a variety of diseases. Pollution is directly associated with economic growth. Industry refuses to locate in areas with foul air and unclean water.

Until recently, there was a minimum of general public awareness of pollution. Quite correctly, pollution was kicked off as a dirty word. And that was about the extent of the public's involvement.

Fortunately, there has been a growing public and industrial interest in the quality of the air we breathe and the water we consume. Unfortunately, general public acceptance has failed to keep pace with the pollution problem itself. In the past, the public—and industry, to a lesser degree—has refused to recognize, or at least acknowledge, that their

very survival depends on clean water and on pure air.

Economic and industrial growth are absolutely necessary if Mississippi is to prosper. Industry generates jobs and tax dollars. But economic and industrial growth can back-lash if pollution is not controlled and abated. Industrial areas can stragulate and drown—wither, and die—if pollution control measures are not implemented.

Pollution is caused by people. It must be cured by people.

People must enhance and protect the quality of our air. And people must preserve and maintain the quality of our water.

The 1966 legislature took bold, firm, and forward action when it created the Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission. The legislation transferred pollution control authority from the State Game and Fish Commission and the State Board of Health to the air and water pollution control commission. With the passage of the 1966 act, pollution control was placed under one tent.

Our job, quite simply, is to control air and water pollution from all sources. Our goal is to make certain that pure air and clean water are available to everyone—individuals, municipalities, business and industry—throughout Mississippi.

Just what is this State agency with the rather long but certainly descriptive name?

The Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission is comprised of 10 members. Six of them represent the State Board of Health, the State Game and Fish Commission, the Board of Water Commissioners, the Oil and Gas Board, the State Plant Board, and the State Marine Conservation Commission. The other four commissioners are appointed by the Governor. Two of them represent industry, another the municipalities, and the fourth the Mississippi Wildlife Federation.

Obviously, each representative on the Commission is involved in pollution problems. They are, in fact, the trustees of Mississippi's air and water resources.

The 10-member Commission has approved criteria which must be met by potential polluters. The regulations, quite frankly, are stringent. The Commission must have broad and effective powers to perform its duties. Our regulations, more than incidentally, have been approved by the Federal Government.

Mississippi, as a State, has been given the opportunity to control its pollution. But abate it, we must. If we fail in this field, then the Federal Government has put this State—as well as the other States—on notice that it will step in and do the job.

I know—and you know—that the best interests of the State will be served if we ourselves control pollution rather than permitting the Federal Government to handle our chores through default.

We have generally received the cooperation of Mississippi industries as we have implemented our pollution control measures. The Masonite Corporation in Laurel, for example, has just begun a \$10 million anti-pollution project.

But additional millions of dollars must be expended by industry if the Nation's waters and air are properly managed. I believe that these industries—at least most of them—will accept this responsibility voluntarily and without needless prodding from the Mississippi air and water pollution control commission.

Pollution must be controlled by industry. Industry, in many instances, will be required to make substantial capital outlays to install the necessary facilities to control waste and purify the air.

Eventually, the consumer—you and I—will pay for this advanced, technical equipment. It is reasonable to assume that the costs of pollution control will be tacked onto the price of the finished products—just as

the cost of raw materials, manufacturing, packaging, distributing, warehousing, advertising and selling are factors in determining a product's price.

Certainly, the relatively minor additional cost of a product will be justified if it assures our people of abundant and safe water and air in the future.

The commission urges you—as industry hunters—to join us in the never-ending battle against pollution.

Potential industries for the State must be apprised of the anti-pollution requirements that must be met if they are to operate in Mississippi. Actually, our regulations will not dilute your efforts to woo industry into the State. Every State in the Nation is under a mandate from the Federal Government to implement air and water quality criteria.

In fact, I earnestly feel that the commission and the council—working hand-in-glove with one another—can stimulate your industry hunting activities. Our staff of engineers is available to you as you mine the field of industrial prospects. It seems to me that they would be impressed with the cooperation offered by an official agency of the State.

I believe, too, that substantial savings would be realized through proper planning before a plant is constructed.

The commission, of course, is as concerned with industrial development as you are. We are vitally interested in progress. But progress cannot be attained at the expense of pollution.

Industrial wastes must be disposed of in such a manner as to preserve the health and welfare of our citizens. Industry, in increasing numbers, recognizes this economic fact. I submit it is imperative that we deal off the top of the deck and not resort to idle promises that cannot be kept just to attract an industry into Mississippi.

The Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission is not a fire-breathing monster determined to place impossible restrictions on industry.

The commission does expect, however, that industry will adhere to the reasonable regulations that are both official State and Federal policy.

The commission has established water quality criteria for interstate and coastal waters in the State.

It is the intent of the commission that the pollution of waters of the State shall be prevented, eliminated or reduced to acceptable levels to protect the public health and welfare and enhance the quality of waters to insure their value for public water supplies, propagation of fish and wildlife, recreational purposes, agricultural, industrial, and other legitimate uses.

The commission recognizes that industry is continuing to produce new materials whose characteristics and effects are unknown at this time. Consequently, such materials will be evaluated on their merits as information becomes available to the commission.

At the moment, air pollution is not a major problem in Mississippi. With effective planning, industrial growth will not accelerate this problem. Mississippi industry can implement preventive measures and abort pollution before it develops.

Existing industries are moving towards correcting air deficiencies. New industries are expected to control any air pollution that results from their operations.

The commission was not formally organized until January of 1967, six months after it was created by the legislature. Since that time, we feel we have made substantial progress.

By and large, we have had excellent cooperation from both industries and municipalities that have contributed to Mississippi's pollution problems. They have generally recognized the urgent necessity of implementing anti-pollution programs.

But the battle against pollution will remain a continuing and growing problem as the State expands industrially.

The Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission has been charged with the responsibility of making certain that industry does not shirk its responsibility to combat pollution. The commission will vigorously enforce its regulations.

Industry is second only to people as a polluter.

Mississippi, however, can have industrial growth and clean water—at the same time. Pollution can be curbed in tandem with economic progress. Water pollution will thwart economic growth—but pollution control can nourish industrial expansion.

To be sure, industrial growth generates more and more wastes. But these wastes can be treated and disposed of through the use of proper treatment facilities.

The Commission feels that effective air and water pollution control throughout Mississippi is entirely possible. But industry must realize the vital role it must play if the State's resources are to be preserved for all uses.

Our water quality standards are not the sole answer to water pollution management in Mississippi. They are the basis for anti-pollution measures that industry must implement.

Your job is to convince industry to move into Mississippi, and you have a significant number of pluses working for you—an abundance of water, a favorable climate, adaptable people.

Our job is to make certain that the water supply now available in the State continues to be adequate to serve the needs of the industry already here and the industry that locates in Mississippi in the future.

Industry, in many cases, is developing new manufacturing processes to conserve water. Many firms are accelerating their research on industrial waste problems. The Commission will cooperate with these industries as they move forward in attacking their pollution problems.

It is gratifying to note that the majority of Mississippi industry is not procrastinating. Most firms are fully aware of pollution problems, and are acting accordingly.

The Natchez Democrat made the following editorial comments recently:

"Mr. Average Mississippian should realize two important points about pollution control:

"1. Generally speaking, compared to many other States, Mississippi's overall air and water are of reasonably high quality.

"2. Pollution control equipment cannot be installed overnight. Much time is required for designing and installing such equipment; engineers are still trying to find the right equipment for some pollution problems.

"Our State's newest industries, generally speaking, are being constructed with few pollution problems because available control equipment is designed into the original plant. Under the leadership of the Air and Water Pollution Control Commission, existing industries are improving their situations and, in reasonable time, will be required to meet the standards adopted by the Commission.

"The general public should realize that we are making definite progress in a manner which is compatible with our State's economic progress. By a reasonable approach to pollution control, Mississippi can attain the desired quality of air and water management in the near future without hindering the economic development of the State."

Those remarks by the Natchez Democrat show that the Commission was created not to hinder but to help industry.

All of us are members of the same team. All of us are interested in the best interests of the State. Industrial progress is reflected in the progress of the State and its people.

Together, we are taking action to at least manage pollution.

The Commission realizes there is an urgent need for improving the manner in which we use, manage and protect the water supply in Mississippi. As a rather fledgling agency, we have—as they say—our work cut out for us. We must develop long-range plans that will enable industry and the people to satisfy their water requirements in the future. We do not delude ourselves into thinking that our goals can be achieved either quickly or expeditiously.

It is imperative, of course, that we cooperate closely with all of the users of water to make certain that our supply will be adequate to serve the needs of all.

A survey by the National Industrial Conference Board revealed recently that 3,000 American corporations now have capital investment of \$1 billion in facilities to reduce or control water pollution, with their annual operating expenses \$100 million. Total spending by American industry to combat water pollution has been estimated at \$400 million a year.

Those figures indicate that American industry has recognized its responsibility and set out to correct pollution problems.

Industry is fiscally involved in the development of abatement approaches to the pollution problems that are as old as civilization itself.

Mississippi industry is generally responding to the commission's demands of maintaining high air and water standards. Mississippians should applaud those industries for their efforts in managing the State's natural resources.

Of course, there are some recalcitrants, but standards have been set—and the commission will make certain that they will be met.

The commission should not be considered a club that threatens industry with unrealistic regulations that must be implemented tomorrow. We cannot expect every industry in the State to correct long-festering ills overnight.

But the offenders have been put on notice that they must abide by the criteria established by the commission.

I emphasize that our attitude towards pollution control will assist you as you seek out industry. The firms that you solicit will know exactly what is expected of them in the field of pollution control if they locate in Mississippi. They will know, positively, what treatment facilities they must construct before they can operate in Mississippi. Additionally, our engineering staff is at their command in assisting them in planning their anti-pollution facilities.

The administration of our water quality standards is directed toward two basic goals—to enhance the quality of our water and to marshal our waters for the benefit of all Mississippi and all Mississippians.

During recent years, the importance of clean water has come under closer public examination. The American people have now realized that water can be both friend and foe, and industry, which you are directly concerned with, no longer hesitates to discuss the problem openly and frankly.

The Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission sympathizes with your problems in attracting new industries to the state. Industry-seeking has become a competitive business, with every state in the Nation offering incentives for plant locations. To obtain an industry, you must offer more than the other fellow proposes.

But be assured, gentlemen, that the Commission's air and water pollution control programs will not sabotage your efforts. Every State in the Nation is enforcing similar control regulations.

This commission—this new State agency—operates on a modest State budget supplemented by Federal funds. The Mississippi legislature appropriated these funds because

it recognizes the urgency of the pollution problems confronting the State. Industry has generally indicated that it stands willing to cooperate in pollution control. Industry is now aware that it must make sure that its waste are properly treated before being discharged into a waterway.

The commission, of course, is far shy of having all of the answers to the sensitive questions involving air and water pollution abatement. But continuing technological advances do move us closer to solutions with gratifying regularity.

Assuming that pollution control will eventually be realized on a broad scale, the Nation must then muster its brainpower to attempt to achieve the ultimate—pollution prevention. The anti-pollution actions of industry in the future will help guide us as we seek to attain that goal.

Consequently, we feel that it is of the utmost importance for new industries to install sophisticated control equipment during plant construction. Industry must not be satisfied with "gets by" equipment. It is, I believe, incumbent upon industry to install facilities that will accomplish maximum—not minimum goals.

Actually, pollution control programs can reap dividends in several ways. Often, for example, a plant can use existing equipment more efficiently, which reduces wear. Additionally, there is always the distinct possibility of converting recoverable wastes to by-products which can, of course, help defray the cost of the pollution program itself. And, as an impressive fringe benefit, a plant's community image will be improved immediately. Some plants are confronted with short water supplies. By instituting recovery procedures, usable water becomes the by-product.

Industrialists have become increasingly aware of their pollution problems. They realize they can no longer just hope that these problems will solve themselves without any correct, affirmative and definite actions.

Some plants, for example, have assigned the responsibility for water uses to newly-created departments headed by a qualified engineer. The farsighted industrialists have made certain that those departments have the funds and the authority to operate effectively.

Now—in this age of critical water shortages in some areas—the proper control of pollution is absolutely necessary. The availability of usable and potable water now and in the future must be assured.

Industry must play a vital role in water conservation.

The regulations established by the Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission are realistic. As our population grows, as our cities become larger and as industrial expansion increases, more pollutants will be generated that must be disposed of. I believe that industry will not hesitate to make sound contributions in the field of air and water pollution control.

The commission does not presume to intrude on your industry-hunting efforts in any manner that would curtail the success of your activities. Conversely, I believe that we can make a significant contribution as you work toward luring industry into the State.

Give us the opportunity to advise and counsel with you as you study your prospect list. A particular potential industry might be suitable for one area of the State yet unsuitable for another area because of pollution problems that could arise in an individual area. Problems that might exist in one area for an industry might be avoided in another section.

Companies are properly concerned with keeping down operating costs. We recognize—just as industry does—that antipollution measures involve big money. But industry must expend these vast funds, not only for

their best long-range interests but for the interests of the State and its people as well.

The Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission solicits your help. At the same time, we offer you our facilities to apprise industry what is expected as their operations relate to the control of pollution.

I urge you not to be reluctant to discuss pollution problems with a prospective industry. Lay it on the line. Tell it like it is. Industry appreciates plain talk.

Quite frankly, there is no place in Mississippi for any industry that refuses to accept its responsibility to help combat pollution.

This State must not tolerate any industry that ignores the health and welfare of its people and its natural resources.

MAIL PASSES THROUGH MANY HANDS ALONG THE WAY—JUST ONE MISSED STEP CAN CAUSE DELAY

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing a lot these days about the postal service, much of it critical.

Well-intentioned criticism is always in order and I have added my share along the line.

I am also very well aware of the shortcomings of our present-day postal system. I am seeking to overcome them with my comprehensive bill for postal reform, H.R. 4, on which hearings now are underway before our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

But while recognizing the shortcomings of our present system—and publicly citing them—I would emphasize at the same time that it is essential the American public be aware that the "mails are going through" and with really incredible efficiency considering the volumes of mail pouring through the system today, over 82 billion pieces a year.

Unfortunately, all we hear about are the cases of mail being delayed or misdirected. But actually the amount of mail being delayed is really such a small amount that I would be hard put to describe it even in a decimal figure.

It is regrettable when important mail is delayed and the Department must be placed in a better position for management to keep even closer tabs on mail than it does today. I have my doubts whether private enterprise could do the job any better—indeed, if as well.

In fact, during our hearings committee members have asked expert witnesses about the possibility of having a private corporation take over the postal system lock, stock and barrel. The consensus—in fact the unanimous view—is that no private corporation would be interested in taking over all of the postal system.

The Post Office Department in many respects is being very unfairly criticized. I would refer to the deluge of criticism in the public press about postal service.

The slipups in mail service, I feel certain, are not nearly as common in proportion as are the typographical errors in our daily newspapers and other publications. Let those in glass houses be careful about throwing stones.

And to compare the postal service with telephone service—remember you have to pay for your phone whether you use it or not—think how often the operator gets you the wrong number, or, you yourself dial the wrong number.

When a person mails a letter, that is the simplest part of the job. There are some 30-odd steps for handling that letter before it reaches its destination.

Each one of those steps offers a possible lapse, a missed connection, a wrong slot, a delayed pickup, an absent employee with no replacement, and so forth.

The other day, a reporter for the Washington, D.C., Star followed a letter from the time it was put in a mailbox until it was delivered. The story clearly points out the many steps involved, the human element, the close connections.

Mr. Speaker, as an example of the handling of a letter, I include the text of the Star story as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star,
June 10, 1969]

**FIFTEEN HOURS VERSUS 3 DAYS—FOLLOWED
LETTER IS SPEEDY
(By Phillip Shandler)**

Postal reform is a hot topic on Capitol Hill again. There is little agreement on what to do, but everybody agrees that mail service and general postal efficiency leave a lot to be desired.

Why does a letter sometimes get to the addressee within hours and sometimes not for days—even over a short distance?

To try to find out just what happens to a letter after it is dropped in the corner mailbox, I recently wrote a letter and then followed it to its destination.

I found that the answer to postal delay lies in a mail-handling system that is striking for both its complexity and its primitiveness.

With the permission of postal officials, I stayed with my letter from the time I mailed it one Thursday evening until it was delivered in Ocean City, Md., the next morning. The trip took just 15 hours.

This evidently wasn't a typical trip, because when I mailed another letter without alerting officials it took three days.

THROUGH MANY HANDS

The course of both letters was the same, through scores of hands, several machines and four post offices linked by 175 miles of road.

I mailed my test letter in a box at Wisconsin Avenue and Albemarle Street where I knew the pickup time was 7:30 p.m.

A few minutes after 7:30, a small red, white and blue truck swung into the curb. Driver Charles Chase bolted through the open door, clutching a heavy canvas sack in one hand, whipping out a zoot-suit key chain with the other.

Chase opened the box, and within seconds had shoveled the contents into his bag, relocked the door, swung the sack into the space behind his seat, resnapped his safety belt, and was off.

Because of the previous arrangement I then accompanied Chase—and my letter—on a 2-hour ride up Wisconsin Avenue into Montgomery County, then down Wisconsin, through Spring Valley and back to the route's starting point, the Friendship substation at Wisconsin Avenue and Van Ness Street. Altogether we stopped at 36 boxes.

"The trick is to get to each box as soon after the deadline as you can, but not a minute before it," said Chase. He said the deadline advances 15 minutes at every seventh or eighth box.

Tonight, Chase was a little worried by traffic. Fortunately there was no rain and he kept well to his schedule. He's fallen off his timetable and missed his 9:30 deadline

at Friendship only once in three years, when his truck broke down.

Tonight Chase was back at the loading platform behind the Friendship substation at 9:15. His sacks, along with several dozen others, were heaved into another truck. I piled into the cab, and driver Louis Postell headed for the City Post Office at North Capitol Street and Massachusetts Avenue.

We arrived at 9:35, and I watched the sacks unloaded by hand and moved inside by conveyor belt.

ARRIVING AT POST OFFICE

Inside, the post office was aswarm with people, sorting and tossing and lugging. But assistant postmaster Elmer Ray told us the peak was about three hours before, when the trucks poured in with the loads they had picked up on a sweep of the mailboxes immediately after the close of the business day.

My letter had to be on a truck that would pull out at midnight for the Eastern Shore if it was to be delivered the next morning, and it had to be sorted twice first.

The letters in the sacks were poured into troughs and sent onto conveyor belts. Big pieces were culled out and then the letters were fed into a machine that stacked them so the stamps would face one way and then cancelled them at the rate of 36,000 an hour.

The first sorting was by state or region. My letter, like most personal correspondence, was hand-addressed and thus unreadable by the automatic machines. So it was transferred to a section where row after row of men and women sat in front of big, squarish cases containing 56 cubbyholes, each labelled with the first three digits of the zip code, and sorted by hand.

At intervals, a foreman would instruct a clerk to "Pull Maryland" or "Pull Ohio" and a worker went down the row, pulling from each sorter's case that state's mail. Eventually my letter was pulled and then carted to the secondary sorting area.

SECONDARY SORTING

In the secondary sorting, the letters are separated by city or section of state, using the last digits of the zip code. Ocean City rates its own cubbyhole and my letter went into it.

At about 11:30 the sorters stopped sorting and started bundling, making a package of each city's letters with a rubber band and tossing the package onto a conveyor belt.

At 11:50, the pouches for the Eastern Shore were hauled out to a platform, for loading onto a huge tractor trailer. This leg, I learned, is a "star" route, so called because of the asterisk that formerly marked it on transportation schedules.

The "star" truckers are private operators, under contract to the Post Office Department. The contractor for most of the Eastern Shore is the Woodrow A. Pritchett Transportation Service of Cambridge.

Driver Marcellus Burdick of Salisbury had already picked up a loaf of parcel post at the terminal on New York Avenue NE when he wheeled his silver truck into the main post office garage. It took him about 10 minutes to load up. At a minute past midnight, we me and my letter aboard, he headed out of the garage and toward the Chesapeake Bay.

We had to make two pickup stops on this leg: Easton at 1:30 a.m. and Cambridge at 2. Then at 2:55 a.m., the big truck backed up to the dock of the modernistic post office at Salisbury, and a movable conveyor belt was wheeled deep into the trailer. Sleepy workmen stacked the pouches onto carts.

DURING WEE HOURS

Inside, the several dozen clerks resorted the packages of letters into pouches according to routes to be followed by contract drivers ferrying the mail to individual cities and towns. They also added letters that had been posted within the area.

In scarcely half an hour, the Ocean City bags were ready to be closed again. But now

they had to wait on the loading platform for two hours. I went down the road and got breakfast.

Just before 5:30, David Wilson, another private contractor, wheeled up in his camper-pickup, and took aboard the sacks for Snow Hill, Berlin and Ocean City. The sun was just beginning to come up.

An hour later we pulled up into the post office at Ocean City. It looked small and new. Russell Bradford, the assistant postmaster, was waiting. He unlocked the door, helped unload the truck, wheeled in the carts, and was ready to break the mail down by delivery route. By then he had the help of the postmaster, Scott Wallace.

Ocean City has only three city routes—two of them handled by part-time carriers during the off-season—plus a rural route. There also is box delivery, of course.

CARRIERS ARRIVE

Shortly after 7 o'clock, the carriers started arriving. Each pulled his route mail from the cubbyholes into which it had been sorted, and arranged it in the order he would follow along his route.

My letter was addressed to a man who lives just up Philadelphia Avenue from the post office, so it was put near the top of the bag of carrier Robert Murray.

At 9:30 a.m., Murray wheeled his saddlebag cart out of the door, and a few minutes later I saw him deliver my letter.

For my letter it was the end of the line. For carrier Murray, it was the beginning of a 9-mile walk. For me it was time to turn around and come home. I was pretty sleepy.

My letter had gotten good service; it was delivered in 15 hours. But as I was to find out, you couldn't count on that. The second letter took 63 hours to get there.

AIM IS NEXT DAY DELIVERY

Recent samplings by the post office of mail among major cities show next-day delivery to be about 12 percent, with second-day delivery 73 percent.

Postmaster General Winton M. Blount wonders, however, how many people really insist on next-day delivery, and whether clearer differentiation of first-class mail wouldn't permit better scheduling of the workload.

In general, the post office says delivery reliability—more important, perhaps, than speed—is breaking down because of old, inefficient facilities, inadequate management, and low worker motivation.

How to remedy the situation is the subject of a fight on Capitol Hill. The administration wants to make the postal service a self-financed, corporate structure with new fiscal authority and management power. Many congressmen and union leaders want to keep the service a Congress-dependent Cabinet agency.

Whatever the outcome, improvement soon is urgent. Mail volume is growing daily, and something must be done about it. As one postal official said recently:

"We can't put up a 'Full' sign like the parking lots can. We've got to stay open."

EDUCATION WITHOUT BOOKS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the HEW announcement that the libraries in my State would face an approximate 50-percent cut in appropriations produced a scathing editorial in the Baton Rouge States Times.

It is amazing that with the billions being spent on lavish educational build-

ings, exchange programs, black studies programs, and even electronics—books apparently are given the lowest priority in the Federal programs for the spending of taxpayers dollars.

The editorial follows:

WONDROUS MENTAL MEANDERINGS

The mental meanderings in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are wondrous.

Here's a sample of what we mean:

"In the context of the total federal program for education, special programs for books and equipment are considered low priority."

The statement was by HEW Undersecretary John Venneman and apparently sums up the attitude which accounts for a projected 66 per cent slash of federal money assistance to school, public, college and university libraries.

Books, in education, are considered low priority? Holy Cow!

The recommended slash has some drastic meaning to library services in Louisiana. It would preclude any expansion of existing services and compel a cutback in services now provided.

Specifically, the State Library—hub of library service in Louisiana—would face an approximately 50 per cent cut in 1969-70 appropriations under Title I (public library service) of the federal Library Services and Construction Act. There would be no appropriations for construction. Because they depend on the State Library for specialized services and materials, all public libraries in Louisiana would suffer.

There would be no funds for school libraries under Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, through which has come money greatly enriching the library resources of 1,961 schools in 56 public school systems in the state. Half of the funds for college library services would be lost. Training opportunities for future librarians would be slashed about half. Twenty-one academic institutions in the state have benefited from the Higher Education Act; it provided 40 fellowships for graduate study annually. Nine institutes offering advanced training to librarians were underwritten by the act.

The federal government has moved brazenly into public education, more often than not unquestionably. The least it can do for the children of the people who foot the bills is to shun an attitude that books are of low priority "in the context of the total federal program for education."

The effects cited here relate only to Louisiana. The other 49 states are confronted with the same situation.

Less federal spending is more than desirable. It is urgent. It equally is urgent to do the cutting where it ought to be done. No end of congressional committees have reviewed programs in which millions upon millions of dollars have been squandered. Most of the programs are still operative. The gravy train still runs.

But when economy is called for, books are "low priority" in the federal attitude toward education!

How fatuous can the wonderful wizards of Washington get?

THE TRUTH ABOUT GREECE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the New Hampshire Sunday News is one of many newspapers across the country which recently carried the syndicated column by Edith Kermit Roosevelt entitled, "The Truth About Greece."

It is most significant that this highly responsible and respected American journalist would devote considerable space to the discussion of the situation which currently prevails in Greece.

It is my hope that Miss Roosevelt's excellent column will help Americans better understand the problems that we are dealing with in trying to influence the restoration of parliamentary government in Greece.

I am pleased that Miss Roosevelt quotes extensively from my recent remarks in Congress on this subject. The wide distribution of her highly respected column gives added impetus toward better understanding between the United States and the people of Greece.

Miss Roosevelt's column follows:

THE TRUTH ABOUT GREECE

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—Two years ago a group of colonels in the Greek Army led some fellow army officers in a bloodless revolt against those forces which would have delivered Greece unquestionably into Communist hands. They promised they would restore order out of chaos.

Since the coup d'etat, the Greek caretaker government has moved towards restoration of a constitution and election of a Parliament to manage Greek affairs in the spirit of democracy.

The former colonels gave the Greek people an opportunity to vote on a constitution which has been hailed by students of political science as an outstanding document spelling out and guaranteeing freedom and human dignity for the people of Greece. A total of 92 per cent of the voters approved the constitution and Premier Papadopoulos and his associates have taken direct steps to implement the Constitution as quickly as possible. The Greek government recently announced that the people were restored the rights to peaceful assembly, lawful association and the inviolability of the home.

Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D-Ill.), a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, like other Americans looks forward to the complete restoration of parliamentary government in Greece—selected by the Greek people. However, while he believes the U.S. should continue to apply pressure for restoration of complete parliamentary government, he thinks we do a disservice to the cause of freedom when we permit "misleading" contentions of tortures in Greece to go

unchallenged. Specifically, he rejects as untrue the serious charges of tortures and brutality made in the May 27, 1969 issue of Look Magazine and Amnesty International, a private organization chaired by Michael Straight, former editor of the New Republic. Pucinski calls their charges a misrepresentation of the political situation in Greece which he says does "an injustice to the people of Greece and more seriously presents a grave threat to relations between the United States and Greece at a time when America needs all of her NATO allies to deal with the growing menace of Soviet influence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East."

Amnesty International as well as the article in Look Magazine have charged that political prisoners were suffering great tortures on the island of Yaros, off the coast of Greece. But Pucinski, who claims to be the only American ever permitted to visit Yaros, says that "after interviewing several hundred prisoners, it was my conclusion that charges of torture and brutality were completely untrue and a complete fabrication. Many of the prisoners," he continues, "frankly told me they were Communists and would refuse stubbornly to issue any assurance they would not conspire against the government in their efforts to overthrow the new regime."

Pucinski's visit to Yaros occurred six months after the April 21, 1967 takeover by the Greek colonels. The Illinois Democrat took with him his own Greek interpreter so there would be no chance for misinterpreting what the prisoners were telling him. He returned to Greece recently where he says he spoke to some of the most respected leaders of that country who are in no way affiliated with the caretaker government nor do they owe the present government any particular allegiance.

"In not a single instance," according to Pucinski, "did these impartial observers report any such tortures and brutalities as reported in Look's article."

Furthermore, thousands of American citizens of Greek ancestry from Chicago visit their native Greece frequently. Pucinski says he has talked to many of these people upon their return from Greece to see if any of their relatives have mentioned the alleged tortures or brutalities. Pucinski, who incidentally was the chief investigator for the House Committee which exposed the atrocities committed by the Russians against the Poles at Katyn, says:

"In not a single instance, have we received any evidence that would substantiate the Look magazine charges."

The matter of alleged tortures in Greece was also totally demolished as untrue after on-site inspections by the International Red Cross and a British Inter-party Committee conducted at the request of the Greek caretaker government. These two organizations concluded there was no basis for the accusations.

Last October 7, the authoritative magazine, U.S. News and World Report, wrote that while the Army colonels are "authoritarian" there is "no widespread clamor for a return to the freewheeling democracy of the past. . . . Controls are strict, but they are used to promote economic and social progress."

SENATE—Thursday, June 12, 1969

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou whom no man hath seen, the invisible cause of all that is visible, break

through the things which do appear that we may know Thy nearness in this place. Subdue our jaded and vexed natures. Discipline our wandering spirits and strengthen our feeble faith. O Thou who givest freely of Thyself, order what is disordered in our lives, bring our minds to Thy truth, our conscience to Thy law, our hearts to Thy love, and our souls to

fellowship with all mankind. Enable us to hear Thy voice, and hearing it make answer with humble trust and willing obedience. Brood over our troubled world that Thy grace may penetrate all men's hearts until the old refrain, "Peace on earth among men of good will," is the song and the desire of all nations.

In the Great Redeemer's name. Amen.